Conservation on a Regional Scale: Assessing the Yellowstone to Yukon Conservation Initiative

by

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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

Trends in environmental and resource management point to a more collaborative, integrated and regional approach, discussed in terms of concepts such as ecosystem management and collaborative planning. Such an approach has the potential to address some of the shortfalls previously encountered in environmental management and nature conservation, and has been the focus of considerable discussion in the literature. While a number of efforts are underway, there remains a need to identify how a regional approach can best be undertaken in practice. This research assessed the Yellowstone to Yukon Conservation Initiative (Y2Y), a recent regional conservation initiative in western North America, which has been the focus of considerable attention in the conservation community.

This research assessed the strengths and limitations of the Yellowstone to Yukon Conservation Initiative in terms of its contribution to regional conservation planning, aiming to gain an understanding of implications for similar regional conservation efforts. Literature relating to regional conservation was examined to derive principles for effective regional conservation planning, as a basis for comparison with Y2Y. Drawing from needs of ecosystem management, collaborative planning, and related concepts, criteria were developed to assess the formative stages of a regional approach, emphasising capacity building measures and preconditions for success.

In order to assess the strengths and limitations of Y2Y at a regional scale, this research attempted to obtain an understanding of how theY2Y initiative was perceived by multiple stakeholders in regional conservation, as a basis for interpreting multi-stakeholder involvement and buy-in. A series of semi-structured interviews were conducted with a diverse range of individuals involved (directly and indirectly) in conservation planning, in two communities in the Y2Y region, Canmore and Crowsnest Pass, Alberta. These communities were selected to provide a degree of representation of areas within the Alberta portion of the Y2Y region. Perceptions of successes and obstacles of the initiative were compared with the criteria for effective regional conservation planning. Findings pointed to three recurring themes that influenced the initiative's ability to meet the criteria. These were the need to address both ecological and social components of conservation, the need to include diverse participants, and the need to operate at regional and local scales. These themes are consistent with limitations of traditional conservation and management practices critiqued in the literature, and suggest some substantial obstacles for employing a truly collaborative regional approach to conservation.

Reflecting on the findings revealed that the Y2Y initiative was primarily understood as a vision. The Y2Y vision is one that has garnered a great deal of support and momentum, although there is a need to progress beyond the vision to address its potential and apply the ideals it puts forward. Recommendations of this study for Y2Y and similar initiatives included the need to build partnerships with more diverse groups, and the need for the Y2Y vision to be promoted in terms of some tangible, more specific goals. This study identified a need for biophysical, social science, and stakeholder information needs to be assessed and prioritised at the start of an initiative. Additionally, a vision was recognised as an effective rallying point from which to develop a regional conservation planning initiative.

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Chapter 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 How Does Conservation Work on a Regional Scale?

Conservation of biodiversity is a complex endeavour, and the growth in number, scope and difficulty of conservation efforts over the years attests to this. Trends in environmental and resource management point to a more collaborative, integrated and regional approach, discussed in terms of such concepts as ecosystem management (Cortner and Moote, 1994; Grumbine, 1994; Szaro *et al*., 1998b) and collaborative planning (Cortner and Moote, 1994; Innes and Booher, 1999; Schuett *et al*., 2001; Margerum, 2002). In comparison to established management practices, this approach recognises a greater amount of ecosystem complexity, addressing landscape scale processes (with a focus larger than single-species management) and involving multiple stakeholders in planning and management (Grumbine, 1994; Yaffee, 1996; Margerum, 1999a). While many regional conservation efforts are beginning and underway (Burroughs and Clark, 1995; Yaffee, 1996), practice has lagged behind theory. Much of the discussion in the literature has focussed on what such processes should entail, while there has been less examination of *how* to implement these practices.

The question of how to make conservation approaches work in practice has appeared to be receiving increased attention among scientists and practitioners in more recent years. It has been the subject of international and national conferences – "Making Ecosystem-based Management Work" (Science and Management of Protected Areas Association Conference, May 2003); "Conservation That Works!" (Conference of the National Round Table on the Environment and the Economy, November 2001); recent books "Making Collaboration Work" (Wondolleck and Yaffee, 2000); and journal articles "Making Watershed Partnerships Work" (Leach and Pelkey, 2001); "Making it Work: Keys to Successful Collaborations in Natural Resource Management" (Schuett *et al*., 2001). Discussion has involved establishing links between scientists, decision-makers and managers, and has focussed on identifying case examples to develop principles for successful practice.

These recent examples focus attention on the importance of addressing persistent problems facing conservation and the need to build solutions effective on the ground.

They also suggest there is a great deal still unknown or poorly understood about adopting these ideas in practice. The literature focuses to a great extent on the positive potential and outcomes of collaborative conservation efforts, while little systematic assessment has been undertaken of their success and how they function (Innes and Booher, 1999; Leach and Pelkey, 2001; Schuett *et al*., 2001). Such assessment is a critical means of refining programs and improving conservation practice, through providing an opportunity to learn from and correct mistakes (Kleiman, *et al*., 2000). Thus, with the question of how to conduct regional conservation in mind, this study was directed toward assessing a new and promising proposal for large-scale conservation. The focus was to assess a potential alternative approach to traditional conservation and management practice that involved addressing issues of regional conservation, to see if, and possibly how, principles of regional conservation were being employed in practice. This study investigated the Yellowstone to Yukon Conservation Initiative, a large landscape corridor effort putting forward an approach to regional conservation in western North America.

1.2 The Y2Y Conservation Initiative

The term "large landscape corridor" is used here to describe regional conservation efforts that generally include interconnected systems of protected areas (core reserves) linked by habitat corridors and surrounded by lands used in a manner compatible with nature conservation (buffer zones). These lands would be linked in such a way as to allow for connectivity of ecosystem processes and wildlife populations across the landscape and across jurisdictional boundaries (Noss, 1992). These corridors are also described as wilderness recovery networks (Noss, 1992). The Yellowstone to Yukon (Y2Y) Conservation Initiative was selected as a case study as it is the largest and perhaps most well known large landscape corridor in North America, and has received substantial funding support and interest from the conservation community since its inception in the mid 1990s.

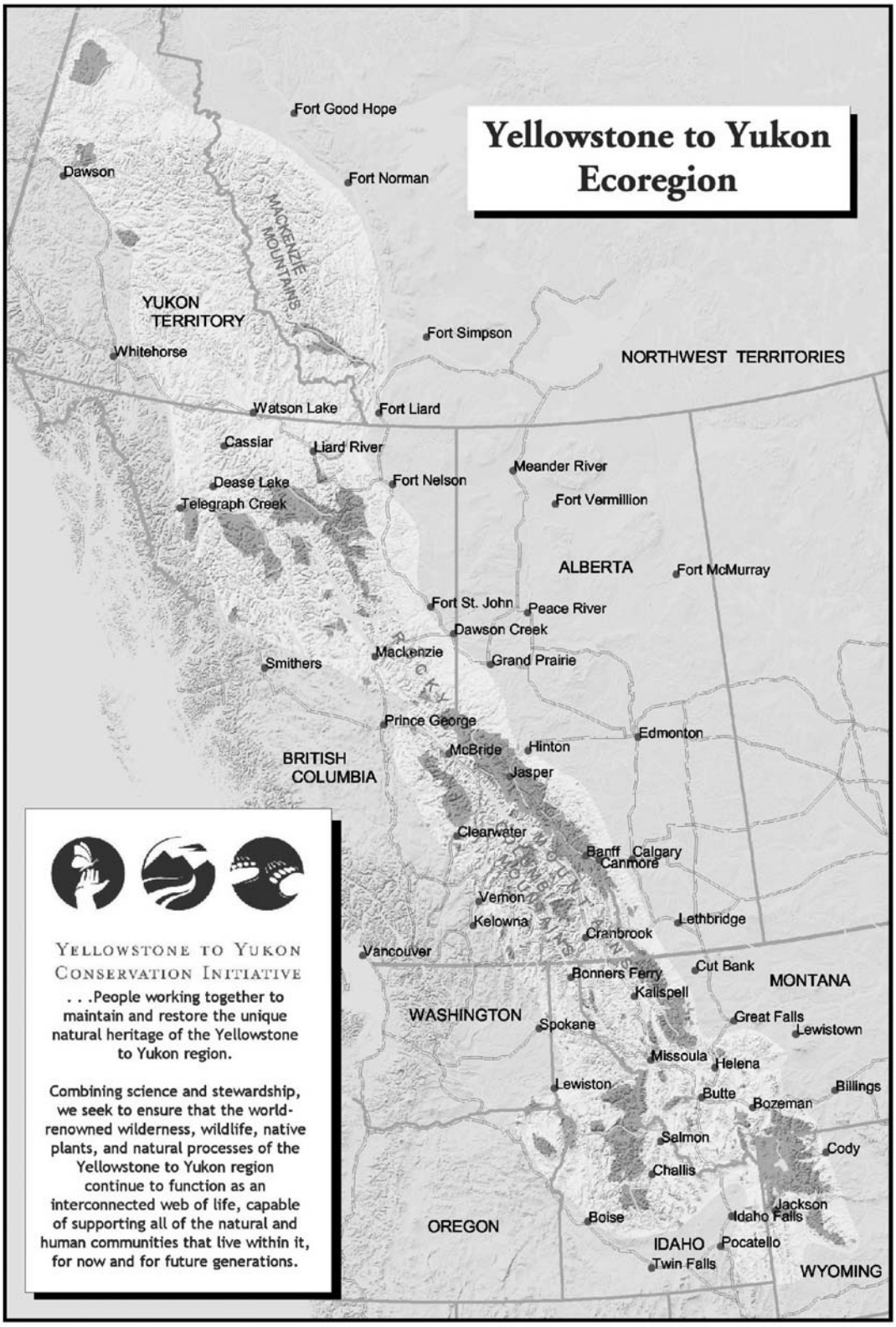

Figure 1 Yellowstone to Yukon Ecoregion (Source: Yellowstone to Yukon Conservation Initiative, 2001)

The Y2Y concept was initially conceived in late 1993 in discussion among a group of conservation scientists and advocates in Calgary, Alberta (What is Y2Y, 2003). The idea was to have a series of connected wilderness areas to enable grizzly bears, wolves and other wide-ranging species to persist across the Rocky Mountain range. Following discussion over the next three years, the Y2Y initiative declared itself an operative network in 1996, and a coordinator was hired. In 1997 a small office was opened in Canmore, Alberta to function as the initiative headquarters (What is Y2Y, 2003).

The Y2Y initiative is one of a number of large landscape corridor efforts, which both pre-date it and result from it. Y2Y grew out of the Wildlands Project in the U.S., a project established in 1991 to combine science and action to carry out long-term regional conservation across North America (The Wildlands Project, 2003). The "Y2Y" theme has inspired other similarly-titled efforts, such as Algonquin to Adirondack (A2A) crossing the Canada – U.S. border in central North America (The Algonquin to Adirondack Conservation Initiative, 2003), and Baja to Bering Sea (B2B) a marine conservation strategy extending from Baja California, Mexico to the Bering Sea, Alaska along the Pacific coast of North America (CPAWS, 2003). In the initial rush of interest that accompanied Y2Y, various other projects and catchy monikers were suggested for habitat linkages across the continent, such as the Rainforest to Rockies Conservation Initiative (R2R) in the Pacific Northwest, and many which have yet to materialise (Chadwick, 2000). In addition to North America, projects have been established in Central America and Europe, among other places. Introduced as Paseo Pantera in 1990, the Mesoamerican Biological Corridor, extending the length of the Central American isthmus from Mexico to Panama, is a large and complex regional natural resource management project (Coates, 1997). Since the summer of 1999, the Carpathian Ecoregion Initiative has been underway in central and eastern Europe, with the intent to link natural and cultural heritage across the Carpathian Mountains and seven countries – Austria, Czech Republic, Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, Ukraine and Romania (Carpathian Ecoregion Initiative, 2003).

Of the efforts in North America, the Y2Y initiative is the largest and perhaps the most renowned. The Y2Y region extends from west-central Wyoming to the Yukon's MacKenzie Mountains, spanning five US states, two Canadian provinces, two Canadian territories, and the traditional territories of 31 First Nations groups, across approximately 1.2 million square

kilometres of mountainous terrain (Gailus, 2001) (Figure 1). The Y2Y region stretches 3200 km in length and ranges from 200-800 km wide, corresponding with the ecological boundaries of the eastern-montane foothills and western inland-coastal watersheds (Wild Earth, Spring 2000). The early years of the initiative involved debate and reconsideration of boundaries, which were established to take into account both ecological and geological similarities along the Rocky Mountain spine, and to connect remaining islands of habitat (for grizzly bears) such as between the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem in the U.S., with larger areas on the border and within Canada (Robinson, 2003 pers comm.). Maps outlining aquatic ecosystems of concern and connectivity for some fish species have emerged as substantially different to the terrestrial configuration of Y2Y.

The boundaries of the Y2Y region are permeable and open to change with the processes or species of study (Wild Earth, Spring 2000). The Y2Y vision proposes a series of connected core areas and wildlife corridors across the region. These would be supported by land use decisions and natural resource management based on ecological goals, and human communities that recognise the interconnections between, and function in partnership with, the natural environment (Y2Y Our Mission, 2003). The Y2Y mission and vision statements are listed in Appendix I.

The Y2Y initiative was conceived to operate as a loose coalition of groups and others interested in conservation planning efforts in the region. However, in order to obtain funding and demonstrate accountability, the initiative was required to become formalised and establish an organisation with a Board of Directors. From Y2Y's first days with one coordinator in 1996, the organisation grew to eleven staff by early 2003, including an executive director and several staff in the U.S. as well as in Canada. The structure of the Y2Y initiative has consisted of the central organisation, a network of conservation-minded groups and individuals, and a Board of Directors, also known as the Coordinating Committee. The Y2Y network is open to those who share the vision of the initiative, agree to operate within the intent of the network, and support the values of Y2Y and its operations (Y2Y, 2001). A Strategic Plan laying out plans for the next five years was developed for the initiative in April 2000 by some members of the Board and staff and the executive director.

The Y2Y initiative was brought to the attention of many members of the conservation community through the Y2Y "Connections" conference in 1997, held in the Waterton town

site next to Waterton/Glacier International Peace Park, Alberta. The conference hosted over 300 attendees from Canada (primarily Alberta), and the U.S. to a more limited extent, with participation from conservationists and the scientific community, as well as park agency representatives, researchers and others (Legault and Wiebe, 1997). The initiative has received some wide-scale media coverage, including through a video on the Y2Y region produced by the well-known Canadian television series "The Nature of Things" in 1998. This exposure prompted some negative feedback on the initiative, from groups such as the Wise Use movement in the U.S. and its Canadian counterpart, the Share movement. The Forest Alliance of BC published a report to counter a study on economic trends in the Y2Y region put out by Y2Y affiliates (Rasker and Alexander, 1997). These opposition groups characterised the initiative as a radical environmental movement intent on creating a giant park across the region, removing local people from the area and posing a threat to local communities, traditional industries and livelihoods.

As a binational initiative, Y2Y has been active on both sides of the Canada/U.S. border, predominantly through the efforts of both large and small NGO groups (in both countries) that have dedicated resources to support the initiative (Robinson, 2003 pers comm.). Governmental support has been demonstrated at the federal level in the form of a Memorandum of Understanding (regarding management cooperation) between Parks Canada and the U.S. Parks Service. Most recently, the initiative has established its focus on local Ecological Priority Areas (14 critical areas across the region), in order to realise the vision in efforts on the ground.

The initiative's efforts have been directed towards conducting and compiling scientific research at the scale of the Y2Y region, primarily on carnivore habitat suitability, aquatic environments and avian species. This research has been focussed on the creation of a Conservation Area Design (CAD) for the Y2Y region, which will identify critical pieces of habitat not under protection status. The CAD is envisioned to be both descriptive and prescriptive in nature, to provide information ultimately to both decision-makers and watchdog groups, and to influence land management and planning decisions. Y2Y will attempt to work with and influence existing ecosystem management efforts where dictated by the findings of the scientific research of the CAD (Robinson, 2003 pers comm.).

Y2Y has been the focus of, and has produced a number of publications, including reports from scientific workshops and an Atlas on biophysical and cultural attributes of the region (Harvey, 1998). The initiative has garnered considerable attention in North America and elsewhere, and has gained substantial financial support from private foundations, primarily in the U.S. north east and north west. It has been described by the Canadian National Round Table on the Environment and the Economy as an example of the "new integrated systems of land management [that] are needed" to maintain conservation values (NRTEE, 2001). A representative of IUCN's World Commission on Protected Areas recently described Y2Y as an "international landmark" in conservation at an international ecological and earth sciences conference in Banff, September 2002 (Y2Y Connections, Winter 2002). The growth of and support for the Y2Y initiative recommends it as a promising model to examine as a case approach to regional conservation. Furthermore, as Y2Y is in its formative stages, a comparative examination in terms of regional conservation planning principles encourages elaboration of the concept.

1.3 Purpose of the Research

The purpose of this research was to assess the strengths and limitations of the Yellowstone to Yukon Conservation Initiative in terms of its contribution to regional conservation planning. This research aimed to gain an understanding of the implications of the Y2Y experience for similar regional conservation efforts. An exploratory approach was guided by a comparison between principles derived from the literature and interpretations of the Y2Y initiative in practice.

1.4 Research Questions

I identified the following primary research question:

What are the strengths and limitations of the Yellowstone to Yukon Conservation Initiative in terms of its contribution to regional conservation planning?

Secondary research questions further addressed the importance of the connection between regional and local levels, to look at the level at which implementation actually takes place. This assessment of the Y2Y initiative was focussed on two communities in Alberta, Canmore and Crowsnest Pass, which provided the opportunity for more in-depth analysis. Because regional conservation involves collaboration among diverse stakeholders, these research questions also addressed how multiple stakeholders involved in conservation planning interpreted the initiative.

- What are the local contexts that shape regional conservation planning processes in the communities of Canmore and the Crowsnest Pass?

- Is there a common understanding among actors in local and regional conservation planning of Y2Y and what it is meant to achieve?

- What are the theoretical and practical principles of effective regional conservation planning that have been identified in the literature, and how well are these addressed in large landscape conservation efforts such as Y2Y?

1.5 A Basis for Assessing Regional Conservation Planning

Assessment of regional conservation planning efforts requires consideration of a host of associated concepts, related to both ecological and social dimensions of conservation. A number of these key concepts are discussed in the literature review in Chapter 2. These concepts were selected to provide an introduction to and explanation of the basis for assessing regional conservation, particularly in relation to a developing initiative such as Y2Y, and the criteria which might be applied. To begin with, it is necessary to identify the need for regional conservation, in the context of traditional approaches to conservation planning and management. As parks and protected areas have constituted the main focus of efforts to conserve biodiversity in many parts of the world (McNeely, 1995; Newmark, 1995), this practice is briefly examined, identifying limitations which have led to understanding of the

need for conservation at a regional scale. In addition to being defined by separated, isolated protected areas on the landscape, the conservation movement also has been characterised by two disparate views of conservation (preservation and resourcism), both of which have interpreted humans as separate from nature, albeit for different reasons. The founding and evolving ideologies of conservation are discussed in order to provide some further understanding of how the conservation movement has developed over time. This discussion also illustrates the need to move toward a more comprehensive approach to conservation, which extends conservation practice to areas where people live and work, as a means to integrate community and the environment (Karasov, 1997; Miller and Hobbs, 2002).

While ecology has often been overshadowed by political, economic and other considerations in conservation planning (such as in the selection of parks and protected areas) (Noss, 1992; Pressey, 1994), its use is frequently emphasised as a solution to problems of conservation. Discussion of the role of science in regional conservation planning identifies some of the challenges influencing the use of science in planning and decision-making, and addresses how science might best contribute to a regional conservation planning approach. This discussion is useful for interpretation of the Y2Y approach, which has been heavily focussed on conservation science. A number of different terms and similar concepts are employed in the dialogue on regional conservation planning, relating to geographic scale and ecosystem management approaches. In order to avoid confusion, and also to demonstrate the convergence of ideas in the literature, some prominent terms are defined and several different dimensions of ecosystem management are briefly reviewed. In addition to a description of ecosystem management (as a central conceptual base of regional conservation planning) bioregionalism, community-based conservation, and stewardship are also discussed, to illustrate different emphases and directions for approaches to ecosystem management.

As highlighted in the discussion of ecosystem management and related concepts, social needs must be integrated with ecological goals of conservation (Endter-Wada *et al*., 1998; Liu, 2001). The section on social dimensions of regional conservation planning discusses the need for a worldview and values that support nature conservation, and by the same token recognise humans as part of nature rather than separate from it (Callicott, 1990). Discussion highlights some recent changes in societal values that demonstrate increased interest in the environment, and have contributed to a greater demand for more participatory

decision-making. The growing trend toward more participatory and collaborative approaches to resource and environmental management is discussed in terms of both benefits and limitations of these efforts. This discussion sets the context for examining value conflicts, to understand some of the root sources of conflict in environmental disputes, and thereby in collaborative conservation approaches. Values are further addressed in relation to conservation science and advocacy, illustrating some different perspectives in making explicit the role of values. Examination of the relationship between values, conservation science and advocacy is particularly important in the context of the Y2Y initiative, which has been described as a marriage between science and advocacy (J. Pissot, 2001 pers comm.).

The role of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in regional conservation planning enters into the discussion as both a basis for understanding Y2Y as an NGO-based movement, and to assess these actors that are increasingly influential in conservation policy, planning and decision-making processes. As NGOs become more influential actors in environmental and conservation issues, their means of operation and evaluation are subject to consideration (Edwards and Hulme, 1998). Ways to identify effectiveness and accountability are addressed to shed some light on potential criteria for assessing regional conservation approaches. Finally, collaborative decision-making is also discussed in greater detail as a growing trend in conservation and resource management. As it is becoming a favoured approach to deal with environmental management and other complex and controversial issues, and limited systematic assessment has been undertaken, factors of success and barriers to these efforts are identified as a basis for developing criteria for assessment of collaborative regional conservation planning. These factors and barriers form a focus of the criteria put forward at the end of Chapter 2, as they shed light on the assessment of the formative stages of a regional conservation approach (suitable for addressing Y2Y).

1.6 Ecosystem Management Efforts in the Y2Y Region

A considerable number of collaborative initiatives have been and are underway in the Y2Y region. Many of these initiatives address wildlife habitat and management issues similar to the Y2Y initiative. Several prominent initiatives are briefly introduced here to provide an indication of the range of work already underway in this region and some of the involvement

with the Y2Y initiative. The similarity of goals with Y2Y and many of these efforts suggests potential areas the Y2Y initiative could contribute to. Y2Y's collaboration thus far has been opportunistic in many ways. Involvement has been to support projects that other groups are doing and taking on, designing, and implementing projects of their own, particularly in the Ecological Priority Areas (Robinson, 2003 pers comm.).

Southern Alberta Land Trust Society (SALTS)

SALTS is a rancher-driven, community-based land conservation organisation, the first of its kind in Canada. SALTS operates in Alberta's Eastern Slopes, prairie and foothill regions, working to preserve the "productive, scenic and cultural values" of this region (SALTS website, 2003). The organisation seeks to conserve rangeland and wildlife habitat, and to increase awareness of and facilitate individual and community conservation efforts. This includes a focus on estate planning for ranching families and the establishment of conservation easements. SALTS was established as a non-profit organisation with charitable status in 1998.

The Y2Y organisation has attended annual SALTS functions, and Y2Y and SALTS have worked together in the past in support of mutual conservation goals. Both organisations are working in the Crowsnest Pass area.

Nature Conservancy of Canada (NCC)

NCC is a national charity whose mission is to preserve ecologically significant areas through land purchases, donations and conservation easements. NCC works to build partnerships and establish agreements with interested individuals, community and conservation groups, government and businesses (NCC website, 2003). In existence since 1962, NCC has established long-term agreements for over 1.7 million acres of land (including woodlands, wetlands, prairies, seashores and other areas). The organisation applies conservation science to determine priority areas for conservation, and recognises the importance of enabling people to make productive and sustainable use of the land.

Y2Y has partnered with NCC and WWF Canada in developing carnivore and grizzly bear research in the area north of Jasper, to extend this research from Yellowstone to Jasper. This partnership has primarily been a financial one, with each group applying results to address their own goals (Robinson, 2003 pers comm.).

Central Rockies Ecosystem Interagency Liaison Group (CREILG)

The Canadian Central Rockies ecosystem is about 40,000 km^2, centred round the continental divide between Alberta and British Columbia, extending from the Columbia River Valley to the west and the Alberta foothills to the east. Recognising the need to preserve the biodiversity in this area, the Central Rockies Ecosystem Interagency Liaison Group (CREILG) was formed in 1991 to bring together representatives from federal, provincial, municipal and native groups to exchange information and work to manage the area as a sustainable regional landscape (CREILG website, 2003). CREILG works to encourage integrated management at all levels of government, build connections with involved agencies and private groups, and encourage information exchange.

Y2Y has made presentations to CREILG and sat in on some meetings, but has not been closely involved with the group in recent years (Robinson, 2003 pers comm.).

Northern American Bird Conservation Initiative (NABCI)

NABCI was officially supported in June, 1999 by the Council of the Commission for Environment Cooperation (CEC); its members the environment ministers of Canada, the United States and Mexico (NABCI website, 2003). The initiative sets out principles and approaches shared by individuals, agencies, organisations and programs involved in bird conservation. To address gaps in protection of bird populations and habitats, NABCI's vision is to "achieve regionally-based, biologically-driven, landscape-oriented partnerships that deliver the full spectrum of bird conservation across North America" (NABCI website, 2003).

Partnerships are intended to enable comprehensive ecological planning, promote international cooperation, build a valuable scientific base and facilitate implementation.

Y2Y has been closely aligned with NABCI in the U.S. through the work of one key individual, and Y2Y has contributed to funding of some of NABCI's projects through the Wilburforce Foundation Science Grants program (Robinson, 2003 pers comm.).

Eastern Slopes Grizzly Bear Project (ESGBP)

The ESGBP has been underway since 1994, focussed on the upper Bow River drainage of Alberta's eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains. The ESGBP was initiated by a multi-jurisdictional Steering Committee composed of representatives from major regional stakeholders (provincial and federal governments, recreation and conservation groups and commercial industry). The project aims to put forward strategic direction for research and scientific understanding of grizzly bear ecology in the eastern slopes area, and offer a forum for discussion of related land use planning issues, among other objectives (ESGBP website, 2003). Although the ESGBP lacks management authority over grizzly bears or their habitat, the involvement of major stakeholders has enabled the project to have substantial influence on related issues.

The ESGBP has contributed to Y2Y's scientific research, although the project's research is conducted at a finer resolution than Y2Y's has been so far (Robinson, 2003 pers comm.).

In addition to the initiatives listed above, others such as the Banff-Bow Valley Study and the presence of the Waterton Biosphere Reserve have contributed to the advancement of regional conservation efforts in the Alberta portion of the Y2Y region. The Banff-Bow Valley Study was initiated in 1994 as a two year analysis of the Bow River watershed lying within Banff National Park. The BBVS was coordinated by a Task Force selected by the Minister of Canadian Heritage, to assess the impact of human development on the ecosystem and the sustainability of different tourism activities within the park. Findings of this study helped to

prompt a more in-depth review of Canada's National Parks, in the form of the Panel on Ecological Integrity of Canada's National Parks, which produced a report in 2000. Waterton Lakes National Park (in southwest Alberta) was designated as Canada's first biosphere reserve in 1979. Along with Glacier National Park directly to the south in Montana (also a biosphere reserve), the two parks form the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park, established in 1932. The goal of the biosphere reserve program is to integrate use, development and conservation of natural resources, and achieve a better understanding of the relationship between humans and the natural world. The biosphere reserve design includes a core protected area (the park) and a surrounding "zone of cooperation" where a variety of resource uses may take place.

1.7 Overview of the Thesis

This thesis has been organised into seven chapters. This first chapter provided an introduction to the research problem, purpose and questions, highlighting the need to examine conservation planning on a regional scale and providing a description of the Yellowstone to Yukon Conservation Initiative as a case example. In addition the chapter provided an introduction to the key themes to be addressed in the literature review in Chapter Two. Chapter Two presents a review of the literature related to key concepts associated with a regional approach to conservation planning, with a focus on ecosystem management and collaborative planning. This chapter also introduces some diverse processes that help shape environmental planning, including considerations of conservation advocacy and the involvement of non-governmental organisations in environmental issues. This review identifies criteria for assessment of regional conservation efforts.

The research methodology employed is outlined in Chapter Three. This chapter discusses the motivation of the researcher, and outlines the exploratory and descriptive approach to this research. The methodology includes descriptions of the information gathering techniques, including the semi-structured interviews used to obtain responses from diverse stakeholders on the Y2Y initiative. Processes of data management and analysis are also discussed.

Chapter Four provides a closer look at the communities of Canmore and the Crowsnest Pass, Alberta, where the research was conducted. A brief history of each community is presented, along with a demographic profile, the ecological importance of the area, followed by discussion of local environmental concerns and responses. This chapter provides a basis for understanding the different approaches and obstacles to conservation in each community context.

Chapter Five presents the research findings (from interviews and document analysis) organised under six major theme sections: Contextual Factors; Organisational Capacity; Stakeholder Support and Involvement; Awareness Building; Comprehension of the Initiative; and Function and Role. Themes corresponding to each section are summarised in tables throughout the chapter. Chapter Six puts forward a comparison of the findings with the criteria for regional conservation planning presented in Chapter Two. Recurring themes central to regional conservation are identified and discussed in relation to the Y2Y initiative and regional conservation in general. This provides the basis for the conclusions and recommendations for Y2Y and other similar conservation initiatives presented in Chapter Seven. This final chapter also summarises the research and presents some reflections of the findings in terms of the research questions.

Chapter 2 EVOLUTION AND EVALUATION OF PLANNING FOR CONSERVATION ON A LANDSCAPE SCALE

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents some of the key concepts associated with a regional approach to conservation planning, with a focus on ecosystem management and collaborative planning. It situates current conservation efforts in the context of environmental problems and theory, and clarifies key terms relating to geographic scale and environmental management, which frame the discussion. This chapter also offers an introduction to some diverse processes that help shape environmental planning, such as the prospective role of science, approaches to environmental advocacy, social influences on environmental management, and the involvement of non-governmental organisations in environmental issues. In summary, criteria are presented for use in assessment of large scale conservation planning efforts.

2.2 Nature Conservation and Protected Areas

Nature conservation and management strategies in most parts of the world are based upon preserving tracts of wild lands in the form of parks and protected areas, maintained by legislation and regulation (McNeely, 1995; Newmark, 1995). However, such areas are limited in their capacity to support conservation goals and maintain viable species populations (Grumbine, 1990a; Newmark, 1995). Protected areas are often too small to adequately protect wide-ranging species (Newmark, 1995), too isolated and too few in number, and do not fully represent the diversity of the world's ecosystems (Pressey, 1994). Protected areas are also subject to increasing internal and external pressures (Janzen, 1986; Hummel, 1989; Parks Canada Agency, 2000). External environmental impacts are transboundary in magnitude, with effects across global, regional and local scales, including long-ranging air pollutants, and regional changes in land use patterns (Janzen, 1986). Internal pressures on protected areas result from encroachment and domination of natural habitats by opportunistic species associated with humanised landscapes (Noss, 1983) and high levels of human disturbance, arising from visitor use and requisite management (Parks Canada Agency, 2000).

Protected areas have also been challenged by a lack of mandate to protect biodiversity, areas primarily established for reasons other than to protect fauna and flora (Pressey, 1994), and management guided by factors other than conservation (Holling and Meffe, 1996; Parks Canada Agency, 2000). Spatially and temporally organisational boundaries have not corresponded with ecological ones, (which are more long-term and typically larger in scope) creating further difficulties for effective management and planning. Traditional top-down, command and control management measures persistently result in decreased natural variation of systems, in the process of trying to increase their stability and predictability (Holling and Meffe, 1996). Protection of biodiversity has also been thwarted by conflict between local residents and park agencies over resource use and management, which often has resulted in a lack of support for nature conservation (Freemuth, 1991; Mann and Plummer, 1993). While lands adjacent to parks and protected areas are critical to the survival of many mammal populations (Newmark, 1995), protected areas are often managed in isolation from surrounding lands.

In response to limited success in the protection of biodiversity many researchers have declared a need to broaden the focus of conservation to a landscape scale (Noss and Harris, 1986; Grumbine, 1990a; Whited *et al*., 2000). This involves incorporating unprotected lands along with protected areas (Noss and Cooperrider, 1994; Jongman, 1995) integrating conservation with different land uses (Norton, 2000) and recognising the conservation importance of a variety of elements of the landscape. These include lands adjacent to protected areas (Newmark, 1995), private lands (O'Connell and Noss, 1992; Knight, 1999; Norton, 2000) large reserves (Grumbine, 1990a; Noss, 1992) as well as small protected areas (Falkner and Stohlgren, 1997). For agencies involved in protected areas management, a broader conservation focus involves planning for systems of protected areas, maintaining functional connectivity of populations and processes between these areas (Parks Canada Agency, 2000). Conceptual models for incorporating surrounding lands into conservation strategies, such as Biosphere Reserves (Batisse, 1982), interconnected multiple-use modules (MUMs) (Noss and Harris, 1986) and wilderness recovery networks (Noss, 1992) share basic components. Critical components include multiple protected core reserves, surrounded by buffer/ multiple-use zones increasing in human use and development with distance from the core (Grumbine, 1990a; Noss, 1992; Miller and Hobbs, 2002).

2.3 A Regional Perspective of Conservation

A central theme in conservation is the relationship of human society with nature (Callicott *et al*., 1999). The predominant association of conservation with areas of remote wilderness is problematic, seen by some to promote the disconnection of society from nature (Gomez-Pompa and Kaus, 1992; Cronon, 1995; Angermeier, 2000). Nature conservation is seen to occur in areas distant from where most people live or are able to visit, and as such it is a limited means of promoting conservation of nature close to home (Miller and Hobbs, 2002). In light of extensive and persistent human-induced changes of ecological systems, pristine "wilderness" is more of an ideal than a useful benchmark for contemporary conservation (Cronon, 1995; Robertson and Hull, 2001). Wilderness preservation has long been held as one of the two dominant views of conservation, the other being resourcism, where nature is valued primarily in terms of its human use (Pinchot, 1910; Grumbine, 1994). In both cases people are viewed as separated from nature (Robertson and Hull, 2001).

Callicott *et al*. (1999) present two comparatively new schools of conservation thought denoting human's place in nature, categorised as compositionalism and functionalism. Compositionalism is organised around evolutionary ecology, in a view in which humans are considered to be distinct from nature, and areas of minimal human impact have higher environmental quality. Compositionalism emphasises species conservation and historic natural conditions through ecological restoration and sustaining native species. Functionalism is based on ecosystem ecology, which entails a process-oriented approach to conservation where humans are included within the ecosystem, and "normal ecosystem function does not exclude human influence by definition" (Callicott *et al*., 1999: 29). This approach focuses on supporting sustainable ecosystem processes and services through sustainable development. Debate over which school –compositionalism or functionalism or a combination of the two – represents the best interpretation of conservation has ensued in responses to the 1999 article (Callicott *et al*., 2000; Hunter, 2000; Willers, 2000). Callicott *et al*. (1999; 2000) stress that these schools of thought are ends of a continuum, where compositionalism may be more appropriate for protected areas, and functionalism for land outside of reserves.

Considering the minimal global land area protected in reserves, some argue that we must operate from a functionalist philosophy by default (Hunter, 2000). Given that human use on the landscape is a reality, many researchers argue that more attention needs to be paid to human-modified and settled landscapes (Fleishman *et al*., 1999; Robertson and Hull, 2001; Miller and Hobbs, 2002). The majority of the world's population lives in settled landscapes, but conservation efforts and research have traditionally been focussed on remote areas and public lands (Knight, 1999; Miller and Hobbs, 2002). Private and unprotected lands provide critical habitat for indigenous populations (including endangered and threatened species, O'Connell and Noss, 1992; Knight, 1999) and offer prime educational opportunities to promote cultural change (Karasov, 1997). Emphasis on nature in settled areas may be a means of overcoming society's identification of nature as existing in discreet parcels. It is argued that most people do not identify the area where they live as having an ecological function; natural areas are viewed in small separate pieces, such as a single city park or wildlife refuge (Karasov, 1997). Inaccessibility of remote wilderness areas for many urban dwellers further reduces possibilities to experience nature (Karasov, 1997).

However, despite the need to focus attention and improve the environmental quality of human-modified landscapes, many conservationists have avoided these areas, arguing that they have already lost significant biodiversity and efforts are better employed elsewhere (Miller and Hobbs, 2002). Accommodating conservation with use, and pursuing ambiguous notions of "compatible" and "sustainable" use presents a concern for some conservationists that human use will be viewed as beneficial in every circumstance (Noss, 1991; Redford and Richter, 1999). A stance favouring "conservation through use" risks ignoring inevitable costs to biodiversity associated with human development, costs which have been shown to occur in all but situations of very limited or no human use (Redford and Richter, 1999). What is suggested is a need to move beyond the dichotomous views of human use – that it is destructive, or that it is always complementary to conservation – to work in the more complicated ground between the two ideas (Redford and Richter, 1999; Hunter, 2000). This involves adapting conservation goals to the particular landscape, and dealing with landscapes of all types of environmental quality, not just at either extreme (Hunter, 2000).

Discussion of these two schools of thought (compositionalism and functionalism) and related arguments regarding human's relationship to nature reveals the prominent and

divergent value systems that underlie approaches to conservation. Although conservation is argued to be a normative concept because it entails a preferred condition (Barry and Oelschlaeger, 1996), the role of values is little discussed by conservation biologists in research or in conservation decision-making (Barry and Oelschlaeger, 1996; Lister and Kay, 2000). Nevertheless, value systems play a significant, if not explicit role in conservation decision-making, which has been referred to as a "tournament of value" where scientists and other stakeholders compete to further their particular agendas (Robertson and Hull, 2001). In such a scenario, decisions that are made without consideration of the values they represent may unknowingly bias policy development towards a particular view of nature, or lead to a vague basis for developing goals (Robertson and Hull, 2001). Developing a more comprehensive approach to conservation involves integrating conservation into areas where people live and work, and into their daily lives (Leopold, 1991; Karasov, 1997; Miller and Hobbs, 2002).

2.4 Role of Science in Regional Conservation Planning

Traditionally ecology has played a marginal role in conservation planning, particularly in the selection and design of parks and other protected areas (Noss, 1992; Pressey, 1994). Instead, aesthetic and recreational quality and the value of natural resources in an area have been significant factors in decision-making. However, science seems to be becoming more important in the process of selecting and managing parks and other reserve systems (Noss, 1992; Parks Canada Agency, 2000). The "new conservation biology" (Noss, 1999) that has emerged over the last several decades puts forward an approach to conserving biodiversity and interpreting ecosystems from an integrated management perspective. In addition, new approaches to conservation and management, such as ecosystem management and greater ecosystems, emphasise scientific knowledge as a necessary basis for operation (Noss, 1992; Slocombe and Dearden, 2002).

However, scientific information suffers conversely from both a lack of effective use and impact in conservation problems, and over-emphasis in their solution. While in some cases science may be claimed as the basis for a decision even when it is not, frequently decisions seem not to have used scientific data, or to be made despite it (Policansky, 1998).

Though there is a strong demand for good science, it is often not used in practice. Limited application of science is partially related to lack of effective integration between science, policy, and management, and a lack of frameworks or structure for this to take place (Slocombe, 1993). There are few processes for feedback and exchange between scientists and policy makers and managers through which to integrate questions, information and decisions (Dovers *et al*., 1996). Such integration is particularly significant because the form of information and recommendations that ecologists provide is not amenable for use in public policy (Ludwig *et al*., 2001). The policy process looks to science for precise, relatively simple, "correct" solutions, or "proof" (Ludwig *et al*., 2001) and cannot deal easily with qualified results that do not provide a clear direction on how to act (Dovers *et al*., 1996). Consequently the impact of science on public policy and planning has been haphazard and fragmented (Suter, 1998; Gordon, 1999). The processes of science and policy-making may even be construed as fundamentally incompatible (Gordon, 1999; Robertson and Hull, 2001). Science functions by testing hypotheses and disproving them, while policy-making is based on selecting what is correct and transposing it into law or regulation (Gordon, 1999). This does not suggest a need to abandon science to adopt an "anti-science", do nothing approach (Carpenter, 1996) but emphasises the need to diversify information and operate under more realistic expectations as to what science can offer for conservation planning.

Though scientific information is often regarded as the limiting factor for conservation, it is really only one aspect of the problem (Policansky, 1998). Environmental problems are referred to as "wicked problems", as frequently there is no consensus on objectives or an end goal, and achieving a final resolution of the problem may be unlikely (Ludwig *et al*., 2001). Furthermore, the apparently serious nature of environmental problems, coupled with uncertainties of science, means that decision-makers cannot afford to wait for unequivocal scientific results (Dovers *et al*., 1996). Conservation decisions are based on socially desired goals (Robertson and Hull, 2001), influenced by ethics, values, and other factors (Dovers *et al*., 1996; Epp, 1998; Szaro *et al*., 1998a). However, the role of values in guiding decision-making is often obscured (Lister and Kay, 2000), where the use of and debate over science is a surrogate for debate over values (Gordon, 1999; Cortner *et al*., 1999). Discussion is removed from a shared and open debate and confined to the domain of the expert, through the use of expert knowledge, information and language (Cortner *et al*., 1999). Making values

more explicit in problem definition would help clarify the grounds for appropriate action and indicate information requirements.

Correspondingly, the use of social science information needs to be augmented in conservation decision making, as information from natural sciences is most often applied to questions of conservation (Machlis, 1995). Endter-Wada *et al* (1998) state that the basis of most resource management is still believed to be good ecological science. They argue that both processes and data associated with public involvement in decision making and social analysis – integrating social factors into the science of understanding ecosystems – are necessary for consideration in ecosystem management. This is a step beyond most discussions regarding the integration of social science, which imply social science to be relegated to dealing with political processes and the diversity and interpretation of public opinions in decision making related to ecosystem management (Endter-Wada *et al*., 1998). Other recommendations include applying information and methods from other areas of study, such as community development and sociology, to improve understanding of local and regional cultures, and their relationship to the natural environment (Slocombe, 1993). Additionally, other forms of knowledge such as traditional ecological knowledge and local expertise are increasingly emphasised to be integrated into information gathering and decision making frameworks, to provide a longer-term and alternate understanding of problems (Berkes, *et al*., 2000; Huntington, 2000; Turner *et al*., 2000).

Integration of social science information with biophysical sciences and among various scientists, decision-makers and managers is particularly important for the processes of ecosystem management (Szaro *et al*., 1998a). As the scale of conservation and decision-making increase, so do the aspects for consideration. Many properties of ecosystems become apparent at larger spatial and temporal scales, which may not be directly extrapolated from related processes at smaller scales (Zonneveld and Forman, 1990). A critical gap in scientific data is in understanding the function of large scale ecosystems over longer time periods (Szaro *et al*., 1998a). Political jurisdictions, agency mandates, resources and training have all contributed to establishing a geographically reductionistic approach to ecological research. This is further compounded because information at the regional or ecosystem level is frequently not available or accessible, as there are no means of finding, assessing quality and scope, and coordinating it (Szaro *et al*., 1998a).

2.5 Terms and Concepts Central to Regional Conservation Planning

Discussion of regional conservation planning employs a large number of related terms and concepts describing geographic scales and approaches to conservation planning and management. A number of these terms and concepts are discussed below to provide a basis for interpreting regional conservation planning.

2.5.1 Issues of Scale

Scale is a fundamental and problematic issue in environmental planning and management (Fox, 1992; Erasmus *et al*., 1999; Robertson and Hull, 2001). The scale at which to manage is not a given, but rather a matter of judgement. Choice of scale affects the outcomes of management (Robertson and Hull, 2001), because information is scale-specific (Fox, 1992). Environmental information cannot directly be equated from one scale to another as smaller scales are not replicas of larger ones (Fox, 1992).

In the context of regional conservation planning efforts, planning and management is discussed in terms of ecological boundaries rather than political ones, and at larger spatial and temporal scales than has been conducted in the past (Melinchuk, 1995; Ricketts *et al*., 1999; Valutis and Mullen, 2000). This represents a shift from previous ecological research and environmental planning, which has focussed on single species and particular sites, with less attention paid to planning for landscape processes across sites and for longer time periods (decades as opposed to years) (Pimm, 1991). Suggested directions for planning relate to hierarchy theory, based on the notion of building from a local home or place-based perspective through progressively larger scales of time and space (Robertson and Hull, 2001). The concept of planning at larger temporal and spatial scales is useful to build support for sustaining ecosystem processes, as it provides a means for various stakeholders to begin thinking about areas and needs greater than their local and immediate self-concerns (Robertson and Hull, 2001).

Identification of the appropriate scale for optimal nature conservation planning is dependent on the questions being asked (Wright *et al*., 1998; Lindenmayer, 2000). Some

researchers advocate for a particular scale for planning such as a watershed, on the basis that it offers an opportunity to plan corresponding to ecological functions across individual sites (Henry *et al*., 1999). Using similar arguments other studies more generally highlight the need to move from a site to a landscape scale to account for large-scale ecological processes (Whited *et al*., 2000) and others emphasise the importance of considering factors at a range of scales (Lindenmayer, 2000). Other researchers have referred to this discussion in terms of scope, noting conflicting statements in the literature as to which geographic scope is the most suitable for collaborative resource planning (Leach and Pelkey, 2001). Arguments for limiting the scope of collaborative planning efforts include possible limitations in ability of larger regions to promote a shared interdependence and sense of place (Penrose *et al*., 1998; Klyza, 1999). Additionally, large regions may pose an unmanageable number of interests or issues, or considerable travel distances that affect stakeholder participation (Thomas, 1999). These concerns emphasise that attention must be paid to adopting a manageable scope consistent with available resources when initiating and undertaking collaborative planning exercises. Overall, a common theme among various recommendations appears to be the importance of connections across scales, to maintain ecosystem and social processes at regional as well as local scales.

Geographic terms that are commonly referred to in the literature on large-scale conservation planning include ecoregion, bioregion, landscape, watershed, ecosystem and greater ecosystem. These are compatible concepts, which emphasise a comprehensive approach to conservation (Mitchell and Brown, 1998). To better illustrate and clarify the regional conservation planning discussion these terms are briefly described below.

Ecoregion – Is composed of terrestrial or aquatic areas that are characterised by distinctive large or groupings of regional landforms; geographically distinct arrays of natural communities; similar environmental conditions and regional human activity patterns (Ricketts *et al*., 1999; Environment Canada, 2002).

Bioregion – Biologically bioregions may sometimes be described similar to ecoregions; containing distinctive groups of communities, landforms, and a particular climate (Crombie, 1992). They are possibly variable in scale, defined by some to be smaller, more local areas

than ecoregions (Brunckhorst, 2000), often equated with watersheds (McGinnis, 1999a; Klyza, 1999) while others consider them to contain groups of biogeographically-related ecoregions (Ricketts *et al*., 1999). As well as a strictly ecological definition, bioregions are often described in cultural terms, where people are an integral part of the area and identify its natural and cultural features as a specific place (McGinnis, 1999a; Rowe, 1990). The concept of a bioregion involves the ideas that have evolved about how to live in a particular place, premised on the notion that within a bioregion similar conditions influence life and thereby human occupancy (Berg and Dasmann, 1977). Bioregions are referred to as "home territories" (Aberley, 1999) or the places where people live and depend on (McGinnis, 1999a), and do not conform to a specific set of boundaries (Klyza, 1999).

Landscape – Is defined as a heterogeneous area of land that may vary in size, and is composed of a grouping of ecosystem types that may be repeated throughout (Forman and Godron, 1986). In addition to ecosystem types and interactions among them, landscapes are characterised by similar climate, landforms and disturbance patterns (Forman and Godron, 1986). Generally a number of watersheds may be included in a landscape, while a region most often contains many landscapes (Forman and Godron, 1986).

Watershed – In ecological terms the basic definition of a watershed is the area that is drained by a stream or a river and its tributaries (Forman and Godron, 1986). A watershed may also be viewed as a social construct, defined in part by the range of views and values that influence the interpretation of boundaries, and the politics of ecosystem management (McGinnis *et al*, 1999).

Ecosystem – Refers to an assemblage of living organisms in an area together with their physical environment. The concept of an ecosystem includes the interactions between populations, and between communities and their environments (Spellerberg, 1996). This concept is not restricted to a particular spatial scale, and may range in size from an entire landscape to a single plant (Forman and Godron, 1986; Spellerberg, 1986).

Greater Ecosystems – Are described by Grumbine (1990b: 115) to include i) sufficient habitat for viable populations of the full complement of indigenous species in the area ii) areas large enough for natural disturbance regimes to be maintained iii) a time frame of centuries, to allow for evolution of species and ecosystems structures and processes, and iv) human use and settlement that does not inhibit continued ecological function. While the ecosystem concept is relatively undefined in terms of scale, greater ecosystems may be thought of as areas large enough to foster integration of planning and management across land uses, and small enough to be biogeographically distinct and identified by managers who can map the area in detail (Noss, 1990).

2.5.2 Conservation Planning and Management

The management and planning literature reflects the growing convergence of ideas and practice in planning for conservation on the basis of natural systems. This development is illustrated by the variety of terms presented in the literature, which include ecological integrity, sustainability, sustainable development, ecosystem management, adaptive management, bioregionalism, community-based conservation, and stewardship, among others. These terms are introduced below, the focus of discussion on the related perspectives of ecosystem management, bioregionalism, community-based conservation and stewardship. The latter three terms are highlighted because they emphasise different elements of the new perspective of environmental management, which is represented as ecosystem management (Cortner and Moote, 1994; Brunner and Clark, 1997; Lackey, 1998). These concepts promote a direction for conservation planning that integrates local with regional scales, community with ecology, is participatory and works across established jurisdictional boundaries. The definition, goals, function, and debate over ecosystem management and these related three terms are discussed below.

The concepts of ecological integrity and sustainability, along with others such as ecosystem health and naturalness, are variations of environmental quality. Ecological integrity (often interchanged with ecosystem health) focuses on the maintenance of biological components (species) and ecological processes (growth, reproduction) within a system (Parks Canada

Agency, 2000), while sustainability may be applied in a general sense to the maintenance over time of desired natural and cultural states (Robinson *et al*., 1990). These terms give shape to public perceptions of environmental quality (Robertson and Hull, 2001) and serve as goals for the environmental management practices described in greater detail below.

Ecosystem Management

Ecosystem management can be described as management to maintain ecological processes and integrity, which integrates social and economic needs to define and achieve a socially desired state of the ecosystem (Cortner and Moote, 1994; Brussard *et al*., 1998; Lackey, 1998; Szaro *et al*., 1998b). It may be distinguished as ecosystem-based management, to emphasise that management is applied to human activities within the ecosystem, rather than the ecosystem itself (Slocombe, 1998). Key components of ecosystem management include: a basis in ecologically derived, rather than administrative boundaries, which involves management over large, politically divided landscapes; long-term perspectives that extend from years to decades; and an adaptive approach to management, that anticipates and adjusts to changes within the system being managed (Slocombe, 1993; Grumbine, 1994; Lessard, 1998; Yaffee, 1999; Robertson and Hull, 2001; Slocombe and Dearden, 2002). Ecosystem management is also distinguished from traditional natural resource management because it is oriented toward sustaining human culture, and involving people and communities (Duane, 1997; Lackey, 1998; Szaro *et al*., 1998b). Goals of ecosystem management are to restore and sustain environmental quality and human quality of life through the management approach described above (Szaro *et al*., 1998b).

Ecosystem management functions by attempting to involve all stakeholders in defining and selecting sustainable alternatives for management (Szaro *et al*., 1998b). Fundamental steps for implementing ecosystem management include defining the area to be managed, developing understanding and management goals, and obtaining information for the development of frameworks for management and planning (Slocombe, 1993; Brussard *et al*., 1998). Ecosystem management requires cooperation between levels of government and between government and private sector groups (Brussard *et al*., 1998), and widespread public support (Cortner *et al*., 1998). Considerable organisational change is necessary to allow for

coordination of management and goals across various agencies (Brussard *et al*., 1998). Early public involvement is seen as a critical component of ecosystem management plans, to allow for values to be expressed and a shared sense of community identity to be developed (Norton, 1998). Some authors suggest a broad re-examination of views of nature held by society is needed to fully achieve the goals of ecosystem management (Grumbine, 1994).

Debate over use of ecosystem management as an approach concerns definition of an ecosystem (Slocombe, 1993; Fitzsimmons, 1998), and related confusion over the definition of ecosystem management (Keiter, 1995; Lackey, 1998). Some consider the concept of an ecosystem to be vague or too arbitrary to achieve consistent management outcomes (Fitzsimmons, 1998). Others suggest potential difficulties of adopting ecosystems as a frame for management may include adopting a steady-state view of ecosystems that under-emphasises processes of change in the system, or assigning primary importance to ecosystem processes and generalising or downplaying socioeconomic factors (Slocombe, 1993). As circumstances are different in each situation, it is suggested that the ecosystem approach may be applied as appropriate (Slocombe, 1993). The question of governance also has been raised in relation to ecosystem management, with concern being that it will entail extensive federal government control and intervention (Fitzsimmons, 1998). However, as noted above, other analysts have highlighted increased coordination and cooperation between governments and considerable public involvement as fundamental to the process of ecosystem management, rather than dominance of one level of government, in isolation from local control (Brussard *et al*., 1998; Norton, 1998).

Bioregionalism

Bioregionalism is a form of ecosystem management, one that is grounded in the need for a fundamental change in beliefs, attitudes and values regarding humans' relationship to nature (Diffenderfer and Birch, 1997). It is perceived as a paradigm shift in humans' relationship to nature because it applies an inherent value to biodiversity and nature, which provides the basis for managing resources as part of interrelated systems (Diffenderfer and Birch, 1997; McGinnis, 1999b). Key components of bioregionalism include: a holistic, comprehensive and integrated approach to management, which emphasises building and restoring a sense of place

and community to human societies, in particular industrialised western societies (McGinnis *et al*., 1999).

Bioregionalism is often considered in the context of watershed protection (McGinnis *et al*., 1999) and envisions an interconnected system of sustainable and self-sufficient communities (Aberley, 1999). Bioregionalism is seen as both a practice and a philosophy (McGinnis *et al*., 1999) which involves a personal, often spiritual connection between humans and the natural environment. It is focussed at the level of community, where social learning processes and cooperation are key components (McGinnis *et al*., 1999). As with ecosystem management, the role of the public is important, and perhaps is emphasised to an even greater degree in bioregionalism, which originated as a grassroots movement (Aberley, 1999) and advocates local management of local resources (Diffenderfer and Birch, 1997; McGinnis *et al*., 1999). Bioregionalism operates on the basis of decentralised government, where ecological education plays an important role in developing and supporting the ideas and vision (Bowers, 1999). This movement supports more fundamental institutional change than implied in ecosystem management (Diffenderfer and Birch, 1997). Bioregionalism requires changes in systems of production to function sustainably (minimising wastes and impacts) using local resources (Diffenderfer and Birch, 1997), whereas ecosystem management is often interpreted in relation to existing institutions (Brussard *et al*., 1998). Some debate over bioregionalism relates to the potential for modern value systems (scientific knowledge) to support local community action to achieve bioregional goals (McGinnis *et al*., 1999; Feldman and Wilt, 1999; Klyza, 1999).

Community-based conservation

The conceptual basis for community-based conservation efforts is the idea that "community" involvement is necessary for effective resource management (Agrawal and Gibson, 2001; Brown, 2000). However, the concept of community is somewhat confounding, in that it is more complex than is commonly represented (Agrawal and Gibson, 1999; Agrawal and Gibson, 2001; McCay, 2001). Perceptions of community in relation to natural resource management have in fact oscillated over time, from views of human communities co-existing in harmony with nature, to their exploiting natural resources (Agrawal and Gibson, 1999).

Currently community is seen as a central focus of conservation thinking, and characteristics of communities believed to support resource management are small size, homogeneous social structure and shared norms (Agrawal and Gibson, 1999; McCay, 2001; Browder, 2002). These qualities are argued by some to be incomplete, overly simplistic and to present a romantic or mythic notion of community (Agrawal and Gibson, 2001; McCay, 2001; Browder, 2002). Such representations do not fully address the role of heterogeneity within communities (McCay, 2001), and thereby have the potential to undermine goals of greater community involvement in natural resource management (Agrawal and Gibson, 1999). Also under-represented in the literature is the difficulty of identifying and understanding the cultural structure and features of community, separate from physical representation that may correspond with landscape features such as a watershed (Ewing, 1999). However, despite some of these conceptual challenges in understanding and defining community, a romantic perspective of community may be considered constructive in that it provides an optimistic outlook on human nature and potential (McCay, 2001). A suggested definition of community is a group with a shared past, present, and future, that has some shared values (McCay, 2001). Even more important perhaps, is the need for analysts and others to be both critical and open about what comprises the concept of community (McCay, 2001).

Community-based conservation is associated with the notion of locally-oriented management of resources, in place of control by markets or nation-states (Agrawal and Gibson, 2001; Song and M'Gonigle, 2001). This implies the goals of community-based conservation to be greater decentralisation of government (Agrawal and Gibson, 1999). This may be manifested in the various degrees of community conservation, which include limited outreach attempts by neighbouring protected areas to local communities, to collaborative or co-management approaches where a community and governing authority jointly share power and responsibilities for resources or an area of conservation value (Barrow, 1996; Mitchell, 1998), or to full-fledged local control (Barrow, 1996). When considering the role of community in conservation, a view that includes a variety of actors and interests is considered critical to any program (Agrawal and Gibson, 1999; Evans and Birchenough, 2001; McCay, 2001). Instead of focussing on debatable characteristics of community listed above – such as small size, homogenous social structure and shared norms – some analysts propose looking at institutions within and between communities (Agrawal and Gibson, 1999). This involves

considering various actors and interests within communities and the process by which they influence decision-making, and institutions within and external to communities that affect the decision-making process (Agrawal and Gibson, 1999). This focus is suggested as a means to achieve better understanding of local-level processes and outcomes (Agrawal and Gibson, 1999). At the individual level, processes that relate to involvement and participation in community conservation include development of a sense of ownership and environmental knowledge, promoted through formal and informal education techniques and activities (Wilson, 2002).

Proponents of community involvement in the developed world seek to apply lessons from successful examples of traditional community-based resource management to modern management practices (Evans and Birchenough, 2001). Positive examples of community-based conservation from the western world have been noted in the form of building awareness and mobilising efforts, if not direct impacts on-the-ground. For example, in Australia, a community-led program to counter land degradation known as Landcare has been described as successful in building awareness and achieving developmental value – increasing capacity within communities for greater understanding and knowledge and increased solidarity (Ewing, 1999). Community-based stream conservation initiatives in British Columbia, Canada, have gained considerable local support in numerous areas due to the coordination and promotion provided by a provincial council (the Outdoor Recreation Council of BC) (Wilson, 2002). However, reviewers have noted a tension for management authorities in community-based conservation efforts, of finding a balance of size and scope of responsibilities to effect integrated management while retaining real community participation (Ewing, 1999).

Stewardship

The function of stewardship is to integrate nature conservation with the places people inhabit – where they live and work (Mitchell and Brown, 1998). Stewardship involves responsible use and management of resources, including conservation, accommodating societal interests and private needs (Worrell and Appleby, 2000). Stewardship is thus distinguished from efforts to isolate and restrict access to areas for the purpose of nature protection (Mitchell and Brown, 1998). It is focussed on collective responsibility for property, through private action

on the part of communities and private individuals, and public and private partnerships (Mitchell and Brown, 1998). It emphasises protection of cultural as well as natural heritage (Mitchell and Brown, 1998; Mitchell and Diamant, 1998). As with the other management approaches described above, stewardship incorporates a landscape perspective, where conservation must take place on land that sustains economic and cultural activity (Mitchell and Brown, 1998).

Stewardship is similar to community conservation approaches in that it seeks to put "conservation in the hands of the people most affected by it" (Brown, 1998:1). Stewardship efforts impact on conservation not only through direct protection of land, but also by serving "to strengthen local leadership and institutions, encourage citizen participation and bring together diverse stakeholders to address problems at a local level" (Mitchell and Brown, 1998:16). Stewardship may be practised using a variety of methods, ranging from informal education and agreements, through to formally legislated easements and private land acquisitions (Dempsey *et al*., 2002). Interaction between private organisations and the public through stewardship approaches also helps to develop cross-sector relationships and capacity, and encourages broader thinking (Dempsey *et al*., 2002). Stewardship efforts are becoming more prominent both internationally and within North America, and are having a greater impact on conservation, in part arising from a number of large private organisations (such as The Nature Conservancy, and Ducks Unlimited) who have been involved in purchasing and restoring land and undertaking other stewardship initiatives (Mitchell and Brown, 1998; Dempsey *et al*., 2002).

2.6 Social Dimensions of Regional Planning for Conservation

A large part of the discussion of new ways to conduct environmental planning and management is predicated on the imperative for a change to a more holistic and environment-oriented worldview (Nozick, 1992; Grumbine, 1994; Peacock, 1996; Fricker, 1998). The need for an ethic that embraces the inherent qualities of nature is not a new idea – it notably was put forward by Aldo Leopold in 1949, and is a fundamental part of native peoples' belief systems. Such an ethic represents a shift from an anthropocentric view of nature as a resource

to adopting an intrinsic value of nature. This shift is illustrated to some degree by the principal ethical bases of the American conservation movement. These are represented by Callicott (1990) as three distinct conservation ethics: the Romantic-Transcendental Ethic – which applies a value to nature for spiritual appreciation and recreation; the Resource Conservation Ethic – which interprets value of nature relevant to efficient and equitable resource use; and more currently the Evolutionary-Ecological Land Ethic – based on understanding interconnections between humans and other species. Callicott (1990) sees a generalised version of the third ethic as most important for conservation, where human economic activities are integrated with biological conservation. In search of an appropriate conservation ethic other authors do not focus on the economic aspect of integrating human activities with natural processes, but highlight human's responsibility to nature –described as ecocentric (Grumbine, 1994; Milliot-Guinn, 1998; McGinnis *et al*., 1999) or in some cases biocentric (Grumbine, 1994; Yaffee, 1999) ethics or values. Ecocentrism is differentiated from biocentrism by some on the basis that it places the value of nature above that of human society, in order that humans understand we are only one part of and reliant on nature (Rowe, 1990). This view of nature as pre-eminent is controversial in that it seen in some instances as another view of humans as separate from nature (Grumbine, 1994). Such a view is also not likely to garner widespread support outside of those that already hold environmental values. Ecocentrism is also differentiated from a biophilia (love of nature) ethic, on the basis that the latter entails recognition of human needs and human impact on nature (Epp, 1998). The common elements that arise among these various definitions appear to be human's responsibility to nature, an integration of human needs with nature conservation, and a view of humans as part of (not separate from) nature.

Understanding the connection between ethics and action, and likewise values and action, is important if we consider that adoption of an environmental worldview will derive desired changes in human behaviour regarding the environment (Grumbine, 1991; 1994). In many cases ethics do not seem to be distinguished from values, such that ecocentrism is referred to as both a value (Grumbine, 1994) and an ethic (Yaffee, 1999). Some definitions distinguish ethics and values on the basis of action, where our ethics reflect how we apply our values in daily life (Human Resources Development Canada, 2001). However, other authors state that the connection between ethic and action is in no way clear or direct, and ethics do

not necessarily drive the action (Epp, 1998). Description of an environmental ethic as applying a critical self-consciousness in all our actions (Cronon, 1995) seems an appropriate suggestion to reduce disparities between values and action, and similarly attitudes and behaviour.

In spite of disparities and conflicts between environmental values and actions, some note that a change in worldview is taking place, pointing to the growing sustainability movement that focuses on environmental concerns and limits to growth (Knickerbocker, 2000). Public pressure (both actual and potential) has influenced large companies such as Home Depot and Ikea to commit to supporting responsible tree harvesting, while others such as Gerber, McCain and Seagrams have agreed not to use genetically modified organisms (McKenzie, 2002). Recent protests against globalisation in Seattle and Québec City also demonstrate changes in public opinion and attitude toward the environment. However, some argue these protests have not influenced political dialogue to the extent of bringing environmental discourse into recent election campaigns (McKenzie, 2002). To what degree a sustainability movement is reflected by governing authorities is debatable, with the recent return to conservatism with the Bush administration in the United States, and the lack of high-level interest in the follow-up to the Earth Summit in Rio, the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg, August 2002.

Moving from an international to a more local scale, there is a growing affinity for areas of high scenic and natural quality which provide "natural amenities" – wilderness, wildlife, scenery, and outdoor recreation opportunities (Beale and Johnson 1998). These rural areas are experiencing increased population growth from urban centres and other regions, and associated human development and use is adding to existing pressures (Hansen *et al*., 2002). This inflow of people and resources is contributing to the changing character of rural communities and regions (Smith and Krannich, 2000; Hansen *et al*., 2002). Many rural communities in areas of high natural and scenic quality are experiencing a move from the traditional resource based industries to newer high technology and amenity-oriented recreation and tourism economies (Hansen *et al*., 2002). People are increasingly making lifestyle choices to bring them in closer proximity to areas of natural and scenic beauty, more possible due to the increasing mobility of the workforce (Levitt, 2002). In addition to further rural development, influx of these "amenity-oriented migrants" is seen to be associated with

natural resource management conflicts in rural areas (Fortmann and Kusel, 1990; Smith and Krannich, 2000). Although concern about the environment is commonly associated with urban residents more so than rural residents, little empirical data supports this notion (Fortmann and Kusel, 1990; McBeth and Foster, 1994; Jones *et al*., 1999; Smith and Krannich, 2000). Contrary to numerous media and other reports, a number of recent studies found little evidence of differences in environmental attitudes between new in-migrants and long time rural residents (Fortmann and Kusel, 1990; McBeth and Foster, 1994; Jones *et al*., 1999; Smith and Krannich, 2000). Instead, some researchers argue that new residents provide a new voice to existing environmental concerns held by others in the community (Fortmann and Kusel, 1990). Newer residents, who may be more experienced in communication and taking part in participatory processes, may acquire greater influence in decision-making processes than longer-term residents (McNicol and Draper, 1997).

Changing societal values and more involvement and interaction among groups regarding issues of nature conservation are leading to an increasing demand for more participatory decision-making (Day *et al*, 1998). The need for additional and better public participation is recognised by both natural resource managers and the public (Smith *et al*, 1999). The public is also less willing to accept that "experts" are able to act in the best interests of all involved (Mitchell, 1998). It is suggested that environment and resource management efforts need to, among other things, acknowledge the community of interests, decentralise decision-making, and move toward "civic environmentalism" (DeWitt, 1994; Wondolleck and Yaffee, 2000). Participatory and collaborative approaches are seen as an effective means to address difficult issues arising from the complexity and uncertainty inherent in environmental management problems (Mitchell, 1998).

There are increasing efforts to undertake participatory and collaborative approaches to resource and environmental management (Schuett *et al*., 2001). A diversity of individuals and groups, from interest groups to public land management agencies and private citizens, are employing collaboration as a part of alternative approaches to land and natural resource management decision-making (Margerum, 1999b; BLM and SI, 2000). The Commission on Resources and Environment (CORE) in British Columbia applied a process of shared decision-making as a means to minimise conflict in land use management negotiations (Penrose *et al*, 1998). Based on their review of numerous case studies of collaborative

processes, Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000) argued that collaborative problem-solving is a necessary element of an ecosystem-based approach to resource management. Collaborative processes may provide a number of benefits for regional scale planning, such as help to coordinate cross-boundary activities and reduce duplication, and foster exchange of information and ideas (Wondolleck and Yaffee, 2000).

However, literature on participatory and collaborative approaches criticises as well as praises these efforts (Schuett *et al*., 2001). In cases where there are fundamental value differences between parties and compromise is required, or where there are perceived power imbalances, a negotiated approach may not be the most suitable (Wondolleck and Yaffee, 2000). It is suggested that collaborative approaches may be best suited to local levels, as they can best address issues related to a particular place (Gray, 1989). But locally-based collaborative processes are not guaranteed to reflect the interests and concerns of wider groups of stakeholders. This process was notably demonstrated in the case of the Quincy Library Group, which was an effort in the town of Quincy, California, to authorise local management of public lands through national legislation (Duane, 1997). In this case local industry and environmental groups came together to negotiate forest management, but a large part of their success in working as a group arose from the adoption of a common enemy (the U.S. Forest Service) and exclusion of this agency and non-local environmental groups who were seen to represent "elite urban environmentalists" (Duane, 1997). Consequently, their proposal was criticised for ignoring the views of key participants in the wider community of interest (Duane, 1997). Other criticisms of participatory negotiations relate to their potential to give some groups unwarranted veto power if there is a stringent requirement for consensus (Ascher, 2001). Accordingly, limitations on the exercise of power in deciding outcomes must exist for acceptable collaborative processes (Duane, 1997). Furthermore, in addition to the long time periods required to carry out participatory and collaborative processes, there is a need for supportive institutional arrangements and traditions to promote and sustain such activities (Duane, 1997; Wondolleck and Yaffee, 2000).

2.6.1 Value Conflicts

Understanding, reconciling, and even attempting to influence and alter values regarding the environment is considered fundamental to the conservation of nature (Wagner, 1996; Angermeier, 2000). Discussion and debate over values is often obscured (Woodley, 1994; Lister and Kay, 2000), or manifested in the form of environmental conflicts (Greenbaum and Cragg, 2001). Thus, understanding the causes of continual environmental conflicts over values may be useful for identifying, developing an understanding and possibly influencing value differences.

Conflicts over values pose fundamental challenges for resolution of environmental issues, as there remain few models and processes to integrate different values into resource management, including within collaborative management exercises (Cortner and Moote, 1994; Paulson, 1998). Value conflicts are often disguised in debates through "conflict overlay" in the form of misunderstandings, fact-finding problems and controversies of procedure among others (Burgess and Burgess, 1997). Other authors have distinguished value conflicts as occurring in three forms: 1) conflict over core values (fundamental goals and objectives); 2) conflict over derivation of means, or how to do things (fact disputes); and 3) misattribution of values (arising from mistrust and disrespect) (Greenbaum and Cragg, 2001). In a review of methods for dealing with differences in values and interests in a collaborative resource management program, the processes used were found to be mostly ineffective (Paulson, 1998). In addition to misrepresenting value differences as differences of facts, stakeholders holding more radical or polarised views were not included in many groups, and group goals were broadly defined, which allowed some groups to make gains initially, but limited progress further on (Paulson, 1998).

One prominent example of an environmental dispute masking deeper social conflict is the case of the reintroduction of wolves into Yellowstone National Park in the United States. There was considerable opposition to the idea of reintroducing wolves and the dispute has continued even after reintroduction (Wilson, 1997). The debate over the return of the wolf to Yellowstone is seen to represent a larger conflict between different views of public land use in the American West (Wilson, 1997). Environmental views and values – including greater social (possibly government) control of land use, are pitted against those of the Wise Use

movement, a loosely organised American coalition with backing from resource extraction industries, who are committed to protecting private property rights and independence from government control (Wilson, 1997). Similar views may also surface in many other natural resource management disputes, as a key source of conflict in these disputes is defining who has a legitimate say in land use decisions (Paulson, 1998). Definition of legitimate stakeholders and interests is a frequently used method to gain influence over management decisions in collaborative exercises that seek to address needs of all stakeholders and minimise domination of any one interest (Paulson, 1998). In view of these and other struggles that characterise environmental issues, it seems that larger battles over power and whose views will dominate continue to undermine environmental debates and collaborative management efforts. Although collaborative management structures are being employed, effective processes need to be developed to integrate divergent values and views – a necessary but not sufficient measure to work towards conflict resolution (Paulson, 1998).

2.6.2 Conservation Science, Values, and Advocacy

Difficulties involved in identifying and addressing values are illustrated in the debate over the role of advocacy in conservation science. Discussion centres round the role of values in conservation science, public responsibility of scientists, and different interpretations of conservation advocacy, which suggest a more participatory approach to science that involves communicating value judgements (Barry and Oelschlaeger, 1996; Shrader-Frechette, 1996; Song and M'Gonigle, 2001). Different views of the role of values in science influence the degree to which advocacy is viewed as an important component of conservation science activity. The science of conservation biology is described by many conservation biologists as entrenched in values and normative in nature (Barry and Oelschlaeger, 1996; McCoy, 1996; Matsuda, 1997; Noss, 1999), thus distinguished from biology and ecology because it can be evaluated against its purpose to protect habitat and conserve biodiversity.

However, others consider science from a more positivist (value-free) perspective, wherein it is viewed necessary to maintain a distance between scientific study and advocacy (Brussard *et al*., 1994). In this light, the role of conservation biology is seen as limited to providing information in response to technical policy questions (Murphy, 1990).

Alternatively, some scientists who recognise the role of advocacy in conservation biology continue to make a distinction as to the introduction of values into science, considered to be at the onset of advocacy (Maguire, 1996; McCoy, 1996). Others argue that the most relevant question is not whether science involves values, but what the most appropriate and effective balance of science and advocacy should be (Meine and Meffe, 1996). Judging from the range of viewpoints, it is not surprising that there is considerable confusion among scientists and advocates regarding the roles of science and advocacy in conservation (Tracy and Brussard, 1996). Negotiating the various institutional, intellectual and personal tensions between science and advocacy is believed to be a primary concern for environmental and conservation science today (Myers, 1999).

Consideration of the role of values in science also leads to assessing public responsibility of scientists. It is suggested that in light of increasing environmental and social problems, scientists must make a commitment to address issues of concern to the public, and better communicate this information to the public (Lubchenco, 1998). The fact that most environmental scientists are supported by public funds further emphasises the responsibility to ensure public understanding (Mackey, 1999). However, while some scientists have publicly declared concern over global environmental conditions (Union of Concerned Scientists 1992; US National Academy of Sciences and Royal Society of London 1992), others have largely been hesitant to enter the public debate, unwilling to jeopardise their credibility (Myers, 1999; Mackey, 1999).

To address these concerns and look at avenues for conservation scientists to undertake advocacy, it is necessary to distinguish what falls under the description of advocacy. Some scientists suggest that advocacy need not entail public and overt actions, and can include effective personal communications (Meine and Meffe, 1996). Numerous scientists have voiced the need to make values and norms in conservation biology explicit for the purposes of advocacy as well as all other considerations (Barry and Oelschlaeger, 1996; Lélé and Norgaard, 1996; Roebuck and Phifer, 1996; Shrader-Frechette, 1996). This serves a number of objectives, such as to better accomplish conservation goals, to strengthen the position of conservation biology through examination of the underlying values, and to subject value judgements to debate, which promotes defensible science (Barry and Oelschlaeger, 1996; Maguire, 1996; Shrader-Frechette, 1996). Making values and norms explicit involves

explanation of reasoning behind decisions, thereby emphasising communication as an important component of good science. An added benefit of encouraging communication (writing, speaking) of values by conservation scientists and advocates is that it provides a means to propagate these values (Maguire, 1996). Furthermore, better education for the public is critical to enable people to better use information (such as made available through advocacy) to make their own decisions (Shrader-Frechette, 1996).

Interpreting what makes "good science" provides another avenue for defining the form advocacy might take. Song and M'Gonigle (2001) discuss the road to "good science" as one seen by many scientists to involve the exploration of alternative economic and political structures, or the "science of alternatives". They describe this as applying a participatory process to the development of science itself. This corresponds with the move to incorporate participatory and collaborative approaches in resource and environmental management (Schuett *et al*., 2001). In viewing various alternatives decision-makers are increasingly faced with deciding not only between sources of information, but between value systems (Song and M'Gonigle, 2001). Such a context of alternatives provokes the question, is a prerequisite for "good science" its democratisation (Song and M'Gonigle, 2001)? If so, this suggests a strong role for science-advocacy, in which at the very least scientists must be in dialogue with the public to communicate value judgements. In terms of the study of conservation, "good science" requires an expression of values.

2.6.3 Role of Non-governmental Organisations in Regional Conservation Planning

Increasingly, more actors are participating in governance, where previously only federal, provincial and local governments played a significant role. Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are growing in size, number and influence in international affairs, and in dealing with environmental issues. In Canada, environmental organisations have become focussed on more international issues over the past decade, and organisations now have greater interactions with partner groups in other countries (Wilson, 2002). NGOs form a diverse group of players that can contribute both to policy change and building support from the grassroots (van der Heidjen, 1999; Jamison and Ring, 2000). They are able to influence national governments, multinational corporations and multilateral institutions generally in

four ways: through setting agendas, negotiating outcomes, conferring legitimacy, and implementing solutions (Simmons, 1998). NGOs are a driving force for societal change, influential in changing norms, challenging upper-level governments, and establishing powerful transnational alliances (Simmons, 1998).

The Canadian environmental movement is characterised by a range of organisations, diverse in both focus and size (Wilson, 2002). This diversity along with a very committed membership is seen to be the greatest strength of the movement (Wilson, 2002). While the views and priorities of large national organisations dominate the public face of the Canadian environmental movement, small and medium-sized organisations are also well established (Wilson, 2002). The large national organisations (the "majors" – well established groups with annual budgets exceeding $1 million) are seen as more prone to succumbing to the conservatism and caution that accompany institutionalisation. Public participation in these organisations is more likely to be through financial than more active means (Wilson, 2002). In the context of the national movement, however, this caution is offset by the diversity of small organisations and the opportunity they present for involvement in environmental issues.

The sheer diversity of NGOs makes them difficult to define (Simmons, 1998; McKenzie, 2002). Environmental groups vary in degree of formal organisation, strategies and research capabilities (McKenzie, 2002). Despite these differences attempts have been made to classify these groups (Castells, 1997; McKenzie, 2002). Castells (1997) developed a typology of "Green Groups" to characterise British environmental groups on the basis of type, identity, adversity and goal (desired social order). Types of groups include Conservation of nature; Defence of own space; Counter-culture, deep ecology, ecofeminism; Save the planet; and Green politics. McKenzie (2002) offers an alternate classification system adapted to the Canadian political context, and taking into account a number of other important characteristics such as organisation, strategies and tactics, and targets. She divides Canadian green groups into environmental non-governmental organisations (ENGOs); international green organisations; local or grassroots environmental groups; and advisory environmental groups. Other analysts do not differentiate between groups on this basis, arguing that the variety of environmental organisations (independent of government) can be labelled as environmental non-governmental organisations (ENGOs) (Doern and Conway, 1994). For

the purposes of this discussion environmental groups will be considered as ENGOs, and in general terms as NGOs.

As well as influencing governmental structures, NGOs offer a different and complementary skill set to those of government. In terms of conservation and protected areas management, NGOs often supply greater flexibility, innovation, commitment and locally-focussed or community-led approaches to problem-solving (Lees, 1995). The diversity in composition and function of NGOs offers an opportunity to make connections with different sectors of the public to build support (Lees, 1995). Networks of ENGOs and alliances form environmental movements, which are primarily occupied with challenging existing norms and assumptions arising from predominant economic growth strategies (McKenzie, 2002). This challenge has taken many forms, more recently moving from a concentration on lobbying governments, to influencing consumers using market incentives (McKenzie, 2002). We are now perceived to be entering a new phase (or "fourth wave") of environmentalism[1], denoted by the protests against the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in Seattle (1999), and characterised by a diversity of organisations and issues, and a commitment to democratic processes (McKenzie, 2002).

ENGOs playing a significant role in nature conservation include private land trusts, whose rate of land protection is increasing dramatically (Mitchell and Brown, 1998). Reasons for the success of land trusts include a greater willingness on the part of private landowners to deal with and donate land to private organisations over government, and significant tax incentives for land transfer agreements (Mitchell and Brown, 1998). As this movement develops, the focus is changing from protecting isolated properties to applying conservation at a landscape scale (Mitchell and Brown, 1998). One example is The Nature Conservancy

[1] In the U.S. the first wave of environmentalism was associated with the wilderness movement initiated by John Muir in the 1890s. In Canada, this movement got off to a slower start around the early twentieth century, inspired by the naturalist writings by different authors including Grey Owl (an Englishman who lived as a Canadian Indian) (McKenzie, 2002). The second wave was distinguished by a value change regarding the importance and urgency of environmental issues, associated with the period of general protest in the 1960s and beliefs in social justice, participatory democracy, sustainable societies and the value of the collective over the individual good (McKenzie, 2002). This second wave, prompted by the publication of Rachel Carson's Silent Spring (1962) is commonly considered to be the basis of the modern environmental movement. (McKenzie, 2002). The third and fourth environmental movements have been smaller in impact, the third wave characterised as an approach that has been more cognisant of economic forces, and willing to find compromises to environmental

(TNC), one of the world's largest and most influential land trust organisations, which has shifted emphasis from protecting sites to whole ecosystems (Mitchell and Brown, 1998). Along with greater flexibility and capacity for innovation, advantages for The Nature Conservancy of being an NGO include having a single purpose, which provides a very clear mandate to follow in terms of acquiring and protecting private lands of significance for nature conservation (Murray, 1995). However, this narrow focus can also cause difficulties in dealing with issues of land conservation, where it is difficult to separate the involvement and influence of substantial drivers such as economics and politics (Murray, 1995).

While NGOs have been influential in promoting new approaches to management and governance, they have also garnered a fair amount of criticism. Governments are often criticised for allowing limited involvement and input of "stakeholders" (interested parties), relegating their input to negotiation processes directed by government (Ascher, 2001). Perceived as more community-oriented, NGOs have the capacity to operate differently and more flexibly with respect to stakeholder input (Ascher, 2001). However, the accountability and democratic nature of NGOs have been called into question on a number of occasions (Simmons, 1998). Leaders are not always elected, and in place of open and participatory processes can be top-down decision-making structures. Some larger international ENGOs, notably Greenpeace, have developed a formal institutional structure following a corporate model of operation (McKenzie, 2002). This has generated criticism that they are driven less by passion and more by interest in supporting the corporate identity (McKenzie, 2002). This example illustrates a dilemma for larger NGOs, which may be criticised for lack of professionalism on one hand, and then accused of bureaucratisation when they do become professional (Smillie, 1998). Many environmental groups also suffer from internal conflict over "vision" – struggle between moderate and more radical views of members in the group. In some cases (such as the Sierra Club and the Friends of the Earth in the U.S.) resulting political upheavals have served to undermine the credibility of the group (McKenzie, 2002).

The question of who NGOs are accountable to arises in response to the potential to be directed by donor goals in place of grassroots objectives (Covey, 1998). Funding from governmental sources is seen to bias the objectivity and independence of NGOs (Simmons,

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concerns that could be addressed through market-based incentives and related mechanisms (McKenzie, 2002).

1998), while a funding base that is entirely external and derived from select foundations and interest groups can be seen as promoting elitist and narrow interests, and demonstrates a lack of community support. Among the diverse range of groups functioning as NGOs, some operate on a basis of neutrality and have become influential partners in governance, while others may employ a confrontational stance as a means to get their views and opinions heard. Critics assert that NGOs are predisposed to confrontation, where often patience and a desire to compromise are needed (Simmons, 1998). These criticisms arise in large part not because NGOs are seen to function less effectively than public or commercial organisations, but because they do not operate as well as their popular reputation would suggest (Edwards and Hulme, 1998). It is proposed that environmental organisations need to maintain pragmatism and flexibility in order to constructively contribute to negotiated problem-solving of environmental concerns (Lees, 1995).

The relationship between NGOs and governments is considered of primary importance (Lees, 1995). Lees (1995:191) states that "successful NGO work with protected areas is often a result of their acting as a bridge between communities and government." The coordination of activities between private and public actors is important to achieve the greatest gains for nature conservation. Land trusts and other private conservation efforts should support all levels of land use planning and policy, while in turn private initiatives need to be understood and incorporated as central to achieving protection and management objectives (Mitchell and Brown, 1998). Generally, NGOs are seen to have gone beyond filling advisory and advocacy roles, to becoming part of the way decisions have to be made (Simmons, 1998). The increasing number and prominence of NGOs in governance has in some ways made more difficult the questions of involvement, or who should participate and how (Simmons, 1998). But their steady rise does offer promise of more accountable decision-making processes. It is suggested that what is needed over the long term are systems to promote and formalise existing two-way communication between "stakeholders" and decision-making institutions (Simmons, 1998).

NGO accountability may be considered of prime importance if we anticipate more accountable decision-making as a result of NGO involvement, and as NGO legitimacy is associated to a large degree with the strength of their accountability (Edwards and Hulme, 1998). While this has been discussed in the literature in the context of international

development NGOs, many of these principles appear applicable to environmental NGOs. It is generally difficult to measure NGO performance, particularly in terms of qualitative indicators (related to changes in people's personal ideologies, for example) (Edwards and Hulme, 1998). There are few absolute performance measures and no definable single bottom line for NGOs as compared to commercial and governmental interests (which deal with profits and elections) (Desai and Howes, 1998). Thus, because so few clear standards exist, evaluation of NGOs can come down to judgement and interpretation, in which case negotiation among stakeholders may be the most relevant means of determining accountability (Edwards and Hulme, 1998). Because NGOs are accountable to a wide spectrum of actors, from supporters, staff, beneficiaries and partners, to donors, trustees and resident governments, this calls for a considerable amount of negotiation among various actors regarding organisational objectives and decisions (Edwards and Hulme, 1998). This may lead to numerous demands on the organisation, and possible oversight caused by inappropriately assigned tasks. NGO accountability measures have been found in many cases to be tailored to suit the objectives of donors rather than those of the grassroots (Covey, 1998).

Proposed NGO assessment measures include analysing organisational capacity, where principal abilities have been identified as i) ability of the organisation to sustain its identity, mission and values; ii) ability to provide stakeholder satisfaction; and iii) ability to retain autonomy while managing external interactions (Fowler, 1998: 152). In discussion of NGO policy alliances (between grassroots, national and/or other NGOs), effectiveness and accountability are considered in terms of ability to influence policy change, and more implicitly, ability to strengthen grassroots organisations (Covey, 1998). Covey (1998) argues that these present considerable challenges to alliances, which often must make trade-offs between the two activities at various stages, due to limited resources. Thus, one of the most important considerations in evaluation is whether the alliance actively endeavours to both change policy and increase citizen participation (Covey, 1998). Four characteristics of alliance effectiveness pertain to these activities. Firstly, to achieve policy change, required elements include i) a coherent campaign strategy supported by adequate resources to influence decision-makers; ii) ability of the alliance to define the debate in a manner that enlists grassroots support and counters opposition forces. Secondly, to increase the capacity

of civil society, iii) a commitment to strengthening civil society and democracy is necessary; and iv) grassroots organisations must have considerable influence on the goals, structure, and strategies of the alliance (Covey, 1998). Proposed indicators of accountability include: access to shared resources, particularly information; divisions of responsibilities and roles (such as who the representatives and spokespeople are); and involvement in decision-making (Covey, 1998). A numerous and diverse membership is seen to render the measure of accountability more complex (Covey, 1998).

2.6.4 Collaborative Decision Making

Over the past decade collaborative decision-making and planning has become closely associated with ecosystem management, identified as an equivalent concept (Ascher, 2001; Margerum, 2001), and as a means to operationalise ecosystem management, through which groups can come together to make decisions on resource use and conservation (Cortner and Moote, 1994). Along with ecosystem management, collaborative processes are increasingly recognised as central to new integrated approaches to environmental management (Cortner and Moote, 1994; Paulson, 1998; Ascher, 2001; Margerum, 2001; Margerum, 2002). Collaboration involves bringing stakeholders (interested parties – including government agencies, the private sector, non governmental groups, and landowners among others) together to discuss issues of concern and work towards consensus (Michaels *et al*., 1999a; Margerum, 2002). Collaborative processes may take a variety of forms including informal information-sharing and mediated negotiations (Paulson, 1998). Some distinguish collaboration from cooperation, described as participants working independently to achieve a common goal (Margerum, 2002), while others define collaboration as a type of cooperative behaviour involving a high level of interaction and effort (Yaffee, 1998; BLM and SI, 2000).

Collaborative planning is becoming a favoured approach to deal with complex and controversial issues in environmental management and other sectors of society, which by nature involve a wide range of interests (Innes and Booher, 1999; Margerum, 2002). Two trends seen to influence this development are growing belief in the principles of ecosystem management, and increasing devolution of governance (Cortner and Moote, 1994; Michaels *et al*., 1999a). Collaborative efforts are a sensible choice for current governments that have

fewer available resources, and they increase the ability of non-governmental organisations to reach and work with a broader client or partner base (Michaels *et al*., 1999b). Collaborative approaches are seen as beneficial in a number of ways – by promoting more open communication than alternate political or legal means (Paulson, 1998); and as a method to address conflict where other efforts have been unsuccessful – these approaches are considered more likely to fulfil their objectives because participants have developed mutually agreeable goals (Innes and Booher, 1999; Margerum, 2002). They also provide a strategy to deal with changing societal conditions, arising from increased distribution of information and power across societies, which necessitates involvement of multiple interests (Innes and Booher, 1999).

Assessment of Collaborative Approaches

Assessing collaborative approaches may be considered important for a number of reasons – these initiatives are being increasingly applied as a critical component of ecosystem and environmental management efforts, and thus their degree of success warrants examination; and limited systematic assessment has been undertaken on the success of these initiatives and how they function (Innes and Booher, 1999; Leach and Pelkey, 2001; Schuett *et al*., 2001). This information is critical to allow stakeholder groups to set priorities and improve their practice (Leach and Pelkey, 2001; Margerum, 2002). Analysts have reviewed collaborative efforts from a number of directions, a common one being detailed studies of a single effort involving active participants, (Salamon *et al*., 1998). Others have attempted to derive lessons from series of cases (Yaffee, 1996; Paulson, 1998; Leach and Pelkey, 2001; Margerum, 2002), some concentrating on particular types of partnerships (Endicott, 1993; Thackway and Olsson, 1999), or how organisations interact with various partners. Reviewed here are several reviews and surveys that attempted to apply their findings to the question of what makes collaborative efforts work. These studies are reviewed to develop an understanding of factors contributing to the success of collaborative approaches, and factors perceived as obstacles. They are not specific to a type of organisation or approach, and include reviews and case studies focussed on partnerships and collaboration from watershed, bioregional and

community-based conservation perspectives, as well as information from handbooks derived from expert workshops compiling lessons for collaborative planning.

Factors contributing to Success of Collaborative Approaches

Numerous factors may contribute to the success of collaborative approaches, and isolating key elements does not lead to an easily applicable recipe (Schuett *et al*., 2001). Indeed, one review of studies on the effectiveness of watershed partnerships found so many factors identified to influence partnership success as to suggest that partnerships may be very heterogeneous in nature (Leach and Pelkey, 2001). However, these authors were able to group commonly identified factors under various themes, and evidence from other studies also suggests commonalties among collaborative efforts (Schuett *et al*., 2001; Margerum, 2002).

To address factors that contribute to the success of collaborative approaches, it is important to first consider the motivating factors or antecedents from which collaboration may develop (Selin and Chavez, 1995). Two fundamental motivations for collaborative action are argued to be capacity-driven participation and commitment-driven participation, which have different implications for the development and implementation of collaborative efforts (Michaels *et al*., 1999b). Capacity-driven participation arises where organisations or individuals require additional resources to achieve their goals, whereas commitment-driven participation is characterised by partners with interest and willingness to engage in an issue external to their organisation (Michaels *et al*., 1999b). These factors are complementary and are shaped by the context of the place in which they arise (Michaels *et al*., 1999b). Other forces important to the initiation of collaborative efforts may be distinguished as factors internal to the collaborating organisations and issues, and external factors that relate to the external context in which the organisations operate (Yaffee, 1998). Internal factors include a shared problem definition or understanding of a crisis (Waddock, 1989; Endicott, 1993; Yaffee, 1998); a common vision among stakeholders (Waddock, 1989; Endicott, 1993) or shared goals or sense of place (Yaffee, 1998); leaders or champions (Waddock, 1989; Whaley, 1993; Yaffee, 1998); lack of data (Bentrup, 2001); and existing structures and processes to support collaboration (Waddock, 1989; Yaffee, 1998). Conditions relating to the

external environment include opportunities, resources and incentives (Waddock, 1989;Yaffee, 1998); public pressure and technology (Yaffee, 1998); legal mandate or threat of regulations (Waddock, 1989; Bentrup, 2001); and intervention of an outside party as a mediator or instigator (Waddock, 1989).

Some authors distinguish different types of success in collaborative processes, one relating to outcomes of the process – the implementation of policies or plans and their actual impact on the environment and socioeconomic indices (Kenney *et al*., 2000; Leach and Pelkey, 2001). The second type, considered to be an intermediate form of success by many managers (Kenney *et al*., 2001) is building organisational capacity of the partnership, and less tangible aspects such as developing trust, resolving conflict and relationship building (Kenney *et al*., 2001; Leach and Pelkey, 2001). Factors described in most of the studies I reviewed seemed to fall under the second category, with an emphasis on the process of collaborating and the more intangible outcomes that arose. Important characteristics of the decision-making process were seen to be:

- the inclusion and participation of all stakeholders (including representatives of significantly different interests) (Endicott, 1993; McGinnis *et al*., 1999; Margerum, 2002);
- organisational support (financial and human resources, facilitation for meetings) (Penrose *et al*., 1998; Schuett *et al*., 2001; Margerum, 2002);
- commitment to the process and goals (Litke and Day, 1998; Penrose *et al*., 1998; McGinnis *et al*., 1999; Margerum, 2001);
- establishing shared goals or problem definition (BLM and SI, 2000; Grumbine, 1994; Margerum, 1999a; Margerum, 2002);
- clear terms of reference and a realistic scope (Penrose *et al*., 1998);
- information sharing (International handbook; Schuett *et al*., 2001); and
- building linkages within and beyond the community (BLM and SI, 2000; Schuett *et al*., 2001).

In terms of less tangible factors contributing to success in collaborative processes, improved communication among groups is widely perceived to be the most important benefit. Several studies noted this to be the case, emphasising interpersonal communication among participants in the process and between participants and those they represent (Paulson, 1998; Schuett *et al*., 2001). Interaction among participants has been described as the “energy” that

perpetuates implementation in collaborative planning (Margerum, 2002). Similarly, others described the process of planning as a positive activity that can build new "social capital" and foster more planning (Salamon *et al*., 1998). Development of social capital (established relationships and trust) should occur within the larger community as well as among stakeholders in the collaborative process (Innes and Booher, 1999). Other researchers found trust and development of social networks and relationships to be critical to collaborative planning (Salamon *et al*., 1998; McGinnis *et al*., 1999), while some noted the long-term importance of learning and change as outcomes of planning (Innes and Booher, 1999). Adopting an understanding and strong commitment to nature and society in the form of a "watershed consciousness" is considered by some to be a critical part of establishing long-term collaborative management (McGinnis *et al*., 1999 quoting Snyder). This has also been described as a land ethic which embraces the inherent ecological qualities and services of an area (Thackway and Olsson, 1999).

Barriers to Collaborative Approaches to Ecosystem Management

Barriers to collaborative approaches arise from the mix of jurisdictions, governing authorities and responsibilities involved in integrated and collaborative management. Overlapping authority among private landowners, various levels of government and others involved in land management at a regional level presents a challenge for collaborative management, as groups may have different priorities and may lack experience in collaboration (Cortner and Moote, 1994). Not surprisingly, the majority of barriers discussed in the studies reviewed were institutional in nature. Integrated management is not a straightforward or easy task and many argue it requires fundamental institutional changes (Cortner and Moote, 1994; Brussard *et al*., 1998; Cortner *et al*., 1998). Ecosystem management suggests that institutions must be more like the systems they attempt to manage – adaptive and complex rather than inflexible and hierarchical (Holling, 1996; Cortner *et al*., 1998). Institutional culture is often perceived as a critical barrier to collaborative management, where many large organisations and agencies are characterised by inflexible bureaucratic structures that do not respond quickly to change or innovation (Selin and Chavez, 1995; Margerum, 2001). Large and unwieldy institutional structures can make it difficult to implement agreed upon changes in policies, plans and

activities arising from the collaborative process, which is interpreted as a lack of commitment to the process, often cited as a prominent barrier to implementation (Margerum, 1999b; Margerum, 2001). Participant commitment is also influenced by disparities in power and resources among stakeholders which can result in disadvantages for some groups (Margerum, 1999b; Margerum, 2001). Collaboration in turn may be undermined by the choice of stakeholders to pursue litigation or other options rather than concentrating on efforts to reach a compromise (Selin and Chavez, 1995; Margerum, 1999b).

A more subtle obstacle or challenge relates to the form institutional changes should take. Ideals of decentralised, community level management and government arrangements run counter to proposals for umbrella organisations and federal legislation to promote interagency coordination (Cortner and Moote, 1994). Repeated arguments support the notion that ecosystem management should follow the principal of subsidiarity – to be focussed at the lowest level it can effectively be dealt with, often the community level (McGinnis, 1999b; Agrawal and Gibson, 2001). Other researchers propose integration of small scale management efforts through umbrella organisations, or legislative requirements (Reidel and Richardson, 1992; Cortner and Moote, 1994). However, as Cortner and Moote (1994) point out, adding another level of governance or increasing federal involvement conflicts with preferred decentralised approaches to management. In any event, collaborative ecosystem management will continue to face difficulties in implementation if a sectoral approach to management continues to be employed (Cortner and Moote, 1994).

In addition to institutional structures, interpersonal relations can play a significant role in inhibiting collaborative processes. Past histories of confrontational interaction between organisations can negatively influence the ability of groups to work together to achieve compromise (Selin and Chavez, 1995). Trust is perceived to be an important issue, particularly between the public and governmental agencies where it has been diminished in the past and its absence may serve to discourage involvement in a collaborative approach (Cortner *et al.*, 1998; Szaro *et al*., 1998a). Poor relations between scientists, managers and the public present a considerable barrier to collaboration for ecosystem management (Szaro *et al*., 1998a). Building trust between groups requires active public involvement in decision-making beyond token efforts at acquiring public participation, to build public support for ecosystem management, which is seen to be influential to its adoption and success (Cortner *et al*., 1998).

Stakeholder groups often fail to adequately involve and communicate with the public throughout the process (Margerum, 1999b). Support for the process is also based on the origins of the ecosystem management effort, and to what extent the local area initiated, is committed to and has a sense of ownership of the process. Research on watershed initiatives found a lack of a sense of community to be possibly one of the biggest obstacles to these efforts over the long-term (McGinnis *et al*., 1999). This emphasises the need for collaborative approaches to be place-based and adapted to specific local situations.

Building understanding and support for a collaborative process is also very important at the organisational level. How an organisation perceives a problem and its relevance to their own activities influences their participation in a collaborative process (Margerum, 2001). Further impediments to implementation include the ability of stakeholder groups to develop a strategic direction for the process (Margerum, 2001). A review of case studies from the U.S. and Australia found the most common difficulty of collaborative approaches to be failure to determine priorities and define particular actions (Margerum, 2001). Desire to achieve consensus and gain widespread support can conflict with prioritising concerns to develop a strategic plan (Margerum, 2001).

These extensive challenges related to institutional, interpersonal, and inter-organisational dealings make it clear that people are at the heart of undertaking ecosystem management (Szaro *et al*., 1998a). Some researchers argue that the principal reasons for success or failure of collaborative ecosystem approaches result from the processes of decision-making and difficulties of people working together, as well as the manner in which concerns have been represented, rather than from the substance of the issues themselves (Chrislip and Larson, 1994; McGinnis *et al*., 1999). Other research has noted the considerable difficulties groups encounter in trying to deal with conflicting values and interests, finding that considerable faith was placed on collaborative management structures, when in fact effective processes have still to be developed to more consistently achieve desired outcomes (Paulson, 1998). The historical situation in which management takes place has also been argued to be of greater importance to successful implementation than design of the collaborative approach (Walther, 1987). This further illustrates the importance of tailoring collaborative approaches to the specific place in which they are based, noting that in

some cases where deep-rooted conflict, or opposing political structures exist, collaboration may not be the best option (Walther, 1987; Paulson, 1998; Wondolleck and Yaffee, 2000).

2.7 Regional Conservation Planning – A Synthesis

Planning for nature conservation on a regional scale involves incorporating a variety of elements on the landscape – these include settled areas, human-modified landscapes and more pristine wilderness areas. Applying conservation efforts across these diverse areas means incorporating different goals and values, to integrate conservation and development. Community viability and ecological integrity are thus both considered important goals to achieve conservation. As such, varied information sources are required, from areas of community development and sociology as well as natural science research. Information must also to be collected at the regional or ecosystem level as it is often not undertaken or compiled at this level.

Planning at larger scales of time and space (through long-term regional planning) is useful to allow people to see beyond the immediacy of their own concerns, to develop an understanding of connections between actions and impacts on the landscape. An effective means to do so is through planning on progressively larger scales starting from a place or home-based perspective. Regional conservation involves taking a flexible and adaptive approach to management, which means a focus on learning, important because there are no established models or blueprints to follow. This is particularly important because of the variety of views and interests that must be considered to put regional conservation planning into practice. To undertake this requires bringing together diverse stakeholders to work collaboratively to manage actions and impacts on the system. Initiating and implementing these efforts also requires public support and cooperation between different levels of government, as well as among government and private sector groups.

2.8 Criteria for Assessing Regional Conservation Planning Processes

Synthesising some of the main themes of regional conservation planning in this chapter leads to development of criteria for assessment. Ecological criteria have been devised

for assessing large landscape corridors (Noss, 1992) but little information exists about examining such regional conservation from a social science perspective. An attempt has been made here to develop criteria to address the context and collaborative processes necessary to undertake conservation planning at a regional scale. These criteria provide a starting point for examining these new and evolving conservation efforts. As such, the criteria do not focus on long-term changes in ecological integrity or community viability (well-being, cultural sustainability, participation in local affairs), rather they emphasise measures of capacity building and potential for successful processes and implementation. Elements discussed in the literature review such as the role of science and values in conservation planning serve to inform the context of management in which these criteria may be applied and interpreted, and they present factors that must be addressed for successful planning.

Criteria below are grouped under the headings of Context, Building Organisational Capacity for Collaborative Processes, Planning, Resources, and Implementation. Consideration of context emphasises the importance of place-specific information and factors that may influence planning efforts, more so in some cases than processes internal to planning. The list of factors that support undertaking a collaborative process highlights a number of possible factors. Not all factors must be present for regional collaboration to occur. Criteria important to building organisational capacity for collaborative processes include those discussed in the literature as significant for trust and relationship building within decision-making processes. Resources refer more directly to financial support and information needs that are not represented within other components of organisational capacity. Criteria grouped under headings of planning and implementation pertain to later stages in the collaborative process, where processes have taken shape and interactions and outputs need to be managed in a more systematic way. These criteria relate to goal and long-term achievement of the collaborative conservation effort.

Context

- Approach should address diverse landscape elements, such as human-modified and settled landscapes as well as wilderness and protected areas
- Approach is regional in that it integrates local and regional scales and works across established jurisdictional boundaries, and is comprehensive in that it addresses interconnected social, economic and ecological goals

- Good documentation and understanding of biophysical, socioeconomic and political characteristics of the area, including land use history, natural and cultural heritage and current state of the region;
- Identification of key agencies, actors and interest groups and their values and concerns;
- Identification of established processes of interaction, communication and decision-making regarding nature conservation in the region
- Presence of factors that support undertaking a collaborative process:
  - Common vision
  - Shared problem definition or understanding of a crisis
  - Support in the form of leaders or champions
  - Existing structures and processes to support collaboration
  - Incentives for stakeholders to collaborate
  - Public pressure or interest
  - Legal mandate or threat of regulations

Building Organisational Capacity for Collaborative Processes

- Established common problem definition or shared task
- Well-defined goals and objectives
- Clear terms of reference and a realistic scope, including clearly defined responsibilities and accountabilities of participants
- Widespread public support
- Early public involvement and participation
- Demonstrated commitment of decision-makers and other participants to the process and goals (such as financial and staff support, facilitation for meetings)
- Inclusion and participation of all stakeholders
- Established linkages within and beyond the community or area of study
- Improved cross-sector communication and collaboration
- Increased understanding, knowledge and commitment to nature conservation of participants and wider community

Planning

- Assessment of information gaps and compilation of information across the region
- Identification of key concepts and organisational and planning approaches
- Demonstrated commitment to monitoring and adaptive management
- Assigned roles and tasks for stakeholders
- Decision-making process formalised and evaluable

Resources

- Wide availability of information
- Sufficient funds for project operation and to enable participation by participants
- Demonstrated potential for sustaining resources, agency and volunteer efforts and technical expertise over the long term

Implementation

- Extent to which goals, vision and objectives are being adopted and put into practice by different actor groups
- Extent to which relationship building is occurring
- Raised political and collective will in support of initiative
- Funding program established for long term program operation
- Experimental approaches developed for monitoring and adaptive management
- Clearly defined deliverables and products
- Implementation strategies developed

2.9 Chapter Summary

This chapter provided context for this study of the role of large landscape corridor initiatives in regional conservation planning, by introducing concepts of ecosystem management and collaborative decision making, along with briefly outlining the roles of natural science, social influences and non-governmental organisations. Ecosystem management and collaborative planning are considered to be new paradigms in natural resources management and as such they continue to evolve. Ecosystem management involves working at a scale that corresponds with ecosystem boundaries rather than one based on political jurisdictions. Different facets of this approach include bioregionalism, community-based conservation and stewardship efforts. Each of these concepts implies a participatory and collaborative approach to management to better involve the community of interest and build support for implementation. This chapter concluded with a set of criteria proposed for assessment of large scale regional planning efforts. These were geared to assessing capacity and potential for successful collaborative processes and implementation, to account for the new and evolving nature of regional conservation. The following chapter presents the methodology used in this study to apply these criteria and answer the research problem.

Chapter 3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the research design employed to investigate the strengths and limitations of the Y2Y initiative in terms of its contributions to regional conservation planning. This chapter outlines the exploratory and descriptive approach to this research, and describes the steps involved in gathering the variety of sources of information. Processes of data management and analysis are discussed to provide a basis for interpreting research findings presented in the following chapters. Furthermore, the motivation that prompted this research is put forward to provide some insight into the interests of the researcher in this study.

3.2 Motivation of Researcher

My motivation for conducting this research was to explore new possibilities in integrated environmental conservation, to see how environmental conservation can be undertaken on a wider and more immediate scale than by applying the traditional management approach of setting aside parks and protected areas. I considered an immediate scale not just in terms of achieving conservation results, but in building direct connections to communities, people and their lifestyles. My initial interest was in getting a sense of how conservation efforts may be better integrated with development and other land use activities, and accorded priority as a necessary means to support community well-being. Specifically this translated into assessing whether the Y2Y initiative offered a truly integrated regional approach, how it was understood to be operating, and how much of an impact it was having on the broad community of conservation practitioners and affiliates (including those not specifically involved in the initiative).

In terms of conceptualising an outcome of this research, I was interested in bringing perspectives of diverse and sometimes less commonly addressed actors to the discussion of regional conservation planning. Thus, I sought to interview individuals representing a variety of organisations including those not typically considered environmental proponents, who

nevertheless influence implementation of conservation efforts, such as business and economic development interests and outdoor recreation groups. I wanted to get a sense of how the Y2Y initiative was understood on the ground by both environmental advocates and others associated with conservation planning. Thus, the emphasis in this study was on achieving a breadth of viewpoints to provide a basis for contrast, rather than on obtaining more in-depth information on particular sectors. Likewise, this study explored the understandings and function of the Y2Y initiative as a whole, and did not concentrate on any particular aspect, such as communication, or organisational structure. Research findings were conceived with a prescriptive component in mind, to identify perceived sources of difficulties for this initiative and areas that needed to be addressed by Y2Y (the organisation and the network) in order to advance goals of regional conservation planning. As such, the research had a pragmatic purpose to provide findings and discussion useful for the Y2Y network and affiliates, and others interested in the Y2Y approach and applying regional conservation planning efforts in their own area.

3.3 Research Design

As noted in the thesis introduction, large landscape corridor initiatives are a relatively new development in the conservation field, and little research has been undertaken to examine the role of these initiatives in regional conservation planning. As a result this research required an exploratory design, to address the "what" question – as an example of a large landscape corridor initiative, what is Y2Y understood to be? Exploration of this topic required reviewing a range of literature on protected area management, perspectives of conservation, public participation, ecosystem management approaches, advocacy, non-governmental organisations and collaborative planning to provide context for assessing Y2Y. This exploration led to a further line of questioning, to address the "how" question – how Y2Y is seen to operate, identified by means of its perceived successes, challenges, progress, and priorities. Thus, this research incorporated aspects of both exploratory and descriptive designs (outlined in Table 1 below) for the purposes of conceptualisation and increasing breadth of understanding. This study further expanded on these research goals by moving from description and clarification of the initiative, towards a more prescriptive perspective to

consider how to improve the initiative's efforts. This perspective was developed in a similar process to the path described by Nelson (1991) as a "descriptive to prescriptive spectrum", in which analysis, evaluation, interpretation and synthesis are intermediate steps.

Table 1 Goals of Exploratory and Descriptive Research

Exploratory Research	Descriptive Research
▪ Become familiar with basic facts, people, and concerns involved ▪ Develop a well-grounded mental picture of what is occurring ▪ Generate many ideas and develop tentative theories and conjectures ▪ Determine the feasibility of doing additional research ▪ Formulate questions and refine issues for more systematic inquiry ▪ Develop techniques and a sense of direction for future research	▪ Provide an accurate profile of a group ▪ Describe a process, mechanism, or relationship ▪ Give a verbal or numerical picture (e.g. percentages) ▪ Find information to stimulate new explanations ▪ Present basic background information or a context ▪ Create a set of categories or classify types ▪ Clarify a sequence, set of stages, or steps ▪ Document information that contradicts prior beliefs about a subject

(Source, Neuman 1997)

This research was undertaken in an iterative, and interactive and adaptive manner (Nelson, 1991), where the research context was constantly scoped and refined to a more definable format throughout the course of the study. Input and feedback were sought from diverse sources at many points in the study. Academic advisors and experts in fields of geography, environmental studies and planning were consulted along with members of the Y2Y staff and other individuals knowledgeable in this area. This allowed me to explore different perspectives, which influenced the conduct of my research and my interpretation of events. By using the snowball sampling method interview participants contributed to the research by providing suggestions for further interviewees, which assisted in introducing me to participants (including diverse local actors) I might not otherwise have made contact with (organisation types represented by interviewees are listed in Section 3.5). During my field research in Canmore and Crowsnest Pass, Alberta (my two study areas) I made an effort to take part in relevant workshops and public meetings that arose, to get a better understanding of the local context of conservation activities and public opinion. These exercises helped

make clear to me some of the practical realities of public participation and other processes often described more theoretically in the literature. The constant refining of ideas that characterised the research process was a necessary means to bring frequently complex, interrelated and dynamic areas of study into a manageable and clearly represented focus.

To complement the exploratory and descriptive research design the study incorporated two approaches discussed below: i) a Qualitative approach, and ii) a Case study research strategy.

i) *Qualitative approach*

My thinking on this area of research was guided by the principles of ecosystem management – a holistic approach to nature conservation, which includes human use and impacts on the landscape. Also, at the time of this study the Y2Y initiative was at too early a stage for assessment of ecological impacts. The initiative was approximately in its fifth year of operation, and had not directed significant efforts to creating change in direct land use and protection. Therefore, I approached the study from a social science perspective, to gain an understanding of how this type of conservation initiative might be interpreted in relation to political and socioeconomic influences encountered by those involved in conservation planning efforts. A qualitative research approach lends itself to an exploratory research design because unlike quantitative styles it is not based on testing a specific hypothesis or applying a standard set of measures, but is open to developing new ideas and understanding and employing a range of methods (Neuman, 1997).

Differences in the assumptions behind qualitative and quantitative research are described in Table 2 below from Creswell (1994). Aspects of qualitative research that were particularly important to this study included the understanding that there is not one objective reality that can be discovered by the researcher. Instead, this research looked for differences in understanding of the Y2Y initiative among participants. This study followed an inductive process, wherein themes for analysis and theories were developed during the research process. Furthermore, this research was "context-bound" in that there was no control for variables in the study (as in much quantitative research) but the context provided a rich basis for understanding and development of patterns and theories.

Table 2 Quantitative and Qualitative Paradigm Assumptions

Assumption	Question	Quantitative	Qualitative
Ontological Assumption	What is the nature of reality?	Reality is objective and singular, apart from the researcher.	Reality is subjective and multiple as seen by participants in a study.
Epistemological Assumption	What is the relationship of the researcher to that researched?	Researcher is independent from that being researched.	Researcher interacts with that being researched.
Axiological Assumption	What is the role of values?	Value-free and unbiased.	Value-laden and biased.
Rhetorical Assumption	What is the language of research?	Formal Based on set definitions Impersonal voice Use of accepted quantitative words	Informal Evolving decisions Personal voice Accepted qualitative words
Methodological Assumption	What is the process of research?	Deductive process Cause and effect Static design – categories isolated before study Context-free Generalisations leading to prediction, explanation, and understanding Accurate and reliable through validity and reliability	Inductive process Mutual simultaneous shaping of factors Emerging design – categories identified during research process Context-bound Patterns, theories developed for understanding Accurate and reliable through verification

(Source: Creswell, 1994:5)

ii) *Case Study Research*

Case studies are closely associated with qualitative research, as the latter primarily attempts to develop concepts using in-depth, detailed knowledge of case examples (Neuman, 1997 quoting Ragin, 1994). Case studies in the qualitative style of research are "an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a single instance, phenomenon or social unit" (Merriam, 1991:16). This approach is particularly useful for situations where the boundaries between the phenomenon and the context are not clearly discernible (Yin, 1994). This assessment of Y2Y was very much embedded in the context of conservation activity and the broad

community of conservation interest. As such this involved considering multiple sources of influence and evidence, which was facilitated through use of a case study approach.

In the case of Y2Y, the focus of this study was further reduced to concentrate on two communities located within the corridor in Alberta. Due to time and financial constraints I was not able to interview candidates from across the Y2Y region. Canmore and Crowsnest Pass were chosen to provide a comparative view of the initiative within Alberta, with implications for other communities in the province. These communities were initially suggested as a basis for comparative study in discussion with a Y2Y representative at the start of the study. They were seen to present an interesting comparison between a gateway community (Canmore) and one outside of a park context (Crowsnest Pass). This contrast was selected to provide a greater degree of representation of potential community conditions within the Y2Y region, at least within the Alberta context. These communities are important areas for potential implementation of the Y2Y initiative as they are both located in ecologically significant areas that are considered "pinch points" in terms of the connectivity of wildlife habitat north-south across the Y2Y region. Development pressures threaten the ecological viability of both Canmore and the Crowsnest Pass. More detailed background on both communities is provided in Chapter 4. It should be noted that the findings of this study must be firstly interpreted in the context of Canmore and Crowsnest Pass, particularly as there may be very different conditions and perceptions of Y2Y in the U.S., British Columbia and the Yukon.

These communities and their surrounding areas were seen as a useful level for analysis for several reasons. Just as the assessment of Y2Y provides a basis from which to interpret other landscape corridor initiatives, the assessment at the community level provides a means to connect actions at the local level to larger scale processes. Further to the discussion of regional conservation planning and the community as a focus for resource management, communities provide a logical focus for interpretation of Y2Y, to provide insight into the linkage between local and regional activities and understanding. The local community level is where implementation of the Y2Y initiative will ultimately take place.

3.4 Conceptual Framework

As noted above, this study employed an iterative, interactive and adaptive research design. Thus, each stage of research and information gathering informed other stages and contributed to refining the scope of the study. Review of the literature provided criteria for interpretation of interview results and for document analysis. Findings from the analyses in turn suggested important requirements and potential criteria for further interpretation of Y2Y and similar conservation initiatives.

Multiple sources of evidence were employed in this study in an effort to triangulate. Triangulation is described as a means to increase the validity of findings, through use of multiple sources of data, multiple methods, or multiple investigators to corroborate a fact or finding (Yin, 1994). However, triangulation was employed in this study with the awareness that it does not necessarily lead to one identifiable "fact" or "single reality" but instead can be used to gain a more complete or comprehensive understanding through interpretation of different sources of information. Of central importance to this study was the belief that a variety of perspectives must be addressed in order to undertake the complex and multi-faceted task of nature conservation. This was supported by a qualitative research approach, which emphasises different ways of knowing and different constructions of reality (Palys, 1997). For this study the purpose was to develop a greater understanding of the Y2Y initiative and the diverse perspectives that influence its function in the context of conservation planning. The main components of triangulation used were the review of literature, a series of 53 semi-structured interviews, and document analysis. These processes of information gathering were complemented by casual informal observation through participation in meetings and public consultation processes, which helped inform my personal understanding of issues in the communities. Further information on the processes of information gathering is presented in the following section.

3.5 Information Gathering

This study examined the Y2Y initiative over the year 2001, with supplementary information over 2002. Processes of information gathering used in this study included:

i) Literature review
ii) Semi-structured interviews
iii) Document analysis
iv) Informal Observation

i) Literature Review

The literature review was organised to take into account the interdisciplinary nature of the research problem. To develop an understanding of regional conservation planning processes and criteria for assessment it was necessary to draw from a variety of literature, to outline factors that have influenced the evolution of conservation planning at a regional scale. Areas of examination included conservation theory, environmental management theory, natural and social science dimensions of conservation planning, lessons from collaborative planning, as well as the rise of non-governmental organisations in dealing with environmental issues. Literature was obtained from extensive searches in a variety of peer-reviewed journals, in addition to central texts and information available on the Internet that was published by well-known agencies.

ii) Semi-structured interviews

The exploratory approach of this research was well suited to using interviews as a key component of the study. The Y2Y initiative is not a formally established entity (through legislation or similar agreements), no formal plan has been formed for the initiative, and it is in the process of growth and development. Therefore, it was important to speak in person with participants involved in and affiliated with the initiative, applying a flexible approach to interviewing to explore understandings of the initiative.

Semi-structured, face-to-face interviews were conducted with the majority of interviewees, while telephone interviews were conducted with a few participants with whom a mutually agreeable time and meeting place could not be arranged. Interviews followed the interview guide (Appendix II), which was constructed to address goals of a preliminary

assessment, based on example questions from several studies that incorporated some aspects of assessment (including a Master's thesis; Quon, 1997, and a PhD dissertation; Parto, 2002) and input from individuals knowledgeable in program assessment. The interview guide was adapted during the interview period to suit interviewee knowledge of the initiative and the time available. Many interviews in the Crowsnest Pass differed from those in Canmore in that they did not address questions of progress of the initiative, for many interviewees were not as familiar with Y2Y.

In total, 53 interviews ranging from a half-hour to over two hours in length were conducted with 57 individuals directly and indirectly involved in conservation planning efforts in the two communities and the surrounding areas. Twenty-seven individuals were from the Crowsnest Pass area and 23 were from the Canmore region, while seven individuals represented agencies external to both locations, operating in the broader provincial context. In both locations interview candidates were drawn from all three levels of government, wilderness-advocate, conservation, land conservation, naturalist, and community stewardship non-governmental organisations, local tourism, media, business and economic development agencies, outdoor recreation groups, independent observers and informed community members, and in Canmore from the Y2Y organisation. External agencies represented in interviews included academia, the federal government, and conservation and public policy non-governmental organisations. A full list of the respondent affiliations is presented in Appendix III. Interviewees were identified through "snowball sampling" (Palys, 1997) – using suggestions of original interview participants to contact additional candidates. Candidates were sought from organisations directly involved in conservation planning activities (locally and regionally) and individuals were sought who could offer a perspective as a representative of an interested party.

Interviews were conducted in two time periods, the first 16 in Canmore and Calgary from June 25 – July 9, 2001, and the remainder of the interviews from November 18 – December 21, 2001 in Crowsnest Pass, Canmore and Calgary. Two interviews were conducted by telephone in February 2002, and two follow-up fact-checking interviews with a Y2Y representative were conducted by telephone in April and June 2003. The initial visit was undertaken as a reconnaissance trip to assess the potential of this research and it was used to collect data and develop contacts within the community of Canmore. Upon return to

Waterloo findings from this trip were discussed with my advisory committee and it was agreed to continue with the study, to conduct further interviews in Canmore and the community of Crowsnest Pass. Upon my return visit effort was made to obtain interviews where possible from comparable organisations and stakeholder perspectives in both communities.

iii) Document Analysis

Documents are an important part of data collection in most case studies, as they provide an unobtrusive means of corroborating and augmenting evidence gained from other sources (Yin, 1994). Interpreting this data requires an ability to look at the research problem from a number of perspectives and pose different questions related to the problem (Merriam, 1991). In this study, themes and questions examined through the use of documents concentrated on those that emerged from the analysis of interview findings. Themes examined also included various assessment criteria (see Chapter 2) regarding the context, terms of reference and scope of the initiative, and information on the history and development of the initiative (both the organisation and network). Additionally, more exploratory questions were posed to obtain a greater depth of understanding of the initiative. These included examining documents to ascertain what the purpose or framework of Y2Y was proposed to be, what the focus of research (data collection and analysis) and reporting of the initiative had been, and what audience the message had been geared to.

Documents were collected for this study during both research periods, through visits and communication with the Y2Y office, as well as from various interviewees and through the Y2Y website. Document searches were conducted through the literature database at the Biosphere Institute for the Bow Valley in Canmore, and local library and municipal offices in both communities. Documents included Y2Y publications, and reports and articles on the initiative. Items collected and reviewed were limited to what I had access to within the Y2Y organisation and what I was able to obtain primarily during both research visits, as well as through the Y2Y website over the course of the study. In total 39 documents were used, covering the time period from 1996 to early 2003. Documents from the latter part of 2002 and from 2003 were primarily used to provide information on where the initiative is headed,

to give perspective to prescriptive suggestions for the initiative. Material from the Y2Y website was in most cases verified in 2003 to ensure that the information had not been updated or removed, thus the information was referenced from 2003.

Y2Y documentation reviewed in this study included publications about the program (conference proceedings, website information, brochure, newsletters, *Sense of Place* Atlas); internal documents (Strategic Plan); project reviews (reports prepared for funders 1996 and 1999); and publications ("The New Challenge: People, Commerce and the Environment in the Yellowstone to Yukon region", "Bringing Conservation Home: Caring for Land, Economies and Communities in Western Canada"). The reviews of the Y2Y initiative conducted for funding agencies offered field assessments of the initiative from across the entire region, which provided a useful comparison and additional perspectives for my study. Other reviewed documentation included articles and statements from sources external to the initiative (see Appendix IV for the complete list of documents).

iv) Informal Observation

Over the course of my two visits to Alberta for this research (the first for 2.5 weeks from June to July, 2001 and the second for three months from September to December, 2001), I had the opportunity to develop a greater understanding of environmental management in Canmore (where I was based) and in Alberta in relation to Y2Y. My insights into this research benefited from the climate of active public discourse and participation, particularly in Canmore. I made an effort to take part in a number of different workshops and public meetings related to environmental issues that arose during my periods of field research. In my first visit to Canmore I attended a public meeting of the Mountain Bike Alliance of Canmore, which hosted recreationalists, developers and environmentalists, among others. During my second visit to Canmore I was employed part-time at a resource centre for an environmentally-focussed non-governmental organisation (the Biosphere Institute for the Bow Valley), where I had exposure to different environmental issues facing the community, as well as access to a great deal of related reference material on the Bow Valley. This position allowed me to become aware of and participate in a variety of activities in the community.

In Canmore as well as Crowsnest Pass I attended public meetings and workshops – dealing with land transfer agreements for ranchers in the Pincher Creek area, residential and commercial development in Canmore, human use management in Banff National Park, local naturalist club meetings in Banff, as well as an annual meeting for the Y2Y initiative in Nelson B.C. Attending meetings and listening to local guest speakers, and participating in public participation processes in Canmore gave me a first hand understanding of the practical considerations involved in obtaining public feedback, and gave me a sense of some public opinion and controversies in the communities. Furthermore, I have been a member of the Y2Y initiative's email listserv since approximately July 2001. Being part of the Y2Y listserv has enabled me to informally keep abreast of different events and associated conservation efforts, topics of debate and diversity of viewpoints. These above activities did not formally enter into my research analysis, but have contributed to my overall understanding and appreciation of the complexity of the issues that comprise the Y2Y initiative.

3.6 Data Management and Analysis

3.6.1 Interview Transcription

Hand written notes were taken throughout each interview. During the second set of interviews a brief research account or diary was written on a regular basis to make note of key impressions from interviews, follow-up ideas and to augment information recorded during the interview. After completion of interviews, an assistant and I transcribed the notes into electronic format. For verification purposes and to ensure important information was not missed, most interviews were tape-recorded (provided that the participant agreed to be recorded and circumstances (such as background noise) permitted adequate taping). Notes were made in the margin to indicate where the tape might be referred to. In cases where insufficient notes had been recorded (primarily early on in the interview process) interview tapes were reviewed and information was added to the original notes (following a modified "interview log" procedure as described by Merriam, 1991; where only the main points of the interview are transcribed verbatim).

3.6.2 Analysis

In this study the focus of the analysis was not that of a formal program evaluation, based on determining whether the goals and objectives of the program are being achieved, or evaluating a specific plan or piece of policy. Instead, this assessment could be better described as a preliminary analysis of the Y2Y initiative, in relation to criteria of regional conservation planning.

QSR Nudist Vivo (version 1.3) textual analysis software was used as a tool to manage the data from the 53 interviews, to enable the coding and grouping of information into a number of "Nodes" or data categories for analysis. Data categories emerged using an inductive process, where "patterns, themes and categories of analysis come from the data; they emerge out of the data rather than being imposed on them prior to data collection and analysis" (Patton, 1990: 390). The literature review (Chapter 2) was used as a basis to identify theme categories within interview data. This identification process was iterative in nature, wherein themes were identified and in some cases categories were combined where similar ideas were represented. In total 35 theme categories were identified and divided under six major theme headings. These findings are presented in Chapter 5.

Documents were reviewed using the same theme categories identified in the interview analysis. Documents were examined to determine the extent to which they corroborated or provided further insight into the interview findings. This data is presented in conjunction with the interview findings in the chapters listed above. Following the analysis of the interviews and documents using themes that emerged through induction, these findings were compared in Chapter 6 against the criteria developed for assessing regional conservation planning from the literature review in Chapter 2.

3.7 Ethics

This study followed the guidelines for ethical conduct of research with humans laid out by the University of Waterloo Office of Research Ethics. Participants were contacted either by telephone or by email with information describing my study, request for their involvement, and the extent of the commitment required on their part. These points were

reviewed again with the participant at the start of the interview and consent to take part in the research was formally obtained through signing a consent form. Participants were assured responses would be confidential, and were made aware of future access to the study results through on-line posting of the thesis and distribution of an executive summary report to participants upon completion of the study. (Samples of interviewee contact and information letters are provided in Appendix V).

3.8 Chapter Summary

This chapter described the components of research design, outlining the exploratory and descriptive research approach and the iterative, interactive and adaptive nature of the research, which evolved through an ongoing process of refining research ideas. Information for this study was collected from three main sources – a literature review, semi-structured interviews, and document analysis. Processes of data management and qualitative analysis were also described. The following chapter presents more detailed information on the two communities that formed the basis of assessment in this study, Canmore and Crowsnest Pass, Alberta. Data analysis is presented in Chapter 5.

Chapter 4 INTERPRETING THE COMMUNITY CONTEXTS OF CANMORE AND CROWSNEST PASS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the two case study communities of Canmore and Crowsnest Pass, and provides an overview of their history, human demographics, ecological importance, and community environmental concerns and responses. A brief description of the political and environmental management context of Alberta is given at the start of the chapter to provide an understanding of the provincial context in which the communities are situated. This chapter's role in this study is to provide a basis for interpreting findings on the Y2Y initiative, how they may be generalised to other local contexts in the Y2Y region, and how that context affects the communities and Y2Y.

4.2 The Political and Environmental Management Context of Alberta

In order to discuss environmental history and activities in the communities of Canmore and the Crowsnest Pass, it is necessary to first provide some background on the political and environmental management context of the province of Alberta. Alberta has a rather unique political history in relation to the rest of Canada, in that it has experienced only three changes in government since becoming a province in 1905. The current Progressive Conservative Party has been in power for over 30 years. The government has long been closely affiliated with the resource industry sector, to the extent that they are considered mutually reinforcing entities in the province (Timoney and Lee, 2001). Government environmental management policies have a significant impact in Alberta, as over 60% of the province is public land. Despite being a wealthy, resource-rich province with a low population density, Alberta does not have a good record of environmental management and protection. Provincially, integrated resource management (IRM) has formed the focus of land use planning. While this management policy espouses the need to address both economic and long-term ecological needs, this intent has not fully translated into practice, or even subsequent policy. For example, the Alberta Forest Legacy states that "economic instruments can provide a better

mechanism for forest conservation than a more regulatory approach" (Alberta Environmental Protection, 2001:3). Yet the reliance on economic development as a basis to support environmental protection has not proven to be effective in Alberta (Timoney and Lee, 2001).

Research indicates that cumulative impacts of oil and gas exploration and development, increased logging rates and associated transportation corridors have potential negative impacts on habitat availability for wildlife and viability of at risk species (James and Stuart-Smith, 2000; Dyer *et al*., 2001; Gibeau *et al*., 2002). In terms of impact on resource industries, some studies have predicted that the forest industry may collapse in some areas of the province, without reduction of disturbance rates (Timoney and Lee, 2001). The Alberta government has not taken great strides to introduce safeguards to offset resource exploitation. Resource development activities continue to be permitted within many provincial protected areas, including newly established ones. In response to the World Wildlife Fund's Endangered Spaces Campaign (to which they were the last signatory in Canada), the province of Alberta established the Special Places program in 1995, to complete a network of protected areas representative of the variety of provincial ecosystems (Francis, 1997). The goals of the program were to "balance the preservation of Alberta's natural heritage with three other cornerstone goals: heritage appreciation, outdoor recreation, and tourism/economic development", employing a multi-stakeholder approach with public consultation (Government of Alberta, 2001:1). However, despite the designation of 81 sites (nearly 2 million hectares) touted by the government, the process was considered unsuccessful by mainstream conservation groups and biologists, and widely viewed as a failure (Francis, 1997; Timoney and Lee, 2001). The process was believed to be dictated by political concerns and invalidated by the commitment to pre-existing land use dispositions and inconsistencies in decision-making processes at the local level (Francis, 1997). On the national front, the Alberta government recently waged strong opposition to the federal government's plan to ratify the Kyoto Protocol on Climate Change in 2002. The current conservative government led by Ralph Klein has also been responsible for devolving responsibilities to lower levels of government, a practice that often creates more environmental management problems when sufficient resources and the capacity to carry out tasks is lacking at these levels (Canadian Institute for Environmental Law and Policy).

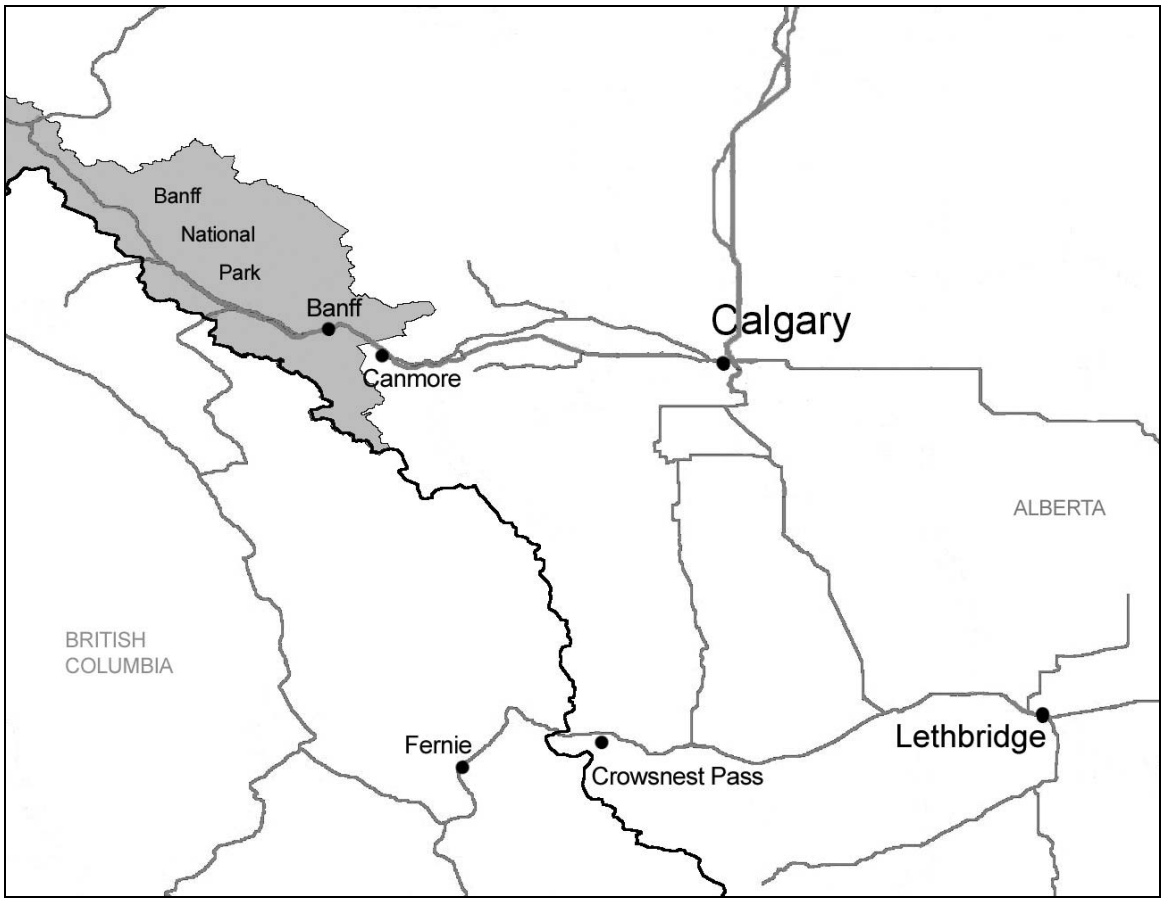

Figure 2 Canmore and Crowsnest Pass, Alberta

4.3 The Community of Canmore, Alberta

Canmore is a small mountain community situated in the Canadian Rocky Mountains, adjacent to the gates of Banff National Park. It lies in the Bow Valley Corridor, 106 km west of Calgary on the TransCanada Highway, 22 km east of downtown Banff (Figure 2). The Bow River divides the town, which is showcased by forested slopes and the 8,000 ft mountain peaks of the Rockies. The scenery is nothing short of breathtaking. Indeed, early on in the town's history it was part of Banff National Park, from 1902 to 1930, after which park boundaries were redrawn and Canmore became part of a game preserve until 1956. The town started life in 1883 as a railway and mining centre, activities which continued to support the community up until the late 1970s, when the last mine closed. At that time tourism was beginning to develop as an industry, and the town was operating as a modest recreation

service centre. Interest in developing these industries grew over the 1980s, increasing dramatically after the 1988 Olympics in Calgary featured nordic skiing and biathlon events in Canmore (Cromrich, 1998). This international exposure opened up the Canmore real estate market to the world. Local and Calgary-based developers saw the potential for residential and commercial development, and bought up large tracts of land within and surrounding the existing town boundaries[2]. This started the residential development boom, which has seen the population of Canmore increase from 1500 in 1971 to close to 11,000 in 2001 (plus a non-permanent population of roughly 2,300).

As Canmore's population increased it became a draw for outdoor sports enthusiasts dedicated to pursuing skiing, rock and ice climbing, mountain biking, hiking and paddling. Commercial development became oriented toward tourism and outdoor recreation, attracting wealthy clientele, in particular ARPies – Affluent Recreating Professionals (Gailus, 2002). Canmore has become known for its recreational opportunities, as it is situated near five ski resorts and within 50 km of four world-class golf courses. Rather than a pit stop on the way to Banff, Canmore has become an increasingly popular destination in its own right. And it is on its way to becoming a bigger draw, as slated development is expected to bring the town's population to approximately 30,000 as soon as 2013. TGS Properties[3], the largest commercial and residential company in the valley, owns about 2000 acres of forested land stretching down the south side of the valley, from Canmore to the newly established Wind Valley Natural

[2] Lands purchased in 1989 by a Canadian-owned company, Three Sisters Golf Resorts were annexed to the Town of Canmore from the neighbouring Municipal District of Bighorn in 1991 in anticipation of development (McNicol and Draper, 1997). Due to the large size of the proposed development project it was subject to a hearing of the provincial Natural Resources Conservation Board (NRCB) in 1992, to review the whether the project was in the public interest (in terms of social, economic, and environmental impacts). The outcome of this hearing remains controversial and has left a lasting impact on the town. The NRCB Board decided in favour of the project citing the considerable economic benefits for the Canmore region and the Province of Alberta as a whole. Furthermore, to counter resulting disagreements between municipal officials and developers, the provincial government passed Section 619 of the Alberta Municipal Government Act, effectively giving the provincial government jurisdiction over select land-use issues on projects involved in an NRCB hearing. This became known as the "Canmore clause" as it required that municipalities approve of and accommodate any development application consistent with an NRCB decision (Gailus, 2002).

[3] In 2000, the Three Sisters development project came under new management. Three Sisters Golf Resorts was purchased for $63.8 million by TGS Properties, a Calgary-based commercial real estate company.

Area[4]. Plans for this area include thousands of homes, hotel rooms, commercial space equivalent to that presently existing in the town, and two additional golf courses (Three Sisters Resorts, 1999). And international interest has once again been focussed on the town of Canmore, which shared the spotlight when neighbouring Kananaskis Country hosted the 2002 G8 summit of world leaders. Canmore was a site of intense security preparation and hosted international media and security crews during the summit[5].

4.3.1 Ecological Importance of the Canmore Area

Situated in the narrow Bow River Valley, Canmore is located in prime wildlife habitat. The area is predominantly montane habitat, which is an important component of the Rocky Mountain Ecosystem and relatively rare in Alberta. At least two species that provincially "may be at risk" – wolverine and grizzly bear (wolverine also is a species of Special Concern at the federal level, COSEWIC, 2003) – have been found in the vicinity. Other carnivore species of regional concern including wolves, cougars and lynx, as well as several ungulate species (elk, deer and bighorn sheep) make use of this region (Jacob Herrero Environmental Consulting *et al.*, 2000). This area has long been recognised as important for wildlife – by native peoples as a favoured hunting location (Cromrich, 1998), and more recently through the establishment of a number of protected areas (national parks, provincial parks, wilderness areas) in the region. These protected areas function as refuge sites for wildlife populations – to the west are the series of contiguous mountain parks of Banff, Jasper, Kootenay and Yoho, to the south-east is the mountain recreation area of Kananaskis Country, and a number of provincial parks surround Canmore in the Bow Corridor (Spray Valley, Wind Valley). However, despite the large amount of protected land, a considerable amount of prime habitat has been taken up by development, leaving only a portion available for wildlife usage (Purves *et al*., 1992). Development is extensive within protected areas such as Banff National Park, and throughout the Bow Valley Corridor. The TransCanada Highway and the Canadian

[4] As part of the NRCB ruling, lands in the ecologically sensitive Wind Valley were exchanged for property in the town of Canmore (McNicol and Draper, 1997).
[5] As part of their environmental legacy the federal government pledged to sponsor a wildlife passageway over the Rundle Canal (an artificial water reservoir supplying TransAlta corporation that is a barrier to wildlife movement from Banff National Park to Kananaskis Country) (Government of Canada, 2003).

Pacific Railway – two major transportation routes with high levels of traffic – traverse this narrow corridor.

Thus, remaining areas of the corridor serve as an important wildlife linkage for species moving between Kananaskis Country and Banff National Park and beyond. Wildlife biologists are concerned that the combined impacts of tourism, residential, and recreational development in the Bow River Valley will lead to the permanent loss of large mammal populations and other sensitive species from the valley (Paquet *et al*., 1994). Human activities already have had significant detrimental effects on wildlife populations, directly through animals killed on roads and railways, and indirectly by reducing available habitat and obstructing wildlife movement between critical habitats (Paquet *et al*., 1994; Gunson, 1999). Over the last 50 years many native mammal species such as grizzly bears, cougars, wolves, wolverines, lynx, moose and otter have been displaced or eliminated from the Bow River Valley (Paquet *et al*., 1994). The single largest threat to remaining wildlife populations is considered to be encroachment of human disturbance (Paquet *et al.*, 1994). Long-term government interest in protecting wildlife movement corridors in the Bow Valley (NRCB hearings, establishment of the Bow Corridor Ecosystem Advisory Group) indicates the degree of concern for the status of wildlife populations in the valley.

4.3.2 Community Demographics

Intensive urban development brought on by industrial tourism pressures has caused great changes to the community environment of Canmore (McNicol and Draper, 1997). Tourism development projects and proposals and second homes are shaping Canmore into a major international resort destination (McNicol and Draper, 1997). A substantial number of residences in Canmore are second homes (approximately 13%), purchased as investments and for part-time recreation by people who permanently reside in Calgary, other areas of Alberta and elsewhere (Ketterer, 2001). These residents have been described as the shadow population of Canmore (Draper and McNicol, 1997). Unlike the communities of Banff and Jasper there is no “need to reside rule” in Canmore – meaning you don’t need to work there to have a home in the town. Half of Canmore’s population has lived there for less than 5 years (Ketterer, 2001). However, not all of these people have stayed – the town’s population

increased only 30% in that time, indicating a high turnover rate. Over the last five years the non-permanent growth rate has increased, to 16.3% of the population in 2001 (considerably higher than the 3.1% growth rate of the permanent population in 2001) (Ketterer, 2001). This transient population often finds work in lower-paying service-oriented jobs related to the tourism industry. Population growth, the high proportion of second home-owners and a large transient population have contributed to the changing sociodemographic profile of the community (McNicol and Draper, 1997). Residents are concerned that Canmore is losing its small town feel and sense of community (McNicol and Draper, 1997; Verberg, 1997). Resident concerns about Canmore "becoming another Banff" – changing from a friendly, quiet mountain town to a bustling, commercialised, urban resort centre – were recorded as far back as the late 1970s (Cheng, 1980). Concern about environmental degradation has also been prevalent in the community (McNicol and Draper, 1997). These concerns foreshadowed the situation and concerns of today.

4.3.3 Community Environmental Concerns and Responses

Concerns of local residents over increasing development in Canmore grew during the late 1980s, evidenced by a petition signed by several hundred Canmore residents in 1993, which called for a moratorium on growth (Georg, 1998). This helped prompt the town council to initiate a community-led process to come up with solutions to manage growth. This process took the form of a Growth Management Committee (GMC), made up of 41 community representatives of 21 different local interest groups, who worked together for 11 months to develop a Growth Management Strategy (GMS) for Canmore (Gailus, 2000). Recommendations of the GMS included reducing the town's rate of growth to 6% a year by 1999, protecting the environment, increasing commercial development, and establishing a committee to monitor resolutions (Georg, 1998). This committee also had the effect of initiating relationship building between adversarial groups brought together to come up with an agreed-upon plan (Georg, 1998). The town council incorporated the GMS into policy in 1995.

The GMC built on work by the Wildlife Corridor Task Force, established in 1992 and made up of a group of biologists from across the valley looking to involve federal, provincial,

and municipal landowners in the valley to develop solutions to wildlife movement problems. In response to research and recommendations by biologists, the town council developed zoning restrictions to protect sections of land 200 to 300 m wide in parts of the town identified as wildlife movement corridors. The NRCB decision gave further impetus to the issue of wildlife corridors – it pointed out the need for a coordinating mechanism for planning and development of provincial lands within the Bow Corridor (Gailus, 2000). This resulted in the establishment of the Bow Corridor Ecosystem Advisory Group (BCEAG) in 1995, made up of senior planning personnel from all levels of government; the towns of Canmore and Banff, the Municipal District of Bighorn, Alberta Resource Development, Alberta Economic Development, Alberta Public Lands and Banff National Park. The group was assigned the task of identifying wildlife movement corridors across the Bow Valley from Banff National Park to Wind Valley, and eventually to Kananaskis Country. BCEAG created a set of wildlife corridor and habitat patch guidelines in 1998 (revised in 1999) and put out an accompanying document on guidelines for human use within wildlife corridors and habitat patches in 1999. The initial guidelines were awarded a Premier's Award of Excellence in 1999. However, subsequent research found that most existing corridors failed to meet these guidelines (Jacob Herrero Environmental Consulting *et al*., 2000). Wildlife corridors have become a point of contention in Canmore, such as in the summer of 2001 when recreationists disputed the provincial government's efforts to close trails (seasonally and permanently) popular for mountain bike use, while functioning golf courses continued to be permitted within wildlife corridors in other parts of the valley (Gailus, 2000).

While battles over land use seem likely to continue, the town of Canmore has committed to becoming a model community for how to manage growth in an environmentally sensitive area. Canmore's vision for the future (developed through the process of the GMS) sees the town develop in a manner that reconciles goals of environmental sensitivity and economic sustainability (Town of Canmore Municipal Development Plan, 1998). Efforts to do this included the community tourism task force that was assembled to define a shared vision of how to "do tourism right" in Canmore. This was defined as the development of Canmore as a sustainable tourism destination through the maintenance of the natural environment (Canmore Community Tourism Task Force, 1997). Putting an emphasis on producing local solutions to development problems, the town followed the recommendations

of the GMS to put together a Community Monitoring Program to monitor and evaluate developing trends in the community (Canmore Community Monitoring Program Committee, 2001). A collaborative group also was initiated (the Recreational Opportunities Working Group – ROWG) to coordinate and make recommendations on the management of recreational opportunities from the Banff National Park gates to Seebe (Recreational Opportunities Working Group, 2002). These and other activities mark Canmore as a responsive and proactive community in tackling considerable environmental and development-oriented issues.

Despite these innovative efforts to manage development and safeguard ecological attributes of the land, opinions vary as to whether Canmore represents an encouraging or regrettable example of community development in an environmentally important area. Development restrictions in Banff, the limited land base and slowing rate of development in Canmore, and increased demand, have all led housing prices in Canmore to escalate (Verburg, 1997). Housing has become less affordable for average workers, especially those in the tourism industry, which is the major employer in Canmore and is the industry that has had the largest growth in employment from 1996 to 2001 (Canmore Community Monitoring Program Committee, 2001). Steadily increasing visitation in Banff (estimated to reach 19.1 million by 2020 (Banff-Bow Valley Study, 1996)) is also bound to have side effects of increased tourism in Canmore. Comparisons have been made to the exclusive mountain communities of Whistler, BC and even Aspen, CO, where housing prices are far beyond those affordable by anyone other than wealthy residents and (in the case of Aspen) development has sprawled to take over the entire valley floor, pushing out native wildlife in the process (Burke, 1997). Expensive housing is a concern for those who would like to see Canmore remain a diverse and accessible community, while continued sprawl and increased population (arising from TGS and other planned developments) pose ecological threats.

4.4 The Municipality of Crowsnest Pass, Alberta

The Crowsnest Pass, known locally and throughout Alberta as “The Pass”, lies along Highway 3 in the southwest corner of Alberta close to the BC border (Figure 2). It is 269 km southwest of Calgary and 144 km west of the city of Lethbridge, and is situated on the

Continental Divide of North America. The Municipality of Crowsnest Pass is made up of the five small towns of Frank, Hillcrest, Bellevue, Blairmore and Coleman. Discovery of coal prompted interest in settling the area, and the Pass was surveyed by the C.P.R. in 1892 for the Crowsnest branch line of the railway, which was completed in 1898. The same year saw the establishment of the first settlement in the Pass in Blairmore. Early coal companies developing areas near the mine sites established the four other major settlements of the Pass between 1898 and 1905. Due to the lack of roads and transportation between the towns they each developed their own commercial and residential districts and functioned largely independently until the amalgamation of the five communities into the Municipality of Crowsnest Pass in 1979.

Crowsnest Pass has been marked by a tragic history. In April of 1903, the south part of the Town of Frank was buried under a 30 m thick layer of limestone rock, which broke away from Turtle Mountain and spread three square kilometres, covering the valley floor and part way up the opposite side of the valley[6]. The Frank Slide killed approximately 70 residents of 600 in the town. Nevertheless, the town mine re-opened and continued in operation until 1917. Mining catastrophes also plagued the communities. In 1910, an underground explosion in the Bellevue Mine killed 30 miners. Then in 1914 the worst mining disaster in Canadian history occurred when a blast killed 189 coal miners in the Hillcrest Mine Disaster. The peak economic period for the mines was over by World War One in 1914, when access to European markets became restricted and sales declined as rail companies began to replace coal with diesel. Over the years the area was subject to the irregular boom and bust cycle of the traditional resource-based economy (responding to the market for coal and changes in the Canadian economy). As a result the population of the Crowsnest Pass has fluctuated between 6,000 and 9,000 people over the last 70 years (Oldman River Intermunicipal Service Agency, 2001a). The mines gradually closed down over the years, the last one closing in 1983 in Coleman. The current population of the Crowsnest Pass is under 6,300 people (2001 census – CNP Community Profile, 2003).

Crowsnest Pass is now struggling to diversify its economic base, attempting to capitalise on its scenic mountain setting and proximity to the City of Calgary, to present itself as a tourism destination. The community is trying to evolve from an economy reliant on

[6] A piece of rock from the Frank Slide is located in the University of Waterloo rock garden.

primary industries to one more tourism and service-based (Oldman River Intermunicipal Service Agency, 2001a). Currently, a relatively high percentage of the population in the Crowsnest Pass (almost 18% of the labour force) remains employed by primary industries related to resource extraction, many of which are located outside the boundaries of the municipality (Oldman River Intermunicipal Service Agency, 2001a). About 25% of residents commute outside the municipality for employment. The potential for boosting the area as a tourism destination is associated with the increased population growth in the province of Alberta, which is seen as a possible source of in-migrants into the Crowsnest Pass area interested in a desired quality of life (Oldman River Intermunicipal Service Agency, 2001a). In addition to the substantial natural resources of the Pass, the area is also rich in historic and prehistoric sites, with 380 documented prehistoric sites, representing the greatest density in the Canadian Rockies (Oldman River Intermunicipal Service Agency, 2001a). A number of significant archaeological studies have been conducted in the areas of Frank, Maple Leaf/Bellevue, Crowsnest Lake and Island Lake (Oldman River Intermunicipal Service Agency, 2001a). Leitch Collieries, a former coal processing facility in Crowsnest Pass is a Provincial Historic Site. Part of the town of Coleman and its mine site were recently designated a National Historic Site by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, based on their value as the best surviving collection of resources of coal producing in Western Canada (Council of the Municipality of Crowsnest Pass, 2002). In recent years the municipality has been promoting the Pass as a destination for snowmobile recreation, with an extensive trail system. In the winter of 2001 the Crowsnest Pass received the "Rider's Choice Awards" from SnoRiders West Magazine, for the best overall snowmobiling area in western Canada (2001 Visitor's Handbook for the Crowsnest Pass).

4.4.1 Ecological Importance of the Crowsnest Pass Area

The Crowsnest Pass and surrounding region feature a variety of habitats including fescue grassland, aspen-parkland, montane, subalpine and alpine, supporting a diverse assemblage of flora and fauna (Alberta Forestry, Lands and Wildlife, 1987). Wildlife species in the Pass include grizzly and black bear, cougar, elk, white-tail deer, mule deer, mountain goat and bighorn sheep (Alberta Forestry, Lands and Wildlife, 1991). The Crowsnest River travels the

length of the Pass and hosts a high quality trout fishery and substantial habitat for deer (Oldman River Intermunicipal Service Agency, 2001a). The Pass is situated in close proximity to the Castle Wilderness, a natural area of high ecological value that contains one of the highest plant and animal species diversity in the province (Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society, 2003). The Pass is the southernmost of the three Rocky Mountain Passes in Canada (Bernshaw and Bernshaw, 1984). Not all of the land in the Pass is under control of the municipality, as a full 60% is dedicated as a provincial forest reserve and almost entirely owned by the provincial government (Oldman River Intermunicipal Service Agency, 2001a).

The pattern of development in the Pass has been shaped by the dispersed layout of the towns, where development is concentrated in the towns which are separated by undeveloped natural lands. The need to preserve natural areas and maintain corridors for wildlife across the valley may come into conflict with desires to build linkages between the towns and increase development adjoining the highway (Oldman River Intermunicipal Service Agency, 2001b). Highway 3, a primary transportation corridor, links Crowsnest Pass to BC in the west and Fort Macleod and Lethbridge to the east. Reports show that highway traffic is growing (Oldman River Intermunicipal Service Agency, 2001a). Daily traffic flows along the highway are increasing, traffic volume is 16% greater during the summer months of May to September, and commercial traffic has increased considerably, to almost 10% in 1999 from 6.4% in 1997 (Oldman River Intermunicipal Service Agency, 2001a). Research indicates that the highway limits north-south connectivity for wide-ranging species, and has potential to produce large-scale and permanent disturbance (Apps, 1997). In addition to the highway, the CPR rail line and various gas and power lines and utility rights-of-way traverse the Pass, fragmenting parcels of developable land and wildlife habitat in the process.

There is awareness of the value of the natural environment to life in the Pass. A recent survey of residents found that an overwhelming majority of residents (99%) considered the natural environment important to their quality of life (Oldman River Intermunicipal Service Agency, 2001a). Furthermore, the background report for the latest Municipal Development Plan highlights the positive relationship between environmental protection and economic prosperity, citing studies from the U.S.

4.4.2 Community Demographics

As noted above, the population of the Pass has long been linked to the value of coal. Since the early 1980s the population of the Pass has been gradually decreasing, the decline attributed to such factors as reduced mine production, mine closures, and economic recessions in the past two decades (Oldman River Intermunicipal Service Agency, 2001a). The population decreased from 7300 in 1981 to about 6260 in 2002 (CNP Community Profile, 2003). Numbers from the 1996 census indicated that the population of the Pass had dropped 4.84% over a five year period, a more considerable decline when compared to the provincial growth rate of positive 5.9% during the same time period (Oldman River Intermunicipal Service Agency, 2001a). Furthermore, the Pass seems to have an ageing population structure, with 58.5% of residents aged 35 or older, those 65 and over making up 19% of the population alone. This percentage of seniors is greater than most other communities in southern Alberta (Oldman River Intermunicipal Service Agency, 2001a). The community of the Pass also has suffered under a high unemployment rate, 11.5% in 1996 (though following provincial trends this may have improved since that time). Census data from 1996 record the average personal income of Pass residents as $22,417, slightly below the provincial average at that time.

Population distribution has reflected the pattern of commercial activity in the community. Most of the commercial activity is centered in Coleman, Blairmore and Bellevue, with Coleman and Blairmore respectively the largest and second largest towns in the Pass. They are followed by Bellevue and Hillcrest, while the Town of Frank has the smallest number of residents, at under 200 people (according to the 1996 census – CNP Community Profile, 2003). There is an ample supply of detached single family homes available in the municipality, and average housing prices are in the neighbourhood of $100,000 (Oldman River Intermunicipal Service Agency, 2001a).

The growth rate of the Pass is anticipated to increase in the coming years, potentially resulting from the recent increases in the provincial growth rate and the changing economic climate of Alberta (Oldman River Intermunicipal Service Agency, 2001a). Due to the scenic and natural qualities of the Crowsnest Pass, there is potential to attract residents interested in a particular quality of life and those looking for a retirement community. Using an estimated annual slow growth rate of 1.5%, the population of the Pass could reach roughly 8,560 people

by 2016 (Oldman River Intermunicipal Service Agency, 2001a). Among current residents there is a desire for slow or moderate population growth (135 or 350 new residents per year) (Oldman River Intermunicipal Service Agency, 2001a).

4.4.3 Community Environmental Concerns and Responses

The prospect of federal restrictions and control, commonly associated with park and protected area designation, is met with concern by many Pass residents. Concern over federal restrictions was raised in response to the proposed National Historic Site designation for parts of the Town of Coleman (Christensen, 2001). The municipal council voiced concerns over the potential impact on the community and restrictions on local landowners. These concerns stemmed from viewing the effect development and federal regulations have had on Banff, and not wanting that to happen in the Crowsnest Pass. The fact that the Pass is not part of a federal or provincial park (unlike most other mountain communities in Alberta) is promoted as a valuable selling point for the area, in that it offers an affordable alternative mountain tourism destination (2001 Visitor's Handbook for the Crowsnest Pass: 4). The Pass is perceived to be in competition for visitors with the more high profile vacation destinations of the mountain parks (Banff, Jasper, Kootenay, Yoho) and Waterton Lakes National Park (Oldman River Intermunicipal Service Agency, 2001a). The parks are believed to benefit from development and advertising supported by the federal government (Oldman River Intermunicipal Service Agency, 2001a).

In the past, the Crowsnest Pass area has been largely associated with resource extraction-based industries and areas of environmental degradation in the minds of the greater public (Oldman River Intermunicipal Service Agency, 2001a). Currently there is recognition within the community that the scenic and natural qualities of the Pass must be protected if a viable tourism industry is to be developed. Likewise, tourism services (such as accommodation, restaurants, retail services) need to be developed to attract tourists (Oldman River Intermunicipal Service Agency, 2001a). However, the location of future developments could become an issue. Locating developments along the highway in highway commercial districts is advocated as a means to increase potential for tourism, catering to tourists and highway traffic (Oldman River Intermunicipal Service Agency, 2001a). These services may

be separate from those required by the residential community, many of whom are interested in an increased range of retail and services (Oldman River Intermunicipal Service Agency, 2001a). In a recent survey the majority of residents stated they felt most future commercial development should occur in the town centres (Oldman River Intermunicipal Service Agency, 2001a). The proposed expansion of Highway 3 from a two-lane to a four-lane highway could affect the viability of tourism-oriented developments both along the highway and within the towns. Different factors that may influence the direction of future development in the Pass include development geared to tourists, development oriented toward an ageing population, or development designed to promote workforce-aged residents (Oldman River Intermunicipal Service Agency, 2001a). The latter, although currently not in effect, is one of the more preferred orientations for the municipality.

To what extent future development incorporates public input is another factor of relevance to the municipality. A very intensive public consultation process was undertaken as part of the most recent Municipal Development Plan for the Municipality of the Crowsnest Pass (adopted in 2001). The "Pass to the Future" Public Consultation Process was initiated to meet requirements for public participation listed in the Municipal Government Act, and to address the desire of the municipal council to have public support for the statutory plan (Oldman River Intermunicipal Service Agency, 2001a). The process was conducted over 12 months from January 1998 to December 1999, and involved an in-depth gathering of views and comments from the public, through a detailed survey, focus groups, community workshops and informal interviews, among other things (Oldman River Intermunicipal Service Agency, 2001a). The community identified seven key issues during this process. These included the need for a strong, viable and sustainable local economy; the need to protect the quality of local neighbourhoods; and the desire for slow to moderate growth (from the Oldman River Intermunicipal Service Agency, 2001a: 8). Following the completion of this process public outcry ensued when many of the environmental concerns identified through "Pass to the Future" were ignored in the subsequent Municipal Development Plan (Allen, 2001 pers comm.). Consequently, the public may be unwilling to participate in another such exercise if they feel their views are being disregarded.

4.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter provided a brief overview of the political and environmental management context in the province of Alberta, and more detailed background of the histories and environmental issues in the communities of Canmore and the Crowsnest Pass. Alberta is a resource-rich province whose government has been closely affiliated with resource extraction industries. It does not have a good record of environmental management and protection. The community of Canmore, Alberta has grown considerably over the last 10-15 years and is on the verge of almost tripling in size, which could seriously threaten the prime wildlife habitat and species populations in this area. The community has an increasingly tourism-based economy and a high number of second homes. While it has been proactive in addressing environmental concerns, there is still debate over whether Canmore will be able to manage development and safeguard ecological attributes of the region.

The Municipality of Crowsnest Pass, Alberta is now struggling to diversify its economic base, to evolve from an economy reliant on primary industries to one more tourism and service-based. The population has been decreasing in size over 10 or more years, but it is believed that the growth rate may increase in correspondence with provincial population growth and an attractive quality of life. The pattern of future development and expansion of Highway 3 has the potential to negatively impact connectivity of wildlife habitat across the valley. While a majority of residents acknowledge the value of the natural environment to life in the Pass, the prospect of federal government restrictions (such as in the form of parks and protected areas) is met with concern by many Pass residents.

Chapter 5 CASE STUDY ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis of interview findings together with a review of documents pertaining to the Y2Y initiative. The analysis is divided under six major themes: Contextual Factors, Organisational Capacity, Stakeholder Support and Involvement, Awareness Building, Comprehension of the Initiative, and Function and Role. A number of more specific themes are discussed in each section and these are summarised in a table at the end of each section.

For the interview results presented, the number of respondents listed is out of all respondents interviewed (57) unless otherwise stated. Approximately 39 documents in total were reviewed (listed in Appendix IV). A brief overview of each of the main concepts is presented under the concept headings at the start of each section in every chapter.

5.2 Contextual Factors

Discussion of the importance of context to the success of the Y2Y initiative included interpretation of convergent factors and external factors (political, economic and recreational) of influence. Respondents identified a context that allows conservation planning to take place to be a critical factor of success. Convergent factors, or other related efforts underway at the same time, were identified as both supporting the initiative's goals and making it difficult to distinguish Y2Y's achievements. Political support for the initiative was discussed in interviews and documents, and the current economic structure was seen to be an obstacle to undertaking the initiative. Community receptivity to change and environmental protection also emerged as an important factor influencing the success of conservation efforts at a local scale.

5.2.1 Context

A context which allows for conservation planning to take place was seen as a necessary factor for success by two respondents from Canmore, one from the Y2Y organisation and one a representative of a community stewardship NGO. This was described by the NGO representative as "creating fertile ground so people will understand and be a part". A Y2Y representative considered the most important factor for successful conservation planning to be to "have a context in which conservation planning shows up as a possibility and an opportunity". The community of Canmore was given as an example, where a context exists "through a sense of pride as mountain dwellers, a sense of place (of the valley and what it's been)" – suggesting a responsibility (of the community) to take care of its natural heritage. They suggested this had been manifested in terms of establishing wildlife corridors, conservation easements and wildlife underpasses in the Canmore area. This Y2Y representative believed that context could be developed through a really good message, involving strategic dissemination of the right information and good arguments at the right time and place, by an effective group of people working on the ground both regionally and locally.

Contextual factors identified as important to successful conservation planning for the initiative were historical planning and political decisions, both municipal and provincial. A municipal government representative from Canmore considered historical planning decisions to be an obstacle to the initiative, citing the provincial government's identification of the Canmore area as an area to grow tourism in Alberta. They stated that provincial interference was manifested in the Natural Resources Conservation Board of Alberta (NRCB) decision (on the Three Sisters development in Canmore) – prioritising what was "important to Alberta versus important to Canmore". In Crowsnest Pass, two tourism representatives talked about the historic rivalry between the five communities in the Municipality of Crowsnest Pass, stating that even though they were amalgamated in 1979, people still viewed themselves as belonging to one of the five self-contained communities, rather than the municipality as a whole.

Other respondents talked about the changes brought about by the Klein government in Alberta, two respondents from a wilderness-advocacy NGO in Crowsnest Pass referring to the

"devolution of government in the Klein era" as breeding an atmosphere of incapacity. They stated that instability within the government was preventing action, due to the constant reorganisation of the government, making it difficult to maintain the consistency of programs. They noted the context-specific nature of conservation efforts and the potential for municipal bodies to differ greatly by jurisdictions, illustrated through the comparison of nearby Pincher Creek and Cardston municipal councils. Pincher Creek at one point (about 10 years ago) had a public visioning process and tried to develop buffer zones, trying to make sustainable rather than exploitative use of natural resources. Cardston, on the other hand, has been very adamantly pro-property rights, where the community Reeve has described property rights as God-given, the next thing to the right to life. Two additional respondents – one from a land conservation NGO and one from an environmental NGO in Crowsnest Pass brought up the loss of the regional municipal planning process in Alberta during the Klein government, which has contributed to the pro-development situation in the Municipal District of Cardston. Several respondents also referred to the provincial Special Places 2000 Program to designate protected areas, which was summed up by a representative of a land conservation NGO as "everyone hated it". Two representatives from an outdoor recreation group in Crowsnest Pass believed the Special Places program to have helped generate more backlash against environmental groups.

Context was identified as important to the success of conservation efforts in two of the documents that were reviewed, an article from the journal *Wild Earth*, titled "The Politics of Y2Y" (Johns, 1998) and Y2Y's Strategic Plan (2000). The article "The Politics of Y2Y" argued that conservation efforts or campaigns require a comprehensive understanding of their social context, which includes such things as key actors, economic and cultural factors influencing the region, and the effect of cultural differences between regions. Y2Y's Strategic Plan (2000) provided an analysis of some contextual factors in terms of threats and opportunities for the initiative. Threats included resource extraction-related development activities (oil and gas, logging, mining), private land development, recreation and tourism activities and infrastructure, and the increasing trend of devolving decision-making to the local level, with its potential negative impacts on public lands management. Other threats included active opposition to the initiative (concentrated in certain locations), increasing in-

migration of people to the area, and increasingly fragmented and stressed ecological systems. Opportunities were identified as the wilderness areas remaining to be protected in the northern part of the region, the growing land trust and preservation movement operating on private lands and advanced communications technology allowing communication among diverse groups and large geographic distances. The Plan also suggested opportunities for progress such as increased funding available for critical land purchases, and a growing interest in Y2Y issues from regional Universities. Further indication of the relevance of contextual setting to Y2Y's conservation efforts was presented in discussion of strategies for constituency building. The Strategic Plan (2000) proposed directing outreach to specific places, locations that met certain criteria which would increase the initiative's chance for a successful outcome. Criteria were identified as such things as local receptivity and the presence of local support and champions, as well as urgency of the problem. Additionally, the 1999 funding report by Tabor and Soulé recommended developing separate communications strategies for Canada and the U.S., in recognition of the different political and cultural contexts.

5.2.2 Convergent Factors

Convergent factors refer to events underway that are resulting in similar conservation impacts as intended by (or consistent with) the Y2Y initiative. Fourteen respondents from Canmore, Crowsnest Pass and organisations external to these communities brought up convergent factors when discussing the progress of and changes brought about by the Y2Y initiative. The five respondents from Canmore were representatives of the provincial government, a wilderness-advocacy NGO, the Y2Y organisation, and one was an independent observer. Six respondents from Crowsnest Pass represented the federal and provincial government, a wilderness-advocacy NGO and economic development interests. The other three respondents were representatives of academia and a land conservation NGO doing work in both communities. Respondents spoke about other factors that have contributed to changes in conservation efforts, and the difficulty of attributing changes to the Y2Y initiative. Provincial government representatives from Canmore described the government's gradual movement towards an ecosystem-based approach. One representative observed that the government had established a number of new protected areas over the past 10 years, prompted by significant

public support. Wildlife corridor plans in the Bow Valley and the Special Places 2000 program were also identified as efforts that had contributed to the establishment of protected areas locally and within the province.

An assortment of respondents (four from the Y2Y organisation, a wilderness-advocacy NGO in Canmore, an external conservation NGO and the provincial government in Crowsnest Pass) commented that it was hard to quantify changes. They felt that it was "hard to separate noise from the background – [from] the work of CPAWS and other organisations", and difficult to determine if it was a case of "enough movement in one direction – a hundredth monkey thing". Others also noted the work of organisations such as the Nature Conservancy of Canada (NCC) and the Rocky Mountain Elk Foundation (RMEF) in bringing the issues of wildlife to the forefront. A number of respondents from the Crowsnest Pass area (nine) referred to NCC's work in discussion of Y2Y and conservation activities in the Pass. Two wilderness-advocacy NGO representatives from Crowsnest Pass also mentioned concurrent events, such as the adoption of conservation easement legislation in Alberta (in 1996) around the same time the Y2Y initiative started underway. Making note of studies in relation to the Canmore area, two respondents (a federal government representative and an academic) highlighted the Banff Bow Valley Study and National Parks efforts (such as the Panel on Ecological Integrity) as useful in making conservation issues known.

As discussed in the section on context, Y2Y's Strategic Plan (2000) made note of opportunities for conservation planning, identifying activities that are currently taking place, such as the growth of the land trust movement in private lands acquisition. This was presented as added momentum to support Y2Y's efforts. However, a report for the Forest Alliance of BC (1998) opposing the Y2Y initiative argued that current land and resource management activities had not been taken into account by Y2Y. Criticism of the Y2Y initiative stemmed in part from the perceived failure to acknowledge activities already underway. The Forest Alliance report argued that the report on economic trends in the Y2Y region (Rasker and Alexander, 1997) ignored the approach to land use planning and timber supply management currently being practised in BC.

5.2.3 Political Issues

Twelve respondents covering a broad spectrum of interests from both Canmore and Crowsnest Pass considered political will and involvement to be a significant factor in the success of the initiative. Respondents from the Canmore area represented business and tourism interests, the provincial and federal government, a naturalist NGO, and one was an independent observer. From Crowsnest Pass were representatives of a conservation NGO, a wilderness-advocacy NGO, and the federal government. Two external respondents represented academia and a conservation NGO. Respondents viewed political involvement and support as both a necessary starting point for the initiative and a problem to overcome. Some political support and responsiveness was noted by three participants – generally arising from public awareness and growing interest in conservation, as well as specifically in relation to Y2Y. An example of the latter was when the then provincial Minister of the Environment Gary Mar referred to the initiative in dedicating the new Spray Valley Provincial Park (– describing the park as contributing to an uninterrupted wilderness area, June 2000). However, respondents also noted that political antagonism to the idea has been a problem for the initiative, and the political will to protect the environment was viewed as lacking. A respondent from a conservation NGO in Crowsnest Pass stated that it was necessary to address political issues that mitigate against a dream like Y2Y, and "address almost as a preface why political will isn't there to see that sort of thing happen." One respondent from an external conservation NGO summed up views on the political situation of the initiative by stating that while they were optimistic about the Y2Y concept, they were "discouraged it [had] got sidetracked into a political battle instead of a united move to get solutions on the ground".

In order to build political support for the initiative, one respondent (representing business interests in Canmore) advocated a communications plan to talk with decision-makers, such as the Minister of Natural Resources, other ministers and chief aids. Two respondents from a wilderness-advocacy NGO in Crowsnest Pass also believed it to be necessary to go to higher political levels (addressing ministers and department heads) to support the initiative, but they pointed out these actions were dependent on the role of the Y2Y organisation. If Y2Y were an advocacy organisation rather than a facilitation

organisation they would need to speak to ministers and higher level decision-makers. Another independent observer from Canmore considered it a priority for the initiative to do good lobbying and put pressure on institutions that have the ability to conduct land use planning – whether at the municipal, provincial or national level.

Of the documents reviewed, the *Wild Earth* article on "The Politics of Y2Y" (Johns, 1998) was most directly focussed on political implications of the initiative. It argued that putting the Y2Y vision in place would require a comprehensive political strategy. Johns stated "[f]ull implementation of the Y2Y vision would be impossible within existing political limits. Thus we must change political reality – and that requires a strategy" (1998:86). Other documents (Rasker and Alexander, 1997; Tabor and Soulé, 1999) noted differences between Canadian and American policies, predominantly the lack of federal level laws in Canada comparable to the U.S. Endangered Species Act or National Environmental Policy Act. This was considered a source of concern, in that there was a perceived lack of established environmental law to govern local collaborative efforts. They also suggested that Canadian protection (of large carnivores) might fall behind that of the U.S.

5.2.4 Economic Issues

A cross-section of respondents from Canmore and Crowsnest Pass believed economics to be an obstacle to the initiative unless the current economic paradigm is changed. Nine respondents talked about difficulties the current economic structure poses for conservation, and four interviewees talked more specifically about situations in the community (one respondent spoke about Canmore, the other three about Crowsnest Pass). The four respondents from Canmore represented a variety of sectors such as business interests, the provincial government, a wilderness-advocacy NGO and the Y2Y organisation. Respondents from Crowsnest Pass were likewise diverse, from business and tourism interests, a conservation NGO, the municipal government, and an independent observer. Other respondents represented academia and the federal government. Economics was viewed as obstacle to conservation described by one respondent (representing business interests in Canmore) in terms of "if it means closing a mine, if it means shutting down an industry, if it

pays taxes" conservation will suffer. Another respondent noted that a poor economy would be an obstacle to the Y2Y initiative, while a representative of a wilderness-advocacy NGO in Canmore believed a necessary factor of success to be a communities willingness to change its economic structure (communities accepting economic development from other sources such as ecotourism).

Speaking of Crowsnest Pass, several respondents (three – representing the municipal government, a conservation NGO and a landowner with business interests) believed that economics would win out over conservation in the community. These respondents were of the opinion that the "community would go for an opportunity to get 400 jobs over conservation" – and "people would accept opening up a mine". Tourism or ecotourism was not seen to be a viable economic alternative because of the low wage jobs produced. However, this view was not shared by two tourism representatives in the Pass, who believed it to be a viable replacement of the economic base. A municipal government representative stated that the first priority for Crowsnest Pass unfortunately was economics, the second the way of life and natural area they are in. The representative of the conservation NGO argued that economies of other areas (Canmore, Banff) were based on tourism, which did not present as big a conflict because the environment was required (to be maintained) in order to have tourists. As a result, they believed Cochrane, Canmore and Banff to have "an integral interest in keeping a reasonable environment around", whereas Crowsnest Pass did not. A municipal government representative from Canmore countered this view, stating that "development is a huge part of the local (Canmore) economy almost equal to tourism", thus a huge part of decisions revolve around the development industry.

A further six respondents – four from Canmore, one from Crowsnest Pass and one academic believed development (both residential and industrial) to be an obstacle to the Y2Y initiative. Respondents considered the opportunity for residential development in the Canmore area and southward to Waterton to threaten implementation of the Y2Y vision, while further north resource extraction such as forestry and mining posed concerns. The push for residential development in mountain areas was seen to arise in part from "amenity migrants" – people moving to these areas for a particular lifestyle, one that may not be sustainable.

The primary document reviewed on economic issues in relation to the Y2Y initiative was a report entitled *The New Challenge: People, Commerce and the Environment in the Yellowstone to Yukon Region* by Ray Rasker and Ben Alexander, written in 1997. This research has informed other discussions of economics in Y2Y, findings highlighted in the proceedings of the Connections conference, and in an article in the journal *Wild Earth*, titled "The Changing Economy of Yellowstone to Yukon: Good News for Wild Lands?" (Rasker and Alexander, 2000), among other places. The stated purpose of the report was an attempt to find a connection between environmental quality and economic development, and it provided a very comprehensive account of economic trends in the Y2Y region. The report provided evidence supporting ideas expressed in the Y2Y vision, of both natural and human communities benefiting from conservation efforts. The findings of this research disavowed traditional notions of inevitable conflict between economic development and environmental quality, and instead put forward the idea that conserving the environment can be beneficial for the economy, and vice versa. The report argued that resource extraction activities (what can be "mined, logged or grown") are no longer "the horse driving the cart" in community economies. Instead, findings indicated that "the main producers of wealth have become information and knowledge" (Rasker and Alexander, 1997:32). The basis for the rapid population growth in the region over the 1990's was found to have arisen from both in-migration of newcomers (interested in the "amenity values" of the area) and decreased out-migration of residents, prompted by a number of factors. Related findings indicated that a great deal of the growth in personal income (of residents) was derived from non-labour sources such as retirement investments, while the fastest increasing sources of employment and earned income in the region were from service-related jobs. These findings brought to light the principal conclusion of the report, which stated "if it is plausible that some of the recent growth is stimulated by people's desire to live and do business in a picturesque mountain environment, then resource development at a scale and pace that destroys environmental assets is simply bad for the economy, the communities, and the way of life of local residents. This is true whether the pressure comes from a mine that pollutes the streams, logging that scars the landscape or the sale of ranches to accommodate urban sprawl" (Rasker and Alexander, 1997:1). The report stated that communities should diversify their economic base to avoid the cyclical boom and bust pattern arising from dependence on resource

extraction activities, stating “the best way to achieve community stability is through economic diversity” (Rasker and Alexander, 1997:61).

The conclusions of this report were disputed in a report put out as a response by The Chancellor Partners for the Forest Alliance of BC (1998). The Forest Alliance report stated that current approaches to land use planning and timber supply management in BC were not taken into account in Rasker and Alexander’s report. The Forest Alliance report took issue with the claim that resource-based industries were no longer economically important, and believed this to be untrue. According to calculations in the Forest Alliance report, the Y2Y proposal posed a significant negative impact on the economy of BC, in the neighbourhood of 4-6% of the total economic activity of the province. The report also refuted claims that resource extraction activities would have difficulty co-existing with other economic generators (including those more reliant on the environmental attributes of an area), stating that in the time that other economic activities were reported to be growing, resource industries were operating near or at their peak capacities. Such ongoing debate over changing the economic structure was touched upon in a presentation as part of a Y2Y Strategic Communications Session in 1999 (Cameron, 1999). This presentation looked at questions relating to attitudes toward conservation, and suggested that the conflict between jobs and the environment had different outcomes at different scales. At the broader “macro” level, the environment was viewed as most important, whereas at the lower “micro” level, jobs became more important.

A number of documents listed development as a threat to the goals of the Y2Y initiative, referring to such things as road construction and human access, motorised recreational vehicle use, and development pressures on ranchers (to subdivide properties for residential developments). Documents included the *Sense of Place* Atlas published by Y2Y (1998); a guidebook on *Preserving Working Ranches* (Greenaway, 2000); proceedings of a workshop on *Managing Roads for Wildlife* (2001); and a report on the initiative for a central funding agency (Tabor and Soulé, 1999), among others. Three of these documents and others (at least five in total) cited the east-west transportation corridor of Hwy 3 and the Crowsnest Pass area in Alberta and BC as one of, if not the most critical problem area in Y2Y, in need of immediate action to avoid cutting off populations in the Y2Y landscape. In the “New Challenge” report by Rasker and Alexander (1997), the town of Canmore was presented as a

case study, with a discussion of the town's efforts to balance growth and environmental sustainability. The report noted that Canmore had continued to experience problems arising from an over-reliance on a single economic base, in this case development of tourism infrastructure, such as new hotels and resort complexes. This suggested that in some respects Canmore had traded one dominant industry (resource extraction) for another (tourism development), encountering similar difficulties arising from lack of diversification.

5.2.5 Recreation

Recreation was discussed as an obstacle to the Y2Y initiative, and also as an important conservation concern, primarily in Crowsnest Pass. Fourteen respondents, the majority from Crowsnest Pass, brought up the issue of recreation and revealed a divergence of views on the topic. Representatives from the provincial government in the Crowsnest Pass area considered motorised vehicle access control a big concern, particularly ATV and quad use, to a greater degree than snowmobiles. Off-road vehicle use was considered by an independent observer from the area to be one of the most destructive things, while another conservation NGO representative from the Pass shared similar views, believing snowmobiling and related activities to be having an impact on wildlife. Conversely, representatives of the municipal government in Crowsnest Pass viewed snowmobiling as an economic opportunity for the community and were very committed to promoting it. They believed snowmobiling to have minimal impact on wildlife and the ecosystem, particularly in comparison to other tourism that uses the land base. An independent observer and two tourism representatives from the Pass believed the municipal government was emphasising snowmobile recreation as an economic opportunity to a much greater extent than other activities such as country skiing, because snowmobilers are very visible when they are present and spending money in the community. Representatives from an outdoor recreation group in the Pass saw their interests as being unfairly persecuted by environmental groups overtaking wilderness areas around the Pass. The environmental perspective on the other hand, brought forward by a naturalist NGO representative from the Canmore area and an independent observer from Crowsnest Pass, viewed ORV users (and recreationists) to be motivated primarily by self-interest. Snowmobiling appeared to be a greater issue in the Crowsnest Pass area than Canmore, as one

representative of business interests in Canmore noted that snowmobiling and motorised outdoor recreation use was not a big issue for Canmore residents because the terrain is not suitable. Recreational use was believed to be increasing in the Pass region.

As noted in the section on development, road and human access together with motorised vehicle access, were cited in several documents as posing considerable threats to the goals of the Y2Y initiative.

5.2.6 Community Receptivity to Change and Environmental Protection

While linked to many of the above factors, community receptivity to change and environmental protection also emerged as an important factor influencing the success of conservation efforts at a local scale. This was considered to be more of a concern among respondents from Crowsnest Pass than those from the Canmore area. In Canmore respondents expressed differing views as to whether the community was a good example of merging development and conservation interests. Despite problems with development, an economic development representative and a municipal government representative believed Canmore to be a good model, for use by the Y2Y initiative or by Crowsnest Pass. Others expressed slightly more qualified views of Canmore as a successful model. One local business representative stated that Canmore was a good example "but it can be done better", while a local media representative considered Canmore to be a good model in terms of the efforts undertaken by the town and other groups, and the high level of awareness in the community. A community NGO representative described Canmore as a "showcase, but maybe not for good". Others were more whole-hearted in their disagreement. One representative of a Canmore-based wilderness-advocate NGO described (the development in) Canmore as a "prime example of what (you) shouldn't do". They considered it to be a "dismal failure so far, with less than a 50-50 shot". An independent observer from Canmore stated that "certain parts (of Y2Y) will not work out – Canmore is one example." They believed that if Canmore was considered to be an example, the Y2Y initiative was not at a good point on-the-ground.

Respondents also viewed Canmore as somewhat of a unique community, in terms of the high amount of environmental efforts. An economic development representative commented that Canmore was "definitely a unique community – it is not a normal community that would limit its potential to maintain the environment". They believed that people were very environmentally aware and sensitive in Canmore, a view that was shared by a municipal government representative. Attesting to the number of environmental activities underway in the community, a local tourism representative stated that Canmore was "overwhelmed by issues and acronyms – for the average person it's fairly confusing".

The situation in Crowsnest Pass was believed to be quite different. Several respondents from the area commented that people did not want to see the Pass turn into another Banff. A local business representative and two tourism representatives described the Pass as what Canmore and Banff were like several decades ago. This business representative stated that people had moved to Crowsnest Pass because of the lower cost and lower restrictions. They described the Pass as "the last sort of Rocky Mountain barrier" and stated that people in the community did not like land usage restrictions or conservation efforts. In discussion of the subdivision and development of land around nearby Waterton National Park, one external federal government representative described the strongest values in the County of Cardston to be independence, or people's right to do what they want on their own land, more so than opposition of development. This view was shared by other respondents regarding Crowsnest Pass, who variously talked about the resistance from government and land developers to conservation efforts, and an increasing rally against ongoing conservation efforts in the area.

Several local respondents spoke extensively about history of the area, long-standing attitudes of residents and events that had shaped them. The history of coal mining in the Pass was stated by a number of respondents as influential in shaping general attitudes in the community, as was the continuing enmity among the five communities in the municipality. An informed community member contrasted Crowsnest Pass to Canmore, which also has a coal mining background. Next door to Banff, Canmore has been exposed to international outside influences, whereas the Pass is not physically close to any major cities, and in a "corner of the province – not paid much attention to, and able to hold onto (its) ideas". They summed up some of the views expressed about the Pass, saying that the community was "very

opposed to change of any kind". They stated that people did not see change as a positive thing, and wanted to keep the flavour and integrity of the community.

Table 3 Contextual Factors – Summary Table

Theme	Key Points
Context	- a context that allows conservation planning to take place - historical planning and political decisions in favour of environmental protection
Convergent Factors	- other similar efforts underway add support to initiative, but make it hard to distinguish Y2Y's impact
Political Issues	- some political support, but outweighed by political antagonism to the concept and lack of political will to protect the environment
Economic Issues	- need for change of the current economic paradigm – economic activities (such as development) that threaten environmental quality were considered an obstacle to initiative - economic trends study suggested that preserving the environment could be beneficial for local economies
Recreation	- mixed views - some considered motorised vehicle access control a major concern, others viewed snowmobiling in particular as an economic opportunity for Crowsnest Pass
Community Receptivity to Change and Environmental Protection	- Canmore considered a unique community, very supportive of environmental efforts, though less opportunity to safeguard habitat - Crowsnest Pass more opposed to change and more concerned with improving economic conditions than safeguarding environment

5.3 Organisational Capacity

Themes relating to organisational capacity included establishing an organisational structure, funding and the sustainability of the initiative. Development of an organisational structure for people to come together was regarded as important to the success of the initiative, as were high quality staff and available resources to undertake program tasks and challenges. Funding was discussed as a success of the initiative, and sustainability of the funding base arose as a

concern. Respondents discussed whether they believed the initiative to be ecologically, socially and politically sustainable over the long-term.

5.3.1 Establishing an Organisational Structure

A number of respondents (seven) shared views of the importance of the Y2Y organisation to the initiative. Providing an organisational structure to come together around was emphasised by one respondent (a federal government representative from the Canmore area) as probably the most important factor for successful conservation planning. This notion was supported by other interviewees (four representatives of various NGOs in Canmore), who identified the Y2Y organisation and office in Canmore as a success of the initiative. Another respondent stated organisational development as a priority for the advancement of the initiative. Additionally, the Y2Y initiative was seen by two individuals (representatives of the federal government and academia) to have allowed other organisations to come together to support the vision, one of the main successes being the coordination and communication of environmental groups.

Several respondents (five) also highlighted the role of the people involved in the Y2Y organisation as an important factor in the initiative's success. A variety of respondents from Canmore viewed those involved in the initiative to be doing good work, and made reference to certain individuals who had a high profile in the community and elsewhere, as advantageous to advance the initiative. Dedicated, educated and influential people and leaders were believed to be present within the Y2Y initiative and critical to its future success. A few respondents considered the demographics of the organisation (including its Board of Directors) to be important in order for the initiative to adequately represent the variety of interests in the Y2Y region.

One of the goals identified in Y2Y's Strategic Plan (2000) was the adoption and implementation of an appropriate organisational design and structures to achieve the Y2Y vision. The Plan noted the high quality of the Y2Y organisation staff, but stated that the staff had been too small and the organisation often too limited in resources to undertake many of the program tasks and challenges encountered in the initiative's development. The 1999

funding report by Tabor and Soulé made mention of the need for defined and coherent guidance as the initiative grows. They suggested that Y2Y participants needed to be engaged in creating an organisational development vision for Y2Y.

5.3.2 Funding

Respondents from the Y2Y organisation, academia, the federal government and a wilderness-advocacy NGO in the Crowsnest Pass area (six in total) identified the funding obtained for the Y2Y initiative as a success. The initiative was seen as successful at attracting money from charitable foundations, which served as a testimony to the support that the initiative had received. Respondents emphasised that funding agencies were in support of the idea and others like it. Two respondents from a wilderness-advocacy NGO in Crowsnest Pass stated that the initiative was responsible for bringing in a "new source of money to Alberta for conservation, and put [the Alberta region] on the map in the U.S. for U.S. funding agencies". They also saw the Y2Y initiative as increasing the number of conservation professionals in the field – by hiring paid professional staff for the Y2Y organisation, supporting other groups working with money provided by the initiative and influencing others to work to advance the Y2Y concept. Another respondent spoke about the greater impact of funding on the initiative, through which core funding serves to provide leverage for other funding or to attract academics and others to become involved. This respondent cited good core funding for the umbrella organisation as one of the most important factors for success.

The respondents from the wilderness-advocacy NGO gave credit to the fact that positions in the organisation were paid, which was seen as providing credibility to both the organisation and cause, and by extension to related conservation efforts. This was considered important because it helps to offset some volunteer burnout, which is particularly prevalent among environmental groups, many of which are run by volunteers. The Y2Y organisation also was seen to have the benefit of available resources – money and time for organisation of events, such as a workshop for the Alberta Environmental Network meeting (Fall 2001) which was cited as an example. In discussion of Y2Y's funding success, these respondents found the initiative to have "increased the arena for conservation planning in Alberta".

Various respondents raised issues relating to political implications of obtaining funding. Two respondents (from a conservation NGO in Canmore and an independent observer from Crowsnest Pass) noted the comparative difficulty in raising money for conservation planning efforts versus obtaining funds for science and outreach purposes. In the words of one interviewee, cultural and social mapping is hard to do and it's "way easier to get grant money to study wolves and put collars on them".

Two respondents (one from the Y2Y organisation and the other from a land conservation NGO in Crowsnest Pass) talked about how organisational politics enters into funding arrangements. "The funding [agencies] are looking for relevancy and legitimacy – and to keep relevancy the organisation has to not be behind the scenes." Similarly "[conservation] organisations (such as Ducks Unlimited, Nature Conservancy of Canada) report to a board of directors – they look for success to go back to funders, and therefore need to have their own identity." Thus, the dependence on funding agencies influences the manner in which the organisation functions. Other interviewees spoke of this issue – one interviewee expressing concern over how funder-directed groups become. Another respondent representing business and outdoor recreational interests in Canmore expressed serious concern over the potential of the initiative to be influenced by its partners and their individual mandates. "In anything supported by groups with money – have a problem maintaining original intent."

A related issue is the sustainability of funding for the initiative. Several respondents noted Y2Y's dependence on philanthropic foundations for funding support. Two representatives from academia discussed the implications of the majority of Y2Y's funding (about 99%) being received from private foundations in the U.S. Northeast. This was described as "discretionary funding – foundations are interested because Y2Y is the new kid on the block, but they are usually not involved for the long term (5 years is a long time for [many foundations]). If they decide they're not interested anymore, no more Y2Y." This was seen as a considerable problem for the initiative, one that has even been acknowledged by the foundations, which have suggested their money be used to match and obtain other funding. One academic respondent stressed the difficulty of trying to fund regional planning efforts with money from private foundations located far away. In addition to connotations of elitism and top-down structure, it demonstrates a lack of buy-in (financially) from local communities

and groups, which is needed for this type of long-term effort. A few respondents also pointed out the association between conservation and industrial growth, as the funding from foundations is derived from the stock market, which relies on the growth of industry and development. This raises the question of whether conservation is dependent on industry to continue.

Two groups who voiced opposition to the Y2Y initiative (an outdoor recreation group in Crowsnest Pass and an external public policy NGO) had notably different perceptions of funding of the Y2Y initiative than those expressed above. From the perspective of the outdoor recreation group, the initiative had unlimited funding, to lobby, hire lobbyists, and have lawyers on staff. Representatives from the public policy NGO believed a significant amount of funding to related projects came from governmental sources.

Reflecting interviewees' comments, Y2Y's Strategic Plan (2000) identified the attraction of funding sources as one of the main strengths of the initiative. It was noted that Y2Y had made available substantial funding sources to the Y2Y initiative and its partner groups. The need to build a secure and diversified base of funding for the initiative was acknowledged, identified as a goal in the Strategic Plan. It was stated that efforts to obtain funding would be made in ways to minimise potential competition with network groups. The Y2Y organisation has attempted to diversify its funding sources through requests for financial support from individual members and groups (such as made in the Winter 2001 newsletter, and via the email listserv in winter 2002). Network members were asked to contribute to augment support received from foundations, and to demonstrate a greater diversity of funding, necessary in order to maintain charitable status in the U.S. It has been important for Y2Y to maintain charitable status in the U.S. because the organisation does not have this status in Canada, where this status is applied on a much more restricted basis. Network members in the U.S. are able to address contributions directly to the Y2Y conservation initiative, while in Canada the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society (CPAWS) serves as a recipient for Y2Y grants (Donate to Y2Y, 2003). Y2Y also initiated a Friends of Y2Y program in the winter of 2001 for network members and other supportive individuals and groups to make financial contributions to the initiative (Connections, Winter 2001).

Foundations in support of the Y2Y initiative in 2001 and 2002 (identified in Y2Y newsletters Winter 2001 and 2002) were predominantly from the east and west coasts of the U.S. (estimated 20 out of 23), and dedicated to funding environmental and in many cases also social causes. Several foundations that have played a large funding role in Y2Y, such as the Henry P. Kendall Foundation and the Wilburforce Foundation have listed the Y2Y region as a priority area for funding (as did the Brainerd Foundation) and also have had individuals with close ties to Y2Y on their boards (Kendall, Wilburforce and Brainerd Foundation websites). Y2Y Board member Harvey Locke was a senior program officer for the Kendall Foundation for four years (until the end of 2002), and Gary Tabor has been involved in the Y2Y initiative as the program officer responsible for grantmaking in the Y2Y region for the Wilburforce Foundation. From an anticipated budget of $1 million in 2000, Y2Y's budget was expected to roughly double in the next five years, the time line of the Strategic Plan.

The comparative difficulty of funding conservation science was noted in two Y2Y documents, in the proceedings of the Y2Y Connections conference (1997), and a 1999 funding report (Tabor and Soulé, 1999). These documents stated that funding for conservation science was not a priority for most funding agencies, which were more interested in supporting something with tangible results. As stated in the report to funders (Tabor and Soulé, 1999:25) "[t]he reality of funding science is that the process is expensive, the outcomes are uncertain; and the results do not always translate well in the political arena." This comment speaks to issues raised by interviewees of the greater difficulty of finding funds for social science research in comparison to traditional wildlife biology studies. Tabor and Soulé (1999) stated that, due to its emphasis on conservation science, Y2Y had the potential to rejuvenate this funding in North America. Additionally, foundation funding (from organisations described above) has been directed to some extent to operational costs – suggesting that funding for less tangible capacity building measures may not present an overriding challenge for the initiative.

The initiative's success in making funding available to network groups was noted in the 1999 funding report by Tabor and Soulé, in discussion of the Y2Y Grassroots Minigrants Program. The Minigrants Program entered its sixth year of funding in 2003, and functions by providing small grants of approximately $2000 U.S. to grassroots conservation efforts, to allow them to take advantage of opportunities that require a fast source of money. The

program is offered through a partnership between Y2Y and the LaSalle Adams Fund (based in the north eastern U.S.), and provides up to $30,000 U.S. a year, available to environmental/ conservation-oriented Y2Y network groups. This program was described in the report as an example that the initiative has provided a supportive framework for grassroots conservation. In partnership with the Wilburforce Foundation (based in Seattle, Washington) the initiative has also helped to fund conservation-related science projects in the Y2Y ecoregion, through the Y2Y Conservation Initiative – Wilburforce Foundation Science Grants Program. The goal of this grants program is to both advance scientific research and further conservation groups' goals. This grantmaking program entered its fifth year of funding in 2003, with the focus for this year on science that addresses ecological connectivity. Organisations that are currently active in the Y2Y network are given priority for funding.

5.3.3 Sustainability of Y2Y

The majority of those questioned about the ecological, social and political viability of the Y2Y initiative (38 out of 49) believed it to be potentially sustainable in terms of certain aspects (such as socially or ecologically) or provided particular conditions were met. Six interviewees commented that they did not know how the initiative was envisioned, four declining to provide a response. Respondents held varied views of what elements were considered significant to the sustainability of the vision. A few interviewees (four) believed the political dimension to be more challenging for the initiative – one respondent making reference to the political situation in Alberta, while two others spoke about the importance of sympathetic councils. Four respondents focussed on the ecological viability of the initiative, viewing it as likely to be viable, though possibly not for all species, such as female grizzly bears, which are unlikely to cross roads. One respondent (from a community stewardship NGO in Canmore) considered the initiative to be "trying to paint a picture of what's ecologically viable".

Others considered the vision to be sustainable "but not the current one in society – trying to change the fundamental nature of society – [it is] challenging not impossible". Another respondent observed that "people see it as trying to convert them to a new form of religion", and that the initiative needs to lose its image to avoid being seen as an "unwanted

evangelist". A further three interviewees highlighted the importance of having roles for stakeholders in the vision and broad buy-in from the community and public landowners as well as disposition holders. Representatives from the Y2Y organisation stated that the intent of the initiative was to be viable, though one representative suggested a more difficult question was if the initiative would play out as envisioned. Another Y2Y representative stated that different elements could be brought into the initiative at any time, believing there to be nothing in the initiative that would be exclusive of a diverse economy. This view of the initiative as non-exclusive was supported by an independent observer from Crowsnest Pass who believed the initiative would be viable because it's "actually quite benign to existing structures". They stated that "most of what Y2Y wants exists on the ground other than Montana, Southern Alberta, Bow Corridor and these were contentious to Y2Y anyway". "[Y2Y] is not a legislative thing, not a political thing, [there's] nothing in it that's bad to this point". Other respondents expressed similar views, one land conservation NGO representative from Crowsnest Pass considering the initiative to be sustainable at a theoretical level, but requiring a lot of education before the practical side becomes a reality. Two other respondents (from the federal government in the Crowsnest Pass area and representing business interests in Canmore) stated that the difficulty lies in determining the details and defining the vision.

Several respondents expressed more unequivocal views of the initiative, five (representing business interests in Canmore, a conservation NGO and the municipal government in Crowsnest Pass, and an external public policy NGO) stating that the initiative would not be viable as envisioned. Two respondents cited economics as a primary reason. These views were shared by two additional respondents (representing economic development interests in Canmore and the municipal government in Crowsnest Pass) who believed interference with the marketplace could lead to uncertainty for the initiative. Other respondents cited rather opposing reasons for the unsustainability of Y2Y. The representative of the conservation NGO argued that the initiative would not be viable because it had "no teeth in law", whereas interviewees from the public policy NGO representatives believed the initiative would be rebelled against if established by government, stating that people need incentives rather than regulations.

Discussion in documents was not centred on questioning the prospective sustainability of Y2Y, but instead on planning for what the initiative hoped to accomplish, and reviewing successes and obstacles encountered thus far.

Table 4 Organisational Capacity – Summary Table

Theme	Key Points
Establishing an Organisational Structure	- Y2Y organisation viewed as important, providing an organisational structure to allow other groups to come together to support the vision - dedicated, educated and influential people and leaders believed to be present in the Y2Y organisation and critical to its future success
Funding	- initiative was successful at attracting significant financial support from charitable foundations, predominantly from the U.S. - identified need to diversify funding base - more difficult to raise funds for conservation science, particularly cultural and social components - initiative established two granting programs to direct funding to network groups
Sustainability of Y2Y	- believed to be potentially sustainable (either ecologically or socially, or provided particular conditions were met)

5.4 Stakeholder Support and Involvement

Themes that arose in discussion of the stakeholders involved in the Y2Y initiative included interpreting the importance of the government as stakeholders, the need for the initiative to be inclusive of diverse groups, and the importance of bringing the initiative to the local level. Interviewee comments and documents revealed mixed views on the importance of the government role in Y2Y, in which involvement was seen variously as critically important and not helpful. It was widely recognised that the initiative was not as inclusive of diverse groups and interests as it should be, and this was believed to have been an ongoing problem since the commencement of the initiative. Interviewees and reports suggested that the initiative needed to connect to those operating at the local level. Interviewees identified a range of

stakeholders considered to be central to the Y2Y initiative, in particular the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society (CPAWS), non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and funding agencies (private foundations). While support for the Y2Y initiative was expressed by most of the interviewees who were asked, the degree of organisational involvement varied. One NGO representative characterised the organisational support and involvement for the initiative as support for the ideas in general, with less support likely as specific details were defined.

5.4.1 Importance of Government as Stakeholders

Nineteen respondents commented on the importance or effect of government involvement on the Y2Y initiative. Four respondents were from Canmore, eleven from Crowsnest Pass, and three from external organisations. Respondents put forward a number of rather contrary views, ranging from those who viewed government involvement as critical, to those who considered such involvement unproductive, unwelcome or unlikely. Five respondents (representing the media, municipal and provincial government, and business interests in Canmore, and one conservation NGO representative from Crowsnest Pass) believed government involvement to be critical to the successful implementation of the initiative. One respondent representing business interests in Canmore spoke of the provincial and federal governments, stating "if they want to do it, they can do it, and if they don't want to do it, it isn't going to happen". A municipal government representative from Canmore pointed out that much of Alberta is provincial land, and therefore considered the relationships with landowners and municipal and provincial governments to be important.

Of those taking a more pessimistic view of the government's involvement in the initiative, two respondents from a wilderness-advocacy NGO in Crowsnest Pass believed that the initiative would not be able to have much impact on public lands because they lie under government control. They emphasised this was particularly the case with the present government. Another conservation NGO representative from Crowsnest Pass stated although government involvement in the initiative was necessary, there was no chance for Y2Y to work with the government directly (this or any future government), because Y2Y advocates environmentalism, which conflicts with jobs. A provincial government representative from

Canmore substantiated this view, stating that while the government supports the Y2Y concept, they will find their own way of implementing it, because they don't want to be too closely associated with these initiatives and have expectations created regarding the government's role.

Alternatively, a federal government representative from the Crowsnest Pass area argued that a supportive government role (representing parks and protected areas) would not be helpful to public perception of the Y2Y concept, because of negative associations with these government bodies by the public. This argument was supported by a few other respondents, including two representatives of an external public policy organisation, who believed the government to be too closely associated with the initiative and related conservation efforts. They cited federal regulations and rezoning of protected areas, as well as the fact that government-controlled (public) land makes up a significant portion of the strategy, as indicating government involvement in the effort. Downplaying government involvement for different reasons, an informed community member from Crowsnest Pass believed the government to have too much funding from industry, presenting a conflict of interests for protecting the environment. On the other hand, representatives from an outdoor recreation group in Crowsnest Pass were of the opinion that the government was doing a good job of managing the areas over which they have authority, and pressure from outside conservation groups was responsible for problems of land use.

The relationship between the Y2Y initiative and the government was not a major focus of most documents reviewed, though a 1996 report on Y2Y (Tabor, 1996) gave an extensive background on the Canadian political landscape, both national and provincial. The purpose of the report was to introduce the initiative to an audience outside the Y2Y conservation community and to report on activities across the majority of the Y2Y regions of Alberta and BC. Tabor stated that based on the extensive amount of provincially-owned land in the two provinces (60% of land in Alberta, 94% in BC), the federal government would have a diminished role in these areas, besides working with the provincial government. Noting the strong "anti-federal government attitude" in Alberta, Tabor argued that compared to BC, Alberta was less liable to respond to federal initiatives, thereby potentially limiting the federal role in putting forward a consistent protected area strategy for the Y2Y region. He concluded

that "[c]onservation action, for better or for worse, is likely to be provincial" (Tabor, 1996:16).

However, federal governments from both countries demonstrated some support for the initiative in a Memorandum of Understanding between Parks Canada and the United States Parks Service, signed in May 1998, to be in effect for five years. The agreement referred to the cooperation in management, research, protection, conservation and presentation of National Parks and National Historic Sites, with a number of areas identified as possible priority areas, among them the Y2Y corridor. Echoing some interviewees' comments, the government's role was described as essential in one of the case studies presented in a booklet on conservation and communities in the Y2Y region (Gailus, 2000). The government was described as having had a pivotal role in the getting the planning process underway for the Muskwa-Kechika Management Area in northern BC.

Some relevant considerations raised in discussion of government involvement in Y2Y were raised both at the Connections conference in 1997, and in the 1996 report by Gary Tabor. The inevitable clash between short-term government planning (five-year plans) and large scale long-term conservation was pointed out by one keynote speaker at the conference. In his 1996 report Tabor made note of an issue that still receives little attention in the conservation community. He noted the lack of attention (compared to land protection) paid to institutional reform, such as human resource management and organisational culture within government agencies, which pose critical problems to land management.

5.4.2 Inclusiveness of the Initiative

Twenty-two respondents highlighted the importance of including a diversity of groups in the initiative. Respondents talked about the need for the initiative to be "as inclusive as possible", one interviewee (representing business interests in Canmore) further stating that it was necessary also to "retain the ability to hear what all stakeholder groups are saying". Respondents emphasised the need to have "atypical" advocates in support of the initiative, such as those from industry, the business community and ranching, logging and mining sectors. One respondent (an independent observer from Crowsnest Pass) suggested the initiative could benefit from "pragmatic "salesmanship" conducted by atypical advocates".

Representatives from the Y2Y organisation likewise acknowledged the importance of enlisting diverse allies in support of the initiative. Others emphasised the need for clarity of stakeholder roles in the concept. A representative of business interests in the Canmore area described this in terms of a good theme being one that everyone sees a way to be a part of for a long time.

A number of challenges to creating a truly inclusive organisation were put forward. Respondents made reference to the fact that it was easier to get support from traditional sectors, one representative of a conservation NGO in Crowsnest Pass commenting it was "easy to sell (the initiative) to scientists, resource people and environmentalists, but more difficult to sell to the average Joe". Another representative of a land conservation NGO from the Crowsnest Pass area made the point that key stakeholder groups vary among communities, and buy-in is needed from all of these groups in order for the initiative to proceed. They stated that recreational and residential development were important groups in Canmore, while in Crowsnest Pass ranching interests comprised a significant group. In terms of more specific challenges of the Y2Y initiative, a representative of the provincial government in the Crowsnest Pass area suggested that the broadness of the base (of support) of the initiative might not be inclusive enough to exercise sufficient influence for anything to change. Another respondent (an independent observer from Crowsnest Pass) corroborated this view, believing the initiative to be following patterns typical of environmental efforts, with promotional materials geared to a typical environmental audience (identified as a "hip, mountain biking idea"). This respondent also stated that the initiative's main forum for interaction (the email listserv) was dominated by men and did not reflect the diversity of people and their roles in the region.

The need for the Y2Y initiative to be inclusive of diverse interests and groups was a dominant theme among all the documents reviewed. At the 1997 Connections Conference, which was one of the first major launching pads for the initiative, workshop participants were strongly in support of expanding the Y2Y network to include a greater diversity of key stakeholders. Proposed strategies varied in terms of involving other groups, where some participants suggested first coalescing within the existing Y2Y network and then involving other groups, while others proposed inviting opponents early on to be part of the initiative and activities.

Some relevant issues that were identified included the timing and methods of drawing other groups into the initiative, asking how groups and individuals could be drawn into the initiative, and when others should be involved. These questions prompted others, such as whether the message goals needed to be clear before other groups could be involved, pointing out there was a lack of clarity regarding stakeholder roles in the initiative. Similar questions reoccurred in an early (1999) presentation on attitudes toward conservation relevant to Y2Y, which posed the question "How inclusive can Y2Y be without losing its purpose?" (Cameron, 1999). These questions raised in various forums at the beginning stages of the initiative underscore what has been a continual challenge for Y2Y. A 1996 report on Y2Y stated that "[t]aking the concept beyond the environmental community will be the true challenge of Y2Y" (Tabor, 1996:8). In a subsequent report in 1999, it was stated that the initiative was not inclusive enough "Y2Y has yet to broaden the tent" (Tabor and Soulé, 1999:2). The report noted that "[o]utside of government there has been insufficient effort to attract the public, the private sector, First Nations and communities into the Y2Y process" (:3). The report went on to say that issues regarding hunters and anglers needed to be addressed, and that some conservation groups had yet to be adequately engaged in the initiative. A related point that was raised was the importance of making the language of the initiative inclusive – both directing the message in a style appropriate for other groups, and de-emphasising language (such as "visionary" and "utopian") that evokes strongly environmental and "quasi-religious" sentiment, which may be a deterrent to those holding more pragmatic views of conservation.

Those involved in the initiative have continued to stress the importance of people and communities to the effort. In his initial announcement as the first Executive Director of Y2Y, Jim Pissot noted that the mission statement started off as "People working together", and stated that "people, from Yellowstone to Yukon, are the key to our success" (Connections, Summer 2001). In a four-page write-up describing the initiative from July 2001, the challenge of including others in an environmental effort was highlighted, where it stated "Y2Y recognises that we must not only think on an unprecedented ecological scale, but also must employ broader and more inclusive strategy related to the human community – territory that is not too familiar to conservationists." (Yellowstone to Yukon Conservation Initiative Who We Are and What We Do, 2001: 4). An article on Y2Y in *Alternatives Journal* (2001) also described the initiative as inclusive of diverse groups as well as approaches to

conservation (including a variety of private land strategies) (Gailus, 2001). However, those critical of the initiative continue to describe the initiative as an environmental agenda that does not take other groups and interests into account. An article in *Canadian Cattlemen* magazine (Rose, 2001) criticised the initiative on the grounds that it did not appear to be inclusive of specific groups such as rural people, workers in resource extraction industries or ranching interests, but was operating with an agenda to change land use with no input from or concern for long-time land users.

5.4.3 Local Level Involvement

Respondents believed that bringing the initiative to the local level was critical to achieve its goals. Twenty-one interviewees spoke about involvement at the local level; eight from Canmore, eleven from Crowsnest Pass, and two from external organisations (academia and a land conservation NGO). Respondents talked about interpreting the initiative at the individual level, and identifying a role for the individual. A number of interviewees posed the question "how does the initiative affect me?", asking how to incorporate individual and community concerns into an ethereal concept. One tourism representative from Canmore pointed out that the community is overwhelmed by issues and acronyms, and for the average person it can be fairly confusing, suggesting that people need their connection to the initiative to be defined, and they need to be reminded of it. A federal government representative from the Canmore area put this in terms of allowing people to see themselves in the landscape, and giving them a means to buy into it and take ownership of it. An independent observer from Crowsnest Pass questioned how people could participate if they didn't want to join the local grassroots group and compromise personal principles to be part of Y2Y.

Five of the respondents emphasised the importance of having local champions supporting the initiative. Respondents represented various levels of government in both Canmore and Crowsnest Pass – municipal, provincial and federal government representatives from the Crowsnest Pass area, and municipal and provincial government from Canmore. One municipal government representative from Canmore stated that it "has to be local-led – that's where people need to focus energies". They described local champions as respected people with a positive impact in the community. Another respondent from Crowsnest Pass pointed

out that such supporters need a strong root of an organisation to provide continual support for the initiative over the long-term. Communication through a local champion was seen to be important because of the difficulty of having someone come in from outside the community. An informed community member from Crowsnest Pass stated the feeling in the community was that "a lot of groups [were] coming in and telling the local population what to do and trying to change things". Two respondents in Crowsnest Pass (a provincial government representative and a representative of a land conservation NGO) mentioned that the Sonoran Institute had attempted to work in the Pass, but pulled out because they did not have a base in the community. In Canmore, a long time member of the Y2Y organisation was seen to be a local spear header and champion for the initiative and related issues. A provincial government, community NGO, and a business representative each mentioned this individual.

Some subtly different notions of local level involvement also were suggested by interviewees' comments. While the importance of the initiative to be locally-led was discussed in terms of local champions, another representative from a wilderness-advocacy NGO in Canmore stated the goal of the initiative to be "scientifically defendable and locally accepted". The notion of local acceptance implies a potentially different approach than one that is locally led, the former suggesting an outcome that may not have been directed by the local community. This distinction was alluded to in discussion with a representative of a land conservation NGO in Crowsnest Pass, who suggested a facilitative role for the initiative. This was described as one in which developing trust would involve putting issues in the hands of local people, then stepping back and accepting the outcome of the local processes. Other respondents differed on the need for individuals at the local level (the "average Joe") to be aware of the initiative. While some respondents (such as a representative of an external conservation NGO) believed local people need to be included in the initiative, another respondent (representing a wilderness-advocacy NGO in Canmore) believed the focus to be encouraging local empowerment, rather than having people be knowledgeable of the Y2Y initiative itself.

In the documents relating to Y2Y, local level involvement was implied in discussion of engaging communities and including diverse groups in the initiative. More directly, local level involvement was a prominent theme in the proceedings of the Connections Conference

(1997), where one keynote speaker stated "We must think big both in time and space but also stay grounded in our communities. All politics, someone once said (…), is local" (:63). In discussion of running effective environmental campaigns, speakers argued that campaigns need to be linked to local history. However, the local example of the Castle-Crown Wilderness Campaign presented a potential conflict of local interest and outside involvement. This campaign was stated as having difficulty achieving its conservation objectives, in part due to weaker local support as compared to the opposition. The Y2Y concept was put forward as a useful tool to garner support (such as from across the Y2Y region) to support this local level campaign. Considering the implications of building support from the greater region for a local level campaign which has little local support, raises the question of whether such an effort is actually operating at the local level or accounting for local interests.

Similar points to those brought up in the interviews were also noted in the 1999 funding report on Y2Y (Tabor and Soulé, 1999). These authors argued that the initiative needs to become something that people are personally invested in (particularly in the U.S.), and "Y2Y needs to get the big picture concept connected to John and Jane Doe" (Tabor and Soulé, 1999:3). Likewise they stated that Y2Y needs to enlist local champions to support the initiative at the local level. In discussion of applying conservation strategies to private and other lands, the authors noted that "[t]he art of the land deal is an experience built on local credibility" – bringing to light the depth and time involved in undertaking such efforts (:21).

5.4.4 Dominant Stakeholders in the Y2Y Initiative

In addition to those who discussed the importance of government as a stakeholder in the Y2Y initiative and the need for Y2Y to be inclusive of diverse organisations and perspectives, respondents listed a variety of organisations as significant in Y2Y. (Forty-five respondents out of fifty-seven were asked to identify key stakeholders in the Y2Y initiative). Various local and higher level non-profit environmental groups were mentioned, respondents referring to CPAWS (Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society) more than any other group. Nine respondents in total (from both Canmore and Crowsnest Pass) listed CPAWS as a critical organisation to the initiative. As well as those that mentioned CPAWS or referred to national scale mainstream conservation organisations as stakeholders, five respondents considered

environmental NGOs to play a significant role in the initiative. Respondents (an independent observer, and representatives of a wilderness-advocacy NGO and the Y2Y organisation in Canmore, and an independent observer from Crowsnest Pass) stressed the importance of grassroots organisations, one respondent stating the initiative was driven by values, which were best articulated through citizen's organisations. An independent observer from Crowsnest Pass believed that the initiative wanted to distance itself from high profile advocacy groups, but was unable to because these groups were the ones that dominated the initiative.

Other groups frequently considered important to the initiative included the Y2Y organisation itself (discussed by five respondents) and funding agencies (foundations – brought up by five respondents), particularly those that have been influential in funding the initiative to date (such as the Wilburforce Foundation and the Kendall Foundation). Noting obstacles arising from dealing with a variety of stakeholders, several respondents (four) commented on the different views held by various conservation organisations, which made it difficult to bring even these groups (with aligned interests) together under one initiative such as Y2Y.

In documents relating to Y2Y, stakeholders were predominantly considered to be diverse groups and interests with a stake in conservation planning within, and influencing, the Y2Y region. Groups that were considered important and not yet significantly engaged in the initiative included First Nations, outdoor and wildlife sporting groups, local communities and others.

5.4.5 Organisational Involvement and Support

Of the fifty-seven interviewees, thirty-three were asked about the involvement of their organisation and its support for the Y2Y initiative. These questions were not posed to interviewees who were not members of an organisation (some independent observers), those not in support of the Y2Y initiative, those who were members of the Y2Y organisation, and where there was insufficient time. Out of the thirty-three respondents, seventeen were from Canmore, twelve were from Crowsnest Pass and four were from external organisations.

While all thirty-three respondents expressed some degree of support for the initiative, the degree of involvement was varied. This distinction was brought to light by one respondent (a representative of an external conservation NGO) who stated "everyone can see themselves as being for Y2Y in the most general sense" with the view that labelling (coming down to specifics) would cause people to drop out. Eight respondents were closely aligned with and involved in the Y2Y initiative, while sixteen had little direct involvement. The remaining nine respondents had very little or no association with the initiative.

Those respondents and organisations most involved with the Y2Y initiative were wilderness-advocacy, naturalist and community stewardship NGOs from the Canmore area, two academic representatives, as well as one independent observer involved on a personal level (eight in total). Two NGO representatives were committee or Board members for the Y2Y organisation, and had close ties between their organisations, while two other respondents represented an NGO that has been instrumental in initiating and supporting Y2Y (CPAWS). One academic representative described themselves as involved both directly and indirectly in the initiative, as a member of a supporting NGO and as an instructor teaching about related concepts. Another academic representative was involved in the initiative through an NGO that was affiliated with the university. Commenting on actual participation in the Y2Y network, a representative from the Y2Y organisation stated that the diversity of the network was not as broad as they would like, participants primarily (85-90%) traditionally-oriented campaigning (environmental) advocacy groups, others including some businesses, science/advocacy groups and individuals from a broad range including conservationists and scientists. They commented that they would like to see more official agency representation, noting that there were many individual representatives from agencies, but not any one agency.

Among the sixteen respondents who had a less direct role in the initiative were a large number of government representatives (nine, from all three levels of government, from Canmore and Crowsnest Pass), a media representative from Canmore, four NGO representatives from Crowsnest Pass (wilderness-advocacy, land conservation and environmental NGOs) and two tourism representatives from the Pass. Representatives of the municipal government in Canmore stated that the town had not been directly involved with Y2Y, though there was on-going communication between municipal representatives and the Y2Y organisation. One representative believed that the town had not been asked to support

the initiative in any particular way. Responses differed somewhat among provincial government representatives. One representative from Canmore stated that the government was involved specifically at the local level (in Canmore) with Y2Y, in cooperative projects. Another representative from Canmore expressed views similar to a provincial representative from Crowsnest Pass, stating the government had little involvement – they knew what the initiative was about and the concept. This view was expanded upon by federal government representatives (Canmore, Crowsnest Pass areas and external) who believed the government's contribution to Y2Y was in doing its own job well. A federal representative from the Canmore area commented that involvement in the Y2Y initiative was a sensitive question organisationally or politically perhaps, stating that the government was not actively engaged in Y2Y. An external federal government representative described their involvement in terms that they were aware of Y2Y and supported it, and their position of endorsement was within a fairly restrictive context. This representative referred to a memorandum of understanding between the U.S. government and Parks Canada, which contained reference to principles promoted in Y2Y. This memorandum was also mentioned by a Y2Y representative as a sign of support from the two governments.

Other forms of indirect involvement in the initiative (on the part of other groups) included funding received from the Y2Y mini-grants program by a wilderness-advocacy NGO in Crowsnest Pass. However, a representative from this NGO viewed the Y2Y initiative to have limited relevance to their local efforts, and the success of their organisation. Two tourism representatives from Crowsnest Pass stated that they included information on Y2Y in their presentations, while a local media representative from Canmore saw their role in Y2Y as contributing to public awareness of the initiative. A representative of a land conservation NGO from Crowsnest Pass stated that while they had been involved with the initiative in workshops as well as other activities, being too closely aligned with Y2Y would result in their organisation being viewed (by ranchers and others) with the same mistrust.

The nine respondents with little or no association with the initiative included four local level representatives from Canmore (tourism, outdoor recreation, business and economic development interests), two representatives of a land conservation NGO from Crowsnest Pass, one external representative of a conservation NGO, and two governmental representatives from the Pass (municipal and provincial government). Support and involvement on the part

of a business representative in Canmore was characterised as we "don't firmly support [Y2Y] but not coming out in opposition is a form of support". An economic development representative from Canmore meanwhile stated that their organisation had no involvement in the initiative, but it could possibly play something of a symbolic role (in support of economic development strategies posed by Y2Y, for example). Two representatives of a national scale land conservation NGO operating in Crowsnest Pass stated that their organisation did not deal with the initiative in that area. Neither did the two governmental representatives (municipal and provincial) acknowledge any involvement with the initiative in the Crowsnest Pass area. The municipal representative believed that there had not been any directed effort to sell the concept to the municipal government. Relating to concerns about being viewed with mistrust as a result of an association with Y2Y (expressed above), an external representative of a conservation NGO stated that their organisation did not want to be pulled away from their mandate through association with Y2Y. They believed that "Y2Y activists have an agenda that is contrasting to the mission and policies of [their group]" – they saw this as one of trying to change the political environment. This respondent stated that their organisation was not created to fight issues, but to work within the political environment to come up with solutions that could be implemented.

As noted in the section on the inclusiveness of the initiative, the Y2Y initiative has had trouble attracting a broad diversity of groups and representatives to address its goals of bringing people together to work towards conservation. At the Connections Conference in 1997, one keynote speaker stated that many grassroots groups were still absent from the initiative, while numerous participants commented on the lack of First Nations representation at the conference. Questions around obtaining organisational support and involvement were highlighted earlier in the section on the inclusiveness of the initiative, dealing with when and how to involve other groups and interests.

In their analysis of the Y2Y initiative over 1996-1997, Clark and Gaillard (2001) noted that government representatives were excluded from direct participation in Y2Y meetings in its beginning stages, though afterwards more interest developed for gaining governmental support. Government at all three levels were highlighted at the Connections conference as important members in the initiative. As noted in the section on the importance

of government involvement to the Y2Y initiative, the Memorandum of Understanding between Parks Canada and the United States Parks Service signed in 1998 recognised the Y2Y corridor as a possible priority area for inter-governmental cooperation.

The 1999 report on Y2Y for a central funding agency stated that a physical presence for the initiative, such as a representative or champion, was needed in the U.S. (Tabor and Soulé, 1999). The report went on to state that Y2Y was dependent on support (across the region) from non-profit champions – emphasising the importance of champions at the organisational level, in addition to advocating individual leaders operating at the local level. The report stated that support for Y2Y should include key member organisations that are responsible for driving the Y2Y initiative. This recommendation corresponds with one of the stated goals of the Y2Y Strategic Plan (2000), to build the capacity of network groups to effectively implement the Y2Y vision on the ground.

Some demonstrated collaborations of Y2Y with other groups include publications supported by the initiative and member groups, such as a document on community conservation efforts, titled *Bringing Conservation Home: Caring for Land, Economies and Communities in Western Canada* jointly produced by the Y2Y initiative and the Sonoran Institute in 2000 (Gailus, 2000). In addition, some high-profile support was demonstrated for the initiative in the production of a book on Yellowstone to Yukon, highlighting the region and the initiative, which was put out by the National Geographic Society in 2000 as part of their Destinations series (Chadwick, 2000).

More recently a two-page listing of the number of organisations involved in the Y2Y initiative (The Growing Y2Y Network, 2003) stated that participants included more than 500 groups and individuals, representing close to one million conservation-minded people. One hundred and seventy one organisations were listed, the majority representing environmental interests and based in Alberta, British Columbia and Montana. There were a slightly greater number of organisations listed from across Canada than from the United States (86 Canadian and 78 American), in addition to seven international organisations.

Table 5 Stakeholder Support and Involvement – Summary Table

Theme	Key Points
Importance of Government as Stakeholders	- mixed views, ranging from government involvement as critical, unproductive, unwelcome or unlikely
Inclusiveness of the Initiative	- need for initiative to be inclusive of diverse interests and groups was a dominant theme throughout interviews and documents reviewed - identified need to have support from "atypical" advocates – though easier to get support from traditional environmental advocates - need for clarity of stakeholder roles
Local Level Involvement	- need to connect initiative to community and individual level, identify role for the individual - local champions considered important for success
Dominant Stakeholders in the Y2Y Initiative	- Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society (CPAWS) was considered a critical organisation - also environmental NGOs, grassroots organisations, Y2Y organisation, charitable foundations
Organisational Involvement and Support	- respondents expressed general support for initiative, while involvement was varied – the majority had indirect or no involvement in initiative - majority of participants in Y2Y network environmental advocacy groups

5.5 Awareness Building

Themes that contribute to awareness building included awareness of issues related to connectivity and the Y2Y initiative, communicating with the public and public relations, developing public support, credibility and perception. Key points included the importance of awareness raising, which was considered to be a success. Widespread public awareness of the initiative was also considered by some to be an ongoing problem of the initiative. In terms of communications, an appealing message and a clearly communicated concept and goals were considered to be essential to implement the initiative on the ground. Communicating with the public was put forward as a major focus for communications efforts, in order to gain public support, a necessary factor to advance the initiative. Of Y2Y's public relations efforts, the Y2Y Hike, conducted by Karsten Heuer over 1998-1999, was widely believed to be the most successful. The credibility of the initiative also arose as an important factor of success, and

was seen to be related to the political neutrality of the organisation and enhanced by a number of other factors. One of the major obstacles was found to be public perception, where negative perceptions were associated with the stakeholders involved and extreme preservationist views believed to be represented by the Y2Y initiative.

5.5.1 Awareness

Nineteen respondents from Canmore, Crowsnest Pass and external organisations viewed the Y2Y initiative as having succeeded in creating awareness of issues related to connectivity and of the Y2Y concept to some degree. Respondents represented diverse organisations, from business and outdoor recreation interests to the media, a naturalist NGO, a wilderness-advocacy NGO and the provincial government in Canmore (eight respondents). Those from Crowsnest Pass (seven respondents) represented business and tourism interests, land conservation NGOs, the provincial government, and independent views (an independent observer and an informed community member). Three respondents represented academia and one an external conservation organisation. Among those who identified awareness creation to have resulted from, or been a success of the Y2Y initiative, views of the degree of this success were varied. While a few interviewees considered the initiative's creation of awareness to be a great success, others considered it to be a more qualified one. Responses varied from "awareness has been a great success so far" and the "promotion of the Y2Y vision has been very successful – the concept is "out there"", to it has "probably had some effect of raising public awareness in some notions of connectivity and animal's range".

Respondents focussed on different aspects of awareness, one interviewee from a naturalist NGO in Canmore noting a grassroots level of awareness and interest stating it's "really interesting to watch public hearings – people coming out of the woodwork speaking about Y2Y – local politicians hearing about it". A provincial government representative from Crowsnest Pass credited Y2Y with an increased public awareness of resource issues, while an independent observer from Crowsnest Pass believed a success of the initiative to be "international awareness of the critical need for broad-based internationally endorsed goals – habitat preservation, species diversity [and] landscape preservation".

Several respondents that referred to the initiative as having increased awareness of issues also considered public awareness and knowledge of the concept to be a problem, one respondent stating that the initiative was "not commonly understood" and was "confused with other issues". These respondents included an economic development representative and an informed community member from Crowsnest Pass, and a representative of an external conservation NGO. These views indicate development of a more general awareness of conservation issues, rather than a widespread understanding of the Y2Y concept. The degree to which awareness of the initiative is widespread (or rests within certain groups) also was questioned by two respondents from a wilderness-advocacy NGO in Crowsnest Pass, who stated that "[Y2Y] is not a big part of awareness around here – only within the conservation community and landowners". A representative of business interests in Canmore believed there to be little public awareness of the concept and its goals and achievements. In reference to the confusion and different perceptions associated with the Y2Y initiative, one representative of a land conservation NGO from Crowsnest Pass repeated a Y2Y Board member's comment, that "we should have just called it the "Getting the Wildlife Across the Road" Initiative".

Increased awareness was considered to be a significant factor or indicator of success of the initiative by eight respondents from a broad spectrum of organisations in Canmore and one representative of academia. Increased awareness of the need to protect an area was viewed as a "first measure of success" by a respondent representing business interests in Canmore. Three respondents (two from Crowsnest Pass and one from Canmore) believed raising awareness to be part of the main goals or purpose of the initiative.

Raising awareness was not explicitly discussed as a major theme in the documents that were reviewed, though communications and public relations did arise as an important focus. The Y2Y Strategic Plan (2000) acknowledged as a weakness the continuing lack of widespread public awareness and understanding of the Y2Y initiative. One of the objectives identified in the Plan (corresponding to the goal of constituency building) was to increase awareness, support for and involvement in the initiative of residents and visitors, by 25% over recent levels in three years time, and 50% over the five year time period of the Plan.

5.5.2 Communications and Public Relations

Communication in a variety of forms was discussed by eighteen respondents, six from Canmore, ten from Crowsnest Pass, one academic and one external federal government representative. Interviewees represented a wide range of interests – in Canmore they included the Y2Y organisation, a community and a wilderness-advocacy NGO, and business and economic development interests. In Crowsnest Pass respondents included those from the municipal, provincial and federal governments, wilderness-advocacy and environmental NGOs, as well as two independent observers. Communicating with the public stood out as major focus of communications, and this is discussed in conjunction with public relations below. Other broadly important aspects of communication that were discussed included the quality and delivery of the message, the forums for communication, and the stakeholder groups involved.

In terms of the quality and delivery of the message, a representative from the Y2Y organisation emphasised the "importance of having a good message articulated and out there first, to set the terms for the debate". This was something the Y2Y organisation was not able to do, and as a result encountered backlash from opposing organisations who defined the concept in negative terms. An appealing message was also cited as important by an external federal government representative. A Y2Y representative further discussed the importance of building and refining the message, in order that "a lot of people (could) speak effectively about Y2Y". Another wilderness-advocacy NGO from the Canmore area highlighted the importance of communicating clearly about the objectives of the initiative, noting that vagueness leads to more suspicion regarding the intent of the initiative. Communicating the message also was seen by two respondents (an independent observer and a representative of an environmental NGO both from Crowsnest Pass) to include the communication and promotion of strategic success stories related to the initiative. The timing of delivering the message was also commented on by a representative from a wilderness-advocacy NGO in Canmore. They advised that regional conservation planning efforts similar to Y2Y should employ careful planning before launching and moving ahead with the initiative and becoming public too early, as was perceived to be the case with Y2Y. Two respondents from Crowsnest Pass (an independent observer and a representative of a land conservation NGO) also

commented on the level at which to launch an initiative, believing that it should be launched locally before nationally. These respondents believed that the Y2Y initiative was negatively perceived by residents in the region in part because it had been initially launched at the national level.

Regarding the forums for communication, four respondents (municipal, provincial and federal government representatives from the Crowsnest Pass area and a representative of business interests from Canmore) all mentioned public or open forums as a way to promote dialogue on relevant issues. A federal government representative advocated "forums that strive for constructive dialogue and debate around challenges (facing the local ecosystem)". A provincial government representative saw such forums as a way to share research and information, while the respondent from Canmore viewed forums in the style of open houses, to get out and provide updates and information to large groups of people, to gain grassroots support. The exercise of engaging communities in dialogue and debate around issues and concerns was seen by the federal government representative from Crowsnest Pass as a proactive way to address issues in advance of decision making, to be undertaken before decisions were imminent.

In addition to the importance of communicating with the public (discussed below), respondents also brought up communication needs with other stakeholder groups. Two respondents from Canmore (representatives of a wilderness-advocacy NGO and a community NGO) believed communication with participant organisations and involvement of all groups in the process to be important. Touching on this point, a representative of business interests in Canmore questioned whether certain stakeholder groups had more access to information than others, noting that information should be more available to the public and interested groups. Two provincial government representatives from Crowsnest Pass stated that Y2Y had done a poor job of communicating to the government, at least in their area, as they were not overly familiar with the effort.

Of the eighteen respondents (identified above) who discussed aspects of communication relating to Y2Y, ten brought up the importance of communicating with the public. A further ten respondents identified public relations as an important factor contributing to the success of the initiative. Of these twenty respondents, eight were from Canmore and ten were from Crowsnest Pass. Respondents from external agencies included

an academic and a federal government representative. Nine respondents directly identified communicating with the public or public relations to be a priority for the advancement of the Y2Y initiative, while others considered this aspect to be one of the most important factors for advancing the initiative. The need to maintain the visibility of the issue was brought up by five respondents (two speaking in terms of gaining public support). This was described by one academic representative as the "challenge of keeping [the initiative] on the public agenda". A provincial government representative from Canmore advised that keeping the profile high would help get funding for the initiative. One representative from a conservation NGO in Crowsnest Pass believed that the Y2Y initiative needed to correct its image in the Crowsnest Pass area, re-emphasising the need to put the message forward, stating that the more activities are done in the background, the more people become suspicious.

One of the initiative's most important public relations efforts, as identified by multiple respondents, was the hike across the Y2Y region conducted in 1998-1999 by Karsten Heuer, a former Banff park warden. Thirteen respondents spoke about the hike, six from Canmore, five from Crowsnest Pass, and two from external organisations – academia and the federal government. Respondents from Canmore represented economic development and tourism interests, a community NGO, the local media and the provincial and federal government, while those from Crowsnest Pass represented the provincial government, an environmental and a conservation NGO, and one was an independent observer. Seven of the thirteen respondents considered the hike to be one of the main successes of the initiative. Respondents commented on the effect of the hike on bringing the initiative to the local level. One federal government respondent from the Canmore area stated that "Karsten Heuer's Y2Y walk, his public presentations had a big impact on focussing on your effect, your individual community's effect on the bigger landscape that Y2Y's contemplating". Commenting along similar lines, one academic stated "Karsten did a great thing talking to communities along the way – more of that would be great". Five respondents (two from Canmore and three from Crowsnest Pass) who viewed the hike as the initiative's most visible public relations effort believed the initiative to have dropped from the public eye since then. In reference to the hike, one conservation NGO representative from Crowsnest Pass stated "initially Y2Y started off with good PR – then fizzled out, I'm not sure where they went".

Communications with the public and key groups were identified as a priority for Y2Y in the documents that were reviewed. The Y2Y Strategic Plan (2000) referred to communication in a number of contexts, such as to explain the importance and significance of areas to be protected, and more generally to build support for the initiative. Corresponding with interviewees' comments, the Plan recognised that communicating a clear message is necessary to achieve the Y2Y vision. It stated that in some areas in Canada opponents of the initiative have tried to put forward a competing definition of the vision. The Plan contended "[u]ltimately, Y2Y will "sell" its Vision only if it is able to clearly articulate a consistent, coherent, and compelling Y2Y story to a wide diversity of constituencies and publics, and to design and implement activities that will engage and mobilise those constituencies and publics around that story." Similarly, both the 1999 funding report by Tabor and Soulé and an article from the *Wild Earth* journal titled "The Politics of Y2Y", emphasised the importance of developing a clear and compelling message for Y2Y. In "The Politics of Y2Y" it was put forward that the "message must be clear, positive, value-based and explicit about the action we want people to take" (Johns, 1998). Tabor and Soulé (1999) stated that the initiative required help in developing a message and a communications strategy, and suggested that there should be separate communications strategies for Canada and the U.S. Recommendation for assistance in message development and communications speaks to some of the difficulties encountered by the Y2Y organisation, as noted in the Y2Y Strategic Plan (2000). The Plan stated that outreach had been designated the top work plan priority for Y2Y in 1997 at the commencement of the initiative, but although considerable effort was made, the size of this task had resulted in efforts being more "opportunistic and reactive" than originally intended and desired.

The Y2Y Strategic Plan (2000) put forward a direction to greatly expand and improve communication and outreach strategies, community programs and public education initiatives, and undertake research over five years. Not included in this review of documents was a report on the first phase of Y2Y's Communications Research Program, which was completed in the summer of 2002. In brief, this information audit (of documents and reports on the Y2Y "communications landscape") found the communications landscape to be "disjointed and diffuse" (Y2Y, 2002). The report stated that many of the studies, articles, reports and media information on the initiative were "regionally or locally focussed; very few look at the larger

picture, and most do not attempt to relate the interconnectedness of wilderness throughout the region" (Connections, Winter 2002:4). This information audit is part of larger continuing study (through 2002-2003) that will include a public opinion survey, and focus group work.

In terms of the success of Y2Y's outreach activities, Tabor and Soulé (1999) reported findings similar to the interviewees' comments described above. The Y2Y Hike by Karsten Heuer from 1998-1999 was reported as the initiative's most effective public relations effort to date. The Y2Y *Connections* newsletter also made note of another Y2Y hike "Sawtooths to Selkirks" – from Idaho to BC conducted by Josh Burnim in 2000, which involved giving numerous public presentations and leading a number of public hikes in the region. Other mentions of promotional activities in the documents reviewed included efforts to involve the public as well as network members in the Annual Council Gathering for Y2Y in 2001, held in Nelson, BC. Likewise, members from the local community were invited to take part in a reception that was part of a Y2Y coordinating committee meeting near Jackson, Wyoming, in the summer of 2001. On an ongoing basis, the Y2Y email listserv has functioned as a forum for communication and interchange on the initiative and related issues among listserv participants. It has been an active listserv, with upwards of five or ten messages posted on a daily basis. Postings have included conservation news in Y2Y, information on research projects, reports and findings, conservation action alerts and media releases, opinion pieces, upcoming presentations, workshops and conferences, job postings, discussions of environmental issues and both U.S. and Canadian content. Communication via the listserv has been limited to those who agree to become network participants in Y2Y, the criteria being that members share the vision of Y2Y, concur with the values of Y2Y and its operation, and agree to operate within the intent of the network (Y2Y Network Member Information, 2001). Postings on the listserv have often appeared to be dominated by certain vocal individuals and environmental groups, though both traditional preservationist values and more flexible and comprehensive conservation views have been demonstrated. Based on their observations of the listserv's operation over 1996-1997, Clark and Gaillard (2001) believed it to be a forum for building a shared problem definition, one that was more comprehensive than solely the ecological dimension of Y2Y.

5.5.3 Public Support

A desired outcome of public relations efforts is the development of awareness and public support. Ten respondents (two from Canmore, five from Crowsnest Pass and three from external organisations) focussed on public support as a necessary factor and priority to advance the initiative. One provincial government representative from Canmore identified public support as the "number one thing you have to have", while an academic representative believed that the "importance of public and community support cannot be over-estimated". The provincial government representative from Canmore made the point that in looking at the bigger picture more than just local support is necessary, rather support is necessary at a much broader scale.

Direct mentions of public support in the documents reviewed included a stated interest in securing a substantial base of public support, highlighted in a four-page write-up on the initiative "Who We Are and What We Do" (2001). Furthermore, a joint publication of the Y2Y initiative and the Sonoran Institute on conservation and communities in the Y2Y region found public participation to be an essential element to the success of community-based efforts (Gailus, 2000). Public participation is linked to public support, in that participation may arise as an outcome of public support, and may act as a precursor to obtaining that support.

5.5.4 Credibility

Respondents from both Canmore and Crowsnest Pass (11 people from a variety of government agencies, NGOs and also the Y2Y organisation) made reference to the importance of the credibility of the Y2Y effort through discussion of different actions that influence it. The organisation was viewed by a municipal government representative in Canmore as having a good reputation for staying apolitical in the community. This was seconded by a provincial government representative in Canmore who considered Y2Y to have done a good job not to be seen as radical. In total four respondents from Canmore spoke about the importance of the Y2Y initiative to be politically neutral and sell a balanced

approach in order to maintain credibility. One respondent from a conservation NGO in Crowsnest Pass believed that Y2Y was not a credible initiative.

A number of actions were regarded as important to enhance credibility. Education was discussed by one respondent as a means to develop credibility, through the establishment of a need. They argued that the prominent role of the Y2Y initiative should be educational, to demonstrate the impact of activities on the area and in this way allow the initiative to differentiate itself from becoming another environmental lobby group, whose protests might not be considered if they were presented in a radical way. A "need has to be identified so people can see credibility". A representative from the Y2Y organisation related credibility to the scientific research underway. They considered the scientific research to be very good in bringing people to the table and providing credibility.

Several other respondents (four – from municipal governments in Canmore and Crowsnest Pass and from the provincial government in Canmore) spoke about the influence of partners in enhancing credibility. Credibility with communities was highlighted by one respondent as one of the most important factors for successful conservation planning. Another respondent emphasised behind the scenes facilitation and partnering with the community as ways of establishing credibility at the community level. Possibilities were described as facilitating joint exercises and letting established groups take over the report, or letting the community lead with partnership from the organisation. Partners in universities and colleges were seen by one interviewee to provide more access to information and inherent credibility to the initiative than it would have otherwise. A provincial government representative believed credibility to be enhanced by the number of people the organisation speaks to (the broadness of the constituency) – "to the extent that any group can demonstrate that they speak for a large number of people and speak in a clear loud voice for environment … chances are good [they] will be listened to."

Two representatives of a wilderness-advocacy NGO in Crowsnest Pass felt that paid positions with the Y2Y organisation enhanced the credibility of the organisation because they did not have to rely on volunteer support, unlike many environmental NGOs. Furthermore, they noted that my position as a researcher studying Y2Y in Crowsnest Pass also would provide credibility to the Y2Y concept to many individuals who previously may not have spent much time thinking about the initiative.

In the documents that were reviewed, particularly Y2Y's tri-annual *Connections* newsletter, repeated mention was made of the high profile external support and recognition that the Y2Y initiative has received. In Y2Y's Winter 2001 *Connections* newsletter, Y2Y highlighted their involvement in a national conference on nature conservation *Conservation that Works!* put on by the Canadian National Roundtable on the Environment and Economy (NRTEE) in November 2001 in Winnipeg, Manitoba. No presentations were made on the subject of the initiative, but Y2Y informed the theme of the conference and a variety of presentations. The initiative was also mentioned in an NRTEE booklet on interrelating human health, conservation and global economic opportunities "Achieving a Balance: Four Challenges for Canada in the Next Decade". The booklet referred to Y2Y as an example of the "new integrated systems of land management [that] are needed" to support conservation values (2001:5). This support for the Y2Y initiative and its approach were observed by a Y2Y Board member as evidence of the initiative becoming "part of the conservation vernacular at all levels. It's not just a dream anymore" (Connections, Winter 2001).

Other more recent recognition of the initiative included an invitation to the Y2Y organisation to take part in a roundtable with Canada's Minister of the Environment David Anderson and select non-governmental groups, regarding the Kyoto Protocol and the passage of a strong national Species At Risk Act (Connections, Spring 2002). At a North American Wilderness Conference in June 2002 (in Seattle), former BC Premier Mike Harcourt advocated for the Y2Y initiative and related efforts (such as Algonquin to Adirondack and others) as grassroots efforts helping to shift the focus from protected islands to networks (Harcourt, 2002). The Y2Y initiative was also given credit by a senior Canadian politician "as an inspiring vision" that is making an important contribution to the long term ecological viability of the Rocky Mountain region (Connections, Winter 2002). This statement was made by Canada's Federal Minister of Heritage, Sheila Copps in the dedication of a wildlife crossing structure in Canmore, Alberta, part of the environmental legacy of 2002 G8 Summit held in Kananaskis Valley in June 2002. Furthermore, the Y2Y initiative co-sponsored an international conference on "Ecological and Earth Science in Mountain Areas" with the Canadian Wildlife Service and the Banff Centre for Mountain Culture in September 2002, in Banff, Alberta. At the conference, the Vice-Chair for mountains of the IUCN's World

Commission on Protected Areas described the Y2Y initiative as “a landmark thing, one of the most famous in the world” (Connections, Winter 2002). The Y2Y website also includes a list of quotes from distinguished scientists, politicians, economists and First Nations relating to the initiative and its strengths in promoting a comprehensive approach to conservation (Y2Y Quotes, 2003).

In addition to various individual commendations of the Y2Y initiative recorded in the documents, the documents themselves also contribute to the recognition and credibility of the initiative. In particular the focus of a National Geographic “Destination Series” book on Y2Y (Chadwick, 2000), strongly in support of the initiative, served to introduce the initiative to the magazine’s extensive readership base, and to endorse the initiative and its goals.

5.5.5 Perception

A total of 18 people representing a wide spectrum of interests considered public perception of Y2Y to be one of the major obstacles to the success of the initiative. Half of the respondents who identified perception as a problem were from Crowsnest Pass (nine respondents), while four were from Canmore and five individuals represented external organisations. Negative perceptions of the initiative related to the stakeholders and the extreme preservationist views believed to be represented by the initiative. Referring to the influence of stakeholders on the perception of the initiative, a federal governmental representative from the Crowsnest Pass area argued that if protected areas and national parks were to be the advocates, it would not help public perception. They also stated that Y2Y has taken on the perception of an environmental NGO-driven organisation, some people of the opinion that it is an ENGO plot to create parks and protected areas. This perception is believed to have disastrous implications for the success of the initiative in resource-based communities. Another respondent from the provincial government in the Crowsnest Pass area stated that they saw the initiative and efforts like it “unfortunately to be side shows if they continue to be run by an environmental base”. Two other respondents (one from the Y2Y organisation and the other an independent observer from Crowsnest Pass) commented on the view of the initiative as exclusive. They stated that Y2Y was perceived as a centralised core of people pushing ideas on the world, and the early press and perception of people behind the vision was of an

elite group doing things for a few, rather than the masses. A further interviewee characterised the initiative to be perceived as a missionary perspective.

In terms of representing extreme preservationist viewpoints, one respondent summed up perception of the initiative by noting, the "big issue is whether Y2Y is a big land grab". Respondents observed that Y2Y had been defined early on as being eco-extremists, perceived as having a preservationist versus a conservationist approach. Also, they noted that people in communities feel they are threatened, with the greatest resistance believed to be in Alberta. A quote from an independent observer in Crowsnest Pass illustrated the strength of some of the views opposing the initiative - "It's a little like selling Christianity to the disbeliever: the goals are seen as counter to life as it's envisioned."

Similar negative perceptions of the initiative were noted in the documents that were reviewed. In an early article in the magazine *Alberta Report* ("Who and Why is Y2Y?" October 1997) suspicion was expressed over the "vague but consistent reference to "the vision"" in Y2Y. Another article in *Canadian Cattlemen* (Rose, 2001) argued Y2Y to be a threat to the land and business of ranchers and farmers. In their 1999 report to funding agencies, Tabor and Soulé found the Y2Y initiative to represent different things on either side of the U.S./ Canadian border. They believed there to be more faith in the Y2Y process in Canada, where there is relatively more public support for wilderness legislation. In contrast, they stated that in parts of the U.S. the "Canadian-derived Y2Y concept is [an] anathema" (Tabor and Soulé, 1999:3). They argued that in some areas of the U.S. "…efforts like Y2Y or other wildland conservation programs are viewed as private land takings and/or the creation of human exclusion zones by the government" (Tabor and Soulé, 1999:3). Other Y2Y publications made explicit reference to some of the criticism the initiative has received, and attempted to counteract these claims. On the Y2Y website it was stated "[c]ontrary to rumour, we have no intention of turning the entire ecoregion into one gigantic protected area! Rather, we are working to define and designate a life-sustaining network of wildlife cores, connecting movement corridors and transition areas (denoted within the highlighted area on the Y2Y map). The existing protected areas will help anchor the network" (Where is Yellowstone to Yukon, 2003).

Table 6 Awareness Building – Summary Table

Theme	Key Points
Awareness	- initiative had succeeded in creating awareness of connectivity issues and the Y2Y concept, though some varied views of the degree of success - widespread public awareness and knowledge still considered to be a problem
Communications and Public Relations	- communicating with the public was considered a major focus of communications - quality and delivery of the message important – putting forward clear objectives and carefully planning launch of initiative - need to maintain public visibility of the initiative - Y2Y Hike across region by Karsten Heuer (1998-1999) one of initiative's most successful public relations efforts
Public Support	- considered a necessary factor and priority to advance initiative
Credibility	- credibility, described in terms of political neutrality and objectivity, was considered important for initiative - initiative believed by some respondents (in Canmore) to be credible, apolitical - education, scientific research, and influential partners were all seen as enhancing credibility of initiative - high profile external support was emphasised by initiative as a measure of credibility
Perception	- negative public perception was considered one of the major obstacles to initiative - initiative was seen to represent extreme "preservationist" views

5.6 Comprehension of the Initiative

Comprehension of the initiative referred to the understanding of Y2Y's main goals, the incorporation of notions of sustainable communities into the concept, and knowledge of the initiative and its successes. This also included discussion of the Y2Y concept and the need for fundamental value changes to occur for the Y2Y vision to be achieved. The initiative's main goals were viewed to be the connectivity of wildlife habitats across the region. Sustainable communities were believed to be an important component of the Y2Y concept, but not a well-developed aspect of the initiative. Many respondents considered themselves to

have poor knowledge of the initiative, an ongoing problem encountered since the initiative's inception. The Y2Y concept or vision was considered to be one of the main successes of the initiative, along with raising awareness and articulating and promoting the vision. The need for greater clarity of the vision arose as an important factor for success, as did the necessity of including both natural and social sciences in the vision. Values underlying the initiative were described as those that place an inherent value on nature. In this light, some respondents argued that to succeed, the Y2Y initiative would require a fundamental value shift regarding human's relationship with nature.

5.6.1 Main Goals of the Y2Y Initiative – Connectivity

Out of 57 respondents asked (52 able to provide a response) 47 considered connectivity of habitats, wildlife migration or related ideas to be the main goals of the Y2Y initiative. This was described in general terms as management at a continental scale, linking habitat patches with wildlife corridors, reconnecting areas cut off by development, connectivity of genetic flow, and more specifically as defining a regional network of core protected areas. The initiative was seen to be wildlife-oriented, in particular oriented towards large carnivores, a view which was emphasised by seven respondents. However, beyond general identification of connectivity of wildlife habitat, there was less understanding of specific goals of the initiative.

Respondents emphasised various aspects related to connectivity – one municipal government respondent from the Crowsnest Pass area saw the initiative's goal to provide a platform to manage this enormous area in a logical way – implying a proactive approach to regional conservation. A representative of the Y2Y organisation considered the meta-goal of the initiative to be redefining the relationship of human beings with nature, with the specific interests of landscape connectivity and benefits for native species and natural processes. Another Y2Y representative focussed on the scientific purpose of the initiative, to look at the system at a larger scale, do analyses and provide information that hasn't been provided before at this scale. Outreach was considered to be a more recent goal, adopted so people could understand these (scientific) terms. One wilderness-advocacy NGO representative from Canmore specifically identified buffer zones as a principal goal of the initiative along with

protecting enough land. Related views were summed up by an academic representative who considered the initiative's goals to be "maintaining viable communities and biodiversity along the mountain chain Y2Y, with particular emphasis on keeping the system protected".

While referring to the initiative's stated goal of connectivity, two groups with views opposed to the initiative (an outdoor recreation group in Crowsnest Pass and an external public policy NGO) considered its intended goals to be imposing different processes of land management on the region. Representatives from the outdoor recreation group believed a major goal of the initiative to be turning the region into a park and removing people from it, while those from the public policy NGO believed the initiative to be talking about changing the (current) land use regime and planning model.

Additionally, some respondents (seven) considered the goal as connectivity at a human scale. This was described as connectivity of the human network in Y2Y, connectivity between what people do, and connectedness between groups working at the local level – making links between professional biologist groups and other cultures on land, between countries.

The Y2Y vision, mission and principles focus on themes of connectivity between natural areas, sustaining ecological integrity and long-term economic prosperity, societal values that support maintaining a healthy natural environment and the integration of societal and environmental well-being. The idea of connecting wildlife core habitats and corridors is prominent and repeated in the statements of the initiative's vision, mission and principles. Most documents and information on Y2Y have evoked symbols of the wild and wilderness through their use of language, with references to the "wild heart of North America" (Y2Y Vision statement, 2001), and describing the Rocky Mountains as an international symbol of the wild. The initiative has appeared very wildlife-oriented, with the grizzly bear (as a symbol of wildlife and wilderness) featured prominently in early Y2Y promotional material as part of the original Y2Y logo. This logo was replaced after several years to contain three images (a human hand with a butterfly, mountains, and grizzly bear tracks) to present an image that reflected ecological and social components of conservation. The origins of the initiative stem from the story of a radio-collared female wolf named Pluie, who was recorded travelling a distance of 100,000 km^2 [sic] across the Y2Y region over 4.5 years before being

shot by a hunter in a non-protected part of her range (In Memory of Wolves, 2003). The travels of this wolf served to demonstrate the expanse of habitat required by wildlife to persist, and helped foster the idea of Y2Y. On the Y2Y website (In Memory of Wolves, 2003) Pluie and another wolf (Nakoda) were presented as "icons of a vision that hopes to protect the wild heart of North America – and all the creatures that call it home." Further evidencing the ecological basis of the initiative, interviews conducted with 21 representatives of U.S. and Canadian groups at the Y2Y Connections conference in 1997 found similar results to the interview findings of this study. Interviews were conducted to find out how representatives understood the vision, and what issues they faced in their conservation work. Most of the 21 representatives understood the basis of the Y2Y vision, describing it in terms of protecting corridors and large environments, and maintaining genetic and biodiversity.

In terms of the purpose of the Y2Y initiative, similar to interviewees, some documents presented somewhat differing interpretations of the initiative's purpose. While not a Y2Y publication, the National Geographic book on Y2Y put forward a less implementation-oriented view, where the Y2Y title was described as a means to bring attention to the region, encourage people to understand it better, emphasise its transboundary scope, and prompt discussion over the protection of landscapes and natural resources in the region (Chadwick, 2000). This differed from comments in the 1996 report on Y2Y by Gary Tabor, where he presented a more directed view of the initiative, describing the ultimate goal of Y2Y as "a comprehensive and coherent land use strategy for this vast area" (:7). Tabor also emphasised the theme of connectivity as the basis for Y2Y, in terms of both natural and human contexts. "Y2Y is dedicated to making reconnections: the human connection to the landscape, ecological connections between land uses, and local connection to regional and global conservation efforts" (Tabor, 1996:3).

5.6.2 Sustainable Communities

Fifty-one respondents were questioned or spoke about the integration of the concept of sustainable communities into the Y2Y initiative. Five respondents (from government and NGO groups in both communities) did not know if sustainable communities were part of the

initiative. Forty-two respondents believed communities to be an important component of the Y2Y concept, or in relation to it. Roughly fourteen interviewees talked about the integration of communities more specifically as critical to the success of the initiative, one representative of a land conservation NGO from Crowsnest Pass describing communities as "critical and probably the most important cornerstone of making Y2Y work". Several local level representatives discussed community integration in terms of their own communities, one independent observer from Crowsnest Pass noting that the potential was there, "especially for communities like Crowsnest Pass with the roots ripped out" (from the cessation of coal mining). Another respondent with business interests in Crowsnest Pass made a notable point about the relevance of conservation issues, stating "everything becomes local from our perspective".

While there was general agreement that sustainable communities were an important component of the Y2Y concept, ten respondents, including members of the Y2Y organisation, noted that there had been little focus on sustainable communities as part of the Y2Y concept. One community stewardship NGO representative from Canmore stated that "the words are there but the plan is not" in regards to directing efforts towards community related work. Two other respondents (an academic and a wilderness-advocacy NGO representative) believed that this was only recently receiving a higher profile – something the initiative was "kind of backing into" as it was realised that human communities needed to be considered to achieve other goals. The academic representative noted that it was easier to tie-down some of the species issues such as wildlife corridors, stating that once issues of sustainable communities were brought in it would progress much slower. Representatives from the Y2Y organisation seemed to view integration of communities as a later step, after conservation science. One Y2Y representative acknowledged the lack of work with communities noting there was a "need for a softer side from the beginning – would have pushed it earlier in retrospect. At the time [there was a] lack of resources, need for science in place. Major work (ideally) in communities talking about values, talking about what's important in terms of communities would have established a different context. Now [we are] fighting against identity of same old thing." However, this representative later stated that "at this particular point I don't think there is a role *per se* for communities, unless communities have some expertise to contribute to conservation science". Another Y2Y representative referred to

future work in 2003 and onwards directed towards sustainable communities, stating that "right now [sustainable communities are] not fitting in at all – analysis is very ecologically-centred". Discrediting Y2Y's interest in working towards sustainable communities, two representatives of an outdoor recreation group in Crowsnest Pass argued that the initiative had no regard for sustainable communities but wanted people to move out of the region.

There was a repeated emphasis on people in Y2Y and sustainable communities throughout Y2Y's vision and mission statements and principles, Strategic Plan (2000), publications by Y2Y and reports on the initiative. The mission statement starts off with the words "[p]eople working together…", while the vision statement refers to developing a sense of ownership of the region, through embracing the natural qualities of the area as "a source of pride for those that live within it, …" (Y2Y Our Mission, 2003). Both the mission and vision statements talk about natural and human communities coexisting in the region. This theme was addressed in a number of other documents and on the Y2Y website, in the section on "People and the Land". This section discussed the initiative's efforts to engage various interest groups and local communities, and offered some resources for communities. Resources included a booklet on conservation and communities in the Y2Y region, produced by the Sonoran Institute and the Y2Y organisation in 2000 (Gailus, 2000). This document provided a series of descriptive case studies of communities in the Y2Y region that have taken some innovative steps to maintain the ecological and economic viability of their regions. The battles of the community of Canmore to integrate development and conservation were described as an example of the challenges in store for other communities in the Y2Y region. Additionally, a report on economic trends and environmental quality in the Y2Y region (Rasker and Alexander, 1997) provided evidence for the thesis that the two are mutually positively supporting. The National Geographic book on Y2Y (2000) made reference to the challenge of Y2Y in balancing human activities with ecosystem function and viability, while the Strategic Plan (2000) listed engagement with communities as a component of the goal of constituency building to create support for Y2Y. The Y2Y Annual Council meeting in 2001 presented workshops with an emphasis on communities and working through adversity within them. A description of the Y2Y initiative in the 1999 funding report by Tabor and Soulé served to summarise some of the themes relating to sustainable communities, where it said

"Y2Y is as much about people as it is about nature;…; as much about sustainable communities as it is about conservation;…" (1999).

However, both the Y2Y Strategic Plan (2000) and the report by Tabor and Soulé (1999) made note of the initiative's difficulties in engaging communities. They stated that Y2Y had been slow to develop ties with communities, and it was described in the Strategic Plan as one of the weaknesses of the initiative, in that "Y2Y has failed to adequately address the role and impact of communities in the region" (2000:4). The Plan acknowledged that Y2Y "recognised the value of having widespread community support for the Initiative long ago, but actual work with communities has to date been sporadic and opportunistic" (2000:20). The Plan referred to Y2Y's partnership (begun in 1999) with the Sonoran Institute, a predominantly U.S.-based non-governmental organisation specialising in community stewardship. It stated that "although the Sonoran Institute program has been very successful in the first year of its contract, there is widespread sentiment that Y2Y could and should be doing more, with more communities, than the Sonoran Institute program encompasses" (Y2Y Strategic Plan, 2000:20).

Despite these acknowledged difficulties however, the Y2Y initiative did receive official support from the District of Invermere, BC Council in August of 1999. The municipal council decided to support the initiative as they believed it was consistent with their principles "of responsible land and resource stewardship while maintaining stable communities and a sustainable economy" (District of Invermere, 1999). Following this action the Regional District of East Kootenay, BC (RDEK) (of which Invermere is a part) decided to rescind their previous resolution of opposition to Y2Y and agreed to state cautious support to Y2Y, agreeing "to monitor the Y2Y concept and consider its recommendations at the same time as we look for solutions of our own" (Regional District of East Kootenay, 1999). This decision was taken on the belief that basic goals of the Y2Y initiative were shared by the RDEK.

5.6.3 Knowledge of the Initiative

In discussion about the Y2Y initiative 21 respondents considered themselves to have poor knowledge of the initiative – ten stating they did not know a lot about the initiative, and others (four) less familiar with its specific goals and objectives. A further six respondents were not

familiar with what the initiative was doing or how it will work, while four respondents from Crowsnest Pass considered there to be little knowledge of the initiative among people within the community. Thirteen respondents were from Crowsnest Pass, five representing local level organisations (business interests, community and independent perspectives) three from NGOs, two representing municipal governments in the area, and three from the provincial government. The remaining eight respondents were from the Canmore area, four from local level organisations (business, tourism, outdoor recreation) one from an NGO, two from the provincial government and one representing the federal government in the area.

Corresponding with these interview findings, Y2Y's Strategic Plan (2000) recognised as a weakness the continuing "lack of public awareness and understanding of the Y2Y initiative" (:4). This was the most direct mention of this problem among the documents reviewed. Most discussed Y2Y's efforts to include and engage other groups and operate as a coalition of diverse allies in support of shared goals.

5.6.4 Identifying Success

Seven respondents, three from the Y2Y organisation, one independent observer from Canmore, a land conservation and a conservation NGO representative from Crowsnest Pass and one representative from academia, discussed the difficulty of identifying success or tangible outcomes related to the Y2Y initiative. One representative from the Y2Y initiative stated that "evaluating importance (of the initiative) is hard in traditional terms – acres of land. (Y2Y) is a messenger for [the] notion of connectivity". When asked how they defined success, another representative from the organisation stated "[we] haven't done a good job – initially thought how many new acres, how many new parks – got to think of other currency for measurement." One representative from academia cited "being able to define and have successes within an acceptable time frame" as a challenge of the initiative. They also believed it to be harder to demonstrate success at the larger level, such as the continental scale at which the initiative is operating. A representative of a land conservation NGO from Crowsnest Pass considered there to be difficulties for the initiative to identify its own successes. They described Y2Y as a "vortex, sucking in everything from across the region",

where if (conservation) happened in the Y2Y region it became a Y2Y success. They believed it to be more difficult for the initiative to tie their efforts to the success of others, and "belittling for other groups to be told that (their success is a Y2Y success)". This relates back to comments expressed in regards to funding for the Y2Y initiative, where some respondents believed the initiative needed to maintain its own identity to appeal to funding agencies.

Despite concerns over recognising intangible measures of success, many of the respondents interviewed did point to less tangible outcomes as successes. Out of the 42 interviewees who were asked about the successes of the Y2Y initiative (39 of which felt themselves sufficiently knowledgeable to respond), at least 23 people considered as a success the awareness of the initiative and articulating and promoting the vision. A further five people talked about the success of bringing groups together and involving significant partners in the initiative, while two others mentioned educational success and the initiation of dialogue in conservation planning. More tangible successes were less well represented in comments by respondents, 14 interviewees variously listing protected area designation, development of the Y2Y organisation, and Karsten Heuer's Y2Y Hike as successes.

Discussion of successes of the Y2Y initiative predominantly appeared in information put out by the Y2Y organisation itself, rather than in publications by other organisations. In discussing successes on the ground, both the Y2Y Strategic Plan (2000) and a *Q & A about Y2Y* pamphlet (2001) described the Muskwa-Kechika Management Area as a manifestation of the concept of Y2Y, which was driven in part by two individuals who were strong supporters of Y2Y. Likewise the designation of the Bow Valley Wildlands Park and Spray Valley Provincial Park in Alberta, were seen as arising in part from support of Y2Y participants. However, success on the ground was also described as consisting of more than protected areas. The Strategic Plan (2000) listed quality products, events and programs as successes of Y2Y, referring to the *Sense of Place* Atlas (1998), Y2Y Hike (1998-1999), and the Connections Conference (1997) among others. It also made note of the strength of the Y2Y vision (commented on in the 1999 funding report by Tabor and Soulé, and in other documents) and the attraction of considerable funding support for the initiative and Y2Y region. A promotional poster for Y2Y (2001) presented diverse examples of success that correspond with the Y2Y vision, "success as diverse as the landscape we live in". Examples

included ranching, wildlife overpasses, the Muskwa-Kechika Management Area, the Bear Aware Program in BC and a bear "training" program in Montana and Alberta, as well as parks and protected areas. Likewise, descriptions of success on the ground in a Summer 2001 issue of the Y2Y newsletter (*Connections*) included efforts undertaken by other individuals and groups such as conservation easements in southern Alberta, sustainable forestry near Kootenay Lake, and supportive businesses neighbouring Yellowstone National Park, among others. A number of success stories (three) have been posted on the Y2Y website (Success Stories, 2003) which described community-based solutions to living with wildlife (through the Bear Aware Program and bear training programs) and deriving economic benefit from maintaining the surrounding natural environment (developing a popular bird festival in the Columbia Valley). Less tangible measures of success were also identified in a *Q & A about Y2Y* pamphlet (2001) which stated that a fundamental success of the initiative has been in "changing the context and scale in which a variety of players address wildlife conservation" (:14).

5.6.5 The Y2Y Vision

Twenty-three people identified the Y2Y concept or vision as one of the main successes of the initiative. Of the 23, 14 respondents were from the Canmore area, five were from organisations external to both communities, and four people were from Crowsnest Pass area. The highest number of respondents was from NGOs (nine), while five represented government agencies (all three levels), four represented the Y2Y organisation, three were from academia, followed by one independent observer and one local tourism representative. A number of people (seven) viewed the Y2Y vision as successful at energising, attracting and inspiring people (and providing inspiration for similar efforts). Correspondingly, several respondents also specifically cited the promotion of the vision as a success. The strength of the vision was considered responsible for energising and attracting people, "if there's a vision that can catalyse and involve people, its got to be one of them." Other descriptions of the value of the Y2Y concept referred to its influence on thinking and its ability to provide a context for other work.

The Y2Y vision was described by nine respondents as having an influence on thinking in terms of a larger context, of broad scale conservation across boundaries. A respondent from the Y2Y organisation noted that people are thinking of Y2Y as a distinct place, which "fosters the idea of landscape and a system that knows no boundaries". The impact of the vision on discussion of conservation issues was highlighted by a few respondents. One NGO representative from Canmore stated "the vision and idea of larger connection [are] spoken about a lot – language is changing because of Y2Y". Others emphasised the introduction of conservation biology concepts saying "what it (Y2Y) has done is bring notions of conservation biology into the public dialogue and discourse. That is valuable."

The Y2Y concept was also seen to provide a meaningful context to work already being done. This view was related through an often-used quote from an NGO representative in the Canmore area "Y2Y helps remind us of the regional importance of what we're doing and helps to provide an additional context to the work I do in our backyard." Other respondents also reinforced the connection between the vision and local efforts, believing the vision to provide "a larger context for people's local work", and seeing the concept to offer "a starting point for reinforcement and new building – (emphasising that) we don't work alone". The Y2Y concept was also described as the Big Picture by some respondents. This view was summarised by one interviewee as "an umbrella [which] can provide a vehicle for other groups – can pull in other organisations and allow them to see they have a common vision, and allows for interaction, gives strength to everybody. Everybody's cause gains momentum through that kind of integration."

In terms of establishing a similar conservation effort to Y2Y, a vision was seen as a necessary first step by several respondents (four people). Characteristics of a good vision included having a solid underpinning for the vision in terms of science and support, because the vision becomes a target. Another respondent considered a good vision or theme to be one in which everybody sees a way to be a part of it for a long time.

Criticisms of the concept related to the need for clarity of the vision, how the vision was developed, and what it was seen to be lacking. Several respondents spoke about the lack of clarity of the overall idea and goals of the initiative, and the need for definition, important for connecting with people and for fundraising efforts. One stated that the only agreement was that it was landscape-connectivity based, organised around the notion of having a set of

core protected areas. These views were supported by questions raised by other interviewees, who asked what the initiative's stance was on different resource uses, such as hunting and motorised vehicle recreation. A number of respondents (five) saw the initiative primarily as a concept or an idea "a grand scheme that inspires people – [I've] thought of it mainly in those terms". Other comments referred to the initiative as a "feel good concept – (similar to) motherhood and apple pie", or described it as being "seen more as an ideological basis – not a lot of direct impact, especially because a lot of things already happening or concurrently to Y2Y". These responses came from a range of respondents, those more closely aligned with the initiative and those representing more diverse interests. A few respondents (Canmore area provincial government and NGO) considered the initiative mainly in promotional terms, one person stating it "isn't going to be established – it's a vision".

The Y2Y vision was also referred to as a dream, both by those involved in the initiative (as stated by a Y2Y representative) and other respondents, a representative of a conservation NGO in Crowsnest Pass, and a representative of an external conservation NGO. The positive potential of the Y2Y vision represented as a dream was implied in discussion with a Y2Y representative. Description of the "Y2Y dream" has formed part of the Y2Y lore, such as in a journal article on the initiative in which Harvey Locke was described as "dreaming the Y2Y dream" (Gailus, 2000). In contrast, the vision as a dream was considered insubstantial by a representative of a conservation NGO from Crowsnest Pass, who stated that it was time to "quit dreaming and do something on the ground". Similarly, a respondent from an external conservation NGO questioned whether the extent of Y2Y's role was as a "motivating dream".

Several respondents (three) referred to how the vision was developed, particularly noting that this should have been a more inclusive process. One independent observer from the Crowsnest Pass area considered the Y2Y vision to be lacking a solid foundation at the local level. Two other respondents from a wilderness-advocacy NGO in Crowsnest Pass contrasted Y2Y's development as a network with that of the Canadian Environmental Network (CEN). Y2Y was described as having emerged out of the thinking of a relatively small number of people, where a vision was created, followed by an organisation tasked with promoting that vision and offering it to the grassroots to make use of it and benefit from the

information. Comparatively, the CEN emerged out of the desire of a wide variety of groups to be interconnected.

Other respondents referred to elements not represented in the vision, describing it as primarily a biological concept. One respondent suggested that "coming up with an equally powerful vision with how people would want to live in the landscape [would be] an awesome step forward". In the same vein, another respondent wondered how the Y2Y initiative would mesh with the "Y2Y of cultural resource protection, or the Y2Y of transportation". An interviewee from the business and tourism sectors in Canmore questioned whether the vision offered enough for people locally. They considered the title "Yellowstone to Yukon" to be potentially less attractive to people in Canmore and other local areas, unless a common thread between areas such as Canmore with Yellowstone or other local areas was explained. This sentiment was supported by a representative of a land conservation NGO (operating in Crowsnest Pass) who stated that a lot of perception of the initiative was of it as something generated from the U.S., and suggested that might be responsible for a lower profile in Canada. The 1999 funding report by Tabor and Soulé found the opposite to be in true in the U.S., where Y2Y was believed to be less supported and Canadian-derived.

Several documents also described the vision as one of the main strengths of the initiative. In the 1996 report on Y2Y by Gary Tabor, Y2Y was stated as providing context to local conservation initiatives, and helping build support and recognition by a broader constituency. A subsequent report on Y2Y to funders in 1999 by Tabor and Soulé observed that "the Big Picture vision seemed to grasp the hearts of most everyone involved in conservation in the Y2Y region" (:2). This was noted again in the Strategic Plan (2000) where the vision was recognised as perhaps the greatest strength of the initiative. However, Tabor and Soulé (1999) also shared interviewees' views that the concept needed to incorporate more social science dimensions, stating "In terms of conservation, Y2Y will not work if it does not have a grand vision for both natural and social sciences" (:4). Similarly, a report on economies in the Y2Y region ("The New Challenge" by Rasker and Alexander, 1997), argued that "fundamentally, the Y2Y vision needs to be good for people, businesses, communities and neighbourhoods" (:2).

Consistently over time (from the start of the initiative) and in the variety of documents that were reviewed, there was a call for greater clarity of the message, goal and problem definition of Y2Y. This was pointed out by supporters and evaluators of the initiative, and was seized on by detractors. At the initial Y2Y Connections Conference in 1997, workshop participants stated a need for a clear, consistent and articulate message, to be promoted in a manner that avoided polarisation and reached the greater community. Workshop participants also stated a need for a common interpretation of the Y2Y concept. Clark and Gaillard (2001) undertook a preliminary assessment of the Y2Y initiative over the year 1996-1997 to gauge its ability to organise an effective partnership. They found that Y2Y had not yet defined a clear and shared goal for the initiative, though a broad vision of "functional connectivity" of wildlife populations across the region was seen to be emerging. Clark and Gaillard (2001) found that although there was general agreement on broad goals and the context of Y2Y, there remained numerous and competing definitions of specific problems facing the initiative. They suggested that there was a need for a problem definition that dealt with all of the social forces that affect natural resource policy, in order to implement actions that would affect policy decisions. They recommended an immediate goal for Y2Y would be to produce a more well-defined problem definition, to address policy issues. Clark and Gaillard (2001) also noted that the ecological orientation of the initiative was not particularly unexpected, in light of the interests and skills of the participants (conservationists and scientists).

Two media articles that critiqued the initiative (Melchior, 1997; Rose, 2001) questioned the goals of the initiative, considering them to be unclear. "Whether the Y2Y is simply soft-selling a more radical agenda, or really wants to work constructively with industry, remains unknown" (Melchior, 1997). The more recent article in *Canadian Cattlemen* ("Why to Why?", Rose, 2001) considered the Y2Y plan (of a life-sustaining network…) to be suspiciously fuzzy.

Some of Y2Y's own documents and promotional material do not deliver a clear message. As is generally the case with vision statements, Y2Y's vision statement uses somewhat ambiguous language, with repeated mention of developing a "life-sustaining web" of protected wildlife corridors and connecting wildlife corridors for the region. Furthermore, the Strategic Plan (2000) presented numerous goals and sub-strategies, which covered a very broad scope and did not appear to be prioritised, or include specific explanation as to who

would be responsible for them. This was reflected in the comments of a Y2Y representative, who described the Strategic Plan as more of a "Christmas wish list".

5.6.6 Values and Fundamental Lifestyle Changes

Eleven respondents talked about the need for fundamental value and lifestyle changes to occur in order for the Y2Y initiative to be implemented. Eight of these respondents were from Canmore, representing the media, naturalist and wilderness-advocacy NGOs, the provincial government, and the Y2Y organisation, and three respondents were from external organisations – academia and a conservation NGO. A representative from the Y2Y organisation stated that a "big part of the Y2Y agenda is a need to see a real profound shift in terms of [humans'] relationship with nature". Another Y2Y representative pointed out that the larger time frame and region (of the initiative) were in conflict with traditional ways of thinking. An academic representative emphasised the importance of individuals in the initiative, stating "Y2Y ultimately involves a change in individual attitudes – [it's] a challenge to get the groundswell going". Similarly, obstacles to the initiative were viewed to be "people who don't see nature as having value", one academic representative discussing the slow process of societal change and the difficulty of keeping people inspired along the way. An external conservation NGO representative believed a significant catalyst would be required in order for more immediate and fundamental change to occur.

Comments on attitudes towards conservation and land use were somewhat ambivalent. One federal government representative from the Canmore area cited entrenched attitudes as an obstacle to the implementation of the Y2Y vision, while two representatives from a wilderness-advocacy NGO in Crowsnest Pass believed the private land ethic (individual property rights) to be amenable to the establishment of conservation easements. Widely-held views in favour of people's rights to do what they want on their own land were considered to be supportive of landowners to come on-side with conservation easements, as had been the case in the Crowsnest Pass region.

Several other respondents (three) touched on the issue of urban versus rural interests and attitudes towards land. The Y2Y initiative was described by one representative of business interests in Canmore as a "nice urban fuzzy concept". Some of the difficulties

associated with this view of the initiative were elaborated on by a representative of a land conservation NGO in Crowsnest Pass. This respondent considered the clash of urban versus rural interests to be a key issue in Y2Y, stating that urban people are the ones that support the initiative, though they don't live in these areas and are not affected. They believed that people, especially in rural communities, were "not ready to jump into the whole circle of ideas" related to Y2Y. Another respondent from Crowsnest Pass (a municipal government representative), argued that the Y2Y initiative would only be socially sustainable (supported) by people outside of the area, just as in the case of parks, where they believed most of the support was derived from areas away from the parks. They believed that the initiative would not be supported by local people.

Values played an important underlying role in documents and information relating to Y2Y. The 1996 report on Y2Y by Gary Tabor explicitly acknowledged the value choice underlying the report, in which the preservation of native plants and wildlife was believed to be a fundamental good, one that benefits both natural and human communities. Values of the Y2Y initiative are apparent through the use of language in the promotional material and documents. Themes of wilderness preservation recurred in much of the Y2Y literature, through repeated emphasis on wildlife and the wild, the frontier image of the west to some extent, and discussions of ideal states identified in terms of the vision. Documents that made reference to the need for a fundamental shift in values to occur included the proceedings of the 1997 Connections Conference, where one keynote speaker identified the problem of Y2Y as values. In the National Geographic book on Y2Y (Chadwick, 2000) a similar theme was promoted, wherein changes in lifestyles were seen as necessary for Y2Y to become a reality.

Table 7 Comprehension of the Initiative – Summary Table

Theme	Key Points
Main Goals of the Y2Y Initiative – Connectivity	- connectivity of wildlife habitats considered to be main goal of Y2Y - initiative has appeared very wildlife-oriented, symbols of the wild and wilderness prominent in Y2Y publications
Sustainable Communities	- considered to be an important component of Y2Y concept, though believed to be little focus on sustainable communities thus far - Y2Y slow to develop ties with communities
Knowledge of the Initiative	- a considerable number of respondents stated they had poor knowledge or familiarity with initiative
Identifying Success	- difficult to evaluate success in traditional terms, such as change on land - also hard to distinguish Y2Y successes from others in region - intangible successes included awareness of initiative and articulating and promoting the vision
The Y2Y Vision	- identified as one of the main successes of initiative - vision described as inspirational, influencing thinking in a larger context, providing a meaningful context to work being done - need for clarity of message, inclusion of social components of conservation in vision
Values and Fundamental Lifestyle Changes	- need for a profound shift in humans' relationship with nature - values common to initiative include belief that preservation of nature an inherent good

5.7 Function and Role

Themes grouped below relate to both how the initiative was perceived to be functioning, and its potential role. Themes cover a wide scope, including the progress of the initiative and advice for Y2Y and other similar efforts, as well as Y2Y's function, strategic approach and options for implementation. Related aspects of the initiative's operation include collaboration, relationship building, research and education. Discussion referred to the speed of progress and long-term nature of the initiative. Y2Y was considered by some respondents to provide a good model for other regional conservation initiatives. Y2Y was described as an

umbrella organisation, representing the Big Picture concept. Implementation of the Y2Y concept was proposed to be carried out through diverse strategies, including conservation easements, which were considered a significant conservation tool. Collaboration and relationship building were described as things that needed to happen, rather than things that were already underway. Education was identified as a priority, to combat misrepresentation and lack of public awareness and understanding of the initiative.

5.7.1 The Y2Y Initiative's Progress

Questions regarding the progress of the initiative were generally posed, where time permitted, to respondents who had more familiarity with the history of Y2Y. In total 33 respondents were asked to gauge the initiative's progress, reporting on how far along the process was relative to achieving the goals of the initiative. Of these, eleven respondents did not feel they could provide a comment, either due to a lack of knowledge of the history, or the lack of appropriate benchmarks to interpret it. One economic development representative from Crowsnest Pass commented that there was no process to be followed to conserve lands, unlike for development. Seven respondents believed the initiative to be making good progress or to have established a strong foundation. Five of these respondents were from Canmore, representing the Y2Y organisation, the provincial government, a wilderness-advocacy NGO, and one an independent observer, while two were from external organisations (academia and the federal government). Three other respondents were of the view that considerable progress had been made, though this was attributed to other causes as well as Y2Y. Respondents believed the concept to be well established, whereas they were less certain of the implementation process. A representative from academia stated that the initiative had a "very solid beginning, but [I] don't see a blueprint for moving clearly into the future… still very early on in becoming an established environmental process". The initiative was believed by four respondents to be in its early stages, described as in its infancy or childbirth, whereas two other respondents commented that it was past the beginning stages, or "out of the honeymoon period – time for the rubber to hit the road". A representative from the Y2Y organisation stated that the organisation was "reaching a point of institutional maturity" where some of the internal development was going to slow down. They stated that according to some sources it

takes seven years for an organisation to become fully mature, and they believed the Y2Y organisation to be tracking that curve pretty well so far.

While the initiative was generally believed to have made good progress, six respondents believed it should be further ahead in some areas, or believed the progress to have slowed. Two respondents (a representative of a land conservation NGO from Crowsnest Pass and an economic development representative from Canmore) viewed the initiative to have slowed or stagnated since Karsten Heuer's Y2Y Hike. A community stewardship NGO representative from Canmore believed the initiative should be further ahead with "engagement and dialogue with people related to planning", while a wilderness-advocacy NGO representative from Canmore believed that the conservation design work should be further along.

The majority of respondents who commented on the length of time required for the initiative (16 respondents) viewed it as a long term process, venturing time lines from 10 to 100 years or never-ending. An independent observer from Crowsnest Pass believed the process would take "as long as it takes to change perception". Reflecting on the urgency of the conservation situation, a representative from the Y2Y organisation stated that if critical wildlife areas could not be saved within the next 5-15 years they might be lost.

Of the twenty-four interviewees who were asked if they were optimistic or discouraged about the initiative's progress thus far, twenty expressed optimistic views. A qualified optimism was expressed by some interviewees, in temporal and geographic terms, as well as in relation to other aspects. A representative of a naturalist NGO from the Canmore area stated that they were optimistic in the long-term, and hoped that a lot of biodiversity was not lost in the short term. One representative of an environmental NGO from Crowsnest Pass stated that they were generally optimistic, but not locally, as they didn't know what would work in the Crowsnest Pass area. Conversely, a provincial government representative from Canmore stated that they were optimistic for Canmore, but were not aware if other places were achieving very much. A representative of a community stewardship NGO in Canmore expressed an optimistic view, with the caveat that the initiative needed to begin relationship building. Others were optimistic for the progress of the initiative, considering that people were more aware, and the Y2Y organisation provided a structure for people to come together around, which was an important first step. One respondent (an independent observer from

Crowsnest Pass) was discouraged by the initiative's progress, partially at least due to external forces opposing conservation efforts in the region. Two respondents (an economic development representative from Canmore and an independent observer from Crowsnest Pass) stated they were neither optimistic nor discouraged – because they did not have a vested interest in the initiative and had not been following its progress.

Twenty-seven respondents from the second series of interviews in Canmore and Crowsnest Pass were asked how they would be able to gauge if the initiative was working. Responses were varied (including four who did not know), the most agreement (seven respondents) being that both ecological and social indicators would need to be considered. Two respondents from an external public policy NGO argued that looking only at green space was a singular method, posing the question "is that what we need to do to conserve wilderness?" Another respondent put indicators in terms of the number of animals and community acceptance. Other responses concentrated on either ecological aspects (wildlife studies, protected areas on a map, or the maintenance of connectivity) or social aspects, such as social research, defining the initiative and its views on resource use issues, and the public visibility of the initiative (suggested by six interviewees).

Divergent views of the initiative were presented in the documents reviewed. In their assessment of the Y2Y initiative over 1996-1997, Clark and Gaillard (2001) found it to have had a slow rate of growth. They stated "[d]espite promotional advances since its inception seven years ago, the Y2Y initiative has been slow to become formalised and effective in crucial ongoing policy processes affecting the region" (Clark and Gaillard, 2001: 223). Potential reasons for this slow development were cited as the "lack of a clear, well-supported vision and practical agenda", the nature of volunteer participation and involvement, and the difficulty of bringing diverse interests of representatives together to form a real and effective partnership (Clark and Gaillard, 2001: 223). In their funding report on the Y2Y initiative, Tabor and Soulé (1999) believed the Y2Y process to be building more momentum. They stated that the initiative was continuing to grow in interest and support in Canada, but not in the U.S. The difference was suggested to relate to the different culture of conservation in the U.S. (more private land and more suspicion over government regulations) and the absence of sufficient support from institutional champions. All the same, Tabor and Soulé (1999:27)

believed the Y2Y initiative to have "come of age, emerging from the design stage to the implementation phase". Judging from the rough reporting of supporting groups and individuals in the initiative at its start, Y2Y does appear to be gaining more support and participants. In the proceedings of the Connections Conference (1997) Y2Y was listed as being composed of 80 conservation, community, scientific and native groups, while a recent update of participants in the initiative from January 2003 was listed at over 500 groups and individuals. Furthermore, the size of the Y2Y organisation has grown considerably, from one coordinator hired in 1996 to a staff of eleven, including an executive member and two staff in the U.S. in March of 2003.

While most documents reviewed did not directly mention the length of time envisioned for the initiative, Tabor and Soulé (1999) did find that there were more expectations of early success in the U.S., while in Canada some achievements in land conservation had seemed to satisfy desires for timely successes of Y2Y.

5.7.2 Advice for Y2Y and other Similar Initiatives

Of the 57 interviewees, 43 people were asked about or discussed advice they would offer to the Y2Y organisation or other groups undertaking a similar effort. Many of these suggestions were addressed as factors of success for Y2Y, such as public and community involvement and support, political involvement, and the inclusion and participation of diverse groups. Again, the importance of clear goals, vision and methods was raised by participants, who highlighted the need for clearly communicated objectives, as well as for clear and accurate expectations among allies and network participants. A strong vision that provides a basis for support and buy-in was also believed to be necessary foundation for other regional conservation planning initiatives.

In addition to these previously identified factors, other points that were discussed included using Y2Y as a model from which to develop a similar initiative. Six respondents suggested talking to Y2Y representatives, taking part in the Y2Y organisation for a while, as well as following most of what Y2Y had done, particularly in relation to the success it had achieved (identified as public relations and the Y2Y Hike). Five of these respondents were from the Canmore area, representing a community NGO, the federal government, a

wilderness-advocacy NGO, a Y2Y representative, and an independent observer. One representative was from an environmental NGO in Crowsnest Pass. This implicit support for Y2Y's efforts was demonstrated in a comment from a tourism representative in Canmore, whose advice was to "keep going!".

Three other respondents suggested more generally identifying a good model and learning from other efforts that had taken place. Some respondents (three from Canmore and Crownest Pass) suggested Ducks Unlimited (DU) as a good conservation model, one describing DU as "probably the best conservation model there is". Another representative of a land conservation NGO operating in Crowsnest Pass identified the North American Waterfowl Management Plan (NAWMP) as an excellent example of a continental scale conservation approach that is working. Ducks Unlimited, the Nature Conservancy of Canada (NCC) and NAWMP were brought up by a number of respondents in general discussion as examples of successful conservation efforts.

5.7.3 Function

Respondents understood the Y2Y initiative to be operating in a number of ways. Views were not typically shared among respondents from the same community or occupational role.

Y2Y was described by an independent observer from Canmore as an enabling and facilitating organisation that provides information or ideas and a context and scope for [conservation] actions. This view encompasses other descriptions of the initiative from representatives of a conservation NGO and an independent observer in Crowsnest Pass, an academic and a representative of the Y2Y organisation. These respondents saw the organisation as building awareness and (conducting) outreach, providing education and inspiration to other groups, and serving as a reminder of the issues of habitat connectivity. One individual described the organisation as a coordinator of small groups, while a representative from the Y2Y organisation characterised their role as providing support and facilitation for network groups, who are involved in direct advocacy.

Others alluded to the indirect role of the Y2Y initiative in conservation efforts, stating it has the ability to influence, while it may not be instrumental in producing change. Many government representatives, particularly at the provincial level, considered the initiative as an

NGO-driven effort to be limited in its ability to effect change. A few wilderness-advocacy NGO representatives in addition to a representative of the federal government in the Crowsnest Pass area spoke about the importance of the initiative to work on private lands, as provincial land is owned and managed by the government.

Several respondents (four) used the metaphor of an umbrella to describe the Y2Y initiative, in the manner that it represents the Big Picture – connectivity of wildlife habitat and conservation across boundaries. This is similar to the idea of umbrella species, such as the grizzly bear, which is understood as representative of the health of other species in the ecosystem. Criticisms of the Y2Y initiative also stemmed from the encompassing nature of initiative – several of those opposing the initiative (outdoor recreation groups in Crowsnest Pass, and an external public policy NGO) included in their criticisms of Y2Y actions that had been undertaken through other conservation processes. The Y2Y initiative was perceived to represent other conservation-planning type activities such as the development of environmental groups and increase in visible conservation activity in Canada in the past ten years, the focus on ecological integrity put forward by the Panel on Ecological Integrity of Canada's National Parks, and designation of protected areas through the Alberta government's Special Places 2000 program. The Y2Y initiative was seen to be the latest manifestation of a powerful and well-financed environmental movement. In the words of an independent observer from Crowsnest Pass, "Perhaps more significant here (Crowsnest Pass) is the view that Y2Y is a force to be fought, i.e., its (Y2Y) had a rallying force effect for those opposed and/or threatened by "conservation planning"".

Respondents had varying views of the manner in which the Y2Y initiative operated – one independent observer from Canmore considered the initiative to be a good model because they saw it as driven by the grassroots, based on an informal coalition of shared values. Another independent observer from the Crowsnest Pass area who was also familiar with the Y2Y initiative found it to be very much a top-down process controlled by a centralised organisation and not a grassroots body because it had no physical presence at the local level. Likewise, a representative of a land conservation NGO (operating in Crowsnest Pass) perceived the Y2Y organisation to be working at the policy level with government agencies, not on the ground with landowners.

A number of respondents commented on the need for further definition of the goals of the Y2Y initiative or its plans for implementation. Representatives from conservation NGOs in Crowsnest Pass, along with a business representative in Canmore, pointed out the need for the initiative to address specific issues, such as their stance on hunting, oil and gas exploration, and motorised vehicle use. Respondents from a wilderness-advocacy NGO in Crowsnest Pass perceived Y2Y to have "a different message for different audiences", and described the initiative as trying to be "all things to all people". Another land conservation NGO representative supported this view, stating "one of my biggest concerns with Y2Y is the fact that it's so difficult to get a clear fix on what are the goals, what is the overall idea. It tends to come across to a lot of people who aren't intimately involved with it as we'll be whatever you want us to be. If you're a hard core radical environmental group, Y2Y is what you need. If you're a hunting or sportsman group, Y2Y is what you need. If you're a local community, a resource-based community, Y2Y is what you need. There's huge and obvious incompatibilities in the way the needs of those different communities are addressed. And it's unclear to a lot of people I think, a lot of people that I talk to for sure, what is the overall goal."

Documents on the Y2Y initiative described its goals and projects to include developing and implementing a conservation area design, constituency building, and capacity building of network groups and the Y2Y organisation. Organisational goals included developing an effective organisational design and structure and building a stable and diversified financial base. Promotional material on Y2Y emphasised Y2Y's role as an umbrella organisation, supporting the collective efforts of the network and operating under the guiding philosophy of "doing together that which we couldn't do alone". The Strategic Plan (2000) stated that the Y2Y organisation was operating at the broad Y2Y landscape scale and the subregional scale[7]. The Plan stated that the Y2Y organisation would work to put forward landscape level recommendations and solutions based on their research, but would not direct campaigns for specific areas. The Y2Y organisation was stated to be maintaining its primary focus at the

[7] The Y2Y region was divided into seven subregions for planning to take place. These regions were titled as: Greater Yellowstone; Salmon-Selway; Crown of the Continent; Inland Rainforest; Central Rockies; Northern BC; and Yukon-Northwest Territories.

Y2Y landscape level, though it would continue to support conservation by network groups and collaborators as much as possible.

The Y2Y initiative was presented as working on both private and public lands, where one of the "relatively new" aspects of the initiative was to work towards ways to integrate the full range of private and public lands, as well as to engage residents in a way for them to develop ownership in the initiative (Rasker and Alexander, 1997). Other facets of the Y2Y approach that were described as novel included employing " "new" tools, such as stakeholder collaboration, international cooperation, land trusts, community engagement, sound economics, shared science, diverse players and voices for conservation, and shared visions, to complement "traditional" advocacy methods" (Y2Y, July 2001:4).

In their assessment of the Y2Y initiative over 1996-1997, Clark and Gaillard (2001) noted a variety of strategies proposed by participants for the initiative. Views differed in terms of favouring a more formal centralised organisation of the initiative, such as a large comprehensive campaign, or several smaller decentralised efforts. The choice to take part in the existing decision-making process and participate in governmental initiatives, or to work outside of the system, was also debated by participants. Clark and Gaillard (2001) recommended taking advantage of the diversity of perspectives by defining the various tasks to be undertaken at different scales, and assisting network participants to address the areas suited to their interests and skills. They argued that implementing the Y2Y vision required working closely with government representatives at the regional level, as well as engaging in multiple local efforts to apply the vision in practice. Speaking to views expressed by some interviewees in this study, Tabor and Soulé (1999) found that there was a concern (of some participants in their study) that Y2Y might become "another top-down centralised conservation entity" (:3). They stated that a significant challenge for Y2Y would be to enable participation of the network groups and participants, while maintaining the effectiveness of the initiative and avoiding greater centralisation of organisational decision-making. Addressing the role of the Y2Y initiative in conservation efforts, Tabor and Soulé (1999:27) believed that Y2Y should "be the glue that binds the conservation community together".

As discussed in relation to other themes, documents that provided some evaluation of the Y2Y initiative referred to the need for a clear message, a well-defined and supported Y2Y vision, and implementation strategies. In contrast, some of the Y2Y organisation's documents

stated their desire to address specific issues on an ongoing basis. Y2Y's network participant information stated that Y2Y as a network does not take a position on issues (Y2Y Network Member Information, 2001). Y2Y's Strategic Plan (2000) further stated that decisions regarding whether the Y2Y organisation would take a position on a particular issue would be made as issues arise. The Plan also noted that the Y2Y organisation does not commonly act in a public leadership role in specific campaigns.

5.7.4 Strategic Approach

In terms of employing a strategy for the Y2Y initiative or how it might operate, many respondents (seven) stated that Y2Y was not present on the ground and not implementing anything. Respondents believed it to be important for the organisation to accomplish something on the ground and have some tangible success. A representative of a land conservation NGO summed up concerns over the Y2Y initiative by stating "Concerns [regarding the initiative] are to do with implementation, not the idea. This is true with most people and that's why they support [the initiative]".

Several respondents representing a range of sectors, from development, provincial government, conservation NGO and academia commented on the importance of a strong strategic or business plan that details the objectives proposed for the Y2Y initiative. This emphasis seems to reflect the importance of defining some of the specifics of Y2Y, which was brought up by many respondents. One respondent stressed the need to have a strategic plan for each community and area in Y2Y, one that recognises the need for different approaches across the area.

Implementation of the Y2Y vision is discussed in the Y2Y Strategic Plan (2000), which identified the lack of many Y2Y successes on the ground as a weakness of the initiative. The Plan referred to implementation of the conservation plan as a way to realise the Y2Y vision on the ground, wherein implementation would include a wide range of strategies, approaches and tools. The Plan discussed implementing demonstration projects and conservation efforts (such as on private land), as well as constituency building towards ensuring implementation of the vision.

Relating to interviewees' comments on the importance of a strong strategic plan for Y2Y, the initiative did develop a five year Strategic Plan (discussed in this analysis) in 2000, effective for 2000 to 2005. This document was primarily the work of a committee of Board members and others in the Y2Y organisation. As observed in the section on the Y2Y Vision, this Strategic Plan outlined a very large and ambitious schedule for the initiative that involved accomplishing a number of goals that did not appear to be prioritised, and without specific indication of what groups would be undertaking various tasks. This plan was revised in February of 2003, and replaced by an updated Strategic Plan effective for 2003-2005. This revised plan was intended to address changes in conditions since the original plan was adopted and provide more specific direction for Y2Y (Strategic Plan, 2003). The revised plan is not drawn upon in this study, as it falls outside of the time frame of this research. A brief overview of the changes put forward in the plan is presented in Appendix VI.

5.7.5 Options for Applying Y2Y

Issues surrounding conservation easements and protected areas, two means of putting conservation efforts into action on the ground, are discussed below.

Conservation Easements

The significance of conservation easements as a conservation tool was brought up by eight respondents, one from the municipal government in Canmore, and seven from Crowsnest Pass – four representing NGOs, two from the provincial government and one respondent with business interests. The majority of these respondents believed easements to be an important conservation tool, although some difficulties in applying the easements were noted. Conservation easements have been employed in both Canmore and Crowsnest Pass, but they seem to have been more of an issue in the Crowsnest Pass region. Easements present an economic concern in Crowsnest Pass, where they are seen to impact the tax base. An additional six respondents (all from Crowsnest Pass) spoke about the impact on the community (notably the tax base) of the Nature Conservancy of Canada's (NCC) purchase of conservation easements and properties in the Pass. These respondents made reference to the

NCC (rather than directly to conservation easements) and perceived their actions in a negative light.

The view of conservation easements from the municipal government representative in Canmore was a positive one, as they believed easements to be a really good tool, and to provide "the only long-term stability" for private land. Another municipal government representative from the community commented that Canmore has been a leader in conservation easements. Two NGO representatives in Crowsnest Pass considered success stories in the Pass to have occurred with ranchers and others adopting conservation easements. Similarly, another NGO representative from the Pass stated that "the only true way to protect land here (Crowsnest Pass) is to buy it. A conservation easement is a cheap way of buying it – the criticisms are the same." Criticisms were cited as the belief that easements prevent development and stagnate the tax base, though the respondent argued that the tax base was not being lowered but instead was staying the same. These criticisms were given weight by a respondent with business interests in Crowsnest Pass who saw the purchasing of development rights of the land (through easements) as (negatively) impacting the tax base necessary to provide infrastructure for the community. However, they also commented that to advance the Y2Y initiative, allocating funding to the NCC strategy should be a priority. Other respondents commenting on NCC's actions in the community (property and conservation easement purchases) made similar comments, expressing views that the NCC (and related groups like the Rocky Mountain Elk Foundation – RMEF) were paying inflated prices for properties and then asking for taxes to be waived. Respondents expressing these views were an economic development representative and a municipal government representative in the community. The economic development representative gave voice to prevalent concerns in the community that it not become a park or overrun with restrictions. The respondent asked how services and infrastructure would be paid for, stating "if shut down the tax base then (Crowsnest Pass) becomes another Banff". Two representatives of an outdoor recreation group in the Pass voiced similar concerns over the community becoming another Canmore, concern being that the NCC and others were acting without consultation with the local government and stakeholders. An independent observer from Crowsnest Pass stated that "horror stories" had been created about the NCC interfering with taxes. They noted that sentiments opposed to Y2Y, the NCC and related conservation efforts appeared to

be growing in Crowsnest Pass. "[T]here appears to be a very deliberate and well organised foundation being built against Y2Y (as well as conservation easements, land trusts and the Nature Conservancy). It's motivated by fear, fuelled by misunderstanding, and propagated by the uneducated who seek personal, i.e., financial gain. It's laden with false facts."

A provincial government representative and an NGO representative jointly advocating conservation easements in the community pointed out some difficulties unique to the Crowsnest Pass area of enlisting landowners to employ conservation easements. They stated that when conservation easements were legislated in Alberta most organisations were working for tax receipts, but ranchers are not in need of tax receipts (because they don't make enough money and already have a lot of write-offs). The Nature Conservancy of Canada (NCC) approved paid conservation easements (20% of fair market value) but not many people have been interested in that in Crowsnest Pass. They noted that conservation easements are an intimidating document for many people. Furthermore, ranchers in the Pass have quite small land holdings (1/4 section), which is the inheritance for their children (and cannot be further subdivided). They pointed out that on larger ranches outside of Crowsnest Pass people are more comfortable with easements. They have more attachment to the land because they have been ranchers longer and are more emphatic about keeping the property intact. The primary view of these two respondents was that it would be politically damaging to buy up all the land in the Pass currently, as not a lot of land has been left for industry in the municipality. They advocated patience, communicating with the community, and adapting to the situation in the area. This discussion raised the point that there are sensitive political areas as well as sensitive wildlife areas. Another representative from a conservation NGO involved in Crowsnest Pass acknowledged difficulties in applying conservation easements in this region, stating the Pass to be one of the hardest areas because (the easements) are right in the community.

Documents such as "The New Challenge" (a study on economic trends in the Y2Y region by Rasker and Alexander, 1997) and others referred to the Y2Y initiative as operating on both private and public lands. In their 1999 report on the Y2Y initiative to funding agencies, Tabor and Soulé highlighted the need to work with organisations that support private landowners in undertaking land stewardship activities. Y2Y partners the Sonoran Institute,

together with two other groups put out a booklet outlining conservation easements and options to ranchers in the Canadian west. This booklet stated that conservation easements were "becoming a principal method for protecting ranchland from subdivision" as increasing numbers of landowners were becoming aware of their economic and stewardship benefits (Greenaway, 2000:14).

Protected Areas

About sixteen respondents discussed protection or identified protected areas in terms of successes of the Y2Y initiative, or how it is anticipated to work. Ten of these respondents were from Canmore, representing the provincial government, wilderness-advocacy NGOs, the Y2Y organisation, local media and business interests. The four respondents from Crowsnest Pass represented land conservation and environmental NGOs, one respondent an informed community member. The further two respondents were from a public policy NGO external to both communities. The Y2Y initiative was seen to have had some involvement in the establishment of some protected areas local to the Canmore area, such as the recent (June 2000) Spray Valley Provincial Park, where the provincial Minister of the Environment Gary Mar acknowledged that the park would provide an uninterrupted wilderness area. Four respondents (two from the Y2Y initiative, one media and one wilderness-advocacy NGO representative) referred to the Muskwa-Kechika special management area in northern BC as an accomplishment of Y2Y and an example of how the initiative can work. Another respondent representing the Y2Y organisation referred to the establishment of protected areas over time as a benchmark for the initiative's success. A provincial government representative further emphasised this point, stating that the ideal (for the government) is protection because it's the only way to have some kind of guarantee that these areas won't be developed.

The meaning of protection was discussed with five of the sixteen respondents, as well as with another provincial government representative from Canmore. One respondent (a business representative from Canmore) also referred to the importance of protection, considering the first measure of success (in an initiative such as Y2Y) to be an increased awareness of the need to protect an area. However, they emphasised that protection does not preclude human use. This point was raised by two public policy NGO representatives, who

questioned whether humans were considered a part of the environment or if protection meant freedom from human activity. They believed the Y2Y initiative and related efforts to be pushing a new orthodoxy, or the need for a new protected areas strategy, which they did not feel had been clearly justified. Conversely, another representative of a land conservation NGO working with ranchers in Crowsnest Pass believed the Y2Y initiative's ideas of protection were perhaps not new enough, stating "Y2Y needs to come up with broader ideas of what is protected". They argued that often ranches that have been operating for generations are not considered protected areas because they are not protected with legislation, while the establishment of protected areas requires battles for legislation, followed by battles for proper management of the area. With further reference to land management, one respondent from the provincial government in Canmore stated that having information available to, accepted by and acted upon by land managers was more significant than the protection status of an area. Reflecting on varied views of protection, a respondent from Crowsnest Pass (an informed community member) argued that defining protected areas is a necessary first step to undertake conservation efforts on the ground. This respondent again pointed out that different groups can have very disparate ideals of what conservation is, citing the government and conservationists as an example. They stated that government may believe forestry management (clear cutting and replanting) to be part of conservation, whereas some conservationists believe that any changes, such as to the course of a 1000-year old stream, may have a permanent impact. Other views of protection included both working with government agencies and policies on private lands as well as with private land and private landowners.

Five respondents from Crowsnest Pass (representing local economic development, business and community perspectives) mentioned prevalent feelings in the community regarding parks and related restrictions and the unwelcome possibility of "becoming another Banff". These views were expressed by interviewees who stated "residents here really enjoy the fact that [the Pass is] not a national park, and not a provincial park" – "people don't like (land usage) restrictions and conservation efforts". One respondent noted the conflict precipitated in the community in response to efforts to designate a part of the town of Coleman as a National Historic Site. Residents were concerned that restrictions would accompany the designation and it would lead to becoming something similar to a park. Two

other community members (representatives of the provincial government) noted that the Y2Y initiative might be perceived by some people as the creation of a national park across the entire area. Reflecting on these concerns it is interesting to observe that out of the sixteen respondents (described above) who commented on the significance of land protection to the Y2Y initiative, ten came from Canmore while four were from the Crowsnest Pass area.

Corresponding with interviewees' responses, some documents put out by the Y2Y initiative discussed protected areas as examples of success of the initiative on the ground. Both the Strategic Plan (2000) and a pamphlet titled *Q & A about Y2Y* (2001) listed the Muskwa-Kechika Management Area as a manifestation of the concept of Y2Y, which was driven in part by two strong supporters of Y2Y. Also the designation of the Bow Valley Wildlands Park (1998) and the Spray Valley Provincial Park in Alberta (2000) were described as arising in part from support of Y2Y participants. As part of the conservation plan implementation in Y2Y's Strategic Plan (2000), proposed strategies involving protecting core areas, linkage areas and transition areas, along with assessing restoration needs and broad transboundary policies. In his discussion of land conservation in Y2Y's *Sense of Place* Atlas (1998), Reed Noss presented protection of core areas as an important focus for the initiative. In reference to Y2Y, he stated "[s]election and design of core areas is the heart of the process; transition zones and connectivity concerns, can, in most cases, be factored in later" (:7).

Discussion of Y2Y successes and strategies in the documents did recognise that protection was not the sole focus, and that implementing protection status was not without difficulties. In a 1996 report on the Y2Y initiative, Tabor noted that parks constitute only a small portion of the conservation landscape, and the history of parks protection indicated that "the assumption of permanent security is contradicted by experience" (:18). In light of this terminal problem in parks agencies, Tabor argued that the conservation community should be devoting comparable attention to institutional reform as devoted to land protection.

5.7.6 Collaboration

In total 17 respondents discussed some element of collaboration – either cooperation or coordination – as necessary to be undertaken, either by the Y2Y organisation or for the

initiative to succeed. Collaboration was discussed more as something that needs to take place rather than something that is happening – out of the 17 only 4 people described collaboration efforts by Y2Y as a success. A respondent from an environmental NGO in Crowsnest Pass noted the success of the initiative in bringing such a large number of groups and people together – representing close to a million people. Discussing what needs to occur, another respondent from a naturalist NGO in the Canmore area stated that the Y2Y "vision demands cooperation that is not traditional". This was described as finding ways to connect, to find areas of common ground (between groups). They noted that in the early days of the initiative a deliberate effort was made to stay away from government agencies, but the initiative is in need of government cooperation at all levels. The view of moving beyond traditional cooperation was reflected in comments from other interviewees who cited the need for cooperation between countries, as well as between government agencies themselves. Broadening the focus from collaboration among groups, one federal government respondent from the Canmore area highlighted the challenge of coordination and integration of societal objectives. Another interviewee advised to make sure that the organisation has the capacity (people and skills) to bring together and deal with the variety of groups.

The notion of collaboration was strongly supported in documents by and relating to the Y2Y initiative. Y2Y's Strategic Plan (2000) emphasised that the goals and strategies put forward in the plan would primarily be implemented by Y2Y network groups and participants, not the Y2Y organisation in most cases. In an article on the changing economy of Yellowstone to Yukon, Rasker and Alexander (2000) emphasised the importance of "engaging residents in a way that builds ownership in the Y2Y vision" (:102). Collaboration was advocated in other examples of case studies presented in various documents. In the joint Y2Y and Sonoran Institute publication on conservation, communities and economies in the Y2Y region ("Bringing Conservation Home"), lessons from the case studies included the need to foster cooperation and open dialogue in community conservation efforts. Presenting the analogy of a boxing ring, the booklet promoted the value of negotiating over fighting and losing and potentially losing everything. In the report on economies in the Y2Y region ("The New Challenge"), case studies highlighted community-based collaborations achieving conservation goals, where value was associated with understanding dynamic relationships within given

communities, and the relationships of the community with interests outside of its borders (Rasker and Alexander, 1997).

Some difficulties of applying collaborative efforts were also noted in the documents reviewed. In the proceedings of the Y2Y Connections Conference, a keynote speaker referred to the difficulties of groups working together, particularly challenging as some inter-agencies do not have a history of open communication (Legault and Wiebe, 1997). In their assessment of the Y2Y initiative over 1996-1997, Clark and Gaillard (2001) stated that working toward the common interest, even among those with shared interests, is not always easy if value differences are very inflexible, parochial and diverse. They also found there to be an "uneasy alliance" between activists and scientists in the Y2Y network. They believed the views of these two groups to be somewhat at cross purposes, where scientists believe science to be critical to achieving environmental goals and activists favour using persuasion and politics in lieu of science to advance conservation. This conflict was later noted in the funding report on Y2Y by Tabor and Soulé (1999), who described science and advocacy as two very different approaches to achieving the same goals. Science, they argued, operates over a long-term time period, while conservation advocacy functions on a more immediate and short-term schedule. They described the cultural differences between these approaches as "an oil and water mix within Y2Y", stating that a tangible strategy was needed to integrate them (:4). Tabor and Soulé (1999) also remarked on the costs to collaboration, particularly for small network groups with limited resources. They recommended that funding be directed to grassroots groups and others to address costs arising from collaborative efforts.

5.7.7 Relationship Building

Several respondents (four from Crowsnest Pass and two from Canmore) made reference to relationship building in the context of the initiative. Most comments referred to the lengthy time required to build trust and respect, and the need to develop mutual trust and partnerships with others who don't necessarily have a green focus. In terms of the Y2Y organisation's efforts in establishing partnerships, one respondent from a community stewardship NGO in Canmore believed it should be "further ahead with engagement and dialogue with people related to planning". This respondent felt the organisation was losing ground on relationship

building. They also posed the question raised by two other respondents – "how do you engage people?" or how do you develop mutual trust? A Y2Y representative highlighted the organisation's work in creating partnerships through participatory workshops. They considered this important for the implementation strategy, through partnership and trust building in a scientific context (referring to scientists working together to conduct the scientific research for the initiative). The respondent saw the Y2Y initiative as being able to cut across agency jurisdictional barriers, allowing the organisation to do work that agencies are unable to do because of internal agency planning processes and jurisdictional barriers such as the U.S./Canada border. They noted the considerable challenge to get organisations, rather than just individuals on-side with the initiative. They stated that agency people have come on their own time to take part in the initiative, and the Y2Y organisation was working on one-on-one relationship building with individuals, leveraging for the organisational level.

Additional comments regarding the importance of positive communications within partnerships were put forward by a further two interviewees from Canmore. One community NGO representative noted that as an environmental group Y2Y must remember to reward and encourage other organisations (rather than always concentrating on the faults). The second interviewee (a municipal government representative) believed this to be taking place, as they found the organisation to respect what the town of Canmore has accomplished and make them feel good about it.

A consistent theme in documents on the Y2Y initiative was the importance of recognising and engaging a diversity of participants in the initiative. The Y2Y Strategic Plan (2000) described the initiative's intention to advance relationship building at the local level through developing a cadre of Y2Y spokespeople from within the network, who could communicate the principles of Y2Y and help implement the vision on the ground.

5.7.8 Scientific Research

When asked about important factors for success and priorities to advance the Y2Y initiative, 18 respondents from both Canmore and Crowsnest Pass believed research or science to be important. Respondents came from government agencies, the Y2Y organisation, a number of

NGOs, and academia. Research was considered important as a basis for better decision making, and to generate support, by providing information with which to educate the public. From the perspective of members of the Y2Y organisation, science was seen as the determining factor to further define some of the objectives and basis of implementation plans. "First and foremost [we are] waiting for the science". Describing the initiative it was stated – at the "bottom remains a marriage of science and conservation advocacy – science-based, science designed conservation plans". Another representative from the Y2Y organisation talked about making the scientific research relevant, in terms of using science to support the conservation advocacy – "not just science for science sake [but to] support advocacy". Another respondent from a wilderness-advocacy NGO in Canmore likewise made reference to relevancy, speaking of the importance of integrating scientific work and the grassroots level, seeing the goal of the initiative to be scientifically defendable and locally acceptable.

Four respondents considered some of the main successes of Y2Y to be scientific ones – that the initiative had engaged key scientists and excellent thinkers, and was combining research on a scale that had not been done before. Two of these respondents (from a wilderness-advocacy NGO in Crowsnest Pass) noted Y2Y and the Wildlands Project as having incorporated some of the best thinking on sustainable economic development.

As described in the documents reviewed, conservation science was seen to form the basis of the Y2Y initiative, used to provide the objectives, analysis, GIS information layers and maps necessary to design the Y2Y Wildlife Network. The case for the use of science was put forward by Grizzly Bear researcher Steve Herrero in the Y2Y *Sense of Place* Atlas (1998). He argued that although science can never be completely objective, it is highly valued by the public and believed to form a better basis for decision making as compared to politics. In discussion of scientists involved in the Y2Y initiative, Herrero contended that they place an inherent value on nature, and as such view long-term protection-oriented conservation planning as important. As noted in the above section on collaboration, some documents (such as the funding report by Tabor and Soulé, 1999) viewed there to be a fundamental conflict between science and advocacy, wherein a tangible strategy was needed to integrate these two diverse approaches. Tabor and Soulé (1999) also found the biological sciences to be represented to a much greater extent than the social sciences in the initiative. They believed

this had occurred in part because a greater number of biological scientists are interested in conservation.

As noted in the section on funding, the Y2Y initiative in conjunction with the Wilburforce Foundation (based in Seattle Washington) has helped to fund conservation-related science projects in the Y2Y ecoregion, through the Y2Y Conservation Initiative – Wilburforce Foundation Science Grants Program.

5.7.9 Education

Twenty-six respondents spoke about the importance of education to the initiative. Education was considered most commonly as a priority for the initiative, while some respondents (seven) characterised it in more specific terms as a major role or goal of the initiative. Summing up some general beliefs about education, two respondents from Crowsnest Pass (provincial government and land conservation NGO) argued that "the more you educate the public, the better off you'll be delivering the program or whatever [it is]." In a similar vein, another Crowsnest Pass representative stated you "can't do conservation and resource management without education – education must be at the forefront for everyone tourist, politician…". Respondents also talked about the importance of education in explaining the problem and establishing a need for action. One respondent commented that education was needed because they didn't think Y2Y had fully explained the importance of why it was so significant. Education about the initiative itself and its goals was considered necessary by a representative of economic development interests in Canmore, who stressed a need for knowledge of what Y2Y is, what it is supposed to be doing, why it is important".

Education was noted as problematic by several respondents (four), the interviewee above stating that knowledge of the initiative had been a problem thus far. This corresponded to comments made by other respondents regarding the initiative's lack of visibility in some areas (such as Crowsnest Pass). Others commented on the time span required for education, where the challenge of education is to "do it quickly enough to have something preserved." Another respondent saw education somewhat as "letting adults off the hook – didn't think we had time – we don't have time but can't do without it". A further respondent from an environmental organisation in Crowsnest Pass presented a different view of the state of public

knowledge. They alluded to the dissonance between education and action, noting "education is important but actually a lot of people do understand the issue." They suggested that specific information, such as success stories presented to councils would be useful to gain cooperation from the local government and advance the Y2Y initiative.

Other views of respondents in the Canmore area (two representing the municipal government and a third from the federal government) held Y2Y to have done well educating people. One respondent found the initiative to have been influential in helping educate Canmore that community responsibilities don't stop at borders. They referred to informal education processes such as raising the issue in different presentations in the community. This view was seconded by another community government official who credited the Y2Y initiative for providing the Big Picture of the whole wildlife corridor/movement effort, whereas previously the town had a regional local pocket view.

Education may be interpreted as an implicit theme in the documents that were reviewed. While education was not a major focus of many documents, some of the Y2Y promotional materials and publications serve an educational function. These include a *Q & A about Y2Y* pamphlet, a Y2Y public communications brochure, and the well-developed and recently expanded Y2Y website. The recently expanded website includes interactive demonstration programs that can be used as teaching tools and also to provide information on specific areas in the Y2Y region, such as the Grizzly Bear Habitat Suitability Model. The website also offers access to reports and research conducted in conjunction with the initiative. Publications also provide accessible information, such as the jointly produced booklet (with the Sonoran Institute) on communities and conservation in the Y2Y region ("Bringing Conservation Home" Gailus, 2000) which detailed case studies of community-based conservation efforts and derived lessons. Earlier publications included a teaching guide about the Y2Y initiative geared to children put out in 1998 by the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society (CPAWS) Education Program and available on their website.

Y2Y's Strategic Plan (2000) identified a need to greatly expand and improve education efforts, to combat the misinformation and persistent lack of awareness and understanding of the initiative. Throughout the Strategic Plan (2000) education is listed as a component of various strategies to achieve goals. The 1999 funding report on the Y2Y

initiative by Tabor and Soulé also took a critical view of the initiative's education efforts, and recommended that Y2Y create a public education campaign. They stated that the Y2Y literature lacked information directed to or talking about people, communities or children.

Table 8 Function and Role – Summary Table

Theme	Key Points
The Y2Y Initiative's Progress	- initiative was generally believed to be making good progress, though some believed it should be further ahead engaging people - the concept was believed to be well-established, though there was less certainty of the implementation process - viewed as a long-term process - respondents expressed optimism for success of initiative
Advice for Y2Y and other Similar Initiatives	- along with a strong vision and clear goals, respondents recommended using Y2Y as a model to develop similar initiatives - Ducks Unlimited, the North American Waterfowl Management Plan, and the Nature Conservancy of Canada were also considered good conservation models
Function	- described as an enabling and facilitating organisation, having an indirect role in conservation efforts (the ability to influence), seen to represent the "Big Picture" - differing views on how initiative operated (top-down process versus grassroots level) - need for further definition of goals of initiative and implementation plans
Strategic Approach	- Y2Y not seen as present on the ground, this action believed to be important to improve credibility and awareness of initiative - concerns about initiative stemmed from concerns about implementation - strong strategic or business plan believed to be necessary
Conservation Easements	- considered an important conservation tool - some respondents considered them an economic concern in Crowsnest Pass, seen to negatively impact the tax base - respondents in Canmore put forward a positive view of easements
Protected Areas	- considered by some as successes of initiative, and how it is anticipated to work - meaning of protection questioned, some stating that protection included human use, others suggesting a need for broader ideas of what is protected - "anti-park" sentiment in Crowsnest Pass was raised as an obstacle to initiative

Theme	Key Points
Collaboration	- cooperation and coordination were discussed as things that need to happen, rather than things that are happening
Relationship Building	- an important component of initiative – comments referred to the lengthy time required to build trust and respect, and the need to develop partnerships with others who don't have an environmental focus - challenge to get organisations, rather than just individuals on-side with initiative
Scientific Research	- considered important as a basis for better decision-making, and to generate support, by providing information with which to educate the public
Education	- education was seen as a priority for initiative, described by some respondents as a major role or goal of initiative - education was not restricted to the public, but also politicians and other professionals - need to expand and improve education efforts

Chapter 6 APPLYING THE REGIONAL CONSERVATION PLANNING CRITERIA

6.1 Introduction

This chapter revisits the criteria for assessing regional conservation planning processes that were derived from the literature reviewed in Chapter 2. The criteria are applied to the Y2Y initiative and summarised in a table. Several recurring themes emerged influencing the initiative's ability in meeting the criteria – the need to address both ecological and social components of conservation, the need to include diverse participants, and the need to operate at regional and local scales. These themes are each discussed in greater detail later in the chapter, followed by discussion of the central basis of the Y2Y initiative, the Y2Y vision.

6.2 Applying the Regional Conservation Planning Criteria

Criteria developed in Chapter 2 focus on measures of capacity building and potential for successful collaborative planning processes and implementation. They are grouped under six headings, those of Context, Building Organisational Capacity for Collaborative Processes, Planning, Resources, and Implementation. Criteria identified under Context emphasise the importance of place-based information and factors that may influence planning efforts and whether they are undertaken. Those criteria important to building organisational capacity for collaborative processes build on contextual criteria and address factors related to trust and relationship building. Under the heading of Resources, criteria dealing specifically with financial support and information needs are presented. Criteria grouped under headings of Planning and Implementation pertain to later stages in the collaborative process, where processes are underway and interactions and outputs require more systematic management. These criteria relate to goal and long-term achievement of a functioning and effective collaborative conservation effort.

6.2.1 Context

- *Approach should address diverse landscape elements, such as human-modified and settled landscapes as well as wilderness and protected areas*

The Y2Y initiative's approach was described by participants as incorporating core protected areas of wildlife habitat and connecting corridors, while Y2Y literature also discussed the formation of buffer or transition zones in the creation of a green corridor.

Discussion of the Y2Y initiative did not focus on conservation within human-modified and settled landscapes, but instead related to communities and different land users, and their involvement in the initiative. In the Y2Y region engaging communities might address conservation needs in human-modified and settled landscapes, as there are few urban areas in the region. Y2Y was seen by some respondents as more of a biological concept than a concept that represented integrated biological and social components. Y2Y was seen to have an emphasis on protecting wilderness areas and wildlife habitat.

- *Approach is regional in that it integrates local and regional scales and works across established jurisdictional boundaries, and is comprehensive in that it addresses interconnected social, economic and ecological goals*

The Y2Y region crosses multiple established jurisdictional boundaries; including two countries, provinces, territories, several states and numerous local jurisdictions. The degree of collaboration across multiple jurisdictions and contexts was debatable – collaboration among the groups in the two study areas was varied, and where it was believed to be occurring it was in most cases not directly attributable to the Y2Y initiative. The initiative functions as a network of participants from across the region and beyond, aided by a small central organisation. The network primarily has been made up of environmental advocacy groups.

The need to address both regional and local scales had been identified in Y2Y literature, and respondents emphasised the importance of local level involvement in the initiative as a critical factor for success. However, in the study areas the initiative had not made great progress in connecting with communities and groups at the local scale. Respondents posed the question of how individual and community concerns could be incorporated into an ethereal concept.

In terms of putting forward a comprehensive approach, the initiative was seen to have focussed on the ecological components of regional conservation planning, and made limited headway in addressing social and economic needs. Y2Y representatives attested that the early focus of the initiative was ecological, and respondents believed that the concept of sustainable communities had not been addressed to a great extent in the initiative thus far.

- *Good documentation and understanding of biophysical, socioeconomic and political characteristics of the area, including land use history, natural and cultural heritage and current state of the region*

Y2Y documentation was varied and included in-depth studies on biophysical characteristics and economic trends of the Y2Y region. Y2Y documentation on various characteristics of the region included the *Sense of Place Atlas* (1998) which presented information on biophysical features as well as some cultural and historical aspects of the region. Documentation on biophysical aspects of the region included extensive scientific research primarily conducted on aquatic ecosystems, birds and large carnivores in preparation of the Conservation Area Design (CAD) for Y2Y. Economic trends were studied in "The New Challenge" report produced by the Wildlife Society (Rasker and Alexander, 1997), and the Canadian political context was discussed in detail in one report on Y2Y (Tabor, 1996). The initiative produced a joint publication with the Sonoran Institute on innovative conservation efforts in some communities in the Y2Y region (Gailus, 2000). Furthermore, the Y2Y website has listed up-to-date conservation news articles from across the region, and has made available various reports on the website.

Most of the documents reviewed in this study focussed on the trends and general characteristics of the region as a whole, though some did discuss specific communities as examples. Canmore was presented in several documents as a community attempting to deal with growing economic pressures and conservation goals. The Crowsnest Pass was repeatedly highlighted as one of the most critical ecological areas of the entire region.

- *Identification of key agencies, actors and interest groups and their values and concerns*

Y2Y literature discussed involving First Nations, hunters and anglers, ranchers, and local communities in the initiative, drawing on their shared values and interest in the land and

sustaining it for future use. Documents referred to the value basis of the Y2Y initiative as belief in the protection of wild nature as beneficial for both natural and human communities.

- *Identification of established processes of interaction, communication and decision-making regarding nature conservation in the region*

More recently (since this research was completed) the Y2Y organisation has been involved in conducting research on the "communications landscape" of Y2Y, to build an understanding of public attitudes and communications efforts across the region. It was not apparent from this study whether formal or informal identification of processes of interaction and decision-making had been undertaken, or formed part of the ongoing knowledge gathering and relationship-building in the initiative.

- *Presence of factors that support undertaking a collaborative process*

Of the factors supporting a collaborative process, most may be viewed as relevant to the Y2Y initiative to some extent, other than a legal mandate or threat of regulations, which is currently unlikely to be a factor as the initiative has no legal or regulatory authority.

- *Common vision*

Most respondents interviewed understood the basis of the Y2Y vision, and many professed general support for the concept. However, beyond general identification of connectivity of wildlife habitat, there was less understanding of specific goals of the initiative. Furthermore, the extent to which respondents had embraced the vision as something to become engaged in and actively work toward was debatable. The majority of respondents asked had little or no direct involvement in the Y2Y initiative.

- *Shared problem definition or understanding of a crisis*

Respondents shared the view that the initiative was not dealing with a "quick fix" problem, and were in agreement that the initiative would be a long-term process. Most respondents understood the impetus for the Y2Y initiative to be habitat fragmentation, though the extent to which related problems were accorded value varied. Specific problem definitions did vary among respondents, where some respondents believed the town of Canmore to be a positive example of efforts to combine conservation and economic development, while others believed it to be a failure. In the Crowsnest Pass representatives of the provincial government and others considered motorised vehicle access to pose a significant threat to the protection of natural areas. Conversely, municipal government representatives considered snowmobiling to

present a viable economic opportunity for the community and did not believe that it had significant negative environmental impacts. Some different notions of local level involvement were also expressed, where some respondents believed local people (the "average Joe") needed to be included in the initiative, whereas another respondent believed the focus to be encouraging local empowerment, rather than specific knowledge of the Y2Y initiative.

- *Support in the form of leaders or champions*

Support from leaders or champions was believed to be important, particularly at the local level, and organisational leaders (NGO champions) in support of the initiative were also identified in one document as critical to the initiative. Several respondents from Canmore described one Y2Y representative to be a local "spearheader" for the initiative and environmental issues, and others noted the connection of another Y2Y representative to federal ministers. However, there appeared to be less connection between initiative representatives and other local areas such as the Crowsnest Pass, which was not considered to have a well-established Y2Y presence.

- *Existing structures and processes to support collaboration*

The initiative has been in the process of developing a Y2Y organisation (with an office in Canmore, AB and representatives in the U.S.), and building ties with organisations, such as a partnership with the Sonoran Institute, a community stewardship NGO. The initiative had also hosted workshops on various topics for network groups, and in conjunction with private foundations had established grant programs for network grassroots groups and to foster connections among scientific researchers and conservation advocacy groups. These efforts demonstrate the initiative's attempts to initiate collaborative processes among constituent groups. The degree to which the initiative had been able to make use of existing collaborative structures across the region was not apparent in this study. In the words of one respondent, a challenge facing the initiative was that it "demands cooperation that is not traditional". Other respondents mentioned the erosion of regional planning in the province of Alberta, due to Ralph Klein's conservative government. These comments suggested that collaborative processes were not already in place in Alberta from which to build the Y2Y initiative, with probably very little at the scale of the Y2Y region. Furthermore, while efforts had been made to establish connections between the Y2Y initiative and various groups, the initiative's ability

to foster collaboration had been hampered by a small number of staff, limited resources, and lack of widespread awareness of the initiative.

- *Incentives for stakeholders to collaborate*

Y2Y literature promoted the philosophy of "doing together that which we couldn't do alone", encouraging stakeholders to participate in accomplishing shared goals. Some respondents stated that the Y2Y vision provided inspiration and a context to allow them to see how their conservation efforts contributed to the larger region. Other incentives for stakeholders to collaborate in the initiative included availability of funding for groups that had joined the Y2Y network. However, some respondents argued that Y2Y needed to identify what the initiative could do to help groups, people or local communities, rather than focussing on how groups could become part of and benefit the initiative.

- *Public pressure or interest*

Public interest in the Y2Y initiative, or more accurately awareness and knowledge of the initiative, was seen by some respondents to have waned after the Y2Y Hike and initial publicity over the initiative. While the majority of the residents in both Canmore and the Crowsnest Pass have viewed the natural environment as important to their quality of life, efforts to undertake conservation have played out differently in Canmore and Crowsnest Pass. Considerable efforts had been made in Canmore to protect the natural environment, whereas there appeared to be some growing negative feedback to conservation efforts being undertaken by external land conservation groups in the Crowsnest Pass. Several local representatives (municipal government and others) in the Pass stated that the economy was the number one priority for the community and the natural environment number two, with the view that the two were not necessarily complementary.

Whereas the above criteria described requirements to be addressed by a conservation agency undertaking a regional conservation planning approach, the field research in the study areas of Canmore and the Crowsnest Pass also highlighted factors of the community context itself necessary for a conservation initiative to succeed. Contextual factors related to the historical and current context of the two communities. These included political will and involvement, a diversified economic base (of the community or region), and community receptivity to change and environmental protection. Lack of political will was considered to be an obstacle, and in

the case of Y2Y, political antagonism to the idea was believed to be a problem for the initiative. In terms of a diverse economic base, the Crowsnest Pass has been in the process of switching from a resource-extraction-based economy to a more service-based one. However, while research suggests economic development should support nature conservation to contribute to a community's viable economic base (Rasker and Alexander, 1997), the community of the Crowsnest Pass appeared to be in need of clearly defined economic incentives to safeguard the environment. Respondents suggested that the community would favour potential jobs associated with opening a mine over conservation. While the community of Canmore has shifted from an economy dependent on mining to a more tourism-based one, this current economic base arguably is no more diverse or stable than the previous one. The factors of a diversified economic base and receptivity to change and environmental protection both emphasised the need for flexibility on the part of the community, to be cognisant of a need for change, and flexible or willing enough to adopt new strategies and practices, particularly those that favour integrating conservation and economic interests. Consequently, local support for environmental protection was identified as a prominent factor.

Organisationally, respondents also identified the importance of an organisational structure to advance the initiative. The extent to which an organisational structure is in place, to allow for collaboration and groups to interact and effectively participate in the network was also considered to be an important factor of success.

6.2.2 Building Organisational Capacity for Collaborative Processes

- *Established common problem definition or shared task*

As noted under the section on context, beyond a general understanding of the Y2Y concept, there was less knowledge and agreement about specific problem definitions or goals. The fact that there was not a diverse base of participants in the initiative suggested that the goals of Y2Y had not reached a broader constituency. To adequately engage other interests in the initiative (such as communities, ranchers and others) involves going beyond ecological research to address social science dimensions (economic, political and historical interactions that influence land use and conservation). This had not yet occurred in the Y2Y initiative, though more recently greater efforts were being made to address more social concerns. For

regional conservation planning, a shared task might be one that includes both a good understanding of goals, and is shared among a diverse set of interests in conservation planning. Thus, the Y2Y initiative must better address both these points to achieve a fully shared task for participants in the initiative.

- *Well-defined goals and objectives*

A repeated comment made by respondents was the need for greater clarity of the goals and objectives of the Y2Y initiative. Some respondents suggested that more specific definition of the initiative's position on various resource uses was necessary, while others stated that the initiative was trying to address so many disparate groups that their actual message and overall goal were obscured. Respondents felt that the goals and objectives of the initiative were not well-defined for the general public. The Y2Y mission and vision statements put forward very broad and long-term goals. The Y2Y Strategic Plan (2000) identified multiple, more specific goals, but the large number of these goals and a lack of clear priorities made these difficult to interpret. This document was not made available to the public.

- *Clear terms of reference and a realistic scope, including clearly defined responsibilities and accountabilities of participants*

The Y2Y initiative was identified by many respondents in terms of its vision or concept, which some considered wouldn't be achieved. The initiative was discussed by most respondents and in many documents in potential terms, in the context of future plans. It was also referred to as a "dream", the Strategic Plan (2000) described by one Y2Y representative as "more of a Christmas wish list". These conceptions of the initiative do not mesh well with a defined and realistic plan of action, at least for the short term. Furthermore, although the Y2Y literature has emphasised the involvement of diverse stakeholders ("people on the land") in the initiative, comments from respondents and in some documents suggested that roles for stakeholders in the initiative were not clearly defined.

- *Widespread public support*

While Y2Y was viewed as successful in terms of building awareness of issues of conservation biology and of the initiative itself to some extent, there was still believed to be a lack of widespread public awareness, a precursor to developing support (noted by both respondents and in documents). Some respondents commented that the visibility of the initiative had diminished after early publicity and the Y2Y Hike (1998-1999).

- *Early public involvement and participation*

The early emphasis of the initiative appeared to be on establishing a basis in ecological science from which to develop a comprehensive picture of conservation threats and opportunities in the Y2Y region, as well as establishing the organisational base and funding to support the initiative. As a result, early public involvement and participation were not prioritised. The Y2Y vision and the basis for the initiative were developed over a number of years by a group of scientists and conservationists, following which it was introduced to the public. Some respondents closely associated with the Y2Y initiative believed that the initiative had even gone public too early, as it was unable to effectively handle the negative backlash that resulted from opposing interests.

- *Demonstrated commitment of decision-makers and other participants to the process and goals (such as financial and staff support, facilitation for meetings)*

Some commitment to the Y2Y process was demonstrated by both federal governments (Canadian and American) in the form of a Memorandum of Understanding on cooperation in management in the two countries, in which the Y2Y region was identified among the priority areas. Beyond the Sonoran Institute's agreement to partner with the Y2Y organisation in community building efforts, and individual groups' agreements to be participants in the Y2Y network, few demonstrations of commitment to the initiative were apparent in this study. Respondents expressed differing views on the need for government representatives to be closely involved in the initiative, some believing that it would fair better as an NGO-led effort, with less government association.

- *Inclusion and participation of all stakeholders*

As addressed above in relation to other criteria (early public involvement, established common problem definition, and others) the initiative has not expanded to a great degree beyond the environmental community, and was lacking participants from local levels.

- *Established linkages within and beyond community or area of study*

As with engaging the public, the initiative was viewed as slow to establish links and build relationships with local communities and other stakeholders. The initiative was viewed as having had limited success in engaging communities, beyond work conducted by Y2Y partners the Sonoran Institute, and a declaration of support for the initiative from the District of Invermere, BC. However, Y2Y had obtained support from a considerable number of

participants across the Y2Y region (over 500 groups and individuals representing close to a million people in January, 2003). This network included a number of international organisations and others from outside of the Y2Y region.

- *Improved cross-sector communication and collaboration*

Improvement in cross-sector communication and collaboration attributable to Y2Y was not discernable from this study. While a few respondents identified the initiative's efforts to coordinate environmental groups as a success, there was little indication that coordination extended beyond the environmental sector, to establish communication with other stakeholder groups. There was little evidence that the initiative was improving collaboration between many groups that would not be working together otherwise.

- *Increased understanding, knowledge and commitment to nature conservation of participants and wider community*

The Y2Y initiative was credited with increasing the level of understanding and knowledge, if not commitment to, nature conservation among Y2Y participants and others. Raising awareness of issues related to habitat connectivity, and awareness and promotion of the Y2Y vision were widely cited as successes of the initiative. However, Y2Y was still believed to be facing a widespread lack of public awareness and many respondents (both directly and indirectly involved in conservation planning) expressed a lack of extensive knowledge of the Y2Y initiative. Thus, it could be considered that the initiative had increased understanding and knowledge to some extent among both participants and the wider community, though there still remained considerable ground to cover. In terms of commitment, the Y2Y vision was seen to offer inspiration for conservationists to continue to work on conservation efforts in their local areas, to contribute to the greater region. As such, commitment to nature conservation may have increased among participants as a result of the Y2Y initiative, although this was less identifiable within the wider community.

The criteria relating to building organisational capacity for collaborative processes emphasised the need to involve representatives of diverse interests in a regional scale initiative. The Y2Y initiative was limited in public involvement, commitment from decision-makers, and local level connections within the study areas (Crowsnest Pass more so than Canmore). Reasons for this lack of engagement included the initiative's failure to address

social as well as ecological components of conservation, and a lack of clearly understood goals and objectives. This research highlighted the importance of support and involvement of "atypical" advocates in the initiative, to indicate that broader perspectives were taken into account, beyond those typically put forward by environmental advocates. Respondents also expressed varied views on the importance of government involvement in the initiative. Making connections with diverse stakeholders at the local level, as well as at the regional level was seen to be particularly important to implementing the concept on the ground, and making a regional initiative relevant at a local scale. Furthermore, awareness building and communication, discussed briefly above in the context of public support, were identified as necessary precursors to developing and maintaining public support. Associated factors of influence for public support and organisational involvement that emerged from the analysis included public perception and credibility of the initiative.

6.2.3 Planning

- *Assessment of information gaps and compilation of information across the region*

The Y2Y initiative had worked to compile information and identify gaps, particularly in terms of biophysical data across the Y2Y region. A main focus of the Y2Y initiative had been the development of a Conservation Area Design (CAD) providing an assessment of aquatic environments, avian, and carnivore habitat suitability across the Y2Y region. Other research included a report on economic trends across the Y2Y region and a more recent communications research project to assess the "communications landscape" of the Y2Y region, and review communications materials.

- *Identification of key concepts and organisational and planning approaches*

The key concepts identified so far in the Y2Y initiative appeared to be ecological ones, related to maintaining connectivity between core areas of wildlife habitat. The Y2Y organisation had directed a great deal of resources to researching the basis for a CAD to identify priority areas for the Y2Y region. The initiative had not made significant inroads into identifying key concepts or approaches to equivalently address social or "humanistic" factors on the landscape.

- *Demonstrated commitment to monitoring and adaptive management*

The initiative had not advanced far enough in developing implementation strategies to demonstrate a noticeable commitment to monitoring and adaptive management. However, the two reports on Y2Y (Tabor, 1996; Tabor and Soulé, 1999) serve as critical assessments of the initiative and offer recommendations for its improvement.

- *Assigned roles and tasks for stakeholders*

Dominant stakeholders in the initiative such as CPAWS (Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society) and other Y2Y partners such as the Sonoran Institute, private foundations, and the Miistakis Institute have taken on significant roles in Y2Y. However, as noted above in the section on organisational capacity, roles and responsibilities for other stakeholders in the initiative had not been clearly defined.

- *Decision-making process formalised and evaluable*

Within the structure of the Y2Y initiative, the Board of Directors (Coordinating Committee) has had responsibility for guiding the organisation and its mandate. The ability to have the growing number of network groups actively participate in the initiative was viewed as a considerable challenge for Y2Y in one report on Y2Y (Tabor and Soulé, 1999).

6.2.4 Resources

- *Wide availability of information*

The Y2Y initiative has produced a number of publications, some mentioned above, such as the *Sense of Place Atlas* (1998), and "Bringing Conservation Home" a booklet on conservation and communities in the Y2Y region (Gailus, 2000). In the early days of the initiative (1998) Y2Y was the subject of a video by the popular Canadian television series "The Nature of Things". The initiative has been featured in a number of media reports, nationally and locally, and was the subject of a National Geographic book (in the "National Geographic Destinations" series, Chadwick, 2000) which was made available to a wide audience through their readership base. The Y2Y Hike by Karsten Heuer was attributed with communicating the initiative to a wide audience, through the numerous public presentations made over the course of the hike. This hike was anticipated to contribute to further awareness of the initiative through the publication of a book detailing the trip, which was published in

fall 2002 (Heuer, 2002). The initiative also put out an information brochure, a *Q &A about Y2Y* pamphlet, and a recently expanded website, among other communications materials. The website offered information on the initiative and access to its reports, as well as current information on conservation issues across the region and interactive demonstration programs for site visitors to learn from. The Y2Y email listserv has been a tool employed for Y2Y participants to communicate and receive news and research about the Y2Y initiative and other groups. Of these diverse sources of information, those most available to a wide audience appeared to be the Nature of Things video, the National Geographic book on Y2Y, and the public presentations conducted on the Y2Y Hike. While the website and publications are available to any interested parties, finding or accessing these resources requires that the audience is already aware of or is directed to this information.

- *Sufficient funds for project operation and to enable participation by participants*

The Y2Y initiative was believed to have done well securing funds for both the development of the organisation and initiative itself, and to support network groups. The initiative had benefited from considerable support from private foundations in the U.S. Y2Y had also established two grants programs to support network groups, one directed to grassroots organisations, and the other to encourage collaborations between scientists and conservation advocates.

- *Demonstrated potential for sustaining resources, agency and volunteer efforts and technical expertise over the long term*

Sustainability of funding sources was believed to be linked to their diversity. Both respondents and the Y2Y initiative (in documents) considered obtaining more diverse funding sources to be a priority for Y2Y. A provision of the initiative's U.S. charitable status was that the initiative demonstrate a diversified funding base within three years. The vast majority of the initiative's funding sources up until the time this field research was conducted and continuing since, have come from private foundations, primarily in the U.S. north east and north west.

The Y2Y organisation has been expanding its staff and organisational base since its inception, having established headquarters in Canmore, AB and several representatives in the U.S.

Sustaining agency and volunteer efforts and technical expertise relates to the ability of the Y2Y organisation to maintain relationships with other organisations. This was not addressed to a great extent by interviewees or in documents reviewed, rather relationship building with diverse groups was a focus of discussion and was identified as a necessary factor for success.

6.2.5 Implementation

- *Extent to which goals, vision and objectives are being adopted and put into practice by different actor groups*
- *Extent to which relationship building is occurring*
- *Raised political and collective will in support of initiative*
- *Funding program established for long term program operation*
- *Experimental approaches developed for monitoring and adaptive management*
- *Clearly defined deliverables and products*
- *Implementation strategies developed*

The above criteria relating to implementation have been addressed for the most part under earlier criteria of planning and building organisational capacity. The initiative met these criteria to a limited extent, with weaknesses in some areas such as engaging a diversity of groups, which influenced its ability to meet other criteria. As noted earlier, the initiative had made limited inroads into building relationships and connecting with different actor groups, and as such outside of the Y2Y organisation and close partners, the initiative's goals, vision, and objectives did not appear to be put into practice by different actor groups. However, since this field research was completed, Y2Y has begun to direct more efforts toward building relationships and connecting with different actor groups. In terms of political and collective will in support of the initiative, while both had been demonstrated to some degree, this support was offset by political antagonism to the Y2Y concept, and a widespread lack of public awareness of the initiative.

A long term funding program for the initiative would be one that is supported by a diverse base of funding agencies. While the Y2Y initiative has been almost entirely dependent on private foundations for financial support, the need for more diverse sources of

funding has been recognised by respondents and in documents reviewed, and was identified as a priority for the initiative. More recently the initiative also began to address the need for more clearly defined deliverables, revising the Y2Y Strategic Plan in February 2003 to produce a more defined set of tasks to be carried out by the Y2Y organisation over a two-year time line.

Experimental monitoring and adaptive management approaches did not yet appear to have been developed specifically in relation to the initiative. Likewise, there did not appear to be specific implementation strategies developed for the region, though Y2Y literature discussed a wide variety of implementation methods. Y2Y representatives stated that they were waiting for the results of the scientific research (and the CAD) to dictate what implementation efforts needed to be undertaken. A number of other respondents commented on the initiative's lack of presence on the ground and believed that it should be implementing conservation plans.

Table 9 Applying the Regional Conservation Planning Criteria

Criteria	Employed in practice	Partially employed in practice	Identified, but not in practice	Not employed in practice	Degree Criteria Met in Y2Y Initiative
Context					
Diverse landscape elements *- human-modified, settled areas* *- wilderness, protected areas*	 x		 x		- emphasis on protecting wilderness and wildlife habitat
Regional approach – integrates local, regional scales *- works across jurisdictional boundaries* *Comprehensive approach – interconnected social, economic and ecological goals*	 x		 x		- includes multiple jurisdictional boundaries - not working effectively at multiple scales (regional and local) - focus on ecological components of conservation
Documentation, understanding of biophysical, socioeconomic, political characteristics – land use history, natural, cultural heritage, current state of region		x			- varied documentation on region, including biophysical characteristics and economic trends - most documents focussed on trends or characteristics of the region as a whole
Identification of key agencies, actors and interest groups and their values, concerns	x				- literature discusses variety of stakeholders – First Nations, hunters, ranchers, local communities and others
Identification of established processes of interaction, communication, decision-making regarding nature conservation in region	x/ not apparent				- recent Y2Y research program on "communications landscape" of Y2Y region - not apparent if identification of processes undertaken
Presence of factors that support undertaking a collaborative process:					
Common vision		x			- basis of initiative understood - limited engagement and involvement in initiative
Shared problem definition or understanding of a crisis		x			- shared view of Y2Y as long-term process - basis of initiative understood as habitat connectivity - specific problem definitions differed among respondents

Criteria	Employed in practice	Partially employed in practice	Identified, but not in practice	Not employed in practice	Degree Criteria Met in Y2Y Initiative
Support in the form of leaders or champions		x			- believed to be important – reference to a local champion in Canmore, no Y2Y presence in Crowsnest Pass
Existing structures and processes to support collaboration		x			- developing Y2Y organisation - collaborative processes not believed to be in place in province
Incentives for stakeholders to collaborate		x			- meaningful larger context, funding - need to identify benefits of participation in Y2Y
Public pressure or interest		x			- public awareness and knowledge waned after start of initiative - general support for environmental protection in both communities
Legal mandate or threat of regulation				N/A	- initiative has no legal or regulatory authority
Building Organisational Capacity for Collaborative Processes					
Established common problem definition or shared task		x			- less knowledge of specific problem definitions or goals - goals have not been adopted by a broad constituency
Well-defined goals and objectives				x	- need for greater clarity of goals and objectives
Clear terms of reference and a realistic scope, including clearly defined responsibilities and accountabilities of participants				x	- described in potential terms – future plans - roles for stakeholders not clearly defined
Widespread public support		x			- successful in building awareness of conservation biology issues and initiative - lack of widespread public awareness
Early public involvement and participation				x	- ecological science, organisational base prioritised over early public involvement and participation - vision, initiative developed over a number of years, then offered to public

Criteria	Employed in practice	Partially employed in practice	Identified, but not in practice	Not employed in practice	Degree Criteria Met in Y2Y Initiative
Demonstrated commitment of decision-makers and other participants to the process and goals (such as financial and staff support, facilitation for meetings)		x			- some commitment from both federal governments - partnership with Sonoran Institute - differing views of need for government involvement
Inclusion and participation of all stakeholders				x	- initiative not expanded greatly beyond environmental community, lacking participation from local levels
Established linkages within and beyond the community or area of study		x			- slow to establish links and build relationships with local communities, other stakeholders - considerable number of participants in network
Improved cross-sector communication and collaboration				N/A	- not discernible in this study
Increased understanding, knowledge and commitment to nature conservation of participants and wider community	x				- Y2Y increased level of understanding, knowledge, if not commitment
Planning					
Assessment of information gaps and compilation of information across region		x			- worked to compile information, identify gaps, particularly in biophysical data
Identification of key concepts, organisational and planning approaches		x			- key concepts ecological ones – not significant work identifying social concepts
Demonstrated commitment to monitoring and adaptive management				N/A	- not advanced far enough in developing implementation strategies to demonstrate considerable commitment - two reports on Y2Y (1996, 1999) provide critical reviews of the initiative and offer recommendations
Assigned roles and tasks for stakeholders		x			- roles identified for dominant stakeholders, not well-defined for others
Decision-making process formalised and evaluable		x			- Y2Y Coordinating Committee responsibility for guiding organisation - ability to involve growing number of network groups considerable challenge

Criteria	Employed in practice	Partially employed in practice	Identified, but not in practice	Not employed in practice	Degree Criteria Met in Y2Y Initiative
Resources					
Wide availability of information		x			- Y2Y has produced a number of publications, subject of media reports - Y2Y Hike most successful public relations effort - most information other than website and Hike presentations not available to a wider audience
Sufficient funds for project operation and to enable participation by participants	x				- secured funds for development of organisation, initiative - established two grants programs for network groups
Demonstrated potential for sustaining resources, agency and volunteer efforts and technical expertise over the long term			x		- not a diverse funding base for long-term support - focus on building relationships rather than maintaining established ones
Implementation					
Extent to which goals, vision and objectives are being adopted and put into practice by different actor groups		x			- vision adopted by dominant stakeholder groups, less evidence of support and involvement from diverse actor groups
Extent to which relationship building is occurring		x			- partnership with Sonoran Institute, other dominant stakeholders such as CPAWS, Miistakis Institute most notable examples
Raised political and collective will in support of initiative		x			- political will, commitment offset by political antagonism
Funding program established for long term program operation			x		- addressed as a priority in revised Strategic Plan (2003)
Experimental approaches developed for monitoring and adaptive management				N/A	- not discernible from study
Clearly defined deliverables and products		x			- Conservation Area Design (CAD) being developed for region - other products include research reports
Implementation strategies developed			x		- specific implementation strategies did not appear to be developed

A brief summary of the degree to which the regional conservation planning criteria have been met in the Y2Y initiative is presented in Table 9. Overall, the Y2Y initiative addressed the regional conservation planning criteria to a rather limited extent. As noted in the table, most criteria were partially met, indicating advances had been made to addressing them, while considerable obstacles were encountered. Criteria related to context and resources were addressed to a greater degree than those related to building organisational capacity, planning and implementation. However, in the time since this research was conducted, the initiative has made progress in several areas and does appear to be moving closer to fully addressing a number of criteria related to the involvement of diverse stakeholders in the initiative (see Appendix V).

From this comparison of findings on the Y2Y initiative with criteria for regional conservation planning, some recurring themes central to many of the criteria emerge. In assessing the reasons why the initiative was unable to meet many of the criteria, explanations repeatedly boiled down to three interrelated themes. In particular they relate to context, building organisational capacity, and planning processes. They are: the importance of addressing both ecological and social components in a regional effort; the need to involve a diversity of participants; and the need to operate at both regional and more local scales. The Y2Y approach was considered to be more ecologically-oriented and did not adequately address social components of conservation planning. This was believed to be a factor in engaging diverse interests in the initiative, and thereby Y2Y's ability to develop a common problem definition or shared task. Diversity of participants, particularly in terms of the two communities featured in this study, was closely related to the ability to connect with stakeholders at the local as well as regional levels.

These three themes are likewise related to the numerous issues identified in the analysis. In addition to providing a basis for interpreting the criteria, the analysis themes provide insight into motivating factors and antecedents that influence stakeholder participation and success of the initiative. The large number of analysis themes and issues (including some aspects not addressed in the criteria, such as credibility) serves to emphasise the multi-faceted nature of regional conservation planning. Application of the criteria to the Y2Y initiative further reinforces the understanding that regional conservation planning

involves numerous tasks, to be conducted at multiple levels in the same time period. Thus, it is clear that nature conservation at such a scale is a complex undertaking. Regional conservation is also an emerging and evolving practice, which leaves it open to progressing by trial and error. This review of the Y2Y initiative in the context of regional conservation planning acknowledges that Y2Y needs to address multiple tasks, and serves to provide an indication of what the initiative could improve on, as well as what it is doing well. The three recurring themes of regional conservation planning are discussed in relation to the Y2Y initiative and similar regional conservation efforts.

6.3 Addressing both Ecological and Social Components of Conservation

In its approach to large-scale conservation, the Y2Y initiative put itself forward primarily as an ecologically-oriented initiative, based on establishing connectivity between areas of wildlife habitat across the Y2Y region. Although the concept of sustainable communities was recognised as an important component of the initiative by many respondents and discussed in Y2Y literature, it had not been addressed to a great extent. Engaging communities was viewed by some Y2Y representatives as a "later step" to be undertaken, despite repeated emphasis on the importance of people and sustainable communities in the Y2Y literature. Conservation science was stated to be the basis of the initiative, with a central focus on the development and compilation of scientific research into a Conservation Area Design for the Y2Y region. In this manner Y2Y may be seen to have prioritised ecological goals over social ones (environmental quality and protection over fostering human communities that benefit from conservation).

Valuing ecological over social goals hearkens back to the debate between the two dominant views of conservation – preservation and resourcism, or views of nature as supreme versus views of human society supreme over nature. Despite well recognised flaws associated with each view, newer schools of conservation thought (Callicott *et al*., 1999) share similar distinctions at their root, and more recent approaches to environmentalism continue to oscillate between these two views, though between lesser extremes. While ecocentric (nature-centred) values are argued as an alternative to a utilitarian view of

conservation (Grumbine, 1994), some see these as embodying the preservationist ideal of wilderness, separating society from nature, in this case where "nature Over humans" is valued (Weber, 2000). Alternate conceptions of environmentalism (such as in grassroots ecosystem management as described by Weber, 2000) put forward a view of "humans With nature", acknowledging that separation of human society from nature is not possible. However, though this latter approach emphasises integration of human and environmental needs, it highlights "healthy ecosystems as means to community health", which suggests a valuation of humans over nature (nature serving human needs) (Weber, 2000:241). In the case of Y2Y, the initiative appeared to be following the tradition of contemporary conservation efforts, associated with a value of "nature over humans" (Weber, 2000). This was expressed through a focus on ecological dimensions and research to address the conservation problem (Machlis, 1995), and valuing ecological science at the expense of social science research (Endter-Wada *et al*., 1998). Y2Y documents acknowledged that in addition to operating at an extensive ecological scale, their approach must be inclusive of the human community as a whole – territory rather unfamiliar to conservationists (Yellowstone to Yukon Conservation Initiative, 2001). However, the initiative does not appear to have ventured far into this territory itself.

Consequently, further study of and communication about the social dimensions of conservation would appear to be necessary for the Y2Y initiative and other efforts focussed on an ecological approach to conservation. Social dimensions are of particular importance as the management of natural resources is considered an area of emotion and controversy (Schuett *et al*., 2001) where land use planning is about deeper social concerns. Perhaps more importantly, social dimensions must be integrated with ecological aspects, to provide a basis for a more comprehensive approach to conservation. Integration of ecological and human dimensions of conservation is required to understand and solve real world problems (Liu, 2001). By making the links between ecological processes and social concerns clearer, progress can be made to achieve both goals, making social planning decisions that support environmental quality, and vice versa. Integration of ecological and social factors is seen as essential for effective contemporary wildlife management and conservation (Riley *et al*., 2002).

Integration of goals requires attention to their prioritisation. Although both ecological and social goals have been generally identified for the Y2Y initiative, the prioritisation of

these goals may have contributed to difficulties in achieving them. While it has been repeatedly demonstrated that failure to address socioeconomic factors, human values, and needs leads to failure to manage for and protect natural areas over the long term, the prioritisation of a particular set of goals within integrated conservation efforts may lead to similar problems. Many projects that have attempted to integrate conservation and community development goals were believed to have failed because they prioritised one set of goals over the other (Michaelidou *et al*., 2002). Differing views on the effectiveness of these projects stem in part from the fact that the concept of integration holds different meanings for different people (Michaelidou *et al*., 2002). Some believe conservation to be the end goal, assisted by development, others consider conservation a means to achieve community viability.

Differences among goals were evident in the Y2Y initiative, where Y2Y literature, representatives and others emphasised conservation science and advocacy as the focus, while redefining the relationship between human society and nature was also described as a big part of the Y2Y agenda. While these goals are interrelated, they imply different emphases, the former directed toward ecological protection, and the latter to influencing societal values. These goals provide an indication of the sheer size and diversity of elements encompassed in the Y2Y initiative, and the complications this raises for both interpreting and accomplishing goals. A need to simplify the initiative or at least its message was evident in the comment from one respondent that "we should have just called it the 'Getting the Wildlife Across the Road Initiative'".

Correspondingly, clarity of the vision, its goals and implementation strategies repeatedly arose in this study as necessary aspects to be addressed in the Y2Y initiative. A lack of clarity was seen to have plagued the initiative since its inception, evidenced from an early assessment of the initiative (1996-1997) that found Y2Y did not yet have a clear and shared goal, and recommended greater clarity, goal and problem definition of the initiative. These problems are similar to those encountered in the early years of the biosphere reserve program. The difficulty of biosphere reserves in addressing their intended goals of integrating conservation, science and society was believed in part to be due to confusion and conflicting ideas over the meaning of the designation. There was disagreement and misunderstanding even among those who supported the concept, as well as a lack of understanding among

managers who were intended to apply these ideas (Tangley, 1988). The rather hazy manner in which the biosphere reserves concept was launched; "with some ambiguity of their role and nature" led to misunderstandings that had to be resolved (Batisse, 1982:102). Confusion over the idea of biosphere reserves was also attributed to the fact that the concept was relatively new, multi-dimensional, and had evolved in its application on the ground (Batisse, 1982). The similarity of these problems to the Y2Y initiative suggests they may not be uncommon to new, multi-dimensional regional conservation concepts. This gives weight to the practical importance of careful planning in the delivery of the message or concept to the wider community.

Further defining clear terms of reference and strategic direction for the initiative has been difficult to achieve, with Y2Y's first Strategic Plan (2000) described as "more of a Christmas wish list". These findings in fact corresponded with findings from other case studies of collaborative efforts where the most common weakness was believed to be the lack of strategic direction (Margerum, 1999b). Strategic plans in these studies were likewise described as ""wish lists" rather than a set of strategic objectives and implementation steps" (Margerum, 1999b:185). In these cases this tendency was attributed to a desire to establish consensus and widespread support within the collaborative exercise. While the Y2Y Strategic Plan (2000) did not follow the same process of development (a small group of representatives from the Y2Y Board and organisation), it similarly resulted in a list of actions the initiative would like to undertake, rather than a list of priorities to form a plan of action. Margerum (1999b) observed that while the need for a strategic approach has been repeatedly asserted in the planning literature it appears to be a difficult requirement for stakeholders to achieve in a collaborative exercise. As a multi-dimensional approach with a large number of participants, the Y2Y initiative also appears to face the same difficulties adopting a strategic approach.

Difficulties in achieving clarity of goals and strategic direction underscore the challenge involved in addressing both ecological and social dimensions of conservation. Arguably, this is difficult to do, particularly as achievement of social goals (working towards sustainable communities and engaging communities in conservation efforts) requires considerable time and dedication of resources. Comparatively, ecological goals can sometimes be achieved in shorter order, through lobbying and establishment of protected areas as well as land acquisition. Thus, for organisations with limited resources, there may be

a tradeoff between investing in long term conservation gains through developing connections and a capacity for conservation activities at the local level, and building some quicker and perhaps more straightforward successes through protected land designation. However, favouring quicker, easier wins before tackling potentially longer term and more challenging social components, is in some ways similar to the reasoning behind why many conservationists avoid human-modified landscapes and focus conservation efforts on remote areas and public lands. Conservationists argue that human-modified landscapes have already lost significant biodiversity and efforts are better employed elsewhere, to produce the most benefit from limited available resources. Yet given the considerable percentage of the land base that may be considered "human-modified", more substantial long term benefits might be derived from these challenging but critical regions (Fleishman *et al*., 1999; Miller and Hobbs, 2001; Robertson and Hull, 2001). Likewise, working toward building sustainable communities and achieving other social goals might result in significant long-term conservation gains, some of which might not be achievable through other means.

Subsequently, identifying when to establish certain components as priorities also presents challenges. Given the interests of those involved in the development of the Y2Y vision and initiative – conservationists and natural scientists – it is not unexpected that the central focus has been on conservation science. Scientific knowledge is considered a necessary basis for ecosystem management approaches, where both natural and social sciences are understood as important if not always equally valued. However, many researchers argue for the need to "manage for ecological integrity first" in ecosystem management (Newmark 1995; Grumbine, 1994; Noss, 1992). While this is a response to the lack of attention to ecological integrity in the past, it presents the potential for an opposite extreme of managing for nature in place of managing for human needs, and relegating societal concerns to later periods in time. This approach poses the risk of minimising connections between ecological and social aspects of conservation. This contrasts with views of other analysts that addressing both ecological and social goals should happen at the commencement of conservation planning efforts. Identifying and prioritising biophysical, social and stakeholder information needs at the start of an ecosystem management project has been identified as necessary to provide a strong foundation for planning (Endter-Wada *et al*., 1998). Others have highlighted early public involvement as a critical component of

ecosystem management plans, to allow values to be addressed and a shared sense of community identity to be developed (Norton, 1998).

The Y2Y initiative has faced challenges identifying priorities, with only a limited organisational capacity to address the extensive range of tasks associated with this multi-dimensional effort. According to Y2Y representatives, the organisation is learning to prioritise tasks, and this is demonstrated in the recent shift to a new strategic plan (February, 2003) that presented much more defined and realistic goals than the first version. In its early development, the Y2Y organisation was hampered by a small number of staff and limited resources (beginning with one coordinator and a Coordinating Council in 1996), and was charged with developed an organisational base, all of which limited its ability to undertake a full range of program tasks.

The presence of an existing organisational base from which to launch a vision might have contributed to more immediate gains in building support and capacity for the initiative. While Y2Y was closely associated with the Wildlands Project in the U.S. and the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society (CPAWS) in Canada at the start of the initiative, a separate Y2Y identity was a focus for development. Comparatively, the Carpathians Ecoregion Initiative in Eastern Europe developed as a project of the Danube-Carpathian Program of World Wildlife Fund for Nature (WWF) in the summer of 1999, and was able to use this well established and respected organisation to solicit buy-in for the initiative. The Carpathians Ecoregion Initiative was featured as part of a Danube-Carpathian Summit (organised by the government of Romania in cooperation with WWF) in April 2001. A declaration was signed at the Summit by representatives of 14 countries, in support of international and regional cooperation to maintain and improve the state of the environment in the Carpathian region and Danube river basin (Carpathian Ecoregion Initiative, 2003). However, despite this considerable early support for the initiative's goals, this organisational setup was not without its challenges, as the initiative was effectively sidelined in 2002 by differences in management structure. In terms of the Y2Y initiative, association with organisations such as CPAWS was not seen as entirely beneficial for Y2Y. Some respondents believed CPAWS to be a distinctly advocacy-based organisation and somewhat radical in its approach, and one respondent believed Y2Y to be trying to distance itself from such groups to avoid this negative perception.

6.4 Involving a Diversity of Participants

The Y2Y initiative has also been characterised by a limited diversity of participants. Despite the need to involve different stakeholder groups, identified in Y2Y's promotional literature, the initiative had not moved forward to engage communities and had achieved limited success in gaining committed representation from diverse stakeholder groups. A large number of respondents from diverse organisations expressed poor knowledge or familiarity with the initiative. The vast majority of organisations represented in the Y2Y network were environmental advocacy groups (as of January 2003). While individuals from different agencies had joined the initiative as participants, official organisational participation was found to be less forthcoming. Although many of the organisational representatives interviewed were in support of the initiative, the majority of those asked had indirect or no involvement with the initiative. Some stated that their organisations would not become directly involved because they did not share Y2Y's approach, or did not want to be associated with the negative perceptions of the Y2Y initiative. Y2Y was seen by some respondents as working against the current political system and viewed by the public and certain interests as harbouring a more radical environmental ("preservationist") agenda.

The impact of negative "radical environmentalist" public perceptions of the Y2Y initiative (one of most significant obstacles to the initiative) reveals that preconceptions play an important role in the development of an environmentally-focussed landscape initiative. The Y2Y initiative's task is more difficult in some ways because it has a considerable history to shed – a tradition of conservation activities championed by "elitist environmentalists", in many cases working in opposition to or not taking into account local and other interests. This is further underlain by a history of natural resource management projects and policies founded on the belief of pristine wilderness or ecosystems as the goal, and humans as obstacles whose activities interfere with natural processes (Brown and MacLeod, 1996). The Y2Y initiative was identified as a conservation effort closely linked with advocacy, moreover, it was seen to encompass and represent other related conservation efforts, both through its function as an umbrella organisation and through its confusion with other efforts. As such, the goals and activities of the initiative may have been met with the same lack of trust engendered from

these related approaches. Therefore, in presenting a picture of the Y2Y initiative, Y2Y must explicitly counter existing negative preconceptions of environmental efforts, and distinguish itself from other efforts that do not take such a holistic and inclusive approach to environmental problems. This relates to the repeated call for increased clarity of the message, goals and strategies of the initiative that arose in interviews and documents reviewed. Even though Y2Y literature does state that the initiative takes into account social interests and emphasises people working together to achieve landscape goals, its message and mission were seen by a number of respondents to be too vague in regards to how it planned to address major differences in values and approaches among groups.

Respondents' views on the importance of government involvement in the Y2Y initiative further reflect preconceptions of the initiative's identity and limitations to involvement. Views on the importance of government involvement differed somewhat from what was suggested in the criteria. Some respondents believed that as an NGO-led initiative lacking decision-making authority on the land base, the government needed to be involved to ensure decisions were implemented. Others felt that government involvement in the initiative was perhaps not desirable, due to the lack of public trust in the government, which might have a negative impact on support for the initiative. Whereas the criteria state that there should be demonstrated commitment from decision makers and involvement of all stakeholders, these conflicting views do not provide a clear direction for NGO and government involvement in a regional initiative. They prompt reflection on the identity of the initiative – whether the identity of the leaders or lead organisation imposes limitations on the capabilities of the initiative as a whole. In the case of Y2Y, this refers to whether it is considered as an NGO-driven initiative that works with other partners, or it is seen as a multi-stakeholder collaborative effort. Identification of Y2Y as an NGO-driven initiative suggests definition and association of organisational boundaries with the initiative – who can and who can't be involved. In this circumstance, regional conservation efforts underway are still confined within traditional conceptions of inter-organisational relations. More precisely, being identified as one specific category (NGO, government, or other) implies expectations and limitations as to who can be involved and what the stakeholder boundaries are. The party lines are drawn, creating new divisions in the conservation landscape. This is potentially the opposite of an optimal multi-stakeholder collaborative effort, wherein all stakeholders can

interact as equal partners and the effort is not "owned" or dominated by any one group. The Y2Y initiative is conceived to be put into practice by the efforts of participant groups and individuals. As such, it could operate as organisations working jointly or individually to achieve shared goals. However, comments on government involvement and views of the significance of the initiative suggest that many people are interpreting Y2Y in terms of capabilities of an NGO-driven effort, rather than an open partnership of a variety of stakeholders. This suggests that the initiative is limited by these preconceptions in its ability to operate as a fully regional effort that abandons traditional processes of undertaking conservation. Ideally, a truly regional conservation approach would involve an open partnership without underlying preconceptions of stakeholder associations.

Views on government involvement in the Y2Y initiative also suggest implications for relationships between government and Y2Y as an NGO-led initiative. While the relationship between NGOs and governments is considered of primary importance in work with protected areas (Lees, 1995), these comments point out some of the challenges associated with such relationship building. Comments on the potentially counterproductive nature of government involvement in the Y2Y initiative suggest a need for the initiative to retain autonomy. This notion was supported by some government representatives in reference to their lack of association with Y2Y. However, while there may be value in maintaining a separate organisational identity, the notion of autonomy reinforces the idea that organisations must work separately and implies limitations to their degree of association. This runs counter to the concepts of a collaborative regional approach. A proposed need for autonomy gives an indication of perceived fundamental differences in approach and values between governmental agencies and NGOs such as represented in the Y2Y initiative. Such perceptions are at the heart of preconceptions attached to organisational "categories" (NGO, government, other) or initiatives. Relationship building between government and NGOs takes place in this context, and must address these perceptions in order to move beyond them towards a more mutually accepting and beneficial arrangement. Analysts argue that flexibility is required on the part of government agencies to develop equitable partnerships with NGOs and other private groups (Mitchell and Brown, 1998). Furthermore, they state that government must accept these NGOs as equal partners, while NGOs must engage in non-adversarial relationships with government. This emphasises the need for organisations to

share power over decision-making in integrated approaches, which can be difficult to accomplish (Selin and Chavez, 1995).

Strongly held preconceptions regarding the Y2Y initiative's real intent and goals and organisational makeup suggest credibility of the initiative to be an important factor in bringing diverse participants into the initiative. A number of respondents described this in terms of the initiative's ability to remain apolitical and objective. Others discussed actions that enhance credibility such as education and partners. While credibility of the initiative as a whole did not emerge as a necessary criterion in the literature on collaborative models and case studies, legitimacy of an effort's stakeholder committee membership and selection process has been described as critical to the success of integrated environmental management efforts (Margerum, 1999a). A stakeholder committee membership and selection process influenced by political interests were believed to undermine the credibility of the committee (Margerum, 1999a). These findings suggest that credibility might be particularly important for an emerging regional conservation effort that people are not too familiar with, as in the case of Y2Y. The credibility of the initiative may be called further into question than it would be in the case of an effort associated with a well-established, respected and apolitical organisation.

Despite considerable opposition, the initiative has still been able to move ahead and make some progress towards bringing more stakeholder representatives into the initiative. More recently, the initiative has established some stronger links with First Nations communities, one Canadian and one American band representative becoming new members of the Y2Y Board of Directors in 2003. Further efforts are being made to include other stakeholder representatives on the Board, which has been uniformly composed of conservationists and scientists.

The need to involve a diversity of stakeholders is interrelated with the previous theme of incorporating ecological and social goals. Explicitly addressing social goals within the conservation initiative allows for and even necessitates engaging a diversity of participants. A diversity of views and values are encountered in developing shared strategies to address environmental management and development interests. Y2Y requires complex, collaborative partnerships with various groups. As with incorporating both ecological and social goals, bringing a diversity of participants and perspectives into the initiative is a lengthy and

resource-intensive process. This presents difficulties in making a connection with different groups and allowing people to build a sense of ownership in the vision and their role in the initiative, which is critical to building long term commitment. "Selling" the Y2Y initiative to groups outside of the environmental community was considered to be a challenge, much more so than gaining support from people who already shared conservation interests. Identifying roles for stakeholders in the Y2Y initiative illuminates challenges for regional conservation efforts in general. For example, defining a role for social scientists and incorporating them into the process of building regional conservation efforts has yet to be undertaken in practice (Endter-Wada *et al*., 1998).

As illustrated in the findings of this study, seeking to involve diverse groups also suggests problems associated with incorporating varied views of conservation. Findings further emphasised the multi-faceted nature of regional conservation planning, and indicated that diverse views were present even among conservationists related to the initiative. In addition to views critical of Y2Y expressed by groups in opposition to the initiative (an outdoor recreation group and a public policy NGO), various representatives of land conservation, conservation and wilderness-advocacy NGOs in both communities also expressed some critical views questioning the value of the initiative in certain respects. For example, one representative of a land conservation NGO commented that it was belittling for other groups to have their successes subsumed by Y2Y. These views contrasted with other respondents' views of the positive value of Y2Y. Additionally, even among conservationists involved in the initiative a diversity of views was expressed regarding specific problem definitions associated with Y2Y. Conflicting views among conservationists suggest that addressing potentially different approaches and perspectives of more interest groups will add considerable layers of complexity to the initiative.

In addition to differences in views, the collaborative process itself presents difficulties for stakeholder groups. In public involvement processes there is a tendency to have overrepresentation of some groups and constituencies that are well aware of the impact of the planning decision on their group, and have sufficient political, social and possibly financial capital to actively participate in the process (Endter-Wada *et al*., 1998). This points to the potential for some powerful groups to dominate multi-stakeholder efforts, which has been noted as a problem in integrated conservation efforts (Margerum, 2001). Collaboration in

itself presents complex challenges, some principal ones believed to result from the processes of decision-making and difficulties of people working together, as well as the manner in which concerns are represented, rather than from the substance of the issues themselves (Chrislip and Larson, 1994; McGinnis *et al*., 1999).

However, while involving diverse stakeholders presents challenges, it also can produce benefits through the process of involvement. This process can have the effect of creating ownership, establishing a basis for a sense of place to take root, and allowing for or contributing to value change towards nature and conservation (turning "self-interest into enlightened self-interest" Weber, 2000). These effects suggest the potential for a collaborative regional initiative to significantly contribute to building community capacity for nature conservation. Indeed, the grassroots ecosystem management movement (GREM – as described by Weber, 2000) focuses energy as much on strengthening bonds of community as on formal policies directly related to resource management. However, GREM focuses on communities viewed as (directly) dependent on nature, whereas the Y2Y initiative is faced with somewhat of a wider swath of communities. As such, contributing to value change might be harder for the Y2Y initiative, where community links with nature might need to be illustrated and built upon. Yet while the Y2Y initiative, as a binational effort, may not have the capacity to focus on strengthening community bonds, it can help build (or contribute to) processes that can assist in promoting this.

Involving a diversity of participants also potentially offers assistance to address territory conservationists may be less familiar with, including some of the challenges inherent in a multi-stakeholder approach. For example, some researchers have suggested that resource management agencies might actually be more inclined and accustomed to taking both ecological and social goals into consideration than environmental groups (Endter-Wada *et al*., 1998). Applying the lessons of such experience would be of use to the Y2Y initiative.

6.5 Operating at Regional and Local Scales

The Y2Y initiative did not appear to have been working effectively at multiple landscape scales. Respondents' comments demonstrated some confusion over the level at which the Y2Y initiative was operating. Some saw the initiative as operating in a top-down, centralised

manner, or operating at a policy level and not really at the local level, while another respondent described it as grassroots-based. The focus of the Y2Y organisation was originally to be on planning at the landscape and sub-landscape level (seven "regions" subdividing the Y2Y region) (Strategic Plan, 2000). However, this changed more recently in the revised Strategic Plan to a focus on conservation action strategies in 14 Ecological Priority Areas (Strategic Plan, 2003). The initiative did demonstrate efforts to work at both local and regional scales. Evidence of the initiative's regional or national scale efforts and achievements included reference to Y2Y in a Memorandum of Understanding between the Canadian and American governments on areas of shared natural and cultural heritage. The initiative also was able to gain support from a number of private foundations operating in different regions of Canada and the U.S. Furthermore, Y2Y garnered praise and general support from a number of Canadian politicians as well as prominent conservationists and scientists from different parts of the Y2Y region. At the local level, the Y2Y Hike conducted by Karsten Heuer (1998-1999) appeared to have had considerable effect in terms of "door-to-door" or "community to community" communication.

However, despite these efforts, interviews and documents suggested that the initiative was not well established at multiple levels, particularly at the local level. There was believed to be a lack of widespread public awareness about Y2Y, while in the study areas there was found to be a lack of knowledge about the initiative even among conservation practitioners and government representatives (provincial and municipal) as well as others related to conservation planning efforts. While more respondents from Canmore were familiar with the initiative than from Crowsnest Pass, the fact that some diverse respondents (including some closely involved in conservation planning) in the Canmore area were not overly familiar with the initiative suggested difficulty in disseminating information on the initiative. Those in Canmore would be expected to have potentially the greatest local understanding of Y2Y, because this is where the Y2Y organisation is headquartered and the initiative has an established presence. However, with numerous environmental conservation efforts based in Canmore, Y2Y may get lost in the shuffle. A lack of understanding of Y2Y in Canmore suggests difficulty for the initiative in making itself visible and establishing connections with key stakeholders, and difficulty becoming established in other areas where there is less (or no) physical representation of the Y2Y organisation. These constraints were in evidence in the

Crowsnest Pass area, which had no established Y2Y organisation presence, and had a lower degree of awareness and involvement in the initiative as compared to Canmore. The lack of an established base of support for Y2Y could be particularly problematic in Crowsnest Pass because this area recently has been identified as one of two Ecological Priority Areas where Y2Y will focus on supporting local conservation efforts (Y2Y Connections, Spring 2003).

Local receptivity to environmental efforts and the Y2Y initiative emerged from the analysis as particularly important to the success of the initiative. This corresponds with conclusions of other studies, which have found that the historical situation in which management takes place is perhaps one of the most important factors for success (Walther, 1987). Another study observed that the importance of the local context presented an obstacle to developing blueprints for partnership success (Leach and Pelkey, 2001). The historical and current contexts of Canmore and Crowsnest Pass were emphasised as important to future implementation of the Y2Y initiative. Many respondents cited internal community dynamics as influential in dictating success of the initiative. Rather than a focus on the interconnectedness among areas in the Y2Y region, some local representatives in both Canmore and Crowsnest Pass referred to the potential impact of Y2Y in very local terms, such as wildlife corridors in the town. These views highlight the importance of place in collaborative conservation efforts, wherein connections to a particular place can also provide a basis for interest and involvement in issues. According to Michaels *et al*. (1999a:159) "people participate in partnerships because they care about place".

Respondents in both Canmore and Crowsnest Pass discussed the need to connect the Y2Y initiative to people at the local level. This was emphasised to a greater extent in Crowsnest Pass where there are more opportunities to safeguard the environment from development, but the community focus has been on economic concerns. Anti-conservation planning factions were believed to be growing in the Crowsnest Pass area and this was compounded by distrust of outside groups, and lack of willingness in the community to change patterns of behaviour. These factors indicate that Y2Y would need to tailor its approach to the Crowsnest Pass area, and look at what it can offer the community. Crowsnest Pass needs to revitalise its economy, and is in need of economic incentives through which it can safeguard environmental quality in the process. Residents are not in favour of restrictions associated with parks and protected areas, and as such the Y2Y initiative may need to

emphasise the sustainable communities component of the effort in place of the "big wilderness" concept. Y2Y's image, described by an independent observer from Crowsnest Pass as "a hip, mountain biking idea" does not appear as applicable to the Pass as it does to Canmore. The population base in the Pass is made up of older and more long-time residents than Canmore, and as such communications materials must be tailored to address these differences.

To develop an effective regional conservation effort, the Y2Y initiative needs to work at multiple levels at once – to work both from the "top down" and the "bottom up". Communication must take place at regional and national levels with high-level decision makers who can influence policy, and at local community levels where plans will be put into action. Working from the "bottom up" may be particularly important, as environmental movements (both preservationist and resource conservation) have traditionally operated as top-down approaches primarily governed by wealthy and educated elites (Weber, 2000). While the contemporary environmental movement began as a populist movement based on participatory democracy, this was seen to have become bureaucratised through the development of national scale advocacy groups operated by educated and wealthier professionals, with predominantly passive participation from group members ("check book" environmentalism) (Weber, 2000).

Furthermore, recognising that part of the justification for conservation planning on a regional scale is to avoid applying potentially conflicting mandates to artificially compartmentalised areas, it is important not to overemphasise the regional scale at the expense of the local level. Although the local level does not exist in isolation from its regional context, the impacts of regional level decisions and programs may be muted or compounded by a more specific local context. Potentially different priorities may exist at regional and local levels, as noted in a presentation to the Y2Y organisation (Cameron, 1999) where at the "macro" level environment was viewed as important by the public, while at the "micro" level jobs were actually a greater concern. The local level is of particular importance to the Y2Y initiative, because it is where implementation will need to take place, to support long-term sustainability (Gardner and Roseland, 1989). Whether or not the Y2Y organisation itself needs to be involved in more local level efforts is debatable. Some respondents discussed as a model other conservation groups such as Ducks Unlimited (DU) and the Nature

Conservancy of Canada (NCC), which have established chapters in different regional and local areas to represent their organisations. The value of this approach was that the organisation had local representation and support, and was not seen as an outsider in the community, a point emphasised by a number of respondents. Similarly, having local representatives to champion the initiative was believed to be a useful way to establish the initiative in communities.

Considering activities at the local level enables a finer scale of analysis and introduces another layer of complexity in assessing how large regional efforts are translated into practice. Looking at application on the ground prompts the question of how to engage groups and supporters in the initiative. As Margerum (1999b:189) points out in discussion of collaborative planning exercises, "identification of parties that *should* interact doesn't mean they *will* interact." The history of conflict in the community and interaction between groups can influence willingness to interact, while a host of factors may influence buy-in to the initiative. In discussion of ecosystem management efforts, Burroughs and Clark (1995) noted that people appreciated the long-term benefits of ecosystem management efforts, but seemed to continue short-term "business as usual". In the case of Y2Y, the lack of widespread involvement in the initiative, particularly among respondents, seemed to suggest that people considered it to be a good idea, but not necessarily one that affected them, or one that they needed to be involved in. This illustrates the need to enable interested parties to build ownership in the initiative, to associate with the Y2Y region and the initiative, and opportunities to be involved in their place. Looking at building engagement in the initiative brings up more questions than answers. To what extent do people need to feel affected before they become involved? At what point does involvement in the Y2Y initiative or a supporting conservation effort become a priority? These questions particularly apply to stakeholder groups and others that don't see the Y2Y initiative as personally relevant. Some factors identified by Margerum (2001) as important in influencing organisational involvement appear particularly relevant in relation to Y2Y. Margerum (2001:425) states that "[a]lthough resources often limit the ability of an organisation to participate in an integrated project, administrative perception of the problem and its relevance to the organisation is often equally important." In a similar vein, perceived interdependence with other stakeholders and

significant interest ("stakes") for the potential participant also have been described as necessary antecedents to participation (Logsdon, 1991).

Further focussing discussion on activity at the local scale, and particularly the community as a manifestation of the local, it is important to consider that community is a complex notion. As noted in Chapter 2 in regards to community-based conservation, commonly applied characteristics of community as homogeneous, small size and shared norms are not appropriate. To facilitate orientation and planning of conservation efforts at the community level, it is relevant to consider what characteristics of community lend themselves to natural resource management and conservation. In addition to questions regarding engaging people, it is also important to ask, what aspects of community need to be fostered in order to effectively carry out conservation at the local scale?

6.6 Assessing the Y2Y Vision

Assessing some of the limitations of the Y2Y initiative in relation to the three themes of regional conservation planning prompts further consideration of the why of Y2Y, or why the vision and initiative were developed and have managed to persist over a number of years. The fact that the initiative and vision have gained considerable support – financially, in numbers of network groups, and interest within the conservation community – indicates that the Y2Y concept has a lot of currency, and addresses issues people believe are important. The strength of the Y2Y vision came across as one of the major successes of the Y2Y initiative. The vision was commonly described (by respondents and in documents reviewed) in terms of promoting connectivity of wildlife habitat and populations on the landscape. Founded on the notion of connectivity, the vision is firmly based in conservation biology principles, and corresponds with related emerging directions in resource management such as ecosystem management. Thus, the Y2Y vision "makes sense" to people because of its expression of widely held scientific principles that are being promoted for adoption in practice.

However, the strength and success of the vision also may be tied to the strong mythology of the west – conceptions of the wild western frontier and associations of vast open landscapes, large wildlife populations and a close relationship between people and the

natural environment. These images of the west form a central part of the west's identity as a unique place, with a different way of life and set of rules than other parts of North America. This "mythology" or history of the west provides a strong foundation for a vision to maintain the natural heritage of the Rocky Mountain region. It provides an identifiable sense of place for the Y2Y region, and this frontier imagery is invoked in some of the Y2Y literature, wherein the vision is described as one to "maintain the wild heart of North America".

Some respondents believed the value of the Y2Y vision has been in its ability to provide a context for people's actions at the local level and allow them to contribute to a greater whole, the "Big Picture" concept. This gives credit to the argument that the concept of planning at larger temporal and spatial scales is useful to build support for sustaining ecosystem processes, as it provides a means for various stakeholders to begin thinking about areas and needs greater than their local and immediate concerns (Robertson and Hull, 2001). However, (as noted earlier) in the communities of Canmore and Crowsnest Pass, the Y2Y initiative was still discussed by some local representatives principally in local terms, such as the wildlife corridors in Canmore or the potential for corridors to be established through the Municipality of Crowsnest Pass. This suggests that for some community organisations at least, the emphasis in regards to Y2Y is less on the interconnectedness of natural habitat across the region, than on local concerns.

Having a strong vision provide the basis of a regional conservation effort such as in the case of Y2Y requires that attention be paid to the delivery of the message to the wider community. While communications and the importance of public involvement have been discussed in the collaborative planning literature (Yaffee, 1996; Norton, 1998), the delivery of the conservation message to those outside of the initiative in the wider community was not identified as a significant factor in collaborative models or case examples put forward in the literature. Communication was most often discussed between stakeholder groups involved in the collaborative exercise. Most collaborative models were discussed in terms of a formal management process, usually guided by government, with the intent of bringing in other representative stakeholders and gaining support from the public. In contrast, the Y2Y initiative is not formally linked with management or decision-making processes, and needs to develop widespread interest and support for activities and processes to be undertaken on the ground. Operating as a more informal coalition in the process of building widespread support

suggests particular importance of the dissemination of the conservation message for Y2Y. Respondents' comments emphasised the importance of careful planning and attention to the communication and promotion of the message to the wider community. The manner in which the initiative was launched was considered important (whether at a national or local level and whether clearly defined). Other comments included the need for a good message "to be out there first to set terms for the debate", and similarly, the need for preparation to respond to negative feedback about the initiative.

Literature on collaborative planning also suggests a common vision to be one of the potential factors necessary for establishing a regional conservation effort (Schuett *et al*., others). However, this was not fully in place in the Y2Y initiative. Although many respondents understood the basis of the vision, there did not appear to be a common understanding among diverse groups of specific goals and what the initiative planned to achieve. But while the initiative was not a common one in the sense of being fully understood by a diversity of groups or developed collaboratively by a diverse group of stakeholders, it was still considered to be a strong and influential vision. This suggests that the initiative could continue forward on the strength of the vision, but to more effectively build support from diverse groups the lack of clarity of the vision or associated goals must be addressed.

The need for clarity of the Y2Y vision and goals highlights the distinction between an inspirational and an achievable vision. Shipley and Newkirk (1998) identify two disparate meanings of strategic visions in planning – a literal meaning ("a picture of tomorrow") and a metaphorical meaning ("an idea of desired human conditions") (:412). They suggest caution in interpreting visions for use in planning, in regards to whether the vision presents an achievable outcome or a less tangible one. The authors question whether metaphorical – ideal and desired states – are functional as visions if they don't provide identifiable outcomes that can be judged on whether or not they have been achieved.

In terms of Y2Y, their vision can be viewed as a conflict between an inspirational "dream" as some referred to it, and implementing goals on the ground. The Y2Y vision, which refers to a "life-sustaining web", may be considered a metaphorical vision, and descriptions of it as a dream and a "grand scheme" support that notion. There are two aspects of identifying the vision as a dream, the first described above, referring to the value of the bold vision to inspire people and give support to efforts underway. As one interviewee said,

quoting Brock Evans "don't be afraid to dream big and make reality. Thinking small hasn't got us anywhere." The second aspect relates to the insubstantial nature of a vision-as-dream, which propagates the idea that the vision won't actually be implemented, or achieved. It implies an inherent defeatism – even if attempted, the vision is not accomplishable because it presents an idealised state. This view was evidenced in some respondents' comments that described the Y2Y initiative primarily as a vision or a concept, rather than something that was operating on the ground. Another respondent (from a naturalist NGO) stated that "[Y2Y] isn't going to be established – it's a vision". These views contrast with goals of effecting change on the landscape through the Y2Y initiative. They suggest difficulties for the initiative in moving forward to implement strategies on the ground, if many people do not recognise it as something that will actually take shape at that level.

The question of putting forward an achievable vision or identifiable goals also speaks to other practical concerns such as the ability to achieve tangible successes that can be directly or indirectly attributed to the initiative. As several respondents pointed out, achieving successes attributable to Y2Y is important to develop or maintain a unique identity for the initiative, to distinguish it to funding agencies and to build public support. A further practical concern is the ability to judge whether goals are being achieved. This is an important concern for those involved in the Y2Y initiative – knowledge of whether they are contributing to or achieving goals of the initiative, or understanding that it will take a long time to achieve change, would help people to remain inspired and not become discouraged in the face of little progress on the ground. This ability to judge goal achievement may be of particular importance to the Y2Y initiative because it covers such a wide area and so many groups are involved – as a result it may be more difficult for all groups to be aware of successes in various local areas, or to obtain a clear picture of what is happening on the scale of the Y2Y region.

The rather ambiguous nature of the Y2Y vision also is connected to opposition to the Y2Y initiative. Groups in opposition to the initiative saw it as an environmental preservationist movement, with the goal of removing people from the region and turning it into a park. Private property rights were believed to be threatened by Y2Y. One respondent believed that the Y2Y initiative (in Crowsnest Pass) had come to represent other "conservation planning" efforts, with more momentum directed to oppose the initiative as a

result. In these ways opposition to Y2Y seems to be similar to the debate over wolf reintroduction in Yellowstone National Park, wherein opposition to reintroduction was believed to be masking a larger conflict over views of public land use (Wilson, 1997). Opposition to the Y2Y vision appears to be subsumed by those holding similar fears, of increased government control and regulation through the establishment of parks and protected areas, and the loss of land rights. Affecting such a large scale as the Y2Y region, the Y2Y vision is seen by some to pose a considerable threat to private land rights. As such, the conflicts between Y2Y and opposing groups indicate a conflict over core values. This is similar again to the debate over ecosystem management, considered to be a largely symbolic debate over fundamental differences in values and goals (Burroughs and Clark, 1995). The initiative's attempts to engage diverse groups by trying to be too many things at once ("all things to all people" according to some respondents) have not worked entirely in their favour to establish credibility as a united movement to address critical ecological and social concerns on the landscape. In order to establish a common understanding of the initiative among actors, there is a real need to develop effective processes to integrate diverse and conflicting values and views (Paulson, 1998).

The description of Y2Y as trying to be "all things to all people" raises the question of how the initiative could avoid trying to do this when regional conservation planning literature seems to demand it. A central tenet of regional conservation planning is the inclusion and participation of all stakeholders in the initiative. To bring together key stakeholders and engage them in collaborative planning requires that these groups and individuals can establish a connection with the initiative and identify ways they can both contribute and benefit from their involvement. Thus, Y2Y is tasked with identifying and promoting the different components of the initiative to attract various groups. To do this effectively and maintain their vision, Y2Y is faced with two possible choices. The initiative can narrow the focus of their message, target specific interests and risk alienating people, or remain broad and allow for greater buy-in and involvement, and face suspicion associated with being too vague. Either situation poses drawbacks, and suggests difficulty for the initiative to succeed. The initiative has thus far put forward a broad and inclusive mandate, to establish a "common ground" for people to come together. This has gained support but not significant representative buy-in.

6.7 Synopsis

Reflecting on how well the Y2Y initiative has addressed principles of regional conservation planning leads back to the Y2Y vision. While the initiative had made some progress in scientific research and organisational development, it largely did not seem to have progressed beyond the stage of a vision. If the Y2Y initiative was primarily understood as anything, it was as a vision. Its main successes were identified as the awareness and promotion of the vision, and obstacles related to perception and understanding of the initiative. The lack of implementation on the ground has left little else to tangibly define it. Although the Y2Y vision is one of considerable strength and momentum, I would argue that more than a vision is necessary for successful regional conservation planning to take place on the ground. The initiative needs to progress beyond the vision to address its potential and apply the ideals it puts forward.

To move beyond the vision the initiative needs to address to a greater degree the three central themes identified for regional conservation planning (incorporating ecological and social goals, involving a diversity of participants, integrating local and regional scales). Y2Y has been limited in its ability to address these themes due to a lack of organisational capacity and also prioritisation of ecological components over others. This prioritisation is understandable in many ways, as the initiative is operating in a context in which "environmental managerialism" (non-integrative, techno- and state-centric management) is still dominant (Bryant and Wilson, 1998), even though newer ideas of regional conservation planning are emerging and have considerable support. However, the lofty goals of the Y2Y initiative, including the agenda to change the relationship between humans and nature, will be hard to accomplish when relying on the traditional approach of separating ecological goals from other concerns, and limited involvement with other groups. The vision needs to be embraced to a greater extent by atypical stakeholders such as industry and economic interests, and put into action.

Chapter 7 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter revisits the research process and presents a brief summary of the thesis research and findings. Findings presented in the previous chapter form the basis of recommendations for the Y2Y initiative and other similar regional conservation planning efforts. Further research directions suggested by this study are put forward.

7.2 Summary of the Research Process and Findings

This research attempted to address the question of how conservation can take place on a regional scale, using the Y2Y initiative as an example. The premise of the research was that large landscape corridors such as Y2Y represent the new "wave" or model of conservation planning. Therefore, how well a prominent effort such as Y2Y addresses the needs of regional conservation planning provides an indication of the extent to which these ideas are being adopted in conservation practice. One of the questions that prompted this research was to find out if we are really doing conservation differently.

To address these questions this research applied an exploratory and descriptive design and qualitative approach, seeking to learn how the Y2Y initiative was interpreted by different stakeholders involved in conservation planning in two contrasting communities in Alberta. A series of semi-structured interviews provided an understanding of respondents' conceptions of the purpose, goals and function of the Y2Y initiative. This was complemented by a review of Y2Y documents. An in-depth qualitative analysis was conducted and a number of themes were discussed relating to context, organisational capacity, stakeholder involvement and support, awareness building, comprehension of the initiative, and its function and role. This analysis formed the basis of a comparison of regional conservation planning criteria with the Y2Y initiative. Findings provided insight into the strengths and limitations of the Y2Y initiative, and also into the assessment of regional conservation planning efforts.

First, in identifying strengths and limitations of the Y2Y initiative in relation to regional conservation planning, research findings substantiated many of the criteria developed

for assessing regional conservation planning. For example, lack of well-defined goals and objectives and inability to include and gain participation from all stakeholders were seen as having limited the success of the initiative. The numerous themes brought to light through analysis of findings also serve to emphasise the multi-faceted nature of regional conservation planning. Differing views on the nature and success of the Y2Y initiative were brought to light through discussion with the diverse range of respondents. These perspectives offered additional insight into the perception and role of the initiative in relation to regional conservation planning, differing from most other studies that have focussed on participants in an initiative.

Second, this research also identified some themes central to regional conservation planning that bear further analysis. These were: addressing and integrating both ecological and social components of conservation; including a diversity of participants; and operating at both regional and more local scales. These themes may be applicable to many other regional conservation projects, wherein ecological goals commonly take precedence, and initiatives must deal with the practicalities of bringing diverse stakeholders on side and integrating local and regional efforts. Third, this research provided additional detail of and insight into some of the practical challenges faced in undertaking an ambitious regional conservation effort. In particular, these findings suggest some substantial obstacles to conducting a truly multi-stakeholder regional approach to conservation. Early decisions on priorities and direction and reactions to the Y2Y initiative have had considerable impact on the initiative's ability to obtain buy-in and build a truly comprehensive approach. These findings suggest that the image of the group involved in putting forward the conservation initiative is an important factor in gaining trust and buy-in. As a newly formed environmental initiative, Y2Y encountered negative perceptions of their intent and goals for the area. However, establishing a strong vision for the region was a considerable factor in gaining support for the initiative. These findings formed the basis of recommendations put forward later in this chapter.

7.3 Reflection on the Research Questions

Discussion of research findings leads to reflecting on how the initial research questions posed in this study were addressed.

Research Question 1

What are the strengths and limitations of the Y2Y initiative in terms of its contribution to regional conservation planning?

The Y2Y vision was found to be the major strength of the initiative. It has attracted a lot of support, particularly from charitable foundations in the U.S. who have been responsible for financing the initiative. The vision was seen as having contributed to dialogue on conservation planning and provided a "Big Picture" context for people to consider their local actions in the region. Limitations to the initiative from the perspective of regional conservation planning included the three themes that were identified from the application of the criteria in Chapter 6. The initiative was found to have prioritised ecological goals over social dimensions of conservation, it had not been successful in building a diverse participant base, and it was not found to be functioning well at multiple scales.

Research Question 2

What are the local contexts that shape regional conservation planning processes in the communities of Canmore and Crowsnest Pass, Alberta?

In general, there appeared to be greater interest in nature conservation in Canmore, while there was more opportunity to safeguard the valuable North-South connection for wildlife populations in Crowsnest Pass. A supportive municipal government and an environmentally aware and active community base in Canmore contributed to a favourable local context for regional conservation. Municipal government officials and others described the Y2Y initiative as consistent with their thinking and approach to environmental protection. Canmore's considerable efforts toward protecting the natural environmental have been

hampered by a provincial government decision to allow a development to substantially increase the size of the town.

While the majority of the community in Crowsnest Pass was found to be in favour of environmental protection, this has not been effectively championed at the local level. The Pass is an economically depressed area, and the economy was considered by municipal government representatives to be the number one priority for the community. To this end the municipal government has been looking for opportunities such as motorised vehicle recreation, specifically snowmobiling, to boost the economy. Respondents commented on resentment within the community toward conservation easements, believed to be negatively influencing the tax base. Opposition to related conservation efforts was believed to be growing in the community.

Research Question 3

Is there a common understanding among actors in local and regional conservation planning of Y2Y and what it is meant to achieve?

There was a general understanding of the basis of the Y2Y initiative as connectivity of wildlife habitat, although there was less agreement on the specific problem definitions facing the initiative, and calls for greater clarity of the Y2Y message and goals. Respondents expressed differing views as to how the initiative was operating and its ability to achieve tangible results, while concerns were also expressed over its implementation. The lack of involvement and knowledge of the initiative among diverse stakeholders suggested that an understanding of the initiative was not shared among a broad range of interests. This was particularly notable at the local level, where fewer respondents in both communities were knowledgeable about the initiative. However, the Y2Y vision was identified as a strong one, and it has contributed to the considerable success of the initiative. The importance of the Y2Y vision as a basis for regional conservation planning was highlighted in this study. Thus, although there was not yet a fully shared understanding of the initiative, a strong and influential vision had been established to allow this to develop.

Research Question 4

What are the theoretical and practical principles of effective regional conservation planning that have been identified in the literature, and how well are these addressed in large landscape conservation efforts such as Y2Y?

Principles of effective regional conservation planning were put forward in Chapter 2 as criteria for assessment, developed from theory and case studies presented in the literature. Analysis of findings revealed a number of themes consistent with the criteria, many providing further detail into the antecedents and motivating factors influencing stakeholder involvement in regional conservation planning. Findings emphasised the importance of a vision, clarity of the message, integration of ecological and social components of conservation, inclusion of a diversity of stakeholders, and operating at both regional and local scales. Credibility and perception of the initiative were also found to influence involvement. Criteria were met to a limited extent, although additional advances have been made by the initiative recently, suggesting the potential for Y2Y to address these principles to a greater degree in the future.

7.4 Recommendations

Recommendations for the Y2Y initiative and other regional conservation planning efforts arise from the priorities identified in the analysis and resulting discussion. As the criteria focussed on the context and collaborative processes necessary to undertake conservation planning at a regional level, so recommendations also concern these aspects. While there is a recognised need for the Y2Y initiative to become involved in implementing projects on the ground, most recommendations highlight the need to further develop organisational capacity, in order to provide a stronger foundation for regional conservation. For the Y2Y initiative, these recommendations in particular apply to the study areas of Canmore and Crowsnest Pass, and also may be generalisable to the larger provincial context.

The Y2Y initiative needs to build partnerships with more diverse groups involved in conservation planning issues in the region. To do this the initiative should direct resources to establish a clear message about their short-term and long-term goals directed to

various stakeholder groups. The initiative needs to reach beyond the environmental community and direct efforts to engage other stakeholder groups, particularly "atypical" stakeholders. The initiative also needs to maintain and possibly augment communication with network participants to ensure they are informed and can continue to be active in the initiative. In addition to the Y2Y newsletters, listserv and website, this communication could take the form of public forums or open houses put on in different locations across the region. Through building relationships with different groups and a resource base, the initiative could work towards a facilitative role to support collaborative planning efforts across the region. Similarly, **other regional conservation efforts should direct communications and relationship building efforts to diverse groups who are often not well represented in the effort**.

The Y2Y vision needs to be promoted in terms of some tangible, more specific goals. Y2Y needs to define implementation strategies in relation to community needs, and to direct outreach to a local audience and where possible, key stakeholders within communities. In doing so, the initiative should explicitly define ways it can be of benefit to different stakeholder groups, and identify potential roles for stakeholders in the initiative. **Negative representations of the initiative need to be clearly addressed and refuted.** The identification of the initiative with a preservationist approach to conservation (where big wilderness is valued and humans are excluded) needs to be countered. Y2Y needs to distinguish itself from other environmental efforts that do not promote a more holistic, inclusive and integrated approach to conservation issues.

This research highlighted the need for regional conservation efforts to address social dimensions of conservation and integrate these with ecological goals. As such, **biophysical, social science, and stakeholder information needs should be identified and prioritised at the start of a regional conservation effort**. **The Y2Y initiative should increase research into the social science dimensions of regional conservation planning** (human demography, behaviour, research into promoting sustainable communities, looking at community values and needs).

The Y2Y initiative should bolster public outreach efforts, to build awareness and maintain public visibility of conservation issues and the initiative. This should involve education to identify what the Y2Y initiative is, why it is important, and what it proposes to

accomplish. Establishing local level support or representation is also a necessary means to implement regional conservation strategies at the local level. While Y2Y does have several staff dedicated to outreach efforts the task is considerable, emphasising the importance of developing representatives and active supporters for Y2Y.

Identification of the Y2Y vision as a major strength of the initiative indicated that a vision can have considerable value in regional conservation planning. **A vision can be used as an effective rallying point from which to base a regional conservation planning effort.** To do so it should be comprehensive (addressing ecological and social components) and be accompanied by more tangible goals or plans. It should also have a solid underpinning in the form of science and support (stakeholders and the public), to offset opposition groups who identify the vision as a target. Careful planning should be employed to involve and consider diverse perspectives of conservation in the development and delivery of the vision.

The Y2Y initiative needs to diversify its funding support, to ensure a more sustainable financial base for the organisation and initiative, preferably one that demonstrates regional funding support and buy-in. In addition to funding from private foundations, other potential sources of funding include governmental agencies, industry and their participant base through the recently established Friends of Y2Y program. Y2Y should continue with its granting programs (science and grassroots) to ensure that funding obtained is made available to network groups, and the initiative is not considered to be gaining funds at the expense of other groups. **Likewise, other regional conservation efforts should establish a diversified financial base that will allow them to undertake and continue activities over the long-term.**

The Y2Y initiative should become involved in implementing the vision on the ground, at least in identifying areas or activities as models in the manner of an adaptive management approach. Implementation could take the form of fostering collaboration between stakeholder groups within and external to the Y2Y initiative, as well as advancing means of land protection over the long-term. Other **developing regional conservation efforts should work collaboratively to identify implementation strategies early on the in their development.**

These recommendations should be considered in light of recent changes to the Y2Y initiative, which did not form part of this study. One of the major changes in the Y2Y initiative has been the revision of the Strategic Plan, to create a second version effective from February 2003 to 2005. Many of the changes correspond with the findings and recommendations of this study. While research remains a major goal of the initiative, this includes a focus on communications and social science. This document also emphasises the need to focus on conservation action, in addition to conservation science, and outlines education and outreach efforts directed to the local scale (Strategic Plan, 2003). Additional detail on changes evident in the Strategic Plan and other aspects of the initiative over 2002 and early 2003 is presented in a summary in Appendix VI.

7.5 Recommendations for Further Research

This study of Y2Y in its preliminary stages brings to light a number of avenues for further examination, both of the Y2Y initiative and other regional conservation planning efforts. The findings of this study could be compared to assessments of other large landscape corridor projects underway (Carpathian Ecoregional Initiative, Baja to Bering Sea). Examination of the Baja to Bering Sea conservation initiative could provide some insight into differences between marine and terrestrial regional conservation. This study of Y2Y also pointed to the need for further research into incentives and barriers to stakeholder involvement in a regional conservation initiative such as Y2Y. Future research questions could address how diverse stakeholders and communities can be engaged in such an effort. This research could also be directed toward developing and applying a framework to integrate ecological and social dimensions of conservation in a real world example.

The scope of this research could be increased to cover the Y2Y region and examine larger scale differences, such as between northern and southern areas and between the U.S. and Canada. Assessment of the Yukon and the Muskwa-Kechika region in comparison with the southern areas of the Y2Y might provide insight into whether opportunities to proactively plan for integrated conservation and human use are more available in the north, as is believed to be the case. In comparison of conservation in the U.S. and Canada, the potential for international agreements to foster consistent positive efforts and climates for conservation in

both countries could provide a focus of study to suggest opportunities for more effective (corresponding) cross-border efforts.

As the Y2Y initiative becomes involved in implementing projects on the ground it can apply an adaptive management approach through continued assessment and evaluation of the initiative's efforts and effects on regional conservation planning in the Y2Y region. This study and other reports on Y2Y (Tabor, 1996; Tabor and Soulé, 1999) provide a basis for comparison and employing an experimental learning-based approach to efforts in different areas in the region. Further assessments would also be useful to provide ongoing information on the developmental processes of large landscape corridor initiatives, and factors influencing their ability to achieve goals. Such process assessments can provide a useful complement to studies focussed on the positive potential or outcomes of collaborative and regional efforts.

Continued assessments could address the Y2Y initiative's ability to achieve longer-term goals of ecosystem and community viability and creating change on the ground. Evaluating ecosystem viability would involve gauging changes on the landscape related to the Y2Y initiative, in terms of protected areas and changes in land use and management practices, among other things. This could include assessing increases in the number of protected areas on both public and private lands, protected wildlife corridors, numbers of areas (or acreages) with some protected status such as conservation easements, restoration efforts underway, and management efforts to incorporate lands adjacent to protected areas. Furthermore, areas established as transition or buffer zones could be assessed to determine their effectiveness in truly providing a buffer and helping to maintain connectivity between core areas in a reserve network system. Aspects of community viability to be examined would include increased participation, well-being, and positive changes in attitudes and behaviours regarding nature conservation (Michaelidou *et al*., 2002).

Future assessments of the Y2Y initiative could revisit the study areas of Canmore and the Crowsnest Pass to compare whether the initiative has established more of a local presence and contributed to conservation efforts at the community level. It would be particularly relevant to undertake such an assessment in the Crowsnest Pass area, as it was recently identified as one of two Ecological Priority Areas that will be the focus of the Y2Y initiative's conservation efforts (Y2Y Connections, Spring 2003). The results of the initiative's targeted

efforts to achieve desired conservation goals in a priority area could provide a model for employing an adaptive management approach in the Y2Y region.

Ongoing assessments of the Y2Y initiative would need to build on the criteria developed in this study. As presented in Chapter 2, these criteria for assessment of regional conservation planning efforts provide a starting point for looking at conservation planning initiatives, and as such they do not focus on long term changes in ecological integrity and community viability. These criteria need to be applied and refined through evaluation of other regional conservation planning efforts, to develop a strong basis for long-term critical analysis. Development of criteria can help to further advance assessment efforts and ultimately improve regional conservation planning practice.

Other dimensions for consideration in further research on the Y2Y initiative include examination of the strengths and effectiveness of the Y2Y initiative as an NGO movement. The initiative's ability to build a diverse base of support either to offset or to induce action by the government and decision-makers would be a valuable basis for examining the impact of NGO-led movements in regional conservation. Considering that funding from private foundations has played an important role in the establishment of the Y2Y initiative and other NGO efforts, examining the implications of this involvement and the extent to which the role of foundations is increasing would provide an interesting avenue of study. In particular, in terms of full cost accounting it would be interesting to assess the ties between nature conservation and industrial growth in the stock market that ensue from these types of funding arrangements.

In addition to assessing large landscape corridor efforts such as Y2Y, it is necessary to take a close look at other regional conservation planning efforts (government and NGO-led) to find to what extent central themes are achieved (addressing ecological and social goals, involving a diversity of stakeholders, and integrating regional and local scales). Although scientists, conservationists and others are embracing regional conservation planning, it has not been employed to a great degree on the ground. The extent to which regional conservation is becoming established and replacing the still dominant practice of "environmental managerialism", is worthy of investigation, to ascertain if these principles are really attainable in practice.

7.6 Conclusions: The Y2Y Initiative in Terms of Regional Conservation Planning

This research has explored a variety of perspectives of the Y2Y initiative and its meaning for regional conservation planning, presenting a preliminary review of a developing conservation effort. These findings offer some insight into the question of how to begin undertaking collaborative conservation on a regional scale, suggesting further study to address later stages and outcomes of regional conservation. This question will continue to be worthy of study as regional conservation efforts are increasingly employed in North America and elsewhere.

It is important to take a critical look at how regional conservation planning is undertaken, to improve the adoption of ideas in practice and advance regional conservation efforts. Problems facing regional conservation planning (and large landscape corridor efforts) are common to those encountered in other collaborative conservation projects. Discussion of obstacles and identifying factors of success offer ways to address some of the long-standing challenges and problems plaguing conservation. Thus, learning from the experience of practitioners and other stakeholders in the field can guide future practice in both in specific communities and on a regional basis. We need to recognise constraints, better define what regional conservation includes, and continue undertaking these efforts, because although it is an ambitious task, it is a necessary one. The ambitious goal and proactive nature of the Y2Y initiative have contributed to its success so far. Our ability to employ principles of regional conservation in practice will be improved if we take advantage of valuable learning opportunities offered through efforts like the Y2Y initiative.

APPENDIX I – Y2Y Mission and Vision Statements

Mission Statement

The Yellowstone to Yukon Conservation Initiative… . People working together to maintain and restore the unique natural heritage of the Yellowstone to Yukon region.

Combining science and stewardship, we seek to ensure that the world-renowned wilderness, wildlife, native plants and natural processes of the Yellowstone to Yukon region continue to function as an interconnected web of life, capable of supporting all of its natural and human communities, for now and for future generations.

Vision Statement

Ours is a vision for the future of the wild heart of North America. Aware that the Yellowstone to Yukon region constitutes the world's last best chance to retain a fully functioning mountain ecosystem, we envision a day:

- When a life-sustaining web of protected wildlife cores and connecting wildlife linkage areas has been defined and designated for the Yellowstone to Yukon region;
- When that life-sustaining web is embraced as a source of pride by those who live within it and visit it, and is acknowledged as a living testimony to a society wise enough to recognise the need for such a web, altruistic enough to create it, and prudent enough to maintain it;
- When all natural and human communities in the Yellowstone to Yukon region coexist in a healthy mountain ecosystem of clean air and water, abiding beauty, and abundant wildlife and wilderness;
- When land-use decisions in the region are based first and foremost on ecological principles;
- When natural resources in the region are managed with the goals of ecosystem integrity and long-term economic prosperity in mind;
- And when residents of the Yellowstone to Yukon region take it for granted that their long-term personal, spiritual and economic well-being is inextricably connected to the well-being of natural systems.

Source: Yellowstone to Yukon Conservation Initiative Strategic Plan (February 26, 2003)

APPENDIX II – Interview Guide

Understanding Effective Regional Conservation Planning Using the Yellowstone to Yukon Conservation Initiative as a Case Study

Preamble

Thank you for taking the time to participate in my research project. As you may remember from our conversation, I am a Master's student in Environmental Studies at the University of Waterloo. At this stage of my research I am interviewing selected respondents involved in conservation and landscape planning issues in Crowsnest Pass and around the Canmore region, to find out people's perceptions of how the Y2Y initiative is working in these areas. In Crowsnest Pass I will be interviewing 15 or more people from different organisations (and a similar number in Canmore), and my comparison and synopsis of everyone's views will contribute to my thesis results. Our interview today will cover your organisation's involvement in Y2Y, along with your views on the concept, outcomes and strategy of the Y2Y initiative to date.

I expect the interview to take approximately an hour. I have brought along this interview material, where I will be recording your answers. As you see, I've brought along a tape recorder as well, to make sure I don't miss anything. Do you approve of my using a tape recorder, or would you prefer that I did not use it?

Not concerned __ Prefer it not to be used __

I want to clarify whether you consider yourself to be speaking on behalf of your organisation, or are presenting your personal views.

Would I be able to quote your responses in my thesis and reports of this research? The options are that I could quote you by name, quote you anonymously or not use direct quotes (paraphrase your responses). Which would you prefer?

In accordance with the Ethics standards at the University of Waterloo, I am requesting your written consent to participate in this study.

Respondent Identification

Name of Respondent: _____ Organisation: _____

Position: _____

Email: _____ Tel: _____ Fax: _____

1. Which organisations or bodies do you judge to be the most significant or key in Y2Y?

Y2Y Concept

2. What do you consider to be the main purpose(s) or goals of Y2Y?

2b. To what extent is the concept of sustainable communities part of Y2Y?

3. If Y2Y is established as it is proposed would it be ecologically, politically, and socially viable over the long term?
(..would it need to be supplemented by something else? If so, what else?)

*What kinds of things need to happen for communities to stay in the process?

*How can you tell if Y2Y is working (how can you measure whether the process is achieving its goals)?

*What do you think regional conservation planning would look like on the ground?

*Where do you see Y2Y in this process?

*What would you like to see happen with regard to regional conservation planning in Y2Y?

Evaluation of Problems, Obstacles and Successes

4. What have been the main successes of Y2Y to date? Why?

5. What would you consider to be the most important factors that permit or provide opportunities for successful conservation planning for Y2Y?

Are these in place?

6. What have been the problems or challenges to date with Y2Y?

6b. What would you consider to be the most important factors that hinder or provide an obstacle to successful implementation of Y2Y and its vision?

7. Has Y2Y created any changes in the operation of conservation planning, particularly in the Crowsnest Pass area?

…in other areas in the corridor?

Proposed Solutions and Strategy
8. You've seen Y2Y progress over the past 5 or so years –how far along is the process relative to achieving its goals?

8b. How far along do you think the process should be?

8c. How long do you think the process should take?

9. Are you optimistic or discouraged by Y2Y's progress thus far?

(If discouraged) What are the most important things you think would help improve its progress?

10. If you could prioritise five items in order of importance, what would you dedicate more funds and resources towards to advance Y2Y?

11. What are you considering when you choose these priorities?

Further Information on Organisation and Involvement
(as time permitted)
12. How long has your organisation been involved in the Y2Y Initiative?

13. What level of importance does your institution ascribe to its role and activities in Y2Y?

Currently and in the Future?

14. What has your organisation taken part in or accomplished regarding Y2Y thus far?

15. What other organisations do you interact with regarding Y2Y, and how does your work fit in with theirs?

Final Comments

16. What advice would you offer to other groups interested in undertaking a similar regional conservation planning initiative?

17. Finally, could you list any supportive documents which might be useful to this research?

18. Are there any questions I haven't addressed here that you would recommend I ask in further interviews?

We've reached the end of my interview questions. I will verify with you any direct quotes I plan to use in my thesis or published work, and will contact you if further clarification is needed.

Thank you for participating in my study.

* Denotes additional questions to be asked when time available

APPENDIX III – Respondent Affiliations

Canmore

Municipal Government

Town of Canmore (2 representatives)
http://www.gov.canmore.ab.ca/html/home.html

Provincial Government

Alberta Community Development, Parks & Protected Areas

Alberta Environment

Alberta Community Development, Parks & Protected Areas

Federal Government

Banff National Park
http://parkscanada.gc.ca/pn-np/ab/banff/plan/index_E.asp

Local Business Interests

Silver Tip Golf Course Limited

The Green Drake Fly Shop
http://www.greendrakefly.com
*Tourism Canmore Board, Canmore Economic Development Authority Board, snowmobile touring company

Economic Development Interests

Canmore Economic Development Authority (CEDA)
http://www.canmorebusiness.com

Tourism Interests

Tourism Canmore
http://www.tourismcanmore.com

Media Interests

Canmore Leader
http://www.canmoreleader.com/

Community NGO

Biosphere Institute for the Bow Valley (BIBV)
http://www.biosphereinstitute.org

Community Stewardship NGO

Sonoran Institute
http://www.sonoraninstitute.org/
Soon to be established as the Chinook Institute for Community Stewardship (affiliated with the Sonoran Institute)

Naturalist NGO

Bow Valley Naturalists

Wilderness-Advocacy NGO

Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society (CPAWS), Calgary/Banff Chapter (2 representatives)
http://www.cpawscalgary.org

WildCanada.net
http://www.wildcanada.net

Outdoor Recreation Group

Bow Valley Mountain Bike Alliance
http://www.bvmba.com/

Y2Y Organisation

Yellowstone to Yukon Conservation Initiative
http://www.y2y.net
(4 representatives, including Central Rockies Subregional Working Group member)

Independent Observer

Crowsnest Pass

Municipal Government

Municipality of Crowsnest Pass (2 representatives)
http://www.town.crowsnestpass.ab.ca/

Town of Pincher Creek
http://www.pincher-creek.com/town.htm
**Wind Power Inc.* (http://www.windpower.ca)

Provincial Government

Alberta Sustainable Resource Development, Land and Forest Service

Alberta Sustainable Resource Development, Fish and Wildlife (2 representatives)

Alberta Environment, Southern Region, Environmental Management

Federal Government

Waterton Lakes National Park
http://parkscanada.gc.ca/pn-np/ab/waterton/index_E.asp

Local Business Interests

Reimer Construction Ltd.

Economic Development Interests

Crowsnest Pass Economic Development Board
http://www.telusplanet.net/public/cnpbdc/cnpecdev.htm

Crowsnest Pass Chamber of Commerce
http://www.crowsnest-pass.com/

Tourism Interests

Tread Softly Canada (2 representatives)
http://www.treadsoftlycanada.com/

Conservation NGO

Alberta Conservation Association
http://www.ab-conservation.com

Alberta Fish and Game Association
http://www.afga.org

Land Conservation NGO

The Nature Conservancy of Canada (NCC) (2 representatives)
http://www.natureconservancy.ca/files/frame.asp?lang=e_&region=7&sec=ab_welcome
**NCC Crowsnest Pass, Ducks Unlimited*

Southern Alberta Land Trust Society (SALTS)
http://www.salts-landtrust.org/

Environmental NGO

Crowsnest Environmental Action Society

Wilderness-Advocacy NGO

Castle-Crown Wilderness Coalition (2 representatives)
http://www.ccwc.ab.ca/

Outdoor Recreation Group

Crowsnest Pass ATV Club – CNP Quad Squad (2 representatives)
http://www.cnpquadsquad.com

Independent Observer (2 respondents)

Informed Community Member

Landowner (with Development Interests)

External Organisations

Academia

Department of Environmental Science and Planning, Faculty of Environmental Design
University of Calgary
http://www.ucalgary.ca/evds/
**Miistakis Institute for the Rockies*

Faculty of Environmental Design
University of Calgary
http://www.ucalgary.ca/evds/
**Eastern Slopes Grizzly Bear Project*

Department of Geography, Faculty of Social Sciences
University of Calgary
http://www.ucalgary.ca/UofC/faculties/SS/GEOG/

Federal Government

Alberta Region, Parks Canada

Conservation NGO

Rocky Mountain Elk Foundation
http://www.rmef.org

Public Policy NGO

Alberta Policy Research Centre, The Fraser Institute (2 representatives)
http://www.fraserinstitute.ca/

* Denotes additional affiliation(s).

APPENDIX IV – List of Documents Reviewed

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APPENDIX V – Sample Respondent Contact and Information Letters

Contact Letter, First Visit to Canmore

My name is Tanya McGregor, I am an Environmental Studies Master's student in my first year at the University of Waterloo. <Insert name> suggested I contact you for your perspectives on the Yellowstone to Yukon Conservation Initiative, which is my focus for my thesis research. My thesis research involves investigating effective implementation of regional conservation planning initiatives. I am looking at the Yellowstone to Yukon Conservation Initiative as a case example, in particular the developed areas of the corridor such as Canmore and Crowsnest Pass.

Ideas I am interested in exploring related to regional conservation planning include what criteria define effective regional conservation planning in practice. Looking at Y2Y, I want to assess whether the goals and vision of this initiative are being translated on the ground, in Canmore and Crowsnest Pass.

In the process of developing my research ideas and perspectives I am planning to come to Calgary and Canmore the week of June 25 for two weeks, to meet with different people involved in Y2Y, and in particular in Canmore.

I would like to know if you will be around during the week of June 25 and/or the following week, either July 3 or 4th. If so, would you be able to meet with me for approximately a half-hour period to discuss some of these issues?

Thank you for your assistance. I look forward to the possibility of meeting with you at a later date. If you are interested in further information regarding my research direction, I can provide you with an outline.

Sincerely,

Tanya McGregor
M.E.S. Candidate
Department of Environment and Resource Studies
University of Waterloo
Email: mcgregor_t@hotmail.com
Tel: (519) 885-3052

CONSENT FORM

I agree to participate in a study being conducted by Tanya McGregor of the Department of Environment and Resource Studies, University of Waterloo under the supervision of Professor Stephen Murphy. I have made this decision based on information provided by Tanya in discussion or over email, and have had the opportunity to receive any additional details I wanted about the study. I understand that I may withdraw this consent at any time without penalty by telling the researcher. I also understand that I may contact Tanya or her advisor Dr. Stephen Murphy if I have any concerns or questions about my involvement in the study.

Name: _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Research Outline for Prospective Interviewees

University of Waterloo
June 21, 2001

Thank you for agreeing to participate in my research project. As I previously mentioned, I am conducting this study as part of my Master's degree in the Department of Environment and Resource Studies at the University of Waterloo, under the supervision of Professor Stephen Murphy. The working title for this project is "Understanding Effective Implementation of Regional Conservation Planning, using the Yellowstone to Yukon Conservation Initiative (Y2Y) as a Case Study". The following is a brief explanation of my research focus and what your involvement in my study will entail.

As you are no doubt aware, over the past decade, management of protected areas has shifted towards looking at these areas in a regional context. There has been increased awareness that parks and protected areas cannot be managed or sustained as islands in the landscape. However, although regional planning for protected areas has much conceptual support, it has often been difficult to implement. There are few examples that demonstrate where this has been successfully achieved, and how. As such it would seem imperative to undertake an assessment of regional conservation initiatives that are currently underway, to see whether they are meeting their goals, and why or why not.

The purpose of this project is to assess how the concepts of regional conservation planning are being implemented, using Y2Y as a case study. This research will evaluate the factors driving the decision-making and policy processes of conservation planning within two areas of Y2Y facing development pressures, Canmore and Crowsnest Pass, Alberta. General research questions to be explored include:

- Are we arriving at and addressing the right questions in the pursuit of regional conservation planning efforts such as Y2Y?
- What criteria define effective regional conservation planning in the case of Y2Y?
- Is what may be considered effective in the practice of regional conservation planning different than ideals presented in the literature?

With your input I hope to further focus these questions and ideas to form the foundation of my thesis. Your input may contribute to the basis of my research, and to my thesis results. Participation in this study is voluntary. It will involve an interview of approximately 45 minutes to an hour in length to take place in a mutually agreed upon location. You may decline to answer any of the interview questions if you so wish. Further, you may decide to withdraw from this study at any time by advising me. The interview will be tape-recorded with your permission, as an aid (if necessary) to clarify transcription of notes. All information you provide is considered completely confidential. Data collected during this study will be retained for three years in a secure area to which only I will have access.

If you have any questions regarding this study or would like additional information please contact me at mcgregor_t@hotmail.com. You can also contact my supervisor, Professor Stephen Murphy at (519) 888-4567 ext. 5616 or email sd2murph@fes.uwaterloo.ca.

I hope that the results of my study will contribute to an understanding of the needs and means to promote effective implementation of regional conservation planning initiatives, in particular Y2Y.

I very much look forward to speaking with you and thank you for your assistance in this project.

Sincerely,

Tanya McGregor
M.E.S. Candidate
Department of Environment and Resource Studies,
University of Waterloo
Tel: (519) 885-3052
Email: mcgregor_t@hotmail.com

Feedback Letter to Interviewees, First Visit to Canmore

University of Waterloo
July 23, 2001

Dear (*Name of Participant*),

I would like to thank you for your participation in the first phase of my study. As I mentioned in our discussion, the purpose of this preliminary stage is to assess the concepts and strategies of the Yellowstone to Yukon (Y2Y) Conservation Initiative. Further research will contribute to an assessment of how the concepts of bioregional planning are being implemented, using Y2Y as a case study. This research involves assessing the factors influencing decision-making processes of conservation planning within particular areas of Y2Y facing development pressures, such as Canmore and possibly Crowsnest Pass, Alberta. One of the aims of this research is to identify criteria or existing priorities for effective implementation of regional planning, which could be applied in related initiatives (such as the Algonquin to Adirondack (A2A) Conservation Initiative).

Through conducting a number of interviews with people in Canmore, Banff and Calgary, I have gained a great deal of insight and information that will be useful in directing the focus of my research, and contribute to my research findings.

Please remember that any data pertaining to you as an individual participant will be kept confidential. Once all the data are collected and analysed for this project, I plan on sharing this information with the research community through seminars, conferences, presentations, and journal articles. If you are interested in receiving more information regarding the results of this study, or if you have any questions or concerns, please contact me at either the phone number or email address listed at the bottom of this page.

I mentioned in the course of our discussion that I planned to return to conduct further interviews with participants on a more detailed line of questioning. I now plan to be based in Canmore for the fall of 2001, and would like to contact you again in the fall with further questions.

This project was reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo. Should you have any questions about your participation in this study, please contact Dr. Susan Sykes in the Office of Research Ethics at 519-888-4567, Ext., 6005.

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APPENDIX VI – Recent Changes in the Y2Y Initiative

There have been a number of changes in the Y2Y organisation and operation of the initiative since the field research for this study was completed at the end of 2001. As noted in Chapter 7, major changes included the revision of the Strategic Plan, producing a plan effective from February 2003 until 2005. This revised Strategic Plan was directed specifically to the organisation itself and not the wider network, as was the case with the original plan. It was revised to provide more specific direction for Y2Y and address changes in conditions since the original plan was adopted (Strategic Plan, 2003). The initiative was able to accomplish a significant amount of scientific research for the first phase of the Conservation Area Design, which has allowed them to begin to devote more resources to other aspects of the effort, such as working with communities (Robinson, 2003 pers comm.). Changes to the plan have included a shift from subregional planning to conservation action strategies in 14 Ecological Priority Areas, of which two have been selected to focus staff resources and to build capacity for conservation efforts. These are the Clark Fork Corridor near Missoula, Montana, and the Northern Crown of the Continent between the Elk Valley in BC and the Crowsnest Pass area in southwest Alberta (Spring Connections, 2003). The intention to develop an effective public message about the overall Y2Y mission and vision was put forward in the revised plan, which also discussed working with network groups to develop effective communication strategies. Social science research was explicitly identified as a part of the research agenda, although it was noted that there were not a lot of resources available for this work. The organisation has also identified the need to seek out more diverse funding sources (Strategic Plan, 2003).

The makeup of the Y2Y organisation has altered, with the departure of the first executive director Jim Pissot (ED from February 2001 to December 2002), who was replaced by Wendy Francis serving as interim ED until Rob Buffler was hired to begin on June 2, 2003. By April 2003 the number of staff had further increased to eleven (including full-time and contract employees) from nine at the end of 2001. Since late 2001 the organisation has been working to increase representation of diverse interests on the Board of Directors, as it has been almost entirely made up of advocate environmentalists (Robinson, 2003 pers comm.). In February 2003, openings on the Board of Directors were filled with two First Nations representatives, one from the NezPerce band in Idaho and the other from the Morley region adjacent to Canmore. The organisation intends to increase the representation and diversity of the Board as more positions become available. The size of the network has continued to increase, listed as over 500 organisations and individuals in January 2003, representing almost one million people in support of conservation.

Additionally, the Y2Y website has been significantly revamped since it was initially developed, and now includes a variety of downloadable reports on scientific research efforts in the region and interactive models available for users to interpret their areas of the region. Karsten Heuer's book on his Y2Y Hike (Walking the Big Wild) was published in 2002 and helped renew publicity for the hike and the initiative. A Y2Y Communications Research Program was begun in 2002 to map the "communications landscape" of the region. The first phase of the program, an information audit of communications materials across the region, was completed in the summer of 2002.

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