

THE EFFECTS OF PARK ESTABLISHMENT ON LOCAL POPULATIONS:

A CASE STUDY OF SOOKE POTHOLE PROVINCIAL PARK, B.C.

by

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## ABSTRACT

This study examines the social impacts of park establishment on local populations. The first part of the study reviews the literature in this field, and shows that most research to date has been done on the social effects of national parks in relatively isolated areas. The second part of the thesis consists of a case study which investigates the social impacts of a small provincial park, Sooke Potholes, on the adjacent rural community thirty kilometres west of Victoria, B.C.

A mail questionnaire was designed to find out how park establishment at Sooke Potholes had affected Sooke community, particularly in terms of intangible costs to residents and changes in their recreation patterns. This questionnaire was sent to two hundred people in Sooke community. An interview survey of visitors at the park was also conducted to investigate current aspects of the park's impacts. It was found that park formation at Sooke Potholes led to an increase in visitation rates to this recreation area, mainly by people from Victoria. The rise in visitors led to overcrowding and congestion at the park at times of peak demand, and physical deterioration of the site. These impacts were resented by many Sooke residents, particularly long term members of the community because they had a proprietary interest in the Potholes as a relatively quiet, unspoiled community recreation area. At present resentment of overcrowding at the park during peak periods is interwoven with conflict over a major development occurring on the Sooke River above the park. Conflict over crowding at the park is accounted for in terms of Jacob and Schreyer's (1980) theory of conflict in recreation.

The study suggests that some of Sooke community responded to conflict at the park by avoiding it altogether and using other recreation sites in quieter areas. Alternatively, they hike beyond the park to more isolated parts of the Sooke River or they visit the park midweek or off season when it is less crowded. In general Sooke residents recognise the social and economic benefits of an increase in outside visitors to the community and view the changes at the park as part of other inevitable changes presently occurring in Sooke, such as the development of the area for tourism and its increasing role as a dormitory town for Victoria.

The displacement of residents in park areas from community recreation sites, by park visitors is one form of resource alienation. This phenomenon involves the formal or inadvertent restriction or prohibition of residents' resource-based activities in park areas. Resource alienation was found to recur in many studies of park establishment and local populations. It is important in assessments of the social impacts of park formation because it is often at the root of local opposition to park proposals or conflict over park impacts. Resource alienation is related to the concept of resource hinterlands, which may be applied to parks to explain their role as a 'playground' for cities. The view of parks as resource hinterlands, or as part of the recreational hinterland of a city is also important in assessment of the social impacts of parks, because this view provokes intense feelings of resentment towards the park and its visitors by local residents. Decisions regarding the designation of areas for parkland should be made on the basis of the social, economic and physical suitability of the area in question.

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For my late father and my mother

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Parks are established by Federal, Provincial and local agencies for the benefit and enjoyment of the public. They have many values and purposes. These include the preservation of natural ecosystems, scenic resources, physical landscapes and historical features, and provision of recreation opportunities. This in turn leads to economic benefits for communities adjacent to parks through the generation of income by park visitors. In addition, parks have considerable educational value. They are used for research in the natural and social sciences, and for historical and professional studies. Lastly, parks are important to ensure that valuable landscapes are preserved for the enjoyment and welfare of future generations (Armstrong, 1977).

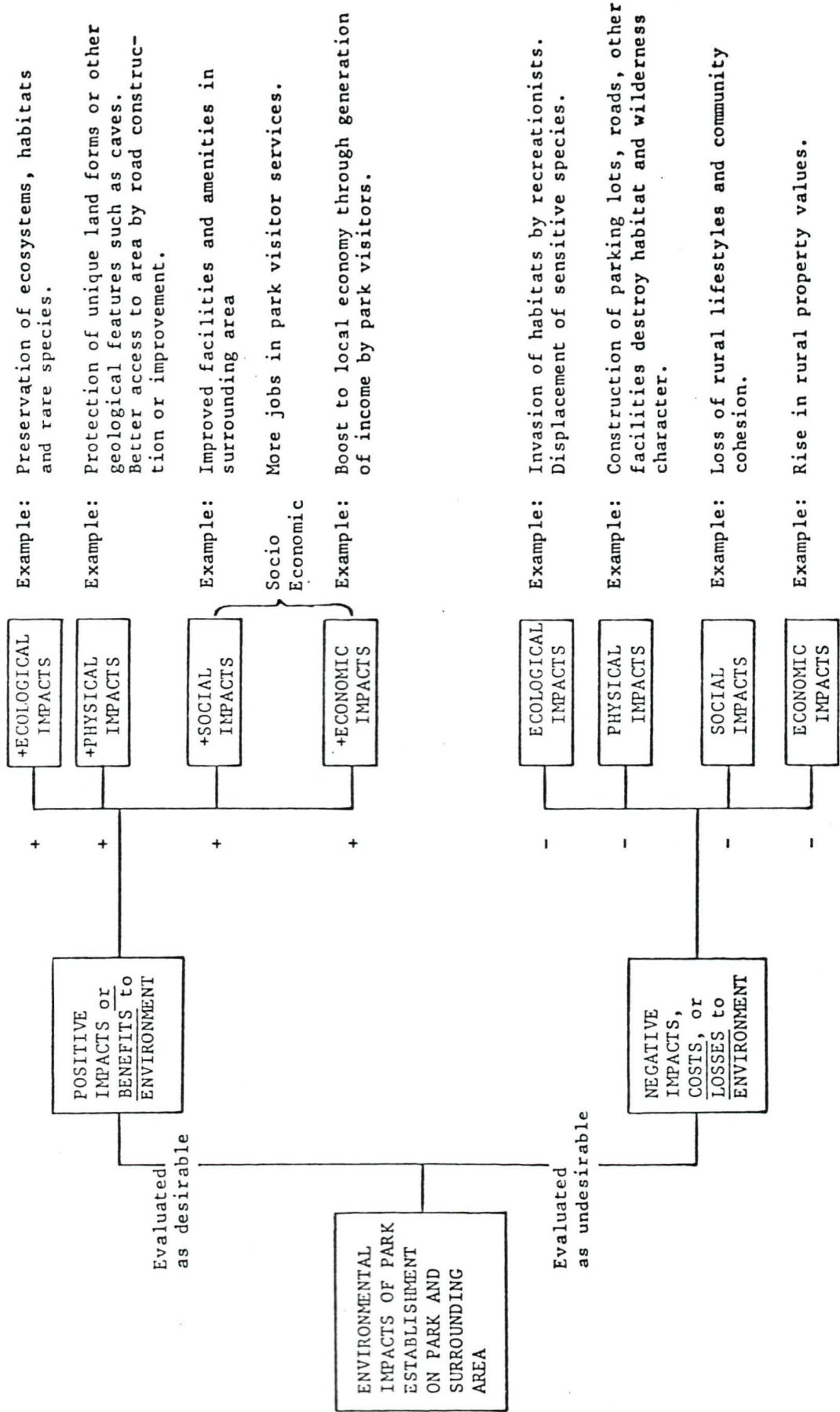
The role of any park varies according to its place in the larger park system, of which it is part. In Canada, public parks are divided into four basic types according to their respective administrative agencies. Each type has a different role in the overall system. National parks are oriented primarily towards preservation and secondarily towards recreation. They are the largest parks, generally located furthest from cities. Provincial parks provide more of a balance between preservation and recreation, and have a variety of locations between cities and remote areas. They are usually smaller than national parks, but there are many more of them. Regional and municipal parks are oriented mainly towards recreation because they are located near and within cities (Clawson, 1963).

Although parks are special places set aside for conservation and recreation, park formation does not isolate an area from its surrounding land (Sadler, 1979). Before a park exists, the designated area is closely associated with its surrounding area through a complex network of social and ecological relationships (Hart, 1966). These include the movement of people in and out of the area for resource use or recreation, and energy flows which maintain stability and initiate succession in park ecosystems (Campbell, 1966).

These kinds of relationships may change when the park is established, because like other land uses, parks exert certain influences on the areas they enclose and surrounding areas. For example, a park can change ecosystems by controlling wildfires in the area it encloses. It can also create an attraction, and bring large numbers of visitors to a previously quiet area. Clearly then, parks have certain effects on their environment, which, when evaluated become impacts (Armour et al, 1977, p. 25). Desirable changes become positive impacts, or park benefits. Undesirable changes become negative impacts, equivalent to costs or losses to the environment. The impacts of parks and other developments are commonly divided for convenience of discussion into ecological, physical, social and economic types. Figure 1 (p. 3) gives a simple classification of park impacts with examples.

There are several points to note about park impacts. Firstly, because impacts are evaluated changes, the same change can be viewed as either beneficial or detrimental to the environment, depending on the interests of whoever is judging it. The same person could also recognise good and bad elements in the same change. Secondly, although a

Figure 1. A Generalised Classification of Park Impacts with Examples



park can have both good and bad effects on each part of the environment (its ecosystems, economy, social networks etc.), some kinds of impacts are more often viewed in a positive light in the literature (particularly economic impacts), while others, e.g., social and ecological, have negative connotations (Mathieson and Wall, 1982, p. 133). Thirdly, impacts are dynamic processes, not static conditions (Olsen and Donna, 1977) and to be assessed, therefore, they have to be measured through time.

The idea that park impacts are composed of benefits and costs provides a more realistic perspective on parks than one concentrating solely on the benefits emphasized by most park agencies and conservation groups. Both the benefits and the costs should be assessed and weighed against each other before an area is designated as parkland. But this cannot be done without a basic understanding of all types of impacts. Some types have been well studied, particularly economic benefits. (See, for example, Frick and Ching, 1970; Beyers, 1970; Dept. of Northern and Indian Affairs Parks Canada, 1970; Nelson, 1972; O'Gorman, 1973; C.O.R.R.C., 1975; Mills et al, 1980). There is also a large body of literature on the ecological impacts of recreation (Mathieson and Wall, 1982), which is applicable to parks (e.g., Duffey, 1967; Westhoff 1967; Noake, 1967; Goldsmith, 1974; Liddle, 1975; Wall and Wright, 1977). The social impacts of parks have been given much less attention however, because they are not as easy to define or measure (Campbell, 1975). It is the social impacts of parks which provide the major focus for this study. The remainder of this chapter will provide a brief introduction to the social impacts of parks before describing the case study setting to be examined in the thesis.

## 1.1 THE SOCIAL IMPACTS OF PARKS

The social impacts of parks have not been defined, but Mathieson and Wall (1982, p. 133) describe the social impacts of tourism as "the ways in which tourism is contributing to changes in value systems, individual behaviour, family relationships, collective lifestyles, safety levels, moral conduct, creative expressions, traditional ceremonies and community organizations" (from Fox, 1977, p. 27). This description could well be applied to the social impacts of parks. These are then, the ways in which parks lead to changes in communities, and in the quality of life of residents, within the park or nearby (Mathieson and Wall, 1982, p. 132 and 137). "Quality of life" refers to "the overall conditions of an individual relative to his/her values." It is not only the objective social conditions, but also "the meaning of those conditions for an individual." This subjective element is important because it includes perceptions, attitudes and values, i.e., "feelings," (Finsterbusch, 1977, p. 13), which illustrates the intangible aspect of some social impacts which has made them incommensurable to date. Some kinds of social impacts are measurable, however. A few examples will illustrate this.

On the positive side, the social benefits of parks (outlined on p. 1), may be indicated by park attendance figures or by data on visitor origins. But these do not gauge the increase in personal and social wellbeing gained from outdoor recreation and aesthetic enjoyment (Mercer, 1977), which is the subjective element appreciated by most people who have enjoyed a visit to a park. The benefits of parks are more widely recognised and experienced than adverse impacts, which in general, tend to affect a smaller number of people in a more localised area. Examples

of negative impacts include increased crowding and congestion by park visitors, the purchase or lease of land by park agencies, expropriation and relocation of people, and restrictions on traditional resource use. Hunting, farming, fishing and forest activities may be limited or abolished altogether, and this can lead to loss of traditional lifestyles (Overton, 1979). Changes also occur in community occupations, age structure and size (Roder, 1978). Again, the point is that some of these impacts could be assessed by measurement (the last three particularly), but most involve a subjective element related to residents' feelings or behaviour which makes it very difficult to assess the magnitude and value of the change.

What many of the adverse social impacts have in common is that local people are denied, or have restricted access to resources by the act of park establishment. This phenomenon is called resource alienation. It is a significant part of social impacts because resource use in rural areas is often a long established and integral part of local lifestyles. The intervention of resource use traditions by an external agency in the interests of preservation often creates resentment and conflict as people anticipate and resist changes to their community lifestyle brought about by the park. Thus although parks are generally associated with "the greatest good for the greatest number," they are nonetheless "a strange and obtrusive land use"<sup>1</sup> for some people. This is why park proposals often meet with the "not in my backyard

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. A. Davidson, D.M., Min. of Env. Opening Address. B.C. Parks Symposium, Feb., 1984.

syndrome,"<sup>2</sup> which involves opposition and conflict from residents of the designated area.

Resource alienation and conflict are of particular interest in this study. It deals with the ways in which they arise as a result of the two major functions of parks; preservation and recreation. A park policy strongly oriented towards preservation can lead to resource alienation if residents and their activities are viewed as interference with the "natural" environment the park seeks to preserve. In such a case, residents may be required to restrict their resource-based activities, or relocate altogether. Examples of such impacts, and the legitimacy of forced relocation, are discussed in the literature review (Chapter 2). The way in which the recreational function of a park can lead to resource alienation (of a different type), is dealt with in the case study of this thesis. By attracting more people to an area, a park may increase competition for leisure resources between local people and outside visitors. It can inadvertently result in displacement of the local community from former recreation areas by urban based visitors, who are more recent to the area, and from a more distant locale. The displacement causes resentment amongst residents.

Urban use of rural areas for recreation reinforces the idea of parks as resource hinterlands for cities (Overton, 1979). Instead of drawing upon forests or farmland, as the traditional resource hinterland concept suggests, the city draws upon recreational resources in its

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<sup>2</sup> Mr. A. Davidson, D.M., Min. of Env. Opening Address, B.C. Parks Symposium, Feb., 1984.

surrounding area, which then becomes the recreational hinterland of the city.<sup>3</sup> The rapid colonization of parks in rural areas by urban visitors also lends support to the more extreme view of park establishment as a form of neocolonialism. This means that parks may be seen as "new colonies" of city dwellers and/or preservationists, and suggests those groups of society establish parks for their own benefit at the expense of rural lands and people. The idea that parks are resource hinterlands for cities and their establishment a form of neocolonialism by city dwellers and/or preservationists, are important in this study because they provoke intense feelings of resentment towards parks by local people (Mathieson and Wall, 1982, p. 148). Since this study questions why people can become annoyed by park establishment near or around their homes, and the neocolonial/resource hinterland perspectives generate opposition and conflict, these perspectives have to be considered in the study.

## 1.2 THE STUDY

### 1.2.1. Aims and Rationale

The aim of the study is to investigate the potential negative social impacts of park establishment, particularly the different forms and causes of resource alienation and conflict that can arise when a rural area is designated as parkland. There are several reasons why this topic was chosen for study.

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<sup>3</sup> See Mercer (1970) for a discussion of urban recreational hinterlands.

1. Local citizen concern over park designation has led to the rejection of several park proposals, particularly National Parks, e.g., Ship Harbour (N.S.), Cape LaHave (N.S.), East Point (P.E.I.) (Harper, 1979). Where park establishment has gone ahead, recreational satisfactions produced for the tourist have sometimes been insignificant compared to the general social values lost by the community (Campbell, 1975). Since it is desirable to minimise adverse social impacts, there is a need to understand the "not in my backyard syndrome," i.e., the reasons why people became antagonistic when a park is formed around or near their home. Such understanding would make it easier to predict community response to future park proposals, and to take the right steps to harness the cooperation of local people instead of antagonism that is prevalent today (Barker, 1982).

2. Research on the social impacts of parks is relatively new and at present still fragmented and dispersed through several different related research fields. There is a need to synthesize this research into a unified framework.

3. A greater understanding of the social impacts of parks is a step towards being able to balance the positive and negative aspects of park establishment which should be done before an area is designated as parkland.

#### 1.2.2. Organisation and Case Study Setting

The study is divided into two parts. The first provides a review of the literature relating to the social impacts of parks, organized into three parts, according to how each relates to the central

theme. The latter part of the thesis describes a case study undertaken to investigate the social impacts of Sooke Potholes Provincial Park on the local community of Sooke, on Southern Vancouver Island.

Sooke Potholes are situated approximately thirty-five kilometres west of downtown Victoria, and seven kilometres north-east of Sooke village, on the middle reaches of the Sooke River (see Figure 2). The only access to the park is by a five kilometer drive or walk from Milnes Landing grocery store on the Sooke-Victoria highway, north along Sooke River Road, which runs parallel to the Sooke River. The park is relatively small (seven hectares), but it is the only park within easy reach of Victoria which offers protected, freshwater swimming in deep, clear river pools, in a natural setting.<sup>4</sup> As such it is a unique and valuable resource, in great demand for day-use recreation, especially in summer.

In August, 1972, the potholes were classed as a grade A provincial park;

. . . intended to preserve outstanding natural scenic and historic features for public recreational use. No commercial or industrial exploration is permissible in such a park except as may be necessary to planned recreational use.<sup>5</sup>

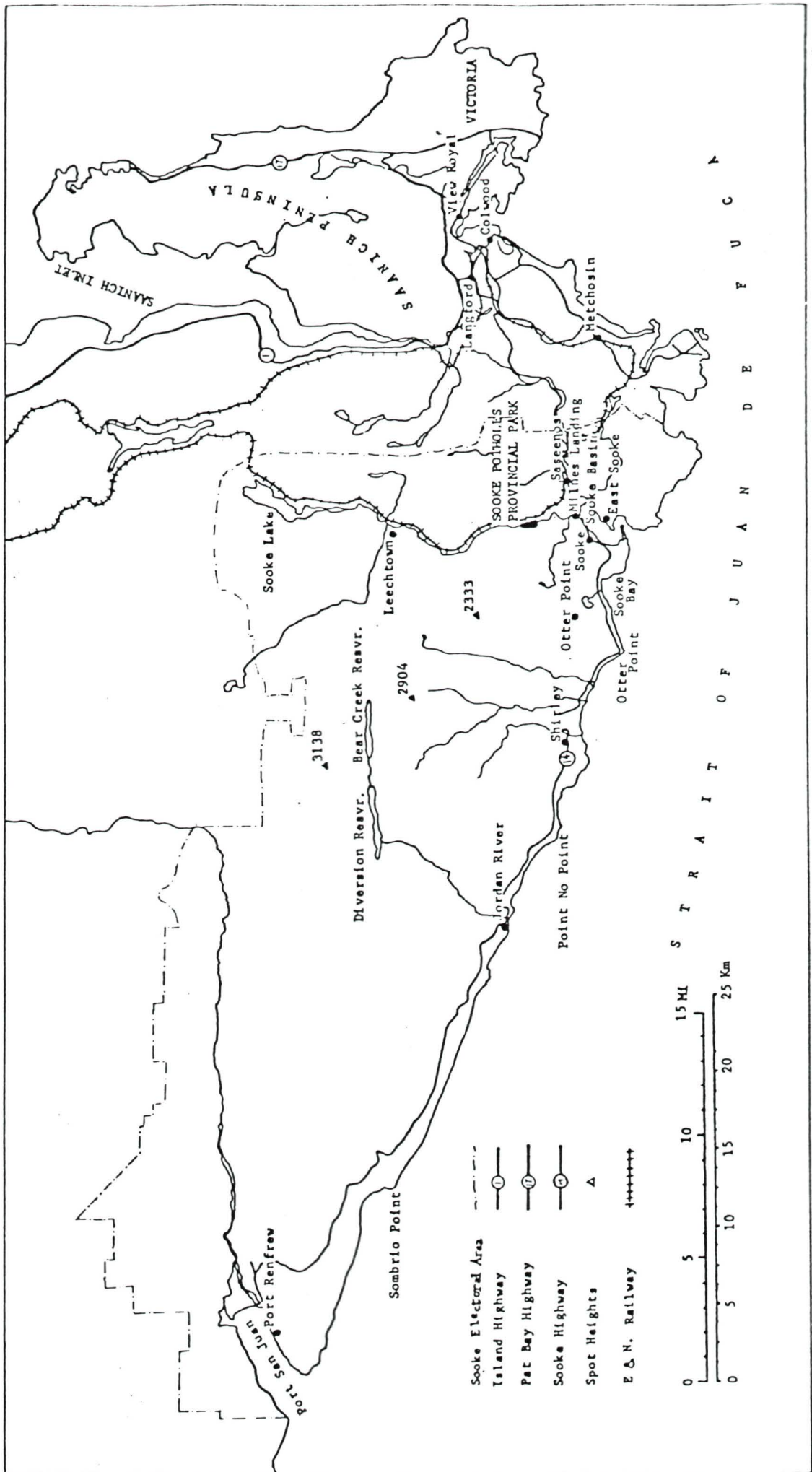
A large scale map of the park is given in Figure 3. It shows that there are three separate beaches with adjacent swimming holes. There is another large beach and swimming area on private land just

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<sup>4</sup> Sooke Potholes Provincial Park File, B.C. Parks Branch, Dept. Lands, Parks and Housing, Victoria, B.C.

<sup>5</sup> Parks Data Handbook, Parks Branch, Dept. of Lands, Parks and Housing, Victoria, B.C.

Figure 2. Location Of Sooke Potholes Provincial Park.



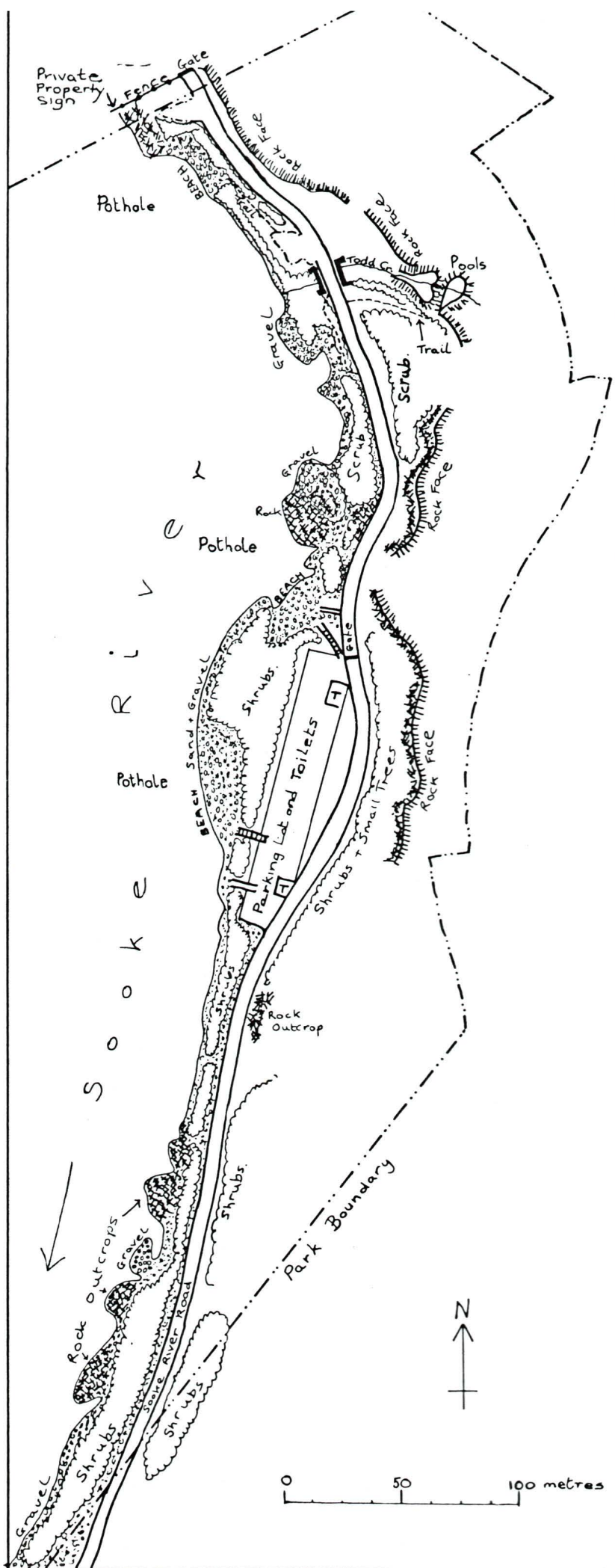


Figure 3. Sooke Potholes Provincial Park

north of the park boundary. Because this area is used for recreation it is considered as part of the park in this study.

Although Sooke is part of the Capital Regional District, it is separated from Victoria and the other western communities of the city (Colwood, Langford, View Royal, Metchosin), by an area of rural countryside. The population of Sooke (8000 in 1981) is dispersed in a series of small, low density clusters,<sup>6</sup> which include Sooke village itself, North Sooke, East Sooke, Milnes Landing and Otter Point. The boundary of the community used in the study is shown in Figure 2. The dispersed nature of the population and the physical setting combine to give Sooke a substantially rural, open-space character. The community is also considered to be rural because most employment in the area is related to forestry or fishing.<sup>7</sup>

Sooke has long had a very strongly developed community spirit and a very active residents' association.<sup>8</sup> The people have an obvious affection for their community and generally wish to preserve its rural nature and protect its physical assets.<sup>9</sup> As an example, some residents are concerned that the rural character of Sooke is changing and that it is becoming a bedroom community for Victoria.<sup>10</sup> There has also been

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<sup>6</sup> C.R.D. Parks and Recreation Master Plan, C.R.D. Planning Dept., Victoria, B.C.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> C.R.D. Parks and Recreation Master Plan. Op. cit. and "Sooke Settlement Plan." C.R.D. Planning Dept., Victoria, B.C.

considerable local concern recently over a \$50 million development of condominiums and a conference centre on the Sooke River above the park (Times Colonist, November 19, 1983).

Sooke residents are fortunate in having several provincial and regional parks near their community. Sooke Potholes is one of these and it is (or was), a popular place for residents to meet, socialize and swim in the summer. When the park was established, however, the potholes became more popular, and it seems likely that much of the visitor increase was drawn from outside the Sooke area. Problems of overcrowding, parking, littering and vandalism increased accordingly.

The aim of the case study is to assess the social impacts of park formation at Sooke Potholes, particularly in terms of intangible costs to Sooke residents such as conflict and changing recreation patterns associated with park designation. The methods used to do this are described in Chapter 3. Chapter 2 reviews the literature relating to the social impacts of park establishment. Chapter 4 presents the results of the case study and Chapter 5 discusses these in relation to the literature and draws conclusions.

## CHAPTER 2

## LITERATURE REVIEW

## 2.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a review of literature relating to the effects of park establishment on local populations. Studies which focus directly on this topic were found to be relatively few and the interest comparatively recent. However, a considerable range of other research exists which relates to the social impacts of parks in various ways. The aim of the review is firstly, to show what kind of studies have been made directly of parks and local residents; and secondly, to show how selected studies in related fields shed light on this topic. By drawing together the findings of direct and indirect research it is hoped to establish the current state of knowledge on the social impacts of parks.

The lack of studies directly related to this subject is quite surprising in that the effects of parks on local residents have been recognised for much longer than recent literature suggests. There are records of complaints by residents of Banff National Park dating back to 1912, for example (Becker, 1979, pp. 394-5). Social impact studies developed in Canada in the late 1960's (Armour, 1977, p. 9) but early works were part of environmental impact assessment for projects such as highways and reservoirs,<sup>1</sup> and are not germane to the present study.

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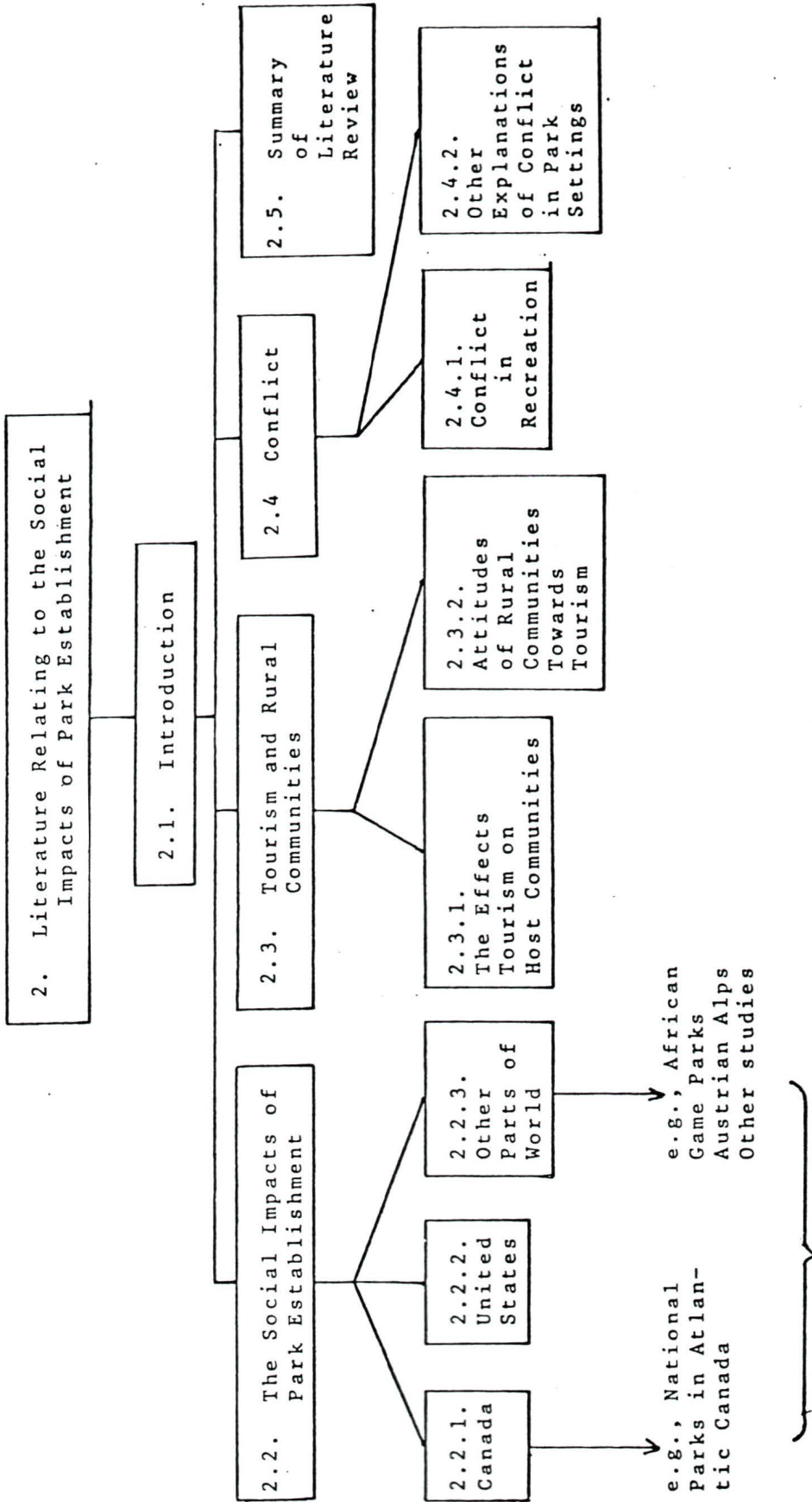
<sup>1</sup> See Lang, R., and Armour, A. (1981) for a selected bibliography of references in Social Impact Assessment.

Another branch of social impact study particularly applicable to parks however, is the literature on the socio-cultural impacts of tourism, which developed in the last fifteen years. But as late as 1976, O'Leary (1976, p. 264) commented that "we are still searching for exactly what constitutes social impact, as well as variables appropriate for consideration." Campbell (1975) noted that there are few tools available to measure social impacts. According to Var (1984, p. 18), the literature on social impacts (of tourism and recreation development) "seems quite hazy, because many authors use differing measures and definitions of social impacts."

These remarks are discouraging, but the literature on social impacts of parks is developing quite rapidly, e.g., Curry-Lindahl (1972), Nelson (1972), O'Leary (1974, 1976), Allen (1975), Roder (1977, 1978), Becker (1979), Harper (1979), Hunt (1979), Scace (1979), Olwig and Olwig (1979), Overton (1979), Adams (1981), Reilly (1981), Thomas (1981), Barker (1982). Some of these more recent studies are in response to controversies over national park establishment in the Atlantic provinces of Canada in the 1970's, which heightened public awareness of negative aspects of parks.

The review is divided into three parts. The first examines studies which focus directly on the social impact of parks. The second discusses related research on the effects of tourism on rural communities and their attitudes towards tourism. The last part of the review looks at conflict in recreation which can arise when parks are established. The structure of the literature review is shown in Figure 4.

Figure 4. Structure of Literature Review



2.2.4. Summary

## 2.2. THE EFFECTS OF PARK ESTABLISHMENT ON LOCAL COMMUNITIES

### 2.2.1. National Parks in Atlantic Canada

The review will begin with a discussion of national park establishment in settled areas of Atlantic Canada from 1964. These parks created long standing controversies which became the focus of national attention (Thomas, 1981). Resource alienation was a central concern throughout.

Harper (1979) and Adams (1981) list characteristics of the Atlantic region and its people which explain the reaction to parks there. The region is long settled and well populated. People have traditionally looked to the land and sea for their livelihood. Land tenancy patterns are long established and ties to the land very strong; generations old in some cases. Land ownership is valued and interferences to this resented. Most employment is in resource industries, but unemployment is high. The region does not have a strong history of environmental concern.

Roder (1978) explains the background to Parks Canada's policy for this region. In 1964, a major shift in their policy occurred as a result of growing concern for preservation, combined with large park visitation increases after 1945. It was feared that parks could no longer preserve representative landscapes, unless controls were introduced to prevent irreversible damage and overuse by tourists. Since townsites appeared to be contributing to overuse, it was felt necessary to introduce strict policies relating to townsites and park residence, which had formerly been encouraged. The new policy outlined undesirable aspects of residence and considered it an intrusion which would no longer be permitted

to develop. It was this policy which was the underlying cause of subsequent events, which in Kouchibouguac (New Brunswick) and Forillon (Quebec) national parks, must represent some of the most dramatic and disturbing impacts to have arisen from park formation in Canada. The impacts of these parks are also extreme examples of resource alienation.

Land acquisition for Kouchibouguac and Forillon national parks (see Figure 5) began by expropriation. In Kouchibouguac, 226 households were served eviction notices (Thomas, 1981), and in Forillon about 200 families were relocated. Resettlement was accomplished with promises of social and economic enhancement for individuals and regions. For most residents, however, resettlement meant considerable changes in lifestyle and livelihood. In Kouchibouguac, opposition to these changes caused a controversy which lasted over a decade. Thomas (1981) describes some of the main impacts: Following expropriation in 1969 homes were bulldozed (see Figure 6a) and fishing rights abolished. By 1970 all families were off the land, except for one, the Vautours, who refused to move. By 1976, they were still there, declining substantial financial offers from the government for their land. Hostility towards expropriation by the Vautours and their supporters, led to some individuals being physically removed from park property twice by park authorities, and spending time in jail. The Vautours returned to live on the site of their former home, in tents at first, then in squatters' cabins. At this time the park was being policed to prevent arson from destroying park property. A legal battle to dispute ownership of the land followed, and when Parks Canada won, there were violent demonstrations, attended by police in riot gear with dogs. Tear gas was used to chase

Figure 5. Location of National Parks in Atlantic Canada

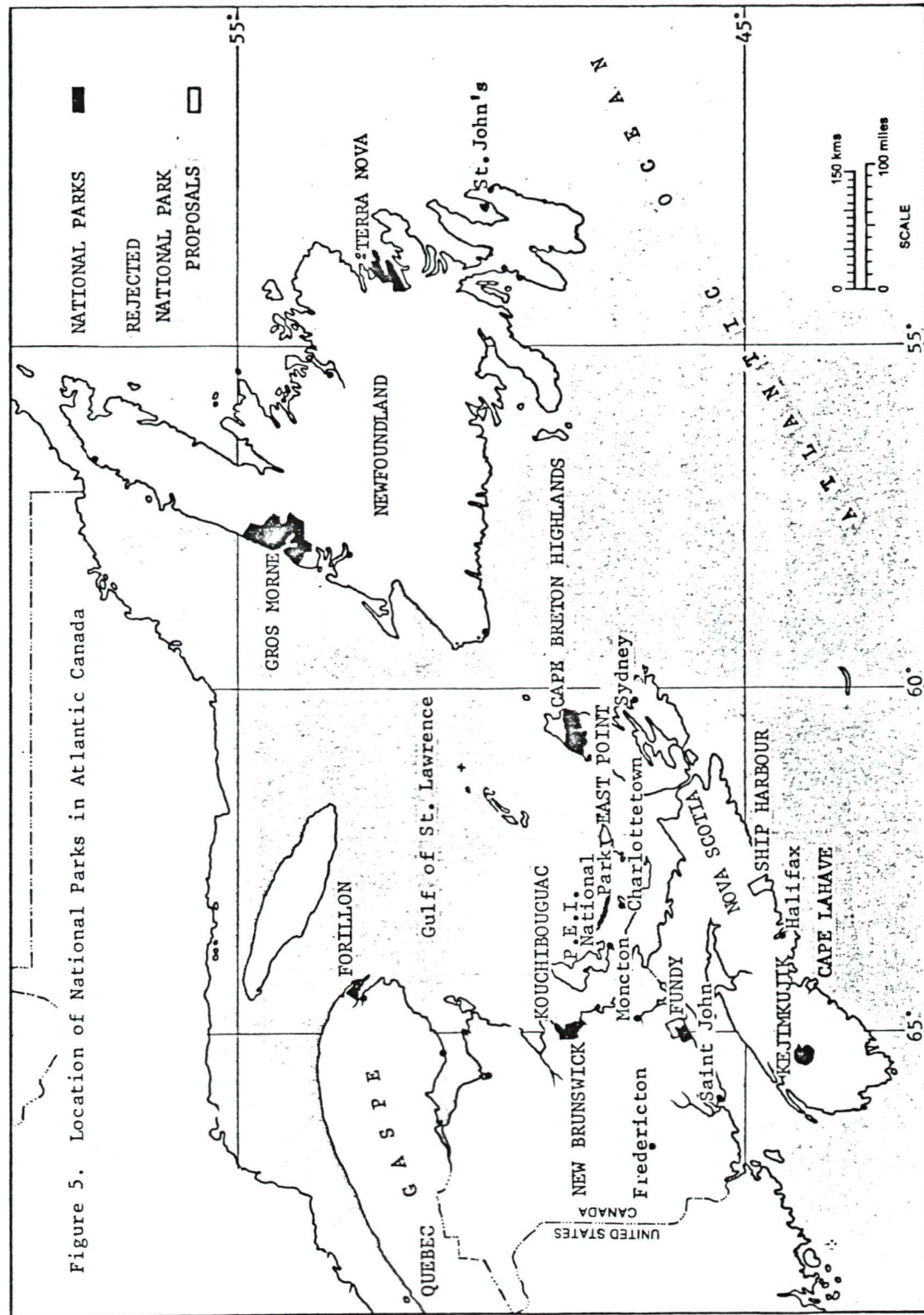


Figure 6a.

(from Thomas, P. "The Konchibouguac National Park Controversy: Over a decade strong." Park News, 17(1) Spring, 1981.

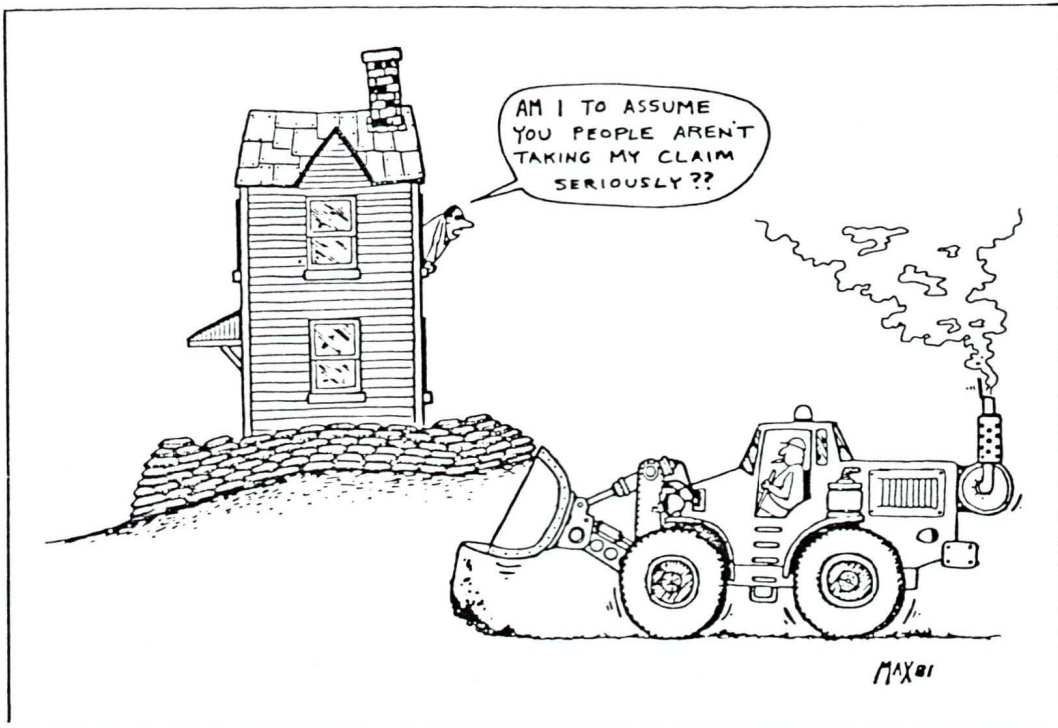


Figure 6b.

(from Reilly, R. "Planning for new National Parks in Atlantic Canada: The experience with Ship Harbour, Nova Scotia (1965-1973)" Park News, 17(1) Spring, 1981.

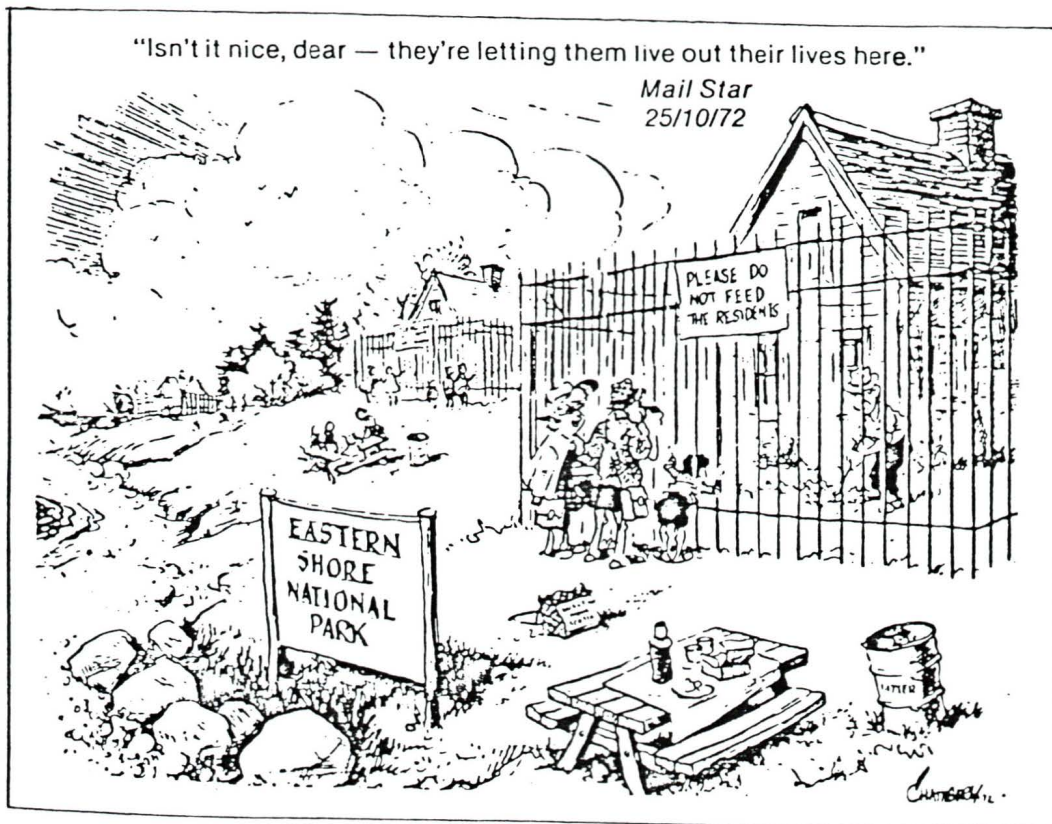


Figure 6c.

(from Reilly, R. "Planning for new National Parks in Atlantic Canada: The experience with Ship Harbour, Nova Scotia (1965-1973)" Park News, 17(1) Spring, 1981.



demonstrators who demanded closure of the park. Police cars were overturned and \$4,000 worth of damage was done. Demonstrators threatened that if resettlement did not occur (at government expense), they would destroy the park by fire in the woods and oil in the river (Thomas, 1981).

The result of all this was firstly, that provincially subsidized payments were made to help residents resettle (see Figure 6b). Secondly, a special enquiry was carried out which found that preplanning for the park had been inadequate, and procedures for expropriation left much to be desired.<sup>2</sup>

Roder (1978) comments that "despite admirable intentions of developing an underdeveloped area, there was insufficient analysis of the social and economic factors of the expropriation process" and "no price could meet the sentimental values the people placed on their homes and way of life." Scace (1979) agrees that expropriation was "done with little appreciation of the human ecology of the park" (p. 542). Meanwhile, squatters continue to live in shelters within the park boundary.

At first, residents were divided in their response to the park proposal. Local support was generated by potential economic benefits, especially the promise of employment, which was found to be the main reason for support of La Maurice national park (Que.) established in 1970 (Roder, 1978). Unfortunately, only 200 of the 500-7500 jobs promised in La Maurice actually materialized over five years. At Forillon, less than 200 jobs resulted from a promise of 1000 (Allen, 1975). Many of these dissolved within two years, after park and road development

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<sup>2</sup> Park News, 17(1) Spring, 1981.

had occurred. Later expansion of job opportunities was not planned with the park.

Any local support generated by the job promises tended to dissolve in the face of expropriation procedures and it was not long before opposition outweighed support (Scace, 1979). It is hardly surprising that the large scale expropriation was by far the greatest factor in local opposition to the Atlantic parks. There were other reasons for opposition too; not everyone would benefit economically, and those who would not, did not support the park. At Kouchibouguac, dissatisfaction was expressed over poor communication between residents and Parks Canada, lack of jobs for the uneducated, unproductive retraining programmes, unfair assessment of land and expropriated property values, and the denial of fishing rights (Roder, 1978). Harper (1979) and Reilly (1981) found that opposition to the Ship Harbour (N.S.) and Cape LaHave (N.S.) park proposals occurred because residents were concerned that they would interfere with private lives (see Figure 6c); that homes would have to be given up, traditional uses of land would change and tourists would disrupt the local way of life. Local residents did not relate to the concept of parks preserving representative landscapes; they were more concerned with how the park would affect their daily lives and well-being. One resident in Nova Scotia is quoted as saying: "We do not oppose the park provided it does not affect our homes, fishing rights, lumbering or any other activity" (Harper, 1979, p. 76). This underlines the importance of resource alienation as a factor in local opposition.

Another important factor in opposition to park proposals is residents' perception of the park agency attitude to the planning process.

In Ship Harbour (N.S.), local resentment built up over a long time while the government was delineating park boundaries (Reilly, 1981). The long wait for an outcome to government talks behind closed doors fueled local suspicion and discomfort. By the time the announcement came in August, 1972, residents were mistrustful of government intentions. "Whether people were for the park or not, what most people were disturbed about was the way it was announced - like a dictatorship."<sup>3</sup> This view of park authorities is also expressed by Becker (1979) in a description of public outrage in Banff over residents having to rent their own houses from the Crown at a rate set by the Crown. His comment is, "Can you believe it - are we in Russia?" (p. 597).

The public outcry in Ship Harbour and Banff are reminders that residents can view parks as a form of neocolonialism, especially when they are not consulted during the planning process. Both cases show that when residents adopt such a view it really adds momentum to the opposition, since the Ship Harbour proposal was abandoned in favour of ten small provincial parks (for which local opinion was later solicited), and in Banff the offending rental regulation was withdrawn (Reilly, 1981; Becker, 1979).

In Gros Morne National Park, Newfoundland, authorities tried to avoid the problems encountered at Kouchibouguac and Forillon. Roder (1978) views Gros Morne more leniently than the other parks. Boundaries were delineated to exclude the larger existing communities, or "enclaves" from the park. It was recognized that these settlements would be

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<sup>3</sup> Dartmouth Free Press, October 11, 1972, p.     ).

affected however, and their development was planned accordingly as visitor service centres. Within the park communities, owners and their children were allowed to hold the land as long as they wished, and traditional rights of fishermen were maintained. Amendments to the park agreement later allowed residents privileges regarding rabbit snaring, gravel use and timber cutting for domestic use and boats. The original enclaves have been expanded and an area removed from the park for local forestry.<sup>4</sup>

Gros Morne was an improvement on procedures at Kouchibouguac, except that, outside the visitor service centres, where settlement was more scattered, relocation of 120 families was encouraged (though not enforced) through strong monetary incentives. New homes were provided and compensation given for loss. The Federal Government also provided paved roads, sewage systems and recreation facilities in the enclaves, while no such facilities were provided in park communities.

As a result of these incentives, there was a gradual disintegration of park communities. While the young have been generally willing to leave, the older generation, finding it more difficult to cope with the loss of the traditional way of life, has been reluctant to follow suit. (Roder, 1978, p. 12)

The Bonne Bay region in Gros Morne was previously relatively isolated, but now, is converted into a tourist attraction. Residents are encouraged to develop services such as restaurants, accommodation and craft sales. These promised jobs for about 200 entrepreneurs but many people did not gain direct economic benefits.

In 1976, a protest against exploitation of local people in Gros Morne occurred in the form of a petition signed by 1500 people. It

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<sup>4</sup> Park News, 16(2), Summer 1980.

indicated that residents were not willing to accept the impact of the park upon their lives. Whether these sentiments will continue to grow with time remains to be seen (Roder, 1978).

Overton's account of Gros Morne is more severe than that of Roder. He defines the park as a resource hinterland for city dwellers and sees park establishment as the acquisition of a new colony by urban people. Any subsequent 'improvement' of the park for tourism increases the utility of the colony for consumers from the metropolis. Overton also emphasises resource alienation. Land, fish and game resources, while still necessities for the local livelihood, are redefined in accordance with metropolitan needs to become the "leisure objective" of city dwellers (see Figure 6b). Local people are compensated for loss of their property, but must accept the assessed market value as a measure of its worth. Traditional and cultural values are discounted and local relations with the land destroyed. Overton reiterates Roder's (1978) observation that parks not only lead to a decline, but to a "destruction" of the smaller rural communities.

Most studies of park establishment in the Atlantic provinces agree that Parks Canada should have made greater efforts to confer with local people. The studies disagree, however, over the desirable outcome of public consultation. Some studies express the human ecological viewpoint that cultural landscapes have intrinsic value in themselves, and should be represented and conserved in National Parks. Proponents of this view (Thomas, 1981; Roder, 1978), question whether the government has the moral right to evict landowners to create a park. They argue that expropriation seems particularly pointless when a park cleared of

residents is later developed for recreation (e.g., Gros Morne and Forillon). According to Roder,

This not only makes a mockery of the park as a wilderness area, but also makes one question why the parkland, and thereby the cultural heritage of the local Newfoundlanders was taken away in the first place. (p. 12).

Scace (1979) notes the same irony in population displacement at Forillon, where "the burned homes of inhabitants were replaced by a replica village bearing the theme 'the harmony of man, land and sea'." ". . . not only does this approach to park development fail to recognise the inherent trusteeship and protection that local ownership provides" (McFarlane, 1978, p. 38), "but at Forillon, Parks Canada destroyed a natural community and social network that had been in existence for years" (McFarlane, 1978, p. 39; Butler, 1972; Scace, 1979, p. 542).

The result of the controversies in the eastern provinces was a revised draft of national parks policy (1979) which recognised cultural landscape preservation. This revision is questioned by Scace (1979). Although he sees the irony in relocating park residents, he suggests the increasing acceptance of human activities in parks will "threaten their very fabric, since they are seemingly dedicated to the exclusion of human influences" (p. 544). If parks do not preserve some areas of the globe from the negative effects of human activity then nothing else will. The purist preservation viewpoint sees approval of including cultural landscapes in national parks as an easy way out for Parks Canada; an indication that it is shirking its responsibilities to preserve wilderness areas. "It seems that decisions regarding residence in parks will continue to be adjusted for local

conditions rather than to adhere to any strongly worded statements of national policy" (Scace, 1979, p.544).

Roder (1978) concludes that expansion of the existing park system could be jeopardized unless close working relationships are established with residents and they are involved throughout the planning process. This has occurred to a greater extent in the planning of the northern National Parks in Canada.

#### 2.2.2. Parks in the United States

Similar studies have arisen outside Canada. A study of St. John, U.S. Virgin Islands, takes a similar viewpoint to that of Overton in his work on Gros Morne. When St. John was acquired by the U.S. park service in 1956, the island had a pastoral landscape with a legacy of plantations, small farms and fallow plots from Danish colonial days. The park service policy was to manage this landscape back to the pristine frontier scene. This was perhaps overly ambitious as it was already much too late to recapture such a scene. The park service did not seem aware of this as they brought in land use restrictions to preserve and recreate the frontier landscape. Much of the farming land was overgrown, and native agriculture adversely affected. Most native people now work in tourist services since traditional family farming is not economically viable any more, because of competition from a park run plantation. In the 1960's, local resentment of the park was indicated by strong opposition to a proposal for expansion. By that time local people felt that the Park Service was not working towards their interests.

O'Leary's study of a community in North Cascades National Park, Washington (O'Leary, 1976), differs from previously discussed studies in its emphasis on outdoor recreation resources. When local people were asked about changes associated with introduction of the park, there was recurring discussion of changes in local leisure resources. Residents began to find that areas they previously used for recreation became crowded and spoiled when the park was introduced. They felt antagonistic about this and responded by avoiding crowded areas, or by going off season when crowds were reduced. This led to displacement of local people from former recreation areas. Residents began to use alternative recreation places, and even sold boats and trailers because of congestion caused by park visitors. These impacts were never anticipated as potential effects of the park. The park service was blamed for failing to consider community recreation patterns when planning the park and barriers developed between local people and the agency which prevented further communication between them to alleviate the situation.

A decade of concern over Kalamalka Provincial Park in the Okanagan, B.C.<sup>5</sup> has also involved disruption of community recreation areas. In this respect Kalamalka and North Cascades appear to be similar to the situation at Sooke. At Kalamalka and Sooke, some of the community, particularly young people in the district, have taken a proprietary interest in the swimming holes within the park. They are concerned these will be overrun with visitors and spoiled for local people.

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<sup>5</sup> A workshop on issues at Kalamalka was held at the B.C. Parks Symposium February 14, 1984.

### 2.2.3. Examples in Other Parts of the World

Overton (1979), and Olwig and Olwig (1979) suggest that their analyses of parks in North America could be applied to parks in other parts of the world. Their perspective on parks is supported by that of Bugnicourt (1977) who argues the African game parks are neocolonialist because they exploit local culture and wildlife to entertain tourists and make money. The neocolonial charge is substantiated to the extent that profits from tourism in the game parks flow one way to non-local managerial staff, foreign investors and absentee employees in tourist generating countries (Mathieson and Wall, 1982). According to Bugnicourt (1977) there is no return for local people from tourism in the African game parks. Natives are often forced into areas of low fertility where production may not be enough to feed the population. Land use restrictions by parks are particularly important in Africa because of rapidly growing population pressure on the land (Mathieson and Wall, 1981). The interests of local people were not represented when the parks were established by Colonial governments. Myers (1972, p. 1258) notes that 20,000 people were displaced from the area that became Kafue park in Zambia, and access to hunting grounds was limited. At Kidepo, northern Uganda, the Ik tribe was ejected from the area which became a national park, with disastrous consequences for their way of life (Turnbull, 1972). Nelson (1974) notes that pastoralists and cultivators frequently "encroach" on park lands in Africa; e.g., in Volcano National Park, Rwanda, and in the Serengeti National Park, Tanzania. There has been recurrent conflict since 1941 in the Serengeti over the rights of Masai people to live and graze their herds there. Local opposition to parks arises because

people feel their land has been taken away from them in the interests of European tourists (De Vos, 1968). The displacement of people by parks in Africa is the result of the western notion that a wild area has to be protected from man to be preserved. Yet the landscapes the parks seek to preserve have been created by native hunting, grazing and burning over thousands of years. Sudden elimination of these activities changes ecosystems (bush grows over open areas) and affects local livelihoods.

Local opposition to parks is not always because people have to leave their land. In some cases it is because they resent being tied to it (Barker, 1982). In the Hohe Tauern region of Austria, local people opposed a national park proposal because they believed it would confine them to farming their land, and curtail opportunities for development to improve local employment and income. Some farmers were afraid they would become part of a "living museum."<sup>6</sup> At the same time there were others who wanted traditional hunting and grazing rights maintained. A major conflict arose over a ski development proposed by local investors, and opposed by environmental groups. Local people "accused the most active environmental groups of neocolonialism and resented the imposition of a preservation ethic held by predominantly urban members of the group" (Barker, 1982, p. 283). This study underlines the need to "harness the cooperation rather than the antagonism of local residents if (parks) are to be successful in relatively densely populated areas" (p. 283).

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<sup>6</sup> The idea of a park being a "living museum" is reminiscent of Overton's view of Newfoundlanders in Gros Morne as the "leisure objective" of city dwellers.

A number of other studies have drawn attention to the problems of local communities in parks of other countries, including France (Aitcheson, 1984), Norway (Nelson, 1978; Dalland, 1978), England and Wales (Butler, 1979; Tourism and Recreation Research Unit, University of Edinburgh, 1981; Payne, 1982; Simmons, 1978), the southwest Pacific region and Australia (Lucas, 1979; Ovington, 1979; Hill, 1973), Hawaii, (Sommerstrom, 1978).

#### 2.2.4. Summary of Studies on the Social Impacts of Parks

Literature relating directly to the social impacts of parks consists mainly of descriptive case studies of parks in various locations and at different stages of development. National parks in Canada have been relatively well studied in terms of their social impacts and public participation process. The actual impacts which have occurred in Canada and other locations vary in individual cases but they have certain elements in common. Park establishment often appears to be associated with conflict. Conflict occurs either before the park is introduced, when the 'not in my backyard syndrome' arises, or after the park is formed, when local communities are inconvenienced by changes brought by the park. Park formation is also associated with resource alienation, which takes various forms, ranging from removal of people from their property, to formal or inadvertent restrictions on resource use.

Provincial parks in Canada have not been as well studied in terms of their social impacts as national parks. Very few studies recognise the recurrence of resource alienation or the importance of the neocolonial/resource hinterlands perspectives as factors in local opposition to

parks. Most studies focus on the extent to which local residents are inconvenienced by tangible changes caused by the park, and pay less attention to intangible aspects of impacts. The latter are most thoroughly discussed for national parks in Atlantic Canada. It is well recognised at national park level that the agency's attitude towards residents and their activities in parks has important implications for the aims of the national park system as a whole.

### 2.3. TOURISM AND RURAL COMMUNITIES

#### 2.3.1. The Effects of Tourism on Host Communities

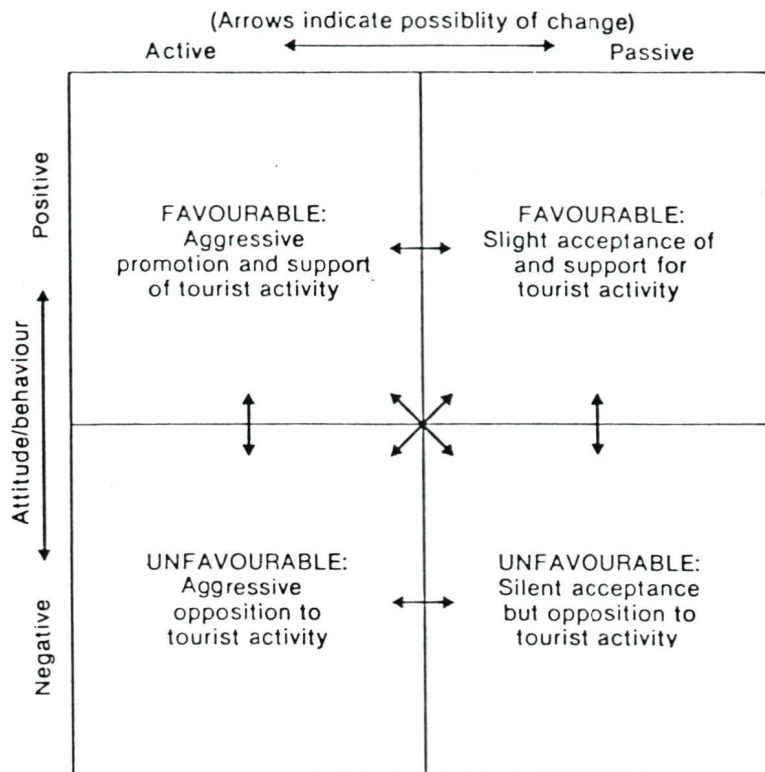
Many studies have been done on the sociological consequences of mass tourism. A review of these is given by Mathieson and Wall (1982, pp. 133-176). Two types of research in this field are relevant to the present study; those which give frameworks for assessing the social impacts of tourism, and those which assess community attitudes to tourism in a rural setting.

Two frameworks have been developed for assessment of social impacts in tourism. Doxey (1976) suggested communities in contact with visitors go through a predictable sequence of phases, relating to the degree of irritation with visitors. The phases constitute an irritation index, composed of four levels of euphoria, apathy, irritation and antagonism. Each phase is characterised by a certain relationship between tourists and visitors.

Another model by Bjorkland and Phibrick (1975), for cultural interaction, was applied to the relationship between tourists and hosts by Butler (1974). Butler's framework is shown in Figure 7. Attitudes of

Figure 7.

Host attitudinal/behavioural Responses to Tourist Activity  
 (After Bjorklund and Philbrick, 1972:8. Found in Butler (1974:12)).



residents towards tourism may be positive or negative, and their behaviour towards it active or passive. This results in four types of reaction to tourists shown in the diagram. Both Butler's and Doxey's frameworks may be used to explain park residents' responses towards visitors.

### 2.3.2. Attitudes of Rural Communities Towards Tourism

Studies of rural community attitudes to tourism are applicable to the case study because Sooke Potholes is located in a rural area and it attracts an influx of outside visitors. Note that the academic view of tourists is more specific than the view of small communities, to whom any outsider becomes a "tourist."

Keogh (1982) shows that tourism has considerably affected the community of Shediac, New Brunswick. Much of the tourism is associated with a popular provincial park. The study focuses on conflict brought about by increased traffic, prices and people in the town, and the inconvenience of these for local residents. Advantages of tourism were seen to be meeting new people, enjoying the cultural exchange and summer activities related to tourism, increased jobs, revenue and socializing. Length of residence was found to be a significant factor in attitudes towards tourists. Attitudes were more negative on the part of short term residents than long term residents. Generally, attitudes were favourable because tourism has been a business in the town for a long time.

There are at least four types of response to increased tourism in small communities. The community may be unaffected by tourism (see, for example, Buck, 1978), or their attitude may be favourable, unfavourable, or changing over time, in the sequence suggested by Doxey's (1976) continuum (Mathieson and Wall, 1982).

Explanations of these differing attitudes are many and varied. Murphy (1981) sees attitudes to be the result of two functions; aesthetics and community impact functions. Aesthetics can produce a positive attitude if tourism leads to a better kept community, but a negative one if this attracts more tourists. Community impacts can result in a positive attitude if tourism has high economic returns (Pizam, 1978) but these must be balanced against quality of life indicators; rowdyism, vandalism, noise, congestion and lack of respect for residents by visitors. A seasonal influx of tourists is not necessarily disruptive to a community if they have become used to tourists. In such a case residents can adjust to changes brought by the tourist season with relative ease (Rothman, 1978). In order for tourism to develop successfully in any community, the 'hosts' must be willing partners (Murphy, 1981; Barker, 1982).

## 2.4. CONFLICT

### 2.4.1. Conflict in Recreation

There are many potential explanations for conflict in park settings. The review concentrates on studies of recreational conflict which are most applicable to conflict at Sooke Potholes. Studies of recreational conflict are of two types: case studies of the nature and causes of conflict in particular settings (parks or other recreation places), and theoretical or conceptual explanations for conflict in recreation.

Studies of recreational conflict in particular settings include those by Phillips and Meyer (1977) for the Coquitlam River, Heberlein and Vaske (1977) for the Bois Brule River, Wisconsin, and Driver and Bassett

(1975) for Michigan's Au Sable River. Gramann and Burdge (1981) account for recreational conflict in terms of recreation goals, and Knopp and Tyger (1973), in terms of differing environmental attitudes. Jacob and Schreyer's (1980) theory of conflict in outdoor recreation is the most comprehensive attempt at developing underlying theory to explain specific cases. Many of their comments were anticipated to be useful in assessment of conflict at the Potholes. For example, they define conflict as "goal interference attributed to another's behaviour" (p. 369). Conflict occurs when one person's behaviour actually alters the desired social or physical components of another's recreation experience, or if one person is blamed for doing so even if they did not. Conflict as goal interference is "an individual's interpretation of past and future social contacts," which occur as a dynamic interaction. A good method of studying conflict in recreation is to focus on interaction of participants, and on the effects of conflict on subsequent behaviour, rather than by trying to derive a measure of recreational satisfaction (p. 370). A particular setting may have a high potential for, but a low incidence of, conflict because of low user densities or reduced contact between recreationists.

Jacob and Schreyer derive four major classes of factors and ten related propositions which produce conflict in outdoor recreation. The factors and propositions are given in Figure 8.

Any of the factors or propositions is sufficient cause for conflict but conflict will most likely entail a combination of them. Only those factors and propositions which were anticipated to explain the conflict at the potholes are discussed here.

Figure 8. Factors and propositions which produce conflict in outdoor recreation  
(after Jacob and Schreyer, 1980)

FACTORS:

- 1) Activity Style - "the various personal meanings attached to an activity."
- 2) Resource Specificity - "the significance attached to using a specific recreation resource for a given recreation experience."
- 3) Mode of Experience - "the varying expectations of how the natural environment will be perceived."
- 4) Lifestyle Tolerance - "the tendency to accept or reject lifestyles different from one's own."

N.B.: Both resource specificity and activity style are characterized by the following concepts: a) central life interest - the preferred behaviours and behavioural settings manifested when a person is given the choice, b) Status - connotations of high or low status may become attached to a recreation place and activity style, c) Evaluations of quality - the activity or resource's capacity to facilitate goal achievement.

PROPOSITIONS: ACTIVITY STYLE

Intensity of participation - the activity as central life interest

- 1) "The more intense the activity style, the greater the likelihood a social interaction with less intense participants will result in conflict."

Status

- 3) "Status based intra-activity conflict occurs when a participant desiring high status must interact with others viewed as lower status."

Evaluation of Quality

- 5) "The more specific the expectations of what constitutes a quality experience, the greater the potential for conflict."

Resource Specificity - Evaluations of Quality

- 6) "When a person who views the place's qualities as unequalled confronts behaviours indicating a lower evaluation, conflict results."

Figure 8 (continued)

Sense of Possession: Place as Central Life Interest

- 7) "Conflict results with users with a possessive attitude towards the resource confront users perceived as disrupting traditional uses and behavioural norms."

Status

- 8) "Conflict occurs for high status users when they must interact with the lower status users who symbolise a devaluation of a heretofore exclusive intimate relationship with the place."

Tolerance for Lifestyle Diversity

- 10) "If group differences are evaluated as undesirable or a potential threat to recreation goals, conflict results when members of the two groups confront one another."

Activity style, or the various personal meanings attached to a recreation activity (Burch, 1965), can give rise to contrasting standards of recreation behaviour. Conflict can occur because one user or group attributes goal interference to the contrasting behaviour in another user group. In such a case, the respective personal meanings or activity styles of each user group are the source of conflict, not the activity itself. For example, personal involvement in an activity varies (Bryan, 1977). People with an intense activity style value the activity highly as a focus of leisure, social life, a source of reward and so on. They feel the activity should be done their way. Other people with a less intense activity style have a more diverse set of interests, and conflict in one of these is less threatening to their well being. When people with an intense activity style perceive people casually involved in it, it indicates a lesser evaluation of the activity's importance; hence, proposition 1 (see Figure 8). Casually involved participants become distinguished from the intensely involved by status. High status can be established by equipment, skill or knowledge in an activity. Conflict occurs when a high status participant confronts other participants viewed as lower status. This gives rise to proposition 3 (Figure 8).

Intensely and casually involved participants are also distinguished by their differing evaluations of what makes a quality recreation experience. Casual participants have very general or undefined expectations, while intensely involved participants have very specific standards of what makes a quality experience. This gives rise to proposition 5 (Figure 8).

Resource specificity, or the importance a person attaches to a recreation resource, varies with their past experience of other recreation resources (Fitch, 1965), their feelings of possession towards the resource, intensity of involvement and the status connotations of the resource. People who use a resource often may see its qualities as commonplace, while less frequent visitors see it as unique or unequalled (Mercer, 1971). The less frequent visitor is sensitive to behaviours indicating a lack of respect for the place. This gives rise to proposition 6 (Figure 8).

People may develop an affection and sense of possession for a place if they have used it for a long time, because they know it well and it holds memories and traditions for them (Tuan, 1974). They feel they should have a say in how it is managed (Lee, 1972), whereas 'outsiders' (those unfamiliar with the place), are not qualified to do so, nor to take over places used by the traditional user (Driver and Bassett, 1975). This gives rise to proposition 7 (Figure 8). Conflict resulting from proposition 7 may occur between local and non-local users, between recent and long term users, or between divergent classes of users--different age groups, party types, etc.

Users who are familiar with a recreation place have a high status associated with knowing its "special opportunities, (its) secrets and its past" (p. 374). Conflict arises for these users when they interact with lower status users--hence proposition 8 (Figure 8).

A variety of social groups, outlooks and lifestyles make their way into recreation settings. Differences perceived by one's own social group (the "ingroup") of other groups ("outgroups") (Dion, 1973) may be

viewed as a threat to the ingroup's goals and the "integrity of its lifestyle" (p. 376). This can lead to an "unwillingness to share resources with other lifestyle groups (which is an important source of conflict in outdoor recreation and society at large)." If differences between an ingroup and an outgroup are evaluated as undesirable this can also result in conflict. (See proposition 10, Figure 8.)

Jacob and Schreyer suggest that the degree to which the factors and propositions given in Figure 8 are present in a recreation setting, represents the extent to which the potential for conflict exists. Thus, analysis of recreation at the Potholes in terms of the factors and propositions which produce conflict, would suggest the origins and potential for conflict in that setting. The actual degree of conflict at the Potholes would be indicated by the extent to which the factors and propositions are present combined with the degree of social contact at the park, since social contact is necessary for potential conflict to become realised.

#### 2.4.2. Other Explanations of Conflict in Park Settings

There are other possible explanations for conflict at the Potholes in literature on urban-rural fringe problems (e.g., Wehrwein, 1942; Russwurm, 1968). Conflict may also be explained in part by the literature on visitor perception of crowding, visitor density and sociological carrying capacity. A large body of research is devoted to these potential causes of conflict. Much of this research is cited by Rabel, Burdge and Van Doren (1981) in their book Social relations in park settings.

Alternative accounts of conflict in park settings may be found in literature on conflict in resource use, and on conflict resolution, e.g., Pondy (1967), Bergstrom (1970), Dadrian (1971), Deutsch (1971), Freeman et al (1977).

An interesting perspective on conflict in parks is given by Machlis (1981). He applies the human ecological approach to parks, by viewing the park as an ecosystem in which man plays a major role. The concepts of adaption and succession are used to explain conflicts. Adaption occurs when local people must accommodate the existence of other people in parks. The concept of succession rationalizes the invasion of park communities by outsiders: "As parks develop, they attract more and different kinds of users. In many cases the behaviour of new visitors is incompatible with the original inhabitants, so the earlier visitors move in to new, as yet undeveloped areas" (p.203-4). Shelby (1976) describes such a succession of users in river running at Grand Canyon National Park.

Finally, studies of recreational hinterlands around cities (e.g., Mercer, 1970, 1977), are applicable to the park in the case study because it is located in the recreational hinterland of Victoria. The city may be seen as a centre of recreational demand with a hinterland around it based on recreational visits to the surrounding area. The recreational hinterland concept may be useful to show why parks in similar settings to Sooke Potholes could also have adverse consequences for local communities.

## 2.5 SUMMARY OF LITERATURE REVIEW

Literature on the social impacts of park establishment focuses on descriptive, qualitative assessment of tangible, and usually short term impacts of national parks. Less attention is given to intangible aspects of impacts and to long term implications of social impacts. Quantitative assessment or measurement of social impacts has not been carried out. There are no procedures for assessing the social feasibility of parks before they are formed, nor for measuring impacts once they have occurred. It also appears that park agencies do not always follow up park formation by monitoring impacts to give feedback for their management procedures. Attitude surveys appear to be one method for assessing the more intangible aspects of social impacts. A wide range of literature relating to conflict may be used to enhance understanding of conflict resulting from park establishment.

## CHAPTER 3

## METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the methods used to assess the social impacts of park formation at Sooke Potholes and is divided into four main sections. The first section outlines the structure of the research design. The second describes the research techniques employed. The third section discusses the data analysis, and the final part describes problems encountered and limitations of the information obtained.

## 3.1. RESEARCH DESIGN

Two main factors influenced the research design. The first of these was the eleven years between park establishment in 1972 and research in 1983. This time difference meant that the study was to be mainly retrospective "impact research," which identifies impacts the park has produced and is producing rather than an "impact forecast" (Olsen and Donna, 1977). The time that had elapsed since the park was introduced and limited time available for fieldwork (May-September, 1983) precluded continual measurement of impacts over time. The study attempted to make up for this by distinguishing between past (longitudinal) and current aspects of the park's impacts.

The case study had three basic aims:

1. To determine the nature and extent of changes that followed park establishment at Sooke Potholes in 1972, and how much change was actually caused by the park.

2. To investigate local residents' attitudes and responses to changes brought by the park.
3. To suggest the origins of any conflict which may have occurred at the Potholes following park designation.

The enquiry into park impacts at Sooke Potholes was made through a series of questions which were based on the findings of previous research (particularly O'Leary, 1976; but also Overton, 1979; Olwig and Olwig, 1979; Barker, 1982; Thomas, 1981; Roder, 1981) and to a lesser extent on exploratory talks with several Sooke residents known to the author at the outset of the study. The research questions which provide the framework for the study are given below. A brief explanation of each question is also given. The remaining sections in this chapter describe data collection methods and the data analysis.

Question 1: What is the origin of current Sooke Potholes park users?

Literature on urban recreational hinterlands (e.g., Mercer, 1970, 1977) and on urban fringe problems (e.g., Wehrwein, 1942; Russwurm, 1968) suggests that recreation places accessible to urban areas draw visitors from the city, particularly on weekends and vacations. It seems likely therefore that Sooke Potholes park would draw visitors from Victoria as well as from the local rural area. This means that there are many possible origins for park visitors. Their origin was of interest on several accounts:

1. It would indicate the extent to which local residents use the Potholes eleven years after park formation. O'Leary's paper (1976) suggests residents may not be using the Potholes as much as they used to,

and preliminary talks with several Sooke residents provided tentative support for this hypothesis.

2. Jacob and Schreyer (1980, p. 373) indicate user origin could be a source for conflict in recreation settings, because a person's origin can influence the importance he attaches to using a specific resource (i.e., his "resource specificity," see Chapter 2). Recreation places can have special meanings for some people who attach feelings of possession to that place. For example, "a swimming hole may symbolise one's childhood" (Jacob and Schreyer, 1980, p. 373). Such a sense of possession can result in conflict when possessive users confront others perceived as disrupting traditional use (proposition 7). In this study it was anticipated that Sooke residents would feel more possessive of the Potholes than non-local visitors and according to Jacob and Schreyer, confrontation between the two would lead to conflict.

User origin is also of interest because it is linked to length of visitor use. It was anticipated that Sooke residents would have been visiting the Potholes for longer than non-local visitors, and that this would make them more possessive. Conflict could occur between recent and long term visitors because the latter are more possessive.

Question 2: Did an increase in visitors follow park establishment?

Several authors (e.g., O'Leary, 1976; Overton, 1979; Olwig and Olwig, 1979) note that park formation leads to an increase in visitors to an area. The occurrence and size of a visitor increase had to be established before any further questions about problems resulting from the increase could be answered.

Question 3: If a visitor increase did occur, to what extent did it result from park formation?

Other factors could have led to an increase in visitors to Sooke Potholes over the last ten years. The influence of other factors on changes at the Potholes must be separated from the effects of park formation.

Question 4: Where were most of the new visitors from?

This question demands information on user origins for the same reasons as question 1, but focuses on past changes in visitor origin instead of the current pattern. Its purpose is to establish what kinds of changes occurred in visitor origin patterns during the years following park formation. If many new visitors arrived from Victoria this would have increased the potential for conflict at the park for the same reasons given in question 1.

Question 5: To what extent did any increase in visitors disrupt community recreation at the Potholes?

O'Leary (1976) notes that disruption of community leisure space can result from park formation. Since it was anticipated that the Potholes are (or were) a community swimming hole, an increase in outside visitors could have reduced enjoyment for local people. Talks with several Sooke residents before the survey suggested this may have been the case.

Question 6 a): Did park formation result in conflict?

Question 6 b): Is there conflict at the park today?

The literature review shows that conflict is often associated with park establishment. It seemed likely that changes brought by the

park at the Potholes could have led to conflict. It was anticipated that conflict may exist between the following groups:

1. Different types of user groups at the park.
2. Some or all park user groups and some Sooke residents.
3. Sooke residents and provincial parks authorities.

Question 7: What is the origin of the conflict?

An understanding of why conflict occurs is helpful to guide park management practices. The literature on recreational conflict and conflict in resource use provides many potential explanations for conflict. One of the most applicable works is that of Jacob and Schreyer (1980), who advance ten hypotheses thought to underlie such conflict (see Chapter 2).

Question 8: How did Sooke community respond to the conflict?

O'Leary (1976) suggests that a community can adapt to park formation by finding other places or activities for recreation. This was the expected response at Sooke.

Question 9: Do Sooke residents feel to have accrued any benefits from park designation?

The advantages of the park, as perceived by Sooke residents, may be weighed against the disadvantages to give an overall assessment of how worthwhile the park has been for residents.

## 3.2. DATA COLLECTION METHODS

### 3.2.1. Methods Used and Reasons for Choice of Methods

Four methods were used to collect data for the study:

1. Self administered mail questionnaire survey of Sooke residents.

2. Interview survey of park users.
3. Interviews with local interest groups.
4. Observation at the park.

1. The mail questionnaire survey was considered to be the most efficient and convenient way of collecting the same type of information from a relatively large number of Sooke residents. It enabled the researcher to reach a larger sample of the population than would have been possible by interview, especially as time, personnel and mobility were limited. This method would also hopefully reach people who would not be at home for interview because of work or other commitments. It would enable respondents to answer at their own convenience instead of that of an interviewer. The standardization of the questionnaire also yields more comparable results than interviews in that it avoids possible difficulties arising from respondents antagonism towards the interviewer and other types of interviewer bias (Burton and Cherry, 1970). In general the aim of the mail questionnaire was assessment of impacts caused by park establishment at the Potholes over the last ten years.

2. There were several reasons for doing an interview survey at the park as well as the postal survey of residents. Jacob and Schreyer (1980) suggest that studies of conflict in recreational settings should focus on the nature and extent of user interaction. It was felt that interviews were necessary to provide first hand, up to date information on park use, visitor characteristics and attitudes towards the park, and current impacts.

3. Interviews with several local interest groups aimed to find out how park formation at the Potholes had affected their activities. The interest groups chosen were residents of Sooke River Road (access road to the park), the owner of Milnes Landing grocery store located on the park access road, and the local police. Personnel from the provincial Parks Branch were also interviewed to find out their procedures for park formation, and their involvement, if any, in park impacts.

4. Observation at the park. Campbell (1970) discusses the applications of participant observation for recreation research. This method is useful in recreation research because it allows interaction with subjects in the field, discovery and description of relevant events (incidents of crowding and conflict in this case), and informal interviewing. Observations help to maximise contact with the actual situation in which events are occurring to gain a more complete understanding of conditions associated with the problem under investigation. The role of the participant observer in this case was to take part in swimming and other recreation activities at the Potholes, to gain acceptance as a researcher by the interview subjects, and to inform them of the purpose of the study. Direct participation also allowed the researcher to experience the same thing as the subjects, and to observe certain characteristics of the recreation, such as how much of the recreation was directed towards social aspects and to observe various goals. This allowed the researcher a more realistic appraisal of ongoing events and gave a clearer understanding of the situation. Observations at the Potholes took the form of an unstructured descriptive record of the environment and recreationists' behaviour (Whyte, 1977).

Table 1 summarizes the data used to answer each of the research questions and methods used to acquire the data. A copy of the mail questionnaire and interview questionnaire are given in Appendix I for reference.

### 3.2.2. Administration of Mail Questionnaire

A sample of Sooke residents was selected systematically from the Capital Regional District's electoral register for the Sooke area. The boundaries of this area are shown in Figure 3. It was anticipated that a sample size of 200 would provide a compromise between the minimum number required for statistical analysis and financial limitations. The total number of names on the electoral register (approximately 4,600) was divided by 200 to give 23, then every twenty-third person was selected to be in the sample.

The questionnaire was pretested by sending out thirty questionnaires to residents selected by the same procedure. Twelve of the pretests were returned and the responses used to adjust the questionnaire. Responses to a pretest of ten interviews at the park were also used to finalise the mail questionnaire.

Two hundred of the finalized questionnaires were sent out to the sample of Sooke residents on August 17th and 19th, 1983. After nine days a reminder letter and second copy of the questionnaire was sent to those residents who had not yet returned their questionnaires. Residents were assured anonymity; but questionnaires had to be tagged by number to know which residents needed reminder letters. All letters included stamped addressed envelopes.

Table 1. Summary of Data Used to Answer Questions  
and Methods Used to Obtain it

The mail questionnaire and interview questionnaire are given in Appendix I.

QUESTION	DATA USED FOR ANSWER	MEANS OF ACQUIRING DATA
(1)= Mail Questionnaire (2)= Interviews		
1. What is the origin of current Sooke Potholes Park users?	a) Place of permanent residence of a sample of park summer weekend visitors. b) A measure of relative use of the park by the sample.	(2) Qu. 1, 2.  (2) Qu. 5, 6a.
2. Did an increase in visitors follow park establishment?	a) Figures on visitor use of potholes after park was established b) Sooke residents' perceptions of changes in use levels.	Parks Branch Information Officer supplied figures for <u>after</u> park establishment.  For before the park (1) Qu. 1, 7a, 7b, 10a. (2) Qu. 3, 6b.
3. To what extent was the increase in visitors a result of park establishment?	a) Improvements to access and facilities at the Potholes. b) Increased population in Victoria, Sooke and other western communities	a) Prov. Parks Branch Sooke Potholes File b) Capital Regional District Planning Dept.

(cont'd)

Table 1 (continued)

QUESTION	DATA USED FOR ANSWER	MEANS OF ACQUIRING DATA (1)= Mail Questionnaire (2)=Interviews
4. Where were most of the new visitors from?	a) Written and spoken reports of long term Sooke residents and long term park visitors	(1) Qu. 7b, 10h, 10b, 10g, 5, 6 (2) Qu. 6, 2
5. To what extent did any increase in visitors disrupt local recreation at the Potholes?	Written and spoken reports of Sooke residents, concerning changes in local use and reasons for this.	(1) Qu. 3, 4, 5, 6 (2) Qu. 6, 9
6a. Did park formation result in conflict?	Sooke residents and Police reports on incidents of conflict and symptoms such as vandalism, complaints, fights, etc. Information on changes at the park which could cause goal interference or increase conflict potential.	(1) Qu. 2, 5, 6, 7, 10a,c,d,e Interviews with Sooke River Road residents and local police. Media reports and observation of Deer Trails Development.
6b. Is there conflict at the Potholes today?	Visitor goals, and satisfaction levels. Factors which decrease enjoyment of the Potholes.	(2) Qu. 7, 8, 9, 13 Observations
7. What is the origin of the conflict?	Jacob and Schreyer (1980) "Conflict in Outdoor Recreation: A Theoretical Perspective," <u>Journal of Leisure Research</u> , 12(4), 368-380, 1980.	(1) General (2) General Observations

(cont 'd)

Table 1. (continued)

QUESTION	DATA USED FOR ANSWER	MEANS OF ACQUIRING DATA (1)= Mail Questionnaire (2)= Interviews
8. How did Sooke Community respond to the conflict?	Residents and local visitors' written and spoken reports of other places they visit and why.	(1) Qu. 8, 9 (2) Qu. 11, 12 Observations
9. Do Sooke residents feel to have accrued any benefits from park designation?	Residents written accounts of advantages of the Potholes becoming a park.	(1) Qu. 5

### 3.2.3. Administration of Interviews

The survey aimed to interview a sample of park visitors as representative of the summer (June through August) visitor population as possible. Three steps were taken to maximise representativeness of the sample:

1. The researcher attempted to achieve as large a sample as possible.
2. The sample was stratified both by visitor origin and areally.
3. Sampling day length was maximized.

Each of these measures will be discussed in turn.

1. An attempt was made to maximise the number of sampling days and the number of interviews conducted on each sampling day. All interviews were carried out on beaches, as pretests showed that interviews with visitors en route to and from beaches were not successful. This was partly because interviews took about ten minutes to complete. Restriction of interviews to beaches may have introduced bias into the sample by omitting park users who were never on the beach, either because they were not there to swim, but just to walk through, or because they had turned away from beaches and swimming for some reason. Omission of the latter group of visitors would mean that the visitor sample was biased towards those tolerant of beach use levels, and other conditions on the beaches. Their attitudes and opinions on the park were likely to be more favourable than those who had turned away from beaches.

Interviews were conducted with as many parties as were agreeable on one beach, before moving on the next. One person was interviewed for each party of visitors. Interviewing started on a different beach each

day. When the researcher had interviewed as many parties as possible on each successive beach, she returned to the first one to look for new prospective interviewees.

## 2. Stratification of the sample.

It was expected that visitor attitudes to, and use of the park would be affected by many factors, including the weather, intensity of park use, visitor characteristics and expectations.

Ideally, the sample should have been stratified for each of these parameters, but in order to do this there would have to be prior knowledge of population characteristics, which were not known in this case. Also, stratification for each parameter would mean sample size would have to be too large to be practical.

It was initially decided to stratify the sample by visitor origin (based on a 50% local to 50% non-local estimate by Parks Branch District Manager) and by day of the week. Stratification by weekend and weekday use would have increased representativeness of the sample because the park was much more intensely used on weekends, and intensity of use was anticipated to affect response to interviews. Weekend/weekday use was also anticipated to be linked to visitor origin--with more local visitors at the park on weekdays.

At the outset it was anticipated that 200 interviews would be needed, with 50 visitors from Victoria, 50 from Sooke, 50 on weekends and 50 on weekdays. However in the event, 100 interviews were conducted on weekends only due to poor weather part of the time and physical difficulties found by the interviewer in gaining access to the site.

This meant that the sample is not representative of the total summer visitor population, but of the summer weekend population for July and August. However, as this represents the period when crowding and hence conflict potential is likely to be maximized, this should not have a significant impact on these aspects of the study. The main drawback of interviewing at weekends only is that the results could not be compared with data from midweek interviews, and the relative importance of weekend findings to overall conditions at the potholes in summer could not be fully assessed.

It was considered that if during the progress of the survey it became evident that estimated stratification of the sample by origin was less important than other criteria or the proportions were not accurate, then stratification would be adjusted accordingly.

### 3. Sampling day length.

Interviews started at 11 a.m. and continued until 5 p.m. on each sampling day. An average of 20 interviews were conducted on each day. All interviews were done on fine weather days to reduce the influence of weather as a variable. All Sooke day, a major logging sports and social event in Sooke in July, was not included because the park function changes on that day to cater for overspill of visitors from that event.

### 3.3. DATA ANALYSIS

Mail questionnaire responses were coded and entered on the computer at the University of Victoria. The S.P.S.S. package was used to calculate frequencies and means of variables. The independence of variables was also tested by using cross tabulation and chi-squared tests.

The analysis aimed to find out how far residents' replies were dependent on their socio-economic characteristics, length of residence in Sooke, and frequency of use of the potholes. In many cases, however, frequencies of responses were too low to permit valid crosstabulation and categories of responses had to be collapsed to produce a valid test.

Analysis of interview data consisted of calculation of frequencies and means manually. The computer was not used because there were many gaps in the responses and frequencies were often low. This was disappointing, but it was attributed partly to the poor design of some questions (discussed in next section), and partly to the intangible nature of the 'satisfaction' and 'conflict' concepts being investigated. It was also partly due to the informal recreation setting, which meant that a relatively informal approach was needed, which in some instances led to casual responses, which would have been difficult to categorize and code.

### 3.4. PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED AND LIMITATIONS OF THE INFORMATION OBTAINED

#### 3.4.1. Mail Questionnaire Survey

1. Eighty-seven (44%) of people returned questionnaires but of these fifteen people (8%) had never been to Sooke Potholes park and could not answer questions. The high proportion of unusable replies was not anticipated and it meant that in many cases response rates were not high enough to yield valid cross tabulations. Where response rates were high enough, responses had to be collapsed into a reduced number of categories.

2. Several questions were misunderstood, misinterpreted or had a low response rate, partly because of unforeseen problems in their design:

Question 3 on frequency of visits was poorly answered for the earlier years, partly because of people's inability to recall, or because people had not lived in Sooke very long. The intervals of time given in question 3 were not consistent with those in question 1. Responses to question 3 were often inconsistent with those to question 4, which was intended as a summary or shortcut on question 3, as well as a check on it.

Questions 8 and 9 on alternative recreation areas were not totally successful in finding out how many people substituted other places for the Potholes because of crowding and related factors. Question 8 was too detailed, and a response of YES or NO to question 9 could have indicated substitution.

Question 10 on changes at the Potholes was originally designed to assess strength of conflict perceived by residents, on the basis that this would be suggested by an attitude scale. However, the assumption that the more negative the attitude, the stronger the conflict, was false, so the statements in question 10 could not be used collectively to indicate strength of conflict or attitudes; although the statements were useful individually. Finally, response rates to question 14 on occupation were low and the responses not specific enough for categorization.

3. Many Sooke residents were recent members of the community (five years or less), and could not answer questions on long term changes at the Potholes; although some did anyway, which caused problems in the data analysis.

### 3.4.2. Interview Survey

Several problems were encountered in interviews, which were largely attributable to inexperience on the part of the interviewer.

It was difficult to get a measure of how much enjoyment at the park had been reduced by problems of crowding, noise, etc. (question 9), and question 13 did not give a reliable indication of visitor satisfaction. Questions 10, 11, 12 might have been more successful in determining substitution levels if they had enquired whether the specific goals of visitors at the Potholes could be met elsewhere. Question 12 was poorly phrased and did not succeed in finding out why people substituted particular locations for the Potholes. Question 14 was included in the interview for the same reasons as question 10 in the mail questionnaire, and the same problems were encountered with both. Only long term park visitors (six years or more) could answer question 14 of the interview, so responses were low and inaccurate. Finally, it was not possible to record the exact composition of parties by age and sex (question 17).

### 3.4.3. Limitations of the Information Obtained

The information obtained contains several sources of bias including that from the following sources:

- a) Sample selection procedures
- b) Inaccuracies in response because of:
  - i) memory bias
  - ii) misunderstanding
  - iii) a tendency to exaggerate or generalise

- iv) A desire to please or impress the researcher
- v) Interviewer and questionnaire bias.

It should be recognized that generalization of the results from the samples to their respective populations is as tenuous as the results are biased. At best, the information obtained represents the perceptions, opinions, attitudes and behaviour of Sooke residents, and summer weekend visitors to Sooke Potholes only. The information cannot be used to describe any other populations. On the whole the results were more general and less in depth than was anticipated at the outset, largely because of low response rates to the mail questionnaire, and inexperience in interviewing.

## CHAPTER 4

## RESULTS

This chapter presents the results of the case study. The first part of the chapter gives a descriptive profile of the mail questionnaire and interview samples. The second section presents and discusses answers for each of the research questions, from the data collected, and from the literature where appropriate. A summary of the main findings is given at the end of the chapter.

## 4.1. SAMPLE PROFILES

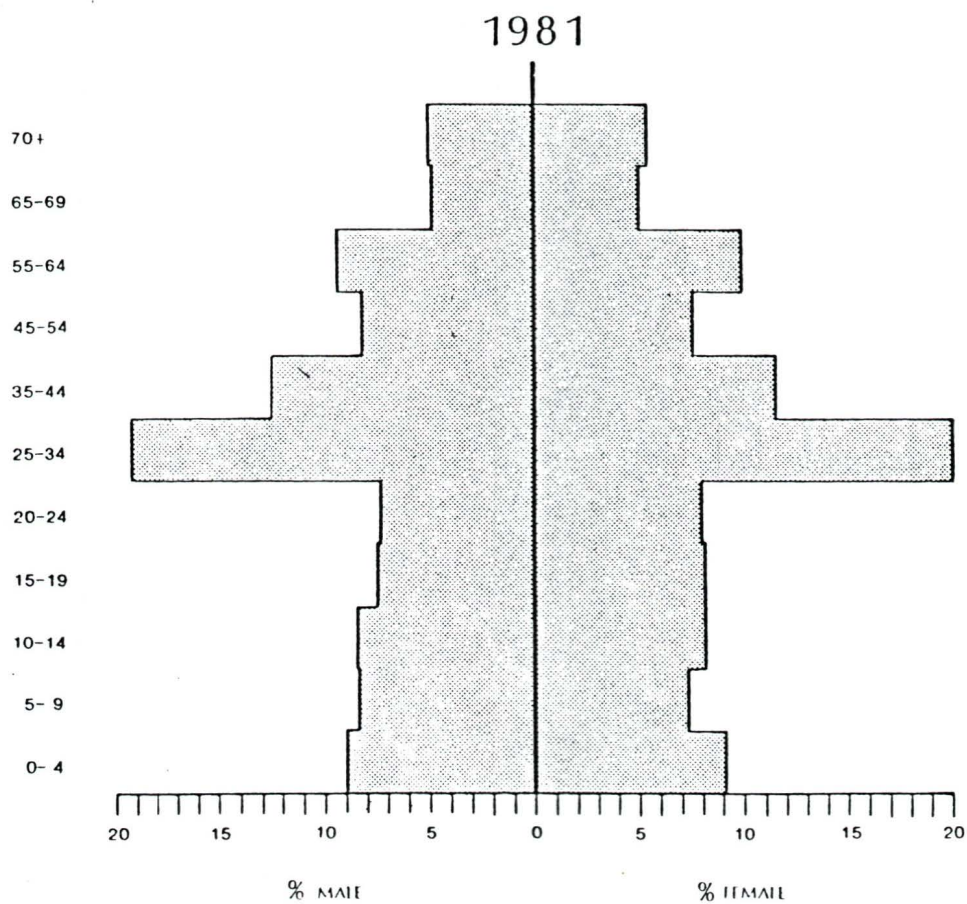
4.1.1. Mail Questionnaire Sample

Eighty-seven out of two hundred questionnaires (44%) were returned. Of these, sixty-nine (35%) were usable. Fifteen questionnaires were incomplete because respondents had never been to the Potholes and could not answer questions on them.

The age and sex characteristics of the sample are shown in Table 2.

Twenty percent of the sample were under thirty years of age and 46% under forty years. In addition, 36% of households had one to five children under sixteen years. These figures reflect the relatively high proportion of young families in Sooke which is shown in Figure 1. This population pyramid shows 20% of Sooke's population to be aged twenty-five to thirty-four years. All other age groups were represented in the sample except for people under nineteen years because they were not on the electoral register.

Figure 9. Population Pyramid for Sooke, 1981  
 (from Sooke Settlement Plan, Capital Regional District  
 Planning Department)



Source: Statistics Canada

Table 2. Age-Sex Characteristics of Mail Questionnaire Sample

		AGE IN YEARS							
		Under 16	16-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 & Over	Total
Males	#	-	-	5	9	8	5	5	32
	%	-	-	7.3	13.0	11.6	7.5	7.3	46.4
Females	#	1	1	7	9	6	7	6	37
	%	1.4	1.4	10.2	13.0	8.7	10.2	8.7	53.6
Total	#	1	1	12	18	14	12	11	69
	%	1.4	1.4	17.5	26.0	20.3	17.5	16	100

Table 3 shows the length of residence in Sooke of the mail questionnaire sample.

Table 3. Length of Residence in Sooke of Mail Questionnaire Sample

(excluding 3 unusable replies)

Length of residence (years)	Respondents who had been to the potholes		Respond- ents who had never been there
	#	%	
Under 1	-	-	-
1-5	26	37.7	4
6-10	16	23.2	4
11-20	16	23.2	4
Over 20	11	15.9	3
Total	69	100	15

Thirty-eight percent of respondents had been living in Sooke for five years or less. These are termed short term residents from here on. Since the Potholes became a park in 1972, short term residents were not qualified to answer questions relating to the Potholes before the park (assuming they had been there before they moved to Sooke). The proportion of short term residents in the sample reflects census figures on population mobility in Sooke, which indicate 37% of the population in 1981 did not live in Sooke five years earlier. Twenty-three percent of respondents had lived in Sooke for six to ten years. Although these people were not residents before the park they were potential visitors for up to ten years and may well have seen the Potholes in their more pristine condition prior to 1983. Thus their comments on changes at the park were taken into account in the analysis. Thirty-nine percent of respondents had lived in Sooke for over ten years. These 'long term residents' were qualified to answer questions relating to the Potholes before the park.

The highest education levels of the sample in relation to the population of Sooke are shown in Table 4.

Table 4 shows that the sample was biased towards better educated groups, since a total of 38% had some university training or a degree compared to 11% of the population. Better educated people were more likely to respond, perhaps because they were more familiar with studies such as this one, or because they were more likely to feel they had something to contribute. There may also be an overall bias in the questionnaire wording towards better educated groups.

Table 4. Highest Education Level of Mail Questionnaire Sample

Highest level of education	Absolute freq. in sample	Relative freq. % in sample	% of Sooke population <sup>1</sup>
Grade 9 or less	9	13.0	9
Senior Secondary	20	29.0	34
Trade or Technical School	14	20.3	20.2 <sup>2</sup>
Some University	12	17.4	7.0
University Degree	9	13.0	4%
Post Graduate Degree	3	4.4	
No response	2	2.9	-
TOTAL	69	100	74.2

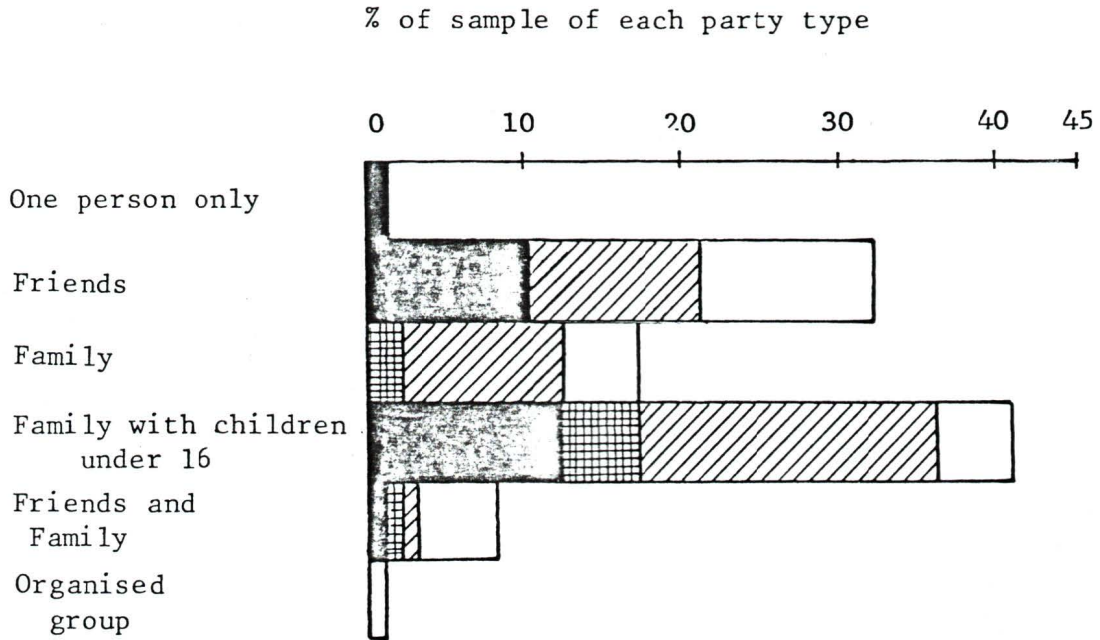
4.1.2. Interview Sample

Figures 10 and 11 show the distribution of party types and party size in the interview samples. Almost 60% of the parties interviewed were family groups, of which 41% had children under sixteen. One third of all parties were groups of friends. The average size of local visitor parties (6.7 people) was larger than that of non-local parties (4.3 people). The most prevalent party size was three for both local and non-local parties. Overall, there was an inverse relationship between the number

<sup>1</sup> From 1981 Census of Canada.

<sup>2</sup> Includes all post-secondary, non-university education (and university transfer courses of community colleges).

Figure 10. Distribution of party types in the Interview Sample, by Origin and Length of Use



Sooke	Sooke	Non-	Non-
Visitors	Visitors	local	local
for	for	Visitors	Visitors
> 5 yrs.	≤ 5 yrs.	for	for
		> 5 yrs.	≤ 5 yrs.

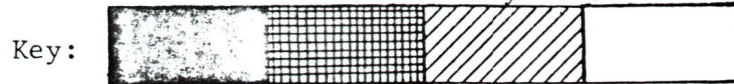
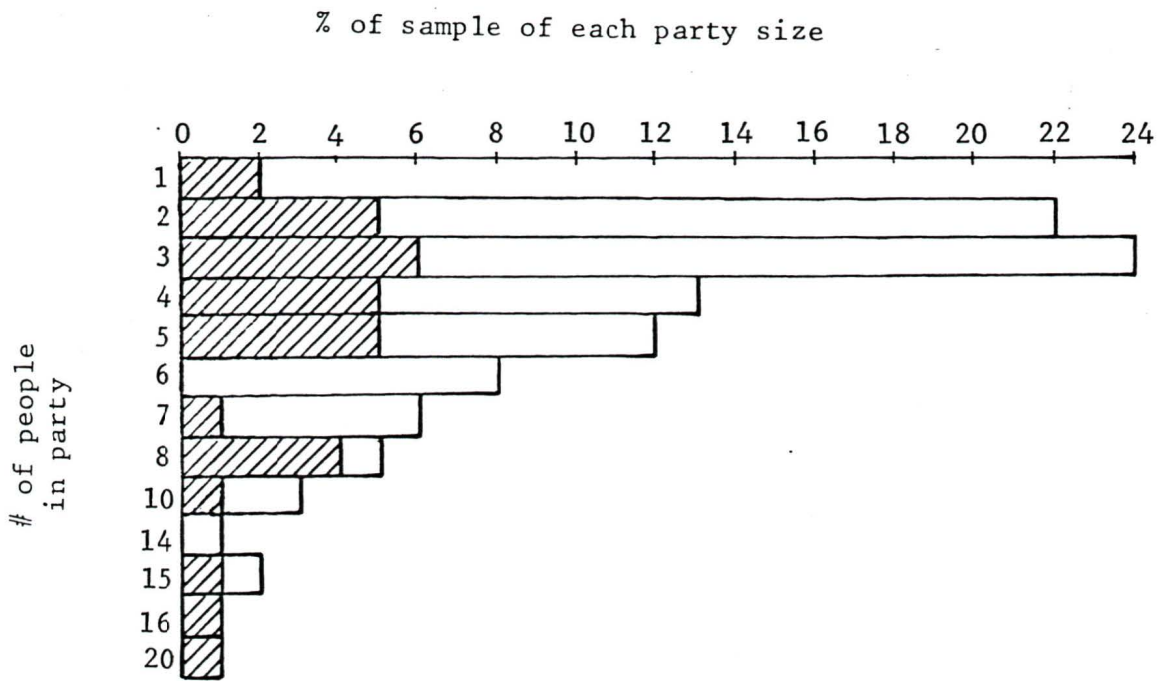


Figure 11. Distribution of Party Sizes in the Interview Sample, by Origin



Key: # of parties from Sooke    # of parties from outside Sooke

of parties and party size. There were more large groups of eight people or more from Sooke than elsewhere.

It was not possible to obtain an accurate record of party composition by age and sex because groups of visitors were often spread out and mingled with others. Age was difficult to estimate without asking which would not have enhanced interview rapport. Since population characteristics were not known in this case it is not possible to say how representative the sample was of the park weekend visitor population.

#### 4.2. THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

##### 4.2.1. What is the Origin of Current Sooke Potholes Park Users?

Forty-five percent of parties at the park were from Victoria. Another 12% were from the western communities of Colwood, Langford and Methosin. Eleven percent were from elsewhere on Vancouver Island (the Saanich Peninsula, mainly) or from the mainland. A total of 68% of parties were from outside the Sooke District (see Figure 2, Chapter 1 for boundaries of Sooke District). Thirty-two percent of parties were from Sooke community itself. Approximately one-third of local visitors had lived in Sooke for over ten years, one-third for between six to ten years, and the remainder for five years or less.

There are several reasons why the proportion of local to non-local parties found on weekends may not be comparable with the total summer park visitor population.

1. It was repeatedly mentioned in interviews that the park was 'much quieter' midweek when visitors were 'mostly locals.' If this was true, then Sooke residents were probably underrepresented by omitting a midweek count.

2. The 32% local/68% non-local split in user origin does not take account of party size. It was very noticeable during interviews that many local visitors were part of much larger parties than non-local visitors. Figure 11 illustrates this. There was a problem in selecting people for interview from large groups of eight people or more because it was difficult to tell exactly which people and how many of them were part of the one group. This resulted in one or two people being interviewed for a large group while others listened and added comments. The effect was to reduce the potential number of interviews and to increase the number of people represented by one interview. This is another reason why local people were probably underrepresented in the interviews.

3. The problem of large local visitor groups was exacerbated by the fact that the same large group of local teenagers was present on several of the interview days. Once key members of the group (determined on the basis that they were regularly present and readily came forward) had been interviewed, it was not considered appropriate to interrupt the group again for more interviews, even though new people were present.

4. Another problem with the weekend visitor origin count is that it does not include any measure of comparative use levels by local and non-local visitors. Although park use on weekends appears to be dominated by a large percentage of non-local parties, measurement of use levels on visitor or party/days or hours, may show that local people use the park equally or more than non-locals. The interviews did not produce detailed enough data on use to derive a comparative measure of use. However, some idea of comparative use by groups of different origin is gained by looking at how often visitors went to the park, and how long they had

been using it. Table 5 shows frequencies of park use in summer reported by the park visitor sample. Note that the table probably contains inaccuracies because people may not have remembered exactly, or tended to generalise about how often they visited the park.

Table 5. Frequency of Summer Visits to the Potholes  
Reported by Park Visitor Sample

	Local People (% of Total Parties)	Non-local People (% of Total Parties)	Local People (% of Local Parties)	Non-Local People (% of Non-local Parties)	
Frequent Visitors	Once a week or more	21	7	65	10.3
	Once every 2 weeks	6	10	19	14.7
	Once a month	-	3	-	4.4
Infrequent Visitors	3-5 times altogether	2	22	6.3	32.4
	Once or twice altogether	3	26	9.4	38.2
TOTAL		32%	68%	100%	100%

People who had visited the park once a month or more on average, are termed frequent visitors from here on, while people who had been five times or less altogether are called infrequent visitors. Table 5 shows that local people tend to go to the park more often than non-local people.

Table 6 summarizes data on the length of time visitors had been using the park.

Table 6. Length of Time Park Visitor Sample Had Been Using the Park

Length of Park Use	Local People (% of Total Visitors)	Non-local People (% of Total Visitors)	% of Local Visitors	% of Non- Local Visitors
This year only	1	16	3	24
Last 2 years	2	6	6	9
Last 3-5 years	5	20	16	29
Last 6-10 years	12	7	38	10
Last 11-20 years	11	11	34	16
Over 20 years	1	8	3	12
TOTAL	32%	68%	100%	100%

Park visitors of six or more year's standing are termed long term visitors from here on, and those who had been using the park for five years or less are called short term visitors. Table 6 shows that a greater proportion of local people (75%) were long term visitors than non-local people (38%). Correspondingly, most short term visitors were from outside Sooke. It is interesting that as many as 38% of non-local

visitors had been using the park for over six years and 28% for over ten years. It was expected that only local people would have been using the Potholes for ten years or more. In general, Sooke community had been going to the Potholes for longer than non-local people. There were two exceptions to this--nine parties from Sooke who were recent residents and therefore short term visitors, and eight "old timers" from Victoria who had been visiting the Potholes for over twenty years.

#### Summary of Question 1

Although the weekend interview sample indicated park use was dominated by parties from Victoria, the greater party size and frequency of visits by local people, combined with their longer term of use, all indicate that the park currently attracts a good mix of visitors at various times in summer from Sooke and the rest of the Capital Regional District.

#### 4.2.2. Did an Increase in Visitors Follow Park Establishment?

There is overwhelming evidence from three sources that a large increase in visitors has occurred over the last ten years. The majority of questionnaire respondents felt there had been a visitor increase since they had lived in Sooke (Table 7), and since the park was formed in 1972 (Table 8). Thirteen (19%) of the agreements to a visitor increase since 1972 was by short term residents who were not qualified to say, unless they had visited before moving to Sooke. However, 54% of respondents (of six years residence or more) agreed on a visitor increase. The ten undecided people were all short term residents.

Park visitors of ten years standing or more were asked how the park in 1983 compared with ten years before. Twenty-two out of thirty-one

long term visitors (71%) made specific mention of a large increase in park visitors.

Table 7. Response to Question 7 a) of Mail Questionnaire

"Please indicate whether you've noticed any change in the number of visitors at the Potholes in summer since you've been living in Sooke."

Response	Absolute Freq. #	Relative Freq. %
Large increase	41	59
Some increase	15	22
No change noticed	4	6
Some decrease	0	0
Large decrease	0	0
No response	9	13
TOTAL	69	100

Both residents and park visitor perceptions are supported by Parks Branch Statistics for visitor use at the Potholes since 1973 (see Figure 12). These show a five fold increase in attendance occurred from 1973 to 1982. The high attendance in 1979 may be explained by the high total hours of bright sunshine for that year (see Figure 13).

Figure 12. Provincial Parks Branch Record of Visitor Attendance at Sooke Potholes

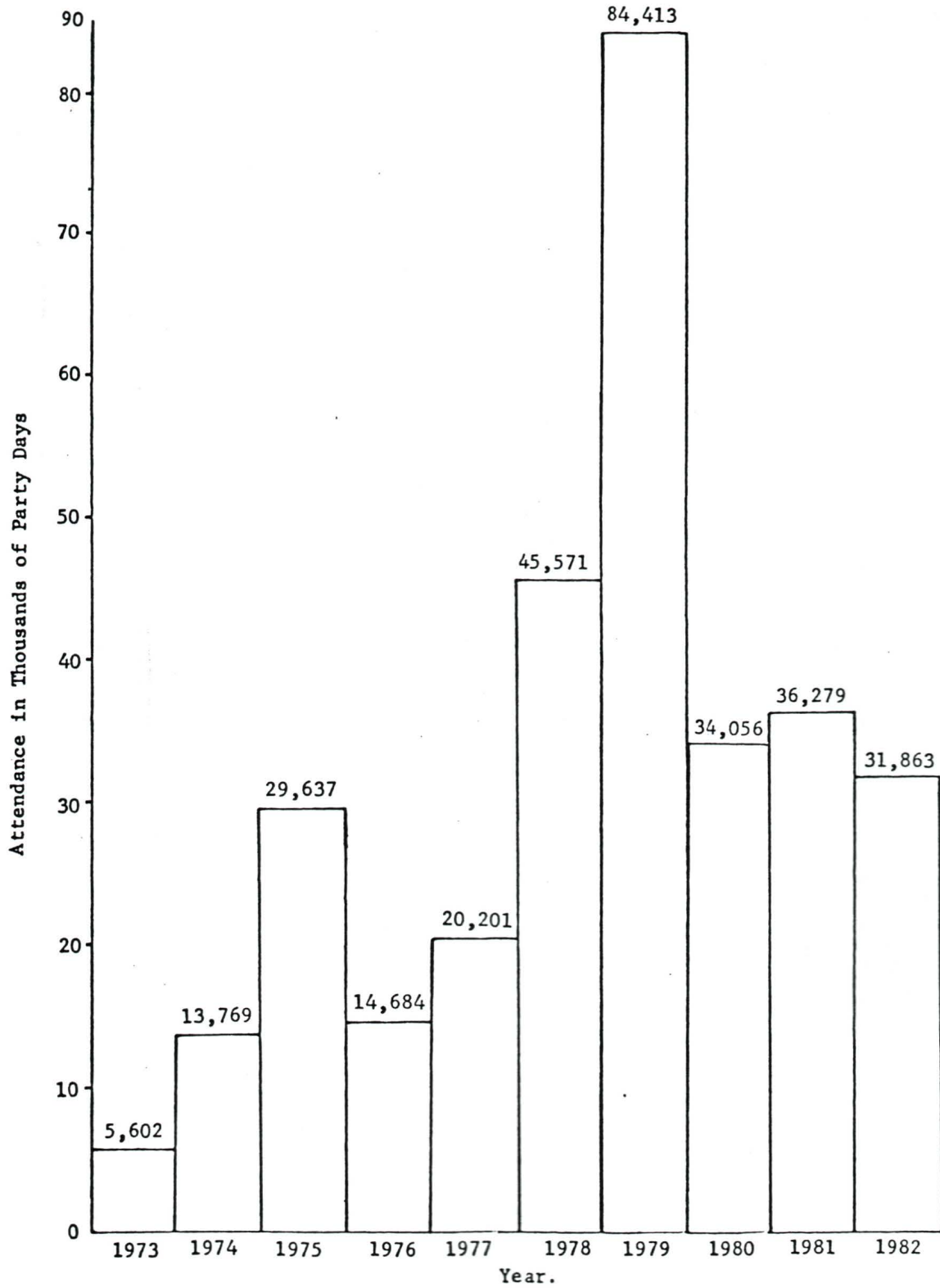


Figure 13. Total Hours of Bright Sunshine for Victoria, 1972-81  
 (Source: Atmosphere Environment Service, Dept. of Environment, Canada. Annual Meteorological Summary and Long Term Records, 1980)

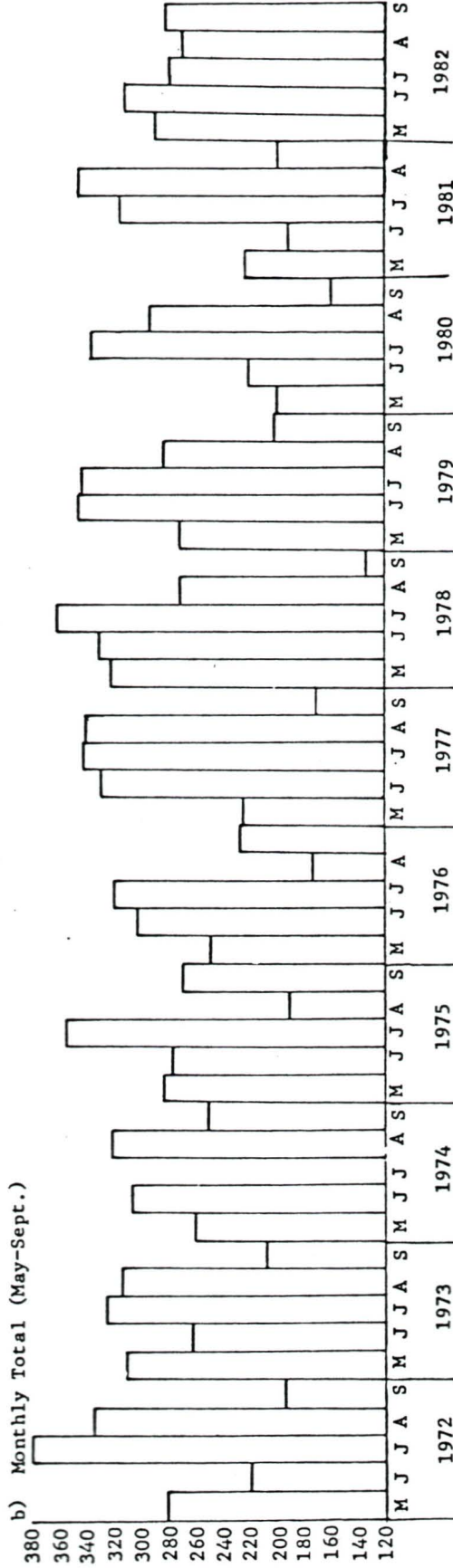
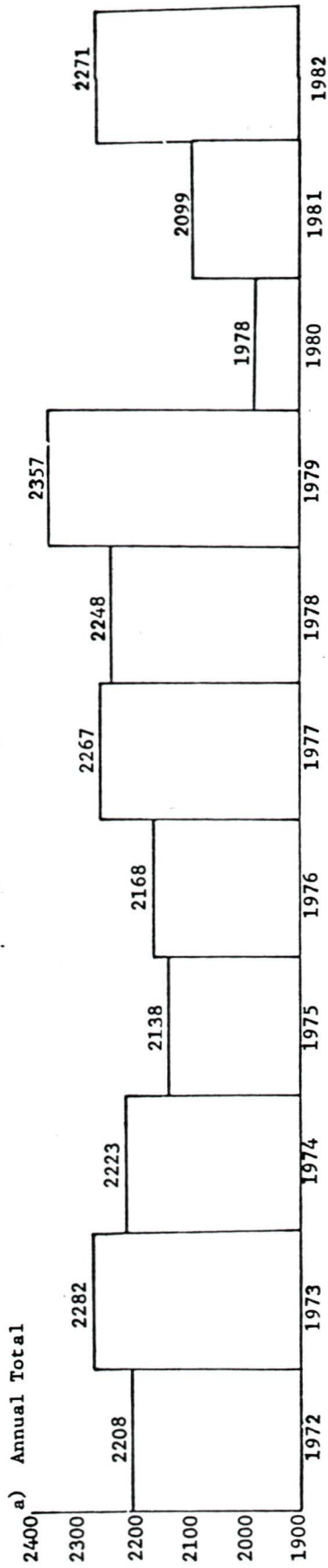


Table 8. Response to Question 10 a)

"There are more people at the Potholes since it became a park in 1972."

Response	Absolute Freq. (#)	Relative Freq. (%)
Strongly Agree	30 24*	43 35*
Agree	20 13*	29 19*
Undecided	10	14.5
Disagree	0	0
Strongly Disagree	1	1.5
No Response	8	12
TOTAL	69	100

\* Omits invalid response of short term residents  
(1-5 years)

Although 54% of mail questionnaire respondents agreed with a visitor increase since 1972, 46%<sup>3</sup> agreed that there have always been a lot of people at the Potholes in response to question 10 f). Since attendance was five and a half thousand party days in 1972, it seems likely that both views could be correct.

<sup>3</sup> Excludes responses from short term residents.

#### 4.2.3. To What Extent was the Increase in Visitors a Result of Park Establishment?

Undoubtedly the park contributed to increased popularity of the Potholes in several ways. Firstly, Parks Branch posted a sign to the park on the Sooke highway in the Fall of 1972. This would have informed passing motorists of the Pothole location, and that they were an attraction worth visiting. Many weekend recreational drivers from Victoria may have discovered the park through the sign. Before the sign was posted it was unlikely an outsider passing through would have come across this beauty spot by accident.

Secondly, visitor use must have increased through the provision of a parking lot for sixty vehicles. The new parking lot was next to the first two swimming holes, so visitors had no distance to walk to beaches, which for many people is an important factor in the park's favour.

Thirdly, since the Potholes became a provincial park they have appeared on tourist maps of southern Vancouver Island, and have been promoted in brochures of Sooke as a holiday area. Both maps and brochures are available in visitor information centres around Victoria.

Probably the most important factor contributing to the rise in visitors is the process of feedback ("hearsay") from park visitors, by which news of the Potholes spread. Articles in the local newspaper may also have attracted some visitors, but the Potholes have been publicized in the media for the dangers of swimming there, rather than their beauty.

The interviews attempted to establish the relative importance of different factors in attracting people to the Potholes. All visitors from outside Sooke were asked how they had first learned of the Potholes.

Sixty-seven percent heard about it from friends, and another 26% had "always known about it," as they used to live in Sooke or had friends there. Only 5% learned of the Potholes from a visitor information centre and 2% came because of the sign on the road. Evidently, word of mouth is by far the most important means by which news of the park is spread.

Although park formation contributed significantly to a rise in use of the potholes, several other factors could have been involved. One of these is the increase in population of Sooke, the other western communities and the Capital Regional District as a whole over the last ten years. Table 9 shows this population increase.

Population growth in Sooke and the other western communities has been rapid since 1966, especially in the last five years when the annual growth rate in Sooke was four times that of the Capital Regional District, and 12.6% of the Capital Region's annual growth occurred in the other western communities. It is likely that the rapid population growth in the western communities contributed to increased use of the potholes. Commercial development in Colwood and Langford also probably increased attraction and recreational use of the south-west coast by people from Victoria by opening up access to the area.

Another factor which affects park use levels is the incidence of fine hot weather, because the park is used mainly for swimming. The importance of this factor was confirmed during interviews when far fewer visitors were present on cooler or cloudy days. Figure 13 shows the total hours of bright sunshine in Victoria from 1972-82. Comparison with attendance at the park (Figure 12) suggests there is a correlation between the two from 1976-80. From 1973-75, however, visitor use levels

Table 9. Population Growth of Sooke, the Other Western Communities and the Capital Regional District, 1966-1981

(Source: Capital Regional District, May 1982)

Area	1966		1971		1976		1981				
	Population	Annual Growth CRD % of	Population	Annual Growth CRD % of	Population	Annual Growth CRD % of	Population	Annual Growth CRD % of			
Sooke Electoral Area	3,478	4.3	4,345	4.6	2.1	5,763	5.8	2.5	7,716	6.0	3.1
Colwood Electoral Area	6,084	3.3	8,101	5.9	4.0	9,711	3.7	4.2			
Langford Electoral Area	6,679	3.7	9,587	7.6	4.7	13,236	6.7	5.7	31,543	1.4	12.6
Metchosin Electoral Area	1,281	0.7	1,590	4.4	0.8	2,916	12.9	1.3			
View Royal Electoral Area	3,350	1.8	3,671	1.8	1.8	3,612	0.3	1.6			
TOTAL	17,412		22,949			29,475			31,543		
CAPITAL REGIONAL DISTRICT	181,993	100	204,772	2.4	2.4	230,583	2.4	2.4	249,473	1.6	1.6

rose despite the decrease in total hours of bright sunshine. July attendance is generally high because of All Sooke Day, a major logging sports event in Sooke which attracts thousands of visitors annually.

Other factors which contribute to park use levels may include the incidence of fine hot weather in May and June which "set the scene" for the rest of the summer, and intervening opportunities in the form of alternative swimming areas. Whatever factors determine use levels, an accurate record of attendance is important background to resident and park visitor reports of the park, because use levels partly explain attitudes towards the park.

#### 4.2.4. Where Were Most of the New Visitors From?

Most evidence suggests that the visitor increase was drawn from populations outside Sooke. The majority of residents noticed a large increase in the number of people from outside Sooke at the Potholes since they had lived in Sooke (see Table 10).

Response to question 7b must have been based on a genuine or perceived ability on the part of respondents to distinguish between local and non-local visitors and to recall an increase in the latter. Several interviews with local residents at the park suggested they could recognise members of Sooke community, and distinguish them from other visitors. This may have been the case between long term residents. It was also possible for the interviewer to do this in some cases. It was likely, however, that the reported increase in outsiders was based as much on hearsay as on experience and recall.

Table 10. Response to Question 7b of Mail Questionnaire

"Please indicate whether you have noticed any change in the number of outside visitors at the Potholes in summer since you've lived in Sooke."

Response	Absolute Frequency #	Relative Frequency %
Large increase	43	62
Some increase	11	16
No change	3	4.3
Some decrease	0	0
Large decrease	0	0
No response	12	17
TOTAL	69	100

Three statements in question 10 of the mail questionnaire were also intended to check residents' opinions on the origin of new visitors (see Table 11).

Table 11 shows that at least twice as many residents agreed as disagreed that most visitors before the park were local and many visitors now are non-local. Response to the first statement was significantly affected by length of residence. Long term residents (6 years and over) were most likely to agree with the statement while short term residents were mostly undecided (see Table 12).

Table 11. Responses to Statements 10h), 10b) and 10g) of Mail Questionnaire

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	No Response	Total
10h) "Before the pot-holes became a park, most people there were from Sooke."	14.5	19 <sup>4</sup>	25 <sup>5</sup>	10 <sup>4</sup>	5.8	13	87.3 <sup>4</sup>
10b) "Many people there now are from outside Sooke." <sup>2</sup>	43.5	34.7	14.5	0	1.5	5.8	100
10g) "There have always been a lot of people from outside Sooke at the potholes in summer." <sup>2</sup>	7.2	30.4	29.0	27.5	0	5.8	100
	5.8 <sup>4</sup>	16 <sup>4</sup>		26 <sup>4</sup>			

<sup>4</sup> Omits responses of short term residents (1-5 years).

<sup>5</sup> Includes responses of short term residents (1-5 years).

Table 12. Cross Tabulation of Response to Statement 10h)  
With Length of Residence

"Before the Potholes became a park most people there were from Sooke."

Count	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Row Total
1-5 years	3 5.1	11 18.6	6 10.2	20 33.9
6 years and over	10 16.9	6 10.2	23 39.0	39 66.1
COLUMN TOTAL	13 22.0	17 28.8	29 49.2	59 100

N.B. 1 out of 6 (16.7%) of valid cells have expected cell frequency of less than 5.0.

Raw  $\chi^2 = 10.13807$  with 2 df.  
Significance = 0.0063.

Residents' agreement that many current visitors to the Potholes are from outside Sooke (see Statement 10b), Table 11) is supported by the high proportion of outside visitors interviewed at the park on summer weekends (68% of total interviews).

The last of the three statements in Table 10 was intended as a check on the first two. Although the majority of respondents (33.5%)<sup>6</sup> agreed that most visitors before the park were local, 22%<sup>6</sup> (38% including responses of short term residents) felt there had always been a lot

<sup>6</sup> Omits responses of short term residents (1-5 years).

of outsiders. This apparent contradiction may be explained by the fact that 19% of park visitors were from outside Sooke and had been using the park for over ten years (see Table 6). As one such visitor remarked, "I know people from Victoria who have been coming here for twenty or thirty years."

Response to statement 10g) in Table 10 was found to be significantly affected by how often respondents had been to the park from 1976-79 (see Table 12). This was the only case where cross tabulation of a variable with frequency of use produced a valid test, because response rates for frequency of use were so low. It seems likely, however, that attitudes towards the park would depend on how often people had been there, but this was the only case where this association was proven.

Table 13. Cross Tabulation of Respondents Frequency of Park Use (1976-79) with Response to Statement 10g)

"There have always been a lot of outsiders at the Potholes in summer"

Count		Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Row Total
Total Pct.					
Frequency of Visits	Less than 5 times altogether	8 17.8	12 26.7	5 11.1	25 55.6
	Once a month or more	8 17.8	2 4.4	10 22.2	20 44.4
	Column Total	16 35.6	14 31.1	15 33.3	45 100

Raw  $\chi^2 = 8.35714$  with 2 d.f.  
Significance = 0.0153.

Table 13 shows that residents who had been to the Potholes more often were most likely to disagree that there have always been a lot of outsiders. Less frequent visitors most likely to be undecided.

To summarize results for question 4, the visitor increase appears to have been drawn largely from populations outside Sooke, but a small proportion of visitors always came from Victoria.

#### 4.2.5. To What Extent Did Any Increase in Visitors Disrupt Local Recreation at the Potholes?

Questions 3 and 4 (mail questionnaire) on residents' use of the Potholes were intended to find out whether local use levels had changed since the park was formed. The following problems were encountered with responses to these questions, however:

1. Response rates to question 3 on use levels over the last ten years declined from sixty-one cases (88%) in 1980-82 to twenty-seven cases (39%) for 1969-72. This was not surprising since some people felt they could not recall their use of the park ten years ago, and short term residents were not in Sooke before 1978 anyway.

2. Short term residents were (quite rightly) divided on how they responded to question 4 ("Have you been to the Potholes more or less since they became a park?"), because they were not in Sooke before the park.

3. Question 4 was intended as a check and a short cut for question 3, but only 51% of respondents gave consistent answers to questions 3 and 4. The remainder either did not answer one or the other or their response to question 4 was not consistent with that of question 3. It

was difficult to tell which question gave a more reliable indication of change in park use.

4. Categories of year groups used to summarize use over ten years in question 3 were not the same as those used for length of residence.

The problems mentioned above made interpretation of responses to questions 3 and 4 difficult.

However, a summary of responses to question 3 (see Table 14) tentatively suggests two trends in local recreation patterns. Firstly,

Table 14. Summary of Responses to Question 3

"About how often have you been to the Potholes in the summers since you've been living in Sooke?"

KEY: 8 = # of responses  
12 = % of total respondents  
0 = % of total applicable respondents

Year	No Response/ Not Appli- cable	No Visits	Infrequent Visits 5 times	Frequent Visits Once a mo. or more	Total to Whom Appli- cable
1980-82	8 <u>12</u> <u>0</u>	5 <u>7.0</u> <u>8.2</u>	38 <u>55</u> <u>62.0</u>	18 <u>26</u> <u>29.5</u>	61 <u>88</u> <u>100</u>
1976-79 <sup>1</sup>	26 <u>38</u> <u>0</u>	2 <u>3</u> <u>4.2</u>	23 <u>33</u> <u>54</u>	18 <u>26</u> <u>41</u>	43 <u>62</u> <u>100</u>
1972-75 <sup>1</sup>	33 <u>48</u> <u>0</u>	2 <u>3</u> <u>5.5</u>	12 <u>17</u> <u>33</u>	22 <u>32</u> <u>61.4</u>	36 <u>52</u> <u>100</u>
1969-72 <sup>2</sup>	42 <u>61</u> <u>0</u>	2 <u>3</u> <u>6.0</u>	10 <u>14.5</u> <u>39</u>	15 <u>22</u> <u>55</u>	27 <u>39</u> <u>100</u>

1 = not applicable to short term residents (1-5 years). Their response discounted.

2 = not applicable to residence of 1-5 years or 6-10 years. Their responses discounted.

the proportion of residents making frequent visits to the Potholes has declined since 1972. Secondly, the proportion of occasional visitors to the Potholes has risen since 1972. The latter trend could reflect the large number of new residents in Sooke and memory bias of respondents.

It seems likely that park formation could have affected some local user groups more than others. Table 15 summarizes the number of responses to question 3 by length of residence and frequency of visits. It suggests

Table 15. Number of Responses to Question 3 by Length of Residence and Frequency of Visits

FREQ. OF VISITS		1980-82	1976-79	1972-75	1969-72
FREQ = Once a month or more					
INFREQ = Less than once a month					
Short Term	FREQ	9	-	-	-
Residents 1-5 yrs.	INFREQ	17	-	-	-
"Mid Term" Residents	FREQ	5	7	-	-
6-10 Yrs.	INFREQ	11	9	-	-
Long Term	FREQ	6	11	15	14
Residents Over 10 yrs.	INFREQ	8	13	8	9

that numbers of long term residents (over 10 years) who use the park frequently have decreased since 1972. Perhaps long term residents, and those who visited the Potholes frequently, were more affected by the park than other groups.

The idea that long term residents were more affected by park formation is supported by some of the disadvantages of the park noted by long term residents. They felt that "Sooke residents resent the fact that they have to 'share' the park with outsiders." The park brings "more out of town people making it less accessible to the people of Sooke." "A lot of Sooke residents rarely use the Potholes because so many out of towners overrun the area." "It is no longer a Sooke swimming spot." "This is why I will not take my family there." These kinds of comments were reiterated by local park visitors and leave no doubt that some long term Sooke residents feel that local recreation at the Potholes was disrupted by park formation.

Three statements in question 10 were also intended to assess resident attitudes towards the visitor increase. The statements and responses to them are given in Table 16. Over 50% of residents agreed with all three statements.<sup>7</sup> Response to 10j) was significantly affected by length of residence (see Table 17). As expected, long term residents were most likely to agree that the Potholes are traditionally a local recreation area, and short term residents were most likely to be undecided.

Although there is considerable support that park formation did disrupt community recreation at the Potholes, there is also some evidence against this. For example, 36% of respondents indicated the park had made no difference to their use of the Potholes (Question 4) and

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<sup>7</sup> Residents therefore feel outsiders are to blame for decreased local recreation and enjoyment of the Potholes. The questionnaire could have made this link but it is also natural to blame outsiders.

Table 16. Summary of Responses to Question 10j), 10c) and 10d)

Statement	RESPONSE IN %					Total	
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree		No Response
10j) "The Potholes are traditionally a recreation area for Sooke residents."	16.7	33.3	22.7	16.7	7.6	3.0	100
10c) "Visitors from outside Sooke have reduced recreation opportunities for Sooke residents."	31.8	24.2	13.6	25.8	3.0	1.5	100
10d) "Sooke residents enjoy the Potholes less today because of visitors from outside Sooke."	33.3	21.2	18.2	18.2	6.1	3.0	100

Table 17. Cross Tabulation of Response to Question 10j)  
With Length of Residence

		RESPONSE TO 10 j)			
		Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Row Total
Count	Total %				
Length of Residence	5 years or less	3 4.8	10 15.9	9 14.3	22 34.9
	6 years or less	13 20.6	5 7.9	23 36.5	41 65
	Column Total	16 25.4	15 23.8	32 50.8	63 100

6.5% of people go more since the park was formed. One quarter of residents disagreed with statements 10j), 10c) and 10d) in Table 16, which suggest disruption of local recreation at the Potholes by park visitors.

#### 4.2.6a Did Park Establishment Result in Conflict?

##### Evidence for conflict from the mail questionnaire

Nine percent of respondents had never been to the Potholes because adverse reports on conditions there had kept them away. These people had heard the park was "too crowded," "full of rowdies" and "not a family park anymore," or that "it was for young people." "We are too old to go to places like that." Reports of broken glass and vandalism also kept people away, and some residents "preferred the quietness" around their home, or were "tired of hearing about accidents."

Evidently, some of the community have a bad impression of the Potholes from hearsay or media reports. Direct experience is not necessary to keep people away.

The disadvantages of the park noted in response to question 5 are viewed as signs of conflict because in many cases they could interfere with recreational goals. Table 18 summarizes the response to question 5.

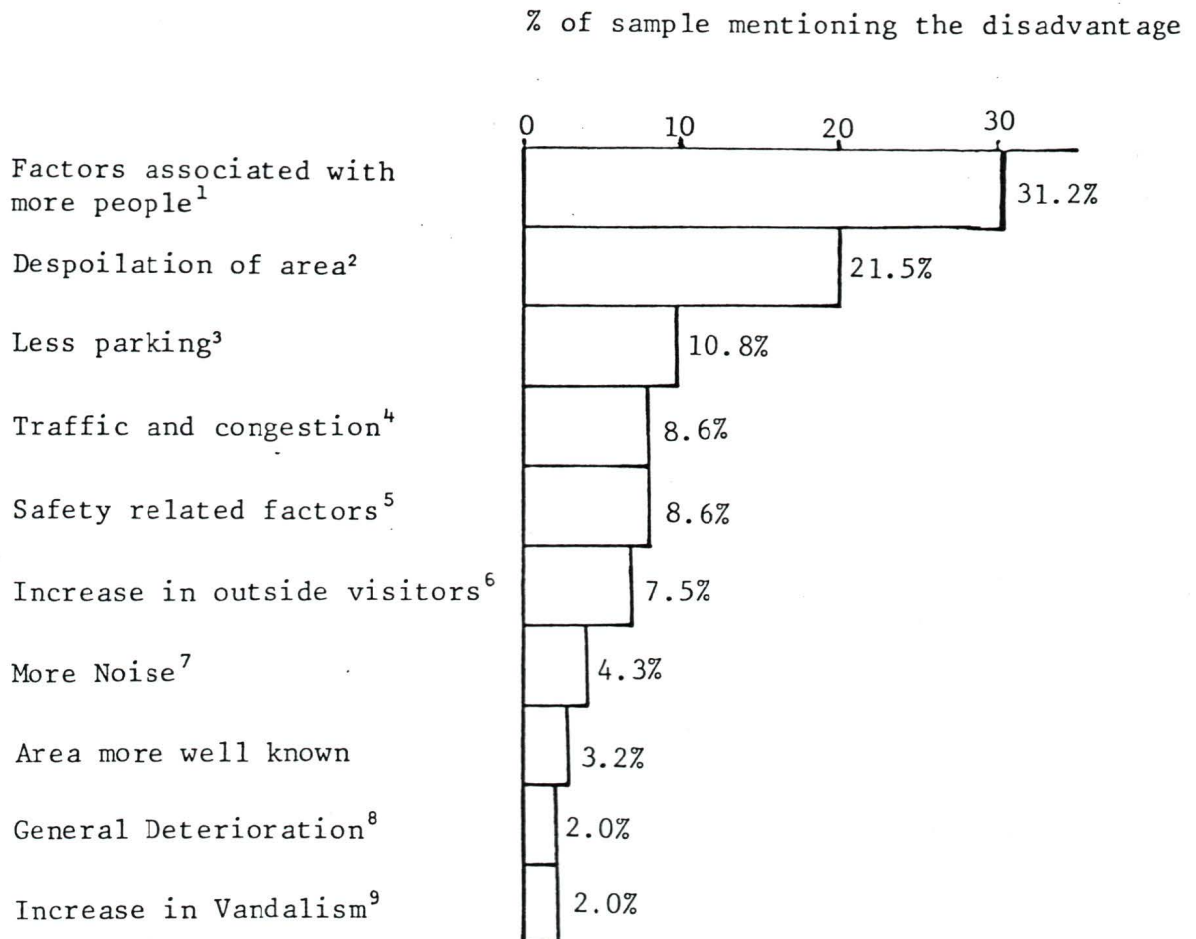
Table 18. Response to Question 5

"Do you feel there have been any advantages/disadvantages since Sooke Potholes became a Provincial Park?"

Response	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency %
Many disadvantages	5	7.2
Some disadvantages	9	13.0
No difference	6	8.7
Some advantages	27	39
Many advantages	6	8.7
No response	16	23.2
TOTAL	69	100

Table 18 shows that 20% of the sample felt the park had disadvantages compared to 48% who felt it had advantages. Figure 14 shows how often various disadvantages were maintained, and indicates the importance of different concerns.

Figure 14. Response to Question 5 of Mail Questionnaire:  
Disadvantages of the Park at the Potholes



1 Includes mentions of park being much too crowded, having more tourists, too many drunk people, undesirables, too many visitors from outside Sooke, too many "kids having rowdy parties."

2 Includes garbage, dogs littering area, dirtier beaches, dust, pollution from traffic, broken glass and beer bottles, dirtier water.

3 Includes suggestions that more parking encourages more people, there is less parking or none at all; none for Sooke community unless they arrive early, and congestion in parking lot.

## Figure 14 (continued)

- 4 Includes mention of too much traffic, too many cars, congestion on Sooke Road and dangers thereof.
- 5 Includes dangers of increased traffic on access road, lack of safe trails, deaths, no warden to warn about swimming dangers at potholes, harrassment of local emergency vehicles in an emergency.
- 6 Includes mention of the many people from Victoria, lack of parking due to outsiders, lack of respect for potholes by people not from Sooke, resentment of having to "share" park with outsiders because it is less accessible to people of Sooke. "Many residents rarely use the pot-holes because so many out of towners overrun the area - it's no longer a Sooke swimming spot."
- 7 Have to go further to find a quiet spot.
- 8 Includes "loss of beautiful natural recreation spot."
- 9 Includes comments on need for more policing on vandalism and increase in crime in area.

The greatest concern was increased crowding (31% of all disadvantages mentioned), followed by increased garbage and broken glass (22%), parking (11%) and traffic congestion (9%). Outside visitors were much less of a concern; evidently the crowds and their effects are more important than where they come from.

Evidence for conflict was also found in responses to question 6, which are summarized in Figure 15. Residents were required to rate the park at different times of year and give reasons for their ratings. Poor ratings were taken to be indications of conflict if the associated reason was a potential threat to recreational goals. Ratings of the park were not significantly affected by length of residence. Figure 15 shows that the park had the poorest rating on public holidays in summer, followed by summer weekends. The main reasons were overcrowding, lack of parking, garbage and noise. The best rating was given for summer midweek, followed by the shoulder season, and reasons were correspondingly the lack of people (including "out-of-towners"), and lack of garbage, which allowed appreciation of peace and scenery. Residents' assessment of the park at various times depended mainly on how many people were there. Figure 16 summarizes reasons given for poor ratings. It forms an interesting inventory of potential threats to recreational goals at the Potholes.

The results to question 7 on changes at the Potholes are illustrated in Figure 17. They show that most residents have noticed an increase in the amount of visitors and outsiders, litter, noise and vandalism at the park, all of which suggest an increase in conflict potential. Perception of changes in noise levels and vandalism were significantly affected by length of residence, with long term residents (6

Figure 15a. Residents Rating of the Park on Summer Weekends with Reasons.

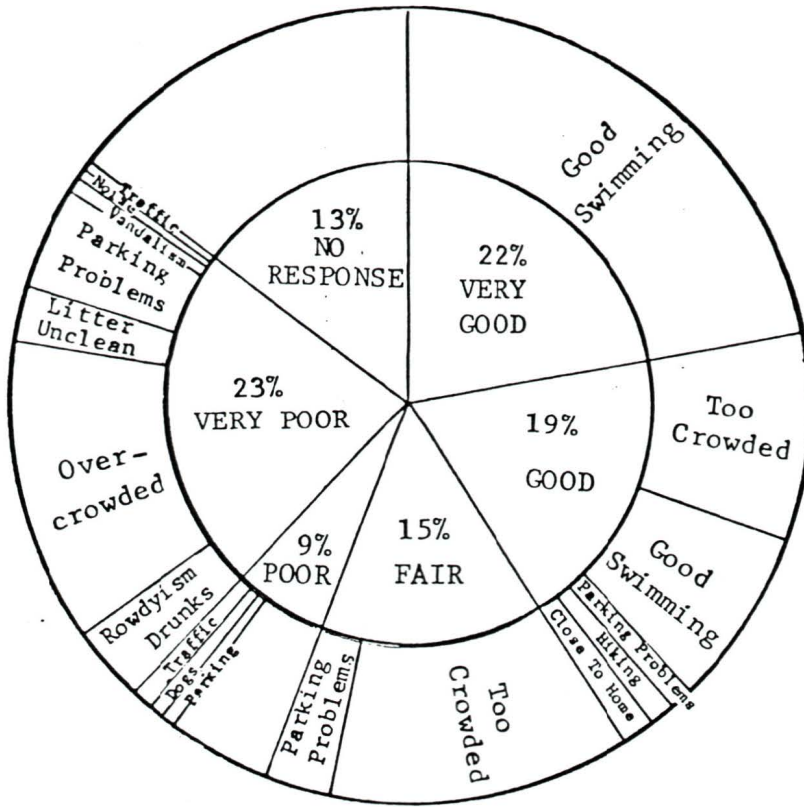


Figure 15b. Ratings of the Park on Public Holidays in Summer.

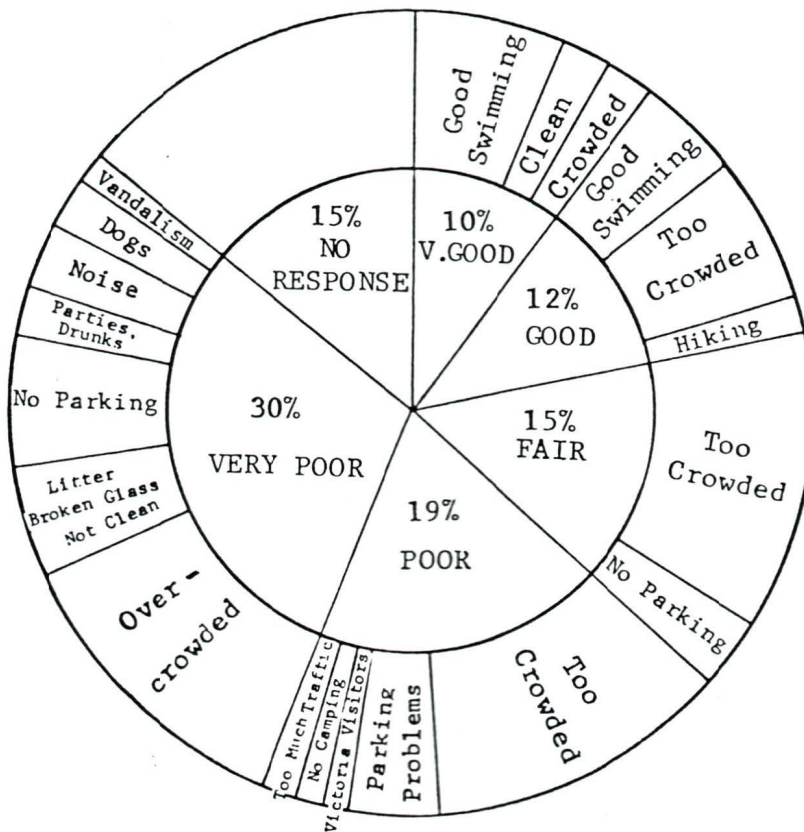


Figure 15c. Rating of the Park in the Shoulder Season.

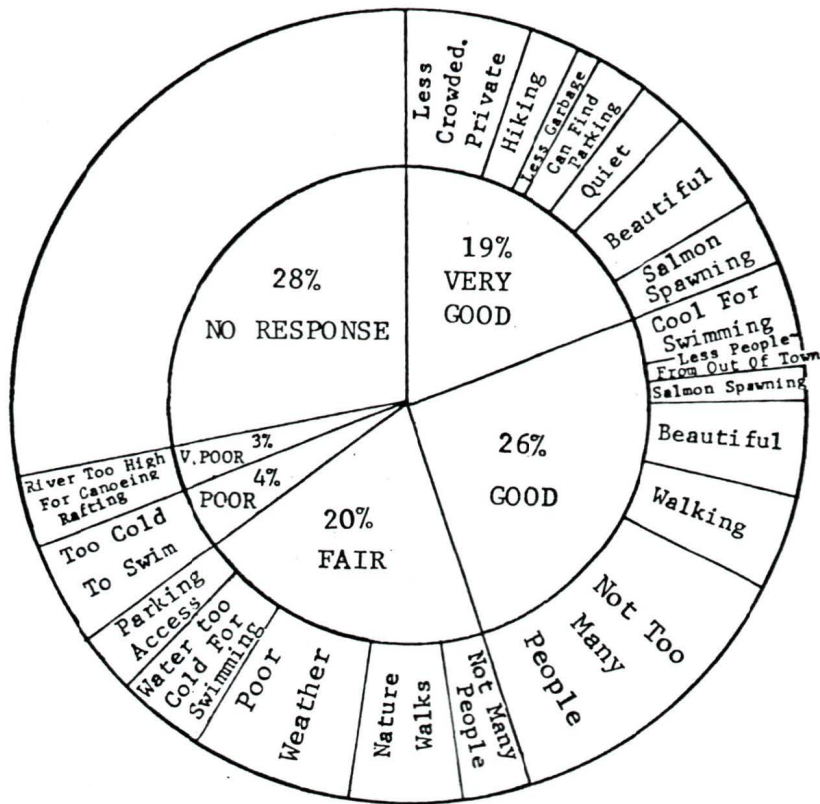


Figure 15d. Rating of the Park for Midweek in Summer.

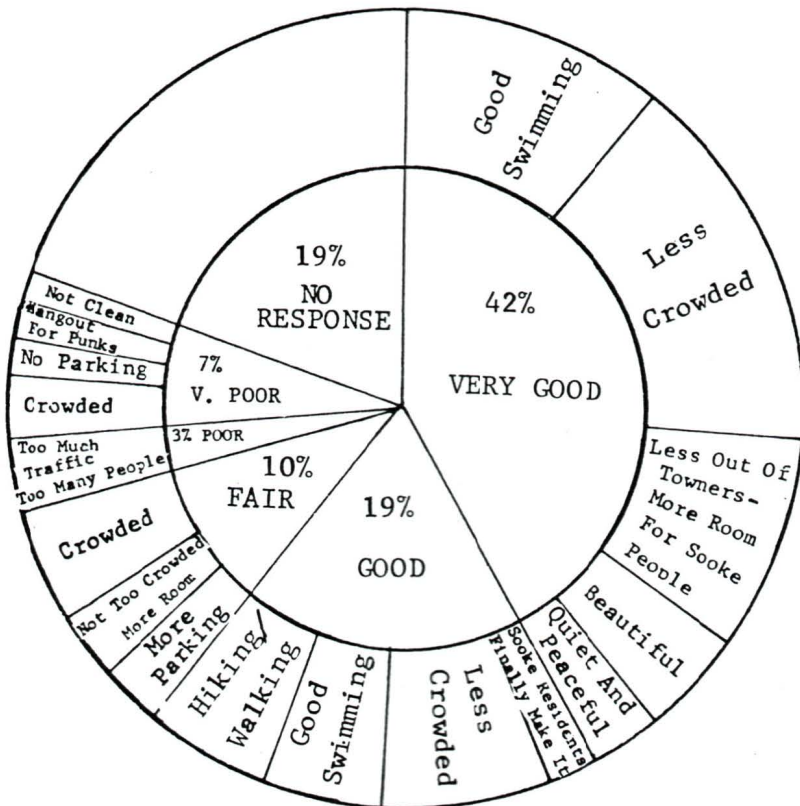
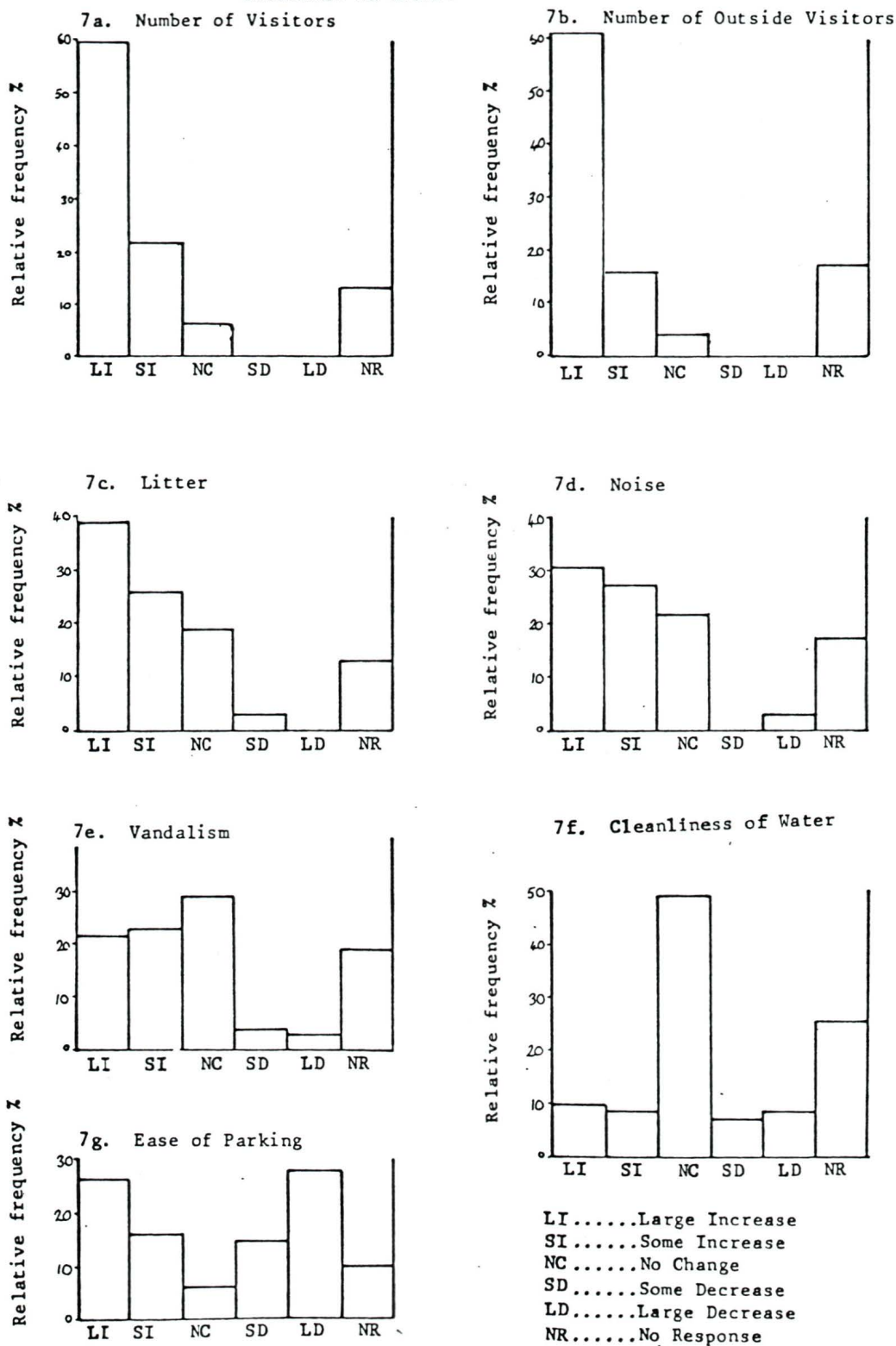


Figure 16. Some Reasons Given by Sooke Residents  
for Rating the Park Poorly

NOTE: As potential threats to enjoyment of the Potholes, which are attributable to certain user groups, these comments are both signs and sources of conflict

Relate to crowds and outside visitors	"Its horribly overcrowded." "Too many outsiders who do not care about garbage--they should help keep the park cleaner." "Crowded--less accessible to people of Sooke."
Relate to a certain type of crowd	"Too many 16-20 year olds not conducting themselves in a decent way for a public park where 8-12 year olds in abundance." "Rowdyism and bad language leave much to be desired." "Too well known to a certain element of the populace who regard them as a place to raise hell!" "It seems to attract aggressive crowds and undesirables." "A hangout for punks, hippies, drunken mobs, kids having parties." "The Victoria visitors bring too much beer in their coolers." "Too many nude bathers--should put signs up to prohibit this."
Relate to loss of privacy	"No longer private enough for nude bathing--I remember when we could bathe without intrusion." "Have to walk further to find a quiet space." "Lack of privacy."
Relate to parking and traffic	"Lack of parking, especially for local, who should have priority." "Traffic congestion in parking lot and on road--blocks private access."
Relate to safety	"Traffic on Sooke River Road--dangerous for children and restricts access for emergency vehicles." "Pools not safe for children." "No safe trails." "Broken glass in pools and on beaches dangerous." "Cliffs dangerous."
Relate to desportation of area	"Too much garbage--unsightly and attracts wasps." "Toilets unclean." "Water dirtier than it used to be."
Relate to increase in crime	"Vandalism--toilets and broken beer bottles." "Not enough policing to control drinking."

Figure 17. Response to Question 7 of Mail Questionnaire: Changes Noticed at the Potholes in Summer by Locals During their Time of Residence in Sooke.



years or more) being more likely to notice an increase. There was general agreement that the water quality had not changed (probably due to the fast flowing nature of the river), and general disagreement about parking, because the new parking lot makes more space but attracts more visitors.

#### Evidence for conflict from interest group interviews

People who live on the Potholes access road were more affected by the park than other residents. They experience increased traffic congestion on the road outside their homes in summer, and when the parking lot is full, visitors park on the road and may block access to private homes. Under these conditions people feel it is unsafe for children to go out on the road. In the evening gangs of noisy motorbikers often pass en route to parties at the park, and return later, drunk and rowdy. There have been several accidents on Sooke River Road involving park visitors, and residents are called upon to telephone police and emergency vehicles. Sooke police detachment confirmed this report. Some residents of Sooke River Road are lucky enough to have their own private bathing in the Sooke River downstream of the park. Before it became popular, they often bathed in summer, but now they bathe less because they are troubled by debris floating downstream from the park. Several residents of Sooke River Road still use the Potholes to swim however, because it is so convenient.

Sooke Police detachment have been involved with conflict at the park in various ways. They have been requested for increased traffic patrolling in summer, and there have been incidents of vandalism of signposts and washrooms at the park. Alcohol and drug control remain "an

ongoing problem." They have lead to accidents in the past. For example, one intoxicated visitor fell thirty feet from a cliff to his death. Several residents mentioned the dangers of broken glass left by overnight parties. In another incident a swimmer was seriously injured but emergency vehicles could not get through traffic congestion in time to save him. This event was reported in the media and several respondents to the mail questionnaire mentioned it. They felt the park should be closed unless it could be made safe.

#### 4.2.6b What is the Origin of the Conflict?

According to Jacob and Schreyer (1980) conflict would be present if one user group's goals were not being met because of interference attributed to another group. It was therefore necessary to find out what visitor goals were, whether they were being met, and if not, why not. Figure 18a) summarizes visitor goals and shows the main attraction for all visitors to be the suitability of the Potholes for swimming, followed by the scenery (most important for non-local and recent visitors), accessibility (for Sooke visitors) and the social life (also mainly Sooke visitors). The social side appeared to be very important for some residents, but one of them commented: "Sometimes I go out for fun . . . at these times I go to the Potholes with a bunch of people. At other times when I feel like going somewhere quiet, I don't go to the Potholes, I go to a wilderness area. Sooke is wall to wall wilderness." Goals such as peace and relaxation were relatively minor.

The diversity of park attractions in Figure 18a) is interesting for two reasons. Firstly, some goals appear to be contradictory. For example, some people came to party, others came for isolation. Evidently,

Figure 18a. Summary of Reasons Given for Visiting the Potholes and its Main Attractions.



1 See Figure 18b for details of categories.

## Figure 18b. Visitor Comments on Attractions of the Park

NOTE: Categories of comments correspond to those in Figure 18a.

1. Good for swimming. This includes all comments on fresh, clean, clear water, its refreshing quality and suitable temperature--warmer than the ocean, cooler than lakes. The beaches are nice and good for suntanning; the potholes and cliffs are good for diving and deep enough to be safe. There is no seaweed. There are rocks and cliffs for sitting and sunning. Rapids and pools for bathing. It's safe for children because it's shallow.
2. Natural setting, Scenery, Aesthetic related factors. This includes all mentions of desire to be in a natural setting; the river scenery, and exclamations of it's "Beautiful," "Pretty," "Gorgeous," etc. Also includes nature walks.
3. Close to home, accessible. This includes comments that the park is convenient, not too far from Victoria, "up the road" from home, etc.
4. Social factors. People come to the park to meet people, see different people, have fun, look for a good time, to get drunk, to party. They come for the girls/guys; because there are lots of people of the same age, and because it is a social hotspot.
5. Park clear and unpolluted. "There's no garbage and no glass."
6. No further explanation needed.
7. Not too many people. Includes comments such as "less crowded than Thetis, Elk and Beaver Lakes," "quiet compared to city beaches." "You can walk up the river to find less crowded areas." "There's no one here!"
8. No further explanation needed.
9. No further explanation needed.
10. Other. Includes hiking, interest in water flow and height, salmon spawning and steelhead fishing in fall. "Easy to find parking here."

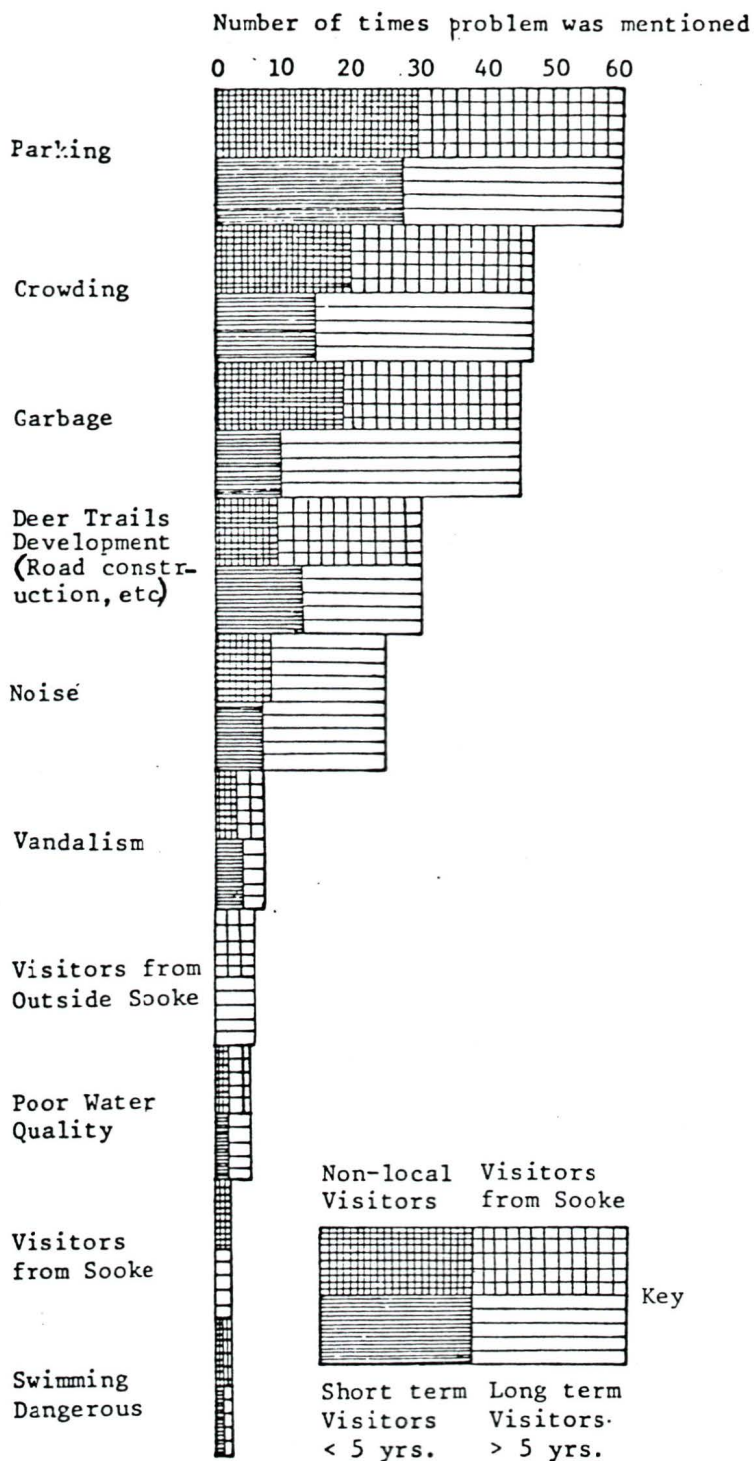
the park offers a range of opportunities because there are three separate swimming areas in it, and several others beyond the park. Secondly, some motivations are very general ("nice location") while others are more specific ("deep water for diving"). The more specific or focused is the goal of the visitor, the greater the likelihood that goal interference would result in conflict (Jacob and Schreyer, 1980, p. 375).

Figure 18b) gives visitors' comments on attractions of the park, primarily for comparison with the derogatory comments in Figure 16. A comparison between the two shows the enormous variation in response to the park, and it is a reminder that evaluation of changes in the environment is transient and dynamic as is the conflict that stems from them.

Several residents and park visitors felt the Potholes should be for everyone to share ("better than just a few privileged") and they felt no loss whatsoever had occurred.

Having established visitor goals, it is necessary to find out if they are being achieved. However, as Jacob and Schreyer (1980, p. 370) note, visitor satisfaction is not a reliable indication of goal achievement or conflict because all visitors said they were satisfied with the park. Several factors had decreased their enjoyment, however, and are summarized in Figure 19. They are, of course, the same kind of factors described by Sooke residents in Figure 14 as disadvantages of the park: parking, crowding, garbage and noise. The latter three were mentioned more often by local and long term visitors than others, probably because they could recall better conditions at the park. Comparison of Figure 19 with Figure 18a) suggests that certain factors interfere with certain goals.

Figure 19. Problems Encountered at the Park by Interview Sample



Parked cars and traffic could reduce aesthetic enjoyment and peace at the park, but would not interfere directly with enjoyment of swimming. Overcrowding could spoil the swimming and reduce aesthetic enjoyment, but could also enhance the social attraction of the park, especially if compatible parties mingled. Noise would interfere with peace and quiet desired by some visitors.

Having suggested that goal interference could occur in several ways at the park, it is necessary to find out if certain groups of people attributed goal interference to other groups, because this is a precondition for conflict as defined by Jacob and Schreyer. Conflict as dynamic social interaction involves more than one group of people. To say whether conflict is present therefore, it must be known which groups of people are involved. The conflict may be symmetrical, where the feeling of antagonism is mutual, or assymmetrical, where one group feels conflict resulting from a second group, but the reverse does not hold (Jacob and Schreyer, 1980, p. 370).

Several groups of people appeared to be potentially involved with conflict at the Potholes. These included various groups of park users (local and non-local, long term and short term, teenage groups and young families with children); Sooke residents who do and do not go to the park, especially residents on Sooke River Road; the Deer Trails Development, and the Parks Branch. Since many groups are potentially involved in the conflict it is complex and is likely to have many different elements. Some elements for which there was evidence were that local park visitors and residents blamed non-local people for various forms of goal interference at the park, while long term park users from the local area or elsewhere

felt that short term users were partly to blame for adverse changes there. Teenage party groups blamed outside visitors for invading the privacy of the Potholes, while Sooke residents and park visitors blamed the teenagers for rowdy behaviour. There was a mutual suspicion between teenage parties and young families at the park. Some people in all park visitor groups and some residents felt the Deer Trails development was to blame for spoiling the scenery and polluting the water.

Some parts of the conflict were not clearly resolved in the study. The role of Parks Branch in the conflict was not identified, perhaps because the research took place ten years after park formation. Neither residents nor park visitors showed any signs of antagonism towards the park agency, although they suggested a wide range of improvements for the park (see Figure 19). This is evidence that they feel Parks Branch could do more to solve problems at the park. If any hostility occurred between Sooke residents and the Parks Branch, it was probably earlier in the decade when the parking lot and other alterations were underway.

Perhaps the most important source of conflict at present, for park visitors and residents alike, is the \$50 million Deer Trails development on the Sooke River just above the park. The development is a large resort complex with 1,000 condominiums, a 130 unit recreational vehicle park, and a central lodge for conventions of up to 1,500 people. A mill is being built on the site to produce walls and other components of the condos.<sup>8</sup> It is estimated the work will be finished in 1986.

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<sup>8</sup> Times-Colonist, November 19, 1983.

It is not possible to quantify the opposition to this project expressed by some residents and many park visitors. Road construction for the project was well underway in the summer of 1983, and there were many complaints about the destruction of scenery, noise from rock blasting on weekdays, and decreased water quality, which was attributed to construction. The development is a major concern to Sooke River Road residents as the road is to be widened and some property will be lost. Conflict over increased crowding at the park, which has been a major issue in the past, is now overshadowed by the concern that the new development will irreversibly damage the Potholes for swimming and the Sooke River valley as a whole (see Figure 20).

#### 4.2.7. What is the Origin of the Conflict?

The origin of conflict may be discussed at two levels. Firstly, there are tangible causes of conflict such as crowding, garbage and noise, which can interfere with recreational goals and are attributable to other people's behaviour. These causes have been discussed under question 6. Secondly, there are conceptual causes of conflict such as those outlined by Jacob and Schreyer (1980). The following discussion examines conceptual causes of conflict at the Potholes by relating personal observations and interview data to some of the factors and propositions suggested by Jacob and Schreyer to underlie conflict in recreation. The most important factors behind conflict at the Potholes were considered to be Activity Style and Resource Specificity. Mode of Experience and Lifestyle Tolerance may also be part of the cause for conflict but to a lesser degree.

Figure 20. Letter to Times Colonist Concerning Deer Trails Development, 2nd December, 1983, p. A.4.

### Potholes despoiled

The once natural area of Sooke Potholes is soon to be ruined by roads, condominiums and a hotel. With this "development" will also come damage to the environment, garbage and sewage.

It is appalling that this magnificent river, which has been a source of enjoyment for generations of Victorians, is being ruined for the sake of jobs and monetary gain. This kind of beauty does not have a price tag.

Your article on the development showed only one side of the coin, the developer's. While the uproar over logging at Sombrio Beach was taking place, equally tragic desecration of our wil-

derness was going on just down the road, yet without public knowledge or approval. How has this been allowed to happen?

I doubt I am alone in believing this project is a big mistake. The best swimming on the lower island will soon be a thing of the past.

Ian Robertson,  
Victoria.

Activity Style - Intensity of participation: the activity as central life interest

Proposition 1: "The more intense the Activity Style, the greater the likelihood a social interaction with less intense participants will result in conflict." (Jacob and Schreyer, p. 371)

A wide variety of social groups go to the Potholes, and although recreation there involves a more or less standard set of behaviours, for each participant, the personal meaning of the activity may vary. Some people may be more personally involved in recreation at the Potholes than others. For example, for some user groups, particularly a large group of local teenagers, the Potholes appeared to be a focus of leisure, while for others it was just a regular or occasional recreation place. The teenage group had been going to the Potholes for some years and said that they went as often as they could in summer. Observations and interviews suggested that the social life and interpersonal relations of this group were closely tied to recreation at the Potholes. Because of this, the group could be said to be more intensely involved with recreation at the Potholes and to have a relatively intense Activity Style. Since intensity of Activity Style is "a matter of how important the activity is to the individual," it seems likely that the more intense the Activity Style, the more often an individual would participate in the activity. On the basis of frequency of visits and personal involvement with recreation at the Potholes, the teenage group could be said to have a more intense Activity Style than young families from Sooke, who were also regular but not as frequent visitors as the teenagers. The young family groups could be said to have a more intense Activity Style than occasional visitors from Victoria (on the scene basis of frequency of visits and personal involvement).

According to proposition 1, it was most likely that conflict would result from interaction of the intensely involved teenage group with other groups. Interviews suggested that the teenage group was more prone to conflict because they made a point of going outside the park away from the most crowded beaches. They were also very outspoken about crowding and garbage caused by visitors from outside, and about the Deer Trails development.

Interaction between teenagers and young families was minimized because each group preferred to use different swimming areas. Teenagers walk beyond the park to the largest Pothole, while young families tend to use the first two beaches by the parking lot (see Figure 3). Each group indicated that they prefer to be with their own kind and away from the other. This suggests an element of "intolerance for Lifestyle Diversity" is involved as well as differences in Activity Style. According to Jacob and Schreyer, if families and teenagers perceived differences between their own group and the other groups, and evaluated those differences as a potential threat to their respective recreation goals, then conflict would result. It is possible that teenage drinking and loud music could have reduced enjoyment for young families. Their disapproval may have threatened teenage social goals, so that interaction between these two groups would have resulted in conflict. However, this was often avoided because each group used different beaches, partly because of their different requirements; shallow water and small pools for children, cliffs and deep pools for teenage diving.

There were so many visitors from Victoria on weekends that they were spread out all over the park and contact with local groups was

unavoidable. Although this would suggest a high conflict potential, conflict was not really observed on beaches where local and non-local groups were mingled. It could perhaps be assumed that in this situation, the greatest conflict was not between groups on the beach, but between crowd intolerant residents, prospective visitors or actual visitors who had strayed away from the beaches and park. The avoidance of the park, or crowded areas of it by those who disliked crowds reduced the social contract necessary for conflict, and this is why conflict was not evident, despite the high potential.

Activity Style - Range of experience and definitions of quality

Proposition 5: The more specific the expectations of what constitutes a quality experience, the greater the potential for conflict." (Jacobs and Schreyer, p. 373)

Many local and long term visitors had been to the Potholes before the park opened, when there was no parking lot, washrooms or steps to the beaches. The Potholes were more enclosed, private and quiet than they are now. Visitors who had experienced them like this were likely to base their current evaluation of the Potholes on those prior unspoiled conditions. Conversely, more recent visitors would not have experienced the Potholes in this way. Their judgments would be based on a different reference plane. If local and long term visitors had developed more specific expectations of a quality experience at the Potholes from the past, then according to proposition 5, they would be more prone to conflict. There was evidence from interviews that many visitors could recall a more exclusive experience at the Potholes than present conditions allowed, and it is possible that their evaluations of a quality experience were based on this recollection. Evidence that some of these visitors were prone to

conflict is found in the fact that it was common for some small groups of local visitors, often teenagers, to hike beyond the park to isolated pools and waterfalls, where they could recapture the quality experience that crowds had disrupted downstream.

Rsource Specificity - Evaluations of resource quality

Proposition 6: "When a person who views the place's qualities as unequal confronts behaviour indicating a lower evaluation, conflict results." (Jacob and Schreyer, p. 374)

According to Fitch (1965), past experience heavily influences evaluation of a place's physical attributes. It seems likely that visitors to Sooke Potholes would have different evaluations of the place. Although Sooke residents appreciate having the Potholes so close to their community, some of them may have visited it so often, for convenience, that they have come to take it for granted. They "may tend to see its qualities as commonplace and no longer see its unique qualities" (Jacob and Schreyer, p. 374). Long term visitors from outside Sooke may also have visited so often that they take the park for granted. Other visitors, less familiar with the place, may see its unique qualities more clearly, and may be sensitive to behaviours indicating a lack of respect for the place. The large group of local teenagers were perhaps the most likely candidates for taking the Potholes for granted. Their drinking, loud music and sometimes rowdy behaviour may have indicated a lack of respect for the natural beauty and quiet of the park to other visitors from Sooke or elsewhere and this generated conflict. The mail questionnaires and interviews both indicated a lot of resentment towards the behaviour of the teenage group, because their behaviour was 'unlawful,' and a bad influence on young children. It also suggested a low evaluation of the

park's qualities and did not allow other visitors to appreciate the park in the way they found appropriate.

Resource Specificity - Feelings of possession

Proposition 7: "Conflict results with users with a possessive attitude towards the resource confront users perceived as disrupting traditional uses and behavioural norms." (Jacob and Schreyer, p. 374).

Possessiveness of Sooke Potholes by some of Sooke community was denoted in both interviews and mail questionnaires by comments such as "our park," "our potholes," and "our river." Some local residents, visitors, and long term visitors from outside Sooke had developed an affection and attachment to the Potholes, because it embodied memories and traditions for them. Perhaps this was why they continued to visit the Potholes every year, to see how it had changed, even though they may not have liked the changes. According to proposition 7, conflict would result when possessive visitors confronted others perceived as disrupting traditional uses and behavioural norms. There was some evidence that conflict was present because of this. Residents and local visitors often blamed outside visitors for leaving their park strewn with garbage, because local people felt 'outsiders' did not care enough about the park to clean up after themselves. Residents' feelings on this matter are associated with the idea that their park was being exploited by other people at their expense, which is related to the resource hinterland concept. Evidently there is an element of feeling amongst the local populace that this resource is exploited by people from the city to the detriment of Sooke community.

Proposition 7 may also be responsible for conflict at the Potholes because various user groups appeared to have different notions of what was considered a behavioural norm at the park. For the local teenage group, the Potholes are a traditional place for parties and behaviour associated with parties is an acceptable norm.

For other visitors, such behaviour is not an acceptable norm for the Potholes. Mail questionnaires suggested that family recreation was viewed as the traditional use by many Sooke residents, but this was not as common as it used to be, because of potential disruptions by teenage parties.

#### Resource Specificity - Status

Proposition 8: "Conflict occurs for high status users when they must interact with lower status users who symbolise a devaluation of a heretofore exclusive intimate relationship with the place." (Jacob and Schreyer, p. 374)

Jacob and Schreyer state that knowledge may be the basis for a status hierarchy amongst users of a recreation place. "High status is associated with knowing special opportunities, a place's 'secrets,' and its past" There was evidence that the upper part of such a status hierarchy (at least) existed at the Potholes, because there were often groups of local or long term visitors who knew of "special" recreation places above the park and around it. It was common to find groups walking straight through the park and into the surrounding area to places they knew would be relatively quiet and undisturbed. These people would probably have experienced conflict if they had to interact with other users because the latter would represent a loss of former privacy for the high

status users. The high status users avoided conflict, however, by going to quiet areas away from the park crowds.

#### Tolerance for Lifestyle Diversity

Proposition 10: "If group differences are evaluated as undesirable or a potential threat to recreation goals, conflict results when members of the two groups confront one another." (Jacob and Schreyer, p. 377)

Tolerance for Lifestyle Diversity may underlie conflict at the Potholes because some members of this rural community may resent the intrusion of urban visitors, and may be unwilling to share Sooke's resources with outsiders. Such residents perhaps see urban visitors as one aspect of the overall change in the rural character of Sooke, which they feel should be preserved. Sooke residents who wish the closeness of the community to be maintained may feel that the Potholes and community recreation as a whole, are one mechanism for keeping the community relatively close. Outside visitors to the Potholes would go against the desires and wishes of community members who see the Potholes as a community recreation place. There was some evidence that several respondents to the mail questionnaire did wish to preserve the closeness of Sooke community and resented non-local visitors to the Potholes because these "outsiders" meant it was "no longer a Sooke swimming spot."

#### 4.2.8. How Did Sooke Community Adapt to the Conflict?

There are several ways in which the community responded to the conflict, depending on individual recreational needs and tolerance to crowds. In particular they:

1. No longer participated in recreation at the Potholes.
2. Substituted other activities for swimming at the Potholes.
3. Substituted other places for the Potholes.
4. Only used the Potholes at times when they were not crowded.

People least tolerant of crowds with high standards for a quality experience have totally discarded the Potholes as a recreation area (14.5% of mail questionnaire sample). They never go to the Potholes now as they feel "it will never be as good as it once was"; that "the aesthetic values are gone forever," and that Sooke Community have lost "their recreation area" to outsiders. The crowd intolerant people have adopted new recreation activities in summer (substitution of activities), or they use other places for the same kind of activity (substitution of location) or both. Neither the survey nor the literature on substitution suggest activities which could wholly or partly replace satisfactions derived from freshwater river swimming in a natural setting.

A lack of substitute locations was also indicated by long term park visitors who regretted the loss of former privacy at the Potholes, but said there was no better swimming anywhere, and this was why they continued to come. For these people, the refreshing water quality and river scenery were specific sources of satisfaction difficult to find elsewhere. Where relative solitude was a more important goal, swimming in quiet lakes around Sooke replaced crowded river swimming. Where swimming was not a major goal, sunbathing and scenic walks at the Potholes could be replaced by similar activities on other beaches or trails in the district.

The alternative sites used by Sooke residents for swimming and other activities are shown in Figure 21. Other sites used by park

Figure 21. Response to Questions 8 and 9 of Mail Questionnaire: Potential and Actual Substitute Locations for Sooke Potholes Reported by Sooke Residents

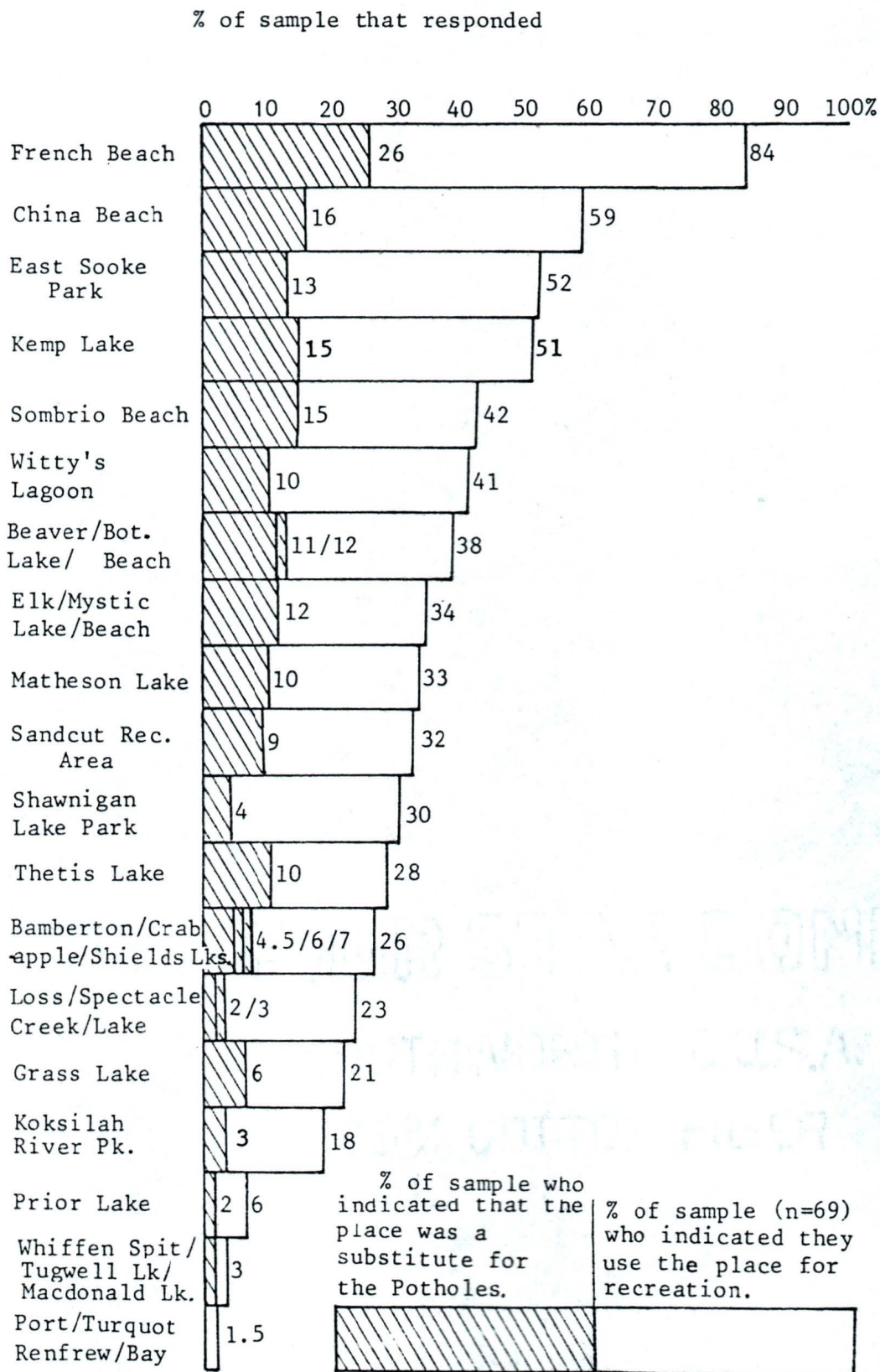
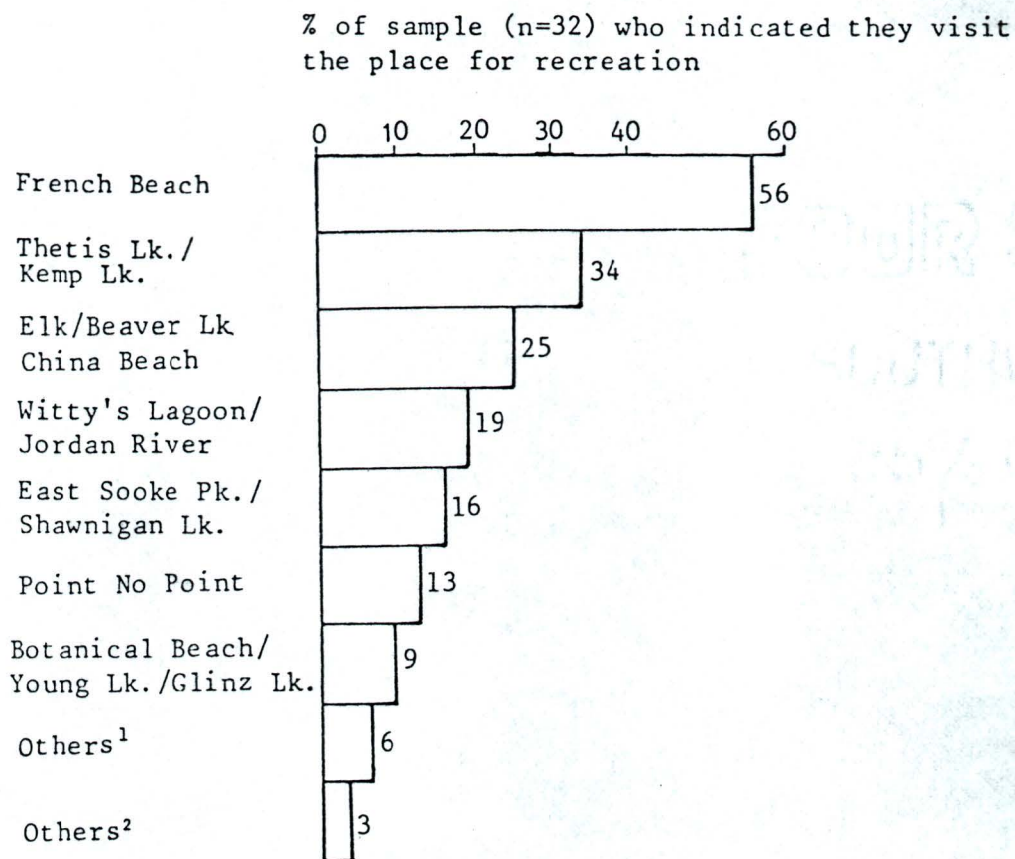


Figure 22. Potential Substitute Locations for the Potholes Reported by Local Park Visitors



Others<sup>1</sup> includes Butchart Lk., Goldstream Lk., Matheson Lk., Sombrio Beach, Shields Lk., Crabapple Lk., Whiffen Spit

Others<sup>2</sup> includes Boulder Lk., Barnicle Beach, Port Renfrew, Billings Spit, Gordon's Beach, Langford Lk., Bamberton Pk., Spectacle Lk., Mystic Beach, Sandcut Rec. Area

N.B. A total of 44% of local park visitors indicated that these places were a substitute for the potholes.

visitors from Sooke are given in Figure 22. Both figures show that many other recreation areas are used by local residents and visitors. However, neither the mail questionnaire nor interviews satisfactorily indicated exactly how many respondents used other places as a definite substitute ("second choice") for the Potholes. The level of substitution was difficult to assess, because crowding at the Potholes is only one of many reasons why people visit another place instead of the Potholes on a particular day. This is why Figures 21 and 22 distinguish between potential and actual levels of substitution. The latter refers to the percentage of respondents who confirmed that the Potholes would have been first choice, but for crowding. The actual level of substitution should be viewed very tenuously.

Alternative quiet locations for community swimming include Kemp and Shield Lakes, and several other small lakes around Sooke (see Figure 23 for locations). Witty's lagoon, East Sooke Park, Jordan River, Matheson and Shawnigan Lakes are not as quiet, but are also used for swimming. Alternative sites for other activities were the west coast beaches, especially French and China beach, Whiffin Spit, Sandcut Recreational Area, Point-no-Point and East Sooke Park. Thetis, Elk and Beaver Lakes are equally or more crowded for swimming than the Potholes but are used by Sooke residents who do not mind crowds or who desire a change of crowd.

Finally, some Sooke residents who dislike crowds still use the Potholes but go off season, midweek, early in the morning, or later in the evening to avoid crowds. If the Potholes are busy, some residents are prepared to walk upstream above the park to find a quiet spot.

Figure 23. Location of Alternative Recreation Areas to the Potholes

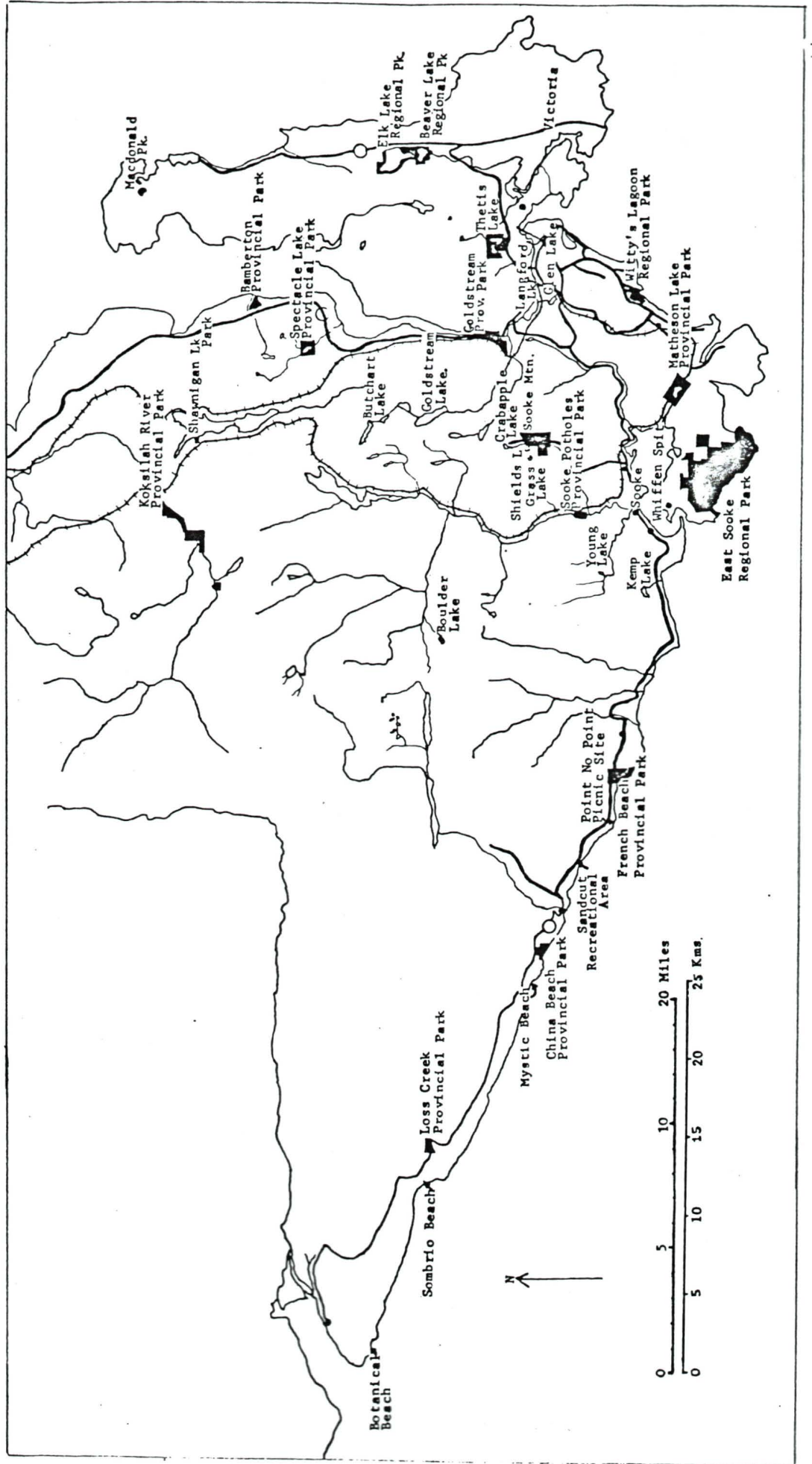


Figure 24. Response to Question 5 of Mail Questionnaire:  
Advantages of the Park at the Potholes

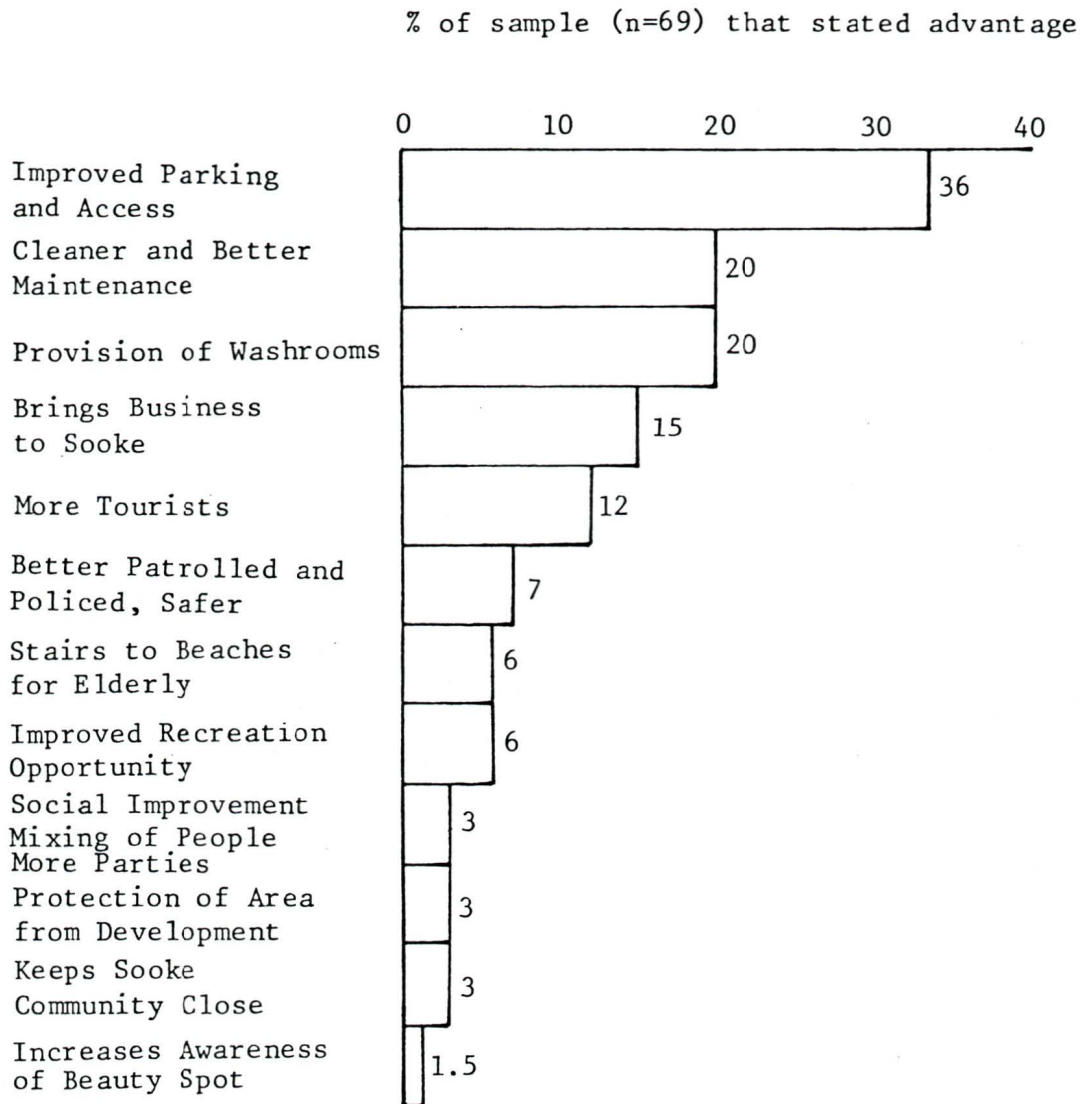
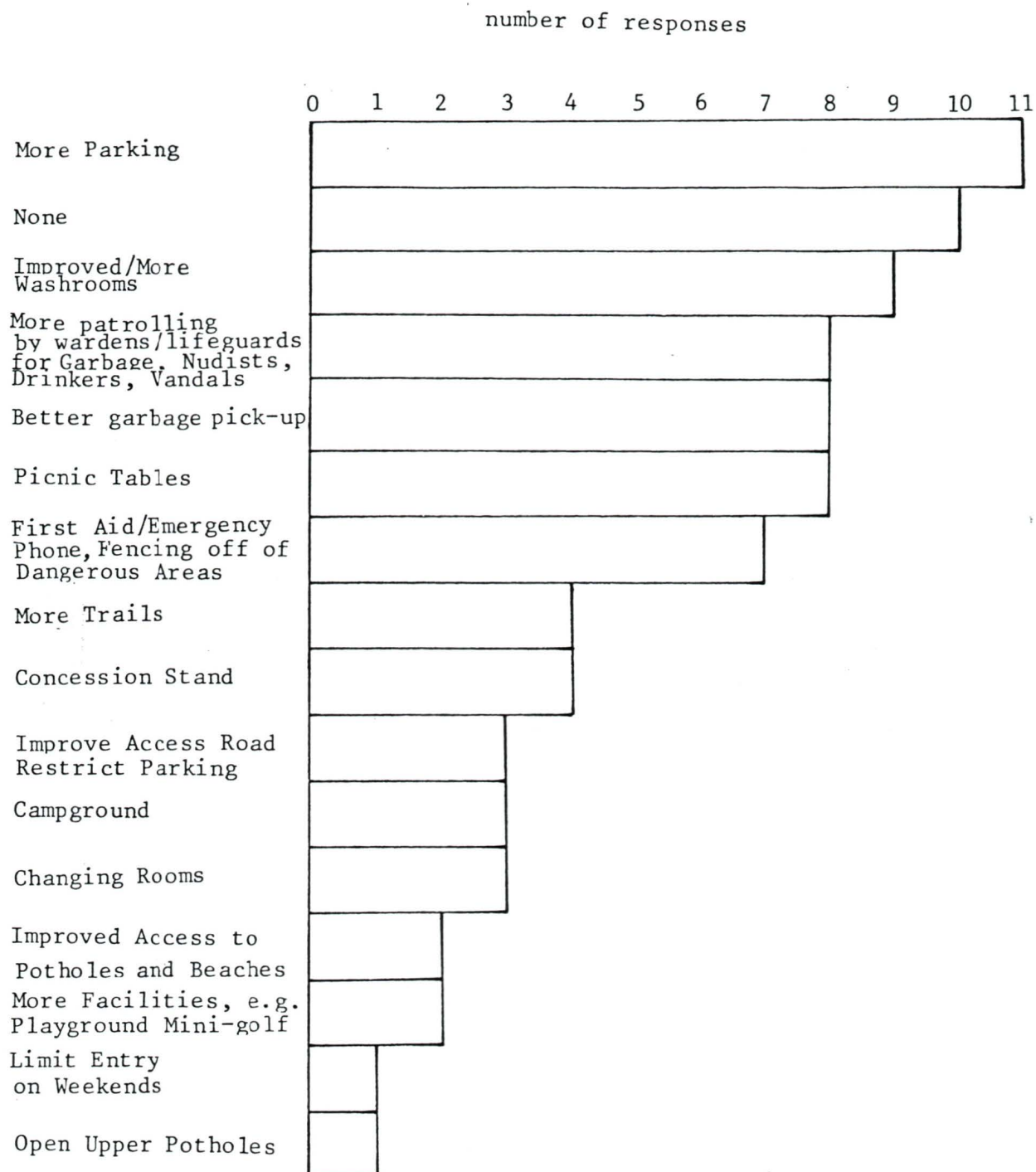


Figure 25. Response to Question 15 of Mail Questionnaire: What Facilities, if any, Would you Like to See Added to the Potholes?



#### 4.2.9. Do Sooke Residents Feel to Have Accrued any Benefits From Park Designation?

Half of the mail questionnaire sample felt the park had at least some advantages, which was twice as many as felt it had disadvantages (see p. 30). The advantages are shown in figure 24. Despite the many complaints by residents and local park visitors, many people appreciated that facilities brought by the park, such as the parking lot, washrooms and stairs to beaches, had made the potholes accessible to a wider range of people, from the local area and further afield. It was also recognized that the park had improved local business and widened social opportunities. However, the general feeling from mail questionnaires and interviews was that at peak use times the advantages of the park were outweighed by the disadvantages, because management and control of the park at these times was not adequate. Figure 25 shows that residents feel there are many things the Parks Branch could do to improve and enhance the park for visitors, particularly in summer.

#### 4.3. SUMMARY OF RESULTS

Park formation at Sooke Potholes was followed by a sharp increase in visitation rates, mainly by people from outside Sooke. The park became more crowded, dirty and noisy, particularly on summer weekends. Some of the local community resented this intrusion because they had always known the potholes as a relatively quiet and unspoiled place for Sooke community recreation. Antagonism felt by residents was directed towards outsiders but was also interwoven with resentment of local teenage groups who use the park for parties in summer. Many Sooke residents are now

aware of crowded conditions at the Potholes and only go when it is quiet or they find other places to go.

Most residents recognise the social and economic benefits of the park. They see changes there as part of other inevitable changes occurring in the community as a whole, such as the growth of Sooke, its increasing role as a dormitory town for Victoria, and as a tourist destination. In general, the advantages of the park at the Potholes are recognised by Sooke community. However, they feel that in summer, when the Potholes are most in demand for swimming, the advantages are outweighed by the disadvantage of increased crowding. The community is very aware of conflict at the park and many recall particular incidents of conflict, involving themselves or other members of the community. However, conflict over crowding is now overshadowed by concern that the Deer Trail development above the Pothole threatens at least, the swimming resource, and at most the whole existence of the park.

## CHAPTER 5

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This chapter is divided into two main parts. The first discusses the results of the case study in relation to the literature. The second part discusses implications of the study and directions for future research.

## 5.1. THE STUDY IN RELATION TO THE LITERATURE

The results of the case study have many similarities to O'Leary's study of North Cascades National Park, Washington (O'Leary, 1976). The main similarity lies in the type of resource alienation which resulted from park establishment in each case; namely, the disruption of community leisure space and a subsequent shift in the community's recreation pattern. Many details of impacts noted by O'Leary were replicated in the study at Sooke. For example, leisure was important to rural residents in both cases as a mechanism for community interaction and socialising. Possessiveness of places where communities had traditionally enjoyed "unencumbered recreational use," was denoted by comments such as "our backyard," in North Cascades park, and "our park," "our potholes" at Sooke. In both studies, loss of community leisure space was complemented by a feeling of inevitability. Some residents of both communities felt they should have priority in recreation areas newly designated as parkland. Communications between residents and park agencies left much to be desired in both cases, and the respective park agencies did not alleviate the problems that were occurring. The irony common to both case

studies and to others of the same type, is that park formation, intended to improve recreation opportunities, did so for one group of people at the expense of another.

The results of the present study do not at first appear to have much else in common with other social impact studies of national parks in Canada and elsewhere. The inconvenience of crowds at Sooke Community's favourite swimming hole is not, after all, as striking or severe an impact as the expropriation of people from parks, or the bulldozing and burning of their homes. However, a comparison of impacts at Sooke Potholes with those of other parks, shows they have certain elements in common. In most cases, park formation adversely affects certain resource use activities by local residents. At Sooke this was recreation, of course, while in other locations, hunting, fishing and grazing were affected, to name a few. The latter activities are more closely linked to the economy of rural areas than recreation, but all activities are resource based. Because resource use is closely integrated with the lifestyle in rural areas the impact of the park on resource use activities disrupts a particular aspect of community life. This can affect some groups of residents more than others who are more able to adjust to new conditions. The results of the study at Sooke and other similar studies suggest that the effects of park establishment on local populations commonly involves attachment of people to place and sentimental values which the community place on certain activities, areas and traditions in resource use. There is often a feeling that the park takes resources away from local people in favour of a more distant population. These factors are some of the more intangible aspects of resource alienation which is the theme that

the present study has in common with others of its type. Resource alienation took a different form at Sooke Potholes and North Cascades parks from that found in other studies. But it was nevertheless important at Sooke as it was in the other case studies, because it is the basis for conflict over the park proposal and/or impacts. This is why resource alienation is a key phenomenon in understanding local residents' reaction to parks.

The occurrence of conflict at Sooke Potholes also links this study to others of the same type. Conflict occurs either as opposition to the park proposal, because residents anticipate and evaluate the changes the park will bring, and feel they are not adequately consulted by the park agency; or conflict occurs after park formation, in response to adverse impacts because they were not prevented or reduced by appropriate management.

The "not in my backyard" syndrome is a symptom of conflict which often occurs in park establishment. This syndrome seems to have arisen in public response to many kinds of developments, from nuclear power plants, to airports and neighbourhood "pubs." Evidently the same syndrome is now affecting the location of parks, mainly at the national level. There is even some evidence of it occurring at provincial park level at Sooke Potholes, since residents near the park were opposed to traffic congestion and crowds outside their homes.

Jacob and Schreyer (1980) have made an important contribution to understanding the origins of some of the conflicts that can arise from park establishment. The factors and propositions they suggest are behind conflict in recreation were found to be extremely useful in understanding

the conflict at Sooke Potholes. Three out of four factors were found to be present at the Potholes, and there was some empirical support for six out of ten propositions. As Jacob and Schreyer suggest, "to the extent that empirical research supports the(se) factors (and propositions) as causes of conflict," they could be used to "identify the conflict potential of various recreation resource clientele, as a valuable input to recreation planning" (p. 377). The problem with assessment of conflict potential using the factors and propositions suggested by Jacob and Schreyer, is that this could only be done where the characteristics of the recreation clientele in terms of the four factors, are known. In parks, user characteristics are not always known. A park user survey based on the four factors behind conflict, would have to be done before conflict potential could be assessed. Hopefully, such a survey could be done while conflict could still be prevented. Once information on user characteristics has been obtained, and conflict potential in terms of this information assessed, then appropriate management plans could be made. If conflict potential is high, certain steps could be taken to reduce opportunities for social interaction between the user groups involved, to minimise conflict between them. Management practices for reduction of conflict in parks are discussed briefly in the next section of this chapter.

Some of the physical impacts of the park at Sooke Potholes are comparable to impacts of tourism in national parks (e.g., Keogh, 1982), and in major tourist destinations (e.g., Murphy, 1981; Rothman, 1978; Pizam, 1978). The slightly negative overall attitude to visitors at the Potholes was consistent with the negative attitude to tourists found by

Pizam (1978). Resident attitudes to visitors at Sooke were affected by economic dependency on tourists, as Rothman (1978) found, since the owner of the store near the Potholes was very positively disposed towards park visitors. Some Sooke residents' attitudes towards changes at the Potholes were affected by their length of residence, as Keogh (1982) found in his study of tourism in Shediac, New Brunswick. However, long term residents in Shediac had positive attitudes towards tourism, because it is long established, whereas at Sooke, long term residents tended to have negative attitudes, perhaps because tourists are relatively recent. This suggests that communities go through several stages in accepting tourists (Doxey, 1975) and that Sooke community is still in a relatively early stage in its reaction to tourism.

The social and economic benefits of the park noted by Sooke residents were akin to the benefits of tourism found by Keogh (1982), Rothman (1978) and Pizam (1978). The suggestion that the park was better kept when visitation rates rose was consistent with findings of Murphy (1981). Sooke residents' recognition of both benefits and costs of increased visitation rates to the park was also consistent with the 'two-edged sword' of tourism noted by Murphy (1981), Rothman (1978), Pizam (1978) and Keogh (1982).

Although the study at Sooke did not measure residents' attitudes towards the park, there is evidence that different attitudes to increased visitation rates were present, and that these were akin to those described by Butler (1974) (see Figure 7). For example, local complaints about the park and vandalism may have constituted a negative-active reaction to crowding on the part of some Sooke residents. A negative-passive

reaction may have been represented by those residents who chose to visit the park only when it was quiet, or who stayed away altogether. Residents with a positive-active reaction to changes at the Potholes were those who went there more often after visitation rates rose, while a positive-passive reaction might be represented by residents who felt favourably towards the park, but did not visit it more often because of this.

Sooke residents' attitudes towards visitors from Victoria may also be represented by Russwurm's description of how rural people typically view "urbanites." The latter "are criticized for viewing the countryside as a place to unload their psychological pains and physical needs without looking after it." This is the "beer bottle and garbage on the road syndrome" (Russwurm, 1968), which was evident at the park, in that local people blamed outsiders for leaving garbage, while residents felt they always cleared up after themselves and took care of their park in this respect.

There were several major differences between the results of the case study and related studies. Firstly, the antagonistic feelings of residents at Sooke about overcrowding, were not directed at the park agency as they were in other studies (e.g., O'Leary, 1976; Roder, 1978; Olwig and Olwig, 1979; Overton, 1979; Thomas, 1981). This may have been because the study was conducted so long after park establishment. If resentment at Sooke ever was directed at the Parks Branch, by the time the study was conducted, the direction of resentment was mostly towards outside visitors to the park, and was inextricably bound up with antagonism towards rowdy teenagers and conflict over the Deer Trails

development. The conflict at Sooke was not a simple one involving two or three groups, but it involved many groups, and scapegoating; "the process whereby feelings of personal frustration or failure are projected onto another, thus displacing the locus of responsibility" (Jacob and Schreyer, 1976, p. 369; Allport, 1958). By the time crowding and associated conflict was prevalent, park establishment was not really viewed as the cause of the problem. It is the lack of control and maintenance by the park authority during periods of peak use after park formation that is blamed for the conflict.

Another important difference between the case study and studies of national parks is that impacts in the latter are often the result of a more restrictive, preservation oriented policy, and clearly defined limitations on resource based activities, than exists in provincial parks. The impacts at the Potholes are not enforced, but the inadvertent result of the park's location near a major urban area.

## 5.2. IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

One implication of the case study results is that the same kinds of social impacts as those found at Sooke could arise in other rural areas which are given park status for use by adjacent urban populations. The notion that the adverse effects of the park at Sooke could recur in similar settings elsewhere is supported by the concept of the urban recreational hinterland. This concept sees the city as a center of recreational demand with an area immediately surrounding it as the "play-ground" or as recreational hinterland for its inhabitants (Mercer, 1977). The hinterland is an aggregation of individual hinterlands for different activities, and for day trips, weekend and vacation trips. It is also inextricably interwoven with weekend and social recreational traffic flows around the city. If every city has one of these conceptual hinterlands then recreation resources accessible to a city are part of its hinterland. If these resources are given park status, they are likely to be inundated with urban visitors at times of peak demand. If rural communities nearby have previously used the newly designated park area for recreation, they would be likely to experience the same kinds of impacts as those found at Sooke. Rural residents may feel resentful of adverse impacts, especially if they were hardly consulted about the park beforehand, and if they feel park planners are urban oriented. The recreational hinterland concept is important when considering parks around cities, because it implies that parks within daytrip or weekend driving distance from cities, could have significant social impacts for rural residents nearby.

Another implication of the study is that parks in rural areas which are heavily used by urban based people, may be viewed as a city's recreational hinterland in another sense. Instead of being a mere "playground" for the city, a recreational hinterland can be seen as a more exploitive phenomenon akin to a resource hinterland. The traditional idea of resource hinterlands in economic geography, as areas from which cities draw raw materials and in which goods are distributed, is now outmoded by modern economic organization. However, "in terms of outdoor recreation . . . the classical hinterland concept would appear to draw new life and status" (Woolmington and Hart, 1977). It has been applied to parks in rural settings to describe how they are exploited by consumers from urban metropoli (e.g., Overton, 1979). Thus recreational hinterlands and parks within them may be seen from a purely functional viewpoint, as areas catering for recreational demand in cities, or as a more exploitive phenomenon, related to resource hinterlands and neo-colonialism. The significance of the recreational hinterland concept is twofold. Firstly, agencies responsible for parks and recreation planning around cities should be aware of the concept as a potential guide for planning park systems. Much research still needs to be done, however, on the dimensions of recreational hinterlands and about the configurations of recreational elements within them (Woolmington and Hart, 1977). It would also be useful to make a study of how the recreational hinterland concept could be integrated into parks and recreation planning around cities. Secondly, park agencies should recognise that recreational and resource hinterlands can have negative connotations for rural communities within them. If rural residents near or within a prospective

park area adopt the view that the park could mean exploitation of their local area by city dwellers this would provoke their resentment of the park and its visitors.

The case study shows that a provincial park in the recreational hinterland of a city can have the same kinds of social impacts as national parks, and tourism in rural communities. There are two questions concerning these impacts which should be answered:

1. What steps can be taken to mitigate against negative reactions?
2. How can adverse social impacts be minimized?

1. One step which could be taken to reduce negative reactions to parks would be to increase understanding of why such reactions occur. The present study has attempted to increase awareness of resource alienation as an important factor in the "not in my backyard syndrome" in park formation. Once a good understanding of negative reactions to parks has been procured, there are two steps which could be taken to reduce such reactions. On the one hand it could be made mandatory for park agencies to confer with local residents throughout the park planning process and after park establishment. Perhaps some of the problems at Sooke could have been avoided if more control on parking and litter had been enforced as visitation rates rose.

The park agency could develop suitable public participation methods to involve residents in planning and management. But how much say should local residents have in the establishment and development of parks around their home area? This is one question which remains to be answered, and it relates to issue of privatisation in public parks, and to the overall role of the park in question.

The development of public participation programmes for park established at the provincial level is likely to be a more acceptable procedure for park agencies than the alternative of social feasibility studies in prospective park areas. These would be expensive and time consuming, and at any rate, there are no methods for conducting social feasibility studies of parks yet. This might be done by adopting methods of social impact assessment for other developments and applying them to parks. At present, predictive social impact assessment for parks is still a long way off, however, because the relevant variables for consideration are still not known (O'Leary, 1976, p. 264). Even if viable social impact assessment procedures could be developed for parks, there remains the problem of weighing social values against economic and ecological impacts.

2. Adverse social impacts include overcrowding and conflict. To minimise these impacts managers could either take steps to reduce overcrowding, or accept some degree of overcrowding and attempt to reduce conflict. It would be difficult and probably not acceptable to limit use at provincial and regional parks around cities to any level below relatively high capacity, because the demand for these parks is high. But overuse leads to physical deterioration of the site and a decrease in user satisfaction (Echelberger, 1974). On this basis some limitation on use levels would appear to be justified. If use is to be limited, it must be known what degree of crowding is acceptable, and how this level of use is determined. This is the problem of "how many is too many?" (Willard, 1971) which is addressed by the literature on carrying capacities of outdoor recreation resources. Carrying capacity is defined as

"the characteristic of use that can be supported over a specific time by an area developed at a certain level without causing excess damage to either the physical environment or the experience for visitors" (Lime and Stankey, 1971). The criteria used to decide upon an acceptable use level may be biological, physical or social, and they should be based upon specific management goals and standards. At Sooke Potholes, the present criterion for limiting park use is the physical capacity of the parking lot. However, the parking lot was often perceived as crowded when the park was not, because the linear nature of the park tends to disperse visitors. This suggests that definition of the park's carrying capacity based on the physical limit parking space is not satisfactory because this limit is less than the social carrying capacity. In such a case the park will either be underused because parking limits visitation rates, or parking will be inadequate when the full social carrying capacity of the park is reached. Use levels at the Potholes were effectively limited by parking space since many visitors and residents complained about the lack of parking. However, the limit on use set by parking space was very elastic in summer when demand was high because people found parking all along the park access road. Expansion of the parking lot would increase its physical capacity to a level closer to the social capacity of the park and reduce conflict associated with lack of parking.

Physical deterioration of a recreation site is another criterion on which park use levels may be determined. If this criterion is used to limit park use, managers would have to decide how much physical impact is acceptable, and the maximum number of visitors who could use the site without causing excess damage.

In theory, use levels at Sooke Potholes park and others in similar settings may also be limited on the basis of social carrying capacity. In this case, overuse would be indicated by a decrease in user satisfaction as use levels rise. In practical terms, however, it would be difficult to set a limit on use based on the level of crowding at which visitor satisfaction decreases because this level varies between different user groups. It was evident from interviews that perception of crowding varies and that for many people social interaction is an important part of the recreation experience.

A limitation on park use suggests that a system of allocating use would also be needed. There are several such systems but the most appropriate system for the Potholes and similar parks would be to allocate use on a "first come, first served" basis.

There are various ways in which conflict in park settings may be reduced. These include site management and visitor management. Site management methods which could be considered at Sooke and other parks with similar problems include the regulation of litter through fines, "carry out what you carry in" campaigns (Echelberger, 1974) more garbage cans and more frequent garbage pickups. In larger parks where conflict occurs because of heavy use in certain areas, conflict may be reduced by bringing about a more even or dispersed pattern of use. This may be done by providing a diverse range of opportunities and attractions in different parts of the park and developing trail networks between them which will disperse visitors. The problem is that this method and others (e.g., zoning) for reducing conflict in larger parks are often not appropriate for small day-use parks such as the Potholes. In these parks

perhaps the best way of redistributing visitors is to create new recreation sites in alternative areas to take the pressure off overused sites. It is possible, however, that in high demand areas, crowding may become a chain reaction, with new recreation areas becoming more crowded in turn, and increasing the pressure for still more parks in urban fringe areas where competition for land is high. Much research still needs to be done on substitution and interchangeability of recreation places (e.g., Field, 1971) as this would be a valuable input into planning park systems, especially where the demand is high around large cities. Ideally, once the type and level of recreational demand is known, a range of parks could be provided which are total or partial substitutes for one another in terms of opportunities they provide.

### 5.3. WEAKNESSES OF THE STUDY

The study could have been improved in the following ways:

1. A larger mail questionnaire sample would have produced more replies and improved the scope for a more detailed data analysis. For example, a larger sample would have allowed the researcher to find out how far Sooke residents frequency of use of the park, and their socio-economic characteristics affected their responses to the questionnaire. Thus the study might have provided more detailed information on which groups of residents were most affected by the increase in visitors to the park, and on how and why these residents were affected. If there were more replies to the mail questionnaire there would also have been less need, (or none at all), to collapse categories of responses to produce

valid crosstabulations, and a more detailed analysis of the data could have been made.

2. The interviews could have been better pretested. This would have allowed the researcher to find out the types of questions which are most successful in securing information on visitor satisfaction and substitution levels. Questions on visitor attitudes towards the park could also have been improved considerably, and questions designed to assess the degree of conflict at the park and reasons for this.

3. In general, the interviews could have been much more rigorous, if pretesting had been improved. The sampling design could have been improved by carrying out interviews on weekdays at the park, which would have allowed an assessment of the conflict in relation to the overall crowding issue in summer.

4. The study should have taken greater account of the relationship between conflict and attitudes. A scale designed to measure attitudes towards the park could have been devised for both the mail questionnaire and the interview surveys.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The study has shown that a provincial park within reach of a large urban area can have significant negative social impacts for the local population, involving resource alienation, conflict and the "not

in my backyard syndrome." Parks may be viewed as part of a city's recreational hinterland or as a resource hinterland if they become overcrowded and abused by urban people. The recreational hinterland concept is an important guide to planning parks around cities, and park agencies should also be aware of the resource hinterland perspective on parks because it generates opposition and conflict. National parks in Canada now consider the views of local residents in prospective park areas as an important input into park planning, because some bad experiences involving local residents in Atlantic Canada demonstrated that residents' views are not to be overlooked. Management of provincial parks near cities could be improved by increasing interaction between the park agency and local residents and by taking steps to reduce conflict and adverse physical impacts. Overcrowding of provincial parks near cities suggests that if the park system is managed for peak use, more parks are needed.

The planning and expansion of park systems around cities should be based on careful evaluation of the potential benefits and costs of the prospective park in social, physical and economic terms.

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APPENDIX

Sooke Potholes Park Visitor Survey.

Date \_\_\_\_\_ Questionnaire Number \_\_\_\_\_  
 Day \_\_\_\_\_ Weather \_\_\_\_\_  
 Crowding Conditions: Car Park: \_\_\_\_\_ This beach: \_\_\_\_\_ Area \_\_\_\_\_

1. Have you been to this park before? YES ( )  
 NO ( )

2. Where are you from? (permanent residence)

Sooke District: (includes Sooke, North and East Sooke, Milnes Landing,  
 Saseenos, Otter Point.) \_\_\_\_\_ ( )

Other Western Communities (say which) \_\_\_\_\_ ( )

Victoria \_\_\_\_\_ ( )

Elsewhere on Island \_\_\_\_\_ ( )

Off Island \_\_\_\_\_ ( )

3. If from Sooke, how long have you lived here? \_\_\_\_\_ Years.

4. If from Victoria, how did you come to know about this place?

IF FROM OFF ISLAND AND ON FIRST VISIT, DISCONTINUE QUESTIONNAIRE.

5. How often do you come here in the summer?

Once a week or more ( )

Once every two weeks ( )

About once a month ( )

3-5 times altogether ( )

Once or twice altogether ( )

6. How long have you been coming here?

This year only ( )

Last 2 years ( )

Last 3-5 years ( )

Last 6-10 years ( )

Last 11-20 years ( )

Over 20 years ( )

6b. If over ten years, how do the potholes compare now with how they used to be?

7. Why do you come to this park? (ie. Sooke Potholes in particular?)

8. What do you like about it? (Main attractions?)

For example:

Natural Setting	Meet people and socialise
Good for swimming/sunbathing	Its pretty
Been here before and enjoyed it	Good for children
Easy to get to	To party
Fresh water	Other(specify)
Clean water	

9. Has your enjoyment of the park ever been affected by any of the following?

	Yes-most of the time (over 50%)	Yes-often (half the time)	Sometimes (less than half the time)	Occasionally	NO
Parking Problems					
Crowding					
Noise (Radios, shouting etc.)					
Poor water quality					
Litter					
Vandalism					
People here from Sooke					
People here from outside Sooke.					
Other problems (specify)					

10. Do you ever go to other places for this kind of recreation?  
 ie. Day trips for swimming, sunbathing walks and picnics? YES( )  
 NO( )

If so, which places? (CHECK)

- |                                  |                                 |                         |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| French Beach _____               | East Sooke Pk. _____            | Elk Lake _____          |
| China Beach _____                | Matheson Lake _____             | Beaver Lake _____       |
| Sombrio Beach _____              | Sooke Mountain Pk. _____        | Thetis Lake _____       |
| Botanical Beach _____            | Goldstream Pk. _____            | Willows Beach _____     |
| Devonian Beach _____             | Witty's Lagoon _____            | Cadboro Bay _____       |
| Mystic Beach Rec. Area. _____    | Spectacle Lake Pk. _____        | Cordova Bay _____       |
| Sandcut Rec. Area _____          | Kiksilah River Pk. _____        | Island View Beach _____ |
| Point no Point Picnic Site _____ | Shawnigan Lk. Prov. Pk. _____   | Gonzales Beach _____    |
| Jordan River _____               | Shawnigan Creek Rec. Site _____ | Dallas Road Beach _____ |
|                                  | Bamberton Prov. Pk. _____       |                         |
|                                  | Loss Creek Prov. Pk. _____      |                         |

- |                      |                          |                |
|----------------------|--------------------------|----------------|
| Shields Lake _____   | Jack Lake _____          | Other(specify) |
| Kemp Lake _____      | Mavis Lake _____         |                |
| Grass Lake _____     | Goldstream Lake _____    |                |
| Young Lake _____     | Lubbe Lake _____         |                |
| Peden Lake _____     | Butchart Lake _____      |                |
| Tugwell Lake _____   | Council Lake _____       |                |
| Crabapple Lake _____ | Devereux Lake _____      |                |
| Glinz Lake _____     | Wrigglesworth Lake _____ |                |
| Old Wolf Lake _____  |                          |                |

11. Do you go to these other places because of problems you have had here  
 or irrespective of conditions at the Potholes?

12. How do(es) the(se) other place(s) compare with the Potholes in terms  
 of the problems we've mentioned?

Other Place	Crowds	Parking	Litter	Noise	Water Quality	People	Other

13. Overall; are you satisfied with this park?

Very Satisfied	Satisfied	neutral	Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied

14. Here are some statements which have been made about the Potholes.

Could you please indicate whether you agree or disagree with them?

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't Know.
There are more people at the potholes since they became a Provincial Park.						
Many of the people here now come from outside Sooke						
Visitors from outside Sooke have reduced recreation opportunities for Sooke residents.						
Sooke residents enjoy the Potholes less today because of visitors here from outside Sooke.						
Sooke Residents now go more often to other areas for recreation.						
The Potholes are traditionally a recreation area for Sooke residents.						

15. Party Type: Who did you come with today?

16. Party Size

- One person only \_\_\_\_\_
- Family \_\_\_\_\_
- Friends \_\_\_\_\_
- Family with children under 15 \_\_\_\_\_
- Family and friends \_\_\_\_\_
- Organised group \_\_\_\_\_
- Other(specify) \_\_\_\_\_

17. Party Composition:

	Under 16	15-19yrs.	20-29yrs.	30-39yrs.	40-49yrs.	50-59yrs.	60+
Male							
Female							

Dear \_\_\_\_\_

As a student and questionnaire writer for you, I am doing for a  
little while. I want to find out what local residents think about one of  
the most beautiful parks in the South, and how they would use this park for  
recreation. I would be very grateful if you could spend a few minutes to  
fill out the questionnaire. Hopefully the  
information you provide will further your enjoyment of the park. Please  
do not worry about the time it takes you; your name will be treated anonymously.  
If you have any questions, please return it to the \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_.

If you have any problems or questions, please don't hesitate  
to call me at \_\_\_\_\_, or leave a message at 721-7127, and I'll get right back  
to you.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Yours sincerely,

*Gillian E. Butcher*

Gillian E. Butcher,

Department of Geography,

University of Georgia,



# UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA

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## SOOKE POTHoles PROVINCIAL PARK STUDY.

Dear

You may recall receiving a questionnaire about Sooke Potholes from me a week or so ago. I realise you must be very busy at this time of year, but I would still appreciate your response on this topic.

The questionnaire should only take 10-15 minutes of your time. Your opinions and feelings about the Sooke Potholes will be a valuable source of information for their future planning and management. You have been selected at random, using the voters list, to represent the residents of Sooke. If future planning is to be based on the wishes of local people, then the larger my response rate the better. I am enclosing another copy of the questionnaire in case you mislaid the first. Please return the completed form as soon as possible in the postage paid envelope provided.

Thankyou so much for your participation in this survey. I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours Sincerely,

Gillian Butcher,  
Graduate Student,  
Dept. of Geography.



4. Overall, have you been to the Potholes MORE or LESS since it became a Provincial Park in 1972?

I have been to the Potholes

much more	more	about the same number of times	less	much less

since it became a Provincial Park.

5. Do you feel there have been any advantages/disadvantages since Sooke Potholes became a Provincial Park?

check one

Many Advantages	Some Advantages	No Difference	Some Disadvantages	Many Disadvantages	Don't Know

What advantages, if any, have you noticed for yourself and/or Sooke Community?

Myself: \_\_\_\_\_

Sooke Community: \_\_\_\_\_

What disadvantages, if any, have you noticed for yourself and/or Sooke Community?

Myself: \_\_\_\_\_

Sooke Community: \_\_\_\_\_

6. How would you rate the Potholes as a place for recreation at the following different times of year? Please give reasons for each of your answers.

	Very Good	Good	Fair	Poor	Very Poor	Reason for Rating
Summer Weekends						
Public Holidays in Summer						
Shoulder Season (April/May, Sept./Oct.)						
Midweek in Summer						
Winter (Nov./March)						

please continue on next page....

7. Please indicate whether you have noticed any changes in the following at the Potholes in summer during the time you've lived in Sooke:

	Large Increase	Some Increase	No change Noticed	Some Decrease	Large Decrease
Number of Visitors					
Number of Visitors from outside Sooke					
Amount of Litter					
Noise					
Vandalism					
Cleanliness of the water					
Easy Parking near the park					
Other (Please specify)					

8. Do you ever go on day-trips to other places for recreation? YES ( ) NO ( )

If YES, please indicate where you go, and whether you go there MORE or LESS often than the Potholes.

	more often	about the same number of times	less often		more often	about the same number of times	less often
<u>West Coast Beaches</u>				<u>Local Parks</u>			
French Beach _____ ( ) ( ) ( )				East Sooke Park _____ ( ) ( ) ( )			
China Beach _____ ( ) ( ) ( )				Matheson Lake Pk. _____ ( ) ( ) ( )			
Sombrio Beach _____ ( ) ( ) ( )				Witty's Lagoon _____ ( ) ( ) ( )			
Botanical Beach _____ ( ) ( ) ( )				Spectacle Lake Pk. _____ ( ) ( ) ( )			
Mystic Beach _____ ( ) ( ) ( )				Koksilah River Park _____ ( ) ( ) ( )			
Recreation Area _____ ( ) ( ) ( )				Shawnigan Lake Park _____ ( ) ( ) ( )			
Sandcut _____ ( ) ( ) ( )				Bamberton Park _____ ( ) ( ) ( )			
Recreation Area _____ ( ) ( ) ( )				Loss Creek Park _____ ( ) ( ) ( )			
Other Beaches _____ ( ) ( ) ( )				Elk Lake _____ ( ) ( ) ( )			
_____ ( ) ( ) ( )				Beaver Lake _____ ( ) ( ) ( )			
<u>Lakes in the Bush:</u>				Thetis Lake _____ ( ) ( ) ( )			
Shields Lake _____ ( ) ( ) ( )				Others: _____ ( ) ( ) ( )			
Kemp Lake _____ ( ) ( ) ( )				_____ ( ) ( ) ( )			
Grass Lake _____ ( ) ( ) ( )				_____ ( ) ( ) ( )			
Crabapple Lake _____ ( ) ( ) ( )				_____ ( ) ( ) ( )			

9. On the days you go to other places do you first consider going to the Potholes? YES ( ) NO ( )

If YES, what makes you decide NOT to go to the Potholes?

---



---

Continued overleaf.....

10, Here are some statements that have been made about Sooke Potholes. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with them. For example, if you strongly agree, check the box on the far left; or if undecided, check the middle box.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
There are more people at the Potholes since it became a Provincial Park in 1972.					
Many of the people there now are from outside Sooke.					
Visitors from outside Sooke have reduced recreation opportunities for Sooke residents.					
Sooke residents enjoy the Potholes less today because of visitors there from outside Sooke.					
Sooke residents now use other recreation areas because of crowding at the Potholes.					
There have always been a lot of people at the Potholes in Summer.					
There have always been a lot of people from outside Sooke at the Potholes in Summer.					
Before the Potholes became a Park, most people there were from Sooke.					
There are more people at the Potholes now just because more people live in the Victoria area.					
The Potholes are traditionally a recreation area for Sooke residents.					

Finally, I need to have some general information about yourself. This is needed in order to see if certain groups of people view the park differently.

11. What age category are you in?

<u>YOU</u>	<u>OTHER MEMBERS OF YOUR HOUSEHOLD</u>
Under 16 years ( )	( )
16-19 years ( )	( )
20-29 years ( )	( )
30-39 years ( )	( )
40-49 years ( )	( )
50-59 years ( )	( )
60 and over ( )	( )

Please indicate the number of people in each group.

please continue on next page..

12. Sex of person answering questionnaire.

MALE ( )  
FEMALE ( )

13. What was the highest level of education you completed?

Elementary School (Grades 1-7) ( )  
Junior Secondary School (Grades 8-10) ( )  
Senior Secondary School (Grades 11-12) ( )  
Trade or Technical School ( )  
Some College or University ( )  
College or University degree ( )  
Post Graduate ( )

14. What is your occupation? or What is the occupation of the head of the household?

*OR UNEMPLOYED*  
Please be as specific as possible. If retired, please state last occupation.

15. What facilities, if any, would you like to see added to the Potholes?

16. Do you have any further comments regarding Sooke Potholes that you would like to bring to my attention?

THANKYOU SO MUCH FOR COMPLETING THE QUESTIONNAIRE! PLEASE RETURN IT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE IN THE POSTAGE PAID ENVELOPE PROVIDED.

YOUR COOPERATION IS VERY MUCH APPRECIATED!

VITA

Surname: BUTCHER Given Names: GILLIAN MARY

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THE EFFECTS OF PARK ESTABLISHMENT ON LOCAL POPULATIONS: A CASE

STUDY OF SOOKE POTHOLE PROVICINCIAL PARK, B.C.

Author



*Signature*

GILLIAN MARY BUTCHER

*Name (typewritten)*

March 1, 1985

*Date*