

ENGOS and EIAs: The Brier Island Experience

Francine Rousseau

**A Manuscript Report Prepared for the
Canadian Environmental Assessment
Research Council
October 1989**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:

This report was funded by the Canadian Environmental Assessment Review Council, I am **also** grateful to the Nature Conservancy of Canada for the financial support they provided. Special thanks go to the Brier Island Community, for without their kindness and cooperation this research would not have been possible. Finally, I wish to thank Cynthia **Lamson** (Assistant Professor “research”, School for Resource and Environmental Studies) for her guidance and advice during the preparation of this report.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	i
Table of Contents	ii
List of Figures	iii
Abstract	1
Introduction	1
Case Study Background	3
Methodology Overview	9
Research Findings	10
Discussion and Conclusions	22
Recommendations	24
Bibliography	28
Appendix 1	32
Appendix 2	33

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 - The Gulf of Maine - Bay of Fundy Region. 5
Figure 2 - Westport, Brier Island 7
Figure 3 - Brier Island property purchased by Nature Conservancy of Canada	8
Figure 4 - Digby Neck, Long and Brier Islands area	14

ENGOS and EIA: THE BRIER ISLAND EXPERIENCE

Abstract *This report investigates the feasibility of incorporating Environmental Impact Assessment techniques and community participation strategies into the routine operations of Environmental Non-Government Organizations (ENGOS) involved in land acquisition for conservation purposes. Although ENGO operations could potentially affect communities located adjacent to their acquired sites they are under no obligation to consider the environmental or social Impacts of their activities. As exemplified in this report, participation-fostering mechanisms and EIA tools can help to reduce potential conflicts that may arise from ENGO (and parallel government) operations. However, unless efforts are made to establish trust and goodwill between conservation agencies and the communities they come in contact with, the effectiveness of conservation efforts may be limited. The use of a 'code of practice' is recommended as a means of addressing this limitation.*

INTRODUCTION:

As noted in the 1987 Report of the National Task Force on Environment and Economy (NTFEE), over the last decade Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) have greatly augmented their participation in environmentally related affairs. For example, some groups have focussed their efforts on protection through the acquisition of ecologically significant areas (see Taschereau, 1985). Since these areas are often located adjacent to small, isolated and resource dependent communities, Environmental Non-Government Organization (ENGO) policies and activities can greatly affect the local bio-physical and socio-economic environment (Eldvik, 1980).

Given the potential impacts that **ENGOS** could generate under such **circumstances, involving local communities** In the **planning and implementation of their** projects may be **crucial** to their success. A **number of conservationists** have credited the use of local **participation** as Instrumental to project viability (Rural Areas Workshop Proceedings, **1986**). For instance, Kerry **Finlay**, co-director of the ***Whales Beneath the Ice*** project, claims that; "The Project has given the local people a sense of Involvement **which is quite uncommon. Because of this Involvement,** the area (Isabella Bay, **Baffin Island**) Is more likely to be preserved (**WWF News 2, 1985**).

Undertaking Environmental Impact Assessment (**EIA**) procedures as part of their normal operations may also be appropriate for **ENGOS**. In fact, such a recommendation has been **Inferred** by the NTFEE; "**NGOs** should develop new tools and Improve **existing** tools ... These tools should include ... increased use of **EIAs (1987:5)**. Yet, **unlike** most related government **agencies, ENGOS** are under no **obligations** to consider the environmental or **social** impacts of **their activities** nor, In most cases, do they have **standardized/formal** operational procedures or **guidelines** concerning social **responsibilities**. Despite **this** state of affairs, **ENGOS** engaged In land **acquisition** or land leasing, like Ducks **Unlimited (DU), Wildlife Habitat Canada (WHF),** the Nature Conservancy of Canada (**NCC**) and the Canadian Wildlife Federation (**CWF**), are **increasingly** becoming aware that **their conservation** endeavours can affect local **communities** (see **Dunbrack, 1986** and **Digby Courier, 1989**).

By their very nature protected areas proscribe certain uses of resources. Since local people seldom see themselves as the intended **direct beneficiaries** of parks and other protected sites, they have often protested the loss of 'their' land for these purposes (LaForest, 1980 and Keogh, 1988). Prevention or mitigation of potential protests and **land-use conflicts** could certainly be aided by the use of EIA **techniques** which, as Finsterbusch (1988) points out "seek(s) to compare the impacts of alternative policies or programs in order to choose the 'best' policy for Implementation." However, if **operational guidelines** or principles, which clearly explain the conservation agency's intentions are not formulated prior to the use of EIA practices, the latter's potential effectiveness may be curtailed.

The purpose of the research reported here is twofold; first, to demonstrate, through the **following** case study, how **EIA/SIA methodologies** (eg. informant interviews, field observations and the study of published accounts) were incorporated into the consultation process of one **ENGO**, and second, to explore how these **EIA** components **might have been** used more constructively.

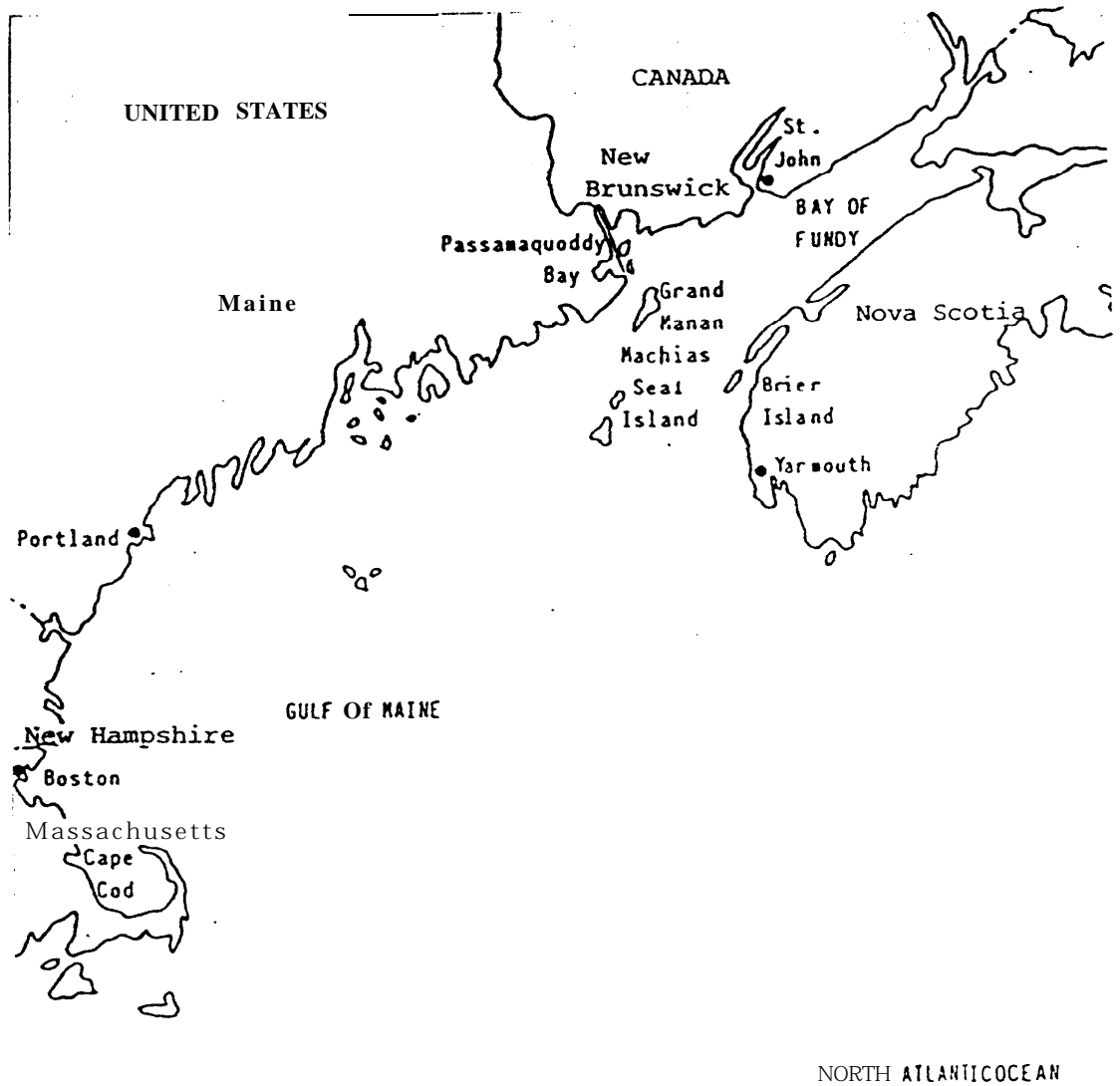
CASE STUDY BACKGROUND:

The NCC, as already **indicated**, is an **ENGO** which has been very **active in** land **acquisition**. **Since its** inception in 1963, it has purchased over 75,350 acres of representative and **sensitive ecological** sites

throughout Canada (**NCC, Spring 1988**). Until recently the NCC has **confined** its activities to "real-estate brokerage", (**ie.**, buying land and then turning it over to appropriate conservation groups for administration), Now, for certain **sites**, it is investigating the practicality of self and/or shared management. One of its latest acquisitions, a 1,200 acre property on Brier Island in Nova Scotia may be considered a 'test case' for NCC management.

Brier Island is one of the most important links in a chain of island sanctuaries that ring the Gulf of Maine and Lower Bay of Fundy (see Figure 1). As such, the Island has **been** of considerable interest to conservationists for decades (Digby Courier, 1988 and Marine Research Associates Ltd. 1977). **For** example, it has been identified by UNESCO as a potential International Biosphere Reserve, Parks Canada as a candidate marine park and the Province of Nova Scotia as a possible ecological reserve. However, Brier Island is not an uninhabited landmass that can, for the sake of its wildlife, **easily** be designated 'off-limits' to resource users. Besides the Island's **rich** avian and marine fauna and terrestrial flora (see Appendix 1 for selected listings) there are approximately 350 year-round human residents. For these people, the island is not wilderness but homeland.

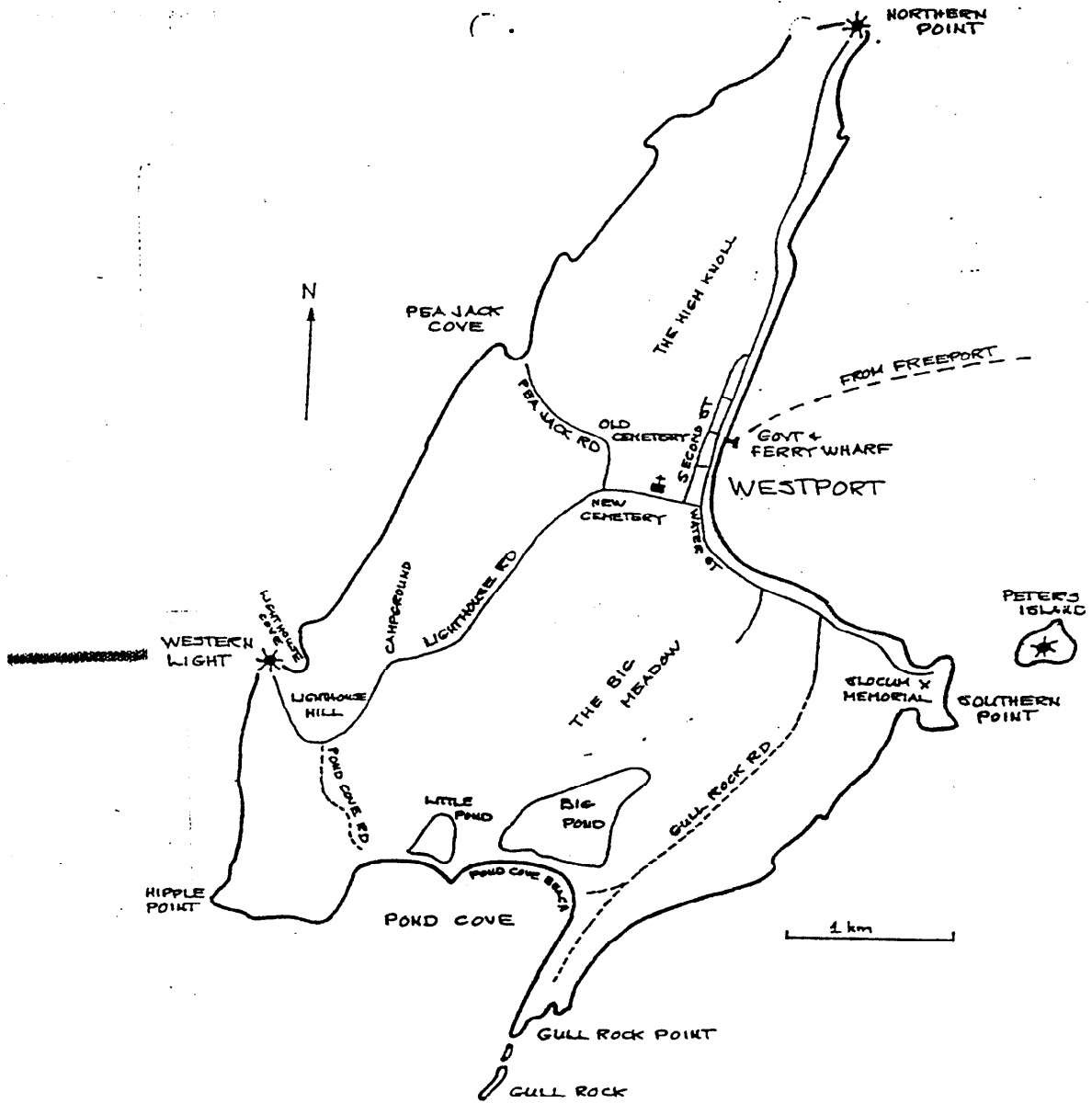
Figure 1: The Gulf of Maine - Bay of Fundy Region



The majority of **Brier** Islanders obtain **their** livelihood from the sea. "The Island and adjacent **marine** component is one of the richest **biological areas in the Bay of Fundy Marine Region.**" (Parks Canada, December 1975). Hence, the fishing industry is the most significant element of the island's economy as well as the core of its social fabric. Most of the inhabitants reside in the small **fishing** village of Westport located on the island's northeast shore (see Figure 2). The majority of existing development is largely **confined to this** village area. A transportation system of roads and ferries connects the **island** to the Nova **Scotian mainland**. But, **despite** this network, the Island remains **fairly** isolated, especially in **winter** months. Until recently this remoteness and the small number of permanent human residents kept environmental degradation to a **minimum**. In the last few years, however, the threat of cottage and resource development, the **growing** use of off-road vehicles, **waste** disposal practices, out-of-season hunting and increasing pressures from expanded **tourism** have been sources of **growing concern to conservationists**.

The **NCC's** purchase (see figure 3), which includes many of the Island's key ecological areas - a large expanse of maritime forest, fields, marsh, bogs and ponds bordered by more than 6 miles of open ocean - was a response to concerns about resource abuse and accelerating pressures. Aware that lack of local approval for **their conservation policies** could result in controversy (Glazier, 1988) or even conflict with the Westport **community**, the NCC made an arrangement with the School for Resource and Environmental Studies (**SRES**) of **Dalhousie** University to engage

Figure 2 - Brier island, Nova Scotia



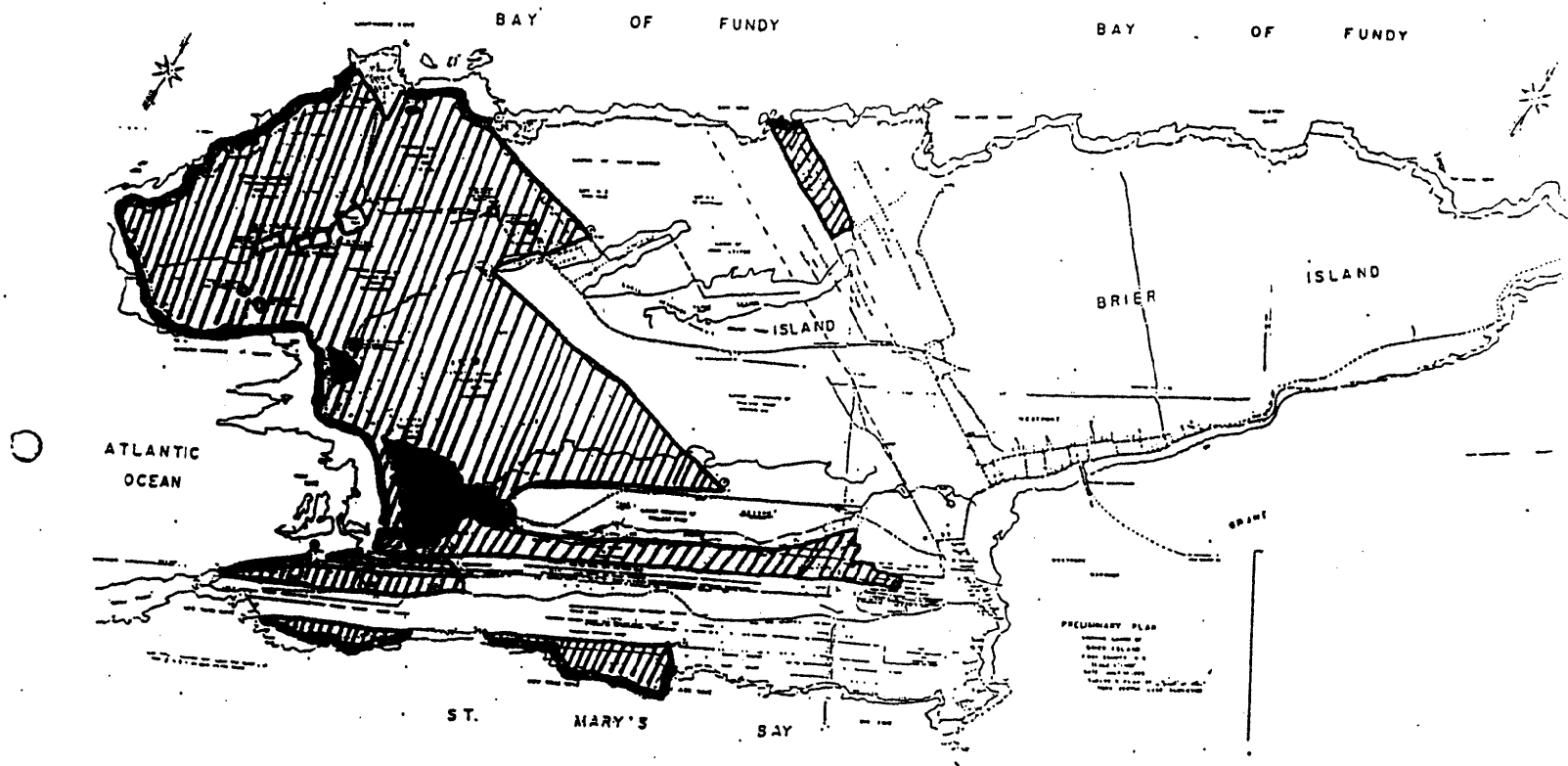


FIGURE 3:

Property of NCC =  (from NCC Report)

a student to research the plausibility of incorporating community **participation in** management of their property. I was fortunate to be given this task.

METHODOLOGY OVERVIEW:

Since the overall goal of the research was to ascertain the feasibility and practicality of participatory resource management on Brier Island, the **first** step taken was one of **familiarization** with the study site, the community and the issues involved. This was accomplished through:

- a. A literature review of all aspects of Brier Island and its locale,
- b. A **review** of selected literature on environment and development problems of small islands, resource use conflicts, related EIA material and citizen environmental action.
- c. Identification of, and contact with, stakeholder groups.
- d. Visiting Brier Island to view the **site** in question, to identify the unique natural elements of the island and to establish contact with the **community**.

Following a preliminary field **visit** to the Island and informal discussions with concerned residents, a questionnaire was developed (see Appendix **2**) and circulated to all islanders over the age of 12 through door to door contact. Community feedback obtained during the researcher's initial **visit** to the island indicated that a questionnaire would be acceptable to a **majority** of residents. An effort was made to use non-technical language and to assure the anonymity of the respondents. The questionnaire was intended to be a catalyst to stimulate members of the community to

consider different aspects of conservation on the island and, at the same **time**, to provide the researcher with **information** about community values. In this way, areas of potential conflict and cooperation could be identified at **an early** stage.

A brief report, basically consisting of an analysis of the above mentioned questionnaires, was submitted to the NCC in August, **1988**. A month later the NCC **organized** a meeting with the community to air the **issues arising** from the land purchase and possible management **options**, **Gerry** Glazier (then Executive Director of the **NCC**) spoke on behalf of the Conservancy.

Five follow-up visits were made by the researcher throughout the year. Further, several meetings (including an Open House on June 10, **1989**) were held in Westport to discuss a variety of concerns. These generally related to the perceptions and requirements of both the community and the NCC. Also discussed during these meetings was the possible formation of a resource management committee. The latter was eventually formed in early August 1989.

RESEARCH FINDINGS:

Literature reviews revealed that available information on the **Brier** Island region is very 'one-sided'. As previously mentioned, **IBP** scientists, Parks Canada and the Province of Nova Scotia all had an interest in this region at one time or other. These agencies spent **considerable** sums in **surveying** the area and a substantial amount of scientific data was

generated as a result of biological and oceanographical studies. Unfortunately, the reports that resulted **from these surveys** (see **Smith, no date**, **Mills, 1970a**, **Mills, 1970b**, **Parks Canada, 1975** and **Marine Research Associates Ltd., 1977**) practically ignored the human population and how a protected area designation **might** potentially **affect them**. For Instance, the **102-page** report compiled **by** Marine Research Associates Ltd. for Parks Canada in 1977 devoted less than **10 pages** to the human factor and most of these dealt with fishing statistics. On site **visits** were therefore essential for obtaining information about community perceptions and attitudes towards conservation and resource management.

The initial visit to the island disclosed that two factors have very important implications for the management of the NCC acquisition. The **first** is that, although the **NCC's** purchase gave them 1,200 acres of **private property**, **the land has been** used virtually without restrictions by the island's residents for several **decades**. Until 1988 the land was owned by a non-resident who, reportedly, rarely **visited** the island. Most of **Brier**, including the NCC site, is used in an almost communal manner by its **residents** (*ie.*, privately owned sheep grazed the whole island until they were consumed by invading coyotes last summer, and publicly-used foot and 'trail-riding' paths criss-cross private property). The second factor of major importance is **Brier's** isolated island setting.

These two factors, *quasi-communal' land usage and isolation are not uncommon in rural areas. Residents of such out-of-the way places, especially when dependent on natural **resources**, **often tend** to develop their own socially-imposed sanctions for using and protecting resources and

often resent outside intervention in their affairs (Davis, 1984). When, due to isolation, this is accompanied by external government authority that is weak and limited in scope (compared to most urban areas), people tend to remain relatively independent and often participate in a mixed economy (see Royal Commission, 1986). This is the situation on Brier Island. The closest police station is located in Digby, approximately 65km away, and has limited control of the Westport community. Attempts by a conservation agency to impose strict restrictions on the islanders' use of any part of the island would, according to most residents, likely meet with forceful resistance,

Fortunately, responses to the questionnaires and to personal inquiry indicated that most residents were in favour of the NCC acquisition and their attempts to determine community priorities. Although many Islanders were unclear about the NCC's intentions¹ - few wanted cottage development to take place. The residents' life-style is closely tied to the natural setting and most take great pride in their island. On the other hand, many of the amenities provided by the environment are taken for granted. For instance, dumping of garbage on beaches and into the sea, although condemned by some, is seen by others as perfectly legitimate since the island has no dump site (although there is a pick-up service) and the powerful Fundy tides, they believe, wash it all away.

¹ The NCC carried out preliminary biological surveys of the property in question but did not overly publicize their endeavour for fear that undue publicity would lead to competition for the site - this led to speculation and rumours.

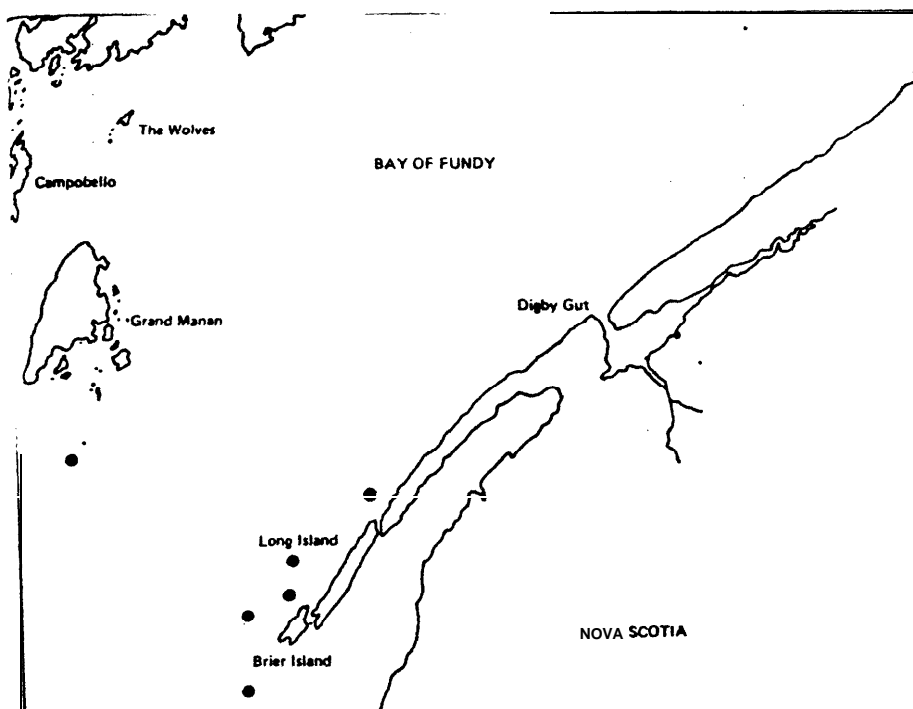
Although there was general approval of the NCC's land purchase this did not translate into unqualified approval for implementation of a resource management regime. A small (but vocal) minority of residents perceived that the Conservancy could best protect its land by leaving it alone, now that large-scale, commercial development had been stopped. Further, a larger number of locals feared that the NCC would erect fences and bring an end to the communal use of the land. In their view, islanders live in harmony with their surroundings and environmental degradation was (or could be) a result of expanding tourism.

Tourists, especially birders, had been visiting the island in small numbers since before the turn of the century (Wilson, 1900) but the numbers increased dramatically with the creation of the Brier Island Whale and Seabird Cruises Ltd. operation in 1984. This business was started by Carl Haycock, a former U.S. resident and Harold 'Graham, a local lobster fisherman, to fund cetacean research for their non-profit organization, the Brier Island Ocean Studies. Mr. Haycock has appeared on a number of television and radio shows regarding cetacean research and the Brier Island marine region (Haycock, 1988). The publicity has been tremendous for the tours but has brought both positive and negative impacts to the Westport community.

One of the major problems posed by expanding tourism has been ferry traffic congestion. Since no trains or buses service the Digby Neck, Long and Brier Islands area (see Figure 4) the majority of visitors arrive by car. Although the two ferries run 24 hours a day at 1/2 hour intervals this is the

island's only link with hospitals, shopping centres and other services in **Digby** and is in constant use by residents, The ferries are also essential to the operations of Kenney **Fisheries** Ltd. (the island's only fish processing plant **which** employs close to half the community's work force) whose trucks go back and forth to Halifax constantly. Compounding the ferry **tie-**ups is the fact that **little parking** is available for tourists on either **Brier** or Long islands. A further problem arises from the short tourist season. It is only 4 months long, from June to early October when migratory whale species come to feed, so all whale watchers are compelled to visit **during** that time.

Figure 4: **Digby Neck, Long and Brier Island Area** (from Marine Research Associates Ltd.



Obviously the sudden seasonal influx of tourists is causing more than traffic jams. Some residents believe that their way-of-life is being threatened by tourists and the changes they often bring. In addition, they perceive that the island's ecology is also threatened by more intensive use. Brier Island is just a small place, 4 1/2 by 11/2 m at its widest point and, although it has not been determined, its human carrying capacity is obviously limited, especially since much of it is rock or bog land. Some Westporters believe that an increased number of seasonal visitors could cause damage to a number of rare plants and nesting sites by unintentionally trampling them. Furthermore, the price of property, although still low compared to the rest of the Province, has risen in the last few years and most residents see this as a direct result of tourism.

On the positive side, there are now three bed and breakfast establishments and two small restaurants on the island which didn't exist four years ago. Although the hospitality industry provides employment for only a dozen or so people, it is an important economic benefit in a community that has little besides the fishing industry to provide jobs.

As for the fishing industry itself, there was little fear expressed by islanders that it would be directly affected by the NCC purchase. Brier Island is surrounded by some of the most treacherous currents off the Nova Scotia mainland and is second only to Sable Island as a 'ships' graveyard. This feature, in the mind of most islanders, will keep the number of boats that try to ply its waters, down. However, a few islanders noted that marine mammals might be adversely affected by the increasing number of sightseers. A number of Brier Islanders are aware that the U.S. government

is considering imposing stronger restrictions on the American **whale-** watching industry **because whale-watching boats are** suspected of inadvertently upsetting the animals (see The Ottawa Citizen, **1987**).

At first glance, the question of tourism may appear to be irrelevant to the management of the NCC property except for the effects it may have on island ecology (the NCC is not, **in** any way, connected **with** the whale tour **operation**). But, in general, the community perceives the **NCC's** acquisition as tourist-related. For one thing, a few people are convinced that the NCC and the whale tour operators are working together to expand whale **watching** activities. For another, many islanders **believe** that regardless of the **NCC's position on tourism**, the setting aside of land for **wildlife** will attract more people. Many references were made to fishing **villages** along the Maine **coastline** which are now overrun **with** tourist and tourist **facilities** and how that **might** be what the future holds for **Brier** Island,

One of the major **objections voiced** by residents is related to the above. They **believe that** if access restrictions were placed on the NCC property, they **would have to 'tip-toe'** around the island year round to keep it **pristine** for visitors who generally only stay one or two days at most. As the NCC property includes more than **1/3** of the small island, this is felt to be a great imposition on the islanders. They have traditionally hunted for deer and ducks and gathered berries, mushrooms (and bird eggs although this is no longer prevalent) over the whole **island** with the exception of the village area. Further, **family** and **community** picnics have always been held on the NCC property **since** it has the island's only beach.

Despite concerns on the part of some residents that anything done on the NCC **site would** be mostly for the benefit of outsiders, about; **1/4** of the study respondents used the questionnaire as an opportunity to complain about improper waste disposal, out-of-season hunting and the growing damage **being** caused by all terrain vehicles (**ATVs**), and to urge that the NCC find ways of abating these **occurrences**. Reports by Dr. Eric Mills (**1970a**) of the Oceanography Department of Dalhousie University, Robert Ogilvie (**1987**) of the Nova Scotia Museum and others had all referred to these problems and on-site **investigation confirmed** them. Although a few Islanders blamed tourists for this situation, in general, most felt that much of the damage was caused by a few people on the island, some intentionally, some not.

Since about half of the respondents felt that the **island** was still relatively unspoilt, there were few specific suggestions made as to how the NCC could reduce some of the problems mentioned above. However, almost everyone concerned recommended that a 'go slow' approach (with community feedback at every step) be used by the NCC in implementing changes in resource use. Education¹ rather than **strict-controls** was **claimed**, by most people, to be the major long term **solution**. In fact, over **1/4** requested more **information** on both the ecology of the **island** and the NCC. (Many also hoped that the NCC would be willing to **give** nature talks and to **participate** in bringing **various** environmental lecturers to the island, however, this did not happen in **1989**.) **Minor restrictions (eg. designated vehicle trails** and

¹ A common **complaint** of some **residents, especially** those **with children, was** that naturalists who **visit the island** seldom offer to inform islanders about **the local** ecology.

camping sites), if first discussed with the community, would be acceptable to the majority although all warned that not everyone would observe them.

In late August, 1988, as already mentioned, Gerry Glazier of the NCC met with some members of the community. Although the meeting was originally intended to be held only with village counsellors (locally elected municipal officials) word of the meeting 'got out' and approximately 50 concerned citizens showed up. This turned out to be a 'public meeting' was the largest ever recorded on the Island. The results of the questionnaire were freely discussed at this time. Mr. Glazier reassured the group that no attempt would be made to exclude the community from NCC land. He did, however, state that some restrictions, especially regarding ATVs, would be necessary but that nothing would be done without further consultation with the community. Different management options, including the possibility of designating the site an Ecological Reserve (through the Nova Scotia Special Places Act), were mentioned at this time but not discussed in great detail.

Overall, community reaction to this meeting was positive. Those in attendance commented that it was the first time an external agency had bothered to get community input regarding island resource use and that it was a good beginning. However, at this time, no one indicated a willingness to participate in a management venture for the NCC property. The general feeling was that no one wanted to be put in a position where they might have to tell some of their neighbours what to do. Not 'rocking the boat' is considered by most Westporters to be a crucial element in getting along in their small isolated community.

During subsequent visits to the island, it became obvious that the NCC purchase, the favourable publicity it (and the island's attractions) received and the attempts made to determine the community's priorities were slowly generating an increased appreciation for the island's ecology among some community members. For instance, on their own initiative, a small group organized a Brier Island Awareness Week in May, 1989 for the local elementary school. (The NCC was asked to participate in this event **but** declined without adequately explaining their decision; this non-participation caused some community resentment.) In addition, a few people began to express a tentative interest in participating in a Brier Island management committee.

Meanwhile, the possibility that management responsibility for the NCC site might be transferred to the Province was becoming stronger. The NCC received much favourable publicity for turning over some **ecologically sensitive** land in the Tusket **River** Valley of Nova Scotia to the **province** in 1988. When this stretch of shoreline, which they had helped to purchase, was designated as the province's first ecological reserve in the spring of 1988 (Lewis, 1988) the **NCC's** involvement became known to the general public. Memberships and donations from the Atlantic provinces increased and the **NCC**, whose operations are dependent on donations, believed that **turning** their Brier Island property over to the **province** might be one way to keep the momentum **going**¹.

¹ This increase was also a response to a nationwide publicity campaign undertaken by the NCC.

Although the possibility of an ecological reserve on **Brier** Island had been mentioned at the 'public meeting', no thorough **discussion** of what this **might** mean for the Islanders, followed. The prospect of this **designation** thus came as a shock to many of the islanders. At a small meeting held in Westport on March 17, 1989 (**with** the researcher and **five** interested community members **in** attendance) It was concluded that some concerns had to be addressed before the formation of any committee could be seriously **discussed**. These were:

1. A need for clarification of the different management options open to the NCC
2. Would the management committee have an **advisory** or **participatory** role?
3. How much, if any, external resource management **expertise** could the group expect?

The last concern was not a major one. A number of candidates **with** relevant backgrounds had already been contacted regarding **participation** in a future management **committee**. Due to time and travel **constraints**, none of these people could make a **firm** commitment at the time they were **first** approached, but some showed keen interest and **indicated** that if a **committee** got 'off-the-ground' they could probably be counted on.

As for the two other concerns, the NCC was informed of them **via** **submission** of its own **commissioned** report in June, 1989. The report related the community's concern about the **NCC's desire** to opt for **Provincial** involvement. The islanders, the NCC was told, felt that the Conservancy was more **likely** to take **their wishes into consideration** than was the **Province**. In **addition**, the NCC was informed that many **residents** believed

the province was more interested in promoting tourism than environmental protection.

These fears, unfounded or not, were real to the community and the NCC was urged to make a **decision regarding** its options before the goodwill that had been fostered thus far was compromised. On June 10th, 1989 Conservancy Board members held an open-house on the Island and informed the community that it had opted to manage the site with their **participation**. A number of resource management suggestions were also discussed at this time. They include:

1. the designation of vehicle trails to reduce **indiscriminate 'trailblazing'**
2. the **designation** of camping sites to reduce **vehicle** damage to the land
3. **the digging of** fire pits to **limit** fire damage
4. the setting-up of elevated **wooden boxes** near the ponds for duck nest **ingsi**tes
5. **looking** into imposing seasonal **restrictions** on vehicles in **fragile** areas (**ie. during** wet or nesting seasons).

Towards the end of the meeting all but the last of these **recommendations** seemed mutually acceptable and it was decided that a **Brier island Management Committee could be organized** in the near future. Whether the island committee would act in an advisory or participatory capacity remained unanswered until community members met again **with** NCC representatives on August 9, 1989. At **this** time they were informed that their role would be an advisory one. There was no apparent reaction to this of to the news that provincial involvement was still a very real **possibility**. The meeting came to an end when the community members present agreed to

join an advisory committee. Whether there will be some eventual reaction to the committee's advisory status and to possible provincial involvement remains to be seen.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS:

Rural economies, as emphasized at the 15th Session of the General Assembly of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) - held in 1981, have historically depended on the exploitation of natural resources (cited in McNeely, 1985). However, for a variety of reasons (see The World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987) development schemes for rural areas have often placed great stress on their physical and social environment. Stress has, at times, also resulted from conservation policies which have tried to curb the use of natural resources by the local communities without adequately considering the potential economic, political and social effects.

A growing number of experts have concluded that the conflicts which sometimes arise between conservationists and local resource users do so because the views of the latter are often ignored when land use and environmental protection decisions are made (Repetto, 1986). One reason increasingly cited for this neglect is the failure of most administrators and policy makers to recognize that land protection agencies compete with other resource users for scarce commodities (Myers, 1984 and Roth, 1984).

To **view** land protection as another form of resource use and to consider that parks and other protected areas can "take control for resource management away from the people who are most directly concerned with **maintaining** the productivity of the resource upon which their welfare depends" (IUCN, 1988) is a fairly recent trend. It should come as no surprise, therefore, that the human factor was practically excluded from early surveys of the Brier Island area. Even Parks Canada, although **it** formally endorsed the EARP in 1979, has had the procedures (to which social surveys have been a late addition) in place only since 1981 (Elkin, J. and Smith, P. 1988).

In the **Atlantic Provinces** there have been enough **conflicts** between **conservationists** and local resource users to instill caution on both **sides**. The resistance to expropriation that blemished the creation of Kouchibouguac National Park, New **Brunswick** in 1969 (Taschereau, 1985) and the more recent controversy over the proposed establishment of a **marine** park in Passamaquoddy Bay, N.B. have highlighted the need for more local input into **conservation decisions** (Butler, 1986). Both government and **NGOs** increasingly **recognize this** need (Lang & Armour, 1981). A few years ago the NCC ran **into** some local **opposition** to its **acquisition** of land bordering Oeroche Pond in **Prince** Edward Island (Dunbrack, 1986) and this may have prompted efforts to avoid **similar** problems on Brier Island.

By commissioning research into community **participation** on Brier Island, the NCC has shown that it is concerned with local reaction to its

activities. This fact was recognized by the island residents and was **partially** responsible for the generally positive reception given to the conservancy.

As to the effectiveness of **EIA**, there were a number of constraints **that** impeded the exploration of its Pull **potential** in the **Brier Island situation.** For one thing, since the research was primarily concerned **with** community cooperation inadequate data was generated to determine if a 'full-scale' EIA would be a useful process to undertake under these (or similar) circumstances. In addition, there are **limitations** to the extent of **EIA usage** in the case of land purchased for conservation - for example, the **Brier Island** site was chosen for its **unique ecological** value and **this** factor precluded the consideration of alternative sites, However, despite such limitations, the research results do suggest that **EIA techniques** can be incorporated into **ENGO** operations without undue complications and demonstrate that they may be useful as a means to clarify local **issues** and perceptions. This result is one of the most positive elements of the **Brier Island** experience.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

While it is gratifying to find that incorporating **EIA** techniques into **ENGO** operations is feasible, the **Brier Island study** indicates that more effective use could have been made of these tools if the researcher had been **given** a clearer mandate about how the **information** collected might be used. Although the **Brier Island** experience is an ongoing one and it **is** too early to

fudge the extent of community cooperation it may have generated, it is evident that had there been less confusion, especially regarding the nature of community participation sought and the **meaning** of different management options, the research could have been more productive. Some of the confusion could have been **abated** **If the NCC had** worked out some basic principles prior to the commencement of the study. This might have helped to diminish the lack of trust that is common between conservationists and local resource users. **J. Hough's (1988)** conclusion, while made in reference to the management of conflicts **between National Parks** and surrounding human communities, applies equally well in cases **such as the Brier Island** example:

"In view of the differential in power between the park authorities and the local people, the burden of demonstrating trustworthiness, or a real commitment to a change in historical confrontational attitudes, will fall primarily on the park authority."

One of the major constraints to the establishment of trust when land is being purchased is the presumed need for secrecy **which** results from the threat of possible competition for that land. It would be **unrealistic** to expect any purchasing agency to disclose information that could be useful to the competitor (or to the seller). However, it should be possible to circulate information that might help to **clarify** potential misunderstandings generated by secrecy, rumours and/or omissions without **jeopardizing** the buyer's **operation**. (For instance, some **community** resentment **might** have been **avoided** on **Brier Island** **if** the **NCC** had made it clear that **their priority** of **buying ecologically** sensitive land left **little** time or money for **promoting** environmental **education**.) The Information

need **not** be elaborate but should simply state an agency's intentions and/or commitments to a community.

Many professional **associations** attempt to **communicate** their Intentions and to **explicate** standards of conduct from **their** members **through** codes of ethics (**Abrahamson, 1983**). These codes (or **principles**) **guide** the behaviour of **organizations** as diverse as the **Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council 1 of Canada (SSHRC)**, the **International Chamber of Commerce (ICC)**, the **Association of Canadian Universities for Northern Studies (ACUNS)** and the **(U.S) National Association of Environmental Professionals (NAEP)**. Common to all their codes **is** the **objective of sensitizing** members to the need to protect and respect the welfare of **the individuals or particular collectives** they may come in contact **with**. **In view** of the potential community disruptions that **ENGOS** can generate, they should be encouraged to formulate similar self-regulatory codes, especially **if** they wish to promote greater cooperation and mutual respect **between themselves and the public**. **One of the standard principles they should incorporate into** such a code **is** the commitment to follow **EIA/SIA guidelines for their projects since**, as already mentioned, **EIA** can help to clarify local concerns and **perceptions**.

Although **EIA** components were incorporated **into** the **NCC consultation** process without too much difficulty **it** should be noted that the **Brier Island project** was a relatively small-scale one and that full-scale **EIAs** for larger projects are often **expensive** and time consuming (Beanlands and **Duinker**, 1983). It would be **unrealistic** (and may be **unfair**) to expect **ENGOS** to shoulder the **financial** burden of conducting **EIAs**. They have

Increasingly taken over some of the task of protecting our environment and should not be deterred from continuing to do so. However, **this** does not detract from the fact that to be effective they, like most organizations, need the **goodwill** of the public and that they can best **obtain** it by being **responsible** and accountable.

There are probably no easy solutions to **this** EIA funding problem and **it is likely** that government assistance **will** be **necessary**. **Since ENGO projects** tend to **alleviate** the costs and workloads of parallel government **agencies** (see McCarthy, J., 1989) it is not unreasonable to suggest that governments and **ENGOS** should explore the **possibility** of 'cost-sharing' to **finance EIAs**. The benefits that governments can **obtain** from EIA results obtained by **ENGOS** is a further rationale for them to **consider** offering **assistance**. For instance, **ENGO** generated EIA results could be useful to those government departments which may eventually assume the **responsibility** for **managing** the **site** in question (*ie.*, the **Province** of Nova Scotia re: **Brier** Island) or to those departments **which** may **require** criteria to support **ENGO** projects.

In summary this report suggests that **ENGOS** should be encouraged to adopt codes of practice which include the use of EIA tools **for their conservation** operations. **This** would serve as a protocol for **establishing** trust and cooperation between all stakeholders involved in conservation **oriented** projects.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abrahamson, M. (1983) Social Research Methods. Prentice Hall. 400p.
- Beanlands, G. and Duinker, P. (1983) An Ecological Framework For Environmental Impact Assessment in Canada. Institute for Resource and Environmental Studies, Dalhousie University, published in co-operation with FEARO. 99p.
- Butler, M. (April, 1986) "Marine Parks Inundated by Citizens' Protests." Alternatives V13 (2):39-40.
- Davis, A. (1988) "Public Policy and Social Control in the Atlantic Fisheries." Canadian Public Policy XIV:66-77.
- Digby Courier (March 9, 1988) "Conservation Group Moves to Protect Brier Island Sanctuary," p 7.
- Digby Courier (June 14, 1989) "Conservancy Vows to Work With Residents." P 1.
- Dunbrack, J. (Spring, 1986) "A Gift to Last The Nature Conservancy of Canada: Their Land is Your Land." Nature Canada V 15 (2):27-32.
- Eidvik, H.Y. (1980) "National Parks and Other Protected Areas: Some Reflections of the Past and Prescriptions for the Future." Environmental Conservation. V7 (3):185-190.
- Elkin, T. and Smith, P. (1988) "What is a Good Environmental Impact Statement?" Journal of Environmental Management. V26:7 1-89.
- Finsterbusch, K. (March 1985) "State of the Art in SIA." Environment and Behavior. V17 (2):193-221.
- Glazier, G. (June 18, 1988) Former Director of NCC, Toronto, Ont. Personal Conservation.
- Haycock, C. (May 25, 1988) Co-director of BIOS, Brier Island, N.S. Personal Conservation.

Hough, J.L. (Summer, 1988) "Obstacles to Effective Management of Conflicts Between National Parks and Surrounding Human Communities in Developing Countries." Environmental Conservation. VI (2):129-134.

International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) (1988) Conserving The World's BioDiversity. first draft perspectives compiled by McNeely, J. Gland, Switzerland.

Keogh, L. (June, 1988) "Problems of Public Participation in the Decision-Making Process Concerning Tourism Development Projects: The Case of Le Parc de l'Aboiteau, N.B." unpublished paper presented at the Canadian Association of Geographers (CAG) Annual Meeting, St. Mary's University, Halifax, N.S.

LaForest, G. (1980) Report on the Special Inquiry on Kouchibouquac National Park: Conclusions and Recommendations. Chairperson, LaForest, G.

Lang, R. and Armour, A. (March, 1981) The Assessment and Review of Social Impacts. FEARO, Ottawa, 131 p.

Lewis, C (Fall, 1988) "Nova Scotia's Special Place." Nature Canada V 17 (4):13-18.

Marine Research Associates Ltd. (Nov. 30, 1977) Graphic Study of the Brier Island Region, Nova Scotia. for Parks Canada, Ref. Project CI 632, 101 p.

McCarthy, J. (Spring, 1989) "Nature Conservation in the U.S. and Canada - A View from Scotland." Nexus Occasional paper #5:1-4.

McNeely, J. (1985) "Introduction." Culture and Conservation: The Human Dimension in Environmental Planning. Editors, McNeely, J. and Pitts, D. IUCN, Gland, Switzerland. 1-10.

Mills, E. (1970_a) A Brief on Brier Island, Digby County, Nova Scotia. Inst. of Oceanography, Dalhousie University, N.S. Brief to: Parks Canada.

Mills, E. (1970_b) Benthic Ecology of Big Pond, Pond Cove, Brier Island, N.S. Inst. of Oceanography, Dalhousie University, N.S. Brief to: Parks Canada.

- Myers, N. (1984) "Eternal Values of the Parks Movement and the Monday Morning World." in National Parks, Conservation, and Development. Editors: McNeely, J. and Miller, K., IUCN. Smithsonian Institute Press. Proceedings of the World Congress on National Parks, Bali, Indonesia, 11-22 Oct. 1982:656-660.
- NCC (Spring, 1988) The Nature Conservancy of Canada Newsletter.
- NTFEE (Sept. 24, 1987) Report of the National Task Force on Environment and Economy. Submitted to The Canadian Council of Resource and Environment Ministers.
- Ogilvie, R. (April 30, 1987) Brier Island, Nova Scotia. Nova Scotia Museum.
- Ottawa Citizen (October 22, 1987) "U.S. Government Considering Curbs on Tourists' Whale-Watching Boats off New England, p E5.
- Parks Canada (December, 1975) Bay of Fundy Areas of Marine Park Interest. Marine Themes Section, National Parks Branch. Document #1C0041.
- Repetto, R. (1986) World Enough and Time: Successful Strategies for Resource Management. Yale University Press, 160p.
- Roth, H. (1984) "We All Want the Trees: Resource Conflict in the Tai National Park, Ivory Coast." in National Parks, Conservation, and Development. Editors: McNeely, J. and Miller, K. IUCN. Smithsonian Institute Press. Proceedings of the World Congress on National Parks, Bali, Indonesia, 11-22 Oct. 1982:127-131.
- Royal Commission on Employment and Unemployment (1986) "Building on Our Strengths." Report. Published - St. John's, Newfoundland.
- Rural Areas Workshop Proceedings, (1986) Building Support For Conservation in Rural Areas. VII Recommendations and Conclusions. 27 May - 31 May 1986, Highgate Springs, Vermont, U.S.A.
- Smith, E.C. (no date) Vegetation of Brier Island. Acadia University. Brief to Parks Canada.
- Taschereau, P. (April, 1985) The Status of Ecological Reserves in Canada. The Canadian Council on Ecological Areas and The Institute for Resource and Environmental Studies, Dalhousie University. 105p.

Wilson, I. (1900) A Geography and History of the County of Digby, Nova Scotia. Holloway Bros., Printers, Halifax, N.S.

World Commission on Environment and Development (1987) (The Bruntland Commission) Our Common Future. Oxford University Press, 352p.

WWF, (Sept. Oct., 1985) World Wildlife Fund News 2, #37.

APPENDIX 1

Major rare species found on Brier Island:

FLORA: Betula michauxii (Northern dwarf birch)
 Gnempeckii (avens)
 Schizaea pusilla (curly grass fern)
 Claytonia fontana
 Selaginella

ALGAE: Eudesme viresans
 Desmotrichium undulatum
 Myrionema strangulans

FAUNA: birds:

Hudsonian Godwit
 Buff-headed Sandpiper
 Stilt Sandpiper
 Baird's Sandpiper
 Glossy Ibis
 Southern Heron

insects:

Petrobius maritimus
 (Thysanura)

Questionnaire

AGE GROUP: 0-15 16-20 21-30 31-45 46-60 60+

SEX: Male Female

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE ON BRIER ISLAND:

(a) If permanent, number of years _____

(b) If temporary, number of months per year: 0-3 3-6 6-9 9+

1. What do you like about living on Brier Island? _____

2. Do you think Brier Is. has changed in the last 10 years? yes no
If yes, how? _____

3. Why do you think so many people consider Brier Is. to be a special place? _____

10. Were you aware of the NCC purchase? yes no If yes, how did you find out about it?

- 1. newspaper _____
- 2. radio _____
- 3. television _____
- 4. community meeting _____
- 5. someone told you _____
- 6. other _____ (please specify) _____

11. Do you make use of the land that has been purchased by the NCC? yes no If yes, for which activities?

- 1. hiking _____
- 2. picnics _____
- 3. trail riding (bikes, ATVs or other vehicles) _____
- 4. hunting _____
- 5. bird (whale/seal) watching _____
- 6. campfires _____
- 7. berry or mushroom picking _____
- 8. other _____ (please specify) _____

12. Motorized vehicles are widely used on the island. The property purchased by the NCC contains many bird nesting sites and rare plants that scientists and naturalists say could be damaged by vehicles. In your opinion, should their use be limited on this particular site? yes no Do you think people would follow marked trails

in this area? yes no

13. Over the years, trash has piled-up at different sites on the purchased property. Recently a number of people in the community have made efforts to clean-up certain areas. Do you think these efforts are worthwhile? yes no Can you suggest other ways in which dumping could be controlled? _____
