THE REGIONAL INTEGRATION OF PROTECTED AREAS: A STUDY OF CANADA’S NATIONAL PARKS

by

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Author’s Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

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Abstract

The relationship between protected areas and their regions is complex, dynamic, and often based on social interactions. It is widely accepted that protected areas are not “islands” – rather they are connected to their regions through ecological interactions such as the movement of air, water, wildlife, or fire across boundaries; social interactions such as relationships between protected area agency staff and local people; and economic interactions such as the development of on-site and off-site goods and services for protected area visitors.

Regional integration is a complex process by which protected area staff and regional actors engage in formal and informal social interactions in order to reach independent and shared goals related to the protected area. Regional integration is influenced by regional contextual factors such as the biophysical environment, the economy, demographics, history, and culture.

In order to develop the theory and improve the practice of the regional integration of protected areas, a qualitative study of five national parks in Canada and their regions was undertaken. The case studies were Kejimkujik National Park and National Historic Site, Nova Scotia; Gros Morne National Park, Newfoundland and Labrador; Waterton Lakes National Park, Alberta; and Mount Revelstoke and Glacier National Parks, British Columbia. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 112 regional actors including Parks Canada staff, provincial government agency staff, local business owners, First Nations, and resource users.

Each case study had a unique regional context as well as formal and informal mechanisms in place for interaction and communication between park staff and regional actors. Kejimkujik National Park and National Historic Site was perceived by participants to have very strong links with the scientific community, a developing relationship with First Nations,
but weak links with local communities. Gros Morne National Park was perceived by participants to have undergone a significant shift in the way that park staff interact with regional actors and has several unique mechanisms in place for interacting with regional actors. The regional integration of Waterton Lakes National Park was perceived by participants to be stronger due to numerous personal relationships between park staff and key regional actors. The park is also well known for its close working relationship with Glacier National Park, Montana. Mount Revelstoke and Glacier National Parks were perceived by participants as somewhat “in the background” in a region undergoing significant change. There are several long-standing working relationships in place between park staff and regional actors but participants’ perceptions of the parks’ connections with the tourism industry and the local community were varied.

Several characteristics of strong regional integration were identified including park staff being aware of the park’s effects on the park region; principles in place for park involvement in regional issues; and regular informal interactions occurring between park staff and regional actors. An assessment was made of the strength of regional integration of the case studies based on the formal and informal mechanisms for communication and interaction in place in the case study regions, their regional contexts, and the presence or absence of the characteristics of strong regional integration. It was found that GMNP has the strongest regional integration of all of the case studies while the regional integration of the three other case studies was strong in some areas and weaker in others.

Several suggestions are made for improving the regional integration of national parks in Canada including decreasing the turnover of key park staff; effectively communicating the park mandate to regional actors; improving relationships with First Nations; obtaining political
and managerial “buy-in” for regional integration; and increasing informal interactions with regional actors.
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List of Acronyms

AB: Alberta
ACOA: Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency
Alberta SRD: Alberta Sustainable Resource Development
BC: British Columbia
BCMOE: British Columbia Ministry of the Environment
BCMOFR: British Columbia Ministry of Forests and Range
BCMOT: British Columbia Ministry of Transportation
CBNRM: Community-based natural resource management
CBP&P: Corner Brook Pulp and Paper
CBRA: Canadian Biosphere Reserves Association
CCRIFC: Canadian Columbia River Inter-tribal Fisheries Commission
CMIAE: Columbia Mountains Institute of Applied Ecology
COSEWIC: Committee on the Status of Endangered Wildlife in Canada
CPAWS: Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society
ENGO: Environmental Non-Governmental Organization
GMNP: Gros Morne National Park
GNP: Glacier National Park, British Columbia, Canada
GNP-US: Glacier National Park, Montana, United States
INRM: Integrated natural resource management
IUCN: World Conservation Union
KNP&NHS: Kejimkujik National Park and National Historic Site
MD: Municipal District
MLA: Member of the Legislative Assembly
MR&GNP: Mount Revelstoke and Glacier National Parks
MRNP: Mount Revelstoke National Park
MTRI: Mersey Tobeatic Research Institute
NCC: Nature Conservancy of Canada
NLDEC: Newfoundland and Labrador Department of Environment and Conservation
NLDNR: Newfoundland and Labrador Department of Natural Resources
NSDEL: Nova Scotia Department of Environment and Labour
NSDNR: Nova Scotia Department of Natural Resources
PAA: Protected Areas Association of Newfoundland and Labrador
SARCO: Species at Risk Coordinating Office
SNBR: Southwest Nova Biosphere Reserve
SSTA: South Shore Tourism Association
UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WLNP: Waterton Lakes National Park
Chapter 1: Introduction

The number of protected areas has been growing rapidly since the first national park was established in Yellowstone in 1872. In 2003, the United Nations listed 102,102 protected areas worldwide covering 18,763,407 km$^2$ of the Earth’s surface (Chape et al., 2003). Of these, 3381 protected areas (covering 1,015,512 km$^2$) are designated as Category II protected areas, which are frequently referred to as national or provincial parks by federal, provincial, or state governments (Chape et al., 2003; IUCN, 1994). Historically, governments, industry, and communities in North America have valued national parks as places of wilderness, recreation, and natural beauty (McNamee, 2002, 2003).

What the average North American is perhaps not fully aware of is the fact that most national parks are not necessarily the “untouched wilderness” that they may be perceived to be (Parks Canada, 2000c). Existing protected areas are generally not sufficiently numerous, large, or connected to maintain ecological integrity on their own and the ecological integrity of many national parks is “under threat” due to forces originating outside of them (Beazley, 2003; Machlis & Tichnell, 1985, 1987; Parks Canada, 2000c, 2003c). Regional “threats” to protected areas are mainly direct (e.g., illegal activities, invasive species), unsustainable plant and animal resource extraction (Worboys et al., 2006), habitat degradation, or indirect development pressures in protection area regions (Keite, 1996). Socially, the relationship between national parks and neighbouring communities is sometimes strained (Brown & Lipscombe, 1999; Hough, 1988; Kaltenborn et al., 1999; McCleave et al., 2004). There are often communication and coordination problems between national park authorities and other actors within park regions (e.g., Danby & Slocombe, 2002; McCleave et al., 2004).
Protected areas are connected to their regions through ecological relationships such as the movement of air, water, wildlife, and fire across boundaries; social relationships such as human interactions between protected area agency staff and local people (Zube, 1995); and economic relationships such as the development of on-site and off-site goods and services for protected area visitors (Lockwood, 2006). These ecological, social, and economic interactions between protected areas and their regions have a regional scale and context, are multi-dimensional, multi-sectoral, and multi-disciplinary, and could be called “messy” as they are characterized by uncertainty, risk, and complexity (Danemann, 2003; Slocombe, 1989).

Attention to the relationship between protected areas and their regions is not new. The 1960’s saw an increased awareness of parks as integral parts of both larger natural systems and local human communities (Buechner et al., 1992). The Proceedings of the 1972 Second World Conference on National Parks suggest the beginning of a broadening concept of park-regional landscape relationships (Hartzog, 1972). The 1980’s saw the realization that parks were substantially impacted by ecological, cultural, and economic processes originating outside their boundaries and of the necessity to take these contextual issues into consideration in planning and management (Buechner et al., 1992; Machlis & Tichnell, 1985; Zube, 1995).

Early ecological research on protected areas and their regions recognized the importance of giving attention to the relationship between protected areas and their regions (Garratt, 1984) and the biophysical linkages between small, pristine protected area “islands” and their surroundings (Janzen, 1983). Early social science research examined issues such as the management of conflicts between national parks and surrounding human communities (Hough, 1988); the displacement local people (West & Brechin, 1991); and the negative outcomes (such as physical displacement or the loss of traditional uses of natural resources)
that were the result of the mismatch of a Western model of protected area management and local circumstances (Hough, 1988; West & Brechin, 1991; Zube & Busch, 1990).

Today, a vast literature details the many challenges that relate to protected areas and their regions, in both developing and developed-country contexts. Most of the literature is protected area or country specific, although some conceptual models have been developed (e.g., McCleave et al., 2006; Ormsby & Kaplin, 2005). From the perspective of protected areas in developed countries, some of the more common challenges include a lack of trust between protected area managers and local residents (Bissix et al., 1998; McCleave et al., 2004); a low level of communication, cooperation, and coordination among government agencies within protected area regions (Beresford & Phillips, 2000; Danby, 2002; Parks Canada, 2000b; P. A. Wright, 2002); external pressures on protected areas’ ecological integrity due to land development, habitat fragmentation, resource extraction, toxic contaminants, pollutants, and exotic species (Beresford & Phillips, 2000; Francis, 2003; Parks Canada, 2000c, 2000a; Walton, 1998); perceived community lifestyle changes (Brown & Lipscombe, 1999); and overuse from recreation and tourism (Nepal, 2000; Parks Canada, 2000c, 2000a).

Several protected area management frameworks or approaches to “doing business” have the potential to address these challenges such as ecosystem-based management (Agee & Johnson, 1988; Grumbine, 1994; Quinn, 2002; Slocombe, 1998a); the greater ecosystem approach (UNESCO, 2000); and alternative governance arrangements to traditional national or provincial/state government managed protected areas such as co-management and traditional community management (Borrini-Feyerabend, 2004). The above approaches tend to emphasize formal and structured mechanisms to address protected area-region challenges such as formal
collaboration between protected area agencies and organized regional groups, resource managers groups, or community participation in protected area management.

Buechner et al. (1992) suggested that there is a lack of congruence between the strategies for cross-boundary management suggested in the literature and those considered effective on the ground. Furthermore, despite efforts at implementing the management frameworks described above, regional integration problems still remain for protected areas around the world (L. Brandon et al., 1998; McCleave, 2004; McCleave et al., 2004; Wells & Brandon, 1992; West & Brechin, 1991). Much less attention has been paid to “softer” or more informal processes and mechanisms that can go a long way to building vital regional support for protected areas such as protected area employees volunteering within the community or informal communication that occurs between protected area staff and regional actors.

1.1 Introduction to Regional Integration

The regional integration of protected areas arises from the standpoint that managing protected areas is essentially a social process. It emphasizes an approach to protected area management and planning that is regional in scope (Dudley et al., 1999a; Saunier & Meganck, 1995) and acknowledges that building regional support for protected areas is crucial for their sustainability (J. McNeely et al., 2006). Regional integration is defined as¹:

_The process of protected area agencies and regional actors engaging in formal and informal interactions in order to address the challenges and opportunities that exist within the context of the protected area and its region._

As a concept it is inter-disciplinary and is linked to the natural resource management literature noted above as well as theory from the fields of human ecology (e.g., Costanza et al., 2001; Marten, 2001), political ecology (e.g., Wilshusen, 2003; Zimmerer & Bassett, 2003), and

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¹ This is the author’s definition. The term “regional integration” has been defined in other ways and these definitions are explored in Chapter 2. The definition of regional integration is developed further in Chapter 8.
complex systems (e.g., Berkes et al., 2003). There is a notable lack of research which explores how regional integration is being carried out within the context of national parks in Canada or how the integration of national parks into their regions could be improved. Furthermore, regional integration as a concept remains unclear, under-studied, and undefined.

1.2 Research Goal and Questions

The goal of this research is to develop the theory and improve the practice of the regional integration of protected areas. In order to accomplish this goal, this research aims to answer the following four primary research questions:

1. What are the critical interactions between national parks and their surrounding regions and what management challenges do they raise?
2. How have the interactions between national parks and their surrounding regions been addressed by protected area managers and other actors?
3. How is the concept of regional integration currently defined and practiced within the context of national parks in Canada?
4. How can the regional integration of Canada’s national parks be improved?

1.3 Introduction to Methodology and Case Studies

This study uses a qualitative and case study approach to examine regional integration based on a conceptual framework developed for the study. The conceptual framework is developed in Chapter 3 and is founded in the literature of several different bodies of knowledge including political ecology, complex systems, governance, integrated natural resource management, and ecosystem-based management. Semi-structured interviews were conducted for four case studies: Kejimkujik National Park and National Historic Site (KNP&NHS), Nova Scotia; Gros Morne National Park (GMNP), Newfoundland and Labrador; Waterton Lakes National Park (WLPN), Alberta; and Mount Revelstoke and Glacier National
Park (MR&GNP), British Columbia (Figure 1). The interviews were transcribed and then analyzed using the software program “NVivo 7”.

Kejimkujik
National Park and National Historic Site, established in 1968, is located in southwestern Nova Scotia (Figures 2, 3). The park is divided into two sections, an inland section (383 km²) which borders Queens and Annapolis Counties, and the Kejimkujik Seaside (22 km²), which is located on the southern coast of Mainland Nova Scotia, near the communities of Port Mouton and Port Joli.

Within the national park system plan, Kejimkujik represents the Atlantic Coastal Plain natural region, characterized by exposed bedrock, shallow soils, and mixed wood forests of red spruce, white pine, red oak, and red maple (Parks Canada, 1997). There are some stands of old growth hemlock forests in inland sections of the park. Common mammals include white-tailed deer, black bear, red fox, raccoon, and porcupine. The park draws most of its tourists from Atlantic Canada and the most common activities engaged in by park visitors are canoeing, camping, participating in interpretive programs, cycling, and hiking. The main industry within the park region is forestry, with both small and large scale operators within the interior of the
province. Along the coast, the Kejimkujik Seaside is located along a popular driving route for tourists.

Figure 2: Inland section of KNP&NHS and its region. Source: Parks Canada

Figure 3: Kejimkujik Seaside and its region. Source: Parks Canada
Gros Morne National Park, established in 1973, is located on the western coast of the Island of Newfoundland (Figure 4). The park protects 1805 km² of the Western Newfoundland Highlands natural region (Parks Canada, 1997). In 1987, the park was designated a United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) World Heritage Site for both its geological history and its exceptional scenery.

Gros Morne is well known for its rock formations, which include oceanic crust and exposed mantle, fjords, and scenic vistas. There are eight “enclave” communities surrounded by the park: Cow Head, St Paul’s, Sally’s Cove, Rocky Harbour, Norris Point, Glenburnie-Birchy
Head, Woody Point, and Trout River (Figure 4). Forestry is the largest industry in the park region. Deer Lake, population 4827, has the nearest airport.

Waterton Lakes National Park is located in the southwest corner of the province of Alberta (Figure 5). The park was established in 1895 and spans 505 km². In 1932, the park, along with adjoining Glacier National Park, Montana (GNP-US), became part of the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park and in 1995, the Peace Park was designated a UNESCO World Heritage Site. WLNP is a representative of the Rocky Mountains natural region and includes representation from four “compressed” ecoregions: montaine, foothills parkland, sub-alpine, and alpine (Parks Canada, 1997). The park is bordered by Glacier National Park, Montana to the south, British Columbia to the west (including Akamina-Keshinena Provincial Park), and private land to the north and east which is mainly used for ranching, oil and gas exploration and development, and recreation. WLNP is the only national park in Canada that protects an example of the parkland ecosystem. The Waterton townsite provides services for tourists to the park. The towns of Pincher Creek to the north and Cardston to the east are the nearest communities outside of the park.
Mount Revelstoke and Glacier National Parks are treated as one case study for this research due to their proximity to one another and the fact that they are managed by the same staff and have the same region. Glacier National Park, covering 1349 km², was established in 1886 and Mount Revelstoke National Park, covering 260 km², was established in 1914. Both parks represent the Columbia Mountains natural region. Over half of the area of the parks is above the tree line and comprises mostly rock and ice. Low to mid elevations have forests of western red cedar and western hemlock. The City of Revelstoke, population 7230, is located adjacent to Mount Revelstoke National Park (Figure 6). Other nearby communities are Golden, Sicamous, and Malakwa, although Revelstoke is perceived to be somewhat isolated from these.
communities due to distance and regular road closures during the winter. The major industries in the park region are forestry, transportation (highway and railway), hydroelectric production, and tourism.

1.4 Overview of Thesis

This thesis is structured in such a way that the research questions are answered through a review of the academic literature and a qualitative, case study-based examination of the regional integration of Canada’s national parks. Chapter 2 presents a review of the theoretical and applied bodies of knowledge relevant to regional integration. Chapter 3 develops a conceptual framework for the regional integration of protected areas, describes the methodological approach chosen for the study, and details the methods used. Chapters 4 to 7 present the results from the national park case studies. Each of these chapters presents a description of the park’s regional context, the results of a review of documents, participants’ perceptions of several park and regional actor relationships, and participants’ conceptualizations of regional integration. Chapter 8 further develops the theory of regional integration, assesses the regional integration of the case studies, and presents some suggestions for how the regional integration of national parks in Canada could be improved. Chapter 9 summarizes the thesis, revisits the research questions, examines how the results of this study make a contribution to the academic literature and management approaches reviewed, and suggests areas for future research.
Chapter 2: Literature Review

The concept of the regional integration of protected areas is inherently complex and inter-disciplinary. A number of theoretical bodies of knowledge and resource management approaches can be drawn upon to create a conceptual framework for examining regional integration in practice. The theoretical underpinnings drawn upon for this study are political ecology, complex systems, sustainability, and governance. The resource management approaches drawn upon for this study are integrated natural resource management, ecosystem-based management, community-based natural resource management, the new “paradigm” of protected area management, and Parks Canada policies. These bodies of knowledge are inter-related and share many common themes. This chapter reviews each of the bodies of knowledge and highlights the lessons from each which underpin the conceptual framework for regional integration presented in Chapter 3. A number of gaps in the bodies of knowledge reviewed are also identified.

2.1 Theoretical Underpinnings

Literature from political ecology, complex systems, sustainability, and governance forms the theoretical basis of this research.

2.1.1 Political Ecology

The number of journal articles, edited volumes and books carrying the phrase “political ecology” in their titles has been increasing at an accelerating pace over the past several years (Neumann, 2005). Political ecology is a relatively new approach (Warren et al., 2001; Zimmerer and Bassett, 2003), perspective (Neumann, 2005), or research agenda (Bryant, 1992; Wilshusen, 2003) rooted in political economy and ecology (Keil et al., 1998). Although most authors place political ecology as a sub-discipline of human geography, it incorporates
important contributions from anthropology, environmental history, and ecology (Neumann, 2005).

According to Blaikie and Brookfield (1987, p. 17), “the phrase ‘political ecology’ combines the concerns of ecology and a broadly defined political economy.” Political ecology can be seen as an integrative field that probes the social and political processes tied to environmental change (Robbins, 2004; Wilshusen, 2003). It is a study of the role politics plays in shaping the socio-economic and biophysical environment and considers how and where environmental decisions are taken (McAllister, 2002). Political ecologists analyze power relationships among actors, the way decisions are made, and how benefits are shared (Berkes, 2004; Neumann, 2005). Political ecology research "tends to reveal winners and losers, hidden costs, and the differential power that produces social and environmental outcomes" (McAllister, 2002, p. 11). Political ecology raises fundamental questions regarding the nature of human-environment relations (Neumann, 2005). Political ecologists acknowledge that environmental problems are simultaneously political and ecological, social and biophysical and that the human transformation of ecosystems cannot be understood “without consideration of the political and economic structures and institutions within which the transformations are embedded” (Neumann, 2005, p. 9). Finally, political ecology emphasizes the importance of actors and their interests, motivations, and resources (Rogers, 2002).

Although political ecology does not offer one coherent framework or set of theoretical propositions (Wilshusen, 2003), there are emerging themes. Wilshusen (2003) identified three fundamental themes that political ecologists have analyzed: scale, power, and time (history). Many political ecologists will begin their study by considering land use activities in a specific local context and then trace the larger social forces that impact land-use decisions. For
example, larger political economic structures and processes linked to regional, national, or even global systems are often considered (Blaikie & Brookfield, 1987; Wilshusen, 2003; Zimmerer & Bassett, 2003). The second theme, power, is central to a political ecologist’s understanding of resource access and control. Robbins (2004) noted that this type of research is directed at finding causes rather than symptoms of problems and conditions where some social actors exploit other people and environments for limited gain at collective costs. Finally, a historical perspective offers an explanation of past events and processes in order to better understand current conditions (Blaikie, 1995).

Different approaches or types of political ecology have emerged including “regional political ecology” (P. Walker, 2003), “critical political ecology” (Forsyth, 2003), “first world political ecology” (J. McCarthy, 2002; Robbins, 2002), and “third world political ecology” (Bryant & Bailey, 1997). Walker (2003, p. 7) contended that regional approaches can retain “the greatest strengths of recent political ecology in revealing the importance of local-scale social dynamics while situating these dynamics within broader scales of regional (and global) processes,” providing greater coherence while avoiding such problematic frames as the “first” and “third” world.

Many studies labeled as political ecology have focused on protected areas in both developed and developing countries, particularly focusing on the theme of power. As McNamee (2002, p. 47) acknowledged “history has shown that governments do not act in a benevolent fashion when it comes to wilderness protection ... we must understand more fully the political process, and seek to influence it with better information on the full range of national park and wilderness values so that politicians will act more decisively to preserve wilderness.” Political ecology provides a framework for illustrating and understanding the
political factors involved in protected area-surroundings issues. It leads one to ask, for example, how access to land and resources is controlled within the protected area region and how environmental costs and benefits are distributed. Political ecology also emphasizes the importance of analyzing the specific historical, cultural, and economic contexts within which protected areas are embedded (Neumann, 2005).

Political ecology has not been embraced without reservations by all scholars of human-environment relations in geography. Vayda and Walters (1999), in their paper entitled “Against Political Ecology”, argued that political ecologists often falsely assume that politics is the most important factor in human-environment relations. Other authors have argued that political ecology often ignores ecology and Walker (2005, p. 73) asked “Where is the ecology in political ecology?”

Recent political ecology studies have been facilitated by theory and methods of complex systems and have illustrated “how unexpected socio-political, institutional and ecological factors coalesce in unpredictable ways” (Armitage, 2002, p. 212). Complex systems theory is examined next.

2.1.2 Complex Systems

Over the past thirty years or so, there has been a development in the academic literature of theory related to complex social and ecological systems (Berkes, 2004; Francis, 2004a). A systems approach broadly refers to a holistic view of the components, and the inter-relationships among the components, of a system (Berkes & Folke, 1998). According to Slocombe (1999, p. 594) “systems analyses in environmental science usually entail challenging and extending reductionism; seeking understanding through analogy, comparisons, and case-studies; aiming for a practical holism that seeks to study entities as interacting
wholes; and a focus on system structure and organization that includes connections and interactions, ultimately allowing identification of the contributions of defined system components to the self-maintaining character and behavior of the system.” The development of complex systems analysis is a shift from a reductionist to a systems view of the world and a move to integrate ecological systems with social systems in order to provide an integrated understand of humans in nature (Berkes et al., 2003; Slocombe, 1999). Complex systems studies explore systems more holistically than traditional science by examining connections and organizations, subsystems and hierarchies, and sources of control and change (Slocombe, 1999). The emphasis is on wholeness, self-organization, connectedness, adaptation, resilience, and feedback (Berkes et al., 2003). Non-equilibrium ecology or “new ecology” replaces assumptions of equilibrium, predictability, and permanence with instability, disequilibria, chaotic fluctuations, and dynamism (Botkin, 1990).

Complex systems thinking can be used to bridge social and biophysical sciences and integrate two streams of thought by examining social-ecological systems (Berkes et al., 2003). Social systems include those dealing with governance, as in property rights and access to resources, and systems of knowledge (Berkes et al., 2003). Ecological systems are “self regulating communities of organisms interacting with one another and with their environment” (Berkes et al., 2003, p. 3). Resilience, the amount of change the system can undergo and retain the same controls on function and structure, is an emergent property of a system, and cannot be predicted or understood by looking at the parts (Berkes et al., 2003; Berkes & Folke, 1998; Gunderson et al., 1998). Gunderson and Holling (2002) argued that the best alternatives for sustainability involve the capability for self-organization and capacity for learning and adaptation.
Various aspects of complex systems theory and analyses are relevant to the study of conservation and people-protected area interactions. Generally speaking, complex systems theory recognizes the need to shift the focus from the part to the whole (Jope & Dunstan, 1996); the importance of the linkages between natural and cultural systems (Minteer & Manning, 2003); and that nature is a cultural construction so our conservation emphasis should be on cultural resources as much as natural resources (Berkes et al., 2003).

Operationalizing the concept of resilience within a protected area-region context means maintaining diversity and variability in policies and programs, being flexible, learning how to maintain and enhance adaptability, and understanding when and where it is possible to intervene in management (Berkes et al., 2003). Jope & Dunstan (1996, p. 53) argued that “it is imperative that an ecosystem-based approach incorporates concepts of systems theory, including an awareness of emergent properties and the implications of self-organization, disturbance and boundaries.” Furthermore, a better understanding of system dynamics can play a central role in designing more relevant and practical conservation strategies (Armitage, 2002).

Several authors have used complex systems thinking to develop methodologies that could be used to examine issues related to protected areas and their regions. For example, Slocombe and Gryzbowski (Grzybowski & Slocombe, 1988; Slocombe, 1989, 1990, 1995) developed an approach for examining non-equilibrium systems and used it to examine several protected area regions in Canada. Dempster et al. (1998, p. 1) described "a methodology for recognizing, conceptualizing, and attempting to understand the complex systems relevant to the planning and management of parks and protected areas.”
Aside from the development of specific methodologies, complex systems thinking reminds protected area managers that protected areas are integrated within complex, dynamic, and ever-changing bio-physical and socio-economic systems. This context must be taken into consideration when making planning and management decisions.

2.1.3 Sustainability

The concept of sustainability, though somewhat elusive, has emerged in recent years as a societal ideal worth pursuing (Francis, 2004a), particularly within the context of economic development and natural resource management (McCormick, 1999). Sustainability has been defined by some authors as a process as opposed to a final state (Francis, 2004a; Holling et al., 1998) while other authors argued that process is only important if the “end product” is sustainability (Goodland, 1995; Rees, 1995). Francis (2004b, p. 1) suggested that sustainability "implies the existence of the appropriate knowledge and governance capacity to maintain economic vitality with social inclusiveness in opportunities and benefits, provide for ecological sustainability and the protection of biodiversity to guide the use of resources and promote social equity within and across groups and generations.” Gardner (1989) identified eight main principles for sustainable development that are both process and goal-oriented including the satisfaction of human needs; the maintenance of ecological integrity; the achievement of equity and social justice; and a process that is goal-seeking, system-oriented, adaptive, and interactive. McCormick (1999) argued that managing for sustainability means that there should be no net reduction in the sum of environmental capital, human resource capital, or human-made capital available to future generations. Finally, Francis (1993) identified basic value principles, key characteristics, and principles for sustainability (Table 1).
Sustainability means that protected area management and planning should be ecologically sound, socially and politically feasible, and morally just (Brechin et al., 2002)². Protected areas are seen as a social space (Ghimire & Pimbert, 1997) and it is acknowledged that conservation has profound political implications, affecting people in important and multiple ways (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1997).

**Table 1: Basic value principles, key characteristics, and principles for sustainability**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic Value Principles</th>
<th>Key Characteristics of Sustainability</th>
<th>Principles for Sustainability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• The continued existence of the natural world is inherently good.</td>
<td>• Sustainability is a normative ethical principle.</td>
<td>• Protection of life support systems of air, water and soil; the protection and enhancement of biotic diversity; and, the protection and enhancement of the productivity of renewable resources.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The natural world and its component life forms and the ability of the natural world to regenerate itself through its own natural evolutions have intrinsic value.</td>
<td>• Both environmental/ecological and social/political sustainability are required for a sustainable society.</td>
<td>• Keeping the scale of human activities and their accumulative effects to within the carrying capacity of the planetary biosphere; using methods to minimize energy and material use per unit of economic activity and to reduce noxious emissions; and, making arrangements to bring environmental concerns more directly and extensively into decisions in all sectors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Cultural sustainability depends upon the ability of a society to claim the loyalty of its adherents through the propagation of a set of values that are acceptable to the populace and through the provision of socio-political institutions that make realizations of these values possible.</td>
<td>• Sustainability is a process, not a state.</td>
<td>• Socio-political and economic equity among people; provisions to protect all people from extreme want and from vulnerability to economic coercion; assurance of an open and accessible political process; and, maintenance of the basic freedoms and justice associated with democratic societies.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Modified from Francis (1993)*

Minteer and Manning (2003) described twelve principles for “reconstructing conservation” which show how the ideal of sustainability is being applied to conservation and protected areas (Table 2). Several of these principles are reflected in the new “paradigm” for protected area planning and management, examined in section 2.2.4.

² This view is not shared by all. There has been a debate in the literature between those advocating for a “reconstructed conservation” (Table 2) and those advocating for what some have labelled a “protection paradigm” based on excluding humans from protected areas and increasing enforcement measures (L. Brandon et al., 1998; Kramer et al., 1997).
Table 2: 12 principles for reconstructing conservation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Principle</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>A reconstructed conservation will adopt an integrated understanding of nature and culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>A reconstructed conservation will be concerned with working and cultural landscapes as well as more “pristine” environments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>A reconstructed conservation will rely on a wider and more contextual reading of the conservation tradition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>A reconstructed conservation will require long-range landscape stewardship and restoration efforts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>A reconstructed conservation will have “land health” as one of its primary socio-ecological goals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>A reconstructed conservation will be adaptive and open to multiple practices and objectives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>A reconstructed conservation will embrace value pluralism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>A reconstructed conservation will promote community-based conservation strategies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>A reconstructed conservation will rely on an engaged citizenry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>A reconstructed conservation will engage questions of social justice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>A reconstructed conservation will be politically inclusive and partnership driven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>A reconstructed conservation will embrace its democratic traditions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Minteer and Manning (2003)

2.1.4 Governance

Like ecosystem-based management, the concept of governance has given rise to a vast and varied literature (e.g., Abrams et al., 2003; Brunner et al., 2005; Francis, 2003; J. Graham et al., 2003; Pollock, 2004; Stoker, 1998). The term “governance” is used in a variety of ways and has a variety of meanings but as a general concept, governance means "the interactions among institutions, processes and traditions that determine how power is exercised, how decisions are taken on issues of public and often private concern, and how citizens or other stakeholders have their say" (Alcorn et al., 2003, p. 2). Fundamentally, it is about power, relationships, and accountability (J. Graham et al., 2003). The concept of governance recognizes that no single actor, public or private, has all the knowledge or information required to solve complex, dynamic, and diversified problems in any one domain (Stoker, 1998).

The concept of governance has evolved in recent years. Most definitions restrict the term “governance” to alliances of organizations that collaborate to achieve mutually agreed upon purposes within a domain (Francis, 2003; Stoker, 1998). The essence of governance is its focus on governing mechanisms which do not rely on the authority and sanctions of government (Francis, 2003). Governance is concerned with how actors such as civil society
organizations play a role in making decisions on matters of public concern and how different levels of government interact (Brechin et al., 2002; Painter, 2001).

Within this literature, Francis (2003) developed a framework to help discern the current status of governance for conservation in particular geographic areas of interest. Essentially, the framework involves identifying the region’s institutions or rule systems, organization, actors (a generic social terms which refers to different organizations and sometimes the key influential people within them), and domain. According to Francis (2003), a domain is a social space as perceived and defined by the actors who share it. It can be a geographic area, a social or economic sector, or certain kinds of problems and issues.

One sub-field of governance addresses “good governance” or “sound governance” which can be regarded as the outcome or goal of a governance arrangement. The United Nations Development Program (1997) developed eight principles of sound governance (Table 3).

Table 3: United Nations principles of sound governance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consensus orientation</th>
<th>Different interests are mediated to reach a broad consensus on what is in the best interest of the group and, where possible, on policies and procedures.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strategic vision</td>
<td>Leaders and the public have a broad and long-term perspective on good governance and human development, along with a sense of what is needed for such development.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsiveness</td>
<td>Institutions and processes try to serve all stakeholders.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effectiveness and efficiency</td>
<td>Processes and institutions produce results that meet needs while making the best use of resources.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accountability</td>
<td>There is accountability by decision-makers whether in government, in the private sector, or in civil society organizations, to the public as well as to institutional stakeholders.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transparency</td>
<td>There is free flow of information and processes. Institutions and information are directly accessible to those concerned with them and enough information is provided to understand and monitor them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equity</td>
<td>All men and women have opportunities to improve or maintain their well being.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rule of law</td>
<td>Any legal framework should be fair and enforced impartially.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The concept of sound governance for protected areas rose to prominence at the Durban Congress in 2003 (Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2004) and some protected area organizations are
already implementing most, if not all, of the principles of sound governance that are within their competencies (Pagnan, 2003). Governance stresses the importance of examining the make-up or form of protected area institutions (Barborak, 1995; J. McNeely, 1999). However, some of the principles may not always mesh with the objectives for which a protected area was established in the first place. Recognizing this, J. Graham et al. (2003) developed governance principles for protected areas in the 21st century (Table 4).

Table 4: Governance principles for protected areas in the 21st century

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Legitimacy and Voice:</th>
<th>Performance:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Existence of a supportive democratic and human rights context</td>
<td>Cost effectiveness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appropriate degree of decentralization in decision-making for protected areas</td>
<td>Capacity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaborative management in decision-making for protected area</td>
<td>Co-ordination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizen participation occurring at all levels of decision-making</td>
<td>Performance information to the public</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existence of civil society groups and an independent media</td>
<td>Responsiveness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High levels of trust</td>
<td>Monitoring and evaluation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adaptive management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Risk management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Direction:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consistency with international direction relevant to protected areas (as appropriate)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existence of legislative direction (formal or traditional law)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For national protected area systems, existence of system-wide plans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existence of management plans for individual protected areas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstration of effective leadership</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Accountability:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coherence and breadth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role of political leaders</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public institutions of accountability</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil society and the media</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transparency</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fairness:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existence of a supportive judicial context</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fair, impartial and effective enforcement of any protected area rules</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairness in the process for establishing new protected areas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairness in the management of protected areas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: J. Graham et al. (2003)

The concept of governance has also been applied to devise categories for the governance types of protected areas (Borrini-Feyerabend, 2004; J. Graham et al., 2003). These governance types are complementary to the World Conservation Union’s (IUCN) system of protected area categories which is based on the goal of protected area management (IUCN, 1994). The categories range from government management to traditional community
management (Table 5). For example, an IUCN Category I protected area, a strict nature reserve, could have any governance type, although in most cases they are government-managed.

Table 5: Governance types of protected areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Governance Type</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government management</td>
<td>National or provincial/state agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Local/municipal government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Delegated management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multi-stakeholder management</td>
<td>Collaborative management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Joint management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private management</td>
<td>Individuals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not-for-profit organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>For-profit organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional community management</td>
<td>Indigenous peoples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Traditional communities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Abrams et al. (2003)

Questions of governance are at the core of the protected area management process (Brechin et al., 2002) and the multiple facets of governance are very useful in terms of addressing many protected area-surroundings challenges. Increasingly, protected area managers have found that problems at the operational level are closely linked with broader governance issues (Abrams et al., 2003). Focusing on governance means examining who has influence, who makes the final decision, and how decision-makers are held accountable (Alcorn et al., 2003).

Very few systematic studies of the governance of protected areas have been done. However, in one global survey to assess changes in governance of protected area systems between 1992 and 2002, almost 90% of respondents felt that protected area governance had improved over the last decade (Dearden et al., 2005). Respondents felt that secure funding, capacity building, and increased community involvement were the main governance needs for the future (Dearden et al., 2005).
Modifying or changing a protected area’s governance type might address certain issues such as the trust of local people. For example, collaborative or joint management has been used with some success in Canada’s north (Berkes, 1997; Bowman et al., 2003). Finally, the principles of sound governance provide protected area managers with an ideal worth pursuing, much like sustainability.

However, some of the principles of sound governance may not be realistic at the scale of the individual protected area. For example, it would be difficult, if not impossible, for a protected area agency to make significant headway on certain principles such as the existence of a supportive democratic and human rights context or the existence of a supportive judicial context. Furthermore, there is a need for more research which links good governance practices with the achievement of protected area management objectives, such as ecological integrity.

2.1.5 Lessons from Theoretical Underpinning

The literature on political ecology, complex systems, sustainability, and governance all provide lessons that are drawn upon to develop a conceptual framework for the study of regional integration in Chapter 3 (Table 6).
### Table 6: Lessons from theoretical underpinnings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Body of Knowledge</th>
<th>Lesson</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Political Ecology** | • Social and political processes influence environmental change.  
• Considering how and where environmental decisions are taken is crucial in order to understand their outcomes.  
• Paying attention to the relationships among “actors” helps understand social and environmental outcomes.  
• Understanding the political, cultural, and historical context within which a protected area is embedded is important.  
• A regional scale of analysis can reveal local-scale social dynamics while situating these dynamics within broader scales of regional (and global) processes. |
| **Complex Systems** | • Protected areas are integrated within complex, dynamic, and ever-changing biophysical and socio-economic systems.  
• Case studies and comparisons are appropriate methods for examining complex systems.  
• Focusing on the whole as opposed to a part of a system is more effective.  
• There are inextricable links between natural and cultural systems.  
• The best alternatives for sustainability involve the capability for self-organization and the capacity for learning and adaptation.  
• A better understanding of system dynamics can play a central role in designing more relevant and practical conservation strategies. |
| **Sustainability** | • The sustainability of protected areas (i.e., their survival) is important to consider.  
• There are inextricable links between natural and cultural systems.  
• Protected areas are a social space.  
• Conservation has profound political implications, affecting people in important and multiple ways. |
| **Governance** | • No single actor, public or private, has all the knowledge or information required to solve complex, dynamic, and diversified problems in any one domain.  
• A “domain” is a perceived space; not a physically denoted region. It can be a geographic area, a social or economic sector, or certain kinds of problems and issues.  
• “Actors” is a generic social term which refers to different organizations and sometimes the key influential people within them.  
• Understanding how actors play a role in taking decisions on matters of public concern and how different levels of government interact is important.  
• Trust is of principle importance in governance.  
• Protected area-region challenges can often be traced to broader governance issue |

### 2.2 Management Approaches

This section gives an overview of three “people-oriented” (Brechin et al., 2002) approaches to resource management: integrated natural resource management, ecosystem-based management, and community-based natural resource management. A new and growing “paradigm” of protected area management is also reviewed, and, within this section, the applied approaches of UNESCO biosphere reserves and conservation collaboration and
partnerships are examined. The final section examines Parks Canada’s use of the term “regional integration” and the evolution of Parks Canada policies related to regional integration.

2.2.1 Integrated Natural Resource Management

Ecosystems and societies that produce and use resources are inherently complex, interrelated, interdependent, and uncertain (Cairns, 1991; Slocombe & Hanna, 2007). Integrated natural resource management (INRM) is an approach to planning and management that places resource use problems and opportunities in a systemic or holistic framework with the aim of finding integrative solutions (Margerum, 1997). INRM stresses the integration of diverse values and perspectives, conflicting objectives, today’s and tomorrow’s needs, discipline, scales, and competing programs (Lal et al., 2001; Lang, 1986; Margerum & Born, 1995), conflict resolution (Hooper et al., 1999), and the avoidance of fragmented, incremental decision-making (Lal et al., 2001; Sayer & Campbell, 2001). Integrated approaches seek to rectify fragmented interests, jurisdictions, ownership, management responsibility, social and ecological systems, and information and knowledge (Slocombe & Hanna, 2007). Also appearing under the names of integrated management, integrated environmental management, and integrated resource management, INRM has evolved from concepts in integrated coastal management (e.g., Hooper, 1997) and integrated river basin management (e.g., Bellamy et al., 1999; Downs et al., 1991).

The focus of INRM has tended not to be on the natural resource itself, but the interactions of humans with each other and the decisions they make about managing resources (Lal et al., 2001). INRM initiatives generally involve a coordinated control, direction, or influence of human activities in a defined region with agreed-upon objectives such as
conserving or rehabilitating the environment, ensuring biodiversity, or minimizing land
degradation (Born & Sonzogni, 1995; Hooper, 1997). Integrated approaches are distinguished
from more comprehensive approaches to natural resource management by concentrating on
key components and linkages within the system (B. Mitchell, 2002).

More recent literature on INRM emphasizes multiple scales of analysis and adaptive
management (Bellamy et al., 1999) as well as integration as the primary focus of management
(Slocombe & Hanna, 2007). Slocombe and Hanna (2007, p. 1) argued that "although
integration has often been discussed as a component of resource and environmental
management, it has rarely been addressed systematically and is hardly ever the primary focus
of management." They argued that the concept of integration is difficult to define and that it
can be different things within different broad approaches and that in practice integration in
resource and environmental management is often lacking, with economic benefit still usually
the focus. They identified seven dimensions of integration: disciplines, information,
spatial/ecological units, governments, agencies, interests/sectors, and perceptions, attitudes,
and values.

Although a concise definition of integration is impossible because of its multiple
meanings and conceptualizations, Slocombe and Hanna narrowed down the concept with the
following (2007, p. 13):

In an ideal sense, integrated resource and environmental management draws on
scientific and other forms of knowledge, information and other forms of technology,
and collaborative and other processes to foster better resource and environmental
management through improved integration of some or all of, but not limited to, the
following dimensions: disciplines, information, spatial/ecological units, governments,
agencies, interests/sectors, and perceptions, attitudes, and values.
The real value of INRM for addressing protected area-surroundings challenges and implementing regional integration activities lies in its general principles, rather than as a model for a protected area agency to implement or be a part of in a specific region. Engaging in coordination, conflict resolution, and cooperation are all activities that would improve many protected area-surroundings challenges.

2.2.2 Ecosystem Approach/Ecosystem-Based Management

Ecosystem-based management is a holistic approach to planning and management, providing a greater understanding of the human-nature relationship (Grumbine, 1997; Lackey, 1998). It can be seen as one strategy for achieving integration in resource and environmental management. It also reflects the philosophy of sustainability (McCormick, 1999; Slocombe, 1993).

Ecosystem-based management developed as the result of the progression of several resource and environmental management frameworks such as multiple-use management, watershed management, and comprehensive land-use planning (Slocombe & Dearden, 2002). According to Grumbine (1994, p. 32), “ecosystem management integrates scientific knowledge of ecological relationships within complex socio-political and values framework toward the general goal of protecting native ecosystem integrity over the long-term.” Yaffée (1999) argued that there is a consensus about the broad principles of ecosystem-based management: systems thinking (see 2.1.2), a deeper understanding of the complexity and dynamism of ecological and social systems, more extensive consideration of different spatial and temporal

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3 Although a distinction between ecosystem-based management and ecosystem management has been made in the past (Slocombe, 1998b), many writers have blurred the boundaries of both terms in recent years (e.g., Slocombe, 2004).

4 An ecosystem is said to exhibit integrity, if, when subjected to disturbance, it has an organizing, self-correcting capability to recover toward a state that is normal for that system (Kay, 1991).
scales, ecologically derived boundaries, adaptive management, and collaborative decision-making.

Grumbine’s (1994; 1997) ecologically-focused conceptualization of ecosystem-based management is contrasted in the literature by researchers who stress more social and political aspects. Cordell and Bergstrom (1999) argued that the scientists and protected area managers who exclude themselves in their view of the ecosystem are themselves very much integrated into the function, structure, and evolution of those systems. Slocombe (1998b, p. 31) also placed emphasis on social systems and defined ecosystem-based management as “the process of managing and understanding the interaction of the biophysical and socio-economic environments within a self-similar, self-maintaining regional or larger system.” Slocombe and Dearden (2002) argued that more attention should be devoted to the social aspects of ecosystem-based management, such as benefits to humans, inter- and intra-organizational issues, and developing real collaboration with stakeholder groups. Other authors have emphasized the politics of ecosystem management (Cortner & Moote, 1999) and the importance of examining institutional arrangements (Yaffee, 1996). In effect, ecosystem-based management is “as much a problem of ‘governance’ involving multiple organizations located at different levels of government as it is a question of science and designing effective policies for managing natural resources” (Imperial, 1999a, p. 461).

The term “ecosystem approach” became popular in the 1990’s after an earlier surge of interest in the 1970’s. This is a regional-scale perspective that views protected areas or resources within the context of their larger surroundings and “raises questions about how land use by multiple owners or managers of some greater ecosystem might be better directed toward conservation purposes” (Francis, 2003, p. 226). So called “ecosystem initiatives”, which apply
an ecosystem approach, may be perceived as less threatening than an initiative that is labelled as ecosystem-based management (Danby, 2002). Several characteristics of ecosystem approaches have been identified (UNESCO, 2000, p. 4):

- describing parts, systems, and environments and their interactions
- holistic, comprehensive, interdisciplinary description and analysis
- including people and their activities in the ecosystem
- describing system dynamics
- defining the ecosystem naturally
- looking at different levels/scales of system structure, process, and function
- recognizing goals and taking an active, management orientation
- including actor and stakeholder relationships and interactions, as well as institutional factors in analysis
- using an anticipatory, flexible research and planning process
- entailing an implicit or explicit ethic of quality, well-being, and integrity
- recognizing systemic limits to action - defining and seeking sustainability

The idea of using ecosystem-based management or an ecosystem approach in the management of protected areas first surfaced in the literature with Agee and Johnson’s (1988) theoretical framework for the management of protected areas. The authors suggested that using ecologically-defined boundaries, defining clearly stated management goals, and promoting inter-agency cooperation were essential elements of protected area management. Protected area planning and management is now a major area of application of ecosystem approaches and ecosystem-based management. Two core themes in this respect are 1) the development of natural science information to support the management of the protected area in the context of interactions with surrounding areas, and 2) the development of processes, institutions, and social science for the same purpose (Slocombe, 2004).

Ecosystem-based management is now recognized as a central approach in protected area planning and management (Agee, 1996; Danby & Slocombe, 2002). In Canada, the notion was clearly entrenched in Parks Canada policy following the explicit inclusion of ecological
integrity in the revised Canada National Parks Act. The literature on ecosystem-based management can provide protected area managers with important lessons with respect to inter-agency cooperation (Danby, 2002; Danby & Slocombe, 2002; Grumbine, 1991), stakeholder coordination (Margerum & Born, 2000), defining goals (Slocombe, 1998a), political and institutional considerations (Cortner & Moote, 1999; Cortner et al., 1998; Imperial, 1999b, 1999b; Ostermeier, 1999), and the interaction of human and ecological systems (Berkes et al., 2003; Jope & Dunstan, 1996; Kay & Schneider, 1994). However, objective analyses of the types of inter-agency partnerships and collaborative relationships necessary for successful implementation of ecosystem-based management are currently limited (Danby & Slocombe, 2002).

Ecosystem-based management alone is not a panacea for addressing protected area-region challenges. Several obstacles to implementing ecosystem-based management have been identified in the literature including conceptual obstacles like the way in which ecosystem is defined (Slocombe, 1993); politics and bureaucracy (Slocombe, 1998b); competition within and between agencies and governments (Slocombe, 1998b); and the poor use of existing information (Burroughs & Clark, 1995; Slocombe, 1998b). There is no simple definition of what ecosystem-based management is or what ecosystem policy should consist of (Clark et al., 1991) and this may cause confusion within a protected area management agency. Some protected area managers or staff may view ecosystem-based management as the latest government jargon. Also, the public’s perception of ecosystem-based management may not be favourable. As Burroughs and Clark (1995, p. 655) explained, "To some constituencies, ecosystem management is improved natural resource management, conservation of biodiversity, and improved government coordination. To other people, it means a threat to
traditional livelihoods, a takeover by big governments, and a loss of rights and local control.” Furthermore, Wright et al. (2003) argued that the link between discussion in the literature and practice on the ground is not yet strong and that, at present, ecosystem-based management is an “ecological buzzword” among resource managers and agencies rather than an actual practice.

2.2.3 Community-Based Natural Resource Management

Community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) is in part a reaction to the failures of the fortress (i.e., exclusionary) model of conservation and to the political challenges of on-going conflicts with local people around the world (Botkin, 1990). CBNRM champions the role of local communities in bringing about decentralization, meaningful participation, and conservation (Agrawal & Gibson, 1999). The main tenet of all of these approaches is that if conservation and development could be simultaneously achieved, then the interests of both could be served simultaneously. Various terms describe community-based approaches to conservation, including community-based conservation (Agrawal & Gibson, 2001; Berkes, 2004; Mehta & Heinen, 2001), community forestry (Mehta & Heinen, 2001), indigenous resource management (Horowitz, 1998), and integrated conservation and development (Western & Wright, 1994).

CBNRM has some basic characteristics, including (Kellert et al., 2000):

- A commitment to involve community members and local institutions in the management and conservation of natural resources;
- An interest in devolving power and authority from central and/or state government to more local and often indigenous institutions and peoples;
- A desire to link and reconcile the objectives of socioeconomic development and environmental conservation and protection;
- A tendency to defend and legitimize local and/or indigenous resource and property rights; and,
- A belief in the desirability of including traditional values and ecological knowledge in modern resource management.
According to Agrawal and Gibson (1999, p. 633), "the vision of small, integrated communities using locally-evolved norms and rules to manage resources sustainably and equitably is powerful." However, the results of CBNRM have been mixed, with many projects falling well short of their expectations (Kellert et al., 2000; McShane & Wells, 2004; Murphree, 2002; Worah, 2002). This has led to a debate about the merits of CBNRM with two positions emerging in the literature. Some feel that the failure of CBNRM is due to its improper implementation, especially with regard to the devolution of authority and responsibility (e.g., Murphree, 2002). Others feel that conservation and development objectives should be de-linked because the mixed objectives do not serve either objective well (e.g., Kramer et al., 1997).

Recently, the focus of the literature on CBNRM has shifted away from the debate about the merits of CBNRM toward a view of communities as complex, human-ecological systems (Berkes, 2004). Several authors have argued that it is more useful to think of communities in terms of multiple actors with multiple interests, the processes through which these actors interrelate, and the institutional arrangements that structure their interactions (Agrawal & Gibson, 1999, 2001; Berkes, 2004). In other words, it is important to examine communities in terms of their governance (see 2.1.4).

The CBNRM literature provides valuable lessons learned on how to involve communities in protected area management (e.g., Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996) and reminds protected area managers that regional integration activities must not be limited to intergovernmental cooperation and that the pluralist, participatory approaches associated with CBNRM must also be utilized (Danby & Slocombe, 2005). Perhaps the most important lesson

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5 Many of the examples of “failed” CBNRM initiatives have been Integrated Conservation Development Projects.
coming from CBNRM is that communities are complex, with multiple actors and multiple interests, and that protected area planning and management must recognize this complexity.

2.2.4 New “Paradigm” of Protected Area Management

Since the first World Parks Conference in Seattle, Washington in 1962, there has been a shift in thinking about protected areas and how they should be planned and managed (Philips, 2003a, 2003b). Sometime in the early-to-mid-1980’s national park and protected area planning entered a different phase or “paradigm” (Philips, 2003b). This new “paradigm” has been influenced by complex systems analysis, political ecology, sustainability, other fields such as conservation biology (Meffe & Carroll, 1997; Primack, 1993) and landscape ecology (Gutzwiller, 2002; Wiens & Moss, 2005), as well as the numerous challenges and opportunities that exist between protected areas and their regions.

The new “paradigm” moves away from the classic model of protected areas as areas that are set aside for protection and enjoyment and managed as “islands” (Table 7). Table 8 outlines the main elements of the new “paradigm” for protected area planning and management. It is a broader view of protected areas in three senses: 1) it includes a wider range of actors among those who initiate and manage protected areas, 2) protected areas are seen as part of a network including local as well as larger regions, and 3) there is a broader understanding of what encompasses a protected area (Dudley et al., 1999a). There is greater emphasis on bottom-up approaches and a changing role for protected area managers, with the emphasis shifting from direction to facilitation (Dudley et al., 1999b; Nelson & Sportza, 2001).

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6 According to Kuhn (1970), a philosophy becomes a paradigm when it is widely accepted and rarely challenged. Using this definition, it is debatable if the new paradigm of protected area management is in fact a paradigm. The use of quotation marks indicates that although many authors use the word “paradigm”, the concept is still being challenged and debated.
Table 7: A classic model of protected areas (approximately 1880’s to 1980’s)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objectives</th>
<th>Local people</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• “Set aside” for conservation, in the sense that the land (or water) is seen as taken out of productive use</td>
<td>• Planned and managed against the impact of people (except for visitors), and especially to exclude local people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Established mainly for scenic protection and spectacular wildlife, with a major emphasis on how things look rather than how natural systems function</td>
<td>• Managed with little regard for the local community, who are rarely consulted on management intentions and might not even be informed of them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Managed mainly for visitors and tourists, whose interests normally prevail over those of local people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Placing a high value on wilderness—that is, on areas believed to be free of human influence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• About protection of existing natural and landscape assets—not about the restoration of lost values</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Governance</th>
<th>Wider context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Run by central government, or at least set up at instigation only of central government</td>
<td>• Developed separately—that is, planned one by one, in an <em>ad hoc</em> manner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Managed as “islands”—that is, managed without regard to surrounding areas</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Management skills</th>
<th>Finance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Managed by natural scientists or natural resource experts</td>
<td>• Paid for by the taxpayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Expert-led</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Philips (2003b)
Table 8: The main elements of the new “paradigm” for protected area planning and management

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objectives</th>
<th>Local people</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Run with social and economic objectives as well as conservation and</td>
<td>• Run, for, and in some cases by local people—that is, local people are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>recreation ones</td>
<td>no longer seen as passive recipients of protected areas policy but as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Often set up for scientific, economic, and cultural reasons—the</td>
<td>active partners, even initiators and leaders in some cases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rationale for establishing protected areas therefore becoming much</td>
<td>• Managed to help meet the needs of local people, who are increasingly seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more sophisticated</td>
<td>as essential beneficiaries of protected area policy, economically, and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Managed to help meet the needs of local people, who are increasingly</td>
<td>culturally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seen as essential beneficiaries of protected area policy, economically,</td>
<td>• Recognizes that so-called wilderness areas are often culturally important</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and culturally</td>
<td>places</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Recognizes that so-called wilderness areas are often culturally</td>
<td>• About restoration and rehabilitation as well as protection, so that lost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>important places</td>
<td>or eroded values can be recovered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• About restoration and rehabilitation as well as protection, so that</td>
<td>• Governance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lost or eroded values can be recovered</td>
<td>• Run by many partners, thus different tiers of government, local</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Managed adaptively in a long-term perspective, with management being</td>
<td>communities, indigenous groups, the private sector, NGOs, and others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a learning process</td>
<td>are all engaged in protected areas management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Selection, planning, and management viewed as essentially a political</td>
<td>• Management technique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exercise, requiring sensitivity, consultations, and astute judgment</td>
<td>• Managed by people with a range of skills, especially people-related</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Finance</td>
<td>skills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Paid for through a variety of means to supplement—or replace—government</td>
<td>• Valuing and drawing on the knowledge of local people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subsidy</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

Source: Philips (2003b)

In Canada, some elements of the new “paradigm” were emphasized in the Panel on the Ecological Integrity of Canada’s National Parks’ recommendations to Parks Canada (Parks Canada, 2000b). For example, in the chapter entitled “From Islands to Networks” the Panel recommended creating formal agreements and partnerships between Parks Canada and other government agencies within park regions; improving regional cooperation with Aboriginal peoples; and improving funding to pre-existing regional co-operation programs such as biosphere reserves and model forests.
One significant element of the new “paradigm” of protected areas management, particularly in the case of government-managed protected areas, is gaining the support of local people. The garnering of trust among local residents is related to the level of informal or social interactions with local residents (Stern, 2004). For example, Beresford and Phillips (2000, p. 17) contended that “without winning the ‘hearts and minds’ of the people directly affected, conservation is at best a means of buying time.” Fortwangler and Stern (2004), in a study of park-region interactions of the United States Virgins Islands National Park, interviewed local residents about their perceptions of the national park staff. Participants reported that the park management made very little effort to fit in with island culture and often exhibited “blatant disrespect for local people” (p. 152). Respondents wanted the park staff to change its style of community, and “come out and mingle” (Fortwangler & Stern, 2004, p. 157). Brockington (2003) described the principle of local support, which is the belief that local support is necessary for the survival of protected areas. Mehta and Heinen (2001) argued that local peoples’ support for protected areas depends mainly on their perceptions of costs and benefits of living in or around such areas against the background of socioeconomic and demographic considerations. Adrian Phillips, past Chair of the World Commission on Protected Areas, when asked to name one key lesson to be gleaned out of interactions between protected areas and their neighbours found the answer “very simple”, it was “the iron rule that no protected area can succeed for long in the teeth of local opposition” (Borrini-Feyerabend, 2002, p. 11). This aspect of the park-region relationship is vital, yet given little attention.

Support for the new “paradigm” of protected areas management has not been unanimous. Critics have argued that the central purpose of protected areas is being marginalized within, and compromised by, a wider agenda (Locke & Dearden, 2005) and that
protected areas cannot be expected to accommodate all interests and should focus on biodiversity (K. Brandon, 1997; van Schaik & Kramer, 1997). Van Schaik and Kramer (1997) proposed basic principles for designing solutions including active law enforcement, that the beneficiaries of protected areas pay for these benefits, and devolution being married with strong state involvement.

**Collaboration and Partnerships**

Within the context of traditional governance arrangements for protected areas (i.e., government managed protected areas), the literature on collaboration and partnerships can provide guidance for working within the new “paradigm” of protected areas management and lessons that can be applied in the development of a conceptual framework for the regional integration of protected areas.

Partnerships are defined as voluntary collaborations, formed by two or more parties, that enable them to work together to achieve shared objectives (Michaels et al., 1999). Case studies of various forms of conservation partnerships are widespread in the literature and they are emphasized in the ecosystem-based management, INRM, governance, and CBNRM literature. They have been called conservation alliances (Margoluis et al., 2000; Sanderson, 2002), collaborative conservation (Cestero, 1999; N. Mitchell et al., 2002; Ostermeier, 1999), conservation partnerships (J. A. McNeely, 1995; N. Mitchell et al., 2002; Propst & Rosan, 1997; Tuxill & Mitchell, 2001), and collaboration partnerships (Bureau of Land Management & Sonoran Institute, 2000). Landry (2007) summarized the benefits of using a collaborative process in protected area management (Table 9).
A major contribution of this literature is the identification of a number of attributes for conservation partnership success. These attributes include a champion or catalyst individual or organization (Endicott, 1993; Tuxill & Mitchell, 2001; Yaffee et al., 1996); a shared vision and common concern among participants (Tuxill & Mitchell, 2001; Wondolleck & Yaffee, 2000; Yaffee et al., 1996); clear and well defined goals (Yaffee et al., 1996); the inclusion of diverse participation (Bureau of Land Management & Sonoran Institute, 2000); trust, good communication, and information-sharing among participants (Ostermeier, 1999; Propst & Rosan, 1997; Tuxill & Mitchell, 2001); and compatibility of individual participants’ personalities (Endicott, 1993).

**Table 9: Benefits of collaborative processes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Benefits of Collaborative Processes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>They provide a diversity of perspectives.</td>
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<td>They reduce conflict.</td>
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<td>Mutual education can occur.</td>
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<td>A broad analysis of problems improves quality of solutions.</td>
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<td>They ensure each stakeholder’s interests are considered in any agreement.</td>
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<tr>
<td>They combine resources for mutual benefit.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Relations between stakeholders improve.</td>
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<tr>
<td>There is a potential to discover novel, innovative solutions.</td>
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<tr>
<td>They create a perspective of shared interest.</td>
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<tr>
<td>They provide mechanism for effective decision-making.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>They build understanding and support for decisions.</td>
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<tr>
<td>They can yield wiser and more enduring decisions.</td>
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<tr>
<td>They increase the likelihood of the successful implementation of a plan.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They develop the capacity of agencies and communities to deal with the challenges of the future.</td>
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The development of conservation partnerships between a protected area agency and local actors can address numerous protected area-surroundings challenges. For example, the development of an alliance between a protected area management agency and local actors may fend off resource exploitation from non-local interests (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996).
Partnerships that share management responsibility may increase the effectiveness of protected areas management as a consequence of harnessing local actors’ knowledge and skills (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996; Bureau of Land Management & Sonoran Institute, 2000; Wondolleck & Yaffee, 2000). Partnerships have also been shown to increase trust between protected areas management agencies and their partners because of a shared “ownership” of the conservation process and a greater commitment by partners toward implementing decisions taken (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996; Bureau of Land Management & Sonoran Institute, 2000).

However, the development of conservation partnerships is not always easy. A protected area agency may face a number of challenges in trying to develop conservation partnerships with relevant actors within a protected area region, including:

- a lack of time, financial resources, or human resources (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996; Wondolleck & Yaffee, 2000);
- potential opposition by agencies or individuals unwilling to share authority with other local actors (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996);
- inflexible policies and procedures (Wondolleck & Yaffee, 2000);
- conflicting goals or missions between the protected area agency and partners (Wondolleck & Yaffee, 2000);
- an unfamiliarity with the process of developing partnerships or a lack of process skills (Wondolleck & Yaffee, 2000); and,
- potential opposition by some protected area agency staff members due to doubt about the value of spending time working outside of the boundary of the protected area rather than caring for “the resource” (Propst & Rosan, 1997).

Biosphere reserves

Biosphere reserves have been highlighted as examples of an ecosystem approach (Bridgewater, 2001; Dearden, 2004; Gilbert, 1988; Slocombe, 1993, 2004; UNESCO, 2000), sustainable development (Amos, 1994), “honest brokers” for strengthening conservation partnerships (von Droste, 1995), integrative governance mechanisms (J. Graham et al., 2003), experiments in sustainability (Whitelaw et al., 2004), and “coordinating frameworks”
The biosphere reserve model combines many of the approaches examined above including the integration of biodiversity conservation with the protection of cultural values (ecosystem-based management and INRM), the co-ordination and integration of research and management (ecosystem-based management and INRM), the development of partnership approaches to protected areas management, and a strong role for local communities (CBNRM) (Francis, 2004b; Pollock, 2004; Whitelaw & Hamilton, 2004). Therefore, it is valuable to provide an overview of biosphere reserves as they offer on-the-ground lessons directly applicable to the conceptual framework for the regional integration of protected areas.

Biosphere reserves emerged in the 1970’s as part of the implementation of UNESCO’s Man and the Biosphere Programme, which was, at the time, primarily a program of research and training (IUCN, 1979). The primary functions of early biosphere reserves were the in-situ long-term conservation of plant and animal genetic resources, together with research on ecosystem management and conservation, monitoring, training of specialists, and environmental education (Batisse, 1982; Franklin, 1977; IUCN, 1979; Maldague, 1984).

The concept and functions of biosphere reserves have evolved significantly since their early days and the emphasis now is on humans as an integral and fundamental part of the biosphere; integrated approaches to the study, assessment, and management of large-scale ecological systems subject to human impact; and the development of a continuum of scientific and education activities to underpin sustainable resource management (UNESCO, 1996, 2002a). Biosphere Reserves have three major functions: 1) the conservation of biodiversity, 2) sustainable development, and 3) support for logistics (which is labelled “capacity building” in Canada) (Batisse, 1993). Each biosphere reserve contains a “core area” that is a designated protected area (often a national park); a “buffer zone” around the core area; and an area of use
that may include industrial, commercial, or residential use. In theory, they provide a unique way to “marry the goals of protected areas with the needs of human societies in working landscapes” (Taylor, 2004, p. 80). However, not all biosphere reserves follow this specific model and there is significant flexibility to develop placed-based arrangements (Dempster, 2004).

As of April, 2008, there were 531 biosphere reserves worldwide and 15 in Canada. In Canada, there is no single government agency or private organization in charge of biosphere reserves and federal support for biosphere reserves is modest. Most biosphere reserves in Canada are administered by some sort of community-based governance arrangement, with a high level of dependence on volunteers (Francis, 2004b). Biosphere reserves in Canada are connected by the Canadian Biosphere Reserves Association (CBRA). CBRA’s purpose is to provide support and facilitate networks between local biosphere reserve organizations and the researchers that work in them (Mendis, 2004).

The earliest attention to national park-surroundings issues in Canada was most likely catalyzed by biosphere reserves (Slocombe & Dearden, 2002). In 1990, the Canadian Parks Service developed guidelines for national parks’ involvement in biosphere reserves (Canadian Parks Service, 1990). Several benefits of national park involvement in biosphere reserves were identified, including (Canadian Parks Service, 1990):

- improved communication among resource managers;
- complementary research and education in park regions;
- more compatible planning in surrounding areas;
- improved inter-agency cooperation and communication in park regions;
- increased trust between parks and local people; and,
- improved management of natural resources.
In theory, at least, the biosphere reserve model seems to be the ideal framework for implementing regional integration initiatives and addressing many protected area-surroundings challenges. Danby and Slocombe (2005, p. 418) argued that “biosphere reserves can provide a framework for regional integration of protected areas and sustainable development through co-operative planning and management, research, monitoring, and education.” Francis and Whitelaw (2004) contended that biosphere reserves are now expected to become a model of resource management and of approaches to sustainable development. Furthermore, the Panel on the Ecological Integrity of Canada’s National Parks strongly recommended that more funding be allocated to the biosphere reserve program, as it is a regional cooperation model already in place and has seen some successes such as at Waterton Biosphere Reserve in Alberta (Parks Canada, 2000d).

Parker (2006) conducted a survey of Parks Canada staff of national parks within biosphere reserves. Some of the main conclusions of the study were that:

- Biosphere reserves have enabled national parks to effectively engage community champions and networks in resolving regional issues and pursuing initiatives at a fraction of what it might cost the national park to achieve the same results;
- Biosphere reserves in Canada generally suffer from a chronic lack of funding;
- There is a need for staff capacity across biosphere reserves; and,
- An area of potential is the use of biosphere reserves as “test areas” for methods of regional coordination and sustainable development.

Experience with biosphere reserves has shown that sometimes the reality is that managers of protected areas often have little leverage to influence activities outside the administrative boundaries of the protected area (Francis, 2004b). Several challenges of biosphere reserves have been noted including a lack of understanding of and interest in biosphere reserves, minimal financial support, and a lack of legislative recognition (Mendis,
Some protected areas within biosphere reserve do not seem to be using them to their full potential. For example, communication levels are low between Pacific Rim National Park and the Clayoquot Sound Biosphere Reserve, reflecting longstanding divisions between federal agencies and the local communities of the region (Mendis, 2004). Furthermore, many unanswered questions remain about the experiences of biosphere reserves and the relationship between protected areas and biosphere reserves. Examples include how park staff participate formally and informally in the management of biosphere reserves and how biosphere reserves contribute to the regional integration of national parks.

2.2.5 Parks Canada Policies and Documents Related to Regional Integration

A brief review of Parks Canada’s use of the term “regional integration” and the evolution of Parks Canada policies and documents related to national parks will provide context and additional input into the conceptual framework for regional integration.

Parks Canada currently administers 42 national parks, 15 national historic sites, and 2 national marine conservation areas. The work of Parks Canada has remained similar over time, but the methods have changed (Landry, 2007). Policies indirectly related to national park-region interactions have undergone significant changes over the last 10-15 years, mirroring worldwide trends related to the new “paradigm” of protected areas management and ecosystem-based management. The Agency has shifted from managing for visitor satisfaction and natural resource conservation independently to the use of ecosystem-based management as a basic management approach and the protection of ecological integrity as the main goal. Public participation in the park management planning process has also increased. Zorn, Stephenson and Grigoriev (2001), in a review of how ecosystem-based management was being implemented in Ontario’s national parks, listed 11 components of ecosystem-based
management including ecosystem conservation plans, defining greater park ecosystem boundaries, doing stakeholder analyses, defining ecological indicators, and conducting greater park ecosystem inventory and analysis. All of the components in the list involve formal programs or projects, with the protection of ecological integrity permeating every management decision. Recent initiatives related to partnerships and collaboration include the “Skills for Working Together in the Management of Protected Heritage Areas” workshops and a Parks Canada funded research project through the University of Saskatchewan entitled “Learning About Each Other: Mechanisms for Collaboration in Park Management” (Reed & Martz, 2007).

Parks Canada is the main protected area management agency in North America that has used the term “regional integration”. Fay (1981) prepared a “regional integration strategy” for Riding Mountain National Park. Several regional integration case studies were completed by the National Parks Directorate (of the then Canadian Parks Service) in the late 1980’s (Canadian Parks Service, 1987a, 1987b, 1988b, 1989). Regional integration was defined in these case studies as “activities intended to provide regional benefits from park operations, achieve park objectives through regional support, or resolve conflicts between the park and region (local area)” (Canadian Parks Service, 1989, p. 2). In an interdepartmental workshop on regional integration that was held after the completion of the regional integration case studies, the definition of regional integration was generalized somewhat to be “the development, planning and management of a park in the context of the region in which it is located and the coordinating efforts of the organization to support this process” (Canadian Parks Service, 1988a, p. 3). Generally speaking, this work on regional integration in the late 1980’s focused
on conflicts between parks and their regions, communication between parks and their regions, inter-agency coordination, and the (primarily economic) effects of parks on their regions.

A review of provisions for regional integration in 14 national park management plans was carried out concurrently to the regional integration case studies (Birtch, 1985). The reviewed plans were all prepared during the period 1977 to 1984. The report found that the later management plans have more attention to, and contained a “more sophisticated” approach to regional integration than earlier plans but that there were inconsistencies between the plans in terms of the type of regional information presented, how park-region inter-relationships were presented, and regional integration strategies used. The report noted that the inconsistencies between the management plans can be linked to an overall lack of clear policy direction in the management planning process (Birtch, 1985).

Currently, Parks Canada does not have an official policy definition of regional integration, the term is not regularly used by Parks Canada employees, and there are no national guidelines or policies about regional integration (personal communication, J. Birch, October 11, 2007). However, the term is used in several of the Agency’s policy documents, including its Guiding Principles and Operational Policies (Parks Canada, 1994) (see Appendix 1). Some national park management plans also refer to, but do not define, regional integration (e.g., Parks Canada, 2003b).

There has been a recent shift within the Agency toward an “integrated mandate” of protection (ecological integrity), education, and visitor experience (Parks Canada, 2007b). The “integrated mandate” recognizes that the long-term success of the Agency depends on integrating these three components and that protection of ecological integrity and the long-term sustainability of the Agency cannot be achieve without promoting education and developing
visitor experiences (Parks Canada, 2007b). Also relevant is a recent focus within the Agency on making interactions and partnerships with regional actors more effective by moving them along an “engagement continuum” that begins at awareness, moves to understanding, and culminates with support (Parks Canada, 2001a, 2007b).

2.2.6 Lessons from Management Approaches

Table 10 lists the main lessons arising from integrated natural resource management, ecosystem-based management, community-based natural resource management, the new “paradigm” of protected areas management, collaboration and partnerships, biosphere reserves, and Parks Canada policies that have been drawn upon in the next chapter to develop a conceptual framework for the regional integration of protected areas.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Management Approach</th>
<th>Lessons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Integrated natural resource management</td>
<td>• The concept of integration is difficult to define and can mean different things within different broad approaches.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Protected area-region challenges are similar to any ecosystem-society interaction.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Coordination, conflict resolution, and cooperation are important mechanisms within a protected area-region context.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Integration means the avoidance of fragmented, incremental decision-making.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Integrated approaches seek to rectify fragmented interests, jurisdictions, ownership, management responsibility, social and ecological systems, and information and knowledge.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• The integration of perceptions, attitudes, and values is important.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecosystem approach/ecosystem-based management</td>
<td>• A consideration of both spatial and temporal scales is important.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• “Real collaboration” is an important mechanism for ecosystem-based management.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Taking an “ecosystem approach” means looking at different levels/scales of system structure, process, and function and understanding of actor and stakeholder relationships and interactions, and institutional factors in analysis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Promoting inter-agency cooperation is an essential element of protected area management.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Protected area planning and management processes are mechanisms for ecosystem-based management.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Using ecologically-defined boundaries, defining clearly stated management goals, and promoting inter-agency cooperation are essential elements of protected area management.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community-based natural resource management</td>
<td>• Communities are complex, human-ecological systems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Communities are composed of multiple actors and multiple interests.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• It is important to recognize the interests of communities in conservation management.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Pluralist, participatory approaches associated with CBNRM should be employed in protected area management.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New “paradigm” of protected areas management</td>
<td>• Protected areas are not “islands”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Protected areas are part of a network including local as well as larger regions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• A wide range of actors can initiate and manage protected areas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Social and economic objectives as well as conservation and recreation ones are important.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Understanding the needs and gaining the trust of local people is vital.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Protected areas will not survive without the support of local people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• More attention should be paid to informal interactions between protected area staff and local people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaboration and partnerships</td>
<td>• Formal collaboration can reduce conflict and improve relations between regional actors leading to more informal interactions and trust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Some of the attributes for conservation partnership success are the presence of a champion or catalyst individual, diverse participation, trust, and good communication.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Challenges in formal partnerships make them not always the best approach.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biosphere reserves</td>
<td>• Protected areas within biosphere reserves could be good case studies of protected area-region interactions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Regional integration will not occur without the engagement of local actors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parks Canada policies and documents</td>
<td>• Previous examinations of park-region interactions have focused on formal programs and policies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Mutual benefit, conflict resolution, and achieving regional support important are components of regional integration.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Parks Canada’s new “integrated mandate” can be linked to regional integration.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.3 Gaps in the Literature

The review of the theoretical underpinnings and management approaches above identified several lessons and concepts that are applied in the development of a conceptual framework for the regional integration of protected areas in Chapter 3. Several gaps in this literature have been identified which this research seeks to address.

The role of power (i.e., decision making, influence, and the distribution of benefits) in protected area-region interactions in North American national parks has not been examined at the regional level. As presented in section 2.1.1, a primary component of the theory of political ecology is that environmental problems are simultaneously political, ecological, social, and biophysical and that there are winners and losers, hidden costs, and differential power that produce social and environmental outcomes (McAllister, 2002; Neumann, 2005). No studies have examined how protected area-region interactions in North American national parks “fit” within this theory. For example, do different regional actors have different power and influence in decision making about national parks? Are certain regional actors left out of protected area-region interactions?

The application of the theory of sustainability to protected area-region systems has also not been specifically examined in the literature. One question arising out of the literature review is how the basic value principles, key characteristics, and principles for sustainability (Francis, 1993) are linked to the principles and characteristics of regional integration. This connection should be clarified.

Another identified gap in the literature is related to the governance principles for protected areas in the 21st century and the theory of regional integration. The literature has not
addressed how strong regional integration is related to these governance principles. For example, does good governance mean the same thing as strong regional integration?

The literature on community-based natural resource management argues that communities are complex, human-ecological systems composed of multiple actors and multiple interests and that community involvement in protected area planning and management is vital (Agrawal & Gibson, 1999; Berkes, 2004; Kellert et al., 2000). However, no studies have specifically examined how protected area staff interpret and use the term “community”.

Finally, the concepts of regional integration and the new “paradigm” of protected area management have not been linked in the literature. Does following the new “paradigm” of protected area management mean that a park is well integrated into its region?

2.4 Chapter Summary

As a concept, regional integration is broad and complex, exemplified by the scope and diversity of literature referenced in this literature review. This chapter reviewed the theoretical underpinnings and resource management approaches relevant to the concept of regional integration. Tables 6 and 10 outlined specific lessons from the theoretical underpinnings and resource management approaches that have been used in developing the conceptual framework for regional integration. A number of gaps in the literature were identified which will serve as a basis for building theory and contributing to the theories examined. The next chapter will present the conceptual framework for regional integration as well as the methodological approach and methods used for the study.
Chapter 3: Methods

This chapter begins by presenting the qualitative and case-study based methodological approach used for this study and the reasons for using this approach. Then, the conceptual framework for the regional integration of protected areas is presented. Finally, the specific methods used for this study including case-study selection, data collection, and data analysis are described.

3.1 Methodological Approach

Any piece of geographical research is based on philosophical assumptions and choices which should be acknowledged by the researcher (E. Graham, 1997). This research takes a humanist or post-structuralist approach, which implies a belief that there is no such thing as objectivity or absolute “truths” in social science research, and that research is often explicitly or implicitly informed by the experiences, aims, and interpretations of the researcher (Valentine, 1997).

The above standpoint encourages me to acknowledge my background and potential biases. I started (and finished) this research project as a supporter of national parks and the national parks system in Canada. I have a strong place attachment to certain national parks in Canada and have developed an attachment to all five of the national parks that were examined for this study. Like most of the participants who I interviewed for this research project, I believe that the ecological integrity of national parks should be enhanced and protected. That being said, I support the new “paradigm” of protected areas management in the sense that believe in more community involvement in parks and recognize that social and cultural goals are vital.
The issues being studied have informed the choice of methodology and the choice of methodology has influenced the research outcomes (Dale, 2001). This study employed qualitative research methods (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). Although qualitative research cannot be neatly pigeonholed into one uniform philosophy or set of methodological principles, there are some common features that appear:

- It is concerned with how the social world is interpreted, understood, experienced, or produced.
- It is based on methods of data generation that are flexible and sensitive to the social context in which data are produced.
- It is based on methods of analysis that involve understandings of complexity, detail, and context (Mason, 1996).

Creswell (2003) identified four factors that support the use of the qualitative paradigm:

1. The exploratory nature of research;
2. The number of variables unknown;
3. The importance of the context; and,
4. The lack of theoretical base for the study.

Given this background, qualitative research methods were deemed as appropriate for a study of the regional integration of protected areas for several reasons. First, regional integration is a way of interpreting, understanding, and experiencing the social world. There is no one “right answer” to the primary research questions (see Chapter 1) and the data collected were based on people’s interpretations and perceptions, which are not “measurable” per se. Also, regional integration as a concept is based on social interactions among people.

Second, since the concept of regional integration is somewhat under-studied and undefined, a flexible, open-ended research approach was deemed necessary. There is no pre-established framework for examining regional integration so one was developed for this
research. The concept of regional integration was given a broad definition throughout the study process, and study participants influenced the concept as it was further developed in Chapter 8.

Finally, context, complexity, and detail played an important role in exploring the particular situations at each case study site. Each protected area has a unique mix of contextual factors which influence regional integration and understanding these factors is necessary to understand regional integration. In-depth and semi-structured interviews, a common method in qualitative research, are very effective in gathering details about context and complexity.

A multiple case study design approach was used. According to Yin (2003), the need for case studies arises out of the desire to understand complex social phenomena. They are the preferred strategy when “how” or “why” questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context (Yin, 2003). All of the above factors applied to this study. Furthermore, multiple case studies allowed the comparison of different cases and drawing of cross-case conclusions (Yin, 2003) and allowed for more generalization than a single case study would have allowed. The use of four case studies allowed for comparison between eastern and western national parks as well as the collection and analysis of more case study specific data about the parks’ regional context, such as their history and biophysical environments. Four case studies was also the maximum number of case studies that could be studied for logistical reasons.

Before presenting the specific methods used for this study, it is necessary to present the conceptual framework for the regional integration of protected areas, which was used as an over-arching framework for carrying out the research and for designing the interview questions.
3.2 Conceptual Framework

According to Rapoport (1985, p. 256), “conceptual frameworks are neither models nor theories … models describe how things work, whereas theories explain phenomena. Conceptual frameworks do neither; rather they help to think about phenomena, to order material, revealing patterns - and pattern recognition typically leads to models and theories.” Conceptual frameworks aid in identifying the elements and the relationships among these elements that one needs to consider and provide a list of variables that can be used in analysis (Costanza et al., 2001).

The conceptual framework for the regional integration of protected areas draws from the multiple disciplinary perspectives that have been reviewed in Chapter 2 (Figure 7).

The conceptual framework for regional integration is sub-divided into four categories: context, actors, mechanisms, and goals (Figure 8). As explained in Chapter 1, regional...
Integration is a process, not a goal. The premise of regional integration is that actors within the protected area region engage in informal and formal interactions with each other in order to fulfill short and long-term goals that are related to the protected area (directly or indirectly). The entire process of regional integration is influenced by a number of contextual factors.

Figure 8: Conceptual framework for the regional integration of protected areas

### 3.2.1 Context

The context for regional integration “sets the stage” for explaining the concept. Based on the review of the literature presented in Chapter 2, the contextual factors deemed to influence regional integration are:

- The biophysical environment,
- The economy of the region,
- Demographics,
- The history of the region and of park establishment,
- The culture of park staff and regional actors,
- The governance arrangement of the region,
- “Hot topics” in the region, and
- Actors’ perception of what the park region is.
As the literature in ecosystem-based management emphasizes, ecological processes do not follow political boundaries (such as national park boundaries) and water, sediment, flora, fauna, air, and disease continuously flow into and out of protected areas through complex, dynamic, and ever-changing biophysical systems. A protected area provides ecological services to its region by conserving water resources, soil, plants, and animal life. On the other hand, protected areas are dependent on corridors, buffers, and other connections within the protected area region for their biodiversity, ecological integrity, and environmental health (Nelson et al., 2003). When examining regional integration this biophysical system should be outlined and understood to the degree that it is influencing and connecting with social and political processes, which is the main focus of regional integration.

The regional economy and its demographic makeup can influence interactions between the protected area and regional actors in several ways. For example, a lack of financial resources can make the creation and operation of certain formal mechanisms for interaction with regional actors difficult (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996; Wondolleck & Yaffee, 2000). A declining regional population may place pressure on community leaders to volunteer for many tasks and affect the amount of time that can be dedicated to interacting with park staff.

As the literature review revealed, the history of the protected area in relation to its region can have an enormous effect on the nature of the people-park relationship. Of particular relevance is the manner in which the protected area was established. It has been shown that a tense and difficult relationship between park staff and the local community during park establishment can endure for many generations (e.g., Bissix et al., 1998).

Culture is another contextual factor that can influence regional integration. For the purposes of this study, culture will be defined as the “learned and shared behavior of a
community of interacting human beings” (Useem & Useem, 1963, p. 169). Behaviours, lifestyle, and values are the elements of culture emphasized in this study. Culture has a profound effect on the way in which people interact with one another and the way in which people perceive protected areas (Brechin et al., 2003). Culture might influence the preferred method of communication between the park and regional actors, whether informal or formal methods for interaction are employed, and how relationships are developed between park staff and regional actors. The culture of park staff is also important and may influence how the values of local people are taken in consideration in decision-making (Kellert et al., 2000), park staff’s attitudes toward engaging with regional actors, and how national level policies are applied at the regional scale. The importance of examining the culture of regional actors has been acknowledged in other discussions related to humans and natural resources (e.g., Fortwangler & Stern, 2004; Slocombe & Hanna, 2007; Stern, 2004).

As presented in Chapter 2, governance means the interactions among institutions, processes, and traditions that determine how power is exercised, how decisions are taken, and how citizens or other regional actors have their say (Kooiman, 1993). The governance arrangement of a park region influences how regional actors are organized, how they interact with one another, and what influence they hold in terms of park and region decision making.

As has been emphasized in the previous chapter, conservation is a social and political process, and understanding the political context of the protected area and its region is of vital importance (Cortner & Moote, 1999). “Hot topics” in the park region can dominate regional actors’ view of the park and influence relationships with park staff and are thus very important to identify and understand (McCleave et al., 2006). For example, a recent study of park and
community interactions in New Zealand revealed that those residents opposed to the park management agency’s use of a poison for pest control reported negative attitudes toward the agency in general (McCleave et al., 2006).

Protected areas are all embedded within larger landscapes or regions. Nelson and Sportza (2001, p. 63) contended that “consciousness of the significance of scale on the human and social side of the protected area ledger has only begun to develop.” Machlis (1995) listed the scales of protected area management as: the protected area, the region, the national protected area system, the realm, and the global system. Each of these scales is part of a “nested system” and will influence each other with an enormous amount of complexity. Several authors have argued that the regional scale is the most appropriate for revealing local-scale dynamics (Nelson et al., 2003; P. Walker, 2003). Park regions are not a physically denoted region around a protected area, such as the “greater ecosystem approach”, but a space as perceived by the actors within it. Park regions can be different physical spaces to different actors. As such, it is important to understand regional actors’ conceptualizations of park regions.

3.2.2 Actors

Government agencies are now clearly only one of the many players on the protected area stage (Nelson & Sportza, 2001). The actors of regional integration are part of a complex, human-ecological system at the regional scale of a protected area. Communities are in fact composed of multiple actors with multiple interests (Agrawal & Gibson, 1999) and are not monolithic, undifferentiated entities (Murphree, 1994). Therefore, it is more important to consider “regional actors” instead of trying to grasp the perceptions and interactions of a community as a whole. There is no single, general classification for such actors but actors can
include the protected area staff, local business owners or operators, other government agencies, industry, non-governmental organizations, scientific researchers, First Nations, and other members of the community not belonging to any of the above groups.

3.2.3 Mechanisms

The mechanisms for regional integration are the interactions between actors that work toward the short and long-term goals of regional integration. These mechanisms can be divided into formal mechanisms and informal mechanisms.

As outlined in Chapter 2, formal mechanisms have been emphasized in the ecosystem-based management, community-based conservation management, integrated resource management, and conservation partnerships literature. Specific formal mechanisms might include meetings, information sharing, open houses, or joint projects.

However, the challenges that can arise in formal mechanisms make them not always the most appropriate approach. Informal mechanisms are therefore very important. Informal mechanisms for interaction have not been emphasized as much in the literature although the importance of establishing trust and building the support of regional actors in protected area management has been noted (Stern, 2004). Furthermore, the integration of perceptions, attitudes, and values can be influenced by informal mechanisms for interaction (Slocombe & Hanna, 2007). Examples of informal mechanisms for interaction are phone calls between the

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7 Parks Canada considers First Nations important partners in the establishment and management of protected areas (Parks Canada, 2007b). The Government of Canada also has a legal duty to properly consult with First nations, Métis, and Inuit groups when Crown conduct may adversely impact established or potential Aboriginal and Treaty rights. Therefore, First Nations have been automatically included as regional actors for each of the case studies.
staff of government agencies, casual gatherings, or park staff getting involved in non-park related community activities.

Finally, it is important to note that there is no strict division between what is considered a formal mechanism for interaction and what is considered an informal mechanism for interaction. For example, formal collaboration between two agencies can reduce conflict and improve relations between actors which can then lead to increased informal interactions and the building of trust.

3.2.4 Goals

Different regional actors have different goals directly or indirectly related to the protected area. The goals can be long-term or short-term and might include addressing specific management problems, improving or restoring ecological integrity, or moving toward economic or ecological sustainability in the protected area region.

For many regional actors within the system, one important long-term goal of regional integration is the sustainability of the protected area itself (i.e., its existence within the protected area system). This goal is influenced by the support of local people (see J. McNeely et al., 2006) since regional actors can have impacts on a protected area’s ecological integrity and can also give and take away their political support. Perceived economic benefits from protected areas are also important long-term goals for many regional actors and there is growing evidence that local peoples’ support for protected areas depends mainly on their perceptions of the costs and benefits of living in or around such areas (Mehta & Heinen, 2001).

The short-term goals of regional integration are more tangible than the long-term goals. Examples of such goals are more effective communication between agencies, the building of
trust, conflict resolution, social acceptance, or the propagation of protected area values that are acceptable to the local population.

3.3 Methods Used

This section details the specific methods used to carry out the research, including case study selection, data collection, data analysis, and the limitations of the methods chosen.

3.3.1 Case Study Selection

As stated in Chapter 1, five national parks and their regions were used as case studies. They are: Kejimkujik National Park and National Historic Site (KNP&NHS), Nova Scotia; Gros Morne National Park (GMNP), Newfoundland; Waterton Lakes National Park (WLNP) Alberta; Mount Revelstoke National Park (MRNP), British Columbia; and Glacier National Park, British Columbia (GNP)\(^8\). Mount Revelstoke National Park and Glacier National Park (MR&GNP) were treated as one case study since the two parks are physically very close to each other (the distance between their boundaries is only 14.5 km), they have the same park region, and they are managed by the same park staff in nearby Revelstoke. Also, actors within the park regions perceived the parks to be essentially one unit.

The rationale behind this case study selection was to choose national parks with broadly similar regional contexts so that comparisons between the case studies could be made. Examining four case studies instead of one or two allowed for a broader examination of regional integration across Canada. Also, since one of the goals of this study was to develop the theory of regional integration, examining a broader selection of regional integration experiences was deemed as appropriate.

The chosen national parks have the following in common:

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\(^8\) Riding Mountain National Park, Manitoba was originally chosen as a case study but was not used as a case study due to over-lapping research projects and concerns about the area being “over-studied” by some park staff.
• They are “southern” national parks (“northern” national parks have very different regional contexts and would present too many logistical challenges related to time, cost, and access);
• The primary language spoken in the region is English (eliminating potential translation costs);
• There is human habitation in relative proximity to the national park (within the park or within 10 km of the park boundary); and,
• There is significant industrial or resource-based activity in relative proximity (within 10 km of park boundary) to the park (i.e., forestry, agriculture, ranching, oil and gas).

The case studies have varied regional integration mechanisms in place; varied relationships between national park staff and other regional actors; varied levels of public participation in park planning and management; and varied local attitudes toward Parks Canada. Two of the case studies (KNP&NHS and WLNP) are within biosphere reserves (see 2.2.4). In theory, at least, the biosphere reserve model seems to be one framework for addressing park-region challenges, making these two national park regions particularly suitable for investigation.

3.3.2 Data Collection

Data to construct the case studies were collected through in-depth and semi-structured interviews, the collection of relevant documents, and field observations.

Before travelling to each case study site to conduct interviews and field observations, a profile was created for each case study. These profiles were based on preliminary scoping trips to the case study areas as well as a review of site-specific documents. The profiles included:

• A list of park and region-related issues and challenges;
• A list of regional integration mechanisms in place;
• A list of key contacts or “gatekeepers” (Valentine, 1997);
• A list of actors relevant to regional integration in the region;
• A categorization of participants based on participants’ occupation or relationship to the national park; and,
• A list of additional facts, clarifications, and details needed to seek through visits and interviews.

The interviews were conducted between April 2006 and March 2007. The first set of interviews was conducted for KNP&NHS from April to June 2006. The interviews for GMNP were conducted in October 2006. In late October 2006, five Parks Canada staff members at Parks Canada’s Headquarters in Hull, Quebec were interviewed. In November 2006, the interviews for WLNP were conducted. Finally, between January and March 2007, the interviews for MR&GNP were conducted.

Before visiting each case study site, key contacts or “gatekeepers” provided the names of several actors who they thought would provide rich data for the research. These key contacts were also requested to provide the names of people who might not share their opinion about the interaction between the national park and its region. An effort was also made to identify participants the “gatekeepers” did not recommend, as well as people who fell within the categorization of study participants that was devised after the scoping trips. This strategy enabled the creation of a preliminary list of potential participants before arriving on site. Once on site, the “snowball” sampling technique was used by asking each participant to recommend another participant. Interviews continued until several actors within each category were interviewed (if possible) and until no new themes emerged from the interviews and the data saturation point had been met. In total, 112 people were interviewed.

Table 11 presents the categories of participants as well the number of participants interviewed for the case studies. Several participants belonged to more than one category and were counted in each of these categories.
104 of the interviews were conducted face-to-face in an informal setting such as a café or in the participant’s office or home. Eight of the interviews were conducted over the phone due to these participants being unavailable in person during the field visits. All of the interviews except for two were recorded with a digital voice recorder. In three cases, two participants were interviewed at the same time at the request of the participants. In two of these cases, the participants were a married couple and in the third they were colleagues.

Table 11: Categorization of study participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>KNP&amp;N HS</th>
<th>GMNP</th>
<th>WLNP</th>
<th>MR&amp;G NP</th>
<th>Parks Canada HQ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parks Canada</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Government</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Business</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
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NB: Several participants belonged to more than one category and were counted in each of these categories.

The interviews were structured using an interview schedule (Appendix 2) that focused on themes related to the conceptual framework for the regional integration of protected areas. Although the schedule laid out the themes to be explored, the interviews took a conversational, fluid form. The interviews were from 30 minutes to 2.5 hours in length with the average interview lasting approximately 45 minutes. Notes were taken during most of the interviews and more notes were made immediately after each interview, noting points about body language, immediate perceptions, and themes to follow up on.
Before, during, and after the case study visits, relevant documents related to the case studies and national park and region interactions in Canada were collected. These documents included reports, plans, and brochures. Only the most recent versions official Parks Canada documents (e.g., management plans, state of the park reports) were reviewed.

Finally, during the case study visits, several relevant meetings, gatherings, and workshops were observed. Notes were taken at these events and these notes were used as additional or secondary data.

3.3.3 Data Analysis

The recorded interviews were transcribed by a professional transcriptionist and subsequently entered into the software program NVivo 7. NVivo 7 is helpful in coding the raw data and organizing it into categories but it is not analytical software. Thematic categories, determined by the user, are called “nodes”.

The transcripts were analyzed in three steps. First, open coding was used to identify ideas, themes, and concerns (Neuman, 2006). Each interview was coded with general topics without organizing the nodes identifying themes. It was a very simple, but time consuming, process. One section of an interview could have multiple nodes associated with it.

Second, general categories and subcategories for the nodes were identified using the results from the first round of open coding. The categories were primarily based on the four research questions and the conceptual framework for regional integration. Appendix 3 shows a rough “snapshot” of the nodes for the KNP&NHS case study from October, 2007. These nodes were subsequently re-arranged several times and thematic nodes were created during the third stage of coding.
Third, selective coding was conducted which involved examining the previous codes to select and organize cases to support conceptual coding categories and central explanatory concepts (Neuman, 2006). It was this stage where the coding “moved up” from the data and identified themes relevant to the discussion and conclusion chapters.

The secondary data (documents and observation notes) were examined for references to the relationships between the parks and regional actors, regional integration, park-region interactions, contextual factors, and other relevant themes. This data was used to support the findings from the primary data as well as to examine how regional integration is discussed and presented in the documentary sources.

Three strategies were used to verify the accuracy of the findings. First, triangulation was used by using different data sources (interviews, observations, and documents) to build a strong justification for the identified themes. Second, member-checking was used by returning to each case study in order to present results to study participants and garner their questions and comments. Third, rich description was used to convey the findings in order to give the reader an element of shared experience (Creswell, 2003).

### 3.3.4 Limitations of the Chosen Methods

It is important to acknowledge the limitations of the chosen methods for data collection and a few issues that were encountered during the course of data collection. One major issue encountered was that in three of the case studies, Gros Morne National Park, Waterton Lakes National Park, and Mount Revelstoke and Glacier National Parks, only one First Nations participant was interviewed. There are no First Nations reserves near Gros Morne National Park. Several off reserve First Nations were contacted but no interview could be arranged. In the Waterton region, a member of one First Nation was interviewed but no members of the
other nearby reserve were interviewed. This might be because the site visits were not long enough to gain the trust of the individuals or because pre-existing local relationships and politics may have been significant.

The eight interviews that were conducted over the phone were not as insightful as the interviews conducted in-person because non-verbal cues such as body language could not be observed. However, tone of voice could still be perceived and the digital recordings of the conservations produced transcripts that were immediately comparable to the in-person interview transcripts.

Finally, this study may reflect a somewhat richer understanding of two of the case studies, KNP&NHS and MR&GNP, because of the author living within the regions of these parks before the beginning of the field work phase (in the case of KNP&NHS) and during the analysis and write up phase (in the case of MR&GNP). However, the number of interviews conducted at each of the case studies was similar (ranging from 22-36 participants) so the quality of the primary data between the four case studies is comparable.

3.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter served two purposes: it presented the conceptual framework for regional integration and it presented and justified the methodological approach used for the study. The conceptual framework for regional integration was developed based on the literature reviewed in Chapter 2. It is a way of organizing the concept of regional integration and served a basis for designing the interview schedule as well as structuring the case study results. The premise of regional integration is that actors within protected area regions engage in informal and formal interactions with each other in order to fulfill short and long-term goals that are related to the protected area. The entire process of regional integration is influenced by contextual factors
such as the biophysical environment, economics, demographics, history, culture, and governance.

This study employed a qualitative, case study approach. Five national parks in Canada and their regions were used as case studies of regional integration. 112 semi-structured interviews were conducted with Parks Canada staff, other government officials, business owners, First Nations, resource users, ENGOs, and others. The interviews were transcribed and analyzed using the software program “NVivo 7” and a three-step coding process was used to generate the study’s primary results.
Chapter 4: Kejimkujik National Park and National Historic Site

This is the first of four chapters that presents the results of the case study interviews. Each of the following four chapters will be organized in approximately the same manner which is based on the conceptual framework for regional integration presented in Chapter 3.

This chapter begins by presenting the context within which Kejimkujik National Park and National Historic Site (KNP&NHS) is situated. Each contextual element that is presented is related to or has the potential to influence the park’s regional integration. First, elements of the biophysical environment that may influence regional integration of the park are presented. Following that is a short description of relevant aspects of the regional economy and regional demographics. Then, three histories are presented from the perspective of study participants: the history of the creation and development of the park; the history of the creation of the Kejimkujik Seaside; and the history of the creation of the Kejimkujik National Historic Site. Following that, participants’ observations about the cultures of the people in the regions of the Kejimkujik Seaside and inland sections of the park, First Nations, and Parks Canada staff are examined. Then, the governance of the park region is presented by listing key regional actors and their responsibilities, decision-making powers, and/or relevance to the park. Next, several important “hot topics” are presented. Finally, the perception of what the KNP&NHS region is according to participants is presented.

The second part of the chapter lists and reviews several documents gathered as secondary sources in terms of references to regional integration, park policies or directives related to park-region interactions, and information about regional integration initiatives in place in the park region. The third part of the chapter describes the relationships between regional actors and KNP&NHS staff. Within each section, various aspects of the relationships
are presented (e.g., perceptions of the strength of the relationship, mechanisms for interaction, and changes in the relationship over time) from the standpoint of both park staff and regional actors. The fourth part of the chapter presents participants’ conceptualizations of regional integration. The final section of this chapter presents suggestions from participants for improving the regional integration of KNP&NHS. These suggestions are not the final conclusions of the study, but will be used in developing those conclusions.

4.1 Context

The context for regional integration sets the stage for regional integration as a process and influences the relationships between park staff and regional actors.

4.1.1 Biophysical Environment

The inland section of KNP&NHS is situated on an upland plateau in the interior of southwestern Nova Scotia (Figure 2). The park represents the natural features and processes within the Atlantic Coast Uplands natural region and is a representative portion of the Acadian Forest Region, a transition zone between southern (Alleghanian) deciduous forests and northern (Boreal) coniferous forests (Parks Canada, 1997). The inland portion of the park protects 381 km² of inland lakes and forests and is characterized by lakes and rivers, glacial landforms, and large wilderness areas (Parks Canada, 1995). The park has six lakes and ponds and more than 30 streams and rivers (Parks Canada, 2003a). The region has one of the mildest climates in the province and this has resulted in a diverse and unique assemblage of flora and fauna including Blanding’s turtles, northern ribbon snakes, southern flying squirrels, white-footed mice, and a variety of rare Atlantic coastal plain flora. Some of these species are considered to be “southern relicts” – species that once had continuous ranges through Nova Scotia, southern New Brunswick, and New England but that have been “trapped” in
southwestern Nova Scotia due to receding isotherms as the climate changed over several thousand years (Hirsch et al., 1995).

Kejimkujik alone is far too small to maintain some of these processes, species, and populations on its own and there are key corridors and contiguous areas of wilderness in the region. For example, about a third of Kejimkujik’s boundary is contiguous with the Tobeatic Wilderness Area (a provincially-designated protected area), on its northern, western, and southwestern boundaries.

Aesthetically, the inland section of KNP&NHS is perceived as a beautiful and peaceful park. Many participants noted that it does not have the stunning beauty of some other national parks in Atlantic Canada but it is perceived as very unique and a “hidden gem”.

The Kejimkujik Seaside (formerly known as the Kejimkujik Seaside Adjunct) protects a 22 km² section of Atlantic Ocean shoreline near the community of Port Joli, Nova Scotia (Figure 3). The Kejimkujik Seaside is composed of two headland beaches, within a series of headlands along the south shore of Nova Scotia. The headlands are rocky and exposed and generally have high winds and waves, resulting in high levels of erosion. Offshore from the Kejimkujik Seaside, seals and sea ducks use the high wave action for feeding. There are lagoons and lakes in the interior portion of the Seaside that have a combination of fresh water and salt water providing a habitat for clams, ducks, and geese. The Seaside protects a large number of rare Atlantic coastal plain flora that has been the focus of proposals for protection in Nova Scotia (e.g., Francis & Munro, 1994; Wisheu & Keddy, 1989). Participants perceived the Kejimkujik Seaside to be one of the last remaining undeveloped areas along the south shore of Nova Scotia. The Seaside is bound by private land and Crown land and some forest remnants provide corridors for wildlife movement between the park and the park region.
Stressors to KNP&NHS’s ecological integrity include forestry and landscape fragmentation, coastal and freshwater development and fragmentation, human activities within the parks, long-range transport of pollutants, climate change, invasive species, and legal and illegal fish and wildlife harvest (Parks Canada, 2006c)

4.1.2 Economy and Demographics

KNP&NHS is located within the Region of Queens Municipality, Annapolis County, and a small portion of Digby County (Figure 9).

The 2006 census recorded that the total population of the Region of Queens Municipality was 11,177 (Statistics Canada, 2007). This is a 4.2% decline since the 2001 census. 20% of the population in 2006 was under the age of 19 and 19.6% of the population was over the age of 65 (Statistics Canada, 2007). The median age of the population was 46.3
years. The total workforce in the Region of Queens Municipality was approximately 4800 people. Major industries included agriculture, forestry and other resource-based industries (480 people employed), manufacturing (935 people employed), retail (480 people employed), and health care and social services (570 people employed).

Within the Region of Queens Municipality, forestry is the largest employer in resource harvesting, sawmills, pulp, and paper. Abitibi Bowater, located in Liverpool, employs approximately 600 people. Other significant companies are Harry Freeman and Son Ltd., Douglas Lumber Inc., and J & H Industries Ltd. Tourism generates over $20 million in revenues and is responsible for 600 jobs in the municipality (Region of Queens Municipality, 2005). The municipality has a year-round fishing industry comprised of aquaculture growers, ground fish acquisitions, and seafood processing.

The 2006 census recorded that the total population of Annapolis County was 21,438 (Statistics Canada, 2007). Census Subdivision “D”, the portion of the County within which KNP&NHS is located, had a total population of 3007. This was an increase of 0.9% from the 2001 census. In 2006, 22.3% of the population was under the age of 19 and 15.8% of the population was over the age of 65. The median age was 45 years. Out of a total workforce of 1455, 145 people were employed in agriculture or other resource-based industries, 150 people were employed in construction, 185 people were employed in retail trade, and 235 people were employed in business services.

Nova Scotia is experiencing a general decline in the forestry industry, which has been negatively affected by a high Canadian dollar and the downturn in the United States housing market. This downward trend in revenue and employment is expected to continue. This is very significant for the economy of the communities adjacent to the inland section of the park
(Caledonia, Maitland Bridge and Kempt), as a high number of local residents are employed in the industry.

Finally, the economy near the Kejimkujik Seaside is making a transition from a resource-based economy toward a tourism-based economy. There is a common concern in the region about escalating land prices and the purchase and development of coastal properties by non-residents.

4.1.3 History

The most significant histories related to the regional integration of KNP&NHS are the history of the creation and development of the park, the history of the creation of the Kejimkujik Seaside, and the history of the Kejimkujik National Historic Site designation. All of these histories have influenced relationships between the park and regional actors.

History of the Establishment of Kejimkujik National Park

During the late 1950’s and early 1960’s, the land that became incorporated into what is now KNP&NHS was composed of Crown Land and several sections of private land. The land was used primarily for recreation and seasonal cottages. Visitors came to the area from outside of the region to camp, hunt, and fish and there was a local industry based on guiding tourists on fishing and hunting trips.

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9 There is a rich history of the land use of the park that is not described in this chapter involving ancient canoe routes of the Mi’kmaq people and a more recent history of outdoor recreation in form of guided hunting and fishing trips. The 1908 book “The Tent Dwellers” by Albert Paine describes wealthy Americans coming to the region to hunt and fish and employing local guides (Paine, 1908).

10 These are the histories as recollected by study participants and may not be accurate or complete.
Many participants\textsuperscript{11} described the establishment of KNP&NHS as an “easier process” than the establishment of other Atlantic Canadian national parks created during this era, particularly Cape Breton Highlands National Park, Kouchibouguac National Park, and Gros Morne National Park. Participants attributed this relative ease of establishment to the fact that no local residents were evicted from their homes or strongly urged to move as a result of the park’s establishment. Some properties were expropriated from local people but there were no primary residences on the properties.

That being said, some participants reported that there is still some tension that remains because of the park establishment and development process. One significant event during this period was the demolition of the historic Keji Lodge, a community landmark and popular accommodation place for visitors to the area. One Parks Canada staff person acknowledged that if the lodge still existed today it would most likely be preserved and celebrated as a cultural resource.

Generally, there was strong support from the local community for the creation of the park due to the perceived economic benefits that might come through employment and the development of a tourism industry in the region. During the first ten years of the park’s establishment, the building of park infrastructure employed many local people in a region that was suffering economically. Now, after the initial construction boom for the park is long over, few local people are employed by the park and a majority of the year round permanent employees are from outside of the region. Some local businesses have expanded due to increased visitation to the area but the scale of tourism development has been much slower and smaller than local people expected.

\textsuperscript{11} The following descriptors are used throughout the dissertation and represent an approximate percentage of participants in a case study: “some” = 10-30%; “many” = 30-50%; “most” = 50%; “almost every” = >90%.
History of the Establishment of the Kejimkujik Seaside

The property that is now the Kejimkujik Seaside was once owned by an American family that used it as a summer retreat. During this period (approximately 1940’s to the 1970’s), local people regularly used the 22 km² property to hunt ducks, gather clams, fish, and use the beach.

In 1973, under the direction of Premier Gerald Reagan and through an Order in Cabinet, the Government of Nova Scotia expropriated the property. No reason was ever publically given for this expropriation and there was deep resentment toward the provincial government as a result of the expropriation. The property stayed in the hands of the provincial government for several years and during this period the house on the property was vandalized and subsequently torn down.

In 1978, members of the local community and the local Member of the Legislative Assembly (MLA) began lobbying the provincial government for the property to gain protected area status. Public meetings were held at Port Mouton where several options were discussed and, as one participant reported, there was overwhelming support for the property to become a national park. After the public hearings, the provincial government formally offered the land to the federal government along with an adjoining piece of Crown land. In 1998, the property’s management was taken over by Parks Canada and it became the Kejimkujik Seaside Adjunct. One participant described the community’s support for the Kejimkujik Seaside and the process by which it was created:

The adjunct is now deemed to be a part of the community. The community is proud of the fact that we host it and I think there is a high level of satisfaction with that decision to move the adjunct into public ownership with Parks Canada. This decision came as a

12 The name “Kejimkujik Seaside Adjunct” was changed to “Kejimkujik Seaside” in 2008.
consequence of public advice to the provincial government, and the decision being taken to convey the land to Parks Canada. It was a long process. It was the right process. It was a great experience. (K1813)

However, the support for the creation of the Kejimkujik Seaside was not unanimous. Many local residents were concerned about a loss of hunting, fishing, and clamming and the imposition of park fees. This division, between supporters of the Seaside and those opposed to the Seaside, remains today.

Since the Kejimkujik Seaside’s establishment, there has been some infrastructure development on the property including hiking trails, an information kiosk, and washroom facilities. However, many participants perceived that infrastructure development has been kept at a modest level intentionally, in order to keep the park as a “wild park”. Other participants noted that the slow pace of development is due to a lack of funding. In the park’s draft management plan, most of the Seaside is designated as a wilderness area (Parks Canada, 2006c).

History of the Establishment of the Kejimkujik National Historic Site

In 1995, Kejimkujik National Park became the first national park in Canada to have the dual status of being a National Park and a National Historic Site in its entirety. The historic site commemorates over 4000 years of Mi’kmaq occupation of the lands. The cultural landscape of the park includes petroglyph sites, habitation sites, fishing sites, hunting territories, travel routes, and Mi’kmaq burial grounds.

The process of designating Kejimkujik National Park as a national historic site began in 1993 when park management recognized that the ancient Mi’kmaq petroglyphs and burial grounds within the park should be further protected. A series of meetings was held with

13 Each participant has been assigned a code. See Appendix 4 for a list of participants’ roles and affiliations.
Mi’kmaq representatives and it was decided that the whole park should be recognized, not just specific sites, since the whole landscape had historically been used.

The Mi’kmaq Network was established in 1993 as an advisory body to work with Parks Canada on the commemoration and designation of the historic site and the protection of the petroglyphs. The Network then became an advisory body for the park’s management planning process. The make up of the committee today includes the four local bands: the Acadia Band, the Bear River Band, the Annapolis Valley Band and the Glouscap Band. There are also representatives from the Grand Council of First Nations, the Confederacy of Mainland Mi’kmaq, the Union of Nova Scotia Indians, and the Mi’kmaq Association of Cultural Studies.

Since the historic site’s designation, Parks Canada employees and local residents have perceived a major shift in the park’s focus and priorities related to the Mi’kmaq history of the park from protecting and interpreting the petroglyphs to a broader focus on the entire cultural landscape. There are more Mi’kmaq ceremonies taking place within the park and First Nations visitors are accorded certain privileges such as access to sacred sites and free entry to the park.

Some non-Mi’kmaq participants expressed that this focus and allocation of park funds toward the national historic site has taken away from other local community activities and the commemoration of other important histories:

*The white man tradition was sort of left in ’95 and everything was directed that “We can’t do this, we can’t do that” and they tried to ingrain that in all of the younger kids. And our ancestors, who gave up the land for the park and then worked at the park, hated that direction because they were taking away all of their history. (K10)*

These differing perspectives on what the park’s focus and goals should be can be linked to differences in local culture, which are examined next.
4.1.4 Culture

Several groups within the KNP&NHS region have distinct sub-cultures including the local people living near the inland portion of the park, First Nations in the park region, people living near the Kejimkujik Seaside, and Parks Canada staff.

Culture of Residents Near the Inland Section of the Park

The culture of residents of the small towns in close proximity to the inland section of KNP&NHS (Kempt, Maitland Bridge, and Caledonia) share similar cultural and demographic characteristics to other small, rural towns in Nova Scotia. Most of the residents of this region are of European descent and have a multi-generational history in the region. Some participants who fit into this category described themselves as the “local locals”, a term that was also used by locals in a similar study in New Zealand (McCleave et al., 2006). There is a division in the community between the “local locals” (those who were born in the area and whose parents grew up in the area) and those who moved to the area later in life. Many of the newcomers to the area are professionals employed at local schools or by Parks Canada. Two participants indicated that the professionals in the community are well educated and well paid compared to some of the “local locals” (K25, K27).

In terms of values, the most relevant characteristic of this sub-culture are related to feelings about resource extraction, particularly forestry, which may conflict with the values and objectives of the park. One park staff person contrasted the values of some members of the forestry industry with those of the park:

They have their feelings about trees. They think they're there to be used. We explain to them that some areas, if you can leave them in the benchmark state then you've really got a great comparison of what you're doing and what normal growth would be. But
they still use terms like “You need to clean up the forest.” We need to find out where that happy medium is. (K20)

Another local resident described the long history of small-scale forestry in the region and how some feel threatened by the Park and the Mersey Tobeatic Research Institute’s (MTRI) interest in influencing forestry practices outside of the boundaries of the park:

You’re in an area where forestry was probably one of the biggest resources that we’ve ever had. Traditionally we had land that was passed down and people always came back in the wintertime to make a few dollars on their land. Not a lot of it was clear cut but it was managed or fixed up... that is one of the issues that is always brought up [by park staff]: “This should not be taking place outside of the park. We have to change all of the practices outside of the park. We have to protect the Mersey watershed area. We have to put stiffer guidelines.” What it comes back to is what’s inside of the park is inside of the park. What is outside of the park, leave it alone. (K10)

Another relevant characteristic of this sub-culture is a very strong willingness on the part of many residents to sit on committees, volunteer for community events, and go to meetings. Kitchen table gatherings and informal meetings are an important form of social interaction in the region. As in many small towns in Canada, it tends to be the same group of local people who become involved in various groups and events, and these people are subject to “volunteer burn out” due to being over-tasked.

Finally, many local participants indicated that the park region is a “dying community” in terms of a declining population, a rising unemployment rate, and a lack of business opportunities. Several participants expressed sadness about this and compared the number of businesses in the community and services available to the way it used to be. One participant noted that local residents are moving into the larger centres in the province and that the only residents who will be remaining in the future will be park staff and the elderly.
Culture of Residents Near the Kejimkujik Seaside

There are many similarities between the culture of the communities near the inland section of the park and those near the Kejimkujik Seaside, although some participants felt that the communities near the Seaside are perhaps more self-contained and independent than the communities around the inland section of the park:

They have their own law, and they have this great sense of “This is the way we have done things.” (K27)

Participants distinguished between the cultures of the communities of Port L’Hebert and Port Joli (Figure 3). There are many more summer residents in Port Joli than in Port L’Hebert, a characteristic which influences the dynamic of the community. Another significant difference is that there is still a small fishing industry out of Port L’Hebert but only one commercial fisher remains in Port Joli. The service centres of these communities are also different. Most people from Port Joli drive to Liverpool for their services (e.g., schools, banks, doctors) and most people in Port L’Hebert drive to Shelburne for their services.

Within Port Joli, the small community located adjacent to the Kejimkujik Seaside, there are three groups of people: the “local locals” or those with many generations’ history in the community, people who moved to the community within their lifetimes, and the summer residents, who are mostly American. Each of these groups has differing opinions about the Kejimkujik Seaside (see 4.3.5).

Culture of First Nations

The third sub-culture explored for the KNP&NHS case study is that of First Nations. Some significant elements of the culture of First Nations people living on or off reserves near the park were volunteered during the interviews.
Most First Nations participants described their strong relationship with the natural environment. One First Nation participant recollected living at the shoreline with his family during the summer and noted how that way of living is similar to the seasonal migrations of his ancestors. Another participant spoke very deeply about the petroglyphs, eel weirs, and ancient burial grounds found within KNP&NHS and how important those sites were to the First Nations people in the area and across Nova Scotia. This strong connection to the natural environment for some has influenced their relationship with the park by allowing a disconnection between the land and its park status (see 4.2.2).

Several participants pointed out that many First Nations people do not feel strongly about the concepts of national parks or national historic sites in general because they imply “setting aside” land, which does not fit with their cultural belief of people being a part of nature:

*I guess it’s one of those situations where it feels kind of strange that here we are, the only way that we can really establish something to depict our culture is to do it on these parcels of reserved land set aside.* (K23)

Culture of KNP&NHS Staff

Participants described certain aspects of the culture of KNP&NHS staff that have had an influence on the park’s relationship with regional actors. For instance, some participants perceived cultural differences between park staff, many of whom moved to the region to work in the park, and local residents. The park staff were perceived by some participants as “city folk” who are more educated, better paid, and who have strong conservation values. Some participants expressed that they did not understand why park staff felt so strongly about conservation, highlighting the differences in values between the two cultures.
Other participants talked about a degree of insularity that exists within the park staff culture which fosters a separation of the park from the park region. For example, not as many park staff live in park housing in the communities immediately around the park as in the past, and many have re-located to larger centres such as Bridgewater and Liverpool. This is perceived by some local residents as an example of the park staff being more disconnected from the local community than in the past. One participant noted that many of the park staff socialize with one another and find it difficult to make friendships with local people. Another participant felt that the park staff wore their uniforms too much to meetings and conferences and that this created a feeling of park staff being separate from others.

Not all local residents perceived this insularity. Some participants perceived the park staff as “committed” and “hard working.” Generally speaking, participants from out the park’s immediate region but within southwestern Nova Scotia, particularly those involved in research or those affiliated with other government agencies, perceived the park staff in a very positive light.

Finally, many participants made a distinct separation between the park staff themselves and Parks Canada. They recognized that the park staff are often bound by legislation and policies that were not developed at the park level and two participants called this the “Ottawa factor”:

*It’s not so much having the people that are not originally from the area making the decisions; it’s the people that have never even come. It’s the people that have made the decision that would like to see it remain, sort of the ‘Ottawa factor’. There is nothing wrong with the people that live there. I think they’d do a bang-up job if they were allowed to do their job.* (K7)

*I know the management team very well down there and they are federal civil servants but I think by and large their heart’s in the right place. You know some of them are more crusty than others but overall I think they’re trying to do the right thing, so, I’m pretty optimistic it’ll turn out okay.* (K11)
4.1.5 Governance

This section presents a list of key regional actors for the KNP&NHS case study and a brief overview of their responsibilities, decision-making powers, and/or relevance to the park (Table 12). The interactions between the park and these regional actors are examined in the next section. The key regional actors for this study were determined by noting recommendations from study participants and by asking key Parks Canada employees which actors the park staff interacted with. Thus, it is not a comprehensive list of all of the actors (individuals, groups, agencies) in the region but rather the ones that were deemed to be the most significant in terms of regional integration and where one or more representatives was interviewed for the study. Finally, there is some overlap at the individual level between these actor groups. For example, many university-affiliated academics are also involved with MTRI and the Southwest Nova Biosphere Reserve (SNBR) and some members of the forestry industry are local residents.

<table>
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<th>Key Regional Actor</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>County of Queens Municipality</td>
<td>• The municipal agency KNP&amp;NHS staff interact with the most frequently • Portion of inland section of park and all of Seaside are within the municipality • Many interactions have been about the designation of Kejimkujik Seaside and MTRI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nova Scotia Department of Environment and Labour (NSDEL)</td>
<td>• “Responsible for delivering effective and efficient regulatory management for the protection of our environment and the health and safety of Nova Scotians” (Province of Nova Scotia, 2008) • Responsible for the province’s protected areas including wilderness areas, heritage rivers, and nature reserves • The Tobeatic Wilderness Area is a 900 km² wilderness area directly adjacent to the inland section of KNP&amp;NHS • Became “Nova Scotia Environment” on April 1, 2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nova Scotia Department of Natural Resources (NSDNR)</td>
<td>• Has broad responsibilities related to the development, management, conservation, and protection of forest, mineral, parks, and wildlife resources as well as the administration of the province’s Crown land • Administers Thomas Raddall Provincial Park, near the Kejimkujik Seaside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Nations</td>
<td>• Wild Cat Reserve (part of Acadia First Nation), Bear River First Nation, and Annapolis First Nation are all within the park region • All belong to the Mi’kmaq Nation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Forestry industry | Three “tiers” exist: smaller, independent forestry operators, several medium size forestry companies, and three larger companies  
Largest company is Abitibi-Bowater Inc. which leases large tracts of land in southwestern Nova Scotia and operates a pulp mill in Liverpool, near the Kejimkujik Seaside |
| Friends of Keji Cooperating Association | Mission is to support Parks Canada’s mandate for the protection, preservation and interpretation of all the resources in Kejimkujik National Park/National Historic Site  
Board of directors are mostly comprised of volunteers from outside of the park’s immediate region  
Operates volunteer programs within the park such as “Loon Watch” and a campground host program  
Operates a campground canteen and a bookstore within park information centre  
Not-for-profit corporation and registered charity  
Board of Directors of 12 people and approximately 60 members |
| Local communities | Includes business owners/operators and residents in the area immediately surrounding the inland section of the park (South Brookfield, Caledonia, Maitland Bridge, Kempt, New Grafton) and the Kejimkujik Seaside (Port Mouton, Port L’Herbert, Port Joli, and Southwest Port Mouton)  
Many members of this group are property owners |
| University-affiliated researchers | Most connections are with Dalhousie University, Acadia University and Saint Mary’s University (all within mainland Nova Scotia)  
Natural resource, biology, ecology, and geography academics who conduct research or supervise students conducting research in and around KNP&NHS  
KNP&NHS issues the second most research permits in the country and is perceived as very strong in terms of scientific research |
| Tourism industry | Some tourism operators are based outside of the park region but run tours that take clients into both sections of the park  
Several restaurants, hotels, and bed and breakfasts operate near both sections of the park  
The South Shore Tourism Association (SSTA) is the main destination marketing organization that park staff have interacted with  
Since the research was carried out, the SSTA has become part of “Destination Southwest Nova” |
| Mersey Tobeatic Research Institute (MTRI) | A not-for-profit cooperative that was formed in 2004 with financial assistance through Parks Canada’s ecological integrity fund  
MTRI’s mission is “to advance collaborative research, monitoring, and management that promotes sustainable use of resources and biodiversity conservation in the Southwest Nova Biosphere Reserve” (Mersey Tobeatic Research Institute, 2005)  
Based in the village of Kempt, very close to the park entrance  
MTRI board members are composed of regional actors including provincial and local government employees, Parks Canada staff, tourism operators, and academics  
Main activities are scientific research, education, and outreach  
Current research projects on community monitoring, aquatic health, landscape connectivity, riparian and wetland buffers, and species at risk |
Southwest Nova Biosphere Reserve (SNBR)

- A United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)-designated biosphere reserve that is made up of five counties in southwestern Nova Scotia: Annapolis, Digby, Yarmouth, Shelburne and Queens
- A volunteer-based association supports the biosphere reserve
- The association “seeks to balance the conservation of natural and cultural heritage with sustainable resource development in Southwest Nova Scotia, in support of prosperous local economies and healthy communities” (Southwest Nova Biosphere Reserve Association, 2001b, p. 1)
- Parks Canada provides some annual funding to the association
- Does not have any legal jurisdiction in the region
- Has focused its efforts on making the application to UNESCO, gaining the support of the citizens of southwestern Nova Scotia, and building awareness of the biosphere reserve

4.1.6 “Hot topics”

As noted in the explanation of the conceptual framework for regional integration, understanding regional “hot topics” is vital for examining regional integration. Participants were asked what the controversial or political issues in the region were that had an influence on regional integration or the relationship between regional actors and the park. These “hot topics” provide context to many of the interactions that are discussed in the next section.

One of the main “hot topics” within the park region is forestry, particularly a perception help by some that there is a lack of public input into the forestry planning process and a lack of information available about forestry practices. Some park staff members expressed frustration that there is no planning mechanism for the public to be involved in decisions made about forestry within the park region. One participant lamented the “do what you want to your land” attitude of some Nova Scotians:

*Forestry is politically extremely hot and there is very little land use planning, land use regulation at all in the province, and there’s a history of “Do what you want to your land”, particularly, and “Do what you want to Crown land” as well, literally. (K12)*
Another Parks Canada staff member lamented the lack of information available on forestry activities in the park region and their inability to have a say in forestry companies’ activities and harvesting practices:

_We don’t even have updated files on forests around the park, which just speaks once again to the incredibly poor land management in this province. We don’t even know where the cutting is._ (K9)

An infestation of the pale-winged gray moth was another significant “hot topic” in recent years. One park staff member recalled the infestation and how it was handled by the park. In 2002, Parks Canada staff noticed that there was defoliation occurring in a stand of hemlock trees due to a moth larvae infestation. In order to identify the moth, samples of the larvae were collected and sent to the Canadian Forest Service for examination. The Forest Service identified the moth as the “pale-winged gray” moth, a moth that was not previously known as a major defoliator of hemlocks. Concern began to escalate about the outbreak, particularly within the forest industry and other government agencies. Through subsequent entomological studies it was determined that the insect was native and already occurred in the greater ecosystem and that it may have occurred in elevated numbers in the past. At this point, Parks Canada created a stakeholder advisory committee which included representatives from the forest industry, who were concerned about the moth spreading beyond park boundaries. The advisory committee examined population dynamics and ecology, the level of defoliation, and forest change. The rationale for pesticide use and other control options were developed and considered through this advisory team. Many local actors urged the park apply herbicides to the outbreak while others were concerned about this possible approach. By 2005, the moth infestation had subsided somewhat without the use of pesticides and the resulting damage was mostly limited to the understory of one major stand. One park staff member emphasized how
“hot” the issue became and labelled the outbreak as a “textbook case of a [park] management nightmare”:

*It really was a textbook case in terms of a management nightmare in a national park in some ways. The only thing probably that would have been worse is if it had been a non-native insect but even then the management decision would have been much more clear. The fact that there was ambiguity about the fact of it being a non-native insect that was having damage on the resources also outside of the park and our outside stakeholders were really concerned about it also damaging the main site in the park or visitor experience and therefore also for revenue. (K33)*

Finally, visitor use of the park was identified as a “hot topic” for this case study because of the number of visitors to the park and the changing patterns of visitation that is having in an effect on local businesses. Kejimkujik receives approximately 50,000 person-visits per year corresponding to approximately 150,000 person-nights of use (Parks Canada, 2006c). Approximately 80% of visitors to the inland section of the park come from mainland Nova Scotia and repeat visitation is high, with about 75% of visitors having been to the park before (Parks Canada, 2006c). Most visitation occurs during the summer months but there is increasing visitation during the shoulder seasons. The park has experienced a steady decline in both the total number of visitors and front country campers since 2002. The number of visitors from the United States, local communities, youth groups, schools, and outside-province Canadians has also decreased (Parks Canada, 2006c). The length of visits to the park has decreased in recent years and, instead of staying for 2-3 weeks and buying food and camping supplies in the region, most visitors purchase their food and equipment before leaving home. The type of visitor is also changing with more visitors camping in recreational vehicles in the Jeremy’s Bay campground instead of tents.

Visitation to the Kejimkujik Seaside has declined from a high of approximately 23,000 visitors in 2003 to approximately 16,000 visitors in 2006 (Parks Canada, 2006c). In contrast to
the profile of visitors to the inland section of the park, approximately 75% of visitors to the Kejimkujik Seaside are from out of province, making the development of tourism infrastructure in the region more feasible.

4.1.7 Park Region

Participants had varying conceptualizations of what the KNP&NHS region is. Several participants perceived the park region to be the same as the SNBR, the five counties in southwestern Nova Scotia (Annapolis, Digby, Yarmouth, Shelburne and Queens). Other participants felt that the KNP&NHS region overlapped with MTRI’s main area of interest, the Mersey and Tobeatic river watersheds. The participants who perceived these overlapping regions were individuals who were active in these organizations.

Participants involved in the tourism industry perceived that the inland park region was Mainland Nova Scotia, the origin of a majority of its visitors. For the Kejimkujik Seaside, since the park is located on a popular travel route of American and overseas visitors, the origin of its visitors is well outside of the regional scale.

Participants of the park’s recent visioning session as part of the management plan review denoted the park region to be southwestern Nova Scotia – in accordance with the biosphere reserve area and the Mi’kmaw district of “Kespukwitk”, which means “lands end” in the Mi’kmaw language, one of seven Mi’kmaw districts in Nova Scotia.

Finally, many participants perceived that three communities, Port Mouton, Port l’Herbert, and Port Joli (Figure 3), comprised the Kejimkujik Seaside region. Parks Canada has focused its efforts on communicating and interacting with people in these communities and has not developed relationships with actors in the communities further away from the Kejimkujik
Seaside, with the important exceptions of the County of Queens Municipality and Bowater-Abitibi Ltd., both located in Liverpool.

4.2 Review of Documents

Several documents relevant to KNP&NHS and the KNP&NHS region were reviewed in order to document references to the term “regional integration”, park policies or directives related to park-region interactions, and formal regional integration initiatives in place in the park region. Many of the policies, directives, and initiatives were also discussed by participants and are thus elaborated on more in the discussion of specific park and actor relationships.

Table 13 summarizes the results of the review of documents for the KNP&NHS case study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 13: Results of review of documents for KNP&amp;NHS</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>References to “regional integration”</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• “The term regional integration refers to the interrelationships between protected areas and the lands, communities, people, and cultures adjacent to them”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Refers to biosphere reserves as possible means for improving of regional integration KNP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Park policies or directives related to park-region interactions</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 1994 change in fiscal policy made the park more responsible for generating revenue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• “Kejimkujik will also serve as a national long term ecological research and monitoring site, and will promote excellence in the conduct of ecological science and resource protection, in cooperation with other agencies, educational institutions and industry.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kejimkujik National Park and National Historic Site: Draft Vision and Strategic Direction</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Strategic goals</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• “Kejimkujik’s strong relationships with partners and stakeholders enhance Parks Canada’s resource protection, visitor experience and education mandate” (p. 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Objectives:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• “To build and strengthen partnerships that will help to maintain and enhance ecological integrity in the greater ecosystem” (p. 6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• “To promote a collaborative approach to management” (p. 6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• “To implement a research program, using scientific and Mi’kmaw knowledge, to support management decisions that will allow Kejimkujik to maintain its natural biodiversity and processes” (p. 8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• “To communicate natural resource protection information to our partners and stakeholders to increase understanding, enhance ecological protection and encourage stewardship” (p. 9)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Only one of the reviewed documents, a 1994 master’s thesis (Vines, 1994), used the term “regional integration”. The Parks Canada documents reviewed did not use the term “regional integration”, but contained references to regional integration initiatives and regional integration goals such as promoting a collaborative approach, joint programs, developing partnerships. Several formal regional integration initiatives were identified including the
Mersey Tobeatic Research Institute, the Mi’kmaq Network, and the Southwest Nova Biosphere Reserve.

4.3 Park and Actor Relationships

Understanding a protected area’s regional integration means understanding the relationships between park staff and regional actors. This section presents participants’ perceptions of the relationships between KNP&NHS and the regional actors identified in section 4.1.5. The themes explored include the strength of the relationships and the informal and formal mechanisms for interaction that exist between the park and regional actors.

4.3.1 Local and Provincial Government Departments

The three government agencies identified as the most relevant with respect to the regional integration of KNP&NHS are the Nova Scotia Department of Natural Resources (NSDNR), the Nova Scotia Department of Environment and Labour (NSDEL), and the County of Queens Municipality.

Nova Scotia Department of Natural Resources

The relationship between Parks Canada and NSDNR was described in quite different terms by different participants, depending on their position within the agencies and their experiences. Generally speaking, interactions between the two agencies occur infrequently and on an issue-by-issue basis.

Even though the two government agencies have different mandates (resource development vs. ecological integrity) several KNP&NHS staff characterized the relationship between the park and NSDNR as strong, particularly during the last few years in interactions about the pale-winged gray outbreak (see 4.1.6):
They’ve always wanted to be more involved because they understand the benchmark importance to know what a natural environment would do and they’ve also been supportive of our leave it alone policy, in this case, not to spray and because they would like to see what happens if, you know, you don’t manage. (K20)

Parks Canada staff and NSDNR staff also regularly work together on species at risk recovery teams and participants from both agencies perceived that the interactions between staff on these teams have been positive. However, the issue of which agency is the lead agency on these teams has created some tension in the past. One Parks Canada staff member recollected one instance where Parks Canada announced that it would take the lead on a particular recovery team and NSDNR staff were unhappy about this since they felt that there had been a misunderstanding as to which agency would be the lead agency.

Some information sharing occurs between the two agencies with respect to the Kejimkujik Seaside and Thomas Raddall Provincial Park. The two parks are within 15 kilometres of one another and share many of the same visitors. However, participants from both agencies felt that there has not been enough interaction in terms of joint programming, sharing resources, or infrastructure development. One NSDNR participant noted that there should be more effort made to promote the provincial park as a convenient place for visitors to the Kejimkujik Seaside to camp.

There is also infrequent communication between the two agencies about forestry. One NSDNR staff person perceived that the provincial agency made allowances for leaving a buffer zone around the park and that the agency “goes above and beyond” trying to accommodate park goals, but that the park itself is a “closed entity”, has a “non intervention” philosophy and that the agency has little influence on activities within park boundaries.
Nova Scotia Department of Environment and Labour

The mandates of Parks Canada and NSDEL are closer than the mandates of Parks Canada and NSDNR (see 4.1.5) and the relationship between the two agencies was described by participants as “positive” and “cordial.” There are no regular meetings between staff of the two agencies or joint operational projects and most of the interactions occur on an issue-by-issue basis or through participation in MTRI and SNBR.

Participants from both agencies noted the large difference between the staff and budget capacities of Parks Canada and NSDEL (Parks Canada’s is much larger) which can sometimes influence interactions between the two agencies. However, NSDEL was perceived by many participants to be able to use its limited budget and capacity quite efficiently and effectively.

Some NSDEL staff, particularly those affiliated with the agency’s Bridgewater office, come into regular contact with KNP&NHS park staff through several mechanisms such as MTRI, SNBR, KNP&NHS’s annual science conference, and other processes such as forestry stakeholder advisory committees, where there are representatives from both agencies involved:

_We’ll often find ourselves at the same stakeholder table that Keji’s at and it might be facilitated by a forestry company that week or it might be facilitated by a research institute the next week, or one of us might be facilitating the table and the other one is there._ (K12)

One recent formal mechanism for interaction between the two government agencies was during the consultation process for the Tobeatic Wilderness Area management plan. The Parks Canada representative in the process attended regular meetings and supported aspects of the plan that would enhance or protected the ecological integrity of the park.

From the perspective of visitation to KNP&NHS and the Tobeatic Wilderness Area, there is little agency-to-agency work on specific projects although there seems to be
momentum in working together to develop a canoe route that would pass through the park and the wilderness area.

**County of Queens Municipality**

There have been more interactions between KNP&NHS and the County of Queens Municipality than any other municipality in the region; however the frequency and regularity of these interactions are at a much lower level than with the two provincial government agencies above. There are no regular meetings between staff of the agencies and most interactions have been informal and involved information sharing.

A lot of communication occurred between the two agencies during the lead up to and establishment of the Kejimkujik Seaside, located within the County of Queens Municipality. The Kejimkujik Seaside remains the focus of communications between the agencies today.

The Municipality also played an important role in the establishment of MTRI, by supporting the concept and by providing a grant to MTRI, which was sufficient for it to pay the rent for its building in Kempt for a number of months.

One municipal representative spoke very highly about the park’s recent management planning workshops and noted the difference in approach that the park used during the most recent workshops:

*Previously there were open houses where the staff said, “This is what we’re going to do. What do you think?” Now we have completely different modes of operating by in which people who are knowledgeable are brought together and invited to present their views that can be reflected on by the professional staff. (K18)*

### 4.3.2 First Nations

The relationship between First Nations in the park region and KNP&NHS staff has been complicated and somewhat contentious. First Nations participants and KNP&NHS staff
were very open to talking about this relationship and the topic took up a good portion of some interviews.

First, it should be noted that there is a difference in the relationship between First Nations people and the land that is now KNP&NHS and the relationship between First Nations and Parks Canada staff. All of the First Nations participants for this case study made this separation and many spoke of a deep connection to the land, but a more challenging relationship with Parks Canada staff and park regulations:

> Even though working with Parks Canada is frustrating, my connection is still there because my daughter got married there and at the sacred site there’s a burial ground. We planted a tree in memory of my father and my father had gatherings there, his spiritual gatherings. Even today we find it very difficult, and I’m still working on trying to figure out the rules when we go in, for spiritual reasons, to go into the site, you know, whether we have to pay or whether we don’t have to. (K16)

Several First Nations people are employed at the park. Most of the First Nations staff are Mi’kmaq and most are from reserves outside of the park region. These staff members are heavily involved in planning and programming for the National Historic Site, special events involving First Nations people, and the cultural interpretation program at the park.

Outside of the context of park planning and programming, the relationship between First Nations and park staff was described by participants using a full spectrum of descriptors from “rock bottom” to “very good”. Interestingly, this difference in perception was not divided according to affiliation. For example, some Parks Canada staff members perceived the relationship to be very good while other staff members perceived it to be quite poor.

Past incidents between First Nations users of the park and park staff have influenced the relationship. Before the establishment of the Kejimkujik National Historic Site, First Nations people were not allowed to access the sacred sites without going on a tour conducted by a park staff person. Many expressed frustration about this and felt that they should have
been allowed free access to the sites. In another incident, a First Nations person was removed from the park for illegal fishing which created tension between the park and the person’s band. Another participant described how some First Nations elders were brought to park meetings in the 1960’s as “token Aboriginals” and were not given the opportunity to participate in the meetings.

Despite this history, some participants explained that KNP&NHS staff have been working very hard to strengthen the relationship with First Nations, build trust, and establish a “more comfortable working relationship” and that although the relationship is not perfect, it is slowly improving:

> It’s coming slowly but surely. I think it’s just trying to build some type of trust relationship first so they’ll actually start sitting down and talking about long term commitments on both sides. That’s hopefully the light at the end of the tunnel. (K23)

> They know that they have a long way to go, so I think they’ve already started that. It’s certainly a process, and I recognize that, but I think it’s all right to say we’re not there yet, we’re not even close to being where we should be. At the same time, we’re working and that that’s a good thing. (K25)

Some of the more formal processes that have been initiated recently include a yearly trust building event where First Nations from the region come to the park and participate in a sweat lodge and express their opinions about the park. First Nations are now accorded more freedoms within the park including access to the petroglyph sites and allowances for ceremonies. However, there was still some confusion among participants about access and whether admission to the park was free for First Nations.

The frequency of formal interactions between park staff and First Nations has increased in recent years. The Mi’kmaq Network acted as an advisory body on the commemoration and designation of the National Historic Site and protection of the petroglyphs. Since its creation, the scope of the committee has widened to include consultation for management planning.
Some participants noted that there has not been a great deal of communication between the park and First Nations elders and this was perceived as very important by some park staff. There was an initiative organized by the Parks Canada Regional Service Centre in Halifax that involved a series of workshops that focused on talking about the past, potentials for the future, and a vision for the recent park management plan review but one participant reported that there has not been very much interaction with elders since the workshops.

The designation of the Kejimkujik National Historic site in 1995 was perceived as a major milestone in the relationship between First Nations and the park. It brought significant attention to the cultural landscape of the park and allowed for more park resources to be invested into developing products for its interpretation. Despite recognizing the park in such a way, some participants noted that many Mi’kmaq people in the region, particularly youth, do not know a lot about the park and have not visited it.

Finally, it is important to note that very few informal interactions currently occur between First Nations and park staff. Park staff have made an effort to meet various First Nations representatives and have initiated several meetings however very few personal friendships have developed between the two groups and there are no regular informal social events in which both groups participate.

### 4.3.3 Forestry Industry

The relationship among the three tiers of the forestry industry in the region (independent forestry operators, medium sized operators, and large operators) and the park was generally perceived as positive by most participants. Members of the forestry industry and park staff interact with one another in various capacities such as working on issues of mutual concern, participating in MTRI, through the park management planning process, and through
open houses hosted by forestry companies. One forestry industry participant articulated that both groups have different perspectives but have been able to communicate about them in a cordial manner:

*We both are in the resource industry but we kind of look at it from different sides of things. We’re both on the same side with very, very few exceptions; very few exceptions. I think we have a fairly mature...we’re able to argue and talk and have a glass of scotch at the end of the day.* (K7)

The relationship between the park and the forestry industry is greatly influenced by differing philosophies and paradigms about trees and the forest ecosystem. For example, one person within the industry felt that the trees within the park were “going to waste” and that the park should not be involved in activities outside of its boundaries:

*I think what is not gotten over is the fact that that full 96,000 acres is now allowed just to go through its natural cycle, and people think that is an extravagance, a waste. They have an argument. When you take a piece of that much land out of an area and then even if it’s dead or dying, you don’t try to salvage something out of it. I don’t know if that’s good land stewardship.* (K7)

The pale-winged gray outbreak provided context for some of the recent interactions between Parks Canada and the forestry industry. Most of the participants interviewed who were involved in the meetings related to the outbreak were satisfied with the way that Parks Canada dealt with the issue (see 4.1.6).

Participants had differing opinions about the issues of forest harvesting near the park boundary. One industry participant noted that, in the past, there have been “normal operations” up to the park boundary and that this did not raise any concerns from park staff. However, one parks staff person had a strong opinion that the level of information available about forest practices in the province was sub-standard:

*Well industry in this province, dealing with forestry, does not share information. It’s on the verge of being constitutionally illegal. I would have to say that Nova Scotia has some of the most repressive forestry acts going. There is no planning mechanism that*
the public can participate in in any meaningful way. And so Sierra Club pounds on their heads on a regular basis. All the power to them, because they, you know, it’s a non-entity. Bowater graced us with letting us look at some maps about a year ago. That’s as close as we get to anything that would be called consultation and discussion. And it wasn’t like we actually got the comment, its like “Here’s what we’re cutting, thank you.” (K9)

Finally, and in contrast to the quote above, there are close friendships that developed between some park staff and members of the forestry industry, which has made informal communication easier according to one participant:

The personnel at the park, and it might be because of the individuals but it probably is not, have been very good to me if something is going to affect me they will call and talk to me about it. They are friends of mine, that’s another thing about being in a small area, they are about my age, some of us go canoeing together and things so they would call us and talk to us about things. (K9)

4.3.4 Friends of Keji Cooperating Association

There is a strong and longstanding relationship between the Friends of Keji Cooperating Association and the KNP&NHS. “The Friends”, a member of the Canadian Parks Partnership, a national network of park cooperating associations, has been in existence since 1998. The group’s mandate is to support Parks Canada’s mandate for the protection and promotion of KNP&NHS.

Formally, the relationship is outlined in a Memorandum of Understanding. There is also a park staff person on the group’s board of directors. Members of “The Friends” are primarily long-time park users and volunteers from outside of the immediate park region. Park staff and members of “The Friends” both described the relationship between the two groups as “very close.” Since the association’s inception, “The Friends” has undertaken several joint projects with the park. The group also provides a very strong, long-term contingent of volunteers for monitoring programs, such as the “Loon Watch” program. “The Friends” also runs two small businesses within the park’s boundaries: the gift store and the canteen near the
Jake’s Landing campground. KNP&NHS sometimes uses the group’s website to post items, as there is a very long process involved to post material on the Parks Canada web site.

Notably, there is no “Friends” organization for the Kejimkujik Seaside and all of the group’s activities take place within the inland section of the park. One participant explained that there has been some interest in starting up a separate division within the association that would focus on the Kejimkujik Seaside but that there have been no firm commitments from local residents in terms of volunteering.

4.3.5 Local Communities

Almost every participant who was interviewed for this study had an opinion about the relationship between the local communities and the park. Many participants considered themselves part of the local community, including Parks Canada staff members who live in Caledonia, Kempt, or Maitland Bridge. This section presents participants’ perceptions of the relationship between the park and the communities near the inland section of the park (Caledonia, Kempt, and Maitland Bridge) and the relationship between the park and the communities around the Kejimkujik Seaside (Port Joli, Port Mouton, and Port L’Hebert) (Figures 2, 3).

Inland Communities

The relationship between the park and the communities near the inland section of the park has been influenced by the history of the park’s establishment and development (see 4.1.3). Some community members, particularly those whose land was expropriated for park establishment, felt negatively about the park’s history, have vowed not to enter the park, and purposely do not interact with parks staff. These people, however, comprise a minority of
residents. Several participants perceived that most local residents have a somewhat neutral attitude about the existence of KNP\&NHS and do not feel that it has had a very strong influence on their day-to-day lives. A local perception of the park being “insular” has contributed to this attitude. Notably, very few local people use the park to hike or camp. Many residents choose to hike and camp outside of the park in order to avoid paying the park entrance fee and wish to “leave the park for the tourists.” One long time visitor to the park described her perception of how the park’s establishment was perceived by local residents:

*I would say at Keji, my observations are that there’s - any resentment or friction with the local community is extremely low level compared with some other parks in the system, and I’ve talked to a number of the old folks. Although I’ve heard stories, everybody I’ve ever talked to have said that they were fairly compensated. The area was in economic decline big time when the Park got established and it was a source of local employment, so I haven’t seen a deep seeded resentment that way. (K11)*

Some participants described a period during the 1980’s when the relationship between the park and local communities was its strongest. There was much more local involvement in the park during this period and more community events for local residents to participate in including a winter festival, craft festivals, and a canoe festival. There was also an active committee comprising local residents, the Keji Area Promotion Committee, that organized events in the park as well as public talks on research. One local business owner reminisced about the way the relationship between the park and local communities used to be:

*The visitor services lady used to--we planned things together and planned activities together and we baked and took it down to the information centre for special days, like if it was a Sunday and they was having the ladies there quilting, or maybe some of the women was making butter, or doing all the old things. Well, we always were a part of that. (K31)*

Several participants noted a distinct shift in policy during the mid 1990’s which marked a change in the park’s relationship with the local community. Along with the introduction of park entrance fees in 1995, two participants noted that the park became a lot less flexible in its
policies, less concerned about the local community (particularly in terms of supporting local business opportunities), and more focused on both ecological integrity and the establishment of the national historic site, which took away from attention to the communities in the immediate park region.

The implementation of park user fees and higher camping fees in the mid 1990’s was perceived very negatively by local people both in terms of the increased cost for locals to access the park and in terms of the effect that the price increase is perceived to have had on visitor numbers, which has affected local businesses. Lower visitor numbers have resulted in a decline in business at local stores and restaurants. Some business owners do not feel that the park is making enough effort to attract visitors and that the park facilities have not been keeping pace with the realities of the tourism market, particularly the popularity of recreational vehicles, and the desire for electrical hook-ups in the campground. One park staff member sympathized with some park visitors’ desires for better service:

*If you’re coming back every other weekend, you know exactly what was charged the year before, and the year before that. If you’re being charged more you want to see more service for it instead of less, which tends to be what happens these days.* (K7)

One of the main formal ways that the local community has interacted with park staff has been through various open houses and meetings related to the management planning process. Park staff reported that there was a serious attempt made by the management planning staff to formally involve this group in the most recent management planning workshops, including residents who did not belong to any organized group.

Also related to the relationship between the park and the local community is the interaction between local school children and the park. In the past, park interpreters visited schools in the area to give presentations to students. These in-class visits have declined in the
recent years. Currently, the park targets the local schools in Caledonia and aims to bring students to the park at least once during their school years. There is also a program organized through MTRI that brings local school children to the park. The most recent versions of this program had school children interviewing park researchers about the forest and species at risk and producing a documentary style video about their experiences. One park staff person noted that it is currently very expensive for schools to fund field trips to the park due to transportation costs and entrance fees. The park recently acquired funding for a larger program that builds a package about the park and ecological integrity into existing school curriculum and it includes an in-class component and a visit to the park.

**Kejimkujik Seaside Communities**

The relationship between Parks Canada and the communities near the Kejimkujik Seaside began in the late 1970’s, when local people and the local MLA began lobbying the province for the coastal property near Port Joli to become a national park. Several public meetings were held in order to gather input about the proposed Kejimkujik Seaside. Since these initial meetings, there have been very few interactions between the park and members of these communities, with the notable exception of the workshops held as part of the most recent management plan review. Very few personal relationships have developed between members of these communities and park staff.

As noted in section 4.1.3, there is some uncertainty among local residents about the purpose of the Kejimkujik Seaside. Some local residents expressed confusion about whether visitors to the Kejimkujik Seaside were welcomed to the park, or if Parks Canada is attempting to keep the property “under the radar,” with limited development. Some residents are in favour
of developing more tourism infrastructure within the Kejimkujik Seaside while others are against any kind of infrastructure. This issue is likely to dominate local peoples’ interactions with park staff for many years to come.

Park wardens, based at the inland section of the park, make regular trips to the Kejimkujik Seaside during the summer and there is a visitor services staff person at the Seaside’s information kiosk during the summer. However, there has never been a full time, year-round employee based at the Kejimkujik Seaside. Several participants pointed out that this lack of presence makes Parks Canada seem very far removed from the Kejimkujik Seaside.

4.3.6 Researchers

The relationship between KNP&NHS staff and academic researchers is another significant interaction with respect to the park’s regional integration. Most of the participants who were asked about this relationship perceived it to vary depending on the individuals involved, but, in general, saw it as very strong. KNP&NHS has a reputation across Canada as being very strong in terms of scientific research. It is perceived as a supporter of science and, for the most part, very supportive of researchers who wish to use the park as a research site, particularly for those research studies whose results can be used to benefit the park. One park staff person described the popularity of the park for conducting research:

Well I mean in terms of research alone we just have so much going on and for some reason we seem to be in the limelight for location. We’re surrounded by universities. All of them want to do work. All of them have students just pounding, wanting to do good field work and wanting to get out and for some reason they look to us. So we have upwards of, you know, 25 to 30 permits in the hopper and in fact if you want to put that on a national scale, we have the second largest number of research permits behind Jasper in the whole country. (K20)

There is a group of academics affiliated with Dalhousie University, Saint Mary’s University, and Acadia University who regularly conduct research in the park or organize
opportunities for honours, masters, and PhD students to conduct research in and around the park. The research projects are mostly in the biological sciences, although some social science research projects have been conducted.

There are some interesting aspects about the relationship between park staff and academic researchers within the park region. First, there are more personal relationships and friendships between park staff and regional researchers and “science people” (e.g., MTRI members) than any of the other relationships examined for this research. This is due to similar perspectives about ecology and conservation and a valuation of the park mandate and park goals by many academics. Furthermore, many current park staff members had academic researchers as their university professors and supervisors and the personal connections and friendships that developed when these staff were students have remained.

All of the researchers interviewed for this study had a similar complaint about the amount of paper work involved in order to gain permission to conduct research in the park and the process involved in obtaining funding for projects. One researcher noted that this complexity sends mixed messages to researchers about the value of their work:

*On the monetary side of things, there is also a bit of fusspotiness down there, so if you ... if it is reasonable to apply for a grant or some financial assistance from the park, you tend to get two messages: “Yes we would love you to come and do research, but if you actually want to have some financial support from Parks Canada, it is going to be very difficult because there is this deadline, that form to fill in.” This process is terribly complicated, and you get lost in this rather obscure situation. (K36)*

4.3.7 Tourism Industry

From the perspective of the tourism industry in Nova Scotia, the inland section of KNP&NHS is a regional scale tourism attraction. The park does not receive the national attention that other Atlantic national parks receive (such as Gros Morne National Park) but it is still seen as a significant attraction within mainland Nova Scotia. The Kejimkujik Seaside is
positioned along a well-travelled corridor for summer tourists and attracts visitors from out of province (see 4.1.6).

The relationship between KNP&NHS and the tourism industry is multi-tiered. On a larger scale, the park has had a long-term relationship with the SSTA (now part of Destination Southwest Nova). The park superintendent was once the president of the SSTA board.

There are some tour operators who originate from outside of the region and bring clients into both sections of the park. Interactions with these operators have been minimal although some were invited to participate in the recent management planning process.

At the more local level, participants reported that the relationship with local tourism businesses such as stores and bed and breakfasts has been strained during the last few years. Some members of this group expressed that the park is not doing enough to support local businesses and that too much attention has shifted toward the national historic site and scientific research.

4.3.8 Mersey Tobeatic Research Institute

There is an intimate and generally positive relationship between MTRI and KNP&NHS staff. Three major factors seem to contribute to this: the similar long-term goals between MTRI and the park, the significant funding that MTRI receives from Parks Canada, and the involvement of park staff on the MTRI board.

MTRI’s vision is “to advance collaborative research, monitoring, and management that promotes sustainable use of resources and biodiversity conservation in the Southwest Nova Biosphere Reserve” (Mersey Tobeatic Research Institute, 2005). One MTRI member summarized this vision as “making large scale decision across boundaries” and “recognizing
some natural boundaries instead of political boundaries.” This vision complements Parks Canada’s mandate to protect ecological integrity through broader ecosystem management.

Parks Canada was labelled by several participants as the “sugar daddy” of MTRI. The creation of MTRI was initiated by a former KNP&NHS staff person and the park provided a substantial amount of funding from the agency’s ecological integrity innovation fund, which provides funding for staff, the building in Kent, and $40,000 of funding for sub-contracted projects within the region. Parks Canada is by far the most significant financial contributor to MTRI and some participants perceived that this has created a somewhat lopsided relationship between the MTRI and the park, as compared to other supporting organizations.

MTRI has played a significant role in contracting out research projects within the region that are beneficial to the science program for KNP&NHS and which KNP&NHS internally does not have the capacity to undertake. There are two Parks Canada staff members who sit on MTRI’s board of directors and on several of the organization’s committees. Officially, the staff members are advisors to the board although the relationship was described as “quite intimate.”

Finally, as mentioned in the discussion of several other relationships above, MTRI has served as a catalyst for the development of many personal relationships between actors within the park region, which has led to increased communication between agencies.

4.3.9 Southwest Nova Biosphere Reserve

There has been a significant relationship between SNBR and the park since the biosphere reserve’s inception in 2004. Fundamentally, the biosphere reserve’s core area is the inland section of the national park and this has led to a fair degree of interaction between the
two organizations, both during the designation process of the biosphere reserve and since its inception.

Parks Canada provides yearly funding to SNBR, which has varied since its inception from $5000 to $7000. One participant noted that the current amount is far from enough funds to get the organization “off its feet.” The organization is actively seeking other sources of funding from other government agencies with the goal of securing enough funding to hire a staff person.

There are two Parks Canada staff members on the SNBR board. Officially, they are advisors to the board and do not have voting privileges. One participant perceived that the close interactions noted above and the fact that the biosphere reserve’s core area is the park makes the biosphere reserve appear “park-centric”:

_The problem with the path that Canada has taken [with biosphere reserves] is because it starts from the park, it is all about protecting the park, and it is not half about protecting the park and half about providing people with livelihoods, and I think the biosphere reserve should be about both ends of the spectrum, providing people with livelihoods and protecting nature in wild places._ (K36)

There has been some recent tension between SNBR board members and park staff. One participant explained that there have been two incidences of Parks Canada using the biosphere reserve name and writing about its philosophy in Parks Canada documents without any consultation with the SNBR board. This has created some strain in the relationship especially since one of the primary objectives of the biosphere reserve is to promote and facilitate collaboration. Another source of tension, according to another participant, is the vast difference in funding that has been allocated to MTRI compared to SNBR, even though MTRI is perceived as an “off-shoot” of the biosphere reserve.
The size of the biosphere reserve has presented some logistical challenges. The association attempts to hold its regular board meetings in the five counties that make up the biosphere reserve and this presents challenges for some Parks Canada staff who are members of the board to attend them.

Finally, as with MTRI, SNBR has acted as a catalyst for initiating personal relationships between regional actors and for improving communication between regional organizations. For example, SNBR board member described how the board was used to initiate the quick dissemination of information to various regional actors about the outbreak of the pale-winged gray moth:

Mike\textsuperscript{14} used the Biosphere Reserve Association as a stakeholder group, you’re able to activate a quick response through them, so that’s how that was done. (K12)

4.4 Participants’ Conceptualizations of Regional Integration

Participants were asked directly what the term “regional integration” meant to them. Table 14 presents participants’ conceptualizations of what regional integration means and what the goals of regional integration are\textsuperscript{15}. These findings are drawn upon in Chapter 8, where the theory of regional integration is developed further.

\textsuperscript{14} Names have been changed to preserve anonymity.

\textsuperscript{15} The responses have been summarized/re-worded for clarity and are not direct quotes. Not all participants were asked directly about regional integration. The author used her judgment in identifying those participants who might have a difficult time understanding the question or articulating their response and did not directly ask them for their interpretation of the term.
Table 14: Participants’ conceptualizations of regional integration for KNP&NHS case study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning of “regional integration” and how it is undertaken</th>
<th>Goals of regional integration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Working with communities, working with stakeholders. Interacting or involving the communities in the protected area region. (K17)</td>
<td>• The park staff are recognized equally as members of the community in the region and the socio-economic concerns of the region are understood by the park. Everyone understanding what everybody else’s role is. (K9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Regional geography. Understand the geography of the region. (K19)</td>
<td>• There are common priorities and objectives established between the park and the region. (K35)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Involvement, collaboration, and inclusion. (K20)</td>
<td>• There is room for flexibility in park policy to absorb the culture and uniqueness of the area. (K30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Communication (K9)</td>
<td>• People, organizations, and businesses of the area recognize the contribution that the park makes in the region. People feel comfortable communicating with park staff and the park is seen as a trusted partner. (K6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Developing relationships with people. Making the park work with businesses and making the park fit in to the community. (K30)</td>
<td>• The park and its values are integrated with the surrounding land base. (K15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Making the park part of the region. Making it part of the consciousness. (K26)</td>
<td>• The values of Parks Canada are embraced by regional actors and integrated into a broader set of values in the region. (K9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Moving away from parks as island to them being connect to the greater ecosystem. Breaking down the political boundaries. Collaborating with partners in the area. (K35)</td>
<td>• The park is fully “meshed” with the community. (K25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The park is part of the biosphere reserve and Kespukwitk. Communication with local communities. (K1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Looking at things holistically. (K22)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Undertaking genuine and highly laborious grassroots partnerships and relationship building. (K33)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Trying to find a way to work collaboratively with external stakeholders and landholders to ensure a healthy ecosystem beyond the boundaries of the park. (K34)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Effective partnerships, effective communications, joint operations. (K12)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Integration of the protected area into the biosphere reserve concept. Working for conservation throughout the landscape. (K36)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Combining everything together so everything is working as one. (K5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Supporting the local economy. (K10)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Having a cup of tea in someone’s kitchen, not formal meetings. (K9)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Breaking down the barriers between the park and the non-park. (K13)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.5 Improving Regional Integration

This section presents participants’ suggestions for improving the regional integration of KNP&NHS. Each participant had a different conceptualization of what regional integration should entail and had different short and long-term goals related to the park. However, some general themes did emerge.
Reducing or eliminating the park entrance fee was suggested by numerous participants as a concrete way to improve the relationship with local people and to encourage more local people to use the park. As explained in section 4.3.5, currently, many local residents feel that the park is for tourists and the entrance fee prevents some from visiting the park on a regular basis. Many participants expressed that a reduction in the park entrance fee for local people would be a significant and symbolic gesture from Parks Canada that local people are welcome.

Several participants felt that the non-First Nations history of the park would benefit from more attention and interpretation within the park and that this element of the cultural landscape has been “glossed over” due to the park’s focus on ecological integrity, regional ecosystem science, and the national historic site. One staff member articulated this desire:

>In order to take that to the next step when we look at a cultural landscape we cannot only look at one part of its history but sort of the whole...to me the definition of cultural landscape is all that dynamic or organic change that happens over all the time so.... I think once we start thinking about that I think it will make a huge difference in terms of how local communities especially respond to what we’re doing in terms of talking about Keji’s significant history. (K33)

A related recommendation is for the park to give more attention to the local community. As explained in section 4.3.5, many local residents feel a lack of connection between them and the park and perceive that the level of interaction between the park and the community has decreased over time. One staff person acknowledged this lack of focus:

>We’re so busy, just trying to do the day-to-day park government business that there isn’t the time left over for the local communities, and I think our priorities need to change and we need to portion out where it’s going to go. (K1)

Several participants felt that more attention could be paid to developing personal relationships with the local community by organizing informal gatherings or events within the park for the community.
Some concrete suggestions were given by participants for improving the relationship with local First Nations. The main suggestion was to build personal relationships and trust through informal gatherings as opposed to formal meetings or workshops. Some park staff suggested that there should be a First Nations liaison person hired by the park whose main task would be to work on relationship building.

Creating a sense of ownership of the park by First Nations was also perceived as of significant importance. Building traditional ecological knowledge into park interpretation and programming would be one way to initiate this. One First Nation participant articulated the importance of creating a sense of ownership of the park among First Nations:

*There’s got to be a sense of ownership, that’s the bottom line. You can’t just hire somebody to come in and say, “Tell your story.” It doesn’t work that way. It sounds all well and good and maybe that’s the way a lot of these systems work up here, it doesn’t work that way for us. You know, it’s the same thing that we have to go through with any kind of development we do in our community, we bring the vision to the floor, but somehow you’ve got to transfer that ownership to the people, and if the people don’t want it, then it’s not going to happen. I mean that’s the bottom line. (K23)*

Some participants felt that the relationship between the park and residents of the Kejimkujik Seaside region needed increased attention. They suggested that park staff should make the park’s goals and plans for the Kejimkujik Seaside clearer to local residents. A division within the Keji Cooperating Association that focuses on the Seaside may also help to improve linkages with the community. The most common suggestion by participants from the Kejimkujik Seaside region was to have a full-time staff person based in the region who could act as a liaison between the community and park staff.

Some participants suggested that there are potential areas for collaboration between the park and other government agencies that should be explored further. Two areas were seen as important to some participants: between NSDNR and Parks Canada related to the proximity of
the Kejimkujik Seaside and Thomas Raddall Provincial Park, and between NSDEL and Parks Canada related to the inland section of the park and the Tobeatic Wilderness Area.

Finally, the importance of building personal relationships and engaging in informal interactions was stressed by several participants. Increasing the number and variety of informal social interactions between park staff and regional actors was suggested by a number of participants even if it does “require that genuine and highly laborious and time consuming jobs doing grassroots” (K33).

4.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter presented the first of four case studies of regional integration. The regional integration of KNP&NHS has been influenced by a complex regional context. The elements of the regional context with seemingly the most influence on regional integration were the history of park establishment, perceived differences between the culture of park staff and local residents, changes in the relationship with local residents over time, the regional economy (which is perceived to be in decline), and two mechanisms for interaction: MTRI and SNBR, which have provided forums for interactions between park staff and regional actors. The relationship between the park and regional actors varies widely. A range of formal and informal mechanisms for interaction exist between the park and regional actors. The relationships perceived by participants as strong are with MTRI, SNBR, academic researchers, the Friends of Keji Cooperating Association, and NSDEL. Participants had several suggestions for improving the regional integration of the park ranging from giving more attention to the local community, building trust with First Nations, and engaging in more informal and social interactions with regional actors.
Chapter 5: Gros Morne National Park

This chapter presents the results from the Gros Morne National Park (GMNP) case study. It is organized in the same manner as the previous chapter on Kejimkujik National Park & National Historic Site. The chapter begins by presenting the context within which GMNP is situated including a description of the park region’s biophysical environment; basic information about the regional economy and demographics; the history of the establishment of the park; participants’ perceptions of the culture of the local community and park staff; a list of key regional actors; and participants’ perceptions what comprises the GMNP region. The second section of the chapter lists and reviews several documents gathered as secondary sources in terms of references to regional integration, park policies or directives related to park-region interactions, and information about regional integration initiatives in place in the park region. The third section of the chapter describes the relationships between regional actors and GMNP staff. Within each section, various aspects of the relationships are presented (e.g., perceptions of the strength of the relationship, mechanisms for interaction, and changes in the relationship over time) from the standpoint of both park staff and regional actors. The fourth section of the chapter presents participants’ conceptualizations of the term “regional integration”. The final section of this chapter outlines suggestions from participants for improving the regional integration of GMNP.

5.1 Context

As noted in the previous chapter, the context for regional integration “sets the stage” for regional integration as a process and influences the relationships between park staff and regional actors.
5.1.1 Biophysical Environment

Gros Morne National Park is situated on the western coast of the Island of Newfoundland covering 1805 km² with 69 km of coastline along the Gulf of St. Lawrence (Parks Canada, 1985). The park terrain is extremely varied and contains abiotic and biotic components characterizing both the St. Lawrence Lowlands and Western Newfoundland Highlands natural regions (Parks Canada, 1997). The region experiences a northerly maritime climate, characterized by cool summers and mild winters, abundant precipitation, and strong winds. The park’s geology, glacial history, proximity to the ocean, topography, and wind exposure contribute to the park’s diversity of different substrate types and habitats (Burzynski et al., 2005).

Gros Morne has a very wide range of habitats including barren plateaus, old growth forests, marine coastal ecosystems, wetlands, and freshwater ecosystems. There are several fjords along the coast, the largest being Bonne Bay. South of Bonne Bay is the Serpentine Tableland – an area of basic and ultrabasic metamorphosed rock which creates a unique and barren landscape (Crabb, 1981). The park contains over 30 fossil sites and is one of the few places on the planet where rocks from the earth’s mantel are exposed (Parks Canada, 1997). Approximately 118 of the Island of Newfoundland’s rare plants occur within Gros Morne and the park also provides habitat for a number of rare and threatened mammals including arctic hare, woodland caribou, and Newfoundland marten (Burzynski et al., 2005).

Gros Morne’s State of the Park Report provides recent information about the health of the park’s ecosystems (Burzynski et al., 2005). The report concluded that arctic hare, which reside in the Long Range Mountains, are vulnerable to disturbance, have a low reproductive
rate, and are declining. Woodland caribou are also in decline; there are only approximately 300 individuals left on Newfoundland and about 30 are within the park (Burzynski et al., 2005).

Moose were introduced to Newfoundland in 1878 and 1904 and have become a significant problem in Western Newfoundland forests due to the absence of a natural predator16. This over-abundance is significantly altering the forest ecosystem as the moose browse on woody species and affect the regeneration of forests. White spruce (which is unpalatable to moose) is regenerating in many stands that were dominated by balsam fir (Burzynski et al., 2005). The herbivores are having a significantly negative impact on the forest ecosystem as a result of browsing on young trees which prevents the forest from regeneration after timber harvesting, insect kills, or blow-downs. It is estimated that there are 4.3 moose per km² within GMNP.

The biophysical environment outside of the park is as diverse as the biophysical environment within the park. The Long Range Mountains form the “backbone” of the west coast of Newfoundland (Parks Canada, 1997). The coastal ecosystem is dominated by salt marshes, sand beaches, and offshore islands. In the interior of the island large tracts of dense forests are dominated by balsam fir, white spruce, and black spruce.

5.1.2 Economy and Demographics

The GMNP region’s primary industries are tourism, commercial fisheries, and forestry. In 2006, within Economic Zone 717, in which the park is located, the value of the forestry industry was estimated to be $20 million, the value of the fisheries industry was estimated to be $45 million and the value of the tourism industry was estimated to be $30 million (St.

16 Wolves were extirpated from the Island of Newfoundland in 1920.
17 The Red Ochre Regional Board regularly collects economic information on the region within which GMNP is located (St. George, 2006). The board’s region, “Economic Zone 7”, stretches from Trout River, within GMNP, to St. Barbe, 363 km to the north.
George, 2006). The commercial fishing industry is in decline while the tourism industry is steadily increasing. There was a 28% reduction in the number of fishing businesses in the zone between 1997 and 2004 and an average growth of 5-10% in the tourism sector during the same period (St. George, 2006).

The GMNP region is experiencing a very high rate of out-migration, particularly to western Canada. During one of the site visits to the park there was a very high profile campaign organized by the Government of Alberta encouraging young people to “Go West.” Participants reported that the average size of families has also decreased, resulting in declining school enrolments. Results from the 2006 census indicated that the population of the park enclave communities has decreased since 2001, with the exception of Sally’s Cove (Table 15).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Population in 2001</th>
<th>Population in 2006</th>
<th>% change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rocky Harbour</td>
<td>1002</td>
<td>978</td>
<td>-2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norris Point</td>
<td>786</td>
<td>699</td>
<td>-11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Paul’s</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>-6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woody Point</td>
<td>366</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glenburnie-Birchy Head-Shoal Brook</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>-.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trout River</td>
<td>616</td>
<td>604</td>
<td>-1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sally’s Cove</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>+70.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cow Head</td>
<td>511</td>
<td>493</td>
<td>-3.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The economy of the GMNP region is doing significantly better than some other areas of Economic Zone 7 because of the high economic impact from tourism to the park region. A 2004 Visitor Survey found that within the park enclave communities, tourism-related expenditures amounted to $35.3 million in 2004, resulting in a regional gross domestic product impact of $22.7 million and $16.4 million in wages and salaries (D. W. Knight Associates, 2005). The 1987 designation of the park as a UNESCO World Heritage Area made the park an international tourism destination. There are approximately 120 tourism operators in the park.
region. The high tourism season is from June until mid-October and many businesses (hotels, restaurants, shops) do not operate outside of this season. In recent years, there has been a decline in the number of park visitors. There were 58,598 visits to the Gros Morne Visitor Centre in 2002 and 46,434 visits in 2005. There were 33,783 visits to the Discovery Centre in 2002 and 26,628 in 2005 (personal communication, B. Major-Hynes, April 5, 2008). This decline has been of great concern to the local tourism operators, whose businesses depend on park visitors. The park’s 2004 visitor assessment attributed the decline in visitors in 2004 to several labour disputes, issues around the Gulf ferry service, a high Canadian dollar, world health issues such as Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome, and a reduction in long distance travel by Americans, who are influenced by security concerns and transportation costs (D. W. Knight Associates, 2005).

5.1.3 History of the Establishment of Gros Morne National Park

The history of the lead up to and establishment of Gros Morne National Park is the most significant history that has influenced the regional integration of the park.18 Prior to the 1970’s, there had been many proposals for a park in the Bonne Bay area. The federal government’s original proposal was for a park extending over nearly 4000 km² from Bay of Island to Daniels Harbour (Crabb, 1981). This proposal was rejected by the provincial government out of concern for how a park would affect the timber concessions held by one of the Island of Newfoundland’s three paper mills as well as the exploitation of mineral resources. The province then proposed the area that is now roughly covered by the national park.

18 This section does not describe the rich human use history of the area which dates back 4500 years and includes settlement by Maritime Archaic Indians (2500-1000 BC), Dorset Eskimos (AD 100-700), Beothuck Indians (800-16th century), and European use and settlement from about the mid-sixteenth century (Burzynski et al., 2005; Crabb, 1981).
The park was established in 1973 based on an agreement between the Province of Newfoundland and the Government of Canada and a subsequent amendment to the agreement in 1983 (Government of the Province of Newfoundland & Government of Canada, 1973, 1983). Municipal governments were not invited to participate in the negotiations leading up to the establishment agreement (Pittman, n.d.). The agreement was drawn up against the background of two policy statements made in 1964 and 1969 that stated private residential premises were to be excluded from national parks (Crabb, 1981). Before the agreement was ratified, a number of other new parks were created in northern Canada (Kluane, Nahanni, and Auyuittuq) under the promise by the Minister responsible that the creation of these northern parks will not be permitted to affect in any way the traditional use of wildlife and fish resources by the native people of northern Canada.

The park boundaries were drawn so that the larger communities were excluded from the park. These communities are now called “enclave communities” as they are outside of the park but almost completely surrounded by its boundary. Several settlements were not excluded from the boundaries of the park: Belldown’s Point, Sally’s Cove, Green Point, Baker’s Brook, Lobster Cove, Woody Cove, Little Brook, Marten’s Point, Gull Marsh, Western Brook, and Old House Rocks. Some of these settlements were used by year-round residents while many were used seasonally.

The 1973 agreement stated that all privately owned land within the park was to be purchased by the province for handing over to the federal authorities (Government of the Province of Newfoundland & Government of Canada, 1973). After the park was established, the province began buying land from and relocating residents of the communities left within the park boundaries and transferring the acquired properties over to the federal authorities. As
compensation, homeowners were given a new home in one of the enclave communities or a cash settlement. One local resident explained that although there were no forced relocations, the province told residents that if they did not sell their land they would lose many essential services including electricity and road service:

*Well it was a bit hard because Parks Canada kind of uttered a few threats in my mind they said like we would, if we had intended to stay there, we would lose road service, we would lose our electricity, so it was kind of a threat.* (G3)

There was strong and somewhat unexpected opposition to the relocation from the residents of Sally’s Cove, culminating in the blockading of the highway north for a period of time (Crabb, 1981). Residents of Sally’s Cove refused to move and in 1983 Sally’s Cove was removed from the park and defined as an “outlying community.”

There were also conflicts between local residents and the park authorities over changes to local peoples’ traditional use of natural resources. The new park meant substantial changes in the way that local residents used natural resources within the park, although there were significant allowances made for some uses:

- Snowmobiling would be allowed to continue. In a letter attached to the 1973 agreement from the Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs to the Newfoundland Minister of Forestry, it is stated that “Parks Canada will permit the use of snowmobiles in the park in accordance with National Park Regulations and operational policies where this use will not affect wildlife, vegetation or terrain, in accordance with the park management plan” (Government of the Province of Newfoundland & Government of Canada, 1973).
- A domestic timber harvest would be allowed in certain blocks within the park boundary and the snaring of snowshoe hare would be allowed in these areas. The domestic timber harvest would be phased out so that residents born after August 13, 1973 would not be permitted to take part in the harvest.
- Access to fish staging areas would be allowed for the purpose of local commercial fishing and Parks Canada would responsible for their maintenance and upkeep. If these areas were deemed to be no longer required for fishing then they would be added to the national park.
- Several community and tourism facilities were promised including road upgrading, campgrounds, a park visitor centre, a boat tour in Western Brook pond, a heated
swimming pool, hiking and nature trails, lift access to upland areas of the park, and cross country ski trails.

- Hunting would no longer be allowed within park boundaries.
- There would be no restrictions on picking wild fruits for personal consumption.

One park staff member described the approach taken by park staff when the park was created:

_We stepped in and said “Well you can cut trees, but you can only cut them here, there and somewhere else. You can only cut this size. You can only take this amount, and you can no longer take moose. You can no longer take caribou. Yes, you can snare rabbits, but you can only snare rabbits here. Well, we don’t like people taking berries from the national park, but I guess you can continue to go ahead and do it”_. (G4)

During the years following the park’s establishment in 1973, many local people were hired for the construction of park infrastructure. Visitor numbers increased significantly during the early years of the park from 25,000 visitors in 1974 to 192,903 visitors in 1980 (Crabb, 1981). Rocky Harbour became the unofficial hub for tourism and there are now several restaurants, motels, gift stores, and art galleries within the town’s core.

GMNP was not officially gazetted by parliament until October 1, 2005, primarily because of the park uses that were agreed to in the federal-provincial agreement (i.e., snowmobiling, domestic timber harvest) but which did not conform to the regulations and intent set out in the Canada National Parks Act. Until then, management and operations were carried out using various federal and provincial statutes.

### 5.1.4 Culture

This section describes the culture of the enclave communities of GMNP and of the local park staff. For this case study in particular, culture plays a significant role in the regional integration of the park.
Culture of Local Community

This section presents participants’ observations and descriptions about the enclave communities of GMNP and the culture of Newfoundlanders in general. The cultural characteristics explored below are the willingness of local people to volunteer and get involved in community affairs, self-sufficiency, socializing, and a general mistrust of government.

As with the residents of the KNP&NHS region, many residents of GMNP belong to multiple associations, committees, and organizations. One study participant listed 10 different groups in which she was an active participant. It is generally the same group of people involved in these groups and they all know one another very well.

Self-sufficiency is a characteristic of rural Newfoundlanders. It is a long-standing tradition for young people to learn how to saw their own lumber and build their own home. Many rural Newfoundlanders cut their own firewood and use it as the main source of heat for their homes. Hunting for food is a way of life for many and the question “Did you get your moose?” is often used in the autumn to initiate conversations. The region’s commercial fishers have a distinct culture that is perceived to be even more independent with a strong desire to be self-sufficient and “live off of the land.”

Structured and unstructured social gatherings are very important to the local culture of GMNP. People regularly stop to chat on the street and there are many regular social gatherings. Several participants indicated that the local people in the region have the ability to get into heated arguments or have contentious discussions at meetings and then go to a social event and have a good time together.

Another significant aspect of the rural Newfoundland culture is a general mistrust of the federal government stemming back to the Department of Fisheries and Oceans and the
collapse of the fisheries in the 1990’s. One park staff member described how this general mistrust of government has had a significant impact on local peoples’ perception of Parks Canada:

*I worked in the west, in western Canada. I worked in Ontario, and a lot of people saw Parks Canada people coming and threw their arms open and said, “Whoa, wow, it’s wonderful you grace us with your presence.” Well, that don’t happen here. It’s just the big mistrust of government. We’re government. It’s not necessarily all the bad things that we’ve done. It’s all the bad things that the government is perceived as doing. It leaves you with a few dirty spots on your face. (G4)*

**Culture of GMNP Staff**

Participants made many observations made about the culture of the staff of the Western Newfoundland Field Unit Office, situated in Rocky Harbour. GMNP staff also spoke articulately and freely about their philosophies and goals, especially as related to working with communities.

Between 1994 and 2000, there was a perceptible shift in the direction of the park and more consideration was given to the impacts of government policies on local people. A strategic planning function was created at this time and there was a switch from Parks Canada being very insular to being a lot more a part of the broader landscape. Other significant milestones include the involvement of Parks Canada in the Main River Watershed issue (see 5.1.6) and the establishment of the Mayor’s Forum (see 5.3.2).

One aspect of the culture of GMNP staff is the high degree of willingness to participate in activities that fall both within and outside of the park’s mandate. Recent examples include playing minor roles in community festivals and events and providing expertise to local councils on community involvement methods. One participant described this high level of involvement:
They’re involved in just about every consultation process that I’ve known and gone to. Not just tourism. Everything from environmental issues, workshops, you name it, they’re there. If they’re not a significant player, they’re at least a listener. (G21)

This willingness stems from the fact that park staff, particularly the management team, believe that every time a local person perceives a benefit from the park or park staff, their support for the park will increase:

Local people will support protected areas if they see a benefit to them, right? I think if we assume, and I think in many cases we have, that people should like what we do because it’s such a great and lofty responsibility, that would be incredibly naïve. (G1)

GMNP staff have developed clear principles to define their involvement in and communication with the local community. The park’s “Engaging Communities” strategy (Parks Canada, n.d.), written by park staff, was summarized by a park staff member:

It says that every time we’re doing something here we should be making sure that we have our community members and our partners and stuff like that involved in it. When there’s activities going on out in the community, we should be aware of it and should be seeing where we can help them with their activities to support them, making adjustments to our programming at the same time so that we’re not having a big event here when they’ve got a big event going on there. It’s where we sit on their committees as resource people. (G19)

Other significant principles that were articulated by park staff are the importance of all staff members being able to understand the Parks Canada position and mandate so that they are able to effectively communicate it within the community; the need to establish legitimacy and be able to explain why the park is involved in a particular issue; the desire to “go to the table” with the objective to find solutions; and saying “yes” to community requests as much as possible. One park staff member described this last principle:

And find ways of saying “yes” to some of the things they want to do that in the past we felt was outside of our mandate, or maybe a little conflicting with our mandate. But if you’re going to develop a partnership sometimes you have to do things because they want it done. If you’re going to build the respect and the trust so that you can build a little bit of equity, so that you can spend it when you need something done. (G11)
Non-park staff participants held wide ranging and distinct views about the GMNP staff. Some perceived them to be an “elite” group within the community with high paying jobs. Others felt that the fact that most of the year-round staff are Newfoundlanders is very important and that the management staff from the local area can get through the “web of things” in the community easier than staff who are not Newfoundlanders. Some participants felt that the seasonal staff at the visitor centre were sub-standard because they did not have sufficient knowledge of the park and that government policies on hiring bilingual staff and visible minorities were seen as a detriment to the quality of service. One senior executive at Parks Canada perceived that the GMNP staff are leaders in communicating with regional actors:

>In the case of Gros Morne, the leaders there have a culture of involvement and dialogue with stakeholders and bringing the communities “in the tent” to find the solutions, they were at the forefront of the thinking naturally. (P5)

5.1.5 Governance

This section provides an overview of governance within the GMNP region. A list of key regional actors and a brief overview of their responsibilities and decision-making powers is presented in Table 16.

As in the previous chapter, the key organizations and actor groups were determined by noting who the research participants mentioned and by asking Parks Canada employees who the most significant actors in the region are as related to regional integration. Thus, it is not a comprehensive list.
### Table 16: Key regional actors for GMNP case study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Regional Actor</th>
<th>Characteristics</th>
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</thead>
</table>
| Park enclave residents | - Eight enclave communities whose boundaries are completely surrounded by GMNP  
                          - Total population 3776 in 2006 |
| Newfoundland and Labrador Department of Natural Resources (NLDNR) | - Most interactions are with the department’s Forestry Resources Division  
                          - Mandate is to “manage and conserve the Province’s ecosystems, under the principles of sustainable development, using an ecologically based management philosophy, and sound environmental practices” (Newfoundland and Labrador Department of Natural Resources, n.d.)  
                          - Undertakes silviculture, access road construction, forest fire suppression, insect control, management planning, tree nursery operations, inventory, dealing with wildlife in residential areas, collisions or similar situations, and public relations  
                          - Office for District 16 is in Pasadena, 92 km from Rocky Harbour |
| Newfoundland and Labrador Department of Environment and Conservation (NLDEC) | - Most interactions are with the Parks and Natural Areas Division  
                          - Mandate is the “management and establishment of provincial parks, wilderness and ecological resources and Canada Heritage Rivers” (Newfoundland and Labrador Department of Environment and Conservation, n.d.)  
                          - Manages a network of 55 provincially mandated protected areas within the province: two wilderness reserves, 17 ecological reserves, and 31 provincial parks  
                          - A protected area plan is currently under development but is not yet available to the public |
| Enclave Governments | - Each enclave community has its own local government represented by a mayor and council |
| Gros Morne Cooperating Association | - Year-round staff of 5 people and approximately 50 people throughout the year  
                          - Operates the GMNP pool, the bookstore in the Discovery Centre, the cross country ski trails near the Visitor Centre as well as the Bonne Bay Marine Station in conjunction with Memorial University  
                          - Has initiated several community projects to a total of about $8 million |
| Commercial Fishers | - Several commercial fishers operate from “fish staging areas” which are under the jurisdiction of Parks Canada |
| Corner Brook Pulp and Paper Ltd. (CBP&P) | - The only major company harvesting wood in the GMNP region  
                          - Harvests wood on provincial leases throughout Western Newfoundland and operates a pulp mill in Corner Brook  
                          - Undertakes significant forest harvesting outside of the boundary of the park and forest roads now almost extend to the park’s eastern boundary  
                          - Of the 170 kilometres of the park’s contiguous boundary, 70 of those kilometres are bordered by CBP&P timber limit |
| First Nations | - Nearest (and only) First Nations reserve is the Miawpukek Band Reserve located in Conne River, 470 kilometre away on the south central coast of Newfoundland  
                          - Some off reserve First Nations live closer to the park |
| Local tourism operators | - Many enclave residents have opened tourism-related businesses since the park was established, such as restaurants, gift shops, and bed and breakfasts  
                          - Tourism operating season is generally from late May to end of September although some businesses remain open year round |
| Protected Areas Association of Newfoundland and Labrador (PAA) | - Not-for-profit NGO  
                          - Promotes the establishment of a provincial protected areas network |
5.1.6 “Hot Topics”

As with KNP&NHS, participants were asked what “hot topics” have had an influence on regional integration or the relationship between regional actors and the park. The following “hot topics” are discussed: the commercial fisheries, the domestic timber harvest, commercial forestry, the Main River watershed issue, and snowmobiling.

Commercial Fisheries

Commercial fishing is a major industry in the GMNP region. Multiple species are harvested including lumpfish, herring, mackerel, crab, lobster, halibut, and turbot. There are fish processing plants in Rocky Harbour, Woody Point, and Cow Head. Generally, the fishing season runs from April until November with variable seasons for each species. There are approximately 50-60 people involved in fishing in the GMNP area (personal communication, T. Taylor-Walsh, October 12, 2006). Some fishing is based in the enclave communities of Rocky Harbour, Norris Point, and Woody Point and some fishing is based from fish staging areas, small parcels of land that are owned by Parks Canada but not a part of GMNP.

The commercial fishing industry is in decline. One participant reported that there are no new young people going into fishing and that it is perceived as a dying industry in the region. The stocks of most species have declined and the fishing seasons are very limited. One participant reported that he only fished 19 days in a four month period.

The most significant aspect of the commercial fishing industry in GMNP is the fish staging areas. During the 1980’s and 1990’s, although Parks Canada was tasked with their maintenance and development in the 1983 revision to the federal-provincial agreement (Government of the Province of Newfoundland & Government of Canada, 1983), the areas
were not actively managed. The agreement states that if one of these areas is no longer used for fishing that it should be handed over to the province for inclusion into the park. In recent years, activities have been taking place within the fish staging areas that are outside from the intent of the agreement such as instances of fish harvesters building retirement cabins and the widows of fish harvesters living in cabins.

**Domestic Timber Harvest**

As stated above, the harvest of timber by enclave residents is permitted within certain areas of the park. This is the only non-aboriginal domestic wood harvest in Canada’s national park system (C. McCarthy, 2000). There are strict regulations as to where cutting is allowed, by whom, and the allowable quantities. The timber harvest is slowly being phased out and anyone born after 1973 (the year of the federal-provincial agreement) is not allowed to harvest timber in the park. This policy concerns many local residents, who feel that timber harvesting is a very important component of the local culture and should be allowed to continue:

*I mean when I got out of school, or a few years after, I built a home, I could go out in the park in those wood-cutting blocks and cut 10 thousand feet of lumber at that time. That was my right because I was born before ’72, but my son, born after ’72, he don’t have that right to go in on the park and cut his 10 thousand feet of lumber. (G17)*

**Commercial Forestry and the Main River Watershed Issue**

Large scale commercial forestry is undertaken throughout Newfoundland and is very much a “hot topic” in the province. The province’s pulp and paper companies have century-long leases of Crown land for forestry operations. Corner Brook Pulp and Paper (CBP&P) operates a newsprint mill in Corner Brook that produces 400,000 tonnes of newsprint annually. The mill and associated forestry operations employ approximately 1500 people in more than 50 communities throughout rural Newfoundland (Anderson & Van Dusen, 2003). The
company contributes approximately $300 million to the province’s gross domestic product and manages 2 million hectares of land on the island of Newfoundland (Figure 10). Forest management activities include road building, timber harvesting, forest regeneration, stand tending, and forest protection (Anderson & Van Dusen, 2003). GMNP’s most recent State of the Park Report reports a substantial increase in cutting around the park’s boundary between 1980 and 2000 (Burzynski et al., 2005).

In 2000, Corner Brook Pulp and Paper submitted a proposal to the NLDNR to modify its forestry plan and harvest timber in the Main River watershed area, located northeast of GMNP’s boundary (Figure 4). This proposal initiated public outcry because the Main River had been nominated as a Canadian Heritage River and the area had high recreation value. GMNP staff were concerned about the potential effects of these activities on prime habitat for the pine marten that moved between the watershed and the park. Park staff consequently became involved in a provincial environmental assessment of CBP&P’s proposal. According to some participants, the environmental assessment process became quite acrimonious causing tension among those participating.

In 2001, the Connectivity Working Group was created, composed of representatives of the provincial government, CBP&P, Natural Resources Canada, and Parks Canada. The agencies involved signed a memorandum of understanding to work cooperatively to develop science-based solutions to ensure that Gros Morne National Park remains connected with its
broader landscape (Anderson & Van Dusen, 2003). The parties have agreed to base future management decisions in the area on results of studies conducted by the group. Four species were selected as indicators of connectivity: Newfoundland marten, caribou, resident birds, and lynx. Over several years the group conducted joint research projects in order to answer questions raised about the impact of harvesting the area on the ecological integrity of the park, habitat requirements of the indicator species, and the occurrence and abundance of resident and migratory birds in the area. As a result, the CBP&P did modify its harvesting plan for the region in accordance with marten habitat.

In the Main River we are still harvesting. Well, they were harvesting up there this year at all I don’t think, but that is a matter of the way the provincial wood supply planning works. The idea is, and it’s still an ongoing process is that we will try to refine those marten guidelines so that we can get the best harvesting methods so you can harvest and still maintain marten populations across the landscape. (G20)

The Connectivity Working Group was perceived by participants as a very productive endeavour that resulted in concrete results:

Yeah, science is what you need to make good decisions and if the science is not there you have got to go get it and working cooperatively with government agencies. It’s a lot better than hiring a consultant to do a report, because you will get a report but you may not get any real knowledge or something useful out of it. You know, working together just builds good relationships so it was to the advantage of both the company and the park to work cooperatively. (G20)

In 2001, the Main River was designated as a Canadian Heritage River and is managed by the Parks and Natural Areas Division of the NLDEC. The designation includes the river corridor, and a surrounding Special Management Area of 49 km² within the river’s 1048-km² watershed area.
Snowmobiling

Snowmobiling within the park, both by local people and by tourists, has been a very hot topic within the community and is elaborated on here because of the high level of interaction between the park and regional actors over the issue in recent years. As explained in section 5.1.3, when the park was established snowmobile use was allowed to continue in the park in “accordance with National Park Regulations and operational policies where this use will not affect wildlife, vegetation or terrain, in accordance with the park management plan” (Government of the Province of Newfoundland & Government of Canada, 1983). No more details, regulations, or stipulations were set out in the agreement. One Parks Canada staff member recollected that the park was never particularly comfortable with the agreement and attempted to overlook it:

So we had an agreement, but I think the reality was back in the seventies when that was signed, as an agency we didn’t like it. We did whatever we could to try to either get rid of it or squeeze it right into, you know. I think that reflected upon our approach and how we engaged. If you have an agreement to do something and you are going to try and do something different, that’s not going to go well. (G1)

The zoning plan within the park’s 1985 management plan stipulated that there would be no snowmobiling within Zones 1 and 2, which included popular areas for snowmobiling such as “The Big Level” (Parks Canada, 1985). The plan did not adequately consider local peoples’ snowmobiling practices and locals continued to snowmobile in these areas.

In 1988, Parks Canada presented a position consistent with the Zone Plan during public meetings in the enclave communities. The proposal was strongly rejected in all communities and the meetings almost became violent (Landry, 2007). Some local residents created the Snowmobile Club and became the voice of local snowmobilers. There were several years of
position-based negotiations between the Park and local communities which resulted in escalating mistrust and animosity (Landry, 2007).

In 1999, GMNP managers decided that they “were not getting anywhere” with the issue and decided to change their approach:

*So we really took a different approach in 1999 which was really to back way off, and listen to what people had to say. Really we backed off in terms of building the fear factor of ecological destruction and demise and that stuff.* (G1)

A community-based process was then initiated and representatives of local residents, the provincial government, and the Protected Areas Association became part of the Snowmobile Working Group. At the end of 19 monthly workshops the Working Group had developed a common understanding of the issues, generated a common vision, and developed information and options which were presented at two rounds of public involvement sessions (Pittman, n.d.).

In 2001, the *Snowmobile Guidelines for Community Use of Gros Morne National Park* were prepared by the Snowmobile Working Group and approved by the Field Unit Superintendent. In the guidelines, a local person is defined as a person who is a resident of one of the park enclave communities, has been a resident for at least six months, and their immediate family. The guidelines allow snowmobile use on certain access routes through the park and limits snowmobiling in Zone 1 areas, except for one route onto the Tablelands. In May 2002, the field unit superintendent approved the terms of reference for an on-going Resident Snowmobile Management Board with representatives from all the local communities and Parks Canada (Parks Canada, 2002). The board’s objective is to monitor and control community snowmobile use with Gros Morne, set up a monitoring program, and implement a safety and education program.
In 2002, Parks Canada initiated a process to address public and commercial snowmobiling in GMNP. A working group was created that represented commercial operators, snowmobile club members, three ENGOs which rotated their participation (the PAA, Canadian Parks and Wildlife Society, and the Sierra Club), and Parks Canada. Facilitated meetings of the group were held on multiple weekends over the span of four years. Some participants who were interviewed for this study took part in the process characterized it as “difficult but cordial.” Other participants felt that the process was too controlled and did not allow for a complete discussion of “big picture” issues or argument.

In 2005, a management plan for public and commercial snowmobiling was developed (Public and Commercial Snowmobile Working Group, 2005). The plan was not endorsed by all members of the group, particularly some regional snowmobile club members who did not agree to any restrictions on snowmobiling and some ENGO members who did not feel that the plan went far enough to limit snowmobiling. The plan denotes areas where snowmobiling is allowed, the season of use, regulations for use such as avoiding arctic hare habitat, and the non allowance of any built structures.

5.1.7 Park Region

Unlike the KNP&NHS case study, participants’ perception of the GMNP region was quite consistent. Participants consistently defined the park region as the park and the eight enclave communities. The park region is perceived by some to include the forestry operations outside of the park boundaries (Figure 10). Most tourists to GMNP originate from outside of Newfoundland making the originating zone of tourists well outside of the regional context.
5.2 Review of Documents

Several documents relevant to GMNP and the GMNP region were reviewed in order to document references to the term “regional integration”, park policies or directives related to park-region interactions, and information about regional integration initiatives in place in the park region. Many of the policies, directives, and initiatives were also discussed by participants and are thus elaborated on more in the discussion of specific park and actor relationships.

Table 17 lists the documents reviewed for the GMNP case study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>References to “regional integration”</th>
<th>Source</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• none</td>
<td>n/a</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Park policies or directives related to park-region interactions</th>
<th>Source</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Principles for Engaging Communities (selection)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• “Seek first to understand the local communities” (p. 2)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>• “Be a good citizen and neighbour” (p. 2)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>• “Good community relations involve all staff” (p. 2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>• “Be proactive – don’t wait to be asked” (p. 2)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>• “Build a strong partnership with communities” (p. 3)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Parks Canada (n.d.)</td>
<td></td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agreement to Establish Gros Morne National Park on the West Coast of the Province of Newfoundland</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• See 5.1.3 for a discussion of this document</td>
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<tr>
<td>Government of the Province of Newfoundland &amp; Government of Canada (1973)</td>
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<tr>
<th>State of the Park Report for GMNP</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Ecological Integrity Statement: “Parks Canada is engaging Canadians, working particularly closely with local stakeholders, communities, and educational institutions” (p. 1)</td>
<td>Burzynski et al. (2005)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• “Through venues such as the Connectivity Working Group, Parks Canada has actively engaged the provincial government, industry interests, and the general public to influence adjacent land management decisions in a non-confrontational format” (p. 1)</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Engaging Canadians in the Western Newfoundland &amp; Labrador Field Unit</th>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Emphasizes improving park-community relationships, having complementary visions, and a focus upon maintaining positive relationships</td>
<td>Bird (2004)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Emphasizes involving community in land-use planning</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Emphasizes moving from consultation to involvement as a normal operating procedure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• “Approach is founded in the belief that protected areas get community support when the communities feel there is a benefit to them” (p. 3)</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Connectivity Working Group Principles (selection)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• “Preserving the ecological integrity of Gros Morne National Park requires a consideration of the broader ecosystem of which the park is part” (p. 1)</td>
<td>Connectivity Working Group (2001)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• “All parties recognize and respect each other’s constitutionally and</td>
<td></td>
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legally defined jurisdictions” (p. 1)

- “Cooperative initiatives must operate at a variety of appropriate spatial and temporal scales over a large regional landscape” (p. 1)

Gros Morne National Park Management Plan (2006) [DRAFT]

**Vision (selection)**

- “Our communities and our park are one → a vital link in the relationship with the land and our heritage” (p. 16)
- “All citizens should feel confident they have an opportunity to participate in key decisions that affect their park” (p. 18)

**Principles (selection)**

- “Partnership is reciprocal and each partner must be supported” (p. 19)
- “Regulation and decision-making are responsive, open, participatory, consistent and equitable” (p. 19)
- “Planning and decision-making are coordinated on a regional basis” (p. 19).
- “Ecological, social and economic systems in the park and regional ecosystems benefit from shared leadership” (p. 19)

**Objectives (selection)**

- “To work with local communities to share expertise and to increase understanding of common goals” (p. 21)
- “To work with others in coordinating regional development and visitor use (e.g. tourism strategies, location and type of development, cumulative effects)” (p. 21)
- “Encourage and support local communities in the protection and presentation of their cultural and historic resources” (p. 21)
- “To increase community participation in the protection and presentation of our national park” (p. 21)

**Key Actions (selection)**

- “Work cooperatively with local communities to ensure the region gains economic benefit while protecting the needs of local residents and the park’s ecological integrity” (p. 23)
- “Work cooperatively with regional stakeholders in coordinating and promoting sustainable regional land use and development” (p. 23)
- “Work cooperatively with the province’s Aboriginal Peoples and local residents in telling the story of their cultures and the story of Gros Morne” (p. 23)
- “Participate actively on key coordinating committees established by other agencies to consider both short-term concerns and long-term strategic goals, such as ecological integrity and tourism” (p. 23)
- “Set up processes for consultation with the public on future issues, and ensure that local stakeholders and Aboriginal partners are involved as early as possible” (p. 24)
- “Involve people in decision-making who may be affected by decisions, and those who can provide information or expertise” (p. 24)

**Formal regional integration initiatives in place or recently in place (2006-2008)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initiative</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Western Newfoundland Model Forest Program</td>
<td>Western Newfoundland Model Forest Inc. (2002) Burzynski et al. (2005)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connectivity Working Group</td>
<td>Connectivity Working Group</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There were no specific references to “regional integration” in the documents reviewed. However, several terms related to the concept of regional integration were commonly used in the documents including partnership, cooperation, relationships, and community involvement.

The Parks Canada documents reviewed show an overall acknowledgement to the importance of gaining community support. Finally, several regional integration initiatives are in place including two snowmobile management boards, the Mayor’s Forum (see 5.3.2), and the Domestic Timber Harvest Working Group.

5.3 Park and Actor Relationships

This section will present participants’ perceptions of the relationship between GMNP and the key regional actor groups listed in section 5.1.5.

5.3.1 Park Enclave Residents

The relationship between enclave residents and the park is complex and has been strongly influenced by the history of the park’s establishment (see 5.1.3). The following themes related to this relationship emerged from the interviews: the influence of park establishment history on the relationship; distinct changes in the relationship over time; and connections between the park and local schools.
Many participants indicated that the history of the park’s establishment has had a significant impact on the park’s relationship with local people. Some local residents who were negatively influenced by land acquisitions and changes to resource harvesting regulations still have a strong dislike of Parks Canada. Other residents feel that the entire park establishment process was unjust, since local residents had little say in the process. The participants seemingly who had the strongest negative opinions about the park’s establishment were the residents personally affected by relocation or who had relatives who were affected. One participant spoke very fondly about the residents of Sally’s Cove who “stood their ground and persist to this day” (G3).

Generally speaking, community members have perceived a significant shift in the way that GMNP staff interact with the community and this has had a very positive effect on the relationship. According to one participant, the park staff “listen more and are less patronizing” (G1). Community members have taken note of some seemingly small efforts to improve the relationship such as park staff never holding community meetings in the Parks Canada offices and park staff not generally wearing their uniforms, and larger efforts such as the creation of community-based processes to address snowmobiling and the domestic timber harvest. One park staff participant described the past relationship with the community as an “us and them” situation. Park staff’s attempt to say “yes” to community requests (see 5.1.4) has helped build trust and respect:

*We need to be the leaders in the communities as well as leaders that we are at work, and be totally a part of it. When people see us, the things that we’re doing, if we’re volunteering on fire brigade or a group or whatever it might be, maybe at the local arena with a bunch of kids. They see you; they see the organization. And if we’re fully integrated into the community that way in programs and things that are happening, then it’s not us and them anymore.* (G11)
The mechanisms for communication between the park and the local community are varied. Some members of the community have been highly involved in the park’s resource management working groups (snowmobiling, domestic timber harvesting, fish staging areas). Others participate in community events, some of which are organized by the Gros Morne Cooperative Association. Some members of the community are personal friends with staff and interact with staff outside of the context of the park, for example through kids’ hockey. Some have participated in the parks’ most recent management planning process. Many hear from the park infrequently through flyers, newsletters, or on the local radio station.

There are several local residents who are employed as year-round staff people. They are perceived to be able to connect more easily with the local community because, according to one local resident, they have the ability to “move through the web of personal relationships quicker than new staff” (G11).

A common concern about the park’s integration into the local community was its perceived lack of connection with the local schools. In recent years, Parks Canada’s strategy for educational programming changed so that park employees no longer go into classrooms but work with teachers so that they can deliver the programming. This has created the perception by some in the community that Parks Canada is no longer in schools. There are other regular programs that bring students into the park (e.g., a regular camp called the Kildevil Outdoor Education Program) but several participants felt that the fact that park staff no longer physically go into classrooms is a concern.

While most participants had very positive perceptions of the way that the GMNP staff interact with the local community, a few participants felt that the park has now gone “overboard” in its effort to appease local people, to the detriment of the park’s ecological
integrity. For example, some felt that the accommodations made for snowmobiling in the park may have a negative impact on the park’s ecological integrity.

Finally, one local resident summarized the relationship between GMNP and the local community by using the analogy of a marriage:

_It don’t matter who you are or what part of the world you’re from. I mean, this is what’s it’s all about. It’s the same thing as our marriage. I mean for me to tell the wife what to do for 20 years, eventually, something’s going to happen. Right? That’s not the way it works. Years ago, yes. That’s the way people thought. As one group, well, probably the women or whatever was put down and just told what to do and when to do it. I mean that don’t exist today. I mean that’s...you got to forget that stuff. I mean everybody got to work together. I mean, that’s the same as Gros Morne and the communities. It’s like a marriage. That’s what it’s all about, right? (G17)_

### 5.3.2 Local and Provincial Government Departments

This section describes GMNP’s interactions with the enclave governments, the Newfoundland and Labrador Department of Natural Resources, and the Newfoundland and Labrador Department of Environment and Conservation.

**Enclave Community Governments**

The relationship between the enclave governments (Rocky Harbour, Woody Point, Cow Head, St. Paul’s, Sally’s Cove, Glenburnie-Birchy Head-Shoal Brook, and Trout River) and the park was described by participants as positive. In the past, communication between the park and the local governments was disjointed, with the park communicating separately with each community and formal letters were the most common method of communication. In 2000, the Mayor’s Forum was created. The Mayor’s Forum is a regular meeting between the Field Unit Superintendent and the mayors of the enclave communities or a designated alternate. The group meets once every three months. The agenda is open and not drafted by the park. The forum has created the opportunity for more uniform communication across the enclave.
communities and has initiated instances of joint problem solving. One local mayor described the forum:

*If you got any problems, put it on the agenda, if a certain...there could anything on the agenda, probably the guard rail don’t continue to a certain length. There’s probably a hole in the road, or it could be anything, put it on the agenda. If you’re thinking it should be there, put it on, just phone Parks Canada to put it on the agenda.* (G17)

Another significant mechanism for interaction between the park and the local councils is the annual social gathering that is organized for all of the mayors, councils, and park staff. During the site visit to GMNP in October 2006, several participants were looking forward to the annual event that would be held that week:

*Then we’re going back to the community, and we’ll have a big jigs dinner; and then we’re going to have a dinner, a dance and have a little time together as all the communities, with Parks staff. Fellowship, I’d guess it’s called. You can’t have all business and not a bit of fellowship, so, I mean, the two of those together.* (G17)

Newfoundland and Labrador Department of Natural Resources

The relationship between GMNP and the Forestry Resources Division of the Newfoundland and Labrador Department of Natural Resources was given a variety of descriptors including “fairly good” and “neutral”:

*It’s just not a – they ignore us and we ignore them for a little while until some issue comes up, and then we both decide that we have this common – there are common elements here we both need to work on, and we kind of come together. Rarely has it been negative.* (G4)

The relationship has been hindered somewhat by the perception that the provincial department is “in turmoil” internally. Parks Canada staff expressed that they are sometimes confused about who the appropriate contact people in the department are and the divisional structure of the department, since it perceived to be constantly undergoing re-organization.

The early relationship between the park and the Forestry Resources Division was more distant than at present and revolved around formal mechanisms such as environmental
assessments. During the mid-1990’s, the park was invited to participate in the provincial district forest management planning process and has continued to participate since then. The level of interaction between the agencies increased significantly as a result of the Main River watershed issue and the establishment of the Connectivity Working Group in 2001 (see 5.1.6). This period signified a shift from conflict-based interaction to a more collaborative approach. Interactions between park staff and the division have diminished somewhat since the Connectivity Working Group’s activities have slowed.

Newfoundland and Labrador Department of Environment and Conservation

During the several years after the establishment of GMNP, there were infrequent interactions between the park and the Parks and Natural Areas Division of the NLDEC. As with the NLDNR, the Main River watershed issue brought the park and the division into closer contact since both organizations had representatives on the Connectivity Working Group as well as the Main River’s management advisory committee.

One division staff member reported that the two organizations currently have a “good working relationship” and that there are regular informal interactions between the two agencies through emails and phone calls. Many of the staff from both organizations know each other and are personal friends. A recent move of the Division’s headquarters to Deer Lake has brought the division in much closer proximity to the park and this has helped the two organizations feel more connected.

5.3.3 Gros Morne Co-operating Association

The Gros Morne Co-operating Association has acted as a key link between GMNP and the local community. According to one participant, when the Co-op was created in 1993 it was
provided with seed money from Parks Canada but was essentially given a “clean slate” in terms of the potential projects and programs it could initiate. Although most park cooperative associations have focused their efforts on in-park projects, the Gros Morne Co-op has expanded its mandate substantially to include community development projects and other non-park related programs.

The level of interaction between the Co-op and the park is very high. There is a strong working relationship between the park superintendent and the Co-op director; they meet every work day morning for “15 minutes of touch base.” The Co-op director observes the Mayor’s Forum meetings and takes part in many other processes. Some participants reported that some community members are not able to perceive the difference between the park and the Co-op. In the past, some community members were somewhat leery of this “closeness” between the park and the Co-op, particularly during the period when Parks Canada was becoming a federal agency in 1998, as some members perceived it might be a way for Parks Canada to access lower cost labour.

5.3.4 Commercial Fishers

The history of the park’s establishment (5.1.3) and the culture of the region’s commercial fishers (5.1.4) have significantly influenced the relationship between the park and commercial fishers. The fishers interviewed for this study all felt that the park had not consulted them adequately during the park’s establishment and when they were “forced” to move they lost a significant part of their identity as independent people who lived off the land and ocean. After park establishment, although commercial fishing was permitted to take place in the fish staging areas (see 5.1.6), fishers had to travel from their residences to these areas.
Furthermore, fishers have not experienced the economic benefits from the creation of the park that the local people involved in the tourism industry have.

Currently, there are regular interactions between park staff and commercial fishers, particularly in person in the fish staging areas and in meetings about the maintenance of the fish staging areas. Some of the interactions between park staff and commercial fishers were described as friendly and other interactions were described as acrimonious. One commercial fisher described a recent interaction he had with a park warden when he parked his truck at a fish staging area:

_He asked me to move my truck. I was in Bakers Brook actually and I kind of got a little bit upset over that and I told them I was there for forty-eight years and I don’t think you have a right to ask me to move my truck._ (G3)

After park establishment, park staff used a somewhat “soft” approach in dealing with use of the fish staging areas and did not actively try to enforce the intent of the federal-provincial agreement (which was that the areas could only be used for active commercial fishing). Recently, the park has begun to address the issue of the fish staging areas by initiating meetings with commercial fishers. This is expected to be another long term and community-based process.

### 5.3.5 Protected Areas Association of Newfoundland and Labrador

The PAA is perceived by park staff as the park’s primary ENGO contact. One park staff member noted that the organization is always contacted by park staff before other ENGOs are contacted because of a longstanding relationship between the park and the PAA and because the PAA is based in Newfoundland and therefore more appropriate to contact in the case of more localized issues. They are, as one GMNP staff person noted, “on the list.” Staff
from GMNP and the PAA have a “respectful” relationship and there are some personal friendships that have developed between members of both organizations.

The PAA was involved in the Main River watershed issue in 2000-2001. The group was opposed the CBP&P’s plan to harvest in the watershed area and lobbied the provincial government. A PAA representative noted that this process made her aware that although the PAA and park staff share a conservation ethic, they often have different approaches to addressing regional conservation issues:

*I think obviously yeah, their park managers … we have a lot in common so… them in the community at large. We fight for things that they might not have that same flexibility to say “We don’t want to do any clear cutting up in the Main River where the upper Humber River right adjacent to our park” but they don’t have that same integrative flexibility in order to say that publicly at least. (G8)*

The PAA was also heavily involved in the public and commercial snowmobiling process (see 5.1.6). The PAA was the first ENGO contacted by the park and was invited to take part in the process and the PAA subsequently recruited the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society (CPAWS) and the Sierra Club to join in the process. One PAA participant perceived the entire process to be very long and draining but the appropriate way to deal with the issue. She spoke very highly of the park’s approach to working through regional issues, in contrast to the approach that the provincial government takes, which she perceived as less thorough than it should be. At the end of the process, the PAA did not endorse the management plan for public and commercial snowmobiling because some of its board members did not agree to the level of use in the plan. One PAA representative explained the board’s position:

*The board didn’t endorse it. But we didn’t … we didn’t bash it. It was walking kind of a fine line of yeah we don’t like the look of this…we did get a lot… What we were going for was agreement to phase out of the activity over say the next 10 year period but there was no agreement around that. We also wanted to see more severe restrictions in terms of the amount of area that was open for snowmobiling, the length of the season*
and the number of snowmobilers in the park at any one time. So all that...the level of use is more intense than we’d like it to be but we do take some satisfaction that they’ve kind of struggled with this issue for 30 odd years and the situation has only gotten worse over time and they just have failed to get a handle on it. And it seems that now they will at least start the process and I guess step one is starting to regulate and manage the activity and even if the intensive use is still higher than we’d like, it’s a necessary step one. (G8)

5.3.6 First Nations

There are minimal interactions between GMNP staff and First Nations primarily due to the distance between the park and the nearest reserve and the challenges this poses to developing and maintaining relationships. As noted in section 5.1.5, the only First Nations reserve in Newfoundland is the Miawpukek Band Reserve located in Conne River, approximately 470 kilometres from the park on the south central coast of Newfoundland. The most recent interactions park staff have had with the Miawpukek Band involved the designation of Mattie Mitchell, a First Nations guide, as a person of historical significance. Another recent interaction with First Nations was a project funded through the Aboriginal Heritage Innovation Fund where band members built a birch bark canoe in the park.

There are several off reserve First Nations people living within the park region but none were interviewed for this research. The Western Newfoundland and Labrador Field Unit has employed an aboriginal affairs coordinator for the past several years who advises management on issues related to First Nations, attempts to enlist involvement by First Nations in the management planning process, recruits aboriginal students for summer positions with Parks Canada, and works on heritage presentation related to First Nations.

5.3.7 Corner Brook Pulp and Paper

For much of GMNP’s existence there was very little interaction between park staff and Corner Brook Pulp and Paper Ltd. One participant who was active in the forest industry during
the park’s early years noted that the park was perceived by the industry as quite “insular” and that park staff “kept to themselves” (G20).

The Connectivity Working Group (see 5.1.6) has since provided a forum for interactions between CBP&P and Parks Canada about the forest ecosystem. The group has not been meeting as frequently recently; however it was described by a former CBP&P employee as an “organic way of keeping in touch” (G20).

CBP&P has interacted with GMNP outside of the context of the Connectivity Working Group. One key example is the joint creation of a display in the Lomond campground about the history of forestry at the site. CBP&P is also a regular participant in the park’s management planning open houses and workshops.

Several participants perceived that although the two organizations have very different objectives, they are “used to cooperating”, know each other personally, can discuss and resolve issues, and have a relationship that is “on the positive side of neutral.”

5.3.8 Local Tourism Operators

Generally speaking, there is a close relationship between local tourism operators and GMNP staff. Local operators recognize that the park has created the opportunity for their industry:

*There is no tourism operator in Western Newfoundland that doesn’t accept the value that the park has towards tourism.* (G21)

When asked how GMNP staff interacted with tourism operators, one tourism operator said that park staff regularly “pop in” to have a chat with them and see how things are going. The park also has a program that provides newly established tourism operators with Parks Canada interpreters in order to assist the operators in creating or improving their interpretation programs. The park is also planning an annual training program for tourism operators about the
park and the region. The park’s recent visitor survey (D. W. Knight Associates, 2005) asked park visitors about what tourism facilities they visited both inside and outside the park so that local tourism operators could benefit from this information as well.

The Gros Morne Institute for Sustainable Tourism is a Parks Canada and Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA)-funded institute based in GMNP. The institute runs training seminars for tourism operators on nature-based tourism and green tourism. Participants in the programs are generally from outside of the park region but the institute has used local operators as “centres of excellence” for the workshops. Two participants associated with the tourism industry were asked about the GMIST programs and they both perceived that they were quite expensive and therefore difficult to participate in.

The decrease in visitor numbers to GMNP in recent years (see 5.1.2) has been a significant source of anxiety among local tourism operators. Some operators expressed mild frustration that the park was not doing more to market the region, even though destination marketing is outside of the mandate of the park.

5.4 Participants’ Conceptualizations of Regional Integration

Table 18 presents participants’ conceptualizations of what regional integration means and what the goals of regional integration should be. As with the KNP&NHS case study, these findings are drawn upon in Chapter 8, where the concept of regional integration is re-visited and the conceptual framework for regional integration is developed further.
Table 18: Participants’ conceptualizations of regional integration for GMNP case study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning of “regional integration” and how it is undertaken</th>
<th>Goals of regional integration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Working in a regional way in order to achieve the goals of the park. (G8)</td>
<td>• The goals of the park are broadcast and appreciated by regional actors. (G8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Building relationships with other sectors. (G10)</td>
<td>• Blur the boundaries of Parks Canada. Community has a sense of ownership of the park. (G10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Leaving the tourism industry to local people. (G2)</td>
<td>• Tourists don’t perceive boundary between the park and the community. (G1, G14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Knowing and working cooperatively with neighbours. Having relationships with stakeholders. (G20)</td>
<td>• The community values the park and perceives it to be benefiting them. (G5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Being connected to the communities, individuals, businesses, governments and decision making that goes on the region. (G8)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Recognizing that the park is part of human and ecological systems and contributing to the system as best as possible. (G1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Spending public funds in the most efficient manner. Finding ways to leverage funds through partnerships with communities and industry. Taking advantage of economic development opportunities that make sense for the region. (G11)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• It’s amoeba-like and the boundary between the park and the region is soft. (G14)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>• Transparency and public involvement. Communication between park staff and regional groups. (G16)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Park staff talking to people that adjacent to the park about issues that affect your boundaries and issues that park staff can help them on, but does not necessarily affect the park. (G19)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>• Park staff identifying different partners and involving them in park management issues. (G19)</td>
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</table>

5.5 Improving Regional Integration

The majority of GMNP participants felt that there has been a significant and positive shift in the regional integration of GMNP since the park’s establishment. This perception is most likely due to the difficult history of the park’s creation and the way that the park has shifted its approach toward working with regional actors. One park staff member acknowledged that the park has come a very long way since 30 years ago but that it “still has a ways to go” (G4).

The following points were suggested by participants as ways that GMNP can improve its regional integration. As with KNP&NHS, each participant had a different conceptualization of what regional integration means and individual and/or organizational short and long-term goals as related to the park (see Table 18). However, some general strategies did emerge
including exploring opportunities for sharing the expertise of park staff, improving integration with youth and schools, and exploring more effective means of communication with community members.

Some participants, particularly those representing local and provincial government agencies, felt that there was more potential for GMNP staff to share their expertise in ecosystem management and techniques for community engagement with regional actors, particularly government agencies.

The fact that Parks Canada staff no longer do regular school programs within classrooms in park schools was brought up by most local resident participants. This was seen as an important outreach component of the park and residents do not see the value in the new strategy of training teachers to deliver the programs. Some participants felt that having the staff in the classroom “in the flesh” is more important than the actual curriculum delivered.

Finally, the park is perceived to have very good methods for involving local people in park management and also good informal interactions with community members through personal relationships and participation in social activities. These mechanisms, however, still do not reach many enclave residents. There are people in the community who do not know any park staff and are not involved in particular management issues such as fishing, domestic timber harvest, or snowmobiling. Some participants suggested that the park needs to improve its frequency and delivery of mass communication mechanisms in order to reach this segment of the local population.

5.6 Chapter Summary

The regional integration of Gros Morne National Park is perceived by participants to have shifted from being very poor to being quite strong. A difficult history and multiple “hot
topics” related to resource use have influenced the relationship between park staff and regional actors. Several factors have contributed to a perception of improved regional integration including the culture of local residents and park staff and the many innovative mechanisms for interactions with regional actors that have been established. One participant summarized this view:

_Gros Morne might be a good case study for [regional integration]. You know when the park was first set up one could argue they were anything but integrated into their local landscape let alone regional landscape. They dislocated residents, they moved communities and ever since they’ve been trying to undo that and rebuild community trust and not be an authoritarian kind of little fiefdom in Western Newfoundland but trying to be a fair and respectful player. That’s tough but with good people involved and they do have a lot of good people involved with Gros Morne’s management now I think they’re doing a good job of it certainly in the kind of community consultation level. (G8)_
Chapter 6: Waterton Lakes National Park

This chapter presents the results from the Waterton Lakes National Park (WLNP) case study. It is organized in the same manner as the two previous chapters by first presenting the context within which WLNP is situated including its biophysical environment, economy and demographics, history, culture, governance, politics, and participants’ perceptions of the park region. The second section of the chapter lists and reviews several documents gathered as secondary sources in terms of references to regional integration, park policies or directives related to park-region interactions, and information about regional integration initiatives in place in the park region. The third section of the chapter describes the relationships between regional actors and WLNP staff. The fourth section of the chapter presents participants’ conceptualizations of regional integration. The final section of this chapter presents suggestions from participants for improving the regional integration of WLNP.

6.1 Context

6.1.1 Biophysical Environment

WLNP’s ecosystem is diverse and includes representation from four “compressed” ecoregions: montaine, foothills parkland, sub-alpine, and alpine. It is the only national park in Canada that protects an example of the parkland ecosystem. From west to east in the park there is a dramatic transition from a moist maritime climate to a semi-arid climate over a short distance in an area of great topographical diversity (Parks Canada, 2000d). From east of the park into the park there is a sudden transformation from flat prairie to the Rocky Mountains, a contrast that is emphasized by the virtual absence of foothills, leading to the park’s slogan of “where the mountains meet the prairies.”
The park has a high level of biodiversity that supports 970 species of vascular plants, thousands of species of insects, arthropods and other invertebrates, and 300 vertebrate species (Parks Canada, 2000d). Many species that exist within WLNP live at the edge or beyond the edge of their normal range within one or more unique habitats of the park (Parks Canada, 2000d). The species at risk agenda at Waterton is “emerging” and recent attention has been paid to restoring fescue grasslands, white bark pine, and amphibians. The park serves as an east-west and north-south corridor for long-ranging mammals such as grizzly bears and wolves. West of the park, the Flathead Valley has some of the most productive areas of grizzly bear habitat in North America.

_You have to think of it on the terms of a regional wildlife population, it’s not a park bears, not Alberta bear, it’s not a Glacier bear, it’s not a BC bear. “Crown of the Continent” is the term that we’ve come to use to describe it; and that’s true for most other large species and probably some of the smaller ones._ (W22)

The multiple uses within the regional landscape are important to consider, since the ecological integrity of the small park is widely determined by the lands around it. To the north and east of the park, the lands are used for multiple purposes. The Castle Wilderness Area north of the park is popular for recreation and there are ranchlands to the northeast and east of the park. There are oil and gas wells to the north, east, and west of the park and areas used for forestry operations to the park’s north. Glacier National Park, United States, located along the park’s southern border, is seven times larger than Waterton. Land use in Glacier is similar to that of Waterton. On the park’s eastern boundary, the Blood Tribe administers a 20 km² timber reserve in the Belly River valley that is used for firewood harvest, recreation, and Christmas tree harvest. The Blackfeet Indian Reservation, southeast of the park in Montana, has logging, ranching, hunting, and some agriculture (Parks Canada, 2000d).
The community of Waterton, located within the park, is situated on an alluvial fan at the northern end of Waterton Lake. The community is the focal point of the park’s tourism industry and provides accommodation, entertainment, and tourism information. Mule deer and big horned sheep can regularly be seen in town. The wind is the most dominant climatic feature in autumn and winter.

The United States National Parks Conservation Association published a “State of the Parks” report in 2002 which presented a resource assessment of the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park (see 6.1.3) (National Parks Conservation Association, 2002). The report highlighted several threats to the park resources including: road expansion; potential for mining activity in British Columbia’s Flathead Valley; high-density roads and infrastructure associated with logging, oil and gas, and rural development; residential and commercial development; the legal hunt of grey wolf in Alberta; and invasive non-native fish species. The park’s most recent draft State of the Park Report indicates that two of the park’s most distinctive characteristics – the fescue grasslands and the diversity of plant species – show a declining trend “as a result of a continuing invasion of non-native species, encroachment of aspen and shrubs into the grasslands and the difficulty of achieving the prescribed fire target because of a very short suitable burning period each year” (Parks Canada, 2007d, p. 1).

6.1.2 Economy and Demographics

The major industries in the WLNP region are tourism, agriculture, and oil and gas exploration and development. The sub-division of property for recreation is also a significant factor of the regional economy.

According to the 2006 census, within the Pincher Creek Municipal District, out of a workforce of 2045 people, 955 were employed in agriculture or other resource-related
industries, 185 were employed in construction, and 180 were employed in business services (Statistics Canada, 2007). Within the County of Cardston, out of a workforce of 2185, 955 were employed in agriculture or other resource-related industries, 195 were employed in health care and social services, and 200 were employed in business services. Within the Waterton Improvement District, out of a workforce of 110 people, 45 were employed in retail trade and 10 were employed in agriculture and or other resource-related industries (Statistics Canada, 2007).

The oil and gas industry is very active in the region. Shell Canada operates a sour gas plant near Pincher Creek. Several companies are involved in seismic exploration, drilling, and the operation of oil rigs in the park region.

There is a strong recognition in the WLNP region that the park is the primary draw for tourists to the area. The park’s designation as a World Heritage Site, a United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) biosphere reserve, and an international peace park make it very attractive for tourists. According to one participant, “tourism and Waterton are synonymous” (W14). Most tourists stay in the Waterton townsite and take part in activities within the park. Some tourists stay in bed and breakfasts or ranches outside of the park and others stay in the communities of Pincher Creek and Cardston, both 45 kilometres from the park. Very few tourism operators in the townsite stay open year round. In the off season (October to May), the main hub of activity in the townsite is the Kilmorey Lodge, which operates an inn, dining room, and pub. The May long weekend signals the beginning of the tourist season.

There has been a decline in tourism to the park in recent years. The number of park visitors hit a peak in the early 1980’s, dropped and hit a second peak in the late 1990’s/early
2000’s. From 1998 to 2001, there was an average of 418,000 park visitors per year (Parks Canada, 2007c). Since then, the number of park visitors has declined to an average of 365,000 visitors per year. The reasons for this decline are speculated to be the decline in the value of the United States dollar, new border crossing regulations, increasing fuel costs, declining tourism infrastructure in Waterton, and increased day use fees.

Demographic information from the 2006 census (Statistics Canada, 2007) indicated that the population within the park region (in Canada) is decreasing in some areas and increasing in others. The population of Cardston County decreased from 4324 in 2001 to 4037 in 2006. The population of the Municipal District of Pincher Creek increased from 3197 in 2001 to 3309 in 2006. The Waterton Improvement District’s population increased between 2001 and 2006 from 155 to 160 but was 279 in 1996 and much higher in the past according to residents.

Since the 1970’s, the land within the park region (in Canada) has become increasingly attractive for recreation. Numerous ranches have been subdivided and sold as recreational property for amenity migrants (people who have moved to the area from Calgary or other larger centres and build second homes on the properties). Participants perceived that this subdivision of ranches and the increasing popularity of the region have pushed the price of land above a level which ranchers in the region can afford. In 1980, the Municipal District of Pincher Creek passed a motion to implement a “park protection zone” south of the community of Twin Butte to the park boundary, which limits the ability for the subdivision of properties within half a mile of the park boundary. This protected zone was quite controversial and some community members perceived that this was a “conspiracy” on the part of Parks Canada to extend the park. The park protected zone was removed by the Municipal District of Pincher Creek in the mid 1990’s. Several recent subdivision proposals have been quite controversial,
particularly a proposal for a subdivision of a large piece of property adjacent to the park boundary in Cardston County, which was subsequently approved. Since 1997, the Nature Conservancy of Canada (NCC) has been purchasing land near the park boundary and a significant portion of the park region is now protected from further subdivision in perpetuity (see 6.1.6). The subdivision of ranches is still occurring further from the park boundary.

6.1.3 History

The WLNP region has had a rich and varied human history. The histories presented below are the history of the designation of the park and the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park; the history of the Waterton Biosphere Reserve; and changes in the Waterton townsite over time. Each of these histories has influenced key relationships between the park and regional actors.

History of the Creation of Waterton Lakes National Parks and the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park

Waterton Lakes National Park was designated in 1895 as a Dominion Forest Park after a Pincher Creek rancher sent a proposal to Ottawa in 1893 petitioning for its creation. John Kootenai Brown, an English prospector, was the first settler in the park and eventually became the first park superintendent in 1911 (Williams, 1982).

In 1927, the Prince of Wales Hotel, a landmark hotel of the Great Northern Railway Company, was opened to the public. In 1910, the first lots were surveyed in the townsite and by 1930 the townsite had most of the facilities that are still there today including a garage, golf course, tennis courts, and campgrounds.

In 1932, due to the efforts of Rotary Club members from Alberta and Montana, Waterton Lakes National Park and Glacier National Park were designated as the world’s first
international peace park (Dolan & Frith, 2003). Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park was created to commemorate the peace, goodwill, and cooperation between Canada and the United States.

Another significant aspect of the park’s history is that Waterton is the site of Canada’s first oil well. The Rocky Mountain Development Company struck oil at a site which is now within the park along the Akamina Parkway about 8 kilometres from the townsite. The oil supply did not last long and the well was closed in 1906. The site of the oil well was designated as a national historic site in 1965.

Creation and Evolution of the Waterton Biosphere Reserve

Glacier National Park (United States) became a UNESCO biosphere reserve in 1976 and, in keeping with the ties between Glacier and Waterton, Waterton followed suit and became Canada’s second biosphere reserve in 1979. The biosphere reserve was created during an era of long-term strategic planning and thinking, and conflicts between the park and local ranchers:

Because traditionally as a kid growing up, I remember the park as the “bad guys” and we really didn’t have anything to do with them. And it was their elk that ate our hay in our haystacks and it was their bears that ate our cows and so it wasn’t a particularly interactive association of any kind at all. (W23)

The concept of “biosphere reserve” was not well understood in the community, the park had no organization or budget to manage the biosphere reserve, and there was very little activity for almost two years (Leiff, 1985). In 1981, a management committee was formed that was chaired by two ranchers and included ranchers, the Park Superintendent, and the Chief Park Warden. The committee quickly learned that local people found the term “buffer zone”
threatening because it has the implication of control by government (Leiff, 1985). The term was replaced with the concept of a “zone of cooperation” around the park.

The early activities of the committee were purposely non-controversial. For example, the committee organized public presentations about exotic plants. One major program of the biosphere reserve involved the park supplying fencing material to keep elk off of private ranches and the negotiation of a different hunting season for elk with an increased acceptable harvest (Leiff, 1985). In the late 1980’s, a technical committee was set up which included researchers from various government agencies. The technical committee initiated its own scientific studies related to the movement of elk, and cattle and elk interactions. It also facilitated research done by external scientists. During this period, the group tried to maintain a low profile due to the perception by some that the United Nations wanted to control the activities of landowners on their land.

In the late 1980’s, funding for the biosphere reserve decreased substantially and waning interest and resources led to the abandonment of the technical committee (Dolan & Frith, 2003). The management committee still exists but official biosphere reserve activities have slowed down substantially in recent years. Notable recent achievements include the facilitation of workshops on the restoration of wolves, the production of a video illustrating the long-term relationships between WLN and the ranching community, and partnering with the Environmental Monitoring and Assessment Network in facilitating community-based monitoring networks in Pincher Creek and Brocket (Dolan & Frith, 2003).

Many participants perceived the organization to be “dormant” and are unsure of its status. One participant suggested that this is due to the fact that people are focused on other issues (see 6.1.6), “volunteer burnout” of key people on the committee, and a lack of
participation from actors outside of the ranching community. The original issues the biosphere
reserve focused on are perceived to be resolved and many people are focused on other issues
such as oil and gas exploration and development and land subdivision. These issues require
direct negotiation, something which is perceived to be outside of the scope of the biosphere
reserve committee by its members.

Dolan & Frith (2003) argued that although there has been a recent lack of activity
initiated by the committee, the concept of the biosphere reserve has continued in the region
through other collaborative arrangements such as the Crown Managers Partnership and the
Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park. Key members of the biosphere reserve committee
have recently formed the Chinook Area Land User’s Association, which is currently actively
involved in negotiations with local oil companies in regard to their activities in the region.

The 2008 federal budget provided over $2 million for biosphere reserves in Canada.
The impact of increased funding for biosphere reserves on the Waterton Biosphere Reserve is
currently unknown.

Changes in Waterton Townsite Over Time

The Waterton townsite has changed significantly over time in terms of infrastructure
and its perceived sense of community. These changes have influenced the relationship between
WLNLP staff and townsite residents and business owners (see 6.3.10).

Many participants spoke about “the way it used to be” in the townsite. Until the late
1980’s, the year-round population of the townsite was between 300 and 400 people. There was
a school for grades 1-7 which was eventually reduced to grades 1-5. Most park staff were
provided with park housing within the townsite and made up a high percentage of the
community’s residents. One local resident noted that there used to be more communication between park staff and townsite residents and that the townsite residents all knew one another, helped raise each other’s children, and socialized together.

Today, the townsite has become almost entirely a tourist destination. The local school closed in 1995 and the Waterton Lakes Lodge replaced what was perceived to be the “hub” of the community, a large parking lot in the middle of the townsite which once hosted community events. Many park staff moved out of the townsite and new park staff members are no longer provided with housing in the townsite. One park staff participant explained that Parks Canada should not be in the business of providing housing to staff when there are private options available. Since homes in the Waterton townsite are very expensive and on leased land, park staff have opted to buy homes outside of the park in the Municipal District (MD) of Pincher Creek, the County of Cardston, the Town of Cardston, and the Town of Pincher Creek.

6.1.4 Culture

Similar to the variation in ecosystems in and around the park, there is no one culture of WLNP’s regional actors. However, there are significant aspects of regional actors’ cultures that have had an influence the park’s regional integration, particularly observed differences between residents of Cardston Country and the Municipal District of Pincher Creek; the culture of adjacent ranchers; and the perceived culture of the WLNP staff.

Culture of Residents of Cardston and Pincher Creek

WLNP is bordered by the County of Cardston to the east and the Municipal District of Pincher Creek to the North. Participants perceived that there are key differences in the cultures
of residents of the two districts, particularly as related to land and resource use. Residents of Cardston County were labeled by some participants as more individualistic:

*Cardston County is still manifest destiny – whatever you want to do, do it.* (W14)

*Well the attitude amongst more the landowners in Cardston have been more, “It’s my land, I can do what I want on it.”* (W7)

Cardston is also perceived as more “pro development”, particularly because of the history of the Country permitting the subdivision of land at a greater rate and intensity than in Pincher Creek. Finally, it is important to note that the Town of Cardston is a “dry” town and that many of its residents are American citizens or former American citizens. There is a strong connection between some residents and the State of Utah where many residents have family members.

Pincher Creek was perceived by participants as generally more conservation-minded than Cardston. This stems from the actions of the local government in the 1980’s to restrict the subdivision of land near the park as well as the higher number of conservation-oriented community groups in the district. There are also some “die hard ranchers” in the MD, as described by a Pincher Creek land owner:

*They love the land, they love the animals; and as long as that generation is alive, nothing will change on the ranch.* (W13)

One important contrast between the two regions is that Pincher Creek as a whole is experiencing more pressure from development, subdivision, and oil and gas exploration and development than the County of Cardston, which stretches east into primarily agriculture areas:

*So [in Pincher Creek] they’re all kind of living that same experience of land speculation, escalating land prices whereas the counsellors in the County of Cardston it is primarily one counsellor, maybe two, that are seeing that in the same light. So it’s sort of a different world between the two local governments.* (W3)
Culture of Ranchers

Ranchers near the park are perceived to have a culture that is quite distinct from that of the residents of the Waterton townsite and residents of the nearby towns of Pincher Creek and Cardston. They were described by some participants as very “tied to the land” and experiencing a difficult period. Rapid population growth in southern Alberta and increased disposable income has placed high land speculation pressure on the ranching community (Dolan & Frith, 2003). Many ranchers have been offered very high prices for their land by non-ranchers (either individuals or the Nature Conservancy of Canada, see 6.1.6). Many children of ranchers do not wish to continue ranching and some feel that they are “stuck in a hard place” since they do not want to sell their ranches for over-inflated prices to amenity migrants but do not have the resources to continue ranching.

Also relevant is the perception that ranchers do not like to go to meetings. One rancher who was interviewed described himself as a hermit and explained that it is very difficult for him to go to meeting because he would much rather be outside. Personal connections are important for this group and the ranchers with the larger pieces of property are perceived to hold the most power in terms of community issues and decision-making.

Culture of WLNP Staff

Participants’ perceptions of the WLNP staff culture varied substantially. Some staff spoke articulately about how the culture of the organization has changed over time as related to regional integration and described a long history of collaboration with regional actors, specifically focusing on the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park, the Waterton Biosphere Reserve, and the Crown Managers Partnership. Many participants also noted that the
park does work very hard to maintain these formal external mechanisms for interaction. Park staff are “very cognizant that they do not operate in a bubble” and there is general recognition of a shift from being visitor focused to more focused on external communications and relations over time, especially during the early years of the Waterton Biosphere Reserve. There are long-term friendships between park staff and regional actors and some staff are perceived to adjust their communication style depending on the regional actor involved.

That being said, participants described some general perceptions about the staff of WLNP that are important to note within the context of regional integration. First, there was more articulation by WLNP staff that the park is a national park than by staff of the two previous case studies. This may be connected to the high degree of difference in landscape between the park and neighboring lands (notwithstanding Glacier National Park, US to the south). A few staff members articulated the fact that since the park is a national park, local people cannot make all of the decisions:

*I think that’s the difference from a national park versus a provincial park where yes, there’s local communities, but they can’t be the only ones making decisions on what impacts and what’s done in national parks because it is for all communities.* (W16)

Some regional actors described the park staff as “insular” and “an island unto themselves.” Some participants also made the general observation that the park is a place where superintendents go at the end of their careers, that many staff members are near retirement, and that it is not as dynamic a place as some of the other Rocky Mountain parks. These perceptions seem to have been amplified by the recent shift toward not permitting new park staff to live in park housing within the community.
6.1.5 Governance

The WLNP region is the most complex of the four case studies in terms of political jurisdictions. The region has a multitude of land jurisdictions including the federal park itself, a British Columbia provincial park (Akimina-Keshenina), private ranches, ranches owned by the Nature Conservancy of Canada, a Blood Indian Timber Limit, three First Nations reserves, and a municipal district and county with several hamlets and towns. The park also has more international designations than any of the other case studies (International Peace Park, biosphere reserve, and UNESCO World Heritage Site). Within this context, Table 19 presents a list of key regional actors for this case study and a brief overview of their responsibilities and decision-making powers. The interactions between these regional actors and the park are discussed in the next section. This section also gives separate attention to the Crown Managers Partnership, a significant regional mechanism for interaction between many of the key actor groups.
Table 19: Key regional actors for WLNP case study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Regional Actor</th>
<th>Characteristics</th>
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| Alberta Environment | • Mission is to “assure the effective stewardship of Alberta’s environmental systems to sustain a high quality of life” (Alberta Environment, 2007).  
• Organized into four main business divisions: Environmental Stewardship, Environmental Assurance, Environmental Management, and Oil Sands Environmental Management  
• Most interaction with WLNP is through the Environmental Stewardship Division, Lethbridge office  
• Has gone through multiple reorganizations in recent years |
| Alberta Sustainable Resource Development (Alberta SRD) | • Tasked with fire management, fish and wildlife management, forestry, and public land management  
• Most interactions with WLNP are with the Fish and Wildlife division office in Pincher Creek |
| British Columbia Ministry of the Environment (BCMOE) | • Responsibilities related to environmental protection, environment stewardship, oceans and marine fisheries, water stewardship, compliance, and environmental assessment  
• Most interactions with WLNP are with the Parks and Protected Areas Division, Cranbrook office  
• Akamina-Keshinina Provincial Park is located on WLNP’s western boundary in the southeastern corner of British Columbia  
• Has gone through multiple reorganizations in recent years |
| County of Cardston | • Offices are in Cardston  
• County stretches from park boundary well into agriculture zone to the east |
| MD of Pincher Creek | • Offices in Pincher Creek |
| First Nations | • Two First Nations within the WLNP region in Canada: Blood Tribe (aka Kainai) and Piikani (aka Peigan)  
• Large Blood Indian reservation south of the Canada-US border |
| Glacier National Park, Montana (GNP-US) | • Borders the entire south boundary of the park  
• Border crossing on the Chief Mountain Highway allows easy travel between the park  
• Much larger than WLNP (1.4 million acres) |
| Nature Conservancy of Canada (NCC) | • National ENGO that administers and manages the Waterton Front Project  
• One full time employee in the region |
| Shell Canada | • Most visible oil and gas company in park region  
• Operates gas processing plant north of WLNP  
• Involved in seismic exploration, drilling, and the operation of oil rigs in the park region |
| Townsite residents | • Many residents are seasonal and operate tourism businesses during the summer  
• Some business owners live in the park region and operate businesses in the townsite  
• Some townsite residents are cottage owners and live in the park seasonally |
| Ranchers | • Long history of cattle ranching in the region  
• Industry is perceived as a hobby by many and most ranchers in the region hold full time jobs elsewhere |
The Crown Managers Partnership

The Crown Managers Partnership was initially a Peace Park driven initiative that also had the involvement of Alberta Environment. The partnership’s first meeting was held in Cranbrook in 2001 and, according to one member of the partnership, “the whole objective was just to bring all these agencies that had a mandate for land or resource management in the Crown of the Continent to have one place to network and meet each other and learn” (W3). The goals of the Crown Managers Partnership are to improve understanding, raise awareness, promote collaboration, and build organizational strength (Miistakis Institute for the Rockies, 2006). The partnership is facilitated by the Miistakis Institute for the Rockies, based out of the University of Calgary.

In 2001, a steering committee for the partnership was formed. The committee is open to anyone from the various government agencies and First Nations within the Crown of the Continent Ecosystem. The partnership holds one annual forum every year and the steering committee meets by phone or in person every month. The partnership has initiated several projects including an online searchable tool for documents and spatial data, a research project to determine how “ecological health” is currently defined throughout the ecosystem, and an international conference in recognition of the 75th anniversary of the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park. The group has also recently developed a strategic plan (Miistakis Institute for the Rockies, 2006).

Progress of the partnership is perceived as slow and key players lament the difficulty and pace of working with so many different agencies:

*It’s a difficult one because you’re trying to herd cats sometimes when you deal with 15-20 agencies. (W3)*
As with all government-to-government collaborations, each organization has its own limitations and priorities. There is no formal commitment to the partnership from higher levels of government and participation in the partnership has not been formally added to participants’ work plans. The political context, particularly in the US, has also impacted the group:

And then we’re dealing with the realities too of an international border and post 9/11 where a climate where collaboration and hands-across-the-borders is becoming more onerous, not less onerous. (W5)

However, the Crown Managers Partnership is perceived as the “the grand central station for a lot of the inter-agency international work that goes on.” It has initiated and developed several personal relationships and improved communication between agencies in the region.

6.1.6 “Hot Topics”

Southwestern Alberta is currently a “hot spot” for discussion and debate about land use, development, and environmental issues. One provincial government official described this quickly changing region:

The whole pressures – you’ve got the population base out on the prairies which is growing really fast. You’ve got the native environment out there in the west, high scenic values, high recreation tourism potential, and a traditional sort of commodity use in terms of forestry and multiple use and ATVs and oil and gas and everything else. So you can see that it quickly becomes a crucible because there isn’t that much land. So whether we’re dealing with conventional oil and gas, whether we’re dealing with coal bed methane resources, whether we’re dealing with storage issues and dams because you want to generally try and build dams upstream because then you release the water downstream. Whether you’re dealing with windmill farms or country residential subdivisions or protected areas or tourism development - it’s all going to happen here. (W5)

This section will explore the “hot topics” that have the most influence on the regional integration of WLNP: the Castle Wilderness, the Flathead Valley, the Canada-US border, oil
and gas exploration and development, the Waterton Front Project, and Waterton townsite’s infrastructure.

The Castle Wilderness Area

When the WLNP region was visited in November 2006, there was significant talk about the Castle Wilderness, an area located north of the park. The Castle is currently a provincial special management area and is managed by the Castle River Integrated Resource Plan (Alberta Energy and Natural Resources, 1985). When asked about the region, many participants felt that Alberta Sustainable Resource Development does not currently have the capacity to actively enforce the plan. The region is very popular for off-road vehicles, hunting, fishing, cattle grazing, and random camping. There is also forestry and some gas exploration going on in the area as well as the Castle Mountain Resort, a downhill ski facility and residential area. All of these activities are perceived as threats to the ecosystem in terms of habitat loss and degradation and species depletion.

Since there is no standing process in Alberta for a protected area to be nominated, several conservation groups are lobbying provincial MLAs for the Castle to be designated as a Wildland Provincial Park with a provincial park in the centre around the existing ski hill. The proposed name of the park is the “Andy Russell – I’tai sah kòp Park.” The Wildland Park designation would preserve and protect natural heritage and provide opportunities for backcountry recreation. ATV use and snowmobiling are allowed in designated areas in some wildland parks and the designation would limit industrial activity.
Flathead Valley

The Flathead Valley in the southeastern corner of British Columbia is another politically “hot” region adjacent to the park. The valley is currently managed through the Southern Rocky Mountains Management Plan (Ministry of Sustainable Resource Management, 2003). The area has received recent attention from the hydro-carbon industry, interested in developing coal bed methane in the valley. There has been considerable opposition to industrial activity in the valley from American politicians. In February 2008, British Petroleum withdrew from a proposal to develop coal bed methane in the valley due to opposition from US politicians and conservationists. Parks Canada has not become involved in the issue and one staff person noted that the “fight is between BC and Montana” (W17).

There is also a “simmering” idea, proposed by the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society (CPAWS) that the Flathead Valley should become part of WLNP. Parks Canada has stated that the Flathead would fit within the National Park System Plan and add ecological value to the park system, however the park refuses to move forward on the idea unless there is agreement from the provincial government and First Nations to do a feasibility study. Notably, the BC Member of the Legislative Assembly (MLA) for the region is strongly against the idea and the issue, according to one participant, “is not dead but in a coma” (W16).

Canada-United States Border

The Canada-United States border, known as the longest undefended border in the world, has been another hot topic in the WLNP region, particularly within the context of Glacier National Park, Montana (GNP-US) and WLNP interactions. Since 2001, there has been an increase in air patrols of the border by helicopter flights out of Cutbank, Montana. The
border crossing on Highway 93 north of Eureka, Montana has been closed, limiting access between GNP-US and southwestern British Columbia. There has also been a change in the procedures for crossing the border at the Goat Haunt Ranger Station, located just south of the border at the southern end of Waterton Lake. Residents of Canada and the US can still disembark from the boat that does tours down the lake however they are now required to go through a more rigorous entry process. Residents of countries other than Canada and the US can disembark but cannot exit the immediate area of the station. One GNP-US staff member felt that this increased security “flies in the face of the whole idea of the peace park” (W8).

Oil and Gas Exploration and Development

Oil and gas exploration and development seems to be the “hottest” topic in the WLNP region. There is a tremendous amount of concern in the area about oil and gas development by ranchers, town residents, and First Nations about the pace of development, land access of oil and gas companies, and cumulative environmental effects. In Alberta, landowners do not own the subsurface of their properties and property owners are given compensation for having wells on their properties. One landowner described the level of activity that would be possible on his section of land:

Right now in this area you could have, okay the quarter section that we are living on with our house could have two gas wells, four or five oil wells, five wind turbines, at least half a dozen pipe lines, a 500 Kba transmission line, plus small transmission lines. A couple of uranium injection wells. It could all happen on this quarter that we are living on. It’s not likely that it all will, but there is nothing to prevent it. And, for a lot of it, I would have no say in preventing it. (W7)

There are multiple actors in the oil and gas industry. There are generally larger oil companies who sub-contract seismic companies and consulting companies. Companies are bought and sold quickly and landowners often are not aware of “who’s who”.

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Landowner groups are being formed in many parts of southern Alberta and there are currently over 200 such groups in the province. In the WLNP there are three such groups: Pekisko Land Owners Association, based in Long View; the Chinook Area Land User’s Group, based in Pincher Creek; and the Chief Mountain Land Group, based in Cardston. Landowner groups are being driven by the activities planned for the regions and the feeling that landowners do not have enough say in the activities that occur. According to one participant:

*We are trying to get back some power to the landowner and a new way of business being done in a local area, so that everybody knows what is going on when the first plans start, before the company gets too involved and too much money gets spent, so that all the information and all the data is brought up on the table to the public. (W7)*

**Waterton Park Front Project**

The Waterton Park Front Project is billed as the largest private conservation endeavor in Canada. The project is levered by the Weston Garfield Foundation that has provided $45 million dollars for the project. The NCC has purchased private land on and near the boundary of the WLNP, the goal being to conserve the landscape as a working landscape and reduce the impacts of subdivision and development. The project area spans about 150 km² and to date approximately 80% or 113 km² is covered by easements or is NCC land (Figure 11). The lands are then leased back to ranchers, with the stipulation that the land be used for ranching. The leases range in length from 20 years to indefinite. The project also assists ranchers place conservation easements on their properties. There are currently about 35 different properties that make up the project.
Participants’ opinions of the project have been mixed. Some participants described the project as a “godsend” and “the second stage of Waterton” (W16, W15). It is perceived as a buffer zone for the park and as a way to help ranchers who are in financial difficulty continue to ranch. It is also perceived as fitting well with the concept of the biosphere reserve, as a viable “zone of cooperation”.

Other participants articulated some suspicion about the project. Some participants expressed that the way in which the Waterton Park Front Project proceeded was unfair and opportunistic and that the project has pushed the price of land up in the region. One landowner stated that he was bewildered by the scope of the project and could not understand why people would want to donate such a large amount of money to it. Several participants described a rumour that Shell Canada is behind the project and that the land is being secretly set aside for
oil and gas development. Another quite contradictory rumour is that there are plans to eventually expand the national park into the project lands and that Parks Canada is behind the project. Several Parks Canada staff noted that these rumours are unfounded and one of the reasons why the park has attempted to stay somewhat removed from the project (see 6.3.9).

During the summer of 2004, there was a major 3-dimensional seismic exploration project within the Waterton Park Front Park. Many residents were very concerned about this exploration and felt that the NCC should not have allowed it to proceed. One NCC staff person explained that the NCC does not own the subsurface rights to the properties and cannot stop the seismic work from proceeding. Instead, the organization chose to negotiate conditions and guidelines for the exploration.

_We’re sort of breaking new ground with that as a nonprofit conservation group trying to work with the oil and gas industry rather than getting in nasty fights with the EUB [Energy and Utilities Board] and things._ (W11)

**Townsite Infrastructure**

The final “hot topic” with regard to the regional integration of WLNP is the Waterton townsite’s infrastructure. There is a general perception among townsite residents that the infrastructure within the community has been “let go” significantly in recent years:

_All the potholes in the streets. Water’s on when it shouldn’t be on. Buildings that need to be painted that look like hell. You know, things look run down._ (W10)

The negative opinion of the townsite’s infrastructure is compounded by the perception that the entrance fees to the park have increased while the town has deteriorated, which influences repeat visitation.

One Parks Canada staff person explained that the park has contributed approximately $8 million to infrastructure in the town in the past few years but that most of the work has been on “invisible” projects such as upgrading the distribution system for water and sewer.
6.1.7 Park Region

There is a fairly consistent view of what the WLNP region is, stemming from the recognition that the park is quite small, and that its ecological integrity depends on land use in the region.

*Everything is trans-boundary. Whether it’s wildlife species, people coming and going, culturally, and so on. I think it’s critical that we work with neighbours. I think that just realistically we’re never going to be on the same song sheet for everything, so you pick and choose initially the friends you can work with and start to do your work that way.* (W16)

Many of the participants of this study were participants of the Crown Managers Partnership and automatically thought of the Crown of the Continent Ecosystem when asked what the WLNP region is (Figure 12). Other actors drew the regional boundary wider to include the MD of Pincher Creek, the Country of Cardston, the Blood Indian Reserve, and the Peigan Indian Reserve.

It is important to note that no participants perceived the region of the park to be solely within Canada, showing support for the longstanding viewpoint of the park region extending across the border and into GNP-US.
Figure 12: Crown of the Continent Ecosystem. Source: Miistakis Institute for the Rockies
6.2 Review of Documents

Several documents relevant to WLNP and the WLNP region were reviewed in order to document references to the term “regional integration”, park policies or directives related to park-region interactions, and information about regional integration initiatives in place in the park region. Many of the policies, directives, and initiatives were also discussed by participants and are thus elaborated on more in the discussion of specific park and actor relationships.

Table 20 lists the documents reviewed for the WLNP case study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>References to “regional integration”</th>
<th>Source</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None found</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Park policies or directives related to park-region interactions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WLNP Park Management Plan (selection)</td>
<td>Parks Canada (2000d)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Vision**
- “Federal, provincial and municipal authorities cooperate in protecting and managing the regional ecosystem. To achieve this, they nurture cooperation with businesses, organizations, and open, accountable, and responsible decision-making” (p. 1)
- “Parks Canada anticipates regional pressures and prepares for them well in advance” (p. 1)
- “Ecological, social and economic systems in the park and the Crown of the Continent ecosystem benefit from integrated management” (p. 5)
- “Research and information, shared among agencies and individuals in the Crown of the Continent Ecosystem, support sound decision making” (p. 5)

**Principles**
- “Planning and decision-making are coordinated on a regional basis” (p. 44)
- “Partnerships are encouraged subject to appropriate checks and balances” (p. 44)
- “There is a shared responsibility to achieve ecological, social, cultural and economic sustainability” (p. 44)

**Key actions**
- “Collaborating with other land managers, neighbouring landowners and interested public organizations to promote ecosystem sustainability and an informed human community in the Crown of the Continent ecosystem” (p. 11)
- “Share information and participate in cooperative planning initiatives with neighbouring land” (p. 13) management agencies in Alberta, British Columbia and Montana
- “In cooperation with adjacent jurisdictions and First Nations, complete an inventory of high elevation archaeological sites and travel corridors through the mountains; include sites in the park and in the region. Coordinate communication activities with other national and provincial parks and regional visitor information networks” (p. 25)
- “Set up an annual public forum to discuss progress in implementing the management plan” (p. 45)
- “Continue to participate actively on key coordinating committees established by other agencies in the ecosystem” (p. 48)
- “Support initiatives in the Crown of the Continent ecosystem that enhance overall ecological integrity” (p. 48)
- “Work with adjacent jurisdictions in managing access to the park’s backcountry” (p. 48)

**Waterton Lakes National Park State of the Park Report [unpublished draft]**
- “Waterton Lakes National Park is a model of inter-jurisdictional land management. Because it is a small park, Waterton Lakes NP works together and cooperates with ranchers, first nations, private citizens and industry to protect this area of southern Alberta” (p. 9)
- “Some examples of the ways in which Waterton Lakes National Park has extended its reach by working with partners are the Wildflower Festival with the Trail of the Great Bear and the Land Care program with the Piikani First Nation” (p. 34)
- “Because of the park’s close association with Glacier National Park as the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park World Heritage Site, many programs have a broader regional ecosystem focus e.g. the Year of the Great Bear, the International Year of Mountains and the Wonder of Water” (p. 35)

**Formal regional integration initiatives in place or recently in place (2006-2008)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initiative</th>
<th>Organization</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Human Use Strategy consultation</td>
<td>Parks Canada (2006a)</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Facilitation of ecosystem-based research and management</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Secretariat for Crown Managers Partnership</td>
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<tr>
<td>Park Management Plan Implementation Plan Review Process</td>
<td>Parks Canada (2007c)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Waterton Park Front Project</td>
<td>Nature Conservancy of Canada (2006)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Southwest Alberta Grizzly Program</td>
<td>Landry (2007)</td>
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As with the GMNP case study, there were no specific references to “regional integration” in the documents reviewed. However, the current park management plan and draft State of the Park Report make numerous references to the importance of working with regional actors (Parks Canada 2000d, 2007d). Inter-jurisdictional cooperation was emphasized in the documents reviewed. Several formal regional integration initiatives are in place or were
recently in place including the Human Use Strategy consultation process, the Southwest Alberta Grizzly Program, and the Crown Managers Partnerships.

6.3 Park and Actor Relationships

This section will present participants’ perceptions of the relationship between the park and the key regional actors identified in section 6.1.5.

6.3.1 Alberta Environment

WLNP and Alberta Environment have a longstanding relationship. During the late 1980’s and 1990’s, their primary means of interaction was through the Regional Resource Management Committee, which met monthly to coordinate efforts with government agencies having environmental and natural resource management responsibilities. Lately, the two agencies have interacted formally through the Crown Managers Partnership, the Prairie Conservation Forum, and the Southern Alberta Landscapes Project. The two agencies also interact with regard to proposed undertakings that require both a provincial and federal environmental impact assessment. There is also an annual meeting between senior managers within the Government of Alberta and the park. WLNP staff have included Alberta Environment in its distribution of materials for its management planning processes and have invited its staff to participate in open houses for these processes.

Members of both agencies reported that the above interactions have resulted in the development of strong personal friendships, which has in turn strengthened the agency-to-agency relationship. The relationship was described by a provincial government employee as “soft integration” because of the importance of personal relationships and the fact that the interaction is not mandated. This dependence can make the connection precarious:
I think a lot of the integration is a soft integration because of the very close personal relationship with Rick. That he is aware of what we’re doing, you tend to incorporate the things that you know of are interest as you go through your own planning exercises. But that is definitely one of the weaknesses. The base is very weak here and very narrow. If Rick retires and I retire, a 20-year relationship could just evaporate. (W5)

6.3.2 Alberta Sustainable Resource Development

Alberta SRD and WLNP have always had a very close working relationship. Regular interactions occur between the staff of the two agencies including joint surveys of wildlife, amphibian monitoring, and working on the provincial recovery teams for leopard frogs. One WLNP staff member noted that the two agencies did not always coordinate their efforts:

We’ve tried more or less successfully, they’re still some glitches; but we’ve by and large been integrated our survey programs because it made absolutely no sense to be running them independently. It took us a long time to figure that out. (W22)

WLNP staff were involved in the recent Southwest Alberta Grizzly Program which involved moving carcasses from the region’s roads (road kill) and dropping them off at higher elevations both within and north of the park. The grizzly bears then feed on the carcasses early in spring and this prevents them from coming down onto ranches in search of food. The program is perceived as being highly successful and innovative.

Alberta SRD maintains its personal connections with the park through the Southwest Alberta Group which is an annual meeting between middle managers from Alberta SRD, Alberta Environment, and Alberta Community Development (which manages the province’s protected areas). The managers of these agencies go on annual hike in Waterton and have a barbeque. Alberta SRD has been somewhat reluctant to become strongly involved in the
Crown Managers Partnership and there is not a representative on the group’s steering committee\(^{19}\).

As with the relationship with Alberta Environment, participants expressed that individual relationships have kept the connection between the agencies strong, even within the context of Alberta SRD undergoing significant internal change since the early 1990’s, including multiple shifts in the districts and boundaries of the agency and its mandate and staffing changes.

6.3.3 British Columbia Ministry of Environment – Parks and Protected Areas Division

The relationship between WLNP and the Parks and Protected Areas Division of the BC Ministry of Environment is centred on the link between the Akamina-Keshinena Provincial Park and WLNP. There is a forestry road in BC which provides access to the western boundary however most visitors to Akamina-Keshinena enter the park through WLNP for single or multi-day hiking trips.

The two agencies are both involved with the Crown Managers Group and, as with the previous two relationships, strong friendships have developed over the years. Every spring the wardens that patrol the Akamina-Keshinena provincial park stop into Waterton to visit and will often conduct presentations about the park for WLNP visitors.

Staff of the two agencies have not communicated very much about the CPAWS proposal for park expansion into the Flathead Valley. This is perceived by staff from both agencies as best left to the political level.

\(^{19}\) An Alberta SRD employee was not interviewed for this research so the reason for this reluctance remains unclear.
6.3.4 County of Cardston

The relationship between the park and the County of Cardston manifests itself quite differently and through different mechanisms than the relationship with the three provincial agencies above. The park and the County have quite different mandates and most interaction between the two agencies has been related to land use in the county near to the park. WLNP staff have historically voiced concerns over development proposals near the park, and this has sometimes not been viewed favourably by the County:

*I think it was ’93 when a proposal was put forward and we actually attended and there was a bit of a backlash I recall, although we had attended before, by some people saying the park is coming out to tell us what we should do and it was two of the counsellors. (W3)*

In 1998, the park began to have regular meetings with both the County of Cardston and the MD of Pincher Creek. In 2001, there was a proposal for the subdivision of a large piece of property along the park boundary commonly referred to as the “Garner Subdivision.” Park staff became involved in the County’s review process due to concerns about wildlife movement and visitor experience:

*We presented our concerns in terms of shared wildlife; the experience that people get coming to the park; concerns that they should consider in terms of the impact of wildfire on a subdivision. At any rate, it got approved – it moved forward. (W3)*

After the intense involvement and debate about the proposal, there was a feeling that the agencies “needed a break” and the joint meetings ended:

*It wasn’t like anyone had said we don’t want to meet again. I think there was just so much energy exhausted in the process, no one picked up the phone and said we have got to get together. (W3)*

Even with the hiatus of regular meetings, there has been some interaction between the agencies, including joint work on weed control in the Belly and Waterton Rivers. The County
of Cardston continues to notify the park about any hearings for subdivisions between Mountain View and the park border.

6.3.5 Municipal District of Pincher Creek

The relationship between WLNP and the Municipal District (MD) of Pincher Creek is perceived to be closer than that of the park and the County of Cardston. This perception has been influenced by the culture of Pincher Creek residents (see 6.1.4). Also, proximity has played a role in this perceived closeness as there are more zones of the MD that are closer to the park than in the County of Cardston.

Regular meetings between staff of the MD of Pincher Creek and WLNP began in 1993. The meetings were seen as a chance to share information on the activities of the agencies, with a particular focus on development proposals within the MD and any processes that were ongoing in the park such as management planning. Joint meetings with Cardston County began in 1998 and the meetings reverted back to the MD and WLNP after the fallout from the Garner subdivision issue (see 6.3.4).

Another important connection between the park and the MD of Pincher Creek is that many park staff live within the town of Pincher Creek. However, the staff are not perceived as very “high profile” within the town and the park does not receive very much attention within the community itself. One park staff member said that he was surprised by how little the town has positioned itself as a gateway community to the park.

6.3.6 First Nations

This relationships between the park and the Blood Tribe and Piikani Nation has ebbed and flowed over time and has varied between the two tribes. Generally speaking, there has been much more interaction between park staff and members of the Blood Tribe than between
park staff and members of the Piikani Nation. In the past, members of the Blood Tribe have worked for the park. There is regular communication with the Blood Tribe about the tribe’s timber limit on the boundary of the park, fire response, and road maintenance on the section of the park road that provides access to the timber limit. There have been joint undertakings on reintroducing kit fox and bull trout along the Belly River and Waterton River. Some members of the Blood Tribe have participated in an environmental education program involving the park and local ranchers where students learned about differing perspectives of land use in the region.

One member of the Blood Tribe described the federal government’s “duty to consult” First Nations and indicated that this means that the relationship should improve further and move towards more meaningful consultation:

Certainly, there have been overtures, there has been dialog, and consultation, and today, we’re encouraging what they call meaningful consultation and not just mere lip service. As a result of the Supreme Court of Canada decisions, all levels of government that have interactions with First Nations, now have a legal duty and obligation to consult with First Nations when developments will impact to traditional territories, traditional sites, harvesting and gathering sites, and the rights to hunt, fish, trap, and so forth. Speaking for the Blood Tribe, because of the proximity of our timber limits to both parks, we have been all but obligated to begin to work hand in hand; and this hasn’t always been the case. (W6)

There has been very little interaction between park staff and the Piikani Nation. In the 1990’s the park donated some surplus bison to the tribe. The park regularly donates entrance passes to both tribes for the use of tribal elders. Some participants perceived that the Piikani Nation is experiencing a fair number of problems internally in terms of its own governance, and that it simply does not have the time to interact with the park. The tribe is also too busy with other “bigger” issues such oil and gas development, access to water, and the Old Man River Dam.
Interaction between park staff and both tribes has been “issue-based” and more infrequent than the other relationships examined. One park staff member noted that the reasons for this were perhaps time and capacity on the part of the people involved as opposed to a deliberate distancing. Also, there is not a dedicated WLNP staff person for First Nations issues such as at Gros Morne National Park and Kejimkujik National Park and National Historic Site. One park staff member explained that they have tried various mechanisms to engage local First Nations but have not been successful:

"They don’t respond to telephone calls or letters. We tried, particularly with the Blood Tribe this year, to get a meeting with the Chief and Council and I’m not sure how many phone messages were left. We wrote them at least half a dozen times and we’ve gotten absolutely no response whatsoever. So, it’s been very difficult. This is the most difficulty I’ve had connecting with First Nations in any place I’ve worked. (W1)"

Finally, the issue of access and traditional use has had an impact on the relationship between First Nations and park staff. One First Nations participant pointed out that members of his tribe are required to pay to enter WLNP but are not required to pay to enter GNP-US. He also described the impact that the park has on First Nations’ traditional uses of the land:

"If we want to harvest or gather a certain plant, herb, root or go to a quarry site, or a vision-quest site, to begin with we have to pay an admission, just to get into the Park. Secondly, if we pick a plant, we can be charged for an illegal gathering or a harvesting or trespassing. We have taken an exception to that because in certain land use areas, there are only certain plants or herbs or roots that are available in those areas. They are limiting our traditional right to harvest and gather, which is based on Aboriginal rights, which is based on prior occupation; in other words, we have always exercised these Aboriginal harvesting and gathering rights since time immemorial. (W6)"

6.3.7 Glacier National Park, Montana

The staff of Waterton Lakes National Park and Glacier National Park, Montana (GNP-US) have had a close working relationship since GNP-US was created in 1910. The relationship was formalized and celebrated at the 1932 designation of the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park (see 6.1.3). The two parks interact in several different ways including
through the Crown Managers Partnership, regular meetings and events, management planning, joint research and restoration, coordinated interpretation, and search and rescue.

Several staff of both parks were key players in the initiation of the Crown Managers Partnership and continue to be active members of the partnership’s steering committee. The partnership continues to be the main mechanism for interaction between staff of both parks at the managerial level of both parks.

Several regular meetings are organized in order to initiate communication and coordination between the staff of both parks at various levels. There is a semi-annual meeting between the management teams of both parks. There is also an annual superintendents’ hike where the superintendents of both parks invite a group of citizens to join them for a hike through one of the parks. Since 1992, there have been annual meetings between WLNP’s wardens and GNP-US’s rangers. These meetings also provide the opportunity for the staff to socialize and strengthen personal relationships:

*So, we have regular meetings and we – even though they’re physically quite a ways away, I think we have a – basically a really good working relationship with the wardens. So, that helps a lot when there are issues that have potential conflicts. We really don’t go up there very often but we do it on a somewhat regular basis and we have established really good working relationships and we understand where each other is coming from so when things like these fire issues or something come up, where we’re kind of butting heads, if we didn’t have such a good relationship, I don’t think we could solve them quite as easily as we have been and then it could create some hard feelings that, as it is, I think, I’m really comfortable with how we’ve been working with them.* (W21)

The two parks have different management planning processes and each process has its own timeline, however, the parks are highly involved in each others’ processes. For example, one staff member sat on a steering committee for the GNP-US management planning process in the late 1990’s and WLNP staff held an open house in West Glacier, Montana about the
most recent WLNP management plan. There is also a joint management plan for the tourist boat that travels down Waterton Lake into GNP-US.

The two parks are involved in several joint projects including research on bull trout, a restoration project for the trade waste pit in WLNP, and wildlife surveys. The parks’ scientists know on another very well and several participants labelled the relationship as “a very good working relationship”.

The two parks have also made efforts to coordinate their interpretation programs. In the GNP-US visitor centre in St. Mary’s, Montana there is interpretive information about the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park and WLNP. Also, a Canadian warden travels to GNP-US during the tourist season to give presentations about WLNP to GNP-US visitors. Several notable one-time events that staff from the two parks have worked together on were the petition to have the parks designated as a World Heritage Site in 1995 and a 2007 conference on peace parks that commemorated the 75th anniversary of the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park.

The parks have also cooperated in searches for missing individuals in both parks. WLNP staff are often able to access people who are injured or missing in the northern part of GNP-US faster than GNP-US staff can. Another key area of interaction has been in the context of forest fires. There are fundamental differences in the fire policies of both organizations. GNP-US’s policy is to allow most natural fires to continue to burn using a prescribed natural fire program. WLNP undertakes prescribed burns and suppresses most natural fires. The difference in these fire regimes can be attributed to the difference in the size of the parks and the presence of the Waterton townsite. These different approaches to fire have been the subject
of much discussion and debate. One GNP-US staff person felt that the WLNP were “not totally sold” on their approach and described the differences between the two fire regimes:

> They’re very cautious of fire as I see it and when they have a fire they hit it really hard. And that’s generally the way the Canadian system seems to work. They hit fires hard, whereas we’re probably one of the most liberal parks as far as trying to allow natural fire to do its thing. (W21)

One GNP-US staff member told the story of one summer where there was a fire in GNP-US and another fire in WLNP simultaneously and how the parks’ approaches to the fires were quite different:

> So they were hitting this thing really hard, meanwhile, we were letting a fire in Glacier National Park burn and it was headed their way to an extent. (W21)

Contextual factors have influenced the relationship between the staff of both parks. For example, there is a perception that the relationship has become slightly more distant since the border crossing procedure at Goat Haunt changed and patrols of the border increased (see 6.1.6). Another contextual factor is the fact that GNP-US has a much larger budget and more staff than WLNP:

> Rick and the superintendent may bring down three or four staff. We [GNP-US] may have eight or nine or ten. And so that’s a very sensitive issue and I appreciate that from Waterton’s standpoint. (W8)

GNP-US has a position dedicated to regional issues (a “Regional Issues Specialist”) that WLNP does not have the capacity to have20.

One GNP-US staff person described his impression that the relationship between the parks changes according to the personality of the parks’ superintendents and how well those two individuals can get along. There have been some personality conflicts between the superintendents in the past that put a strain on relations.

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20 This position was created in 1989 in the wake of the first Sax and Keiter report (1987) that examined GNP-US’s relationships with its neighbours and influence on regional activities. The report was critical of the park and why it had not been practicing ecosystem management more aggressively.
Finally, one GNP-US participant noted that the relationship between the two parks has enabled GNP-US staff to make connections with other government agencies within Canada:

One of the things that working with Waterton does is it opens doors in Canada. (W8)

6.3.8 Shell Canada

Shell Canada is the oil and gas company that WLNP has interacted with the most since the park’s establishment. According to a few participants, the relationship “ebbs and flows” and “varies from neutral to positive.” Participants from both organizations stated that sometimes several years will pass without any significant dialogue between the organizations.

Shell Canada has oil and gas wells on the boundary of WLNP and in built roads close to and even through the park in the 1950’s and 1960’s. This road network resulted in high recreational use of the area, the spread of weeds, and the disruption of wildlife. In the 1970’s an agreement was made with Shell, the Alberta government, and Parks Canada to close the area to public access. Shell now has a policy to reclaim more kilometres of road than is created in the region, but off-road vehicle users still use the cut lines that remain for access.

The most frequent form of interaction between WLNP and Shell Canada is park staff providing feedback on development proposals for activities near the park boundary such as seismic work. WLNP has no influence on the permitting process for oil and gas exploration and drilling however Shell was perceived by some participants to be sensitive to the park’s feedback. One Shell staff member noted that Shell also approaches the park prior to activity in the immediate neighbourhood.

Other mechanisms for interaction between the park and Shell Canada include a mutual aid agreement that was signed by both organizations that agrees to support each other in emergency response issues and the designation of the first oil well in Canada as a National
Historic Site within the park. Shell has also sought the park’s participation in scientific studies on the movement of elk. One Shell employee summarized the relationship as accepting and not antagonistic:

*We see them as a very good neighbour and they’ve never been critical, nor have we, of their existence. We actually, I think, can collaborate in a positive way and the synergy is stronger. We don’t resent their presence and I don’t think that . . . they realize that we’re there too.* (W2)

### 6.3.9 Nature Conservancy of Canada

The relationship between WLNP and the Nature Conservancy of Canada is not as close as an outside observer might expect it to be. The location of the Waterton Park Front Project certainly does benefit the ecological integrity of the park (see 6.1.6). Many participants noted that the project is preventing the subdivision of the land immediately adjacent to the park and that ranching is a relatively compatible land use for protecting the park’s ecological integrity.

There is some informal communication and coordination between the two agencies. For example, the two agencies communicated with five cottage-owners who now lease land from the NCC about fencing the access road to their properties. The NCC has been permitted to post signs on park property indicating the Park Front Project’s boundary. The park was actively involved in hosting potential donors to the Waterton Park Front Project by taking them on guided horseback rides in the park and talking to them about the relationship between the ranch land and the park. WLNP staff were very supportive of the project and offered letters of support during the project’s early stages.

However, the relationship between park staff and the NCC has not been developed very strongly, for various reasons. Park staff attributed this distance to the fact that the park does not want to be perceived as being “too close” to the NCC because of the rumour that the project may be one step toward expanding the park (see 6.1.6):
One of the big reasons for that is a lot of the ranchers and local communities and members of the local communities felt that this was just a step in expanding the park. So, we’re very cautious in presenting publicly that we’re partners because we don’t want to give that intention that is what the intention is – is to expand the park, it’s not – we don’t want to hamper NCC in their ability in zoning more purchases. (W1)

One NCC staff person expressed some frustration about the lack of interest and misconceptions that some park staff have about the Park Front Project. He explained that the NCC has the potential to act as a conduit between the park and adjacent land users and that the park should take advantage of this link. He also felt that some park staff were spreading some misconceptions about the project, particularly about the NCC’s recent approach in allowing the 3-dimensional seismic work to proceed within its region (see 6.1.6):

Yes, there was a buzz around, “Why is NCC letting them on their land?”; and I think the Park kind of, these guys said, well, “What the hell, what are you doing?” Like not supportive, not necessarily just asking a question, but it was kind of critical almost. But, there is an explanation for it; we are doing our best with it, and we face that issue and the Park doesn’t. We’re not a park; we’re not a national park where mineral rights are not an entity. I’ve sort of been a little bit disappointed, I guess, in that Parks Canada staff sometimes seems to think that they know what’s going on out there; but they don’t really. They don’t seem to make the effort to maybe find out from myself about it or somebody else. (W11)

6.3.10 Waterton Townsite Residents

Since the establishment of the Waterton townsite, there has been constant communication and interaction between townsite residents and park staff. Most residents of the Waterton townsite are business owners or long time cottage owners. Most of the interactions have been about issues related to tourism such as the town’s infrastructure (see 6.1.6) or park policies and regulations that are perceived to have an impact on tourism.

There are two groups of townsite residents: those residents who are strongly committed to park values and those who are primarily business owners who benefit from the existence of the park but sometimes feel constrained by the regulations of the national park.
The formal mechanisms for interaction between park staff and townsite residents are the local government,21 the Chamber of Commerce, the Waterton Community Association, the Leaseholder’s Association, and the Green Team. A public advisory group worked with Parks Canada to develop an implementation strategy of the park’s management plan, which was presented for public review in 2006 (Parks Canada, 2007c). The park attempts to use a variety of methods to communicate with residents:

*One way of communicating well is to use a variety of methods because you get different people. So there is a leaseholder’s newsletter. There’s the annual park newsletter. There’s media pitching stories and we also post community bulletins at the post office.* (W17)

One business owner who was interviewed for this study was extremely supportive of the park and cognisant of the link between the park and tourism:

*We try to complement wherever parks are at, and defend where they’re at, because in industry it’s often competitive and “they versus us”. But in our minds parks have given the travel industry the most amazing product you could ever imagine and however the industry can support parks is what we’re all about.* (W14)

Other townsite residents interviewed for the study were not as positive about the park. One local resident reminisced about how the townsite had changed over the years (see 6.1.3) and felt that the park policy of not allowing new staff to live within the townsite has negatively affected the community, causing “friction and unhappiness”:

*Joe Blow goes to Pincher Creek. Joe Blow goes to Cardston. It’s a job. They come to work, they do their jobs and like everybody else, they just want to go home. They don’t feel they have an obligation to have to become friends with me.* (W10)

Another perceived change is that park staff no longer interact closely with townsite residents, particularly recent superintendents who were perceived by a few participants to be

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21 Waterton townsite is an “Improvement District”, which is a type of governing body in Alberta that has an elected council and provides a link with the provincial government.
unmotivated to interact with the community and who arrive in the park near the end of their careers.

6.3.11 Ranchers

The large difference in landscape between the park and the adjacent ranch lands has contributed to a perceived separation between WLNP and adjacent land users. The relationship between the park and adjacent land users, mostly ranchers, was developed and improved during the early years of the biosphere reserve (see 6.1.3). During this time personal friendships were formed which still exist today. However, there is still some animosity that exists toward the park by some ranchers, stemming from the fact that they can no longer raise cattle in the park yet “queen’s cows” (elk) do still come onto their properties and feed on their hay stacks.

There is a general awareness that the park and adjacent lands affect one another. One participant described the circular relationship of the park’s multiple designations, the impact these have on ranching, and the impact that increased intensity of adjacent land use has on the park:

*When you put a green blob on a map and it has three international designations probably no other piece of real estate in Canada has that, that I can think of. All of a sudden people come here. And when they come here they say, “Well gee, I’d love to live here.” Then that creates that pressure on the ranching community. Which, in turn, if that whole land use changes then it impacts us. It’s a circular issue, it’s not a linear one.* (W3)

Some park staff have recognized the unique culture of ranchers (see 6.1.4) and have decided that the best way to interact with them is on a one-on-one basis, instead of through meetings. Formal mechanisms for interaction are avoided by both parties and there is a general acceptance of one another:
I mean it seems like the park is interested in their program and ranchers are interested in their program and unless there’s a problem where they cross paths, they each kind of do their own thing. (W23)

6.4 Participants’ Conceptualizations of Regional Integration

Table 21 presents participants’ conceptualizations of what regional integration means and what the goals of regional integration should be.

Table 21: Participants’ conceptualizations of regional integration for WLNP case study

| Meaning of “regional integration” and how it is undertaken | • Parks are participants outside the boundaries of the park and are involved in issues that transcend their borders. Park staff are mindful of their role in terms of economic development. (W14)  
• Collaborating with other stakeholders and gatekeepers surrounding the park. (W6)  
• Working with partners to solve specific problems on the ground. (W8)  
• The park working with its neighbours. (W4)  
• Two way dialogue between the people that are around the park and the agencies and groups. Helping each other and recognizing each other’s roles. (W16)  
• Information sharing and networks. (W18) |
| Goals of regional integration | • The mandates and interests of the park and regional actors are complementary. (W3)  
• Having a shared vision of southern Alberta landscape. (W5)  
• Good communication between the park and its neighbours, regular communication lines, joint initiatives, a reel feeling of partnership among the park and the stakeholders. (W11)  
• Compatible land use between the park and its region. (W19, W1)  
• The park is linked economically to the community. (W1)  
• Regional actors understand the purpose of the park and support it and the park is perceived as a positive thing for the community. (W1) |

6.5 Improving Regional Integration

Several participants made suggestions about how the regional integration of WLNP could be improved. As with the previous two case studies, each participant had a different perception of what regional integration is, what the goals of regional integration should be (see 6.4). However, some common themes did emerge.

Almost all of the participants who were involved with the Crown Managers Partnership indicated that the partnership was at a critical period in its development and that unless the partnership was supported at higher levels of the agencies involved and at the political level, the partnership may stall. Some participants suggested that more political “buy in” of the
partnership would mean that it would become a more formalized way of doing business for the agencies, that participation in the group would be part of staff work plans and job descriptions, and that there would be more funding provided for the initiative from the agencies involved.

Although the relationship between the park and First Nations will only improve if there is effort and willingness to engage from both sides, participants had some ideas as to how the relationship could be improved from the perspective of park staff. First, one WLNP staff person suggested that the key was to stay “nimble” and ready to act based on the capacities on both groups. If the park is approached by either First Nations tribe about an issue, park staff should be ready and have the capacity to interact.

The issue of access to the park by First Nations is contentious. One First Nations participant who was interviewed was aware that he does not have to pay to enter GNP-US but is required to pay to enter WLNP. Arrangements have been made in other national parks for free entry by First Nations (e.g., in Kejimkujik National Park and National Historic Site) and some participants suggested that this should be considered for WLNP. Finally, one First Nations participant noted that there are no First Nations people on the staff of the park and that this would be a crucial step toward including them in the direct operation and management of the park.

The personality, attitude, and longevity of key staff (particularly the superintendent) were perceived to be very important by participants. Having a younger superintendent who stays in the position for a longer term and who is committed to working with regional actors was perceived to be a key factor in improving the regional integration of the park. Some participants noted that they do not attempt to get to know the park’s superintendents any longer because they perceived that they will be leaving the park or retiring after a few years.
My experience, with other parks too, has been “Why should I invest my energy in getting to know this person when they’re going up the ladder in a year and half or two years?” So I think Waterton has tended to have a fairly quick rotation of superintendents just before retirement or they start at a small park then they move up to something bigger. (W16)

One participant suggested that the park and the NCC could improve their relationship by clarifying some of the misconceptions that park staff have with regard to the Waterton Park Front Project and by making the NCC more aware of opportunities for engagement with park staff.

Finally, many participants from several actor groups noted that the park is strong in its involvement in formal initiatives for regional integration such as the Crown Managers Partnership, regular meetings between government agencies, and formal interactions through research or management planning. However, some participants perceived that the park has not excelled in its informal interactions with regional actors, particularly with neighbouring land users, townsite residents, and First Nations. Several participants suggested that the park staff could plan some informal social events where park staff do not wear their uniforms and where there is no discussion of park-related issues. This would strengthen relationships with these regional actors and develop more trust, a key element of regional integration.

6.6 Chapter Summary

Waterton Lakes National Park exists within a complex region undergoing rapid change. Contextual elements influencing the park’s regional integration are its position near the Canada-US border, the rapid development of the oil and gas industry in the region, its location in the middle of the “Crown of the Continent” ecosystem, the rise of several conservation initiatives including the Waterton Park Front Project, and significant change over time of the Waterton townsite. Park staff have a history of working closely with some regional actors,
particularly GNP-US and the Province of Alberta. The Crown Managers Partnership, the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park, and the several regular events provide opportunities for interaction between park staff and regional actors. Participants had several suggestions for improving regional integration, including obtaining political “buy-in” for the Crown Managers Partnership and staying “nimble” and ready to engage with First Nations.
Chapter 7: Mount Revelstoke and Glacier National Parks

This chapter presents the results from the Mount Revelstoke and Glacier National Park (MR&GNP) case study. It is organized in the same manner as the two previous chapters by first presenting the context within which MR&GNP is situated including its biophysical environment, economy and demographics, history, culture, governance, politics, and participants’ perceptions of the park region. The second section of the chapter lists and reviews several documents gathered as secondary sources in terms of references to regional integration, park policies or directives related to park-region interactions, and information about regional integration initiatives in place in the park region. The third section of the chapter describes the relationships between regional actors and MR&GNP staff. The fourth section of the chapter presents participants’ conceptualizations of regional integration. The final section of this chapter presents suggestions from participants for improving the regional integration of MR&GNP.

7.1 Context

7.1.1 Biophysical Environment

Mount Revelstoke and Glacier National Parks are located in southeastern British Columbia’s Columbia Mountains. The City of Revelstoke is located approximately one kilometre from the entrance of Mount Revelstoke National Park. Other nearby communities are Golden (approximately 150 km east of Revelstoke), Nakusp (approximately 100 km south of Revelstoke), and Sicamous (approximately 70 km west of Revelstoke) (Figure 6).

Mount Revelstoke National Park (MRNP) protects 260 km² of the Selkirk Mountains, including the face and summit of Mount Revelstoke. Glacier National Park protects 1350 km² of the Purcell and Selkirk mountains. The Illecillewaet River flows from the Illecillewaet
Glacier in Glacier National Park (GNP) into the Columbia River at Revelstoke. The Columbia River Valley, which has been transformed into a series of reservoirs through hydro-electric dams, is a major geographical feature of the MR&GNP region. The Revelstoke Dam is located three kilometres from the City of Revelstoke and within one kilometre of the western boundary of MRNP.

From west to east, the Trans Canada Highway parallels the southern boundary of Mount Revelstoke National Park, travels 14.5 kilometres between the two parks, and passes through Rogers Pass to bisect GNP into northern and southern sections. A major railway also follows this transportation corridor.

The climate of the MR&GNP region is characterized by high precipitation and four distinct seasons. The area is well known for the amount of snow it receives, which has been measured at up to 15 metres per year within GNP. The mean annual precipitation is 1278 mm at Revelstoke and 1995 mm in the subalpine zone (Parks Canada, 2007a).

The ecosystems represented in the region are generally determined by elevation. The valley bottoms are populated by old growth forests of western red cedar and western hemlock. Engelmann spruce, sub-alpine fir, and mountain hemlock are present on mid to upper slopes. Further upslope, parkland meadows transition to alpine tundra (Parks Canada, 2005). More than half of GNP is alpine tundra, rocks, and glaciers (Parks Canada, 2005). Insects and disease are the most common natural disturbances in the park’s valley bottom. Higher elevation forests are also subject to fires, avalanches, and mudslides (Parks Canada, 2005).

Both national parks provide habitat for wildlife species designated by the Committee on the Status of Endangered Wildlife in Canada (COSEWIC) including wolverine (a species of special concern), mountain caribou (threatened), and grizzly bear (a species of special
concern). Other vulnerable (or provincially blue-listed) species in the region are the bull trout, cutthroat trout, great blue heron, painted turtle, and short-eared owl. It is well known and accepted that the parks are too small to provide sufficient habitat to maintain populations of many of these species on their own and that many species travel between the parks and external provincial Crown lands.

7.1.2 Economy and Demographics

The MR&GNP regional economy is tied directly to its geographic location and natural resources. The economy is based primarily on forestry, tourism, hydro-electric generation, government services, and transportation (primarily Canadian Pacific Railway). The City of Revelstoke is the service centre for a large geographic region and retail, public services, and government offices are located in the city.

Forestry

The forest industry (including logging, hauling, primary and secondary processing, consulting, and silviculture) accounts for 21% of employment income in Revelstoke (City of Revelstoke, 2006). The main species harvested are western red cedar, engelman spruce, western hemlock, mountain hemlock, Douglas fir, balsam fir, and western white pine. The Revelstoke and Area Land Use Plan, the Kootenay Boundary Land Use Plan, and Higher Level Plan Orders guide forestry management within the region (Province of British Columbia, 2005; Revelstoke Minister’s Advisory Committee, 1999). The plans provide zones of limited or no timber harvest within defined areas of mountain caribou habitat.

Most of the Crown land in the MR&GNP region is leased as timber supply areas to timber companies. There are multiple players in the region and all are regulated by the British
Columbia Ministry of Forests and Range (BCMOFR) within the Columbia Forest District, based in Revelstoke. Within the Revelstoke Timber Supply Area, timber harvesting supports 315 person-years of employment annually and $9.93 million in employment income (BC Forest Service - Forest Analysis Branch, 2004). Downie Timber is the major wood manufacturer in the region and provides direct employment to 200 persons and generates approximately $30 million per year. Several independent contractors undertake harvesting, hauling, road building, forest management, and silviculture operations.

In 1993, following a downturn in the economy as the result of the end of three major hydro-electric dam construction projects, the City of Revelstoke bought a tree farm license (TFL55) north of the city and became the sole shareholder of the Revelstoke Community Forest Corporation. The Revelstoke Forestry Corporation harvests saw and pulp logs in this license. One third of logs are sold to a negotiated buyer and one third of the logs go to local industry partners for processing.

Currently, British Columbia is experiencing a general decline in the forestry industry, which has been negatively affected by a high Canadian dollar and downturn in the United States housing market. This downward trend in revenue and employment is expected to continue.

**Tourism**

Tourism is a major economic driver in Revelstoke. The 2001 census indicated that 670 persons were employed in accommodation and food services in Revelstoke. Many of these jobs are part time and/or seasonal. Approximate 3.5 millions people drive through MR&GNP each
year and approximately 600,000 travellers stop within the parks. Two-thirds of visitors to the parks are international.

The MR&GNP region has two distinct tourist seasons: summer and winter. During the summer tourist season, the city and its region are popular stopping points along the busy Trans-Canada Highway. The two national parks are considered major tourism destinations in the summer, along with the Revelstoke Dam, Railway Museum, and the town centre.

From December to April, Revelstoke is a tourist destination. The region is famous for its snow and has been promoted as a “snowmobile mecca” for many years. Rogers Pass is a worldwide destination for backcountry skiing. Other tourism activities in the winter are downhill skiing (at the new Revelstoke Mountain Resort), heli skiing, and cat skiing. There is little tourist use of MRNP in the winter, as the road to the summit of the mountain is closed. However, some locals do use the lower trails for cross country skiing and snowshoeing.

On December 22, 2007, the Revelstoke Mountain Resort started its inaugural season. The ski hill, just south of Revelstoke on Mount Mackenzie, has been a source of speculation for 20 years. The development plan for the resort allows for the construction of 5,000 new housing units, 500,000 square feet of commercial and retail space, and a golf course. The resort has received significant worldwide media attention and is being billed as one of the world’s best ski resorts. The resort and its associated development has been linked to increased real estate prices, higher rents, and concern by some residents about the pace of development in the city (see 7.1.6).
Transportation

The transportation industry plays a significant role in the MR&GNP region. Both rail and highway traffic have increased substantially during the past 30 years from 150,000 vehicles a year using the highway in 1970 to over 1.5 million vehicles in 2000 (Parks Canada, 2005). The Canadian Pacific Railway employs approximately 400 people in Revelstoke.

The Trans Canada Highway passes south of MRNP and through GNP. In the winter, Parks Canada has developed an agreement with the British Columbia Ministry of Transportation (BCMOT) to have their contractor provide winter maintenance of the highway through MRNP. In exchange, Parks Canada maintains the section of the Trans Canada Highway from GNP to Quartz Creek. In the summer, maintenance for this section of highway reverts to the responsible agency.

The world’s largest mobile avalanche control program keeps the road and railway corridor open during the winter using avalanche bulletins, instigating closures, and using artillery to stabilize potential avalanches. Several times each winter the highway between Revelstoke and Golden is closed to traffic, which results in very high commercial truck traffic within the communities.

Demographics

The 2006 census reported a decrease in the population of Revelstoke since 2001 (7500 to 7230). This result is perceived to be misleading as there has been a marked influx in newcomers to the community since 2006, influenced by the development of the new ski resort. Some study participants estimated that the city’s population will increase by 2000 people in the next 10 years.
There is a general observation that the population of long-term residents is ageing and that the people moving to the community are younger amenity migrants. School enrolments in School District 19 have declined in recent years, similar to the national trend.

### 7.1.3 History

The MR&GNP region has a rich human history. Archaeological surveys have yet to find evidence of First Nations use within the parks however there has been some evidence of the use of the Big Eddy neighbourhood within the City of Revelstoke, possibly as a temporary camp. Three First Nations – Secwepemc (Shuswap), Okanagan, and the Ktunaxa include the parks as part of their traditional territory.

The parks’ histories were shaped by the discovery of the route through the Selkirk Mountains by Major A. B. Rogers, construction of the railway and highways through Rogers Pass, and the rise and fall of resource industries (see 7.1.2). In 1886, in conjunction with Yoho National Park, Glacier National Park was established. These two parks were Canada’s second and third national parks.

The most significant aspect of history of the parks as related to regional integration is the history of the establishment of Mount Revelstoke National Park. In 1908, local citizens of Revelstoke, hearing about the establishment of other national parks, particularly Banff, lobbied the provincial and federal governments to establish a national park on Mount Revelstoke in order to celebrate its scenic beauty and provide recreational opportunities for residents. The Meadows-in-the-Sky Parkway was built between 1911 and 1927 and the park was officially designated in 1914. Early advertisements misleadingly labelled the park as “Canada’s Rocky Mountain Jewel.” This history of park establishment is well-known in the community and is
celebrated each year with the Eva Lake Pilgrimage. MRNP remains the only mountain park established at the urging of local citizens.

The history of the parks’ establishment has not had a negative influence on present regional integration of the parks and only two participants made note of the parks’ establishment histories. This is in marked contrast to the two eastern case studies, Gros Morne National Park (GMNP) and Kejimkujik National Park and National Historic Site (KNP&NHS), whose regional actors have living memories of a difficult period of park establishment.

7.1.4 Culture

Many participants made observations about the culture of both the residents of Revelstoke as well as the staff of the MR&GNP Field Unit. These observations provide important context to the regional integration of the parks.

Culture of the Residents of Revelstoke

The two most significant observations about the culture of the residents of Revelstoke are the different types of residents who live in the community and a strong “sense of community” that is held by residents.

Many participants made the generalization between two different “types” of people who live in Revelstoke: 1) those residents whose families have been living in Revelstoke for several generations, many of whom are employed in the forestry or transportation industries, and 2) those residents who are newcomers to town and have chosen to live in Revelstoke for lifestyle reasons. Some residents in the first group, termed the town’s “old guard” by some participants, have not visited the national parks in their lifetimes but do enjoy motorized forms of recreation such as ATV-ing and snowmobiling in the region. Some of the relative newcomers to town have been labelled the “pogey ski team” – these are residents who work
seasonally and spend many days in the winter backcountry skiing in the region. Some of the relative newcomers to town have strong environmental values. One participant indicated that being an environmentalist was difficult in the community and that some residents are quite hostile to conservation or any criticism of the forestry industry.

There is a strong sense of community in Revelstoke which is probably linked to its geographical isolation, history of self-reliance, and a boom and bust economy. Some participants noted that there are strong linkages between government agencies and community groups and that cooperation is part of the community’s culture. Revelstoke is perceived as a good place for families, safe, and small enough to recognize people on the street. There is a perception that the community is changing quickly and that the new ski hill development is attracting more “cultured” residents to the community and a demand for high-end restaurants and shops.

**Culture of MR&GNP Staff**

Most participants had a perception about the culture of the employees of the MR&GNP Field Unit. There were differing perceptions of this culture, influenced by participants’ backgrounds and experiences interacting with park employees. These perceptions of the park staff culture influence the parks’ regional integration, particularly in terms of the relationship between residents of the community and park staff.

Most non-staff participants of the study perceived the staff of the MR&GNP Field Unit to be very well educated, well paid, and very involved members of the community. Some staff members hold important roles in community organizations and this was noted by some participants. Some participants who actively work with MR&GNP staff stated that the staff have made an explicit effort during the past three to four years to become more integrated into
the community and that they were now more motivated to work with other agencies. One park staff member explained that park’s approach to communications has not changed since the 1970’s, which is for staff to get out into the community as much as possible and become part of the conversations happening within the community.

However, some non-staff participants had negative views of the local park staff. These negative views were the strongest and most consistent of the four case studies. Several participants perceived that the park staff are “too bureaucratic” and that it takes them long time to get anything accomplished. This descriptor was used by several participants in relation to the amount of time taken to complete some recent infrastructure improvements within the parks:

So things like that, you know, the right hand doesn’t know what the left hand is doing and it takes so long and it’s painful. And I think that’s the difference between entrepreneurial people and government. (M7)

There was also a feeling among some participants that the park staff were not very well connected with other activities in the community and that they are operating “within their own bubble” and are “insular”:

I think the park still somewhat isolates itself. The park has a park perspective and it’s it’s a national perspective. They’re really perceived as kind of being over here on issues. And then there’s other people that are kind of the rest of the pool is over here. And it still is somewhat insular. I think in a way the park staff are in their own little world. Often you see them all huddled together. They go places together. (M8)

Some participants perceived that the park staff were “environmentalists” and had very strong opinions against forestry and motorized recreation within the MR&GNP region and that they are not willing to acknowledge others’ views. One participant affiliated with the forestry industry noted that some park staff do not make an effort to be sympathetic or understanding toward resource users:
I don’t think I have ever heard a Parks Canada person say “We understand that this isn’t easy, and we understand that families and citizens will be impacted”; it has simply been ecological. That’s not going to go very far, which has happened unfortunately. (M17)

Some participants felt that park staff are inconsistent in their representation on various committees or organizations and that, because they are interacting with different staff members all of the time, it is difficult to develop personal relationships or know the appropriate staff person to contact:

Then Mark came for a while and then Tom and Jane was there too. Jane was there in the beginning and then Jane retired and then Mark came and then Debra came. I don’t mean to make this personal but there is confusion about “who is who in the zoo” so to speak. It shouldn’t be “Oh god I am out of town and nobody’s going to be there” or “She’s sick and nobody’s going to be there”, on a regular basis. That is not really a signal to send. Either they are important or they are not important. (M17)

There was also a strong perception by some participants, particularly those connected with the tourism industry, that the park staff do not want visitor numbers to increase in the parks and that they would prefer for people not to use the park. This opinion appears to stem from a perceived slowness in repairing infrastructure and from the short season of many park facilities such as the Meadows-in-the-Sky Parkway in MRNP.

7.1.5 Governance

Table 22 presents a list of key regional actors for the MR&GNP case study and a brief overview of their responsibilities, decision-making powers, and/or relevance to the park.
Table 22: Key regional actors for MR&GNP case study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Regional Actor</th>
<th>Characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Friends of Mount Revelstoke and Glacier National Parks (“The Friends”) | • A not-for-profit cooperating association formed in 1986  
• The group’s mandate is to “supports the protection, appreciation, education and understanding of Mount Revelstoke and Glacier National Parks” (Friends of Mount Revelstoke and Glacier National Parks, 2007)  
• Membership of 186 people, mostly residents of Revelstoke  
• Funds a variety of projects from research grants to education publications to outdoor courses  
• Financially self sufficient from proceeds of the Glacier Hut Bookstore that it operates in the park visitor centre at Rogers Pass |
| BC Ministry of Forests and Range (BCMOFR) | • Responsible for regulating the forestry industry in BC  
• Revelstoke is located within the Southern Interior Forest Region and, within that, the Columbia Forest District  
• Main office for the Columbia Forest District is located in Revelstoke and employs approximately 26 people |
| Residents of Revelstoke | • Population of the City of Revelstoke was 7230 in 2006  
• A mix of multi-generational residents and newcomers |
| Canadian Avalanche Association (CAA) | • Canada’s national avalanche organization  
• Promotes avalanche safety  
• Headquarters are in Revelstoke  
• Association has 800 members across Canada who work in avalanche-related activities ranging from research to hazard control and management, to education. |
| City of Revelstoke | • Municipal government, governed by a mayor and six councillors  
• 8 departments: Administration, Finance, Public Works, Planning, Building & Bylaw Enforcement, Parks and Recreation, Fire, and Economic Development |
| First Nations | • There are no First Nations reserves within the immediate park region (i.e., Revelstoke area)  
• Three nations have overlapping traditional territories and all claim the MR&GNP region  
  o Okanagan Nation Alliance  
  o Ktunaxa Treaty Council  
  o Secwepemc Nation  
• Ktunaxa Nation is currently undergoing treaty negotiations through the BC treaty negotiation process |
| Columbia Mountains Institute of Applied Ecology (CMIAE) | • Non-profit society based in Revelstoke  
• Established in 1996  
• Purpose of the Institute is to “increase awareness and knowledge about the ecology of the Columbia Mountains and regional ecosystems by delivering conferences and seminars, providing courses, coordinating research, and communicating research results” (Columbia Mountains Institute of Applied Ecology, 2008) |
| BC Ministry of Transportation (BCMOT) | • Tasked with “opening up BC through innovative, forward-thinking transportation strategies that move people and goods safely throughout BC, while helping to revitalize our provincial economy” (British Columbia Ministry of Transportation, 2008)  
• Revelstoke is located within the BCMOT’s southern interior region’s Rocky Mountain District  
• An area office is located in downtown Revelstoke that employs approximately 7 people |
| Forestry industry | • Revelstoke is the base of operations for three sawmills, one cedar shake and shingle mill, one pole yard, and several value-added wood manufacturing plants  
• Several smaller forestry contractors operate in the region |
| Tourism industry | • Includes several heli-ski companies, the Revelstoke Mountain Resort, accommodation providers, restaurant owners/managers, and snowmobile tour operators  
• Many of the operators are active members of the city’s Chamber of Commerce |
7.1.6 “Hot Topics”

This section examines the region’s “hot topics” which have had a contextual influence on the regional integration of MR&GNP: caribou, the pace of development in Revelstoke, and park entrance fees.

Caribou

As mentioned above, the mountain caribou is a threatened species under COSEWIC due to their low numbers, decreasing population trend, and shrinking distribution. A 2004 population census within the Columbia Forest District\(^{22}\) found that there is a population of approximately 176 (Hooge et al., 2004). In censuses from 1994-1997 the population was between 290 and 373 animals. Since 1992, the leading causes of death in caribou in the district were cited to be predation and accidents (Flaa & McLellan, 1999). The predator-prey system has changed in the region and increased moose and deer numbers and related changes in wolves and cougars may have adversely affected caribou (Flaa & McLellan, 1999).

Since 2005, the Species at Risk Coordination Office (SARCO) has been coordinating accelerated recovery planning for the mountain caribou. In 2006, a draft Mountain Caribou Recovery Strategy was released and in October 2007, after a four month comprehensive consultation process, the government announced its endorsement of the plan.

In 2003, the City of Revelstoke established a Revelstoke Caribou Recovery Committee to communicate and coordinate activities locally. The idea was to create a “made in Revelstoke” solution to the caribou issue. At the time of its creation, it was thought that the committee would satisfy the requirements of a recovery team under the Species at Risk Act.

\(^{22}\) The Revelstoke herd is defined as “those caribou on either side of the Revelstoke Reservoir from Mount Revelstoke National Park to Mica Creek, and from Glacier National Park on the east, to the height of land in the Monashee Range to the west” (Flaa & McLellan, 1999, p. 639).
With the creation of SARCO in 2005, the committee shifted its role to become a source of local information for SARCO. Some study participants perceived that this group is dominated by members sympathetic to the forest industry and described some conflicts and differences of opinion between the forestry industry and recreationists.

A “Links” group was also developed locally which includes representatives from Parks Canada, the forestry industry, other land users, and the provincial government. The main purpose of this group was to establish a conduit for information between SARCO, the provincial government, and the community of Revelstoke.

Many regional actors have been involved in more than one of these caribou groups. The major issues of contention at the time of the interviews were the impact of motorized recreation (particularly snowmobiling and heli-skiing) on caribou, the most effective method for recovering the population, and the impact that recovery may have on forestry and recreation. There is a general philosophical divide between those connected to the forestry industry who favour control of predators or their alternate prey for recovery and others, including Parks Canada staff, who are in favour of restricting logging and improving caribou habitat.

Park Entrance Fees

As with the other case studies, the implementation of an entrance fee for MR&GNP in 1995 was not well received within the local community. According to one local resident, there was a “hullaballo” in the media, especially since the fee was announced suddenly without any public consultation. Local users were accustomed to visiting the parks, particularly MRNP, on a casual basis. Some participants observed that there was a feeling in the community that
MRNP belonged to the local people, which may stem from the history of locals’ lobbying for the creation of the park or the fact that it is geographically close to Revelstoke. Some residents have refused to visit the parks since the fees were implemented. Others residents have reduced their use:

_We were driving back – we went out to Canyon Hot Springs for a swim last summer, and brought a lunch with us; turned around and started coming back, and said, “Let’s stop at the Skunk Cabbage spot and have lunch.” Pulled in there, and we look, and we start doing the math… and that lunch was going to end up costing us for our group $23-24? And…we just loaded the car up, went another 200 yards down the road outside the park and found a picnic table and had a good lunch. And that…that aspect – the parks got greedier…? (M24)_

**Changes in Community and Pace of Development**

Revelstoke is a rapidly developing and changing community. The main thrust behind these changes is the new Revelstoke Mountain Resort, announced in January 2007. The resort’s approved development plan calls for the creation of 5000 new housing units within the resort’s village area. There has been speculation about the development for the past 20 years. In recent years there has been a surge in property values in Revelstoke with housing prices increasing 150% in less than two years. The vacancy rate in March 2008 was approximately 1%. The lack of affordable housing options within the community has been the subject of many newspaper columns in the local *Revelstoke Times Review*. Other concerns are related to the purchase of properties by non-residents. One participant predicted how the community is going to change:

_Well…you all of a sudden throw in an extra 3,000 [people] looking for a place to eat, we’re going to have a huge problem there as well. Ah, store frontage, rentals…places to live…people are seeing now – come into Revelstoke as a $14 or $15 an hour employee and try to buy a house? Forget it. And try to rent a house? Forget it, you know? So, the social impact is going to absolutely change what Revelstoke will look like from now on. There’s no doubt. (M24)_
Views of the ski resort and its impact on the community are mixed. Participants believed that the resort is the town’s “saving grace” due to the downturn in the forestry sector and that some of the newcomers will bring more cultural opportunities to the town. Others indicated that they were concerned about the ski resort’s impact on housing prices and an increase in home ownership by non-residents.

7.1.7 Park Region

There was a very consistent view among participants that the MR&GNP region is the City of Revelstoke and its immediate region. To many residents, Revelstoke is a “city state” or an “island” because of its geographic isolation and the lack of links with other communities. The community of Golden, 150 km from Revelstoke, is perceived to be quite far away because of the journey required over Rogers Pass and the fact that the Trans Canada Highway between Revelstoke and Golden is regularly closed during the winter. Furthermore, MR&GNP staff noted that there are few connections between the field unit and residents of Golden and that although some Golden residents do backcountry ski in Rogers Pass, most of the connections that Golden residents have with Parks Canada are with staff from Yoho and Kootenay National Parks, to the town’s east. Finally, most of the organizations with which MR&GNP staff regularly interact are located in Revelstoke.

7.2 Review of Documents

Several documents relevant to MR&GNP and the MR&GNP region were reviewed in order to document references to the term “regional integration”, park policies or directives related to park-region interactions, and information about regional integration initiatives in place in the park region. Many of the policies, directives, and initiatives were also discussed by
participants and are thus elaborated on more in the discussion of specific park and actor relationships. Table 23 lists the documents reviewed for the MR&GNP case study.

**Table 23: Results of review of documents for MR&GNP**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>References to “regional integration”</th>
<th>Source</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None found</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Park policies or directives related to park-region interactions</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• “Key outcome for public education: level of connection/engagement of residents who participate in outreach programs is increased after participation” (p. 5)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>• “Staff of Mount Revelstoke and Glacier National Parks work with provincial and regional organizations, such as Tourism BC, the Columbia Mountains Institute, the B.C. Rockies destination marketing organization, and media organizations, to extend the reach of park messages” (p. 33)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• “Park staff work with the mass media (newspaper, radio, television and film-makers) to extend the reach of park messages” (p. 33)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>• “Mount Revelstoke and Glacier has a very positive relationship with the local newspaper, which offers a regular column space for national park and site stories” (p. 33)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>• “Mount Revelstoke and Glacier currently offer a menu of eight classroom and on-site programs aimed at young people and linked to the British Columbia school curriculum” (p. 34)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Mount Revelstoke National Park of Canada and Glacier National Park of Canada and Rogers Pass National Historic Site of Canada Management Plan | Parks Canada (2005) |
| Planning context |
| • “Recognizing their place as part of a larger ecosystem, the parks place a high priority on working with neighbouring land managers” (p. 6) |
| • “Parks Canada acknowledges the interests of First Nations, in particular the Ktunaxa-Kinbasket, Secwepemc and Okanagan First Nations, in the planning and operation of these two national parks and the national historic site and welcomes the potential for increasing their involvement” (p. 6) |
| • “Ecosystem-based management is a holistic approach that involves working with others to achieve common goals. Productive, positive, long-term relationships are the key to its success” (p. 8) |
| • “Integrated management is essential” (p. 8) |

| Management principles |
| • “Cooperation and collaboration with neighbouring land management agencies and stakeholders (such as private and non-profit organizations, education and government agencies) help protect ecological and commemorative integrity” (p. 9) |
| • “Parks Canada is active in influencing marketing and promotion that affect visitor demand within the regional ecosystem” (p. 9) |

| Strategic goals |
| • “Using an integrated approach, Parks Canada and other land managers in the Columbia Mountains Natural Region improve the health of the larger ecosystem through their protection and use of the landscape” (p. 19) |
| • “Parks Canada and First Nation communities work together to build relationships |
and develop opportunities for First Nations’ people to present their heritage” (p. 27)
• “Parks and site opportunities, facilities and services complement those within the regional ecosystem” (p. 43)
• “Ecological, social, cultural and economic systems in the greater ecosystem benefit from integrated management” (p. 67)
• “Key policy, land-use and planning decisions are timely, fair and consistent, and are arrived at in an open and participatory manner” (p. 67)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Formal regional integration initiatives in place or recently in place (2006-2008)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transportation Advisory Committee</td>
<td>Parks Canada (2008)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LINKS group (caribou information)</td>
<td>Parks Canada (2008)</td>
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As with the two previous case studies, there were no specific references to “regional integration” in the documents reviewed. However, the current park management plan and state of the park report make numerous references to the importance of working with regional actors (Parks Canada 2005, 2008). Fewer documents on regional integration initiatives were found for this case study, however many of the initiatives in place were more informal and did not have accompanying documents to review (see 7.3 and 8.1.2 for more information about these initiatives).

7.3 Park and Actor Relationships

This section examines the relationship between MR&GNP and the key regional actors identified in section 7.1.5.

7.3.1 Friends of Mount Revelstoke and Glacier National Parks

There has been a working relationship between Friends of Mount Revelstoke and Glacier National Parks and the field unit since “The Friends” was established in 1986. The organization was described by some participants as being able to do activities that the park is not able to do under its mandate, such as operate the bookstore at Rogers Pass. It is also perceived as an essential link between the parks and the community through both its activities
and events and as a source of volunteers for projects, such as the recent renovation of the
Glacier Hut Cabin in GNP. “The Friends” board members are generally strong supporters of
the parks:

   People on the board are interested in the national parks, they’re interested in the
knowledge and understanding of the park, they’re interested in learning more about the
park. They’re interested in protecting, or at least understanding the wildlife, the
habitat, the vegetation, those kinds of things. And so that’s why our programs are sort
of geared towards those things. People that want to get to know other people that like
to go in the outdoors. (M8)

   The relationship between park staff and “The Friends” has changed over the years.
During the early years of the organization, there was more personal involvement of park staff
in the “The Friends”. The association had a very active naturalist committee which some park
staff were very involved in. Several participants perceived that the relationship between the
two groups has deteriorated in recent years. According to one park staff person, the board is
less supportive of park management than in the past and has undertaken some projects outside
of the original mandate of the organization:

   There’s tension because of the types of things that “The Friends” want to do and it
some of it isn’t in the parks and I don’t have a problem with that because it’s all part of
the Greater Columbia ecosystem. But I know there’s, not everybody has the same
perception and they have an agreement with parks and this is the reason that they were
established and we provided seed funding and all that stuff. (M1)

   One “Friends” representative explained that some members have been critical of the
length of time that it has taken for the field unit staff to complete some important projects, and
that this has influenced the relationship in recent years:

   So the management team of course became very defensive because we would go to
these meetings and say “How come this isn’t done yet?” and “How come that isn’t
done yet?” When you have this huge, you know amount of people working upstairs and
you have or in the field or wherever and these things are not getting done. How come
they’re not getting done? (M8)
We had volunteered for a project a number of years ago and it was three or four years and that project kept changing and the goal posts kept changing and so and we kept saying “Yes, we want to do this.” And we had a team of volunteers organized two years in a row and for a number of reasons it didn’t get done. And so finally we said you know we can’t do this. And we backed out of the project. (M8)

Some participants also perceived a poor communication system between the two organizations. For example, “The Friends” is rarely mentioned in the field unit’s management team meeting minutes and the attendance of park staff at “The Friends” bi-annual meetings has been brief:

No, I don’t know – Friends has their AGM and Mark shows up and gives his “Thank you to the Friends for caring”, then he leaves, doesn’t stay for the whole meeting. (M2)

Since the research interviews were undertaken, there has been a change in the individuals involved in the relationship between MR&GNP and “The Friends” and there has been a deliberate commitment to improving the relationship and communication pathways between the two organizations.

7.3.2 British Columbia Ministry of Forests and Range

According to participants there is a closer relationship between park staff and the Ministry of Forests and Range (BCMOFR) at the technical and operational level than at the managerial level. Park staff comment on the province’s annual allowable cut regulations and regularly work with BCMOFR staff to share data on joint wildlife research projects. There are also some formal agreements in place between the agencies about such things as fire management. There is no regular communication between the agencies at higher levels of the organizations.

One participant from the BCMOFR indicated that the MR&GNP Field Unit has been inconsistent in who works on regional issues, particularly with regard to the multiple caribou
committees, and that it is difficult to work with park staff with inconsistent levels of understanding about forestry and caribou.

There is also a perceived difference in values about land use between staff of the two agencies. One participant perceived that some MR&GNP staff “want the park to extend forever” and are not very open-minded about other land uses such as mining, forestry, or recreation. She described an ecological restoration project for Mount Revelstoke that she perceived to be a double standard:

\[\text{Like coming over to Mt Sale and removing the alpine [vegetation] to put it on Mt Revelstoke, it’s kind of a double standard, that some people don’t really, it frustrates some people. It’s not a big deal, but people bring that up once in a while. It’s easy to throw glass at houses but parks have screwed up their ecosystem, they just come over to the provincial land and screw up theirs, you know rip up the alpine and move it. (M6)}\]

7.3.3 Residents of Revelstoke

Glacier National Park and Mount Revelstoke National Park have been in existence for several generations. Unlike the GMNP and KNP&NHS case studies, the parks’ existence is not controversial. None of the study participants indicated any concerns with the park regulations or purported that the park land should be used for other purposes. Furthermore, the parks are being overshadowed by many other issues within the region, particularly the ski hill development and ensuing pace of development in Revelstoke. Finally, unlike the Waterton townsite, Parks Canada is not the only government agency in the community.

Some participants perceived the parks as having positive impacts on the community. The parks, particularly MRNP, are one of many attractions that are marketed to tourists through Revelstoke’s Chamber of Commerce’s Visitor Centre and at hotels in town. One segment of the community (see 7.1.4) is comprised of regular users of the parks and some members of this group perceive MRNP to be “their park” and are aware of the history of
MRNP’s establishment due to the lobbying of local residents (see 7.1.3). Residents hike, ski, and cycle in the parks year round. Some residents avoid the park because of the entrance fee and because they prefer to recreate in other, less “touristy” areas. Other residents of Revelstoke have never visited the summit of Mount Revelstoke.

*I actually think there’s people who like to think that Mount Revelstoke National Park is part of their identity of living in town, but I think for many of them, they don’t ever actually use it. It’s nice to have and I never go there.* (M2)

Several participants, including park staff, felt that the benefits of the parks for the community are not understood or very well appreciated. Although Parks Canada is one of the major employers in town, it does not have the same presence that other employers have, such as Canadian Pacific Railway or Downie Timber. Several community participants felt that Parks Canada’s mandate was not very well publicized or understood by residents.

Some residents of Revelstoke who were interviewed did not regularly interact with park staff and were asked how often and through what means they heard about the park. They responded they are aware of the park through articles written by park staff in the local newspaper, *The Revelstoke Times Review*, through Park Canada’s visitor publication, and through occasional advertisements for events held by Parks Canada or “The Friends”. Some participants explained that this low level of communication indicated to them that park staff do not place as much effort into human and social issues as they do to ecological issues. Some participants perceived that the park publication is out of date and that there has been less publicity about some popular events in recent years, particularly the annual Eva Lake pilgrimage. This has let to the perception by some that the park does not want to organize community events:

*For a few years there was a real lack of encouragement from the park to do any kind of public things. The moonlight ski was barely advertised for a few years. The Eva Lake*
Pilgrimage almost died a couple of years ago. And Parks Canada doesn’t do a “take a hike day” anymore, which were your community events. (M8)

When asked about the most recent management planning consultation process (2003-2005), only a few participants recalled it. Park staff indicated that the open houses were not very well attended by the public but that there were separate meetings for invited regional actors that were more productive. One contextual factor that may have affected the community’s willingness to become involved in the consultation process is that the community’s “hot topics” (7.1.6) and other consultative processes have overshadowed the park in recent years.

Several participants pointed out that there were not very many connections between local school children and park staff. Several participants with school-aged children noted that their children have not been taken to the parks on field trips and perceived that field trips are the most important and obvious connection between school children and the parks. Entrance fees for school children are perceived to be a major barrier for these trips. One park staff member explained that in the past there was a staff person who conducted in-class and in-park school programs. There are also some programs that have been designed to fit into the BC school curriculum that are available “on demand” for teachers to implement. The teacher who was interviewed for this study was not aware of the availability of these programs.

7.3.4 Canadian Avalanche Association

The relationship between the field unit and the Canadian Avalanche Association (CAA) was perceived to be very strong by participants. Prior to the establishment of the CAA, avalanche programs in BC were quite insular, with little interaction between operators such as heli-ski companies, national parks, or the Canadian Pacific Railway and no mechanism to facilitate interaction between these organizations.
The CAA, based in Revelstoke, and MR&GNP staff have had a close working relationship since the CAA was created. During the 1960’s and 1970’s, Parks Canada was seen as the leading avalanche operator in Canada and many Parks Canada staff were fundamental in the establishment of the CAA. The CAA staff communicate with MR&GNP staff on all levels from the Chief Executive Officer of Parks Canada to MR&GNP park wardens:

*It's a pretty free flow of contact and two way flow of information through all levels of the operational hierarchy.* (M16)

*If I were to rate the relationship on a scale of one to ten, it would be a, for sure, an eight or a nine.* (M16)

Operationally, park staff are involved with CAA avalanche training programs in Rogers Pass. There is also on-going dialogue with avalanche staff at Rogers Pass about developmental programs, data management, data structure, and the Canadian Avalanche Information System. A 1993 avalanche accident in Rogers Pass killed 7 students from Calgary. This accident prompted Parks Canada to increase the amount of information available to backcountry users, providing the most detailed avalanche bulletin in Canada.

### 7.3.5 City of Revelstoke

There are regular informal and formal interactions between MR&GNP staff and staff of the City of Revelstoke. Parks Canada has a representative on some city committees such as the Traffic Safety Committee and the Planning Committee. There is communication about on-going issues such as road closures and joint participation in recent projects such as the development of the Nels Nelson ski jump area. One participant explained that the city originally wanted to remove a section of Mount Revelstoke National Park to develop the former ski jump area as a tourist attraction. City staff wrote a letter to the Chief Executive...
Officer of Parks Canada requesting the removal of the section of land from the park. This quickly got the attention of park staff and a partnership approach was initiated:

> So we had a group from the city and different organizations in the city, city council, city economic development officers on it. So we all worked together to put together the interpretive plan and to figure out what we do with the trails and that kind of stuff so that was really positive. (M1)

Informally, staff members of both agencies see each other at many community events. The field unit superintendent interacts with the mayor on a regular basis and the mayor has visited the park management team:

> The mayor has come in and talked to our management team about some of the city issues and priorities and things they’d like to see from Parks Canada. [He has suggested] it’s more about being more welcoming to people in the city and having special things for them, special events where they can come out and see the changes that we’ve made and so on and we’ve done a bit of that. So I think they were all great suggestions. (M1)

### 7.3.6 First Nations

Three different First Nations have claimed the Revelstoke area as traditional territory: the Secwepec (Shuswap) Nation, the Ktunaxa Nation, and the Okanagan Nation. A fourth nation, the Sinx’t also claims the region as its territory however the Sinx’t are not formally recognized by the Government of Canada.

Several factors have contributed to a somewhat distant relationship between MR&GNP and First Nations. First, the parks are not geographically very close to any First Nations reserves. The nearest community is the Spallumcheen Indian Band, located near Enderby, approximately 110 km southwest of Revelstoke. The First Nation governments are located in Kamloops, Cranbrook, and Westbank, all more than 250 kilometres from Revelstoke. The 2006 census indicates that 215 people self identified as First Nations in Revelstoke (3%), compared to 4.7% within British Columbia (Statistics Canada, 2007). There has been no
evidence found of historic use of the two national parks, but some archaeological evidence was
uncovered in the Big Eddy district of Revelstoke. The two parks do not have sweet grass or
sage, plants that are commonly sought out for traditional use by First Nations and First Nations
have to pay a day use fee to use MRNP or GNP.

That being said, there have been some interactions between First Nations and the field
unit staff, particularly in the area of fish habitat restoration as well as interpretation. The
Canadian Columbia River Inter-tribal Fisheries Commission (CCRIFC) is a First Nations
fisheries committee based in Cranbrook. The main objective of CCRIFC is to restore salmon in
the Columbia River. Park staff have been supportive of the organization and the two
organizations have exchanged information about water birds, fish habitat, and the recent
Revelstoke 5 hydroelectric upgrade environmental assessment.

Other interactions have occurred between park staff and First Nations about a historical
interpretation walk that has been developed on the summit of Mount Revelstoke. The park
invited representatives from three First Nations to design interpretive materials for the project
and to develop a personal interpretation program. Several people did contribute material for the
project however no personal interpretation programs were developed by First Nations the due
to capacity issues (lack of time, finances) and the travel distance to Revelstoke.

7.3.7 BC Ministry of Transportation

Parks Canada and the BC Ministry of Transportation (BCMOT) interact about
numerous issues including safety and emergency preparedness, road maintenance, and
highway accidents. Participants from both agencies stated that the relationship between the two
agencies has improved significantly in recent years.
In 2004, an agreement was negotiated between the BCMOT and Parks Canada about responsibility for road maintenance of the Trans Canada Highway between Revelstoke and Golden. The agreement states that the BCMOT is responsible for the section of the highway from Revelstoke through Mount Revelstoke National Park to the border of Glacier National Park. In return, Parks Canada maintains the road through GNP and a section from the eastern boundary of the park to Quartz Creek, 15 kilometres past the park. During the winter, the staff of both agencies communicate constantly with one another and with the BCMOT’s contractor in an attempt to make the trip between Revelstoke and Golden seamless for the public. There are regular management meetings before, during, and after the winter season. Participants described these meetings as productive although there are miscommunications that arise:

_Some of those meetings get kind of emotional along the lines of “This is your job, you should have done this”, “No you should have done that, not you.”_ (M15)

Two participants noted that there is no coordinated system for making a decision on road closures and that communication at the lower levels could be improved.

Participants from both agencies indicated that the agencies have the same objective when it comes to the transportation corridor and that a good working relationship has been formed through these mutual objectives and the fact the agencies are forced to work together:

_We’re all looking for economy. We’re all looking for ways to partner. We’re all looking for ways to save money and provide a better level of service because the public demands that. Whether it’s highway maintenance or public safety, or environmental management, we’re all in the same boat; and we’re all under more scrutiny than we’ve ever been by the taxpayer and the public. They want an accounting; they want to know “Why are you both doing the same thing? Why can’t you do it together?” Simply put, so I’ve noticed a much higher degree of motivation to work together, particularly in the last five or six years._ (M14)
7.3.8 Columbia Mountains Institute of Applied Ecology

The mid-1990’s was an active period of applied ecological research in the Revelstoke area by Parks Canada staff as well as academics and other government researchers. Several researchers, including key Parks Canada staff, thought that the various research projects could benefit from coordinated efforts. The Columbia Mountains Institute of Applied Ecology (CMIAE) was created in 1996 in order to facilitate this coordination (Colombia Mountains Institute of Applied Ecology, 2008). The Institute’s original mandate was for research, collaboration, and education. There was serious consideration given to establishing a research building with offices. This idea has since faded somewhat and CMIAE’s niche has evolved to hosting conferences and offering continuing education courses.

Parks Canada and CMIAE have a cooperative agreement in place. The park donates $3000 per year to the agency and, in exchange, CMIAE’s mandate is improve to the management of the ecological region. There is also a Parks Canada staff member on CMIAE’s board, but the staff member is not officially representing Parks Canada.

7.3.9 Forestry Industry

MR&GNP staff interact with members of the forestry industry in various capacities. As outlined below, participants had a variety of opinions about these interactions.

Park staff have been involved in a habitat restoration program in cooperation with the Revelstoke Forestry Corporation. The park has commented on several of the Corporation’s management plans. One staff member of the Corporation said that there were no problems between the organizations and that the relationship was good.

Others in the industry have interacted with park staff on the various caribou committees. There are some notable differences of opinion about the appropriate solution to
the caribou issue (see 7.1.6). Some forestry industry participants indicated that they felt that Parks Canada was acting as a “watchdog” to the industry and being adversarial instead of offering supportive criticism, and that some people within the forestry industry felt threatened by this approach. Several participants noted that Parks Canada’s opinion on caribou has not been communicated clearly and that there has been inconsistency in staff participation at various meetings.

When asked about park planning, an employee of a local timber mill indicated that they had not been made aware of Parks Canada’s latest management planning exercise and that the park staff have not made any comments on the mill’s recent forest stewardship plan. He also indicated that neither organization had made it explicit that each other’s participation was invited to these planning processes.

7.3.10 Tourism Industry

The relationship between MR&GNP and the regional tourism industry is based primarily on the national parks’ status as tourist attractions in the community. Members of the industry regularly refer visitors to Revelstoke to the parks.

A common perception among some tourism industry participants was that Parks Canada has a desire to “remain empty” and that it was not “tourist friendly.” One participant stated that he has observed many tourists in Revelstoke during the shoulder seasons (spring and autumn) who were disappointed that the Meadows-in-the-Sky Parkway on Mount Revelstoke was closed. Other factors related to the above-mentioned perception stem from the perceived length of time it takes to fix infrastructure problems within the park, the (perceived to be) out-of-date visitor publication that is distributed by the field unit, and the inability of Revelstoke’s Chamber of Commerce to sell parks passes.
In 2004, a change in federal government policy regarding purchasing advertising impacted the park’s ability to easily advertise in regional tourism brochures. Parks Canada continues to be able to purchase advertising, however, the process for purchasing marketing advertisements is very complex, requires much more lead time, and requires approval at very senior levels of government. As a result, the MR&GNP field unit decided to stop buying advertisements intended for marketing or promotion purposes. Parks staff have attempted to compensate for this restriction by writing more newspaper articles in the local newspaper.

7.4 Participants’ Conceptualizations of Regional Integration

Table 24 presents participants’ conceptualizations of what regional integration means and what the goals of regional integration should be.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 24: Participants’ conceptualizations of regional integration for MR&amp;GNP case study</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Meaning of “regional integration” and how it is undertaken</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Finding ways to work with regional actors so it is seamless. (M14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Park planning is a community-based process, open to public input. There are annual presentations to city hall on park activities. Park staff are active in the community. There is a standing committee of park neighbours. (M17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• A symbiotic relationship between the park, city, and surrounding landscapes. Communal planning where objectives that may be slightly different are somehow mashed together and come to something that will work for all parties. (M27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• How the park fits into the regional economy and the regional psyche. (M9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Regional integration is how we fit into our community and how our community fits into us. (M20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Everyone’s concerns are equally weighted and there is a constant balance between what all the parties are bringing to the table. (M25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• How the park interacts with the community and what it does to forage partnerships in the community. Park staff participating in community events. (M25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Goals of regional integration</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The park is well-blended into the community. (M26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Park management goals consider the region. (M17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• There is understanding and support for each others’ “raison d’être”. (M5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The park is integrated economically into the community. (M2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The park is part of the town’s way of life. (M12)</td>
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7.5 Improving Regional Integration

This section summarizes participants’ suggestions for how the regional integration of MR&GNP could be improved. Participants’ suggestions for how the regional integration of MR&GNP could be improved were primarily related to increasing interactions and improving
relationships with regional actors, hosting more community events, getting involved in activities that are not necessarily directly connected to the parks, and communicating the park’s mandate more clearly.

Some participants suggested that the park should organize more informal and social events with regional actors, particularly other government agencies. Others suggested implementing more regular “catch up” meetings with other regional actors, for example an annual presentation to city council by park staff on park activities. One local resident strongly suggested that the park should have a formal citizen’s advisory committee made up of residents who are committed to exchanging information between the park and regional actors and who would provide advice on park issues and activities.

The relationship between “The Friends” and MR&GNP is a vital one with regard to regional integration. Some suggestions from participants for improving this relationship included having more frequent meetings with park managers, formalizing (writing down) communications in order to avoid miscommunications, and developing stronger personal relationships between the individuals involved in the relationship.

Many participants expressed disappointment with the perceived shift away from community events in the parks. Several participants indicated that there should be more opportunities for school children to go on field trips to the parks, more classroom visits from park staff, and that students going on field trips to the parks should not have to pay the park entrance fee:

*Why don’t they come down to the classrooms and start giving talks about snow safety, avalanche safety, do little field trips up to the ski chalet? We could do snow study example and talk about things where people, the kids start to get the sense of getting out there. Get in there and work with the teachers to organize hikes.* (M27)
Finally, a few participants perceived that park staff were not as “out there” in the community as they should be:

*I just think they can be more involved, more cooperative, and spend some money in the towns. Helping support whatever it is that the town is trying to do. (M3)*

7.6 Chapter Summary

The regional context of Mount Revelstoke and Glacier National Parks is one of intense land use and rapid change. Parks Canada is not perceived to be a major player in a region dominated by transportation, tourism, and forestry. The presence of the parks is not debated, since they are perceived to have always been there. Park staff have several long-standing relationships with regional actors, particularly the Province of British Columbia, Canadian Pacific Railway, the Canadian Avalanche Association, and the City of Revelstoke. Perceptions of park staff’s connections with the tourism industry and local community are varied. Some of participants’ suggestions for how the regional integration of MR&GNP could be improved were increasing interactions and improving relationships with regional actors; hosting more community events; park staff becoming involved in activities that are not directly related to the parks; and communicating the park’s mandate more clearly with regional actors.
Chapter 8: Discussion

This chapter will explore some general themes that have emerged about the theory of regional integration and compare the regional integration of the four case studies. First, the theory of regional integration is further developed by re-examining its definition and identifying characteristics of strong regional integration as well as challenges to effective regional integration. Then, a general assessment of regional integration of the case studies is made by examining and comparing: 1) the formal and informal mechanisms for communication and interaction that exist between the park and regional actors, 2) the contextual factors that have affected the regional integration of the case studies, and 3) the characteristics of strong regional integration. Finally, several suggestions for improving the regional integration of national parks in Canada are given.

8.1 Developing the Concept of Regional Integration

Regional integration was defined in Chapter 1 as:

\textit{The process of protected area agencies and regional actors engaging in formal and informal interactions in order to address the challenges and opportunities that exist within the context of the protected area and its region.}

This definition allowed for a broad interpretation of regional integration in order to undertake the research with a wide scope for this first attempt at examining regional integration in depth. This section further strengthens the theory of regional integration based on the results of the study by presenting a revised definition of regional integration, characteristics of strong regional integration, and challenges to regional integration.

8.1.1 What is Regional Integration?

A revised definition of regional integration can be produced by incorporating the broad definition that was used to shape the study, participants’ conceptualizations of regional
integration (see sections 4.4, 5.4, 6.4, 7.4), and policies and documents that refer to regional integration at the national and park level (see Appendix 1 and sections 4.2, 5.2, 6.2, 7.2). The following characteristics of the regional integration of protected areas have emerged:

1. Regional integration is a process, not a goal. Regional integration is never fully reached per se, but a protected area may exhibit strong regional integration.
2. Regional integration can be carried out both formally and informally.
3. Regional integration is a complex process. There are multiple, constant interactions occurring between park staff and regional actors. Interactions can occur between park staff and one regional actor or between park staff and multiple regional actors.
4. Regional integration is affected by contextual factors such as the economy, demographics, history, and culture.
5. Regional integration occurs at the initiative of both park staff and regional actors.
6. Regional integration focuses on human interactions and relationships, as opposed to biophysical interactions.
7. Regional integration occurs at the regional scale but there is not a strictly defined physical boundary.
8. Different regional actors have different goals for regional integration although there are often some goals shared by all regional actors, such as sustainability.
9. Regional actors can be individuals, organizations, businesses, or governments.

Based on the above characteristics, the following is offered as a slightly narrower definition of regional integration:

*Regional integration is a complex process by which protected area staff and regional actors engage in formal and informal social interactions in order to reach independent and shared goals related to the protected area. Regional integration is strongly influenced by contextual factors such as the region’s economy, biophysical environment, governance, and history as well as the culture of park staff and regional actors.*

As discussed in Chapter 3, regional integration is necessary for the sustainability of protected areas (i.e., their survival) because stronger regional integration can result in stronger support for protected areas by regional actors. Regional integration also means engaging in mechanisms for reaching the goals of the protected area agency and regional actors. The goals of many of the park staff interviewed for this study were to enhance the ecological integrity of their respective national park and improve relationships with regional actors. Some common
goals of the regional actors interviewed for this study were to influence park policy, improve relationships with park staff, and gain tangible economic and other benefits as a result of the park. These goals are most likely held by park staff and regional actors in many other park-region contexts around the world.

8.1.2 Characteristics of Strong Regional Integration

Participants of this study recognized that the process of regional integration for a particular park can range from weak to strong and that the relative strength of regional integration can change over time. Table 25 lists some characteristics of strong regional integration. These characteristics were identified by analysing participants’ conceptualizations of regional integration (see 4.4, 5.4, 6.4, 7.4) and by examining related aspects of the literature review, specifically the governance principles for protected areas in the 21st century (J. Graham et al., 2003), community-based natural resource management (Agrawal & Gibson, 2001; Berkes, 2004; Mehta & Heinen, 2001), the new “paradigm” of protected area management (Philips, 2003a, 2003b), and key Parks Canada policy documents (Parks Canada, 1994, 2001a, 2001b, 2007b).

It should be noted that the following characteristics are not formal indicators that could be used to measure regional integration. Rather, if most of the characteristics exist for a particular park-region context, then it may be concluded that there is strong regional integration. Likewise, if a park-region context has few or none of these characteristics in place then it may be concluded that there is weak regional integration. As emphasized in section 8.1.1, regional integration is highly influenced by contextual factors, so any analysis of the strength of regional integration of a particular case study should be presented along with information on the regional context. The characteristics of strong regional integration are
Table 25: Characteristics of strong regional integration

| Awareness, understanding, and perceptions | • The goals, mandate, and interests of the park are understood and accepted by regional actors
| | • Park staff are aware of the park’s effects on the park region
| | • Regional actors understand the tangible and intangible benefits that the park brings to the community
| | • Regional actors perceive that they are adequately involved in park management and planning
| | • Regional actors perceive that they can communicate effectively with park staff
| | • Park staff perceive that they can communicate effectively with regional actors
| | • Park staff are perceived as important contributors to the community

| Direction and policy | • There are principles in place for park involvement in regional issues
| | • Park staff have the flexibility to adjust national policies that may not be appropriate within the regional context
| | • There are some common priorities and objectives established between the park and regional actors

| Actions | • Park staff are represented on and play an active role in community boards and other regional processes
| | • There are staff within the park dedicated to working on regional issues, but other park staff understand that regional issues are not solely the responsibility of these staff members
| | • Personal relationships are developed between key park staff and regional actors
| | • There are regular informal interactions occurring between park staff and regional actors
| | • There are regular formal mechanisms in place for interactions between park staff and regional actors

8.1.3 Challenges to Effective Regional Integration

Certain general challenges to effective regional integration emerged from the case studies. First, engaging in mechanisms for interacting with regional actors is time consuming and laborious. Many park staff are very busy and, in most cases, engaging with regional actors is not a specific part of their job description. Furthermore, informal interactions with regional actors may be discouraged as “unproductive”, depending on the culture of the park office. This challenge is also noted in the community-based conservation management and conservation partnerships literature (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996; Propst & Rosan, 1997; Wondolleck & Yaffee, 2000).
Second, effective regional integration is not possible unless there is a willingness to engage on the part of both the park staff and regional actors. In some cases, a difficult historical context may lead to an unwillingness of some actors to engage with park staff for an extended period of time. This concurs with Blaikie’s (1995) argument that taking a historical perspective is important in order to explain past events and processes in order to better understand current conditions.

Third, some park staff may not feel comfortable with a high level of regional integration, even though the concept of regional integration can be connected to Parks Canada’s mandate and future direction. Mechanisms that require local people to be intimately involved in the resource management of the park (such as the case with GMNP’s community management boards) can be threatening to some park staff because they mean relinquishing some control in order to gain the trust and support of regional actors. Using a political ecological lens, regional integration may involve shifting the power structure of the system. This has also been identified as a challenge for conservation partnerships in general (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996).

Finally, improving regional integration means accepting that regional actors often have different goals and objectives from park staff. This may be difficult for some park staff to accept and understand as it is a different way of thinking than concepts such as a “greater ecosystem approach” that often emphasizes a singular goal of protecting and enhancing the ecological integrity of the protected area.

8.2 Assessment of Regional Integration of Case Studies

This section assesses the regional integration of the four case studies in terms of their formal and informal mechanisms for communication and interaction, contextual factors
(biophysical environment, economy and demographics, history, culture, governance, “hot topics”, and participants’ perceptions of the park region), and overall strength of regional integration.

8.2.1 Mechanisms for Communication and Interaction

This section makes comparisons among the mechanisms used for interaction between the case study national parks and regional actors. Informal and formal mechanisms are presented separately even though, in some cases, it was difficult to determine if the mechanism should be classified as informal or formal.

Formal Mechanisms for Communication and Interaction

Several different mechanisms for communication and interaction between national park staff and regional actors are used and many of these have been presented in the preceding chapters. Tables 26-29 present a list of formal mechanisms for interaction and the regional actors involved in the interactions. The interactions listed in the tables are those currently or very recently undertaken.  

23 The tables present the interactions that were mentioned by participants and should not be considered a complete list.
### Table 26: Formal mechanisms for communication and interaction for Kejimkujik National Park and National Historic Site

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Formal Mechanism</th>
<th>Regional Actors Involved</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Species at Risk Recovery Teams</td>
<td>Nova Scotia Department of Environment and Labour (NSDEL) Nova Scotia Department of Natural Resources (NSDNR)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Management Planning</td>
<td>Multiple regional actors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Park initiated meetings on Pale-winged Gray outbreak</td>
<td>NSDEL NSDNR Mersey Tobeatic Research Institute (MTRI) Southwest Nova Biosphere Reserve (SNBR) Forestry Industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobeatic Wilderness Area Management Plan Consultations</td>
<td>NSDEL NSDNR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forestry Stakeholder Advisory Committees</td>
<td>Forestry Industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municipal Planning Series</td>
<td>County of Queens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mi’kmaq Network</td>
<td>Acadia First Nation Bear River First Nation Annapolis Valley First Nation Glouscap First Nation Grand Council of First Nations Confederacy of Mainland Mi’kmaw Union of Nova Scotia Indians Mi’kmaq Association of Cultural Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MTRI board meetings &amp; scientific conferences</td>
<td>Researchers MTRI staff/board NSDEL NSDNR SNBR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOU between Friends of Keji and KNP&amp;NHS</td>
<td>Friends of Keji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research within park and park region and the research permit process</td>
<td>MTRI staff/board Researchers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSTA meetings</td>
<td>Tourism industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SNBR board meetings, funding</td>
<td>SWNBR MTRI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 27: Formal mechanisms for communication and interaction for Gros Morne National Park

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Formal Mechanism</th>
<th>Regional Actors Involved</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gros Morne Co-op community events</td>
<td>Local communities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Beach sweeps</td>
<td>Gros Morne Co-op</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Ocean’s Day</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Marine Day</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kildevil Outdoor Education Program</td>
<td>Local school children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snowmobile Working Groups (community and commercial)</td>
<td>Snowmobilers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tourism operators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Domestic Timber Harvesters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society (CPAWS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Protected Areas Association of Newfoundland and Labrador (PAA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Timber Harvest Working Group</td>
<td>Domestic Timber Harvesters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish Harvester Working Group</td>
<td>Commercial fishers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GMNP Management Planning Process</td>
<td>Multiple regional actors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community newsletter</td>
<td>Local community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio programs</td>
<td>Local community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayor’s Forum</td>
<td>Local mayors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Local councillors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincial district forest management planning process</td>
<td>Forestry industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Department of Forests and Range</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connectivity Working Group</td>
<td>Department of Forests and Range</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Forestry Industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Corner Brook Pulp and Paper (CBP&amp;P)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integrated Coastal Zone Management Process</td>
<td>Red Ochre Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Commercial Fishers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Department of Fisheries and Oceans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpretive program for new tourism operators</td>
<td>Tourism industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gros Morne Institute for Sustainable Tourism</td>
<td>Tourism industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formal Mechanism</td>
<td>Regional Actors Involved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Crown Managers Partnership                                | Alberta Environment  
Alberta Sustainable Resource Development (Alberta SRD)  
Glacier National Park, US (GNP-US)  
Miistakis Institute for the Rockies  
British Columbia Ministry of Environment (BCMOE) |
| Provincial and federal environmental impact assessment     | Alberta Environment  
Alberta SRD                                                                                                                                               |
| Management planning process                               | Multiple regional actors                                                                                                                                 |
| Species at risk recovery teams                            | Alberta SRD                                                                                                                                                 |
| Southwest Alberta Grizzly Program                         | Alberta SRD                                                                                                                                                 |
| Regular meetings with municipal governments                | Municipal District (MD) of Pincher Creek  
County of Cardston                                                                                                                                          |
| Feedback on development proposals for activities near the park boundary | MD of Pincher Creek  
County of Cardston                                                                                                                                 |
| Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park events           | GNP-US                                                                                                                                                      |
| Cooperation in search and rescue                          | GNP-US                                                                                                                                                      |
| Semi-annual meeting between management teams              | GNP-US                                                                                                                                                      |
| Joint research and restoration                            | GNP-US                                                                                                                                                      |
| Annual meetings between WLNP’s wardens and Glacier National Park, Montana’s (GNP-US) rangers | GNP-US                                                                                                                                                      |
| Mutual aid agreement for emergency response issues         | GNP-US                                                                                                                                                      |
| Waterton Improvement District meetings                     | Waterton Townsite residents                                                                                                                                  |
| Chamber of Commerce meetings                              | Waterton Townsite residents  
Local business owners                                                                                                                                 |
| Waterton Leaseholder’s Association meetings                | Local ranchers                                                                                                                                               |
Table 29: Formal mechanisms for communication and interaction for Mount Revelstoke and Glacier National Park

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Formal Mechanism</th>
<th>Regional Actors Involved</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Friends of Mount Revelstoke and Glacier National Parks Annual Meeting</td>
<td>Friends of Mount Revelstoke and Glacier National Parks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Input on annual allowable cut plans</td>
<td>British Columbia Ministry of Forests and Range (BCMOF)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formal agreements about fire</td>
<td>BCMOF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Various caribou committees</td>
<td>Multiple regional actors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distribution of park information to Chamber of Commerce</td>
<td>Tourism operators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Management planning process</td>
<td>Multiple regional actors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operational communications for avalanche control</td>
<td>British Columbia Ministry of Transportation (BCMOT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffic Safety Committee</td>
<td>BCMOT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning Committee</td>
<td>City of Revelstoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winter highways operations</td>
<td>BCMOT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winter highways operations</td>
<td>Canadian Pacific Railway</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooperative agreement between Columbia Mountains Institute of Applied Ecology</td>
<td>CMIAE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(CMIAE) and Parks Canada</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Several conclusions can be drawn by examining Tables 26 to 29 and by analyzing the relationships between park staff and regional actors as presented in the previous four chapters. First, many formal interactions between the case studies and regional actors are issue based, and often arise out of “hot topics”. Examples of this include the Connectivity Working Group arising from the Main River Watershed issue and the Waterton Biosphere Reserve that was developed primarily in response to park wildlife and livestock interactions. In both of these cases, the activity level of the groups has waned. Some participants linked this drop in activity level to a perception that the original reasons for forming the groups have been resolved.

Second, generally speaking, there were more formal mechanisms for interaction in place between Parks Canada and other government agencies than with any of the other regional actor groups. These interactions are both at the project and managerial levels. Gros Morne National Park (GMNP) seems to be an exception to this observation with multiple mechanisms for formally interacting with regional actors not affiliated with a government agency. Also,
park staff have formal relationships with particular provincial government departments where there is a necessity to work together; this necessity is often sparked by a mutual issue or shared objectives. Two examples of this are between: 1) KNP&NHS and the Nova Scotia Department of Natural Resources and the pale-winged gray issue, and 2) MR&GNP and the BC Ministry of Transportation and the maintenance of the Trans-Canada Highway between Revelstoke and Golden, BC.

KNP&NHS is the only case study with formal mechanisms in place for interacting with First Nations. The establishment of the Kejimkujik National Historic Site brought increased awareness of the park from First Nations and initiated interactions between First Nations and park staff about the creation of the site and its management. The Mi’kmaq Network provides a regular forum for communication with some First Nations representatives. GMNP and MR&GNP are challenged in formalizing any relationships with First Nations because of the physical distance between these parks and First Nations reserves. Formal interactions with First Nations are impossible if there is not the will to engage from both sides. In the case of WLNP, there does not seem to be the desire to engage on the part of the Peigan with park staff at this time, even within the context of the Government of Canada’s statutory duty to consult with First Nations when Crown conduct may adversely impact established or potential Aboriginal and Treaty rights.

Some relationships with regional actors are not as formalized as some participants suggested they should be. This was noted about KNP&NHS and its relationship with the NSDNR with regard to the proximity of the Kejimkujik Seaside and Thomas Raddall Provincial Park and with NSDEL with regard to the inland section of the park and the Tobeatic Wilderness Area.
This study showed just how distinct park cooperating associations can be. The cooperating associations for the case studies may all have the same overall mandate, but they operate quite differently from one another and provide different types of opportunities for interaction between the parks and their regions. The Gros Morne Cooperating Association is the most distinct group of all of the cooperating associations. Its focus on regional development has moved it outside of the traditional scope of park cooperating associations; however, it is also the largest, most active, and most well-connected to the park of all of the cooperating associations. Friends of Keji Cooperating Association draws its members from outside of the park’s immediate area and concentrates on organizing volunteer programs within the park. Significantly, the group is not a link to the local community but a link to the park’s supporters within southwestern Nova Scotia. Friends of Mount Revelstoke and Glacier National Parks organizes activities in a manner that is seemingly more disconnected from park staff, although most of its programs are connected to the parks themselves24. There is not one ideal model for the operation of cooperation associations although, of all of the associations examined, the Gros Morne Cooperating Association seems to be the most successful at adapting its operation to the regional context and providing opportunities for the park to connect with local residents. Furthermore, the Cooperating Association’s activities are not always connected to the park but that is accepted and even encouraged by the park staff, whose philosophy is to “say yes” to community requests and get involved in activities outside of the scope of the park (see 5.1.4).

Surprisingly, the two biosphere reserves, Waterton Biosphere Reserve and Southwest Nova Biosphere Reserve, did not factor very highly as mechanisms for formal interactions

24 The Waterton Natural History Association was not examined in great detail for this research
between the parks and regional actors. As explained in section 6.1.3, this was not always the case with Waterton Biosphere Reserve which organized several tangible projects in the 1980’s and 1990’s. When asked about biosphere reserves, many participants of both case studies did not understand the biosphere reserve concept, did not realize that they lived in a biosphere reserve, or did not understand how the biosphere reserve functioned. That being said, the two biosphere reserves have facilitated some interactions between the parks and their regions. For example, a KNP&NHS staff person used the Southwest Nova Biosphere Reserve committee as a “quick response mechanism” to initiate a working group about the pale-winged gray outbreak (see 4.1.6).

Participants from all four case studies gave examples of larger scale and formal mechanisms in place to promote collaboration and cooperation about regional resource issues: MTRI, the Connectivity Working Group, and the Crown Managers Partnership are the three foremost examples. These mechanisms are all structured differently but are similar in that park staff have used them to initiate communication with regional actors about park and region issues.

The use of the management planning process as a formal mechanism for interaction did not factor as highly as expected. Perhaps this is because Parks Canada’s current approach to management planning is to initiate a formal process every five years. Interviews at KNP&NHS were conducted in the month following two management planning workshops and this may explain why participants of this case study talked more about the management planning process. GMNP’s future approach to management planning is much more community-based and an example of the park’s distinct approach to working with communities.
GMNP had the largest number of community-based committees and working groups in place for addressing park issues (e.g., snowmobiling, timber harvest, and fish staging areas). Other parks across Canada would benefit from learning about GMNP’s experiences with these committees as they have been quite successful in working through issues and gaining the support of regional actors (also see Landry, 2006; C. McCarthy, 2000).

WLNP has the highest number of formal annual events with regional actors (e.g., the superintendent’s hike, warden-ranger meetings, senior provincial managers meetings). These regularly planned meetings have helped to ensure continuity in personal relationships and a structured opportunity to communicate about issues of interest.

Finally, it is notable that across all four case studies the residents of the local communities who do not interact with staff personally or through various regional committees or projects all reported that they do not hear from Parks Canada on a regular basis. Perhaps current techniques for communicating with the “silent majority” are not adequate in these case studies.

**Informal Mechanisms for Communication and Interaction**

The importance of informal methods for interaction with regional actors was noted by almost all participants of this study. It is an aspect of park-community interactions that has only been mentioned in a few studies (e.g., Fortwangler & Stern, 2004; Stern, 2004). Tables 30 to 33 summarize key mechanisms for informal communication and interaction between park staff and regional actors.
Table 30: Informal mechanisms for communication and interaction for Kejimkujik National Park and National Historic Site

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informal Mechanism</th>
<th>Regional Actors Involved</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Nations allowed free entry to the park</td>
<td>First Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Nations being hired at park</td>
<td>First Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permits, planning and operation of bookstore and canteen</td>
<td>Friends of KNP&amp;NHS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal relationships between park staff and residents of local communities</td>
<td>Local communities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of park by local residents for recreation</td>
<td>Local communities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Park visits by school children</td>
<td>School children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mersey Tobeatic Research Institute (MTRI) school program</td>
<td>School children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occasional warden presence at the Kejimkujik Seaside</td>
<td>Local communities near the Kejimkujik Seaside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism operators conducting tours in the park</td>
<td>Tourism operators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of biosphere reserves messages and philosophy in park documents</td>
<td>SWNBR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Nations trust-building events</td>
<td>First Nations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 31: Informal mechanisms for communication and interaction for Gros Morne National Park

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informal Mechanism</th>
<th>Regional Actors Involved</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Park staff not wearing uniforms</td>
<td>Local communities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Park staff participating in non-park related community events</td>
<td>Local communities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment of local people</td>
<td>Local communities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual social gathering for mayors, councillors, and park staff</td>
<td>Local government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regular emails and phone calls</td>
<td>Other government agencies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business interactions related to the GMNP pool, bookstore in the Discovery Centre, and ski trails</td>
<td>Gros Morne Co-op</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 minutes of “touch base” every morning</td>
<td>Gros Morne Co-op</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wardens stopping and talking informally</td>
<td>Commercial Fishers, Local Residents, Domestic Timber Harvesters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Park staff regularly “popping in” to visit tourism operators</td>
<td>Tourism operators</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 32: Informal mechanisms for communication and interaction for Waterton Lakes National Park

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informal Mechanism</th>
<th>Regional Actors Involved</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strong personal relationships</td>
<td>Alberta Environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alberta SRD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GNP-US</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BCMOE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual gatherings/meetings between senior managers within the Government of Alberta</td>
<td>Alberta Environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alberta SRD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wardens that patrol the Akamina-Keshinena provincial park stop into Waterton</td>
<td>GNP-US</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BCMOE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weed control in the Belly and Waterton Rivers</td>
<td>County of Cardston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>First Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication about timber limit, fire, and road maintenance</td>
<td>First Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wildlife surveys and monitoring</td>
<td>Alberta SRD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reintroducing Kit Fox and Bull Trout along the Belly River and Waterton River</td>
<td>Alberta SRD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>First Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The park regularly donates entrance passes to both tribes for the use of elders</td>
<td>First Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coordination of interpretation programs</td>
<td>GNP-US</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual superintendent’s hike</td>
<td>GNP-US</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hosting of potential donors to the Waterton Front Project</td>
<td>Nature Conservancy of Canada (NCC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One-on-one informal meetings</td>
<td>Ranchers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 33: Informal mechanisms for communication and interaction for Mount Revelstoke and Glacier National Parks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informal Mechanism</th>
<th>Regional Actors Involved</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Business interactions regarding the bookstore</td>
<td>Friends of MR&amp;GNP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volunteers for work projects</td>
<td>Friends of MR&amp;GNP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joint research projects</td>
<td>BCMOF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Revelstoke Community Forest Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual community events (Moonlight ski, Eva Lake pilgrimage, Chickadee Nature</td>
<td>Friends of MR&amp;GNP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Festival)</td>
<td>Local residents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper articles</td>
<td>Local residents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School programs</td>
<td>Local residents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exchange of information about water birds and fish habitat</td>
<td>Canadian Columbia River Inter-tribal Fisheries Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(CCRIFC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff participation on CMIAE board</td>
<td>CMIAE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Park liaison to Friends of MR&amp;GNP</td>
<td>Friends of MR&amp;GNP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some interesting comparisons can be drawn by examining Tables 30-33. Most notable is the fact that the staff of GMNP put more emphasis on social interactions and informal gatherings with regional actors than do staff in any of the other case studies. This is a strategic decision that has been quite effective in building trust and support from regional actors. The park staff regularly visit regional actors and plan many social events. The staff do not consider
“long chats” as wasted time but as quality time interacting with regional actors outside of the context of formal meetings. Several participants in this case study mentioned that they appreciate the park’s effort in planning social events and that it is important to “not talk business” all of the time.

Informal interactions are sometimes initiated through communication about “hot topics” or within the context of more formal mechanisms for interaction (e.g., going for a drink after a meeting). In many cases, informal interactions have lead to the development of strong personal friendships between park staff and regional actors. These strong friendships have ensured continuity in some inter-agency relationships. This is particularly apparent in the WLNP case study. However, this reliance on long-term relationships is also perceived as precarious if the people involved in these friendships retire or changes jobs.

There are some informal interactions between park staff and First Nations, particularly in the KNP&NHS and WLNP regions, where the First Nations reserves are physically closer to the parks. The Blood Timber Reserve near WLNP has ensured regular informal communication between park staff and the Blood Tribe about access and fire management. KNP&NHS and WLNP have made some allowance for First Nations to access the parks without paying the visitor fee. In the case of KNP&NHS, First Nations can show their status card at the gate to gain free entry. In the case of WLNP, the park regularly donates park passes to local elders. Increased informal interactions such as social events may help to initiate more friendships, trust, and understanding between park staff and First Nations.

Regular face-to-face informal interactions with park staff were perceived to be very important by participants. The rare presence of park wardens in the Kejimkujik Seaside region was perceived quite negatively by local residents. Some participants in the MR&GNP region
noted that they would like to see more park staff around town and physically present at the
summit of Mount Revelstoke during the operating season. Most GMNP participants perceived
that park staff were visible within the community and that this was important.

Most participants in all four of the case studies perceived that there is not a strong
enough link between Parks Canada staff and the local school system and that the opportunities
for students to visit the parks have declined during the past 20 years. Field trips to the parks are
perceived by many participants to be the most important form of interaction between the parks
and students. Most participants were not aware of the “behind the scenes” work that is going
on related to national parks and schools, particularly the “Parks Canada in Schools” initiative
that attempts to place key park messages into the provincial school curriculum. One school
program that was perceived as strong was the initiative in the KNP&NHS region coordinated
by MTRI that involved school children producing documentaries about the park and other
aspects of the natural environment. This program was perceived by participants to be quite
personality-based, and the result of a strong interest from one teacher to seek out and develop
programming that brings students into the park.

8.2.2 Contextual Factors

As presented in the previous four chapters, regional integration is strongly influenced
by multiple contextual factors. In this section the contextual factors of the four case studies are
compared and their influence on the case studies is discussed.

Biophysical Environment

Some observations can be made about the effects of the biophysical environment on the
regional integration of the case studies, particularly in relation to the degree of difference
between the ecosystem within and outside the park, the presence of rare or endangered species, and conceptualizations of larger ecosystems.

The degree of difference between the characteristics of the biophysical environment within and outside the park was significant. For example, the lands to the north and east of WLNP are classified as grasslands, which are privately owned and mainly used for ranching. There was no feeling by regional actors that the park could be “put to better use”, as was found in the KNP&NHS region where the forestry industry is in decline outside of the park. A high degree of difference between the biophysical environment within and outside the park also means that some ecosystem-specific research would not be as conducive to collaboration with regional actors.

In all of the case studies, the presence of rare or endangered species was taken seriously by most regional actors. Regional actors in WLNP seemed to be the least aware of rare species within the park. This lack of awareness might be attributable to the dramatic difference in landscape between the park and the park region to the north and east. For all of the parks, the presence of rare and endangered species and Parks Canada’s mandate to preserve ecological integrity have acted as incentives and “enablers” for park staff to conduct research beyond park boundaries and engage with regional actors. In some cases, communication about species at risk has led to stronger relationships with external actors, particularly in the case of Gros Morne National Park and the pine marten.

Finally, conceptualizations of parks as part of larger ecosystems (e.g., the Crown of the Continent Ecosystem for WLNP) had an influence on the regional integration of the case study parks. Along with giving some participants a perception of what the park region is, these larger
ecosystem designations also seemed to provoke some participants to “think big” and engage in regional integration initiatives.

**Economy and Demographics**

The regional economy has a strong influence on the regional integration of the case study national parks in terms of expectations of economic benefits from the parks and perceptions of what would have happened to the park land if the parks had not been designated.

Generally speaking, participants’ expectations of economic benefits from the parks were higher in the case studies where the regional economy was perceived as weak. For example, in the KNP&NHS region, where the economy is struggling, participants articulated higher expectations of economic benefits from the park. On the other hand, in the GMNP region, the economy outside the park region is much weaker than in the park region. The economic benefits arising from the park, namely tourism, are very noticeable and several participants envisioned what the local economy would have been like had the park not been established.

In the case study regions where the regional economy is perceived to be strong (i.e., land values are rising rapidly and development pressure is increasing), the national parks were perceived as land that could not be sub-divided or used for industrial development. This was particularly apparent for the MR&GNP and WLNP case studies, although some participants who lived near the Kejimkujik Seaside also made this observation. Others noted that the presence of the parks makes the park regions more attractive to developers and investors.
Demographics were also a significant contextual factor, particularly in terms of changes in the populations of local communities. This was most apparent in the case of the decline of Waterton townsite’s population, which was directly related to changes in park policy.

History

History was one of the more significant contextual factors influencing the regional integration of the case study national parks. The history of park establishment had a much stronger impact on the regional integration of the two eastern Canada parks, which were both designated within living memory of some residents. History had the strongest impact in GMNP, where the park’s establishment was perceived as having negative impacts for some residents and a tangible effect on the lifestyles of many local residents. For the KNP&NHS case study, some participants recalled promises of tourism and economic development that were made prior to park establishment that were not fulfilled.

The existence of the Kejimkujik Seaside and Mount Revelstoke National Park is less controversial because of the history of local residents lobbying for park status in both cases. This is particularly true for Mount Revelstoke National Park, where the park is perceived to have “always been there.” Related to this is the history of local residents lobbying for the creation of the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park, which was brought up by some participants as an example of the acceptance of Waterton Lakes National Park’s existence by local residents. Similarly, for the two case studies where the parks were perceived to have “always been there” (MR&GNP and WLNP), not one participant expressed the view that the parks should not be national parks.
Another element of history that was significant for some participants was the past demolition of buildings such as cabins, homes, lodges, and tea houses. The image of buildings being demolished seems to have made a lasting impression on some local people and has influenced their present day perception of park management.

Finally, another important element related to history was comparisons made by participants in KNP&NHS and WLNP about the nature of past relationships between the local community and park staff. In both cases, participants perceived the changes that have occurred in the relationship over time as negative; and many participants used these former “good times” to compare to the current situation.

**Culture of Park Staff**

The culture of park staff and park policies had a notable influence on the regional integration of the case studies. Overall, all Parks Canada staff from all of the case studies were very aware that they were not operating “within a bubble”. The necessity to engage in regional integration, even if it was not labelled as such, was accepted and emphasized by most staff participants. Several park staff placed a great deal of emphasis on engaging with regional actors and were aware of the recent cultural shift within the agency toward working beyond park boundaries (see 2.2.5). The park staff of GMNP had the most articulate and consistent philosophy about regional integration (see 5.1.4).

Some non-staff participants in all four case studies were able to describe shifts in park policies and philosophies about regional integration. The most perceptible shift was from a focus on the visitor and visitor experience toward ecological integrity in the mid-1990’s (see 2.2.5). Some participants were able to connect the shift toward ecological integrity with a
perceived decline in the relationship with some regional actors. For example, the relationship between KNP&NHS staff and the local community was perceived to be at its strongest when there was more emphasis placed on visitor services and park infrastructure. The designation of the Kejimkujik National Historic Site was perceived as a shift away from the local, non-native community.

Many participants distinguished the local park staff from policies that were perceived to be derived “in Ottawa”. This was particularly apparent in KNP&NHP and GMNP where most local staff were well-liked as individuals while some park policies were not. Participants from the two eastern case studies seemed to have more of an ability to make this separation than those from the western case studies. Notably, in the MR&GNP region, many park decisions, actions, or non-actions were attributed to the park staff personally.

Related to the above point, many participants from all four case studies expressed confusion about Parks Canada’s mandate. Some participants made assumptions about the mandate that were not necessarily accurate but based on park policies or actions. For example, several participants linked the implementation of park entrance fees with a desire for Parks Canada to discourage visitation. Other participants articulated that they did not know what the park mandate was and that it was not well-publicized or explained to regional actors.

Certain characteristics of park staff were noticed and deemed as important by regional actors. One of these characteristics was whether there are “local locals” employed by the park. Some participants in the GMNP region thought that the fact that many “local locals” were on staff was a significant effort by the park toward regional integration. Participants also noticed when there was a high turnover of staff or when many of the staff were near retirement (this was perceived in MR&GNP and WLNP). Finally, many participants noted where the park staff
lived. In both WLNP and KNP, there is the perception that park staff are moving further away from the park; this is seen as a signal that the staff are becoming less committed to maintaining links with the local community.

Culture of Regional Actors

Several aspects of the culture of regional actors had a perceptible influence on the regional integration of the case studies. First, in all of the case studies, there were notable differences in perceptions about the parks between long-term and new residents of the park regions. In all four case studies, there was a strong sense from long-term residents that the parks were “their backyard”. Newcomers to the park regions tended to regard the parks as special places within the community to visit but did not have the same feeling as long-term residents that the park was “theirs”.

All four case studies had smaller towns and rural areas within their regions. In all of the park regions, there was a group of people who were the ones to get involved in “hot topics”, sit on committees, and do volunteer work. This cultural aspect can have a positive impact on the regional integration of a park since these community members are easier to engage. However, this group is also subject to “volunteer burnout”.

Aspects of culture played a strong role in the GMNP case study, particularly the importance of engaging in informal interactions and socializing. This seemed to be the main cultural difference from the other case studies and seems to have made the regional integration of GMNP much stronger, even in the face of local peoples’ general mistrust of the federal government.
Governance

The governance arrangement of the case studies influenced how regional actors were organized and with whom park staff interact. The governance themes that emerged from the case studies related to the organization of provincial governments, the complexity of governance arrangements within the park regions, and the physical proximity of regional actors.

Parks Canada staff in all four case studies described the challenges of maintaining relationships with their provincial government counterparts (Newfoundland and Labrador, Nova Scotia, Alberta, British Columbia) because of constantly the changing job descriptions of provincial employees and changing organizational structures within provincial departments. WLNP seemed to have the most effective system for interacting with their provincial counterparts at both the project and managerial level, particularly through the Crown Managers Partnership and the maintenance of personal friendships between key actors.

Less complex regional resource use made it “easier” to engage with industry in some cases. Some GMNP staff noted that there was one large forestry operator in the region, Corner Brook Pulp and Paper, and that this simplified communication with the forestry industry. This is a notable contrast to the forestry industry around KNP&NHS and MR&GNP that involves multiple companies of varying sizes.

Finally, physical proximity to the headquarters or offices of regional organizations is significant. Organizations located in the same town as the park office can create more opportunities for the park and these regional actors to interact. This was the case in GMNP and MR&GNP where regional organizations were located in the enclave communities and Revelstoke. KNP&NHS is further away from the offices of regional organizations, which may
explain actors’ perceptions of the KNP&NHS region as somewhat larger than the other case studies.

“Hot Topics”

“Hot topics” influences the regional integration of the case studies in several ways. First, regional “hot topics” that do not have any connection to the protected area took attention and awareness away from some of the case study parks. This was apparent in the MR&GNP case study where the development of the ski hill and ensuing pace of development of Revelstoke is the “hot topic” in the community. This was also apparent in the WLNP region where the focus of many regional actors at the time of the interviews was oil and gas exploration and development and the subdivision of land as opposed to the 1970’s and 1980’s when there was more attention paid to the interactions between the park and ranching in the park region.

Similarly, “hot topics” related to the case study national parks brought attention to regional integration and other park-related issues. This was apparent in the GMNP case with the snowmobile issue and its link to the original federal-provincial agreement to establish the park. “Hot topics” can also lead to more formal initiatives and mechanisms for interactions. For example, the Main River Watershed issue in the GMNP region led to the creation of the Connectivity Working Group and park wildlife and cattle interaction in the WLNP region initiated the creation of the Waterton Biosphere Reserve.

Park Region

Each participant in this study had a slightly different perception of what the park regions were. However, some general conclusions can be drawn. First, there was an apparent
connection between the origin of park visitors and the perception of the park region by some participants. For example, many tourists to KNP&NHS originated from southwestern Nova Scotia. Participants involved in the tourism industry for this case study perceived the park region to include the origin of most of the park’s visitors. In the case studies where most tourists originated from out of province, the perceived park region did not correlate with the origin of tourists.

Perceived isolation was also relevant in one example. The City of Revelstoke (MR&GNP) was perceived by most participants to be isolated and poorly connected to other communities. This perceived isolation made participants’ perceptions of the park region much smaller and more consistent than the other case studies.

Regional designations also influenced participants’ perception of the park regions. Some participants for the KNP&NHS and WLNP case studies perceived the park regions to be equivalent to the biosphere reserve areas. This was articulated more with KNP&NHS participants, perhaps because the biosphere reserve is clearly denoted as the four counties of southwest Nova Scotia. Some WLNP participants connected the “Crown of the Continent Ecosystem” as the WLNP region and some KNP&NHS participants talked about the Mersey River Watershed as the KNP&NHS region.

Major industrial use of the park regions influenced some participants’ perceptions of the park regions. For example, most GMNP participants included the area of high forestry use around the park as its region and many MR&GNP participants included the forestry tenure areas surrounding the parks as the MR&GNP region.
Summary

Based on the findings above, Table 34 summarizes the influence that contextual factors can have on the regional integration of protected areas.

Table 34: The influence of contextual factors on regional integration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contextual factor</th>
<th>Influence on regional integration</th>
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| Biophysical environment | • A high degree of difference between the ecosystem of the park and the park region may mean weaker links between the park and regional actors.  
• The presence of rare or endangered species can be symbolic links between the park and regional actors.  
• Conceptualizations of larger ecosystems that a park is a part of can influence the perception of the park region. |
| Economy and demographics| • The regional economy can have a strong influence on regional integration in terms of expectations of economic benefits from the park.  
• The economy can influence some actors’ perceptions of what would have happened to the regional economy if the park had not been designated.  
• In “hot” economies, parks can be seen as preventing development. |
| History                 | • The history of a park’s establishment can have a significant influence on regional integration, particularly for more recently established parks where park establishment had a tangible effect on the lifestyle of local residents.  
• The history of park’s establishment may be less significant for long established parks.  
• Past incidents can influence present perceptions of park decision making.  
• A perception of a better past park-community relationship can influence the present park-community relationship. |
| Culture of park staff   | • Regional actors have the ability to perceive shifts in policies and practices related to regional integration.  
• Regional actors can separate park staff from policies derived “in Ottawa”.  
• Some regional actors are aware of where park staff live, where they are from, and what stage in their careers they are in. |
| Culture of regional actors| • There may be differences between the “local locals” and more recent residents of a park region that influence their relationship with the park.  
• Many interactions that park staff may have with the local community may be with the same group of locals who volunteer in other capacities. This group may be subject to “volunteer burnout”. |
| Governance              | • Park staff may experience challenges in maintaining relationships and consistency with other governments that are in a state of constant flux.  
• Physical proximity between the office of park staff and some regional actors can influence regional integration. |
| “Hot topics”            | • Regional “hot topics” that do not have any connection to the protected area can take attention and awareness away from the park.  
• “Hot topics” related to the park can bring attention to regional integration and other park-related issues.  
• “Hot topics” can initiate more formal initiatives and mechanisms for interactions. |
| Region                  | • The origin of park visitors can influence some regional actors’ perceptions of the park region.  
• An isolated community near a park can make the perceived park region smaller.  
• Regional designations, such as biosphere reserves, can influence regional actors’ perception of the park region.  
• Ecosystem boundaries and industrial use can influence the perception of the park region. |
8.2.3 Strength of Regional Integration

This section assesses the regional integration of the four case studies using the characteristics of strong regional integration identified in section 8.1.2. This is not a precise measurement of regional integration but a general discussion based on the characteristics identified. Since these characteristics were developed after the data collection was complete, participants were not specifically asked about the characteristics, although many participants did talk about some or all of the characteristics as being present or absent.

Awareness, Understanding, and Perceptions

In all four case studies, the goals, mandate, and interests of the park were understood and accepted by some regional actors more than others. In general, the provincial government employees interviewed for this study were much more aware of Parks Canada’s mandate and goals compared to any of the other regional actors. In the case of WLN, the staff of Glacier National Park, Montana (GNP-US) were very articulate and understanding of Parks Canada’s mandate and goals as well as the differences between the Canadian and United States park systems. In all four case studies, Parks Canada’s mandate and goals were the least well understood by local residents. Many of the local residents interviewed expressed that they did not understand the mandate of Parks Canada or what park staff were trying to accomplish. This was most apparent for the Mount Revelstoke and Glacier National Parks case study.

The park staff interviewed for this study were quite cognizant of regional actors’ goals, mandates, and interests and some park staff seemed to be more accepting of these than others. For example, the GMNP park staff were very articulate about what regional actors wanted out of the park (notably, economic development) and how these interests could be “meshed” with
the park mandate. Park staff in all four case studies expressed some confusion about the mandate and responsibilities of some provincial government departments and difficulties in communicating with staff of these departments.

The case study that has had the most obvious economic effect on its region, GMNP, had the regional actors with the greatest awareness of the benefits that the park bring to the region. Local residents in three of the case studies (GMNP, MR&GNP, and WLNP) spoke about intangible benefits of “their parks” but most of the local residents interviewed for KNP&NHS did not regularly frequent the park. MR&GNP participants had the seemingly lowest awareness of the parks’ benefits to the region, and many participants were vague about the parks, noting that the parks have “always been there” or that Parks Canada is a small player in the region.

Regional actors of three of the case studies (KNP&NHS, MR&GNP, and WLNP) expressed some frustration about communicating with park staff. Some participants expressed that their opinions were not taken seriously, that there were too many layers of bureaucracy to navigate, or that there was too much turnover in the park staff members participating in regional processes. This perception was highly dependent on the individual or the type of regional actor interviewed. Generally speaking, participants from other government agencies and non-governmental organizations did not express the above perception but some local residents and First Nations participants did. Notably, none of the participants interviewed for the GMNP case study expressed that they could not effectively community with park staff.

Regional actors for GMNP and KNP&NHS had the highest degree of knowledge about how to become involved in park management and planning. Most GMNP participants were aware of the various park management boards and expressed satisfaction with the opportunities
for involvement in park decision making. Many of the KNP&NHS participants were interviewed following a park management planning workshop so their level of awareness about involvement in park management and planning was high at the time of the interviews.

In all four case studies, participants perceived park staff as highly skilled professionals. In GMNP, many participants expressed a high level of admiration for the park staff and their involvement in the community. In WLNP, where many park staff live outside of the Waterton townsite, there is not the same level of awareness of the contribution of park staff to the park region. Perhaps this is a result of the park staff living in several different communities. Although most MR&GNP staff are involved in the community in various ways, some participants expressed that they were not very involved in community boards and other processes, which suggests a disconnect between reality and perception.

Direction and Policy

GMNP was the only case study that had specific principles in place for park involvement in regional issues. These principles were articulated by several senior staff members during the interviews. The park also has a list of “Principles for Engaging Communities” which were well known to the park staff interviewed (Parks Canada, n.d.).

It is difficult to determine how much flexibility is in place for the case studies in terms of adjusting national policies for the regional context. Some GMNP staff members alluded to bending the rules slightly for the benefit of the park region, but were not forthcoming in terms of what policies and for what purposes.

All four case studies had examples of common priorities and objectives that were established between the park and regional actors. For example, many KNP&NHS staff are
involved in both the Southwest Nova Biosphere Reserve and the Mersey Tobeatic Research Institute and both of these organizations offer objectives and priorities for the region. Other examples of common priorities and objectives include the Crown Managers Partnership (WLNP) and the Connectivity Working Group (GMNP).

Actions

Most of the parks staff members interviewed for this study indicated that they were involved in several community boards and other regional processes. Participants were not asked directly which processes they were involved with or how many, so the results of the study do not indicate which case study’s staff members are the most involved. As indicated above, there does seem to be a disconnect between actual levels of involvement and some regional actors’ perceptions of this involvement.

None of the case studies had one park staff member officially dedicated to working on regional issues (such as GNP-US’s “Regional Issues Specialist”) although most of the staff members interviewed were involved in numerous regional issues. In some cases, some of the regional issues were not an official part of the staff person’s job description. Many of the park managers interviewed, particularly for GMNP and WLNP, were highly involved in regional issues and regional processes and these took up a large amount of their time.

In all of the case studies, personal relationships between park staff and regional actors were an important mechanism for interaction. Personal relationships stood out the most in the WLNP case study, where some park staff have had relationships with the same individuals for many years. Generally speaking, personal relationships were strongest between park staff and other government employees and weaker between park staff and First Nations. The
development of personal relationships was also highly dependent on the culture of park staff and regional actors.

Finally, this study has described multiple formal and informal mechanisms for interaction between park staff and regional actors. Section 8.2.1 lists the mechanisms in place for the case studies. As noted above, the staff of GMNP have placed more emphasis on social interactions and informal gatherings with regional actors than the park staff in any of the other case studies.

General Assessment

A general assessment of the strength of regional integration of the four case studies can be made based on the results of this study and the overall opinion of the author. It should be noted again that this study has not measured regional integration per se, and that the conclusions should not be interpreted without examining the regional context of the case studies.

GMNP seems to have the strongest regional integration of the case studies. This assessment is based on the overwhelming positive tone of the interviews for this case study, the articulation from staff of the importance of regional integration, and the number of informal and formal mechanisms in place of interaction with regional actors.

Both WLNP and KNP&NHS have strong regional integration in certain areas. For example, KNP&NHS has very strong integration with academics as well as regional actors connected with the Mersey Tobeatic Research Institute, the Southwest Nova Biosphere Reserve, and the Friends of Keji Cooperating Association. There is a medium level of integration with other government agencies and perceived weak links with local communities.
KNP&NHS is the only case study with formal mechanisms in place for interaction with First Nations, and this is hopeful sign that this relationship with strengthen over time.

The regional integration of WLNP is highly influenced by its regional context. There is strong integration with some regional actors, particularly GNP-US and the Province of Alberta. The Crown Managers Partnership, the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park, and several other regular events provide opportunities for interaction between park staff and regional actors. However, participants perceived weaker integration with First Nations, some Waterton townsite residents, and some ranchers.

Generally speaking, the regional integration of MR&GNP was perceived by some participants as strong and others as weak. The parks seem to be more disconnected from their region than the other case studies, particularly in terms of the overall visibility of the parks and park activities in the region. As described in Chapter 7, while some participants were very positive about the parks and the interaction between park staff and regional actors, other participants perceived the regional integration of the parks to be weak.

8.3 Improving Regional Integration

In this section some recommendations are provided for how national parks in Canada could improve their regional integration. These suggestions are not specific to any one case study and may be generalizable to other national parks with similar contextual factors and regional issues.

The implementation of park entrance fees in the mid 1990’s was a “sticking point” for many regional actors in the four case studies and had a significant effect on the parks’ relationships with local communities. The implementation of entrance fees made some local people not feel welcome in “their parks”. With the passage of time, the effect of park fees has
diminished somewhat. However, this was the one issue that local residents in all of the case studies consistently brought up when asked about the relationship between the parks and the local community. A tangible and effective way to move toward improving relationships with local residents would be to offer a reduced rate or no charge for local residents to use the parks. This would send a clear message to local people that they are indeed welcome in the parks and would have an immediate impact on local peoples’ perception of how the parks are integrated into their regions. Admittedly, operationalizing this would be very difficult, particularly in defining what a “local resident” is. Reducing or eliminating park entrance fees for all park visitors would achieve the same result.

The next suggestion involves modifying the park culture and policies with regard to park staff interactions with regional actors. Regional actors may feel more disconnected from the park as a result of the perceived shift away from visitor services and toward ecological integrity. The case study of GMNP showed that “giving a little” and “saying yes” to requests from regional actors as much as possible can go a long way toward building regional support.

Another tangible way to improve regional integration would be to ensure that the turnover of park superintendents and other key staff is decreased. Staff continuity is important; some regional actors in this study noted that they did not attempt to interact with superintendents and other senior managers who are not perceived to be at the park “for the long haul.” Related to this observation is the suggestion that as many local people should be hired as park staff as possible. Local people often have the advantage of having connections with regional actors and understanding of the culture of regional actors.

A high number of participants articulated that they did not know what the mandate or policies of Parks Canada were. Therefore, to improve regional integration, park policies and
the park mandate should be communicated more effectively so that regional actors can better understand Parks Canada’s perspective. This could be done informally, in conversations with regional actors, or formally through various media such as newsletters, presentations, and brochures. This study described some park policies were implemented without regional actors understanding the rationale behind them. In the absence of an explanation, regional actors made up their own reasons for the policies. Related to this last point, park staff should more effectively communicate the tangible and intangible benefits that national parks currently provide to communities (e.g., the number of park staff employed, the economic benefits from tourism).

Improving regional integration would mean improving the relationship between parks and First Nations. This is a complex and long-term endeavour that was found to be at the beginning stages, if at any stage at all, in the four case studies. Specific suggestions for starting this effort include: hiring more First Nations staff, officially recognizing and interpreting First Nations cultural heritage, formally operationalizing the federal government’s “duty to consult” First Nations, “being nimble” and ready to interact when First Nations are ready, and providing free entrance to the park for First Nations people. The idea of “being nimble” can be linked to the concept of resilience, where operationalizing the concept means “leaving some slack and flexibility and learning how to maintain and enhance adaptability” (Berkes et al., 2003, p. 15).

Political and managerial “buy-in” of regional integration is important. This “buy-in” can lead to increased funding for regional integration initiatives, the recognition that these initiatives are a vital component of work activities, and the promotion of the importance of improving regional integration to all park staff. “Regional Issues Specialists”, such as at Glacier National Park, US, or “Ecosystem Liaison Officers”, such as at other Canadian
national parks, could be charged with organizing regional integration initiatives. This would ensure park representation in relevant formal mechanisms for interaction and communication (see 8.2.1) and the continual promotion of ways to improve regional integration. Care should be taken as to how this position is labelled and where in the staff hierarchy the position is located, so that the staff person is perceived by regional actors as someone capable of making decisions and influencing park managers. Another important way to obtain “buy-in” of regional integration would be to create specific strategies and policies for park staff’s interaction with regional actors, such as GMNP’s “Engaging with Communities” strategy.

National parks could improve their regional integration by increasing the frequency of informal and social interactions with regional actors. Informal interactions help to build trust, improve understanding of regional actors’ goals and viewpoints, and create the personal relationships that are fundamental for continuity and organizational communication. In this study, the one park that made a point of engaging in social mechanisms with regional actors, GMNP, also enjoyed the highest degree of support.

The ecosystem-based management literature focuses on more formal coordination mechanisms between regional actors. These are important and have been successful in furthering park and actor goals. Parks should examine where there are gaps in terms of interaction with regional actors and determine whether more formal mechanisms for interaction would have the support of regional actors and be useful and effective if implemented. The management planning process should be seen as a key mechanism for formal interaction with regional actors. Newer methods for management planning, such as in-depth workshops, were identified by participants in this study as more effective for engaging regional actors than more traditional approaches such as open houses.
In each of the case studies, there was a sub-section of the local population that had little knowledge of the park or any interactions with park staff. Improving regional integration would mean reaching this segment of the local community by using the mass media (including new media), organizing more community events, and improving the quantity and quality of school programs.

Finally, more information sharing among parks about regional integration is needed. There does not appear to be very much communication at the park-to-park level about regional integration, particularly between the eastern and western national parks. It would be very beneficial for national parks to share approaches to regional integration, details about mechanisms for regional integration, and experiences of regional integration.

8.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter began by developing the theory of regional integration based on the study results. The definition of regional integration was modified slightly and several characteristics of strong regional integration were identified within the categories of awareness, understanding, and perceptions; direction and policy; and actions. Then, a general assessment of the regional integration of the case studies was made by comparing the four case studies in terms of the formal and informal mechanisms for communication and interaction in place, the influence of contextual factors on regional integration, and the characteristics of strong regional integration. It was found that GMNP had the strongest regional integration of all of the case studies while the regional integration of the three other case studies was strong in some areas and weaker in others. The chapter concluded by suggesting several tangible ways that national parks in Canada could improve their regional integration.
Chapter 9: Conclusion

This chapter concludes the dissertation by providing a summary of Chapters 1 to 8, revisiting the research questions, discussing the contribution that this research makes to the theoretical and management approaches presented in Chapter 2, and suggesting some areas for future research about regional integration.

9.1 Summary of Thesis

Chapter 1 began by exploring the theme of protected areas and their regions. It is well recognized that protected areas are not islands and are continually influenced ecologically, socially, economically, and politically by their regions. Early literature on protected areas and their regions emphasized the social impacts on local people that arose as a result of the establishment of protected areas. Today’s literature on protected areas and their regions places more emphasis on the relationship between park staff and local people and on models for regional collaboration and cooperation such as ecosystem-based management and community-based management.

The concept of regional integration focuses on the social aspects of protected areas and their regions and can be linked to theory within the fields of human ecology, political ecology, and complex systems. Regional integration was defined in this study as:

*The process of the protected area agency and regional actors engaging in formal and informal interactions in order to address the challenges and opportunities that exist within the context of the protected area and its region.*

This study was based on the following research questions:

1. *What are the critical interactions between national parks and their surrounding regions and what management challenges do they raise?*

2. *How have the interactions between national parks and their surrounding regions been addressed by protected area managers and other actors?*
3. How is the concept of regional integration currently defined and practiced within the context of national parks in Canada?

4. How can the regional integration of Canada’s national parks be improved?

Chapter 2 reviewed the following bodies of knowledge that were drawn upon in developing the conceptual framework for regional integration: human ecology, political ecology, complex systems, sustainability, governance, integrated natural resource management, ecosystem-based management, community-based natural resource management, the new “paradigm” of protected areas management, and relevant Parks Canada documents and policies.

Chapter 3 presented the study’s methods and conceptual framework. The chapter began with a reflection on my background and potential biases. Next, the qualitative research approach was introduced as the appropriate methodological approach for this study. An open-ended interview-based approach was used because the concept of regional integration was somewhat under-studied and un-defined.

The premise of regional integration is that actors within the protected area region engage in informal and formal mechanisms with each other in order to fulfill short and long-term goals that are related directly or indirectly to the protected area. The entire process of regional integration is influenced by the biophysical environment, economy and demographics, history, culture, governance, “hot topics”, and the perception of the park region.

This study compared the regional integration of five national parks in Canada: Kejimkujik National Park and National Historic Site (KNP&NHS), Nova Scotia; Gros Morne National Park (GMNP), Newfoundland and Labrador; Waterton Lakes National Park (WLNP), Alberta; and Mount Revelstoke and Glacier National Parks (MR&GNP), British Columbia.

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Data was collected through in-depth and semi-structured interviews with 112 people, including Parks Canada staff, other government officials, business owners, First Nations, resource users, and ENGOs. An interview schedule was used but the interviews took a conversational and fluid form. The interviews were transcribed and analyzed using the software program “NVivo 7” and a four-step coding process.

Chapters 4-7 presented the results of the case studies. For each of the case study chapters, the context within which the park is situated was presented, the relationships between the park and various regional actors were described, and some suggestions for improving regional integration, as suggested by study participants, were given. The case studies revealed unique formal and informal mechanisms for interacting with regional actors. KNP&NHS was perceived by participants to have very strong links with the scientific community and a developing relationship with First Nations, but weak links with local communities. GMNP was perceived by participants to have undergone a significant shift in the way that it interacts with regional actors, with the development of several unique mechanisms for interaction such as the Connectivity Working Group and the Mayor’s Forum. The regional integration of WLNP was perceived by participants to be held together by numerous personal relationships that have developed among park staff and regional actors. It is also well known for its close working relationship with Glacier National Park, Montana. Finally, MR&GNP was perceived by participants as somewhat “in the background” in a region undergoing significant change. There are several long-standing working relationships with key regional actors, but participants’ perceptions of the park’s connections with the tourism industry and local community were varied.
Chapter 8 began by developing the theory of regional integration based on the results of the research. The definition of regional integration was slightly modified to be:

*Regional integration is a complex process by which protected area staff and regional actors engage in formal and informal social interactions in order to reach independent and shared goals related to the protected area. Regional integration is strongly influenced by contextual factors such as the region’s economy, biophysical environment, governance, and history as well as the culture of park staff and regional actors.*

Several characteristics of strong regional integration were identified based on participants’ conceptualizations of regional integration, the theoretical underpinnings reviewed, the new “paradigm” of protected area management, and key Parks Canada policy documents. The characteristics of strong regional integration were placed within the categories of awareness, understanding, and perceptions; direction and policy; and actions.

Chapter 8 also made a general assessment of the regional integration of the case studies by comparing the four case studies in terms of the formal and informal mechanisms for communication and interaction between the park staff and regional actors, the influence of contextual factors on regional integration, and the characteristics of strong regional integration. All four case studies are engaged in many formal and informal mechanisms for communication and interaction between park staff and regional actors. It was found that formal initiatives often stem from “hot topics”; there are many formal initiatives in place with other government agencies but few in place with First Nations; the parks’ cooperative associations are all very different; and some parks place much more emphasis on informal mechanisms for interaction than others. All of the contextual factors that were examined did indeed influence regional integration, but their relative significance varied.
It was found that GMNP has the strongest regional integration of the case studies and that the regional integration of the three other case studies was strong in some areas and weaker in others. Chapter 8 concluded by suggesting some ways in which national parks could improve their regional integration including: decreasing the turnover of key park staff; hiring as many local staff as possible; effectively communicating the park mandate to regional actors; improving relationships with First Nations; obtaining political and managerial “buy-in” for regional integration; and increasing informal interactions with regional actors.

9.2 Revisiting the Research Questions

The goal of this research was to develop the theory and improve the practice of the regional integration of protected areas. The theory of regional integration has been developed by creating a conceptual framework for regional integration (see 3.2), revising the definition of regional integration based on the study results (see 8.1.1), compiling a list of characteristics of strong regional integration (see 8.1.2), and noting some challenges to effective regional integration (see 8.1.3). It is hoped that the overall assessment of the strength of regional integration of the case studies (see 8.2) and suggestions made for improving regional integration (see 8.3) can be used to improve the regional integration of the case study parks as well as the regional integration of protected areas in general.

This section re-visits the four primary research questions in order to answer them specifically and direct the reader to the areas of the dissertation where they have been addressed previously.

*What are the critical interactions between national parks and their surrounding regions and what management challenges do they raise?*
As presented in Chapter 1, national parks are no longer considered as “islands” and are connected to their regions through ecological relationships such as the movement of air, water, wildlife, or fire across boundaries; social relationships; and economic relationships. These interactions are complex, multi-dimensional, and multi-disciplinary. Simply put, national parks affect their regions and vice versa, leading to numerous management challenges that cannot be addressed by park staff looking inwardly and only focusing on managing the national park. Chapters 4-7 presented the complex contexts of five national parks. Some of the most common management challenges that arose as a result of these contexts included:

- Differences in values and goals between national park staff and regional actors
- Historical interactions that had an influence on present park-region interactions
- Inadequate mechanisms in place for interaction between park staff and regional actors
- “Hot topics” that affected park-region interactions or took attention away from the
- Governance arrangements and the characteristics of some regional actors that made it easier/more efficient to interact with park staff than other regional actors

*How have the interactions between national parks and their surrounding regions been addressed by protected area managers and other actors?*

The management challenges that arise from national park-region interactions have been addressed in numerous ways, as is evidenced by the results of the four case studies. The results of this study indicate that most, if not all, of these management challenges are addressed through interactions between park staff and regional actors. These social interactions, which can be formal or informal, are the crux of regional integration. Section 8.2.1 lists the formal and informal mechanisms for communication and interaction that have been employed in the case studies. Some formal examples include park management boards, inter-agency working
groups, and biosphere reserves. Some informal examples include the development of personal relationships, informal meetings, and social events.

How is the concept of regional integration currently defined and practiced within the context of national parks in Canada?

As explained in Chapters 4-7, the term “regional integration” is not widely used by Parks Canada staff or other regional actors. However, most participants of this study had a general idea of what the regional integration of a protected area means. A revised definition of regional integration was produced by incorporating the broad definition that was used to shape the study, participants’ conceptualizations of regional integration, and policies and documents that refer to regional integration:

*Regional integration is a complex process by which protected area staff and regional actors engage in formal and informal social interactions in order to reach independent and shared goals related to the protected area. Regional integration is strongly influenced by contextual factors such as the region’s economy, biophysical environment, governance, and history as well as the culture of park staff and regional actors.*

Chapter 4-7 and Section 8.2.1 provide numerous examples of how regional integration is practiced within the context of five national parks in Canada.

How can the regional integration of Canada’s national parks be improved?

Section 8.3 lists some specific ways that the regional integration of Canada’s national parks could be improved. The suggestions included attempting to accommodate the requests of regional actors as much as possible in order to build overall support for the park, decreasing the turnover of key park staff, and increasing the frequency of informal and social interactions with regional actors.
9.3 Contribution to the Literature

This section describes how the concept of regional integration, as developed in this dissertation, contributes and applies to the literature that was reviewed in Chapter 2.

The approach of the study was loosely based on Rogers (2002) who argued that political ecology means indentifying actors, their interests, motivations, and resources. This study examined the relationships among actors and identified gaps in relationships (Berkes, 2004; Neumann, 2005). The results of the study support Neuman’s (2005) assertion that environmental problems are simultaneously political, ecological, social, and biophysical. The results of the study also correlate with Blaikie’s (1995) assertion that understanding the history of human-environment interactions is important in order to explain past events and processes to understand current conditions.

One of the gaps in the literature identified in Section 2.3 was that no studies have examined if regional actors have different power and influence in decision making about national parks and if certain regional actors are left out of protected area-region interactions. Although this was not a primary research question of this study, the results of this study do uncover differential power and influence in decision making among regional actors. The regional actors with the greatest degree of influence in national park decision making were other government officials. This is linked to these actors’ ability to make land use decisions outside of park boundaries and their involvement in many of the same formal mechanisms for interaction as park staff. On the other hand, some participants, particularly some local residents, felt far removed from park decision making. This can be attributed to various reasons such as a lack of awareness of ways to interact with park staff or influence park decision making or a perception that this interaction is not encouraged by park staff.
One of the gaps in the literature identified in Section 2.3 was how the basic value principles, key characteristics, and principles for sustainability (Francis, 1993) are linked to the process of regional integration. If sustainability is thought of as a process, then theoretically it is a much broader and wide-ranging process than regional integration. However, some aspects of regional integration could “fit” into the basic value principles, key characteristics, and principles for sustainability. For example, one of the basic value principles for sustainability is the propagation of a set of values that are acceptable to the populace. This can be linked to two of the characteristics of strong regional integration related to understanding and accepting the goals, mandates, and interests of the park and regional actors. Another basic value principle of sustainability is the provision of socio-political institutions that make the realization of the values of sustainability possible (Francis, 1993). The provision of socio-political institutions were labelled in this study as formal mechanisms for interaction and this study has described several examples of the types of institutions that would enhance both sustainability and regional integration.

This study also applied the theory presented related to governance in section 2.1.4. Alliances that collaborate to achieve mutually agreed upon purposes within a domain (Francis, 2003; Stoker, 1998) were studied as formal mechanisms for interaction (e.g., Connectivity Working Group and Crown Managers Partnership). Two terms were borrowed from the governance literature: “actor” and “domain”. “Actor” was deemed as a more appropriate term to use for this study than “stakeholder”, which implies a specified interest in the issue and of the inclusion in a stakeholder group. The concept of a “domain” as a perceived space for national park regions was deemed more appropriate than denoting a physical space for regional integration, although the word “domain” was not used.
Another gap in the literature identified in Section 2.3 was related to the governance principles for protected areas (J. Graham et al., 2003) and the link between strong regional integration and good governance. The results of this study indicate that although the two concepts are not the same thing, improving regional integration means moving toward “good governance”. In fact, there are tangible links between the characteristics of strong regional integration (8.1.2) and J. Graham et al.’s (2003) governance principles for protected areas in the 21st century, including improved co-ordination, clarity, citizen participation, collaborative management, and trust. Many of the suggestions made in this study for improving regional integration match these principles including being clearer (e.g., in communicating the park’s mandate), gaining trust and increasing capacity (e.g., by obtaining political “buy-in” for regional integration), and being responsive (e.g., to regional actors’ standpoints and abilities).

9.4 Contribution to Management Approaches

The management approaches reviewed in Chapter 2 were integration/integrated natural resource management, ecosystem-based management, community-based natural resource management, the new “paradigm” of protected area management, and Parks Canada’s policies. This section will indicate which components of these approaches can be linked to the concept of regional integration as well as how the results of this study contribute to these approaches.

This study examined several regional initiatives that could be considered efforts at integrated resource management or ecosystem-based management, particularly the Connectivity Working Group (GMNP) and the Crown Managers Partnership (WLN). In fact, many of the goals of this study’s regional actors related to integrating diverse values and perspectives, conflicting objectives, today’s and tomorrow’s needs, disciplines, scales, interests and perceptions, attitudes, values, and competing programs (see Slocombe & Hanna, 2007).
Also, this study focuses on integration as a process, an idea that Slocombe and Hanna (2007) noted was missing in the integrated natural resource management literature. Regional integration as a process seeks to avoid fragmented and incremental decision-making and focuses on the interactions of humans with one another, as does integrated natural resource management. Furthermore, the conceptual framework for regional integration developed for this study (see Chapter 3) is broad because “integration” is difficult to define and has multiple meanings and approaches, as noted by Slocombe and Hanna (2007).

In a review of the concept of integration in natural resource management, Slocombe and Hanna (2007) noted that the integration of perceptions, attitudes, and values is one of the most intractable and contentious areas of integration. This study has attempted to describe regional actors’ perceptions, attitudes and values, and has acknowledged perceptions, attitudes, and values as major contextual factors that influence the regional integration of protected areas.

Ecosystem-based management was described in Chapter 2 as a theoretical subset of integrated natural resource management. It is one approach to working within a “complex socio-political and values framework” (Grumbine, 1994, p. 32) and is recognized as a central approach in protected area planning and management (Agee, 1996; Danby & Slocombe, 2002). This literature can provide protected area staff and regional actors with lessons with respect to collaboration and coordination as well as political and institutional considerations.

The concept of regional integration, however, is not the same thing as ecosystem-based management and may address some of the shortcomings of ecosystem-based management as identified in Chapter 2. For example, the term “ecosystem management” or the “greater ecosystem approach” may be perceived by regional actors as too park-centric or ecologically oriented for them to “buy in” to it or perceive community benefits. Regional integration allows
a more flexible definition of the park region than some ecosystem-based management approaches that use ecological boundaries. Regional integration also places more emphasis on informal interactions while many conceptualizations of ecosystem-based management do not.

Regional integration, as a concept, is not an example of community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) since regional integration focuses on government-managed protected areas. One of the gaps identified in section 2.3 was that no studies have examined how protected area staff interpret and use the term “community”. Although this question was not asked specifically of study participants the case study results showed that “community” is often related to park staff members’ conceptualization of the park region (see 4.1.7, 5.1.7, 6.1.7, 7.1.7). For example, the region of MR&GNP was perceived as the Revelstoke area by most park staff and “the community” in this case study most often meant the residents of Revelstoke. The importance that park staff members placed on providing benefits to the community or addressing their concerns varied across the case studies. This study showed that strong region integration does not simply mean strong government-to-government collaboration but that local communities, including the difficult to reach “silent majority”, are important actors when it comes to the regional integration of protected areas.

Regional integration as a concept can be clearly linked with the new “paradigm” of protected areas management. Regional integration is, in fact, a way of conceptualizing and thinking about some of the broad ideas that are already emphasized in the literature and in national-level Parks Canada documents, but at the regional scale where they may or may not be being implemented “in the real world”. Table 35 links some elements of the new “paradigm” for protected area planning and management with the concept of regional integration, as developed in this study.
Table 35: Linking the new “paradigm” of protected areas management and regional integration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>New “paradigm” of protected areas management. Source: Philips (2003b)</th>
<th>Regional integration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Objectives</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Run with social and economic objectives as well as conservation and recreation ones</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Often set up for scientific, economic, and cultural reasons—the rationale for establishing protected areas therefore becoming much more sophisticated</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Managed to help meet the needs of local people, who are increasingly seen as essential beneficiaries of protected area policy, economically and culturally</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Governance</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Run by many partners, thus different tiers of government, local communities, indigenous groups, the private sector, NGOs, and others are all engaged in protected areas management</td>
<td>Informal and formal mechanisms for interaction are used</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Management technique</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Managed adaptively in a long-term perspective, with management being a learning process</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Selection, planning, and management viewed as essentially a political exercise, requiring sensitivity, consultations, and astute judgment</td>
<td>Strong regional integration means that there is flexibility at the local level; one mechanism for integration does not work for all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Local people</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Run with, for, and in some cases by local people—that is, local people are no longer seen as passive recipients of protected areas policy but as active partners, even initiators and leaders in some cases</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Managed to help meet the needs of local people, who are increasingly seen as essential beneficiaries of protected area policy, economically, and culturally</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wider context</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Planned as part of national, regional, and international systems, with protected areas developed as part of a family of sites. The Convention on Biological Diversity makes the development of national protected area systems a requirement</td>
<td>Requires linkages between protected area agencies within the region, which is the first step toward developing biophysical networks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Developed as “networks,” that is, with strictly protected areas, which are buffered and linked by green corridors and integrated into surrounding land that is managed sustainably by communities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Perceptions</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Viewed as a community asset, balancing the idea of a national heritage</td>
<td>Understanding peoples' perceptions is key to understanding how to improve regional integration. Regional actors should perceive benefits of the protected area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Management guided by international responsibilities and duties as well as national and local concerns. Result: transboundary protected areas and international protected area systems</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Management skills</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Managed by people with a range of skills, especially people-related skills</td>
<td>“Regional Issues Specialists” at protected areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Valuing and drawing on the knowledge of local people</td>
<td>Regional integration should also be accepted as a job for all park staff as well as for regional actors</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The history and development of biosphere reserves was also reviewed in Chapter 2 as an example of the new “paradigm” of protected area management in operation. It was argued that, in theory, biosphere reserves seem to be an ideal framework for implementing regional integration and addressing protected area-surroundings challenges. The results of this study did not support this proposition; and the two biosphere reserves studied, Southwest Nova Biosphere Reserve and the Waterton Biosphere Reserve, did not factor very highly as mechanisms for regional integration. As Parker (2006) found, biosphere reserves in Canada suffer from a lack of funding and a lack of staff capacity, making the implementation of specific projects difficult. In both biosphere reserves in this study, and as Mendis (2004) noted about experiences in other Canadian biosphere reserves, there was a lack of understanding by most community members about the concept of biosphere reserves. In order to use biosphere reserves to their full potential and as formal mechanisms for regional integration, more funding is needed so that staff capacity can be developed and information programs carried out in order to obtain regional “buy-in” and raise awareness of the biosphere reserve concept.

Chapter 2 also presented a brief review of Parks Canada’s policies related to regional integration and a history of previous conceptualizations of the term. Since Parks Canada was the only protected area management agency in North America to use the term “regional integration”, the use of the term in this study is grounded in the Agency’s earlier conceptualizations of it and in the new “paradigm” for protected areas management. The broad focus of regional integration is tied directly to Parks Canada’s current corporate direction which emphasizes an “integrated mandate” of protection, education, and experience. Education and experience can be realized through formal and informal mechanisms for integration. An “integrated mandate” acknowledges the necessity to gain the support of Canadians for
protected areas. Furthermore, there are also ties between regional integration and the Agency’s current charter, particularly its emphasis on Parks Canada as a partner and as committed to serving Canadians (Parks Canada, 2007b).

Finally, from Parks Canada’s perspective, improving the regional integration of national parks can both directly and indirectly influence the primary mandate of the Agency, the protection and enhancement of ecological integrity. First, engaging in mechanisms for interaction with regional actors can influence the policies and actions of regional actors in park regions. Second, building trust and support for national parks is crucial for their ongoing sustainability. In sum, strengthening regional integration should be a goal for all national parks.

**9.6 Areas for Future Research**

This study is the first to develop the concept of “regional integration”; thus, much more research is needed in order to strengthen and expand the concept.

First, informal mechanisms for interaction require more study in order to make more definite conclusions about what approaches are being used and what different approaches achieve. The literature is replete with case studies of formal collaboration programs and ecosystem-based management, but there is a noticeable lack of studies of informal interactions within the context of protected areas and their regions.

Second, due to the qualitative nature of this research, the results of this study are somewhat case-study specific, although some generalization to other national parks with similar contextual factors and regional issues may be possible. Future research might use the results of this research plus other literature on integrated natural resource management (e.g., Ewert et al., 2004; Slocombe & Hanna, 2007) to develop a quantitative study that examines the
regional integration of national parks in broader and more measurable fashion, which would provide a basis for broader cross comparison of regional integration.

Third, this study only examined “southern” national parks in Canada. Future research could examine the concept of regional integration in northern national parks and different types of protected areas (i.e., provincial, municipal, private, community-based). It could also examine regional integration in areas with different regional contexts (e.g., developing countries, different ecosystems, non-democratic countries).

Finally, future research could consider how the terminology used to convey the idea of regional integration influences how people perceive the concept. For example, what do people perceive the word “integration” to mean? Is there a more appropriate word to use?

9.7 Conclusion

To conclude, the relationship between protection areas and their regions is complex, dynamic, and based on social interactions. This study has emphasized the inextricable link between people and protected areas the interaction between people. The ultimate goal of this research was to improve our understanding of the way that protected areas staff interact with regional actors so that the goals of regional actors and protected area staff, whether they are building trust and awareness or protecting ecological integrity, can be realized.

The conceptual framework for regional integration offered here provides a broader perspective for examining the relationship between parks and people and can hopefully be used as a model to gain insight from real parks and people in order to develop ways to improve interactions. It is grounded in multiple bodies of knowledge and the move toward a new “paradigm” of protected areas management and planning. The true value of this study will only be realized if it informs future research and if lessons are applied in order to improve the
regional integration of protected areas and ultimately the sustainability of protected areas themselves.
References


strategies for planning and management for protected areas (pp. 258-261). London: Earthscan.


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Pittman, G. (n.d.). *Gros Morne National Park of Canada: The first 30 years*.


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## Appendices

### Appendix 1: References to “Regional Integration” in Parks Canada Policy Documents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document</th>
<th>Reference to regional integration</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guiding Principles and Operational Policies (Parks Canada, 1994)</td>
<td>In the establishment and management of national parks, Parks Canada will strive to maintain ecological integrity. Achievement of this goal will require cooperation with individuals and other government agencies in ecosystem management beyond park boundaries, recognizing that there are legitimate but often different objectives for surrounding regions. Consequently, maintaining ecological integrity will be a major consideration in proposing park boundaries, in determining how the park’s resources will be protected and interpreted, and in seeking effective regional integration through cooperative efforts with governments and landowners in the surrounding area.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Guiding Principles and Operational Policies (Parks Canada, 1994) | Guiding Principle 9 - Collaboration and Cooperation  
*Parks Canada works with a broad range of federal, provincial, territorial and municipal government agencies, the private sector, groups, individuals, and Aboriginal interests to achieve mutually compatible goals and objectives. These relationships support regional integration, partnerships, cooperative arrangements, formal agreements, and open dialogue with other interested parties, including adjacent or surrounding districts and communities.*  
Volunteers, non-profit cooperating associations and their national organization, the Canadian Parks Partnership, adjacent land-owners or tenants, Aboriginal peoples, universities, as well as other research and educational institutions, among others, can all make fundamental contributions to heritage protection and environmental citizenship efforts. The private sector can also play an important role in helping to achieve heritage conservation objectives by delivering environmental and heritage messages, establishing and maintaining compatible business enterprises, and helping to provide appropriate high-quality services in or near parks and historic sites, in a manner consistent with these policies. |
Development of a strategic plan for moving beyond these first steps to address the longer-term issues essential for the re-orientation of the Parks Canada Agency’s national parks components toward the ecological integrity objective, including: specific accountability goals for the ecological integrity mandate, including regional integration at national, Field Unit and individual park levels; |
| Progress Report on Implementation of the Recommendations of the Panel on the Ecological Integrity of Canada’s National Parks (Parks Canada, 2001b) | One of the Panel’s main messages was that Parks Canada does not have the critical science capacity to manage for ecological integrity. The Panel recommends major new investments, totalling $328.3 million over five years and $85.5 million per year thereafter to address internal needs and work with external researchers, adjacent park communities, business interests and other residents of greater ecosystems in which national parks are located (Table 1)  
**in Table 1 "Recommended funding by the panel" regional integration comes under "building partnerships"** |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Text</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State of the Parks 1997 Report (Parks Canada, 1998)</td>
<td>The need for regional land use planning is increasingly important for all aspects of society including park, forest, agricultural and urban lands. Although there are enormous challenges in such an approach, there is increasingly a common need and interest. Increase <strong>Regional Integration</strong> This includes increasing involvement in regional issues and regional land-use planning, and striving to communicate the values of Parks Canada to gain support for them. Partnerships with all stakeholders and coordinated conservation strategies are essential. The maintenance, and as necessary, restoration of ecological integrity of national parks will depend on these collective efforts.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| National Parks System Plan (Parks Canada, 1997)                      | New park agreements cover many different topics depending on the circumstances. These may include:  
  - final park boundaries  
  - cost-sharing for land acquisition  
  - details of land transfer  
  - traditional resource harvesting  
  - planning and management for the park and surrounding area  
  - composition and role of a park management board  
  - regional integration  
  - economic benefits                                                                                                                                 |
| Progress Report on Implementation of the Recommendations of the Panel on the Ecological Integrity of Canada’s National Parks (Parks Canada, 2001b) | Throughout its report, the Panel recommended working cooperatively with governments, organizations and individuals (e.g. contracting with science institutes and universities to carry out research, jointly developing programs with heritage tourism operators to deliver conservation messages). However, in two instances, the Panel felt it was necessary to establish discrete funding sources to support partnerships: one in support of **regional integration**; the other to strengthen relationships with Aboriginal peoples.  
Approximately 85 percent of the stresses affecting national parks are at least regional in scope and originate outside the national parks. In addition, significant elements of national parks’ ecosystems, such as wildlife migration routes, extend beyond park boundaries. For these reasons, the ecological integrity of national parks can be maintained only by working within a greater ecosystem context. Such mechanisms as biosphere reserves and model forests are valuable for bringing people together to discuss ecosystem issues, and Parks Canada is seeking funding to sustain working relationships with community associations, volunteers and other conservation organizations to share scientific expertise and undertake concrete actions. Parks Canada needs additional resources to be able to expand efforts to work effectively with partners on a regional ecosystem basis. |
Appendix 2: Interview Schedule

This is a generic interview schedule that was modified for each participant based on their knowledge and background. The four primary research questions acted as an overall structure to the interviews.

Research question: What are the critical interactions between national parks and their surrounding regions and what management challenges do they raise?

Interactions
- How does [x national park] interact with its surrounding region? Ecological interactions? Economic interactions? Socio-economic interactions? With (which) other agencies/organizations in the region?

Challenges
- [For each interaction] What challenges does this raise?

Context
- Tell me about some of the controversial or political issues in the community

Research question: How have the interactions between national parks and their surrounding regions been addressed by protected area managers and other actors?

Treatment of interactions
- [For each challenge identified above] How has this challenge been addressed by Parks Canada?
  - How has this challenge been addressed by [other actor]?

Research questions: How is the concept of regional integration currently defined and practiced within the context of national parks in Canada? How can the regional integration of Canada’s national parks be improved?

Relationship between Parks Canada and other actors
- Tell me about the relationship between Parks Canada staff at [x national park] and [x agency, organization]. Does one exist? Do you perceive it to positive, negative, or neutral?
  - [If relationship exists] How often is there communication between Parks Canada staff and [x agency, organization]?
  - Who communicates at Parks Canada with staff at [x agency, organization]?
  - What form does this communication take (i.e. email, phone, meetings)?
  - Has the relationship between Parks Canada staff at [x] national park and [x agency, organization] changed over the years? [If yes] Tell me about how it has changed.
• How is information shared between Parks Canada and [x agency, organization]?
• Tell me about [x “hot topic” or political dispute relevant to agency/organization]. How was this issue dealt with? How are similar issues dealt with? [Repeat if interviewee is familiar with more than one relevant issue]
• [If negative/neutral relationship identified above] How do you think the relationship between Parks Canada staff at [x national park] and [x agency, organization] could be improved?
• [If negative/neutral relationship identified above] What steps would need to be taken by [x agency, organization]?
• [If negative/neutral relationship identified above] What steps would need to be taken by Parks Canada?

Relationship between Parks Canada and local community
• Tell me about the relationship between Parks Canada staff at [x national park] and the local community.
• Do you perceive it to positive, negative, or neutral?
• Tell me about local people’s attitude about Parks Canada.
• Tell me about any outreach activities that Parks Canada engages in in the local community. What do these activities accomplish? Who benefits?
• What have been some “hot topics” related to the park?
• Tell me about [x “hot topic” or political dispute between Parks Canada and local community]. How was this issue dealt with? How are similar issues dealt with? [Repeat if interviewee is familiar with more than one issue]
• Tell me about the historical relationship between Parks Canada staff at [x national park] and the local community.
• How has this relationship evolved over time?
• [If relationship between Parks Canada and local community identified as negative/neutral] How could the relationship between Parks Canada and the local community be improved?

Local actor participation in protected area management
• How are local people involved in park management and planning?
• [If public participation identified as low] How could local people be more involved in the planning and management of [x national park]?

Ecosystem approach/new paradigm
• [For Parks Canada staff] Can you tell me a bit about Parks Canada’s approach or philosophy to the management of [x national park]?
• [If ecosystem management identified] How is ecosystem management carried out at [x national park]?
• [For Parks Canada staff] How has the term “ecological integrity” been interpreted?
• What is being monitored? Where? By whom?

Cooperative initiatives/partnerships
• Tell me about [specific co-operative initiative/partnership].
• Tell me about your personal experience with [specific co-operative initiative/partnership].
• How has [specific co-operative initiative/partnership] evolved over time?
• How are decisions made about [specific co-operative initiative/partnership]?
• What is [x agency, organization]’s role in this initiative?
• What is Parks Canada’s role in [specific co-operative initiative/partnership]?
• Why is [x agency, organization] involved in this initiative?
• What have been the outcomes of [specific co-operative initiative/partnership]?
• Who benefits from [specific co-operative initiative/partnership]?
• [If regional integration initiative in place] How could [current initiatives] be improved
• [If lack of/inadequate regional integration initiatives in place] What kinds of initiatives are needed so that [x national park] is better integrated into its surrounding region? What steps would need to be taken and by whom in order for this to happen?

Regional integration
• What does the term “regional integration” mean to you?
• What does the term “regional integration” mean to [agency/institution participant affiliated with]?
• [If appropriate] What does the term “regional integration” mean to Parks Canada?
Appendix 3: “Snapshot” of Coding for KNP&NHS

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### Informal Mechanisms
- communicating about programs
- Email

### Long-term goals

### Short-term goals

### Other themes
- ACOA project
- adaptive mgt
- Kejimkujik Seaside access
- Atlantic Service Centre
- Bear River First Nation
- Colin Stewart Forest Forum
- comparisons with other parks
- CPAWS history
- creation of the park
- cultural resource management
- Ecosystem management
- Ecological integrity innovation fund
- evolution of greater ecosystem approach
- First nations and SNBR
- first nations employment in park
- First Nations general
- SAR proposal
- Friends of Keji
- future of SNBR
- historic site designation
- history of Kejimkujik Seaside
- impact of Kejimkujik Seaside on community
- Improving RI
- independent forestry operators
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**Park and region-related issues and challenges**

- access to Kejimkujik Seaside
- duck hunting Kejimkujik Seaside
- entrance fees
- Fire
- Forestry
- pesticide spraying
- pale-winged gray
- species at risk

**Quotes not to miss**

**Relationships**

- Keji & Kejimkujik Seaside
- Keji & CWS
- Keji & DEL
- Keji & DNR
- Keji & EC
- Keji & First nations
- Keji & fishers
- Keji & forestry
- Keji & friends
- Keji & local community
- Keji & MTRI
- Keji & municipalities
- Keji & NS Power
- Keji & other ENGOs

309
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### Appendix 4: Participant Codes

#### Kejimkujik National Park and National Historic Site

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