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**FROM "BEACHERS" TO "BIKERS" TO "BIRDERS": A PEOPLES'
HISTORY OF THE CHANGES IN LEISURE PRACTICES AT
POINT PELEE NATIONAL PARK, 1960-1982**

by

Paul Edward Levesque

A Thesis

**Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
through the Department of Kinesiology
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Master of Human Kinetics at the
University of Windsor**

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

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Abstract

This qualitative, socio-historical study examines the process of how leisure practices were socially constructed at one of Canada's national parks, Point Pelee, during the years 1960-1982. Giddens' (1984) *duality of structure* paradigm is utilized to analyze two questions: 1) What structures contextualized the facilitation, constraint, or elimination of leisure activities at Point Pelee National Park between 1960 and 1982?, and 2) how did agents interact with these structures to facilitate, constrain, or eliminate leisure activities? Four leisure practices were analyzed: smelt fishing, duck hunting, bird watching/nature study, and beach activities, such as swimming, picnicking or camping. Data were collected from primary and secondary sources related to leisure and outdoor recreation, and indepth interviews with twenty park visitors and administrators were conducted. An initial list of potential informants was compiled using park documents and a local lobby group directory, and then a snowball method was employed. All informants lived in Canada, and most resided in Essex County.

An underlying assumption of this thesis is that the production of historical knowledge is most often controlled by individuals in privileged positions of "expertise." This thesis was thus used as an opportunity to generate history using the stories/accounts of those most directly involved - the participants themselves. The nucleus of the histories are composed of the data gleaned from informant interviews, with other primary and secondary sources lending supplementary support. The theoretical purpose behind this style of description is to privilege the data received from the agent (i.e., park visitors/park administrators), rather than data from other sources (i.e., newspapers, government policies).

Thesis results suggest that preservationist ideologies facilitated agent reproduction of structures which turned Point Pelee into a more publicly regulated, preservation-oriented park. Subsequently, Point Pelee changed from serving the needs of local visitors primarily, to addressing the concerns of a more national/international audience. The concept of moral regulation is briefly used in combination with Giddens' paradigm to explain the process of how leisure was legitimated. Future research considerations suggest the use of hegemony as a concept to help further explain the process of structural reproduction and change by social agents.

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Without the help of the following people, this document would not have been possible.

To my advisor, Vicki, I would like to extend my greatest thanks and appreciation for her help and guidance in what has been, by far, the greatest but most difficult accomplishment of my life.

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To my "other," Jacqueline, who lived with my frustrations and aspirations for this thesis, I extend an acknowledgement that could be for no other. Honey, I love you for your support.

Lastly, this thesis would not have been possible without the support of my parents. To them I wish to offer my sincere thanks and appreciation.

Dedication

Everyone dies, but not everyone lives. This thesis is dedicated to individuals who step beyond the fences which bound their leisure to search out and define their own experiences.

Table of Contents

| | |
|--|-----|
| Abstract | iii |
| Acknowledgements | v |
| Dedication | vi |
| | |
| Chapter I | |
| Introduction | 1 |
| Literature Review | 3 |
| Practical Significance | 10 |
| Theoretical Justification | 13 |
| Delimitations and Limitations | 19 |
| Definitions | 21 |
| Data Collection | 23 |
| Data Analysis | 31 |
| | |
| Chapter II | |
| Point Pelee National Park History, 1918-1959 | 37 |
| "Roadmap" for the Histories | 46 |
| Agent Histories: <u>1960 - 1970</u> | |
| The Backdrop: Administrative Interaction | 47 |
| Smelt Fishing | 55 |
| Nature Study/Bird Watching | 56 |
| Beach Activities | 58 |
| Duck Hunting | 60 |
| Agent Histories: <u>1971 - 1982</u> | |
| The Backdrop: Administrative Interaction | 63 |
| Smelt Fishing | 69 |
| Nature Study/Bird Watching | 72 |
| Beach Activities | 76 |
| Duck Hunting | 80 |
| | |
| Chapter III | |
| Analysis and Summary of Leisure Changes | 87 |
| Link to Academic Literature | 96 |
| | |
| Chapter V | |
| Summary and Conclusions | 104 |
| Further Insight and Future Recommendations | 107 |

| | |
|---|------------|
| | viii |
| References | 110 |
| Appendix A: Diagrams of Point Pelee | 116 |
| Appendix B: Sample Letter to Informant | 118 |
| Appendix C: Questions from Interviews | 120 |
| Appendix D: Written Consent Form | 124 |
| Appendix E: Request for Demographic Material | 125 |
| Appendix F: Demographics of Informants | 126 |
| Vita Auctoris | 127 |

Chapter I

Introduction

National Parks around the globe face the challenge of preserving natural landscapes while at the same time allowing visitors to enjoy their natural beauty. Because the predominant Canadian park ideology over the past 25 years has been preservation rather than recreation (Lowry, 1994), leisure practices of national park visitors have been rigorously scrutinized. While some activities have been encouraged or facilitated, others have been somewhat constrained, or even eliminated. Point Pelee National Park exemplifies this increasing control over leisure activities (see Appendix A).

Located approximately 60 kilometres southeast of Windsor, Ontario, Point Pelee is famous for its bird sightings during the spring and fall migration seasons, and for its unique and diverse ecosystem of beaches, marshes and forests. Intensive use of the park by visitors since the end of World War II raised concern among many in the scientific community as to the ecological damage being done at Point Pelee. Over the past 25 years, visitor use has been closely monitored, severely restricting any leisure activities that endanger park wildlife or destroy park plant life. While activities such as bird watching or nature study are facilitated, other activities such as swimming have been constrained somewhat, and overnight private camping has been completely eliminated.

Preliminary research for this thesis found that three developments possibly affected these changes in park leisure activities. The National Parks Branch policy of Land-use Planning, favourable political support from the Liberal government, and the increasing

popularity of "Environmentalism" during the 1960's and 1970's each were identified as affecting the formation of leisure practices at Point Pelee National Park. Unexamined questions that emerged from this initial research, however, included issues of resistance or conflict with these park leisure developments of "modernization" or environmental "evolution." Missing from the literature were explanations concerning the interaction of park administrators and park visitors with this process of social change.

This study fills a gap in the literature by documenting peoples' confirming or contrasting reactions and perceptions to the changes in leisure at Point Pelee. Research for this study focused on the years 1960 to 1982 as a pivotal period in time when leisure at Point Pelee underwent dramatic change. The majority of informants chosen for interviewing were drawn from a convenience sample (e.g. park administrators, some park visitors), while the rest of the sample was chosen through a snowball sampling method. Along with the interviews, other primary sources include newspapers, interview transcripts from a study on residents of Point Pelee National Park, and several park documents. Secondary sources include published government documents and numerous relevant texts.

To understand the legitimation of certain leisure practices over others, this thesis focuses on the process of how leisure has been socially constructed at the park. Giddens' (1984) duality of structure paradigm is used as a theoretical framework to guide the data analysis. The theoretical questions addressed in this thesis include the following:

- 1) What structures contextualized the facilitation, constraint, or elimination of leisure activities at Point Pelee National Park between 1960 and 1982?
- 2) How did agents interact with these structures to facilitate, constrain, or eliminate leisure activities at Point Pelee National Park between 1960 and 1982?

Data analysis focuses primarily on categorizing the newspaper and interview data into a

computerized "matrix" research design for qualitative analysis. From this computer program, summary files of the data are made into hard copies for further analysis, which simplify the organization of the data and allow for quick referencing. These summary "files" are then analyzed for patterns and themes in the data, which eventually are used in the histories.

Inherent within this study is Kirby's (1989) concept of "research from the margins," a method of research that is concerned with the input of those who often lack the power to affect the production of knowledge. By privileging the data drawn from interviews rather than from secondary sources, or primary sources like government documents, an attempt is made to uncover new facts and perceptions about what leisure practices changed, how they changed, and why they changed, from the viewpoint of the agent rather than the viewpoint of structures.

Literature Review

The literature related to this thesis topic can be divided into two groups: empirically based literature, and theoretically based literature. Research written specifically on Point Pelee is exclusively empirical literature, as no theoretical research has been done on park leisure or park history. Other sources, unrelated to Point Pelee *per se* but pertaining to national parks in general, use theory to discuss how leisure is socially constructed.

Examining how leisure practices are formulated is merely a context to help understand how reality is socially constructed, and how that reality legitimates particular forms of behaviour over others. This thesis thus addresses the interests of researchers concerned with both the empirical and the theoretical nature of leisure in Point Pelee National Park.

The majority of literature pertaining to this national park describes its unique natural environment.¹ Various natural settings are described as landscapes filled with an abundance of unique trees, flora and wildlife only indigenous to this region of Canada. Numerous scientific studies on Point Pelee National Park exist, and copious amounts of biological information on the Park's natural resources have been collected.² Research conducted on park visitors or park leisure, however, is extremely limited.

Grant & Wall (1975) conducted an "on-site self-administered questionnaire" study to collect empirical data on the recreational behaviour and expectations of summer visitors to Point Pelee (p. 120). This data was used to improve the decision-making capabilities of park managers as part of a government program to understand the "extent of environmental damage that recreation might cause" (p. 117). A sample of the demographic statistics collected noted the majority of park visitors were middle class and university-educated, and were repeat visitors to the park. Visitor behaviour was focused on beach activities (89%), and not nature study (47%); activities noted to be "more akin to what one might expect at a provincial, . . . rather than a National Park" (p. 122). Some of the expectations purported were that 59% of park visitors were very satisfied with "the park in general," that 60% were very satisfied with the park wardens, but that insect control and litter problems needed "attention" (p. 123).

One criticism of this study is that it does not have socio-historical value over any length of time. But more importantly, Grant and Wall had to interpret the meanings

¹General sources on Pelee's environment include Parks Canada (1992), Stewart (1977) and Morrison (1974).

²An annotated bibliography of all scientific studies conducted at Point Pelee prior to 1974 can be found in the Documents Section of the Leddy Library at the University of Windsor. More recent studies include Watson (1994) and Hecnar (1992).

underlying the respondents' "checkmarks." For example, while 60% stated "preservation" was the "main purpose of national parks," only 10% claimed they were for "education". Because these terms were undefined, such figures perpetuate an ambiguity that is left only to the researcher for explanation. This thesis, instead, records the feelings and motives underlying the actions of park administrators and visitors, which can help to explain why and how such behaviours and perceptions did, or did not, occur.

Federal documents pertaining to land-use planning in the Park (Recreation Plan, 1976) also reveal the "identification" of park leisure activities, but lack any theoretical analysis. The little that has been written on Park visitors' outdoor recreation practices (e.g., Taverner, 1907) concentrates mainly on bird-watching or other ornithological interests. This thesis will attract those individuals interested in the range of activities offered to the park visitor at Point Pelee, and how the changes to those activities have been perceived by park visitors and administrators.

A valuable historical source on Point Pelee Park history was published by the National and Provincial Parks Association of Canada (NPPAC), a preservationist lobby group aiming to protect Canada's "majestic natural scenery."³ Battin & Nelson (1978) detailed the impact "Man" has had on the park through a "human ecological approach" (p. 1). Recreational activities such as swimming, picnicking, camping, hiking, and bird watching were given specific historical attention, but only to the extent of proving the corresponding effects

³Those people belonging to the NPPAC have been called "Patriotic Canadians" (Markham, 1994).

recreation has had on the landscape.⁴ The histories in this thesis which examine, rather than assume, the hegemonic value of preservation, illuminate new and interesting viewpoints on the past events of Point Pelee leisure. This thesis thus satisfies a need to see leisure in the park from viewpoints other than those of scientists, environmentalists, or politicians.

Of pre-eminent importance in any study concerning national parks is an understanding of the history of Canadian national parks and parks policy. While Lothian (1981) has offered a general history of Canada's national parks, a more specific historical investigation concerning the ideological tension between recreation and preservation has been completed by Bella (1987). In her conclusion, Bella contended that Canada's national parks represent a compromise between the demand for profit and the need for preservation. Bella's examination of factors affecting the desire for profit illustrated that *scenery* was a natural resource exploited by developers and federal/provincial administrators through park tourism. Despite the flooding of tourists and the subsequent attempts by park planners to limit "heavy" visitor use at Point Pelee, Bella insisted the park "remain[ed] primarily a recreation area" (p. 78). This thesis follows on the work of Bella by examining the processes involved in the "limiting" of leisure practices at Point Pelee within this context of tension between recreation and preservation ideologies.

A prominent source of academic literature dealing with Canadian national parks has been the *Canadian National Parks: today and tomorrow* conference papers first published in 1968 (Nelson & Scace, 1968), with a second publication coming from the second conference

⁴Chapter 10 generally discusses the "damaging" effects of recreation to the Point Pelee landscape, see especially pages 129-167.

held one decade later in 1978 (Nelson et al., 1978). Scholars and practitioners alike participated in an exchange of ideas that resulted in a two volume publication for each conference. This decade marked a time of considerable change in terms of "institutional and public attitudes toward and perceptions of the value and the role of parks and other categories of conservation and recreation areas" (Nelson et al., 1978: preface page). While examining the progress and problems during this decade, each conference aimed to identify "desirable strategies and guidelines for future policy and practice" (preface page). These two sources have proved very valuable for their practical content. This thesis adds to this practical knowledge by constructing a history which illuminates leisure practices heretofore unnoticed by scholars of that time period.

Analysis of the aforementioned histories exposes the use of a common conceptual framework. Each source is a narrative history, piecing together a story using empirical facts without the overt use of social theory. Attempts are made to explain the nature of leisure changes in the nation's parks by drawing direct cause and effect relationships, i.e., policies leading to change or ideological "pendulum-swings" leading to change. While such explanations may be part of the "puzzle," they tend to infer that social change is an evolutionary process, unanimously desirable by the "public." This leads the reader to assume that with the prevalence of the pro-environmentalist perspective in this literature, no other or conflicting viewpoints exist. The assumption of this thesis, however, is that this is not the case; other perspectives have merely been neglected in the literature. Therefore, an attempt has been made to document various viewpoints concerning the changes in leisure practices at Point Pelee, while refraining from any pro-preservationist assumptions. To do this, the role of

human agency in the social transformation and social continuity of leisure practices in the park will be included, rather than just social structures such as policies or ideologies which have affected leisure. For example, the study of leisure practices in this thesis compares to the work of Wetherell (1990) who examined how social structures in Alberta shaped leisure during the early twentieth century. In contrast, however, this study investigates the interaction of *both* structures *and* agents involved in the social processes of leisure construction.

The body of theoretical literature pertaining to this thesis topic analyzes leisure within the changing social context of history. Bailey (1978) considered leisure in terms of class relations in the world of Victorian England, where middle class activism sought to provide a "rational recreation" for those of the working class. A similar concept, "moral regulation," first termed by Durkheim, was used by Corrigan & Sayer (1985) to describe the role of the state in the formation and regulation of cultural relations. Corrigan & Sayer note the state as the prime source of moral regulation, defining this process as a "project of normalizing, [and] rendering . . . 'obvious' " a particular moral ethos. Extending this concept beyond the realm of the state was the work of Rojek (1993), who analyzed how Disney Theme parks are a form of moral regulation where leisure experiences "operate to organize subjects rather than enabl[e] them to exercise free choice and self-determination" (p. 122). The concepts in the latter articles suggest how particular leisure practices become legitimated, while others become marginalized.

Donnelly (1993) contended that the nature of preferred landscapes for leisure, and how these rural and wilderness spaces are used, are in fact socially constructed ideas and not simply "common sense" (p. 188). The hegemony of middle class values in leisure was the

focus of a study on the British Mountaineers of the Victorian era. Robbins (1987) aimed to produce "sociological work which attempt[ed] to relate the emergence and development of [leisure] to the wider social and cultural context" (p. 584). He found that the sport of mountaineering was a context in which Victorian society was not only reflected, but indeed, was constituted. Public city parks have been the focus of two studies (Metcalf, 1978; McDonald, 1984). Both studies agree that historians must recognize "that working people h[old] their own views of how recreational space should be managed" (McDonald, 1984: 153). Hardy (1983) contended that when the source material for historians arrives from the minutes or reports of the elites of society, "should we not expect the historian to write history from the top down[?]" (p. 291). The relative silence of subordinate groups has thus "stemmed from the limits of historical research, not from their own impotence in historical reality" (p. 291).

Ponic (1994) examined the theoretical underpinnings of Giddens's duality of structure paradigm by investigating the dynamics that produced the Canadian Fitness and Amateur Sport Branch's Women's Program. The women involved in the program (agents) were interviewed to uncover structures that facilitated and/or inhibited their actions, and how their reactions either altered, produced or reproduced these structures. Ponic concluded that "the structures worked at different levels to facilitate or to inhibit the agents' attempts to initiate change" (p. 68). What change did occur was only at a "surface level," as the "underlying power relations remained the same" (p. 72). Ponic concluded that "a greater comprehension of agency within and across these institutions is needed to advance our understanding of the duality of structure . . ." (p. 88). This thesis builds upon Ponic's work by investigating the

role of agents in the process of social change within the institution of national parks.

Documenting how agents have contributed to social change and/or social maintenance through interaction with social structures will further the understanding of the duality of structure framework espoused by Giddens.

Practical Significance*

I am an adventurer. Not often am I satisfied with someone else constructing my observations of nature, whether this is through the routes laid out for me by hiking trails in national parks or through the groomed ski runs down a mountain; I need to seek adventure and I often ponder the limitations on my "right to wander."⁵ While at provincial or national parks, I always wanted to go beyond the fences that were placed there "for my safety" to see what lay beyond them. I wanted to crawl on my stomach to the ledge of some cliff and peer over to see what lay beyond its dizzying heights. Restrictions and rules and fences, while protecting me, have constructed how I observe nature.

While vacationing on the Aran Islands near the west coast of Ireland, I was able to explore any area I found interesting, and satisfy my adventurous spirit. There were no fences dictating where I could go, and I discovered much about myself because I was defining my own experiences and observations of the land and environment in which I found myself. My observations were not structured for me by trails that I had to stay on or fences that restricted

⁵The "right to wander" is a phrase taken from Donnelly (1993).

* Part of this section is written in the first-person narrative. This is to accentuate the author's personal assumptions and experience in this thesis process, which follows Kirby's method of "research from the margins."

my curiosity.

Leisure at Point Pelee is very restricted, and after my first visit there in the summer of 1994, I was intrigued as to why such a park became that way. After learning about the uniqueness of its environment in Canada, and believing in the values of "environmentalism," I accepted the restrictions placed upon my leisure and assumed those restrictions were "right." However, I was still intrigued with how those restrictions transpired. In searching for a thesis topic, my advisor suggested that I investigate the historical construction of those restrictions on the leisure practices in the park. Assuming there would always have been these restrictions (and that everyone would share my cultural values of "environmentalism"), I questioned her suggestion that perhaps conflicting opinions existed concerning the history of leisure practices.

Reservedly, I began to research the park's leisure and discovered a perpetual conflict of recreation versus preservation in the park. However, it was only in the past 25 years that the majority of these restrictions on leisure had been instituted. As a result, I learned that not all park visitors have felt the same way toward environmentalism over the years. It was then that I realized how I *assume* my cultural values are shared by others; I realized that not everyone must have agreed to stay within "the fences." Realizing that I tended to see the world through the eyes of a white, anglo-saxon male, my academic advisor challenged me to see the world from other viewpoints despite my intransigence. The result of my efforts is the thesis you read before you.

Individuals with an interest in Point Pelee will find this thesis quite intriguing. Lobby groups like the Friends of Point Pelee, park administrators, or even the common park visitor,

will find this thesis illuminates opinions of the park that they may have shared around their own kitchen tables. Historians and other academic scholars will appreciate the attempts of this thesis to further the understanding of leisure in our society and how it is formed by individuals within a changing social context.

Many people have opposing or different viewpoints and yet they are never heard from vocally or in academic print. Kirby (1989) claimed that the purpose of doing research was to create "possible knowledges" that could explain our world. The knowledges most often created by historians *privilege* the recorded word over the memory of people. Hoopes (1979) contended that "feelings are also facts, at least in the historical sense" (p. 16). Oral history is quite valuable for offering a "feel" for the facts that "can be provided only by one who lived with them..." (p. 15). Therefore, this thesis was produced to offer "research from the margins" by delving into the memories of Point Pelee Park visitors and administrators to record their recollections, feelings and attitudes of how leisure changed in the park. Of central importance to the histories in this thesis is that they have been first created from the viewpoint of the agent - and not the structures. Finding evidence from newspapers, park documents, or academic literature to either corroborate or discount people's accounts, rather than the other way around, creates research that privileges the knowledge of those who most often lack the resources to produce "truth."

This thesis can help others to understand the leisure history of Point Pelee National Park a little better, but more importantly, it represents the realization of one academic as to the worth of being open-minded to the values of others.

Theoretical Justification

Giddens' (1984) *duality of structure* paradigm will be utilized within this thesis to help explain the changes to leisure over time in Point Pelee National Park. Examples are offered for clarification, including some which relate to this thesis.

The central concepts of the *duality of structure* paradigm are "structure and agency." Agency refers to the "intentional actions" of a person or agent (Giddens, 1984: 8). Structure refers to a conceptualization of behaviour that exists in the memory of agents, and is made physical during instances of action. Essentially, people create "structural properties" or rules and resources to organize their lives (p. 17). For example, a stop sign is a symbol used to enforce the rule that people should stop their car. It is only in the act of stopping, however, that the structure is materialized; prior to this it is only a behaviour that can be conceived. Structure is like a mental vision that places social behaviour within boundaries. When agents actively repeat certain rules or resources, a pattern of social relations is created, called a social system (Giddens, 1984). Examples of social systems include patterns of behaviour in an office environment, a bank, or a national park.

As a paradigm, or social viewpoint, the *duality of structure* can be used to explain how people live their lives within particular boundaries, and although such boundaries can be "constraining," they can also have the effect of being "enabling" (Giddens, 1984: 25). For example, traffic laws constrain driving activity to limited highway speeds, yet the laws also enable drivers to feel a degree of safety given that a majority of drivers will behave in an "orderly" fashion. Therefore, the first aspect of this paradigm is that although structure may inhibit social behaviour, it may (or may not) also facilitate social behaviour.

The second aspect of this theoretical paradigm is that agents, while affected by structure, also have the ability to maintain or transform structure. For example, should people disagree with a speed limit on a highway, a lobby group could be organized to persuade politicians to change the law governing the speed limit, thereby transforming the "inhibiting" effects of the structure.

The third aspect of this paradigm serves as the string which ties the latter two aspects together. Structural properties (rules and resources) can only shape social actions if agents acknowledge their presence, status and/or influence. This is what makes the interaction between agents and structures a duality, as interaction is not uni-directional, though perhaps asymmetrical; structures are the "medium" but also the "outcome" of the social practices they "recursively organize" (p. 25). This "outcome" is affected by agent interaction, as the outcome can either be social change or social maintenance. The degree to which an agent acknowledges structures, either consciously or unconsciously, correlates with how "internalized" structures become a part of an agent's social reality. For example, an informal rule in North American society states that it is orderly and proper to queue when waiting for a service at a counter. Such a rule may appear to be "second-nature," yet it is exactly this intrinsic acceptance which suggests how naturalized the behaviour of queuing has become as a social practice. Rules such as queuing are the most effective because agents have reified them, making them a "real" and/or "obvious" aspect of their social behaviour.

Giddens regards rules as "generalizable procedures" that are "applied in the [production] and reproduction of social practices" (p. 21). Rules can be formal, such as those codified into laws; however, the majority of rules which govern behaviour are informal.

Examples of informal rules include such simple things as rules that govern language (e.g., swearing is only situation-appropriate), or rules which govern attire (e.g., men don't wear dresses). Giddens contends that it is these informal rules that are "most influential in the structuring of social activity" (p. 22).

Another property of structure, along with rules (formal and informal), is resources. Giddens divided resources into two categories, allocative and authoritative. Allocative resources are defined as material resources involved in the generation of power, such as money or property "including the natural environment . . . ; allocative resources derive from human domination over nature" (p. 373). Authoritative resources refer to non-material resources, which "harness the activities of human beings, and . . . generat[e] command over persons or actors" (p. 373). Both allocative and authoritative resources, like other structural properties, lack any "real existence" except when they become "incorporated within processes of structuration" (p. 33). Social norms and modes of behaviour involving resources manifest this process, and in turn, create a social "reality."

Traditions, institutions, assumptions, and ideologies are considered components of social systems, created from structural properties (Giddens, 1984; Williams, 1977). In discussing the making of history, Giddens states that in all social systems, "social reproduction occurs in and through the regularized conduct of knowledgeable agents" (p. 199). The settings of conduct are "reflexively monitored" by actors to link role relations of past actions to future actions. Tradition, Williams' (1977) claims, is "not just the surviving past . . . , " but a "selective" version of a "shaping past and a pre-shaped present" (p. 115). Building on the work of Levi-Strauss, Giddens comments that tradition

represents the moral command of "what went before" over the continuity of day-to-day life . . . tradition is *the* medium of the reversible time linking the *durée* [continuous flow] of daily life with that of the *longue durée* of institutions [author's emphasis] (p. 200).

The leisure practices at Point Pelee are often times repetitious activities, appearing to several informants as "traditional" in nature. However, Hobsbawm (1983) has clarified that for an activity to be a "tradition," that activity must be "invariant," and "normally formalized" through structured, repetitious practices. While leisure practices at Point Pelee may indeed be repetitious, as witnessed through the perennial activities of smelt fishing and duck hunting, they are not formalized to the point of rigidity. Instead, leisure activities at Point Pelee tend to reflect what Hobsbawm called "customs," or "flexible" practices that remain repetitious and compatible with actions of precedence, but do not preclude change or derivation from formalized practice. The term "custom," therefore, more accurately describes the historical characteristics associated with the leisure practices being examined at Point Pelee National Park between 1960-1982, and will thus be used in these histories instead of the word "tradition."

Institutions are referred to as select social practices formed from specific meanings and values (Williams, 1977: 115-118) which have "the greatest time-space extensions" (Giddens, 1984: 17). In other words, those select activities which are reproduced most often become the most enduring of activities. For example, education, law, and family are all social institutions which were formed from values that have extended over time. Government is also an institution, created out of the activities of political management.

Assumptions and ideologies are also foundational components of structure. They exist internally within agents and regulate the manner in which they think about their own realities.

Assumptions are defined as beliefs regarding the manner in which society is to operate. Ideologies refer to normalized sets of ideas regarding the nature of society (Williams, 1977). One prominent assumption about National Parks in Canada is that the leisure practices of park visitors must be controlled, and that this control is best implemented using scientific research. Based on this assumption, official perspectives on park leisure usually align with scientific and bureaucratic ideologies controlling land use. Park leisure is accordingly regulated to abide by these ideologies because it is perceived that the scientific method is the most effective to control land use in the park. What results from the federal government's and Park officials' attempts to maintain a compromise between preservation and recreational use is that certain leisure practices tend to be marginalized.

Structures do not exist independent of each other, as rules and resources are intertwined in conceptualization, but also in action. Each are linked to other components of social systems; for example, the park as an *institution* has *rules* for hours of operation, park *resources* such as money for staffing or facilities, and even *ideologies* which shape the actions of people to preserve natural surroundings. Structures also exist at different levels of human interaction. When an institution like the Federal Parks Branch creates rules at the federal level, it relies upon the implementation of these rules through its local authoritative resources, who may, or may not, effectively enforce such rules. This framework therefore conceptualizes "structure" not as a monolithic concept but rather as components that form an integrated whole. Structures are accordingly divided into components, each of which interact, to varying degrees, with each other and with agents.

The concept of *moral regulation* will be used to assist the *duality of structure* paradigm

in this thesis in helping to partially explain the changes in leisure practices at Point Pelee National Park. In brief, moral regulation refers to the social construction of normalcy. Corrigan and Sayer (1985) utilized this concept to discuss state formation in medieval England, a process based largely upon the "local ruling elites in the exercise of governance"(p. 16). Forms of state, (i.e., Parliament, or other major institutions of rule) were created by these individuals to exercise effective authority over the affairs of the public, and in the process, regulate the legitimacy of moral behaviour.⁶ The reproduction of this power base was partially related to a matter of "tradition", as "English state forms accommodate[d] substantial change whilst appearing to preserve an unbroken evolutionary link with the past" (p. 17).

The process of moral regulation is related to and can be partially explained by the *duality of structure* paradigm. English state formation is analogous to the formation of leisure practices at Point Pelee park during 1960-1982. Like English Parliament, the institutional form of the National Parks Branch was utilized by those in positions of privilege to regulate the behaviour of park visitors at Point Pelee. Resources were accessed by knowledgeable agents (park administrators, naturalists groups) to create rules that shaped and institutionalized preservationist behaviour. Over time, this behaviour was reproduced to the point of appearing almost "normal" or "obvious" to some visitors, thereby legitimating the assumptions which facilitated this ideology and its effects. Moral regulation is thus related to

⁶Corrigan and Sayer offer an example of how the institution of Parliament regulated, and was in turn regulated by, the affairs of the propertied class: "Parliament . . . became a significant means of organizing consensus within a restricted political nation. The whole subsequent history [of English] state formation takes this 'organized consensus' as central" (p. 30).

the *duality of structure* paradigm in that the production of normalcy involves the interaction of agents with structures (formal rules, institutions, assumptions, tradition) which, on the one hand, legitimates the suppression and marginalization of structures which facilitate certain "illegitimate" behaviour, and on the other hand encourages structures which facilitate more "legitimate" forms of behaviour.

Delimitations and Limitations

Certain delimitations exist for this thesis beginning with the commencement of background research in 1918, the year marking Point Pelee's official creation as a national park. This study has been divided into two time periods. The first time period for study, 1960-1970, was chosen for two reasons. Firstly, this decade predates any formalized land-use planning; therefore, the changes in leisure practices during this time period will be analyzed and compared with the changes occurring from 1971-1982. Secondly, this decade introduces the development of components of structures that overtly shaped the leisure practices in the park from 1971-1982.

The year 1960 is marked because of the introduction of the first Park Naturalist, D. Law, who, in cooperation with a naturalist staff, was responsible for park interpretation (Battin & Nelson in Wall & Marsh, 1982). Their involvement with park leisure led to the creation of Interpretive Planning, one part of the land-use planning project called the Master Plan which unofficially began in 1971 with a public transit system, but was made official in documentation in 1972. Interpretive Planning was used to communicate to visitors the "spiritual meaning that lie[s] behind what the visitor can with his [sic] senses perceive"

(Tilden in Interpretive Program Report, ca. 1970: 1), and "an *awareness, . . . understanding* and an *appreciation* of the natural *environment . . . which inspires and provokes* thought and departs from the presentation of *only* facts and information" ([author's emphasis],p. 1). It is hypothesized that this type of formalized land-use planning sought to institutionalize preservationist assumptions and values to "monitor" and "control" leisure practices in the park. Therefore, since the roots of these components of structures developed with the actions of the park naturalist and staff during 1960-1970, analysis of their development during this decade must preface the changes in leisure practices during 1971-1982.

The second time period chosen for study, 1971-1982, represents the years when park planning was beginning to be implemented. As stated previously, the public transit system, which was started in 1971, radically changed the context of leisure at the park. It is included, however, in the first official document, the Master Plan, which was introduced in 1972 and "provided a good foundation for Park management and development" (Parks Canada, 1982: 7). During the decade of the 1970's, the Master Plan was "reviewed and updated," including revisions to the "nature of recreational opportunities" in the park (p. 7). Available information on the "changing requirements and expectations of visitors" to the park was partially responsible for these revisions.⁷ The Master Plan was replaced in 1982 by the Management Plan. Rather than a "major shift in the management of the Park," the Management Plan was simply a "refinement of the management intent and philosophy outlined in the 1972 Master Plan" (p. 7). Therefore, the era which introduced the

⁷New information on the "natural components of the Park" was also cited as part of the additional information which led to the revisions of the Master Plan (Parks Canada, 1982: 7).

complexities of change occurred during the years 1960 to 1982.

The number of informants interviewed for this thesis was delimited to the manageable number of twenty, who were chosen according to specific "informant" requirements. Qualitative research such as indepth interviewing, however, seldom yields precise descriptive statements about a large population (Babbie, 1986). This thesis, therefore, is only suggestive rather than definitive of the responses that all park visitors may have had during the time period of 1960-1982. As well, the data from those interviewed in this thesis offer only insights into the process of how leisure changes in the park were formed. It is, in fact, only a representation of historical reality, rather than a description of historical reality. The reliability of this data depended not only on the informants chosen for interviewing, but on the quality of the questions asked. The reactions of informants to the demeanour of the interviewer is another limitation to this thesis. Efforts taken to decrease these limitations are discussed more thoroughly in the data collection section of this thesis.

Definitions

To clarify the domain of leisure practices under analysis, a working definition of leisure was needed. Definitions aiming to encapsulate the concept of leisure have been created by scholars of many different academic disciplines, including philosophy, anthropology, and social psychology. Dare et al. (1987) documented how leisure has been defined by Socrates and other early greek philosophers as a spiritual and rational form of personal freedom. Godbey (1985) noted leisure as "freedom from the external compulsive forces of one's culture . . ." (in Godbey, 1988: 9). de Grazia (1962) contended that leisure is

an attitude towards life and place in society, an "ideal based upon the importance of rational, disinterested thought" (pp. 223-224). Because this thesis is a socio-historical study which approaches the study of leisure from a social constructionist perspective, leisure is defined in this thesis according to this viewpoint. The prolific work of Kelly (1983, 1987, 1992) in the area of leisure studies was used to define leisure in this thesis.

Kelly approaches leisure from the interactionist perspective, noting how agents and the meaning of their actions occur within a social context. This perspective compliments Giddens' *duality of structure* paradigm, showing how leisure is socially constructed through the interaction of agents with structures. Leisure is thus a process whereby action and structure are in an "ongoing and dialectical relationship" (Kelly, 1992: 6). Although leisure is a part of many social institutions, including family, work, and government, it is the actions and interactions of agents which creates such institutions.

Kelly (1983) regards leisure as a social process formulated through "freedom as well as structure" (p. 167). Despite the fact that the chosen environment, social framework, or form of the activity may be socially constructed, "the freedom is in the choice" (p. 167). Temporal as well as spatial boundaries are dimensions of leisure, however, leisure cannot be calculated into seconds, minutes or hours, as leisure involves not only the time and form of an activity, but also its meaningful quality. For example, Cheek & Burch (1976) contended that "the most significant function of leisure is related to social bonding" (in Kelly, 1992: 175). A leisurely act is self-determining, meaning that agency exists within the realm of leisure practices. Leisure need not be a moral activity (p. 14), but most often involves feelings of relative enjoyment (Kelly, 1987).

In consideration of these points, the following definition from Kelly (1992) was used to identify leisure practices for analysis in Point Pelee National Park. Leisure is defined as *self-determining action with primary meaning contained within the experience.*

The leisure practices that were chosen for analysis include smelt fishing, bird watching/nature study, beach activities, and duck hunting. Beach activities include those numerous activities which occur on the beach, such as picnicking or swimming, but also include the camping activities which occurred near the beach. These leisure practices fit within this definition, as do accessorial leisure aspects of these practices, e.g., social drinking and beachcombing for coins, or even "trouble-maker" activities such as motorcycle gang parties or late-night, teen-age shenanigans.

Data Collection

The data collected for this study was gleaned from various sources. Secondary data relating to Point Pelee, Canadian and American national parks, and outdoor recreation and leisure literature was accessed. Point Pelee National Park offers the public a reference library within its gates, and it was from this location that the majority of park documents and park studies were uncovered. Local newspapers from Windsor and Leamington were perused for information between 1918-1982, guided by the assistance of an index for the Windsor Star which briefly described the topics of approximately one hundred articles related to the park. A Local Clippings File on Point Pelee National Park was discovered at the Windsor Public Library which assisted in the process of gathering newspaper data, as many articles that were not noted on the Windsor Star index list were found in hard copy in this file. A valuable

source of oral evidence for this thesis came in the form of the Point Pelee Transcripts. The Point Pelee National Park Advisory Committee, in co-operation with a federal government job-creation program, produced transcripts of interviews with over 60 residents of Point Pelee in 1984. Information from these sources formed the data base for the early history of Point Pelee (1918-1959) in this thesis, but were also used to provide background information for use in the interviewing process for the 1960-1982 histories.

Interviewing was an essential aspect of data collection for this thesis. In-depth interviewing was conducted by combining the reliability of the "standardized open-ended interview approach" with the flexibility of the "general interview guide approach" (Patton, 1980: 198). Open-ended questions were used in the interview process to allow informants, and not the researcher, to determine the direction of the answer. Four categories of carefully worded questions were arranged in an order, with each informant being asked one set of categorized questions. Standardizing questions in this way was intended to minimize the variability of questions between informants, thereby increasing the reliability of the data received, and decreasing the bias of the interviewer (Patton, 1980). The researcher needed the flexibility, however, to deviate, at times, from the order of the questions in each category to probe into other areas of questioning. Therefore, although there were standardized questions for each group of informants, and although the questions were in order (and were most often asked in order), the interviewer wanted to reserve the flexibility to deviate from the standardized list momentarily to ask probe questions *if the need arose*. It is this deviation from the standardized open-ended interview approach in this thesis which required the sporadic use of a more flexible "general approach" (Patton, 1980: 318). It should be stressed

that the standardized line of questioning was always completed with each informant, thereby maintaining reliable answers from each informant in each category, and minimizing interviewer bias as much as possible.

Twenty individuals were interviewed for this thesis, all of whom currently live in Canada, and most of whom live in the local Windsor/Essex County area. The majority of these individuals were identified through three phases. The nature of the data collection process for this thesis begins with an understanding of these three phases:

Phase 1.

Several park administrators were identified through initial research into this study, and with some help from the present Point Pelee park administration to find contact phone numbers, each of these individuals was labelled a potential candidate for interviewing.

Phase 2.

A list of individuals associated with the 1991 Point Pelee Park Advisory Committee was uncovered in a file cabinet at the Point Pelee Park library. Information on this list cited the names and phone numbers of each individual, as well as which local organization they represented on the committee, e.g., Sun Parlour Nature Club, Fish and Game Advisory Committee, CBC Windsor (television station), Leamington Chamber of Commerce, Windsor Star (newspaper). It was known by the researcher that this committee was composed of local individuals who were concerned with the affairs of park administration and park leisure. Therefore, this list proved valuable to the researcher, and the noted individuals were all considered potentially valuable candidates for interviewing. With the knowledge of the potential park administrators from phase 1,

and the committee list of park visitors from phase 2, a total of 25 individuals were targeted at this point in the data collection process as possible candidates for interviewing.

Phase 3.

The third process of identifying informants was through a snowball sampling method. Snowball sampling is a method of developing a sample by starting with a small selected group of respondents and asking them to recommend others for interviewing (Babbie, 1986). Further discussion on this process will be addressed in the upcoming part of this section in this thesis.

Prior to contacting the potential candidates, a tentative set of criteria was created for identifying how each informant was to be selected. From initial research it was concluded by the researcher that four popular leisure practices were the most interesting and could best illustrate the changes in park leisure over time. These leisure practices were smelt fishing, duck hunting, bird watching/nature study, and beach activities. The criteria for interviewing, therefore, began with individuals associated with any of these four practices and park administration.

The next step of informant identification included classifying the individuals. A total of twenty interviews were to be conducted, and logic prompted the researcher to have five informants in four categories. Initial research suggested that two activities, duck hunting and smelt fishing, proved to be similar in clientele. Therefore, these two leisure practices were combined into one category, and along with bird watching/nature study, beach activities, and park administration, four categories were thus created, with five informants fitting into each

category.

In finding five informants for each of the four categories (smelting/duck hunting, bird watching/nature study, beach activities, and park administration), each category was to include at least two informants who were involved with leisure at the park during 1960-1970, and two during 1971-1982. As well, at least two informants were to belong to an organization which related to park leisure, and two who did not. A diverse background in educational levels was considered, although not strongly. Finally, given that the leisure activities at the park and the positions of park administrators were male-dominated, the author intended to find two females for each of the four categories.

At this point in the data collection process, 18 out of the 25 possible interview candidates were targeted, meaning that they were either park administrators, or somehow related to the four leisure practices. However, it was not known how many years these individuals had lived in the local area, whether they had visited Point Pelee quite often during 1960-1982, or how often they participated in their particular leisure activity each season if they indeed had visited the park during 1960-1982 at all. The next step in phase 2 of the data collection process was thus to contact these individuals to gather more information concerning their suitability as candidates to be interviewed.

Selected park administrators and the chosen park visitors from the committee list were each contacted by phone and informed about the nature of the study, and asked if they were interested in participating. Upon verbal consent, questions were asked concerning their "association" with the park. "Associated" was defined as: 1) someone who worked at the park and was witness to leisure activity changes during 1960-1982, i.e., park wardens, park

administrators; 2) someone who visited the park relatively often (once/twice per year) during 1960-1982, and in actively participating (once/twice per seasonal activity) in one of the four leisure practices witnessed changes in park leisure activities, e.g., birder, beacher, smelter, hunter; and/or 3) someone who had collected knowledge about the park and documented leisure changes i.e., reporter, journalist.

After confirming the suitability of 15 of the 18 individuals as tentative informants through the "association-criteria" test, a date and time was established for each interview. Meetings were arranged at the convenience of the informants; however, interviews were not conducted for each group in sequence. Interviews with informants were dispersed among categories, so that information being collected from informant responses in each category could be cross-referenced with other informant responses, thereby enhancing data analysis during the process of data collection, and improving researcher anticipation of moments in the interview when probing questions would be most effective (Patton, 1980).

Prior to the face-to-face interview, each informant was mailed a letter as an introduction to the researcher and to the purpose of the thesis (see Appendix B). Included in this letter was a list of the questions that the informant could potentially be asked during the interview (see Appendix C): if questions arose during the interview that were not on the list, however, the researcher did not hesitate to engage in this new line of questioning, given that the informant appeared knowledgeable. After meeting the informant in person on the agreed upon date, and before beginning the interview, a letter of consent was signed by each informant, indicating their awareness of the research topic, its purpose, and their assurance of anonymity (see Appendix D). With the permission of each respondent, interviews were tape

recorded to increase the accuracy of transcription. The recording of one interview was cut short because of forgotten back-up tapes, however, this situation was quickly remedied by the researcher who proceeded with the interview by taking notes as accurately as possible. Short notes were compiled after each interview for two purposes; first, they detailed any exceptional points that were to be examined in the data analysis process, and second, they recorded how any improvements could be made to the interviewing process (Garrett, 1982).

The interview began by allowing each of the informants to comment on their initial visits to the park, and what leisure practices they enjoyed. Subsequent questions by the researcher built upon these initial comments, but questions also probed into the validity or accuracy of the historical facts previously uncovered by the researcher from other primary and secondary sources. Through this method, informant responses were "mentally" cross-referenced during each interview for confirmation and/or clarification of historical accuracy.

Following each interview, a demographic form was completed by each informant (see Appendix E). Two interviews were conducted over the telephone, and in both cases these informants were read the contents of both the consent form and the demographic form. Both informants gladly offered their consent to participate in the study, and provided the corresponding demographic information. In two cases, however, the interviews were cut short because of a "miscommunication" between the informant and the researcher as to the "association-criteria" test; that is, the interviewee proved to be unsuitable for this study. These two interviews were terminated, however, both informants offered names of other individuals to contact for possible interviews. This was the beginning of phase 3 in the data collection process.

It was indicated earlier that Phase 3, a snowball sampling methodology, was used to select certain informants by asking interviewed informants to recommend other candidates for interviewing. This method of data collection was chosen because of its flexibility in field research (Babbie, 1989).⁸ Because the researcher was not from the local area, did not have knowledge of a network of individuals, had limited resources, and because some potentially valuable informants were not available (i.e., deceased, uninterested, "out of town"), this methodology allowed for the most efficient process of contacting possible interview candidates.

Of the 25 informants initially targeted for interviews, 18 were finally chosen according to the four categories of leisure practices: subsequent testing with the "association-criteria" resulted in 15 individuals being chosen for interviewing. Of the 15 individuals interviewed, 2 informants were subsequently designated "unsuitable," but both informants gladly offered names and contact numbers of other possible interview candidates. After contacting and screening 7 new potential informants with the "association-criteria" test, and interviewing them under the same conditions as the other informants, the required number of 20 interviews were attained and completed.

In the final assessment of informant backgrounds, only two females were found for one of the four categories (bird watching/nature study) and no females were found for the smelt fishing/duck hunting category. As well, the intended number of informants belonging to organizations were not found in two categories (beach activities and park management).

⁸This method of data collection was found to be suitable in other socio-historical leisure studies as well. See, for example, Allison & Meyer, 1988; Case, 1984.

Appendix F lists the background of the individuals interviewed, along with their occupations, and the age-range by category. Also included are the pseudonyms, in no particular order, that relate to the individuals in each category which are used in the histories of this thesis.

Data Analysis

The analysis of the data began with organizing and categorizing the information gleaned from the newspaper articles. Information was either copied by hand, or photocopied if lengthy, and dated during the data collection process. The organization of the data began with transferring the information into a computer program, designed to have the four categories (smelting/duck hunting, bird watching/nature study, beach activities, and park management) along the x axis, and the years 1960-1982 in single year increments along the y axis. Quotes or information about each article was then entered into the computer. This process partially follows the design in Patton (1980) concerning the "process/outcome matrix": an evaluation research design for qualitative data (p. 318). Information from each category of this matrix was then printed into a hard copy summary, organizing what events occurred in each year for each category (see Table 1a. and 1b. for example).

Table 1a.

| |
|---|
| <p><u>Summary of Newspapers by Category and Year</u> <u>BIRD WATCHING/NATURE STUDY</u> 1967 -JUN 29 -article on naturalist study BURIED IN SECTION D5 -picture of William Wyatt, young chief park naturalist shown at work</p> |
|---|

Table 1b.

| <u>Summary of Newspapers by Category and Year</u> | |
|---|---|
| <u>BIRD WATCHING/NATURE STUDY</u> | |
| 1970 | |
| -SEP 21 | -butterfly and hawk migration article. Just mentioned so that I can see they're beginning to mention nature articles. |
| 1971 | |
| -APR 13 | -easter weekend, "mainly birders" says Knight....11000 visitors. -picture above showed 3 men chopping 600 cords of wood for campsites this summer at Wheatly PP. |

As shown in Tables 1a. and 1b., each category was transferred into a hard copy summary. From this summary, information could be quickly referenced.

Analysis of the interview data was concurrent with the data collection process, as each interview was immediately transcribed after being conducted. This prevented any memory loss on the part of the researcher of the context in which an informant offered a response to a question. Facial expressions which were associated with the tones of informant's voices on tape were part of the context of the informant's answers, and indicated significant meanings within the responses that were important to the validity of such responses, and indeed, to the validity of the histories. The interviews were transcribed into a computer program similar to that used for the organization of the newspaper data. A "practice/outcome" matrix was formed, with the words "transcription" and "other comments" placed on the x axis, and each informants name placed on the y axis (see Table 2.).

Table 2.

| | Transcript | Other comments |
|-----------|---------------------------------|----------------------|
| Doe, John | P- (text...?) J- (text.....) | (text.....) |
| Doe, Mary | P- (text...?) M-(text.....) | (text.....) |

Each informant's interview was typed into a computer data base that allowed for thousands of pages of text in each cell in the table. Organizing the transcripts this way allowed for quick referencing of data. After each transcription was entered into the computer program, hard copies were made of each transcription. Each transcription was numbered according to pages and not paragraphs. The average length of each transcription was 8.5 single-spaced pages, requiring approximately five hours of transcription per hour of taped data.

Analysis of the hard copy transcripts required repetitious reading to generate a "feeling" for what the informants were saying. The focus behind this repetitious reading process related to the questions that were being asked of the data: what structures contextualized the facilitation, constraint, or elimination of leisure activities at Point Pelee National Park between 1960 and 1982?, and how did agents interact with these structures to facilitate, constrain, or eliminate these leisure activities? Recognizing patterns, themes, and interpretations of structure/agent interaction from the responses of each informant entailed analyzing the similarities and differences between informant responses in each category. Researchers (Patton, 1980; Babbie, 1989) have noted that the process of analyzing qualitative data is very "intuitive," requiring careful judgement about including data that is really

significant and meaningful according to the question that is being addressed. Adhering to this guidance, the researcher extracted meaningful parts from each transcript in each category and time period, and placed them into a summary file of informant responses (see Table 3.).

Table 3.

| <u>Summary of Transcripts by Leisure Practice and Decade</u> |
|---|
| <p>BIRD WATCHING/NATURE STUDY 1960-1970 Doe, J. p.1 P- (text.....?) J- (text.....)</p> <p>Doe, M. p.9 P- (text.....?) M- (text.....)</p> <p>BIRD WATCHING/NATURE STUDY 1971-1982 Smith, J. p.7 P- (text.....?) J- (text.....)</p> |

Meaningful and significant data was thus extracted from each informant transcript, and further classified under headings describing each category and the time period to which the data referred.

Using both the newspaper and the transcript summaries, the majority of the qualitative data that was to be used for the creation of the histories was organized and categorized. Patterns and themes within the data were made more recognizable according to the theoretical questions being addressed. The final step of the analysis process was to further clarify and label each structure which affected leisure at the park, how it was effective, and how agents

responded to the context of the structure. To do this, a file was created to summarize what structures existed, and how agents interacted with these structures in each category and time period (see Table 4).

Table 4.

| <u>Summary of Structure</u> |
|--|
| <p>1960 - Duck Hunting Structures - Facilitating-F, Altering-A, or Eliminating-E.</p> |
| <p>Formal Rule - Licensing Doe p2, -gun license, hunting license, migratory duck permit, any resident or landed immigrant in Canada E - check newspaper article on prevention of some immigrants, or Americans.. F - in the sense that it a safe environment to hunt, I guess.</p> |
| <p>Informal rule - Doe p2, Doe, p5 - allowed to hunt anywhere, you had your spot, and you didn't go to someone elses. No need to rush down to get spot, free to go at leisure, F -each person knew where to go, freedom, sense of continuity.</p> |

The structure summary file (Table 4) isolated patterns of structures within each category and each time period, facilitating the writing and analysis of the histories.

The newspaper, transcript, and structure summary files were extremely helpful in writing the histories for this thesis. For example, data from the transcript summary file was easily cross-referenced with similar dates and categories from the newspaper and structure summary files. Many people referred to the park's public transit system as affecting their leisure practices. This was noted in the structure summary file, under each category for the 1971-1982 time period, as an allocative resource/formal rule which regulated people's access to the tip area of the park. Also noted under the heading "transit/formal rule," were

comments that informants made about their interaction with the formal rules of the transit system, and how they might have affected its inhibiting or facilitating effects. By categorizing the data collected from the newspapers and the interviews into a computer program, and making summary files for newspapers, transcripts, and structure/agent interactions, qualitative connections between structures and agents in and between each category and time period in each summary file were contemplated and utilized to construct the histories of leisure at the park (Patton, 1980: 318).

Although commencing this research with limited interviewing experience, the researcher recognized the complexity of this skill and utilized several texts for assistance (Garrett, 1982; Kirby & McKenna, 1989; Patton, 1980; Patton, 1990). Also, the first two transcripts were reviewed by the researcher's advisor for feedback on the presentation of questions and general interviewing technique. In general, much was learned about this skill, and improvements were made with each interview conducted. The result of this analysis is the histories presented in this thesis. The histories have been based on the data drawn from these interviews, as this data was the nucleus around which other sources were introduced for support and clarification. This method of privileging the voices of informants is all part of producing "research from the margins."

Chapter II

Point Pelee National Park History

The following is a general history of Point Pelee National Park up to the commencement of the time period of this study. This background history reviews the literature associated with leisure in the park, and offers needed information to help explain the events which occurred from 1960 to 1982 that contextualized the changes in visitor leisure practices.

Point Pelee Leisure from 1918 to 1959

As Canada's most southern tip of mainland, Point Pelee National Park is a peninsula that stretches southward into Lake Erie and is geographically located on the same latitude as northern California. The park's natural environment is quite diverse, including a marsh, beaches, and most notably a Carolinian forest supporting unique flora, fauna and wildlife. Point Pelee serves a vital purpose for the natural environment. Each spring, the park acts as a temporary landing pad for many of the nation's waterfowl and insects *en route* to their summer homes all across Canada. Witnesses to this extraordinary phenomenon years ago were those involved in a conservation movement for wildlife preservation during the early decades of this century. In 1915, the Canadian Commission of Conservation served as the forum for those wishing to create bird sanctuaries at Canadian national parks. Crown-owned through the naval admiralty, Point Pelee was of particular interest to numerous interest

groups¹ participating in this forum. Believing it to be of national interest, the Canadian government designated Point Pelee as a National Park in 1918. However, Point Pelee soon proved to be more of a leisure area than a bird sanctuary.

To understand the changes in leisure at Canada's third smallest National Park, one must recognize the importance of its geographical location. Situated sixty kilometres east of Windsor, Ontario, and Detroit, Michigan, and approximately three hundred and twenty kilometres west of Toronto, Ontario, Point Pelee is conveniently accessible to a massive concentration of both American and Canadian citizens. The significance of this sizable local market to the leisure practices in the early years of the park became realized with the advent of the automobile. The ability to travel more conveniently would prove paramount to the future of national parks. Indeed, other parts of the industrialized world agreed that "[n]o development has had a greater impact on the national parks, positively or negatively, than the motor vehicle" (MacEwen, 1982: 90). Because of these two factors, Point Pelee National Park became accessible for leisurely day trips for many living in this region.

Local newspaper reports from the park's early years tell of its recreational rather than "natural" value. Under the title "Ideal Landscape," the Windsor Evening Star reported,

The motorists and pleasure seekers in their tours to this enviable resort find many days and hours of timely recreation . . . A commodious pavilion as well as other necessary structures including seating and rustic benefits, concrete cooking stoves and tables are some of the things predicted that may be an attraction to the public (Windsor Evening Star, 28 March 1919: 13).

¹Conservation groups like the Advisory Board on Wildlife Protection, the Essex County Wild Life Protection Association, the Essex County Game Protection Association and the Canadian Association for the Protection of Birds all supported the creation of the park (Bella, 1987: 47-48).

Tourists, however, were not the only ones to find pleasure at Point Pelee, and certainly not the first.

Point Pelee was a place of leisure for many who lived there even before it became a national park. Sources of early Point Pelee history note that the first human inhabitants were the Chippewa Indians, who subsisted mainly by hunting and fishing. After white settlers began to populate the area, however, native populations dwindled until 1847 when because "of [their] tendency to roam . . . many moved to Walpole Island in Lake St. Clair" (Lothian, 1976: 86). Early French Canadian settlers were labelled "squatters" by English and Anglo-Canadian settlers for neglecting to "secure title to the legal satisfaction" of English common law (Battin & Nelson, 1978: 54). Many of these squatter families held land in Point Pelee even after the area was designated a national park. Recollections of their way of life have been recorded in transcripts of oral interviews conducted during the early 1980's. Several park residents interviewed in the transcripts described their memories of the camping habits of many early park visitors:

. . . there were people scattered everywhere . . . , just like, the whole park in the summer time was just . . . a little city.²

. . . Well we used to call them shack tents actually, you picked your own spot and set up your tent . . . some of them were just a wooden floor, wood up about three feet high, and then your screen up, and maybe a tarpaulin roof on it . . . you could live there all summer, no electricity though.³

The freedom to wander into the "wilderness" and stake out one's homestead was not without social conscience however:

²Interview with Carl Ribble, Point Pelee Transcripts, 1984, vol.1, p. 24.

³Interview with Charles Girardin, Point Pelee Transcripts, 1984, vol. 4, p. 13.

... they took personal pride in "cleaning up" the plot and its surroundings . . . the appearance of each tent site, some of which were quite large, was a matter of social prestige. During the depression and the thirties up to the time of the Second WW [sic], the Core forest in general was heavily used this way and became known as "Little City."⁴

Like any "city," the options for lodging at the Park were not limited to only rustic, unrefined places; two hotels built in 1939 offered a more sophisticated place to lay one's head. Yearly attendance of park visitors had escalated from tens of thousands in the early 1920's to a pre-World War II (WWII) high of approximately 300,000, making Point Pelee one of the premier summer leisure destinations in Canada.⁵

The park's most popular attraction for visitors in the summer were the beaches.

With six kilometres of beach shoreline on the park's west side, and another two kilometres on the east side, Point Pelee National Park offered city dwellers an escape from their industrial reality:

... in the 1930's just after the depression when times were pretty hard, you know people didn't have air conditioners and things like that in the city and they'd do anything to get out of the city, . . .⁶

Relief from the summer heat was found at the West Beach, one of the park's most popular places to enjoy a summer day:

... the average person came to the Point for picnics and swimming, to tell you the truth, . . . it was not exceptional to see ten thousand people on the West Beach . . . On a Saturday or Sunday, on a hot day . . .⁷

⁴Muir in Battin & Nelson, (1978: 112).

⁵ Battin & Nelson (1978) obtained attendance data figures for 1928-1973 from Department of Indian and Northern Affairs files for Point Pelee National Park (p. 131).

⁶Interview with Ed Pickle, Point Pelee Transcripts, vol. 1, pp. 28, 29.

⁷Ibid.

Beach activities were not the only attraction at the park at this time. Before Point Pelee became a national park, local residents hunted ducks and other wild birds there. Although hunting of any kind became subject to government regulation with the creation of the park in 1918, duck hunting was identified as an activity that would always exist in the park by an "order-in-council" under the authority of the Commissioner of Dominion Parks. Battin & Nelson (1978) have questioned why this decision was made, but had to settle for the reason that duck hunting would be permitted "in deference to long tradition" (Snell in Battin and Nelson, 1978: 104). Two other activities demand brief mention at this time: bird watching and smelt fishing. Bird watching has always existed at Point Pelee, although it was never referred to as such. Tavern's (1907) ornithological study is one of the earliest and most cited works. Bird watching, like smelt fishing, would become a more popular activity following WWII.⁸

Before WWII, Point Pelee National Park was a haven where people could enjoy themselves in a natural environment, and forget the tribulations of their daily lives for an afternoon. That the location of this haven was in a national park, a place where the ideology of wildlife and nature preservation supposedly defined its raison d'etre, was not of immediate concern to the average park visitor. Regardless of the initial intentions of park organizers, the commercialization of the park, with new hotels, beach concession booths and pavilion dances, was turning this national park into an amusement park.

⁸Little has been written on both of these activities, however transcripts of residents who lived at Point Pelee until the 1960's have mentioned both activities, especially smelt fishing, as a popular activity following WWII. See Point Pelee Transcripts, 1984, vols. 1-6.

The path towards commercialization rather than preservation was allowed to persist at Point Pelee in part as a result of the federal government's indecisiveness about the role that national parks should play in the nation's culture. From the moment Banff, Alberta was declared a national park in 1885, an ideological battle of preservation versus recreation has ensued between individuals holding different values about land use. Bella (1987) discussed how national and provincial governments, railroad and mining industrialists, and owners of small local businesses have all promoted national parks "for economic imperatives; if not for their metals and forests, then for their scenery" (p. ix). Provincial governments have always been reluctant to surrender control over land-use in national parks; parks like Banff and Jasper are lucrative sources of revenue for the province of Alberta. The National Parks Act, created in 1930, clarified that Parks were "dedicated to the people of Canada for their benefit, education, and enjoyment, . . . and that such parks be maintained and made use of so as to leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations" (Master Plan, 1972: 3). This policy, however, failed to end the debate over land-use in parks. Instead, it merely left the debate open for the subjective interpretation of those with political and economic interests.

Public apathy or ignorance of this issue did little to help matters. Henderson (1968) reported that it was only after WWII that Canadians became concerned about national parks. Prior to this, concern and controversy, where they existed, were mainly "politically inspired and of local interest only" (p. 888). Indeed, Henderson believed it was doubtful "if the average park-goer ever gives much thought to the purpose of the National Parks and what makes them distinctive beyond what he [sic] may read in a government folder" (p. 888). This was not only a Canadian problem. Dassman (1968) insisted that the need to decide what role

national parks should play in the outdoor recreation drama was faced by both Canada and the United States. The onset of WWII silenced the debate over the role of national parks in both countries, but what occurred after 1945 was inconceivable to parties on both sides of the issue.

With economies unscathed by war in comparison to many of the world's countries, rising American and Canadian standards of living resulted in four major forces affecting the demand for outdoor recreation. These include: 1) increased population from the post-war baby boom; 2) increased disposable income; 3) transportation (increased roadway infrastructures and increased automobile production); and 4) increased leisure demands (Clawson, 1985). After WWII, the Canadian federal and provincial governments revised their intentions for national parks. The book on Public Investment⁹ described the national parks as " 'natural outdoor museums of wildlife' which would attract tourists, and be important in Canada's postwar development" (Bella, 1987: 106). The "enjoyment" of national parks had been accentuated by the federal administration to this point, with little concern given to leaving them "unimpaired". The post-war attendance figures at Point Pelee National Park verify the success of this government action. With an increase from nearly 50,000 visitors in 1945 to an astronomical figure of approximately 750,000 in 1959, Point Pelee clearly regained its pre-war popularity.¹⁰

⁹ Canada. Public Investment, (Dominion Provincial Conference on Reconstruction, 1945), cited in Bella (1987: 188).

¹⁰See footnote #4 for source of attendance figures.

There was a similarity between the philosophical perspectives of both American and Canadian park administrators during this post-war time period. The Canadian Commissioner of the Parks Branch, James Harkin, was described as "actively concerned" with the "aesthetic, and spiritual values of the wild", perhaps as a result of contact with American ideas" (Battin & Nelson, 1982: 86). Newton Drury, United States Director of Parks Service, shared these concerns, and mimicked values earlier pronounced by nineteenth-century American Romantic poets such as Henry David Thoreau and Walt Whitman:

that the "damming of streams and lakes for irrigation and power will make them more useful for recreation, will do little harm, and will bring great economic benefits" is an attractive philosophy to the utilitarians, but it misses the point, so far as the purposes of national park areas are concerned. The simple fact is that the natural forest is more satisfying, more inspiring, than the cutover forest; the virgin mountain meadow with its clean streams, wild floweres [sic] and native wildlife is more pleasing and interesting than the cow pasture; the natural streams and lakes with their normal seasonal variations are more satisfying to people for recreation than the fluctuating reservoir with its unsightly shoreline of dead vegetation or the stream that has for all practical purposes been dried up by diversion structures If we are going to whittle away at [national parks]. . . greatness will be gone.¹¹

Federal Branch emphasis on the public use of national parks was becoming increasingly more important than resource exploitation. Opposition to Branch interests, however, was mounting among naturalists who were concerned about the future of Point Pelee's physical environment. Ecological studies showing environmental damage due to public attendance had convinced one researcher that

¹¹Drury in Ise, (1961: 6,7).

[t]he time has been reached where a decision must be made as to whether the purpose of the park shall be for recreation or for the preservation of the fauna and flora.¹²

While preservationist values inherent in comments like these were mouthed by scientists, top park administrators continued to expand Point Pelee's recreational facilities well into the 1950's. By 1953, four parking lots were built to accommodate a "maximum of 6000 cars" (Battin & Nelson in Wall & Marsh, 1982: 81). Additional "picnic and bathing facilities were constructed, the East Beach was expanded," and the park camping areas were "consolidated into one major campground" (Young in Battin & Nelson, 1978: 146). The promotion of nature study was encouraged and the construction of a "natural history museum" was proposed (Munro in Battin & Nelson, 1978: 147). Leisure activities were gradually expanded during this time, with little regard as to their classification as "harmful." As a result, the years 1945 to 1959 proved to be an era of unprecedented popularity for leisure practices by visitors at Point Pelee National Park.

¹²Tener in Battin & Nelson, (1978: 146).

"Roadmap" for the Histories

Five histories are included in this thesis, together describing a representation of how leisure practices have been socially constructed at Point Pelee National Park between 1960-1982. The first history in this thesis addresses how three levels of government (federal, regional and local) interacted to affect the social context of leisure at the park. Broader social and cultural factors which also interacted with the shaping of this social context will be addressed in this first history. The data used to write this history was drawn from both primary and secondary sources, including interviews, newspapers, government documents and books.

The next four histories represent the recollections of informants who participated in leisure activities at Point Pelee National Park. Their comments, attitudes and feelings have been analyzed, and used to delineate the social context in which leisure practices transpired. These four histories have been written with data primarily extracted from informant interviews. Some information from newspapers or government documents has been used; however this was mainly to fill in specific facts, such as park definitions, dates, or monetary figures.

All five histories have been divided into two time periods, complementing the manner in which the data was collected. These time periods include 1960-1970, and 1971-1982. The "Administrative" histories will introduce each time period, and precede the "Agent histories." The order of the agent histories is the same for each time period: 1) Smelt fishing; 2) Nature Study/Bird Watching; 3) Beach Activities; 4) Duck Hunting.

Agent Histories: 1960-1970

The Backdrop: Administrative Interaction

As part of the Federal Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources in 1960, the National Parks Branch was responsible for the preservation, administration and development of the national parks system. Guiding these responsibilities was the National Parks Act, which institutionalized that national parks are

dedicated to the people of Canada for their benefit, education and enjoyment, . . . and such parks shall be maintained and made use of so as to leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations (Master Plan, 1972: 3).

Leisure practices at Point Pelee National Park during the 1960's were contextualized within the interpretation of this mandate. Canadian politicians, national park administrators, and those with business interests have perpetually interpreted this mandate with the intent of compromising national park preservation for recreational use. Bella (1987) contended that the tottering balance between these two factors is a "reflection" of the "political and economic" climate in Canada (p. 1). The "social" climate needs to be added to Bella's comment to more clearly describe how the social context of leisure was shaped at Point Pelee.

The administration of Point Pelee National Park during the 1960's was connected to three levels of government: federal, regional and local. As political, social, and economic climates changed at one level, reflections were not always readily apparent at another level. This history partially represents how the duality of structure between levels of government shaped the changes in leisure practices at Point Pelee during the 1960's.

Tourism was big business in Canada prior to the 1960's, but in this decade tourism became an official player in the federal government's economic agenda. Becoming an official branch of the Department of Trade and Commerce in 1965, tourism was considered an essential national commodity, ranking third as a source of foreign exchange earnings after newsprint and wheat (Department of Trade and Commerce, Annual Report, 1965).

Economically, tourism accounted for an additional \$2 billion dollars to the Gross National Income in 1965. National Parks played a large role in this tourism market, as attendance at national parks nearly tripled from 3.5 million in 1955 to 9.5 million in 1965 (Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Annual Report, 1965). Point Pelee accounted for nearly 700,000 visitors that same year. The potential for Canada to increase its tourism dollars through national parks was immense, given that the number one reason listed for global travel was scenery (Department of Trade and Commerce, Annual Report, 1965).

Tourism was an important part of National Parks Branch strategy during the early 1960's. Federal park officials encouraged and applauded in their annual reports the increasing number of tourists their facilities could handle. However, "inappropriate commercialized tourism" within many of Canada's national parks at the beginning of this decade increasingly alarmed federal Branch officials. Parks such as Banff and Jasper had been commercially developed into "honky-tonk" areas of "neon-signs and beer parlours" which "ma[d]e no use of the park's natural features" (Bodsworth, 1963: 42). Even at Point Pelee National Park, a refreshment booth was located in a wildlife-inhabited area of the park. The delicate balance between recreational use and preservation demanded more thorough federal attention. One response by officials of the federal Branch was to help create the National and Provincial

Parks Association of Canada (NPPAC) in 1963¹³ - a volunteer lobby group concerned with the administration of national parks. A more elaborate response, however, was already in progress by 1960.

Beginning in 1958, the Branch embarked on a project of Long-Term Planning to ensure for the future of public-use in Canada's national parks. One aspect of this planning was to acquire privately-owned land which lay within park boundaries, so that it could be used for park purposes. The primary purpose for the acquisition of land at Point Pelee was for the improvement and expansion of park leisure facilities (Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Annual Report, 1960). Park facilities such as the boardwalk were built on this newly acquired land. Land planning also included a federal grant of \$40,000 in 1962 which was used to buy "100 more metal barbecue grills, and [to] build campfire circles" (Windsor Star, 4 January 1962: 17). Over \$250,000 was budgeted for expenditures in 1964, including new bathhouses and picnic sites (Windsor Star, 11 March 1964: 5). Allocative resources such as these were used to facilitate leisure practices such as beach activities at Point Pelee.

The ultimate goal of the Federal Branch's long-term planning approach was to create management plans for each national park. Each park plan, ideally, would be separate and distinct in character. Planning demanded "detailed resource inventories . . . which would in turn form the basis for detailed management plans . . ." (Burns, 1994: 446). Examples of resource inventory features included geomorphology, soil, climate, drainage, flora, fauna, and

¹³ **Bella (1987) has noted that Alvin Hamilton, Minister of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources, was instrumental in the conception of this idea. The administration of Minister Art Laing in 1963 was responsible for the "start up funds and a small annual grant" (p. 113).**

histories (e.g., Indian, Resort, Settlement, Fisheries). The responsibility for creating these inventories belonged to the park naturalist; the first naturalist was hired at Point Pelee in 1960. This inventory information was used by the Education and Interpretation Service within the federal Parks Branch to develop an important aspect of long-term planning: **Interpretive Planning.**

One of the first sites for interpretive planning was Point Pelee park. This type of planning was "ideally" to produce "a different interpretive story or theme for each park" (Interpretive Plan, 1972: 2). Point Pelee's theme was focused on its unique flora and fauna, its diverse ecosystems of marshland, forests and beaches, and on its seasonal bird migration. As a result of this focus, land-planning at Point Pelee was to revolve around the "preservation" of these valued physical features (Master Plan, 1972: 3). Future public use of this park was to be regulated in relation to preserving these valued features. Federal and regional research at this time was thus in the process of determining that ideally, the preservation of these features must come before the use of the park by visitors. This realization was developing during the 1960's, but was not actualized until the next decade.

Interpretive planning, or Interpretation was intended to be an educational guide to promote to park visitors "an awareness, understanding and an appreciation of the natural environment . . ." (Interpretive Program Report, ca. 1970: 1). During the mid-1960's when park attendance figures had reached nearly unmanageable levels in many of the nation's parks, the Branch needed to "educate" the park visitor as to how to appreciate the park "properly." A test ground was needed for a nature "museum," and because of its leading role in interpretive planning, its high attendance figures, and its close proximity to federal officials in Ottawa,

Point Pelee was granted \$250,000 to build an Interpretive Centre, eventually erected in 1966 (Battin & Nelson, 1978).

Administrative interests in tourism, land planning and Interpretative planning at the federal level were intended to shape leisure practices at Point Pelee. To facilitate the communication of these interests between the federal office in Ottawa and local park administrators, regional offices were established in Calgary, Cornwall, and Halifax in 1963 (Olsen, 1976).

The Cornwall regional branch was responsible for administrative duties at Point Pelee park. In collaboration with the federal mandates of land planning and Interpretation, regional "planners" were employed to analyze the inventory data that was being collected on each park and compose corresponding Master Plans. The first Master Plan in Canada was completed in 1967 for Point Pelee National Park. Regional administrators and planners proudly announced a 10 year, \$7.5 million dollar Master Plan for park development, focused on facilitating leisure-use of the park. Regional director, George Dempster, claimed that the Branch intended to "preserve key features of the park while . . . provid[ing] for outdoor recreational activities" (Windsor Star, 18 November 1967: 3). Local naturalists were reported to be outraged by the Plan, claiming that Point Pelee "[was] not large enough to accommodate" all of the outdoor activities at the park (Windsor Star, 18 November 1967: 3). Within days a meeting of local interest-groups and local and regional Parks Branch officials from Cornwall was held in the nearby town of Leamington, where a strong opposition to the plan's implementation was raised by local academics and naturalist groups. It was stated in the local newspaper that the Federation of Ontario Naturalists also requested a meeting with officials in

Ottawa at this time to discuss their concerns about the Point Pelee Master Plan (Windsor Star, 18 November 1967: 3). No doubt because of these concerns, the \$7.5 million plan was never implemented at Point Pelee, and it took four years until another Master Plan was mentioned in relation to the park.

Federal departmental change in 1968 brought about the renaming of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources. The new Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development signified not only a shift in ministry personnel and re-organization, but in the Department's emphasis on national parks. Although "national resources" was removed from the department title, the new Minister, Jean Chretien, had a personal interest in expanding and preserving the natural resources within the national parks system.

Firstly, Chretien was looking to develop a good portfolio as the new minister:

My time in Indian Affairs and Northern Development coincided with a period of [government] expansion, and that helped my reputation and my popularity. . . . In a period of expansion ministers are judged by how much money they can spend and how well they can extract money from the system for their projects (Chretien, 1985: 68).

Secondly, Chretien had the power to fulfil his plan:

It was easier to create parks in the North because I only had to get the consent of the Minister of Indian Affairs and the Minister of the[sic] Northern Development, and I was both. . . . I've never been a fanatical conservationist, but I've always been a lover of nature. Canada has such beautiful land that I felt it was my duty to preserve the best of it for future generations (Chretien, 1985: 68).

Thirdly, and most importantly, Chretien negotiated an agreement with provincial governments for national park development. Federal-provincial relations throughout Canadian history have always been apprehensive and distrustful over issues of political, economic, and

cultural authority¹⁴, such as issues concerning national parks. National Parks Branch policy was to "acquire new areas of significance before they were exploited or priced beyond the public purse" (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Annual Report, 1970: 8). Provincial governments were reluctant to yield the control of land desired by the federal government, however, because of the land's "resource or industrial potential" (Olsen, 1976: 116). In 1968, a Branch agreement with provincial governments to split the acquisition costs of the land eased these tensions, as provinces would still retain partial control (Olsen, 1976).

The expansion of the national parks system benefitted from Chretien's personal interests; as well, however, the federal government in general desired these "areas of significance" for reasons of "image." National parks were gaining worldwide significance, as shown through several international conferences.¹⁵ Symbols of Canadian cultural and historical heritage were of high priority for Canada during this time period. The centennial year of 1967 and an overwhelming feeling of "Americanization" stimulated a nationalistic reaction in Canada affecting the cultural dynamics of business, art, and sport.¹⁶ Economic prosperity during this time facilitated the federal government's urge to spend money on

¹⁴Bothwell et al. (1989) offered an excellent outline of federal-provincial relations concerning such issues in the index (p. 495).

¹⁵International activities discussed in Annual Reports of the National Parks Branch indicate that annual international seminars involving the Canadian National Parks Branch and the United States National Park Service have existed since 1965. The United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in 1972, and the first UNESCO Conference of Experts on Historic Preservation in 1973 are examples of the global trend that was occurring.

¹⁶Bothwell et al. (1989) discussed how Finance Minister Walter Gordon "wanted to limit the amount of foreign investment in Canada", especially "American investors." The creation of the National Arts Centre in Ottawa and the Stratford Shakespearean Theatre occurred during this time. Nationalism proliferated as a theme in Canadian literature, and may also have been instrumental in the creation of the Montreal Expos baseball team in 1967 (pp. 287-315).

different social programs, like health and welfare¹⁷, but also on national parks. Chretien helped to increase park budgets by 40.5% from 1967 to 1971 (Bella, 1987). Spending approximately \$8 million to create each national park (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Annual Report, 1976), the federal Branch expanded the number of national parks in Canada from 19 to 29 during this same period.

The enthusiasm that Chretien brought to the preservation of national parks was mimicked by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau. Bella (1979) has described both men as partisan to parks, and to "Environmentalism." Both men also fit a 1977 study describing a typical environmentalist:

predominantly white, younger, more highly educated, higher in socio-economic status, and more liberal in their socio-political orientation than their less concerned counterparts (Weigel in Bella, 1979: 11).

These two men did not stand alone in their awareness of environmental issues, however. By 1972, the environmental movement was peaking, with environmental issues "running third, behind unemployment and inflation" (Bella, 1979: 10).

The prevalence of environmental issues in the media and on the voters' agendas has been referred to as Environmentalism (Scheffer, 1991). Rooted in both ecology and conservation, environmentalism linked the conservation of forests, soils, and water to wider ecological studies of how the industrial environment effects its surroundings, through such problems as air and water pollution. One of many mirrors in a time of social reflection, environmentalism was upheld by those same individuals who protested for radical changes in

¹⁷Bothwell et al. noted that the federal government increased spending on health and social welfare from over \$1 billion in 1950 to \$9 billion in 1971 (pp. 290-291).

the freedom of blacks and women (Scheffer, 1991). Many institutions in society were being charged with perpetuating outmoded attitudes and practices. One such institution in Canada specifically responsible for protecting the natural landscape was the National Parks System. Its subsidiary, Point Pelee, was ultimately a product of the political, social, and economic climates of this institution, and its three levels of administration; federal, regional and local.

Smelt Fishing

The visitor season commenced each year at Point Pelee park in mid-April with the traditional "smelt run." Each spring, lake smelt would travel along the warmer shoreline waters of Point Pelee at night, as they were a daylight-sensitive fish (Interview with Bob¹⁸, 1996). This natural phenomenon attracted thousands of visitors. Annual reports on the smelt fishing season during the 1960's indicate attendance figures between 20,000 and 30,000 people (Recreation Plan, 1976). Rural and urban residents, including many from Michigan and Ohio, travelled to Point Pelee via highway 3, where Saturday traffic would be non-stop from around 5 p.m. until 8 or 9 p.m. Many of the visitors were men, however informants did recall groups of families in attendance (Interviews, 1996).

Parking anywhere they could find a spot, each group of "smelters" would lug their fishing equipment and other supplies down to the beach to find a spot along the shoreline (Interviews, 1996). Along with a warm supply of clothing, blankets, and food, some park patrons chose to bring their favourite alcoholic beverage. Driftwood was often the source of

¹⁸Pseudonyms are used for quotes by individuals to protect their anonymity. Responses shared by more than one informant are noted as "Interviews, 1996."

fuel for the hundreds of fires which lined the beach, but some wood or grass was also collected from the forests nearby. The activity itself required several people. While one or two people held Coleman[®] lanterns on shore, two others would drag a 30 foot long net into the path of fish, sometimes hauling in as much as 50 pounds of fish in one attempt. Local tales tell of some smelters without trucks who would dump "garbage bags" of smelt into their trunks and back seats to get the fish home. The abundance of fish was the main allocative resource that facilitated this activity; the absence of any authoritative resources, such as park wardens, added to this facilitation. Anyone willing to don some waders could use a net, a pail, a garbage bag, or other device to collect the fish. Sometimes used for fertilizer but most often used for food, smelt were a traditional spring resource for many park visitors.

Nature Study/Bird Watching

With the introduction of the park naturalist in 1960, Point Pelee employed an individual who was to implement a new leisure pursuit, and a new ideology. "Interpretation," as Interpretive planning came to be known, was to

reveal, to such visitors as desire the service, something of beauty and wonder, the inspiration and spiritual meaning that lie behind what the visitor can with his [sic] senses perceive (Interpretive Program Report, ca. 1970: 1).

This romantic idea of nature was not new to those who had experienced Point Pelee's beauty, but with Interpretation, an ideology of preservation became institutionalized. Because the "chief aim" of Interpretation was not "instruction, but provocation," naturalists were supposed to motivate people to want to learn more about their natural surroundings (Interpretive Program Report, ca. 1970: 3). This was done in one of two ways; people could either join

the naturalists on trails for slide talks, or they could venture out on self-interpreting trails which had signs explaining "nature" (Interviews, 1996). Increasing visitor initiative to self-discover the "wonder" of nature was claimed to be one objective behind the construction of the Interpretive Centre in 1966 and the marsh boardwalk in 1963 (Interpretive Program Report, ca. 1970: 4).

The informants interviewed volunteered very little information about Interpretation, and even less about the Interpretive Centre. George, a civil servant in his mid-40's¹⁹, recalled that "it was a resource that was there for you to use if you wanted," but generally, informants interviewed did not acknowledge this allocative resource as affecting their leisure practice.²⁰ The naturalists that were hired by the park were described by one birder as not "actively trying to talk to...the average park visitor" (Interview with Linda, 1996). The naturalist programs at the park were not very helpful for birders, as one informant described in detail:

the park didn't have any birders on staff at this time, they [naturalists] were almost considered a joke among the birders. . . . the naturalist's programs in national parks sort of got away from hiring naturalists, and they got into hiring communicators, because they felt that their job was to tell a story to the public, so they basically hired storytellers as opposed to hiring a birder. . . . I think it had a lot to do with just the bureaucracy of Federal governments, and them not knowing in Ottawa what was going on in the parks . . . (Interview with George, 1996).

As an authoritative resource, naturalists were thus not remembered by informants as being very influential in the process of their leisure activity.

¹⁹Age-descriptions used relate to the present age of the informants.

²⁰Only Canadian informants, the majority of whom were from the local Essex County area, were interviewed. It is entirely possible that the Interpretive Centre was more popular among visitors outside this local region.

There were very few visitors actively bird watching during the early 1960's at Point Pelee. This activity was only in its embryonic stage in North America at this time, whereas in Europe it was much more popular. Allocative resources such as Peterson's Guide to Birds (1966), and technological advances in binoculars, facilitated the birder in the discovery and identification of rare birds. As well, institutions such as the Federation of Ontario Naturalists, and the creation of the American Birding Association in 1968 facilitated the organization of the activity. Reputations of birders as small, elderly women with binoculars and rubber boots trampling through the woods may not have helped to expand the activity's popularity (Interview with David, 1996). Nonetheless, birding was enjoyed during the 1960's by a small, yet social group of people who valued Point Pelee for its plentiful wildlife and beautiful scenery.

Beach Activities

Summertime was the most popular season at Point Pelee during the 1960's, and beach activities were the most popular leisure practices. With five beaches in total, it was not uncommon to have over 10,000 people lining Point Pelee's six miles of beaches, either sunbathing, swimming, or boating. Allocative resources like bath houses, food concession stands, and barbecue pits all facilitated an enjoyable day at Point Pelee's beaches.

Informants generally believed that accessibility to the park's clean, public beaches motivated many to come to Point Pelee:

. . . there aren't a lot of public beaches in Essex County, [as] the majority of land is privately owned. . . . Pelee has traditionally been one of the cleanest areas (Interview with Jane, 1996).

Because of the lakes's current flow around the tip of the park, the water on the east side of the peninsula was often cooler. The majority of heat from the afternoon sun caught the west side of the point, making the West beach popular for afternoon sunbathers and picnickers. The current flow also caused the beach to drop off quite quickly into the lake, which attracted many swimmers to Point Pelee's shores. Therefore, Point Pelee's natural environment was an allocative resource which offered numerous choices to the beach-goer in one convenient location. Park resources such as large granite-stoned fireplaces and ample supplies of wood were also offered to park visitors. It became a tradition for many informants to utilize such resources for Sunday morning breakfasts (Interviews, 1996). Overnight camping and the opportunity to rent cottages also attracted many visitors to the park. Not all of the visitors, however, were welcomed equally.

Point Pelee park entertained many youths from the baby-boom generation during the 1960's. One story described how one "light-fingered culprit absconded with the rustic-looking sign that marked the RCMP detachment office . . ." (Windsor Star, 24 August 1963: 3). Another story described how "rowdy parties" fostered the "attack of two Windsor girls... in the bushes" at the park (Windsor Star⁶*, 25 June 1964). Motorcycle gangs, "vandals, hot-rodders, and hoodlums" were described as "swarming into the area" of Point Pelee as news travelled outside the county limits into more national newspapers (Globe & Mail*, 15 September 1964). The warning against "rabble-rousers" in 1965 (Windsor Star*, 11 June 1965) and the "organized ring of thieves" in 1966 (Windsor Star*, 12 July 1966) seemed to

⁶The page number of sources with * was unavailable, as they were obtained from a Local Clippings File at the Windsor Public Library, Windsor, Ontario.

seal the reputation of Point Pelee National Park as, among other things, a den of debauchery.

With only three wardens and one Royal Canadian Mounted Police (R.C.M.P.) officer on the lookout for vandalism and other nuisances, the park's authoritative resources were not very adequate. Chris, a farmer in his mid-50's, recalled how posted speed limits of 15 mph were sometimes ineffective with youths who wanted to test the speed of their "hot-rods." Hoping to curb the "rowdyism," park officials enforced an "age ban" twice during this decade, disallowing anyone under the age of 21 to rent a campsite during the three summer months. Both provincial and national parks also experienced "a war on drugs" in 1970, as drug experimentation among the nation's youths reached epidemic proportions (Windsor Star, 24 July 1970: 7).⁷ David, a civil servant in his mid-50's, summarized that "when it came to enforcement, problems revolved around the campgrounds."

For many visitors, the beaches and campgrounds of Point Pelee during the 1960's were a haven of escape from reality: the reality of work, or the reality of boredom. The "rowdy" behaviour of some visitors, but also the masses of people at the park, became structures within which people's leisure activities were practiced.

Duck Hunting

Those informants who addressed the manner of duck hunting at Point Pelee during the 1960's recalled the activity with a sense of wanting, wishing to revive "the good ole days."

⁷Burns (1994) has noted that "[t]he presence of exuberant and wandering youths was perhaps first and most strongly felt at Point Pelee National Park, but it was a phenomenon which appeared in the recreational areas of virtually every national park over the following decade when camping areas were specifically set aside for transient youths" (p. 457).

Customs were a large part of this activity. Informants recounted colourful stories about grandfathers, fathers and sons who would hunt in the same marsh year after year, taking comfort in the feeling of "continuity." It was customary to have a knowledge of the informal rules surrounding this activity, such as where individuals could hunt once they arrived at the park.

X- . . . the thing was, in the 60's everybody had their own spot. My dad hunted here, I went there, my brothers went there. . . . There was never any law, but it was just a rule that when other hunters come in [to the marsh] that they didn't go to [your] spot.

P- Like an informal rule?

X- Right. The Scratches hunted over in Cranberry Lake, and we hunted in West Cranberry, and different ones hunted over there. . . (Interview with Bob, 1996).

. . . everybody knew we hunted Red Head pond, everybody knew come opening day that's where we were going to be . . . there was never any problem, . . . that's just the way it was . . . (Interview with Red, 1996).

Duck hunting at Point Pelee National Park in the 1960's was reserved solely for the privilege of Canadian citizens. A 1954 federal government regulation banned the sale of hunting permits to anyone but Canadian citizens, with the intention of barring mainly American hunters from Canadian marshes (Windsor Star*, 12 September 1978). Formal rules such as this excluded many local hunters of foreign descent (e.g., Italians or Portuguese), who, as landed immigrants to Canada, were therefore unable to participate.

The most troubling aspect about being a duck hunter at Point Pelee at this time was the verbal abuse that one would receive from those who believed that hunters were "killers." The majority of antagonism that hunters received came from local naturalists, who disagreed with having a consumptive activity in the park (Interviews, 1996). Naturalists believed that whatever exists in or off of the park habitat, such as ducks, muskrat, or fish, should be left

undisturbed. Hunters, to the contrary, believed that they *were* being conservationists, "harvesting the crop" to ensure against over-population (Interviews, 1996). Local Minister of Parliament, Eugene Whelan (Liberal), was quoted as saying "If the duck is protected too much, it will lose its wariness of man - their [sic] best protection against hunters" (Windsor Star, 17 August 1965: 3).

The objections of naturalists, which highlighted the disputed rights of duck hunters, were very few in number during this decade. One incident which was recorded referred to the use of outboard motors in marsh channels (Windsor Star*, 23 September 1964), however in general, not much public attention was paid to the duck hunter. The activity of duck hunting was thus a leisure activity of relative freedom.

Agent Histories: 1971-1982

The Backdrop: Administrative Interaction

The unofficial Master Plan of 1971 promised a "new and quiet life" for Point Pelee. Intended to replace the previous Master Plan introduced in 1967, this new plan was summarized by master planner, David McCreery, as "adjusting the people to the park instead of the park to the people" (Windsor Star, 26 February 1971: 3). This "new life" was based on the ideology of preservation first encouraged by Interpretive Planning in the mid-1960's. Public use of Point Pelee was now *more* regulated in relation to any impact that the public may have on the park's valued natural features. Forecasts of dull doom in the newspaper warned of a park that was "removed from the noise and smell of automobiles; the clamour of campers and the masses of people hell-bent for fun" (Windsor Star, 26 February 1971: 3).

The progression of long-term planning which had begun in the 1960's led to master planning at Point Pelee in 1971; the official Master Plan was released in 1972. With goals of "redefining" activities in the park, and "restoring fragile" areas of the park's natural environment, the introduction of this 1972 plan by park officials was intended to radically change how leisure practices were to be constructed at Point Pelee (Master Plan, 1972: 3). Family camping was "outlawed," and although swimming was "still allowed," the new plan "distribut[ed] . . . swimmers . . . [to] avoid concentrations of people at one beach" (Windsor Star, 26 February 1971: 3). Limits were immediately enforced on the number of vehicles allowed in the park, and a public-transit system of privately owned "trains" was employed to transport visitors from the Interpretation Centre to the famous "tip" area of the park. The

Master Plan of 1972 institutionalized a new ideology and new rules regulating park leisure, with the intention of re-constructing the manner in which leisure practices were to be carried out at Point Pelee.

The introduction of a Master Plan, however, and the effectiveness of its implementation are two different things: regional and local park administrators of Point Pelee park did not always see "eye to eye." Since 1963, Cornwall had been the location of the regional office that was directly responsible for the administration of Point Pelee. Because of several political "embarrassments" which occurred at this park during the 1960's, senior management officials in Cornwall became extremely disinterested in managing Point Pelee National Park (Interview with Mike, 1996). Administrative opinions about Point Pelee's limited size, its tolerance of duck hunting, and its prevalent motorcycle gangs collectively connoted this park as not "fitting the philosophy" of a national park (Interview with Mike, 1996). Ironically, at the same time as the 1972 Master Plan for Point Pelee accentuated the "preservation" component of National Parks Policy, administrative changes in Cornwall witnessed the employment of new officials who lacked "any understanding of the natural side of things" (Interview with Mike, 1996). Canal engineers were recruited to Cornwall to implement an important Parks Branch program entitled "Byways and Special Places," which added eight canals with "important natural and historic links" to the national parks system (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Annual Report, 1972: 7). The new emphasis of this program in Cornwall translated into the majority of senior management officials being engineers; they were preservationists, but not of ecology.

Ideological disinterest at the regional level led to the misdirection and confusion of the local administrative staff at Point Pelee (Interview with Mike, 1996). Planning and operation of the park were in disarray, despite the fact that a Master Plan existed. Point Pelee needed leadership, and received it with the employment of superintendent Dave MacEachern. Hired at Point Pelee in 1974, Superintendent MacEachern aimed to revise the 1972 Master Plan.⁸ To do this, MacEachern and other bureaucrats followed the policy of the Public Hearings Programme of 1970 (Olsen, 1976), which demanded public hearings and public input as part of the formulation of content for Master Plans.

"Open houses" were held in Leamington, Windsor, London, and Toronto to gather public input for the revisional process of Point Pelee's Master Plan:

The public . . . expected to go to a meeting where they would sit in the audience, where I or some other bureaucrat would sit in front of them and make a speech and they would ask questions. We stayed away from that because we were trying not to lead the discussion. I wanted people to come and see and ask formal questions, with dialogue among themselves as well as with us. My first surprise was that the public didn't know how to react to that.

. . . the first point given was to ban all the Italians and Portuguese from the park, claim[ing] they just weren't fit citizens . . . the second point called for the building of a home for the mentally ill so they could recover by watching the birds migrate. It was at that point I had known I made a mistake . . . (Interview with Mike, 1996).

Olsen (1976) has remarked of public planning that "[u]sually only a very small percentage of people affected by or interested in a planning project will participate" (p. 89). This research finding correlates with the planning process for Point Pelee park at this time. Of the

⁸The review of the 1972 Master Plan was undertaken in three phases, but began with public meetings to discuss concerns of the public, interest groups, and the park Advisory Committee. The entire review process took five years, from 1977 to 1981 (Parks Canada, 1982).

numerous leisure practices at the park, vested interests were most often represented at public meetings by duck hunters and naturalists groups. The Master Plan of 1972 had "placed . . . holistic restrictions" on duck hunters, including the taxation of user-fees, and formal rules governing the numbers of hunters allowed to hunt (Interview with Doug, 1996). Although duck hunters were present at the meetings held in Windsor and Leamington, "there weren't that many [hunters]" (Interview with Bob, 1996). Naturalists, however, "were a more cohesive . . . and . . . larger group" (Interviews with Craig, 1996).

Craig, a retired civil servant in his mid-70's, claimed the London and Toronto meetings were filled with mostly academics, and of the bird watchers who attended open-houses both locally and elsewhere, many were more "articulate" than the average duck hunter. The local influence of both bird watchers and naturalists was additionally supported by a more national "philosophy" of non-consumptive leisure (Interviews, 1996). Established in the majority of the nation's parks at the time, this philosophy urged visitors to observe "nature" without disrupting it, or preventing its "natural" life cycle.

As a result of public planning and the significant input of naturalists, the majority of the contents in the Master Plan at Point Pelee complemented preservationist activities and ideologies. In explaining why the feedback from these public meetings was deficient of ideas from other groups who used the park, one informant excused the limited turnout of general visitors by claiming, "how enthusiastic can you really be about having a picnic?" (Interview with Stewart, 1996). Another informant explained, however, that "[i]t was totally foreign for tax payers at that time to believe that they had a say-so" (Interview with Mike, 1996). Park visitors, in general, behaved within and thus confirmed the structures that were introduced by

park officials in the Master Plan with very little resistance. It is important to stress, however, that the Master Plan was shaped in part by public input, and was not solely created and presented to the public by park officials as "the way" the park would be operated. One park administrator discussed the importance of public opinion to park officials at the time:

[Y]ou've got to rely a lot on user groups when you're developing a Master Plan, and you've got to listen to them. You can do that in two ways. You can say "the national park philosophy and policy is . . .," and it doesn't matter what these people say, if they say something different from that, their opinion doesn't count. Or, you can say "these people are tax payers, they're our users, our clientele, and what they say is extremely important," and if it clashes with the national park philosophy and policy, well, your job is really, to try to make the philosophy and policy mend to suit the user (Interview with Mike, 1996).

Park officials were tested on this approach involving compromise when the general public disapproved of two of the three phases of the public transit system.

Park administrators designed the transit system to be introduced in three stages, with each phase progressively eliminating private vehicles from certain sections of the park, until phase three, when all vehicle traffic was to be eliminated. David explained, however, that after a two year testing period, phase two of the system was "not accepted by the public," thereby vetoing any phase of the transit system plan beyond phase one: the route the transit system regulated to the tip area. This position was agreed to by public officials. Although public confirmation (but not consent⁹) most often followed the introduction of any formal rule laid out in the Master Plan by park officials, the issue of public transit illustrates one instance

⁹When a general park visitor obeyed a rule introduced by park officials, they confirmed, and thereby legitimated, the existence of the rule by reproducing it. However, by obeying a rule, one should not infer that the park visitor approved of, or consented to, the existence of such a rule.

where both local park administrators and park visitors interacted to lessen the constraining nature of one specific park structure.

During the revisional process of the Master Plan during the late 1970's, departmental changes at the federal administration level changed the title and emphasis of the department. Similar to the changes in 1968, the departmental changes in 1979 re-emphasized the importance of preservation for Canada's national parks. The Department of the Environment was the new home for the National Parks Branch, now more simply titled Parks Canada. This department's sole emphasis on the preservation, protection and "enhancement of the quality of the environment" filtered down to both the regional and local administration levels of Point Pelee (Environment Canada, Annual Report, 1979: 5). This park's Master Plan, which was to be released to the media in the late fall of 1979, was delayed because of the needed approval from the new department and was eventually released in 1982 (Windsor Star, 21 January 1981: 14).

A new era of regulation over the leisure activities at Point Pelee commenced in 1982 with the introduction of the Management Plan, retitled to signify its flexibility as a plan "in subsequent progress" (Management Plan, 1982: 7). This plan documented the "clarity of purpose" that seemed to be missing from the Master Plan of 1972: ". . . this [plan] makes it clear to everyone - the public and not just the government - our role and purpose" (Windsor Star, 13 March 1981: 8). Although there was no "dramatic" shift in policy from the 1972 plan, the 1982 plan was more focused on "people - where they go, . . . [and] what they will do and see when they arrive" at the park (Windsor Star, 18 March 1981: 8).

The individuals involved with the decade-long process of master planning at Point Pelee included administrators from the federal, regional, and local levels of government. The interaction of their personal intentions, along with those of particular interest groups, helped to form legislation that affected how leisure practices were conducted at Point Pelee.

Smelt Fishing

One year prior to the 1971 smelt season at Point Pelee, rumours of mercury contamination had concerned many smelters at the park. After scientific reports ensured commercial fisherman, through the Windsor Star, that both smelt and perch were unaffected by mercury, columnist Ernie Bezaire claimed the "smelt run could do more to bring people to eat Lake Erie fish than anything else" (Windsor Star, 18 April 1970: 16). Environmental concerns within the park gates played a large role in the alteration of this leisure activity during the decade of the 1970's.

Those who smelt fished at the park recalled how Master planning constrained their activity in several ways. With the advent of the public-transit system in 1971, smelters who drove to Point Pelee were forced to park their cars and ride the trains to the beach drop-off points. The park administration utilized this allocative resource to channel the flow of cars away from the "sensitive tip-area" and the south-west beach at the park, which were considered to be the "prime area" for smelt fishing. Thus, smelters were "persuaded" to use the other beaches to "take smelt" (Interview with Dan, 1996).

Two illegal activities in National Parks which accompanied smelt fishing each year were the consumption of alcohol and the presence of fires on the beach. The few number of

park wardens at the park during the 1960's and the early 1970's helped to reinforce these aspects of this customary activity. The informal rule of "no open alcohol" which existed during this time between wardens and smelters meant that inconspicuous thermoses were permissible (Interviews, 1996). Individuals who drew attention to themselves through drunken behaviour, however, increased their chances of being fined. In the case of the beach fires, what concerned park officials was not so much a forest fire but the "ripping of branches off live trees to make the fire" (Interview with Tom, 1996). Similar to the situation for alcohol, the lack of authoritative resources was detrimental to the possibility of law enforcement during such activities.

With the introduction of Master planning in 1972, however, specific plans to curb the illegalities of smelt fishing unfolded. For example, in 1975 park officials designed OSMARIS¹⁰, a plan aimed at regulating the behaviour of smelters more effectively. Blatant signage exclaiming "NO FIRES, NO ALCOHOL, NO LITTERING" was one tactic used to educate the public to the park's formal rules. A confession by Red, an auto plant worker in his mid 40's, revealed that "a lot of people didn't know about the changes [to the park], as they'd been [breaking rules] for years." Another tactic of park officials was to fulfil their need for authoritative resources. Wardens from Canada's western parks were recruited to assist wardens at Point Pelee. Known more for their "brawn than beauty" (Burns, 1994), these wardens were present to control and fine smelters who, for example, used "chain saws" for cutting fire wood (Windsor Star, 8 January 1975: 6). Thomas Elwood was one of the unlucky few who was fined, charged with "wilfully injuring trees in a national park" (Windsor

¹⁰This plan was named after a type of rainbow smelt, *Osmaris Mordax*.

Star*, 20 June 1972). The reaction of smelters to the formal rules associated with the Master Plan and the transit system was addressed by Bob, a merchant in his mid-40's:

I think people just got used to it . . . most of the people realized that they couldn't have fires, and that they were damaging the forest. There was never any big reaction.

Despite this compliance, liquor fines did increase during this period according to some informants, although many informants interviewed made a point of stating that the laws within the park were not always respected by American visitors.

Unlike Michigan and Ohio, Ontario law permitted the use of seine nets up to thirty feet in length for smelt fishing (Recreation Plan, 1976). This stipulation, along with the ideal fishing conditions along Point Pelee's shoreline, translated into 80% of the smelters at Point Pelee being American citizens. Wardens recognized that fining these individuals would be frivolous given the legal hassle of tracking individuals across international borders (Burns, 1994). In general, however, wardens simply confiscated beer and politely extinguished open beach fires (Interviews, 1996).

The ideology of preservation institutionalized by the Master Plan philosophically justified the motives behind such structures as formal rules, the transit system and the "brawny" wardens. By re-channelling the flow of people away from the "tip" areas of the park and increasing the policing of illegal activities during the smelt run, park administrators reconstructed the context of the activity of smelting. Interestingly, very little negative reaction was recalled by informants to these changes in their customary behaviour. One explanation for this conformity was that unlike duck hunters or naturalists, "smelters didn't have that great an interest in the park itself," and "because many of them were American,

[even] if they did have an interest their comments would have possibly been ignored" by park officials (Interview with Craig, 1996). As a result of this compliance to the structures introduced by park officials, smelt fishing at Point Pelee became more publicly regulated.

Smelt fishing declined in popularity during the mid-1980's at Point Pelee park, and has never regained its prominence as a park leisure practice to the present day. The formal rules associated with the Master Plan, the transit system, and additional warden staffing have each been assigned partial responsibility by informants for this activity's downfall. It should also be mentioned, however, that the diminishing numbers of smelters during the 1980's may have resulted from the diminishing number of smelt, a trend which started in the closing years of this study's time period. Informants alluded to the fact that foreign market demand, which increased the magnitude of commercial smelt fishing in Lake Erie, resulted in the absence of the fish along Point Pelee's shoreline (Interviews, 1996). Contrasting theories do exist, however, which claim that it was "mother nature" who determined the dwindling numbers of smelt (Interview with Tom, 1996). Unarguably, the presence of the smelt at Point Pelee facilitated the enjoyment of many visitors to the park from 1971 to 1982.

Nature Study/Bird Watching

The creation of the Master Plan in 1972 institutionalized an ideology that facilitated the "awareness, understanding and appreciation of the Park environment" (Master Plan, 1972: 33). In doing so, it "encouraged naturalist activities, rather than strictly beach-activities" (Interview with Betty, 1996). This decade witnessed tremendous growth in the interest of both birding and naturalist activities.

Throughout the decade of the 1970's, birding in North America expanded in popularity. The technological and organizational advancements made in the late 1960's continued to foster the activity internationally. Locally, the Federation of Ontario Naturalists held conferences at the park, attracting many birders from Toronto and London regions. Nearly 11,000 visitors spent part of their Easter weekend in 1971 at Point Pelee enjoying the spring migration season (Windsor Star, 13 April 1971: 7). Over this decade, attendance figures accounting for bird watchers at Point Pelee would "double" in number (Windsor Star, 17 May 1980: 3). The increased participation in these leisure activities reflected an awareness of the natural world both at Point Pelee and in the broader society. The advent of "Earth Day" in 1969 as an international day of environmental recognition and reflection signified a more global awareness of ecology. Pollution articles appeared to become more prevalent in local newspapers affiliated with international information-relay systems such as the Associated Press, United Press, and Reuter.¹¹ Articles revealing chemical spills into the St. Clair River by companies near the Sarnia region heightened a local awareness about the damage being done by industries to the environment - if the "green" lake had not already done so (Interview with Stewart, 1996). The ideology of the Master Plan at Point Pelee, therefore, was not created in a vacuum, but rather reflected many of the concerns of those who believed in the social movement of "Environmentalism" (Interviews, 1996).

The intention of park policy to promote the "understanding" of nature was actualized through the "encyclopedic" practices of several informants. When informants were asked

¹¹While researching the Windsor Star newspaper for this thesis, it was apparent that many front page stories were concerned with the global environment during this time period.

what was "fun" about birding, a Victorian¹² sense of discovery emanated from their responses.

Linda, a librarian in her mid-50's, summarized that the activity draws one to

become interested in [natural] habitat, in conservation of natural areas, that sort of thing. And there's a lot to know because it's Science, and the things that you can know are endless. You could make a study of woodpeckers, for instance, and it would occupy you for the next 10 years, or you could do a bird census . . .

An assumption existed among informants that naturalist activity was a more "intellectual" leisure pursuit, often pursued by those of a professional class, who were "articulate and influential." The appearance during birding season of such famous individuals as Pierre Elliot Trudeau and Pierre Burton may have added to this assumption (Interview with Jane, 1996).

Ironically, however, some informants believed the Master Plan was not about facilitating naturalist activities as much as it was about preventing the general public from "destructive" leisure pursuits:

. . . the Master Plan was dealing with "Joe [Blow] and his kids and his dog," they [Park Planners] were not dealing with university professors, high school teachers, . . . professional people that loved to watch birds (Interview with Craig, 1996).

Instrumental in this "re-definition" of the park user was the public transit system, an allocative resource used to channel the flow of people within the park (Interview with David, 1996).

The Parks Branch implemented this system in 1971, during a "big expansion period" within the federal government when copious financial resources were accessible:

X- . . . the general public who like to just go for a drive in the park, and just for recreational purposes, just to picnic and party, got the feeling that they

¹²In his book Science, God and Nature in Victorian Canada, Carl Berger (1983) discussed how natural history was the "encyclopedic study of nature" that spiritually enriched amateur and professional students alike in the wonders of God's creations (p. 77).

weren't really welcome in the park . . . , you know, Parks Canada just, I get the idea that they didn't want them in the park and the reason they were putting in the transit system wasn't to correct the environment but just to get rid of the people.

P- To get rid of people, or those people?

X- Just, yeah, just to get rid of your average park user. I think just, leave the park for the bunnies and birds.

P- And for the naturalists?

X- Well, not to deny them either, but that's basically the issue (Interview with George, 1996).

The formal rules which institutionalized the preservationist ideology of the Master Plan were regarded, at times, as discriminatory. One informant's reaction toward the park's policy of removing "negative" leisure practices elicited an insightful observation:

. . . birders would go out and sit in the middle of the pond [in canoes], while this other element of our visitation [duck hunters] are over there spreading decoys out . . . as soon as the ducks spot these people, they're going somewhere else. . . . this set a fair amount of tension . . . (Interview with Craig, 1996).

If the same duck hunter left the ponds and came back into the wooded areas of the park and began discharging their fire arms, I would have nailed him. . . . because they had the restriction upon them that they could only operate under the conditions of the Migratory Birds Act . . . whereas there were no restrictions on the bird watchers from going out into the marsh, or any other visitor . . . as it was a public marsh (Interview with Craig, 1996).

Different groups were welcomed to the park during this time period. A junior naturalist program initiated in 1972 at Point Pelee attempted to "stimulate children's awareness of the environment and also interest them in what the park has to offer" (Windsor Star, 17 July 1972: 10). Children from ages 6 to 14 years participated in the program. The physically disabled community were also park clientele who were more accommodated at Point Pelee. The transit system's on-ramps, as well as wider doors and bathroom ramps all added to a more pleasurable experience at the park for this group. A disabled naturalist who remained

mobile in a wheelchair was even hired to lead groups of similarly disabled visitors on nature "strolls" along the marsh boardwalk (Windsor Star, 3 August 1982: 5). With the addition of these allocative resources, Point Pelee increasingly facilitated different groups of people to become more interested in the naturalist activities of the park.

Local newspaper reports detailing the naturalist and birding activities at Point Pelee park increased during the 1970's and into the early 1980's.¹³ Stories that were once buried in sections of the Windsor Star that were of lesser importance, began to appear more often in the more popular sections of the paper, such as the A section. A broader social awareness of the "natural" at Point Pelee resulted from such reports, and from an environmental awareness being spread by the leisure enthusiasts of bird watching and nature study at the park.

Beach Activities

Accessibility to Point Pelee's beaches and campgrounds was always considered the park's most attractive quality by the thousands of visitors who enjoyed these leisure practices. When the transit system was introduced in May of 1971, few visitors might have guessed the extent to which Point Pelee's accessibility to the beaches would change. This allocative resource, along with the ideology and formal rules of the Interpretive and Master Plan in 1972, brought unprecedented changes to the manner in which people reached the beaches and campgrounds at Point Pelee park.

¹³Articles listed in the Windsor Star index described as "naturalist" or having to do with nature study are more prevalent in number after the 1970's than in years prior to 1970.

Because of their lifestyle changes, many informants were not participating in beach activities during the 1970's as much as they were in the previous decade. Despite this fact, little indication was offered by informants that swimming or picnicking at Point Pelee changed, *per se*. What did change, however, was the *process* of reaching the beach to swim and picnic.

The transit system was a part of the parking and access segment of the Master Plan. Its purpose was to "enhance the visitor's experience, increase management control, and improve the quality of the natural environment" (Master Plan, 1972: 22). Environmental management of private vehicles in the park was "poor" according to park planners, and was considered to be the main detrimental factor to the park's ecosystems (p. 22). The "tip" area of the park, Canada's most southernly point of mainland, was congested during summer months with very little roadway space to park. Those visitors who could find space often times damaged roadside flora and fauna. The implementation of the public transit system was carried out to alleviate this congestion and prevent environmental damage. After 1971, visitors wishing to see the "tip" parked at the Interpretive Centre in a large parking lot, boarded the train for the tip, and after their visit were transported back to their vehicle at the Interpretive Centre.

Along with restricted access to the tip area, private vehicles were prohibited from both the West Point and the East Point Beaches. The East Point beach, however, was considered by local informants to be the premiere beach at the park. All of the beaches on the West side of the park were affected to some degree by problems of pollution, high humidity, stable flies and mosquitoes. But with the easterly flow of wind and water currents

around the tip area of the park, the East Point beach was not affected by these problems. Regardless of these facts, the implementation of parking restrictions and the transit system forced visitors to either ride the "trains" to those areas of the park, or choose another beach area for their leisure activities.

The total number of vehicles allowed access into the park decreased during the 1970's. Vehicle access peaked during the 1960's with over 54,000 entering the park gates in July of 1968, whereas figures in July of 1975 accounted for only 20,000 vehicles (Recreation Plan, 1976). When the parking capacity of the park was reached, the gates to the park were closed, and as one car would leave, another one was allowed entrance. Queues of over a mile in length were not unheard of for summer crowds for several years after the introduction of the Master Plan and the transit system. One informant recalled the summer scene as follows:

we would have people lined up from the front gate of the park back to Sturgeon Creek trying to get in, . . . 10 would go out, 10 more would go in, . . . [visitors] would be out, you know, hot summer's day, want to go swimming, come down to Point Pelee, [and say] "I can't get in the damn gate!" . . . and if you didn't have air conditioning, wow! . . . so finally they said "what the hell, there's no point" and a lot of them stopped coming because they were not assured they could get in the place, . . . but "what the hell, that's the Plan" and "it must be right". That's not necessarily knocking the Master Plan, but that was one of the impacts it did have on your day visitor (Interview with Craig, 1996).

Commensurate with the decrease in vehicle numbers at the park was the decrease in visitor attendance. Along with the structures which altered visitor access to beach activities, the increase in park entrance fees also contributed to the decreases in attendance. Beginning in 1971, park fees increased 300% from 25 cents to \$1 per car per day. One underlying motive for this increase in fees was summarized by R.C.M.P. Sergeant R.R. Thompson:

The increasing of the toll affected the amount and the type of visitors to the Park. People who wanted to visit the park would pay the charge. The others unwilling to pay the increase showed their lack of true interest. Therefore, those riff-raffs and fast drivers were generally deterred.¹⁴

The "rowdyism" that defined Point Pelee's notorious reputation during the 1960's was altered somewhat by another formal rule which was initiated by park officials. Previously open 24 hours a day, Point Pelee began to close its gates at 10 p.m. just like many of the provincial parks in the area. By limiting the hours of operation between the months of April and September, and increasing the gate fees, park officials attempted to alter the "inappropriate" leisure activities of local youths and redefine Point Pelee's tattered reputation.

Following the ideological intentions of the Master Plan, the introduction of the latter structures turned Point Pelee into a day-time only leisure facility. Family camping was eliminated at Point Pelee during this time period. While group camping remained at the park, individual camping was outlawed because of its ties to the "rowdy-elements" who frequented the park after dark (Interviews, 1996).

Not all the structures that affected the beach activities at the park, however, were initiated by the park's administration and regional park planners. One informant noted that the popularity of backyard pools during the late 1960's and into the 1970's was another allocative resource that altered the leisure practices for beachers at Point Pelee (Interview with Betty, 1996). Market research¹⁵ into this industry during this time period isolated three

¹⁴ Interview with R.C.M.P. Sergeant R.R. Thompson, Point Pelee Transcripts, 1984, vol. 5, p. 5.

¹⁵This information was accessed through a phone interview with Richard Hubbard, of Hubbard Marketing and Publishing Limited, Markham, Ontario, and written sources like Pool and Spa Marketing, 1994.

sales themes that companies used to market their product. First, the invention of vinyl liners made backyard swimming pools affordable, as prices dropped from approximately \$35,000 to \$6,000. Second, pool marketers capitalized on the oil crisis of the 1970's and peoples' affinity to stay home with the slogan "Save fuel, buy a pool." Third, many of the province's beach areas at this time, including Sauble Beach and Jackson Point, were popular sites for "rowdy" youth gangs. Avoiding such behaviour became a noteworthy selling point for marketers to their clientele. These three factors increased the sales of pools in Canada from 3,400 in 1960 to 14,200 in 1974.

The interconnection of numerous structures led to the alteration of beach activities as a leisure practice at Point Pelee during this decade. Those structures associated with both Master and Interpretive Planning, the transit system and the popularity of backyard pools, however, were among the most important. The collaboration of these structures was believed by one informant to be the "causes" of change: "I think 'caused' is the right word. It's not because the public was disinterested, it became disinterested" (Interview with Craig, 1996).

Duck Hunting

The state of duck hunting at Point Pelee in the 1970's can be summarized as an activity that was at the wrong place at the wrong time. Long-term planning during the 1960's that had included Interpretive Planning, evolved to be included in a more general, all-encompassing document: the Master Plan. Its official introduction in 1972 was ushered in with comments about duck hunting by Jean Chretien, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Chretien professed that "duck hunting will be phased out of Point Pelee

National Park" and he considered "reducing the areas in the park where hunting [would] be allowed" (Windsor Star*, 21 April 1972). Although the Master Plan did not include future intentions for duck hunting, it directly stated the park's position on the activity as "inconsistent with National Park philosophy and policy" (Master Plan, 1972: 17).

The essence of the inconsistent ideology argument was that bird watching and bird "killing" are incompatible on two accounts. First, park officials aimed to minimize conflict among visitors. The fall migration season found both bird watchers and hunters in the marsh area of the park for the fall migration season; one used the boardwalk to view birds, the other used the marsh for blinds to hunt birds. As watchers viewed the birds flying overhead, they could also possibly see them gunned down by a marsh hunter. There was also concern about gun shot, or pellets, hitting visitors who were standing on the park boardwalk (Interview with Mike, 1996). Second, it was argued that duck hunting was ideologically inconsistent with the objectives of National Parks, which were

dedicated to the people of Canada for their benefit, education, and enjoyment, . and such parks shall be maintained and made use of so as to leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations (Master Plan, 1972: 3).

Point Pelee was described by a park administrator who was present during this contentious period as a park that was not for people; parks were for nature, and the enjoyment of the professionals that studied nature (Interview with Mike, 1996). With many baby-boomers graduating from university with science degrees and being employed with the government, several informants felt that the government positions merely empowered such individuals to personalize the National Parks System to their liking (Interviews, 1996). The ideological incompatibility of duck hunting did not just lie within the park boundaries,

however; society was also changing its assumptions about destroying wildlife and preserving nature. Several reasons were offered by informants to explain this ideological change. One interviewer noted that the urbanization process in Canada had disassociated the majority of citizens from the surroundings of nature, and the harvesting of animals (Interview with Doug, 1996). Institutional changes to the family no longer demanded the need for hunting for food. Cellophane-wrapped meats at the local *A & P* was the extent of most people's association with animal processing (Interview with Doug, 1996). As well, the late 1960's and early 1970's were known to be a time of "social causes," of women's rights, native rights, black rights, and also animal rights. Televised nature programs "re-educated" people to the biological fragility of local ecosystems, and the "socializing" mannerisms of the animal kingdom. "Personifying" animals through such methods as television cartoons was even included as a suggested reason for this process of disassociation with the surroundings of nature (Interview with Bob, 1996).

Compounding and institutionalizing these ideological changes in society were the rules and resources inherent within the Master Plan. Duck hunting at Point Pelee was altered through these rules, beginning with the limitations on time, space and freedom of movement. A lottery system was implemented during the 1970's that decreased the amount of licensed hunters in the marsh at one time. Rather than having 100 hunters populating approximately 3 square miles of the marsh, the lottery system assigned 30 spots, allowing 60 hunters in total. One-half hour before day break was the time that hunters wanted to be reaching their blinds. Although day-break could be at 6 or 6:30 a.m. as the season passed, the time of the lottery draw each morning during the season was 4 a.m. Doug, a salesman in his mid 40's, described the situation and its effects in the following scenario:

you'd drag your butt out of bed on a cold fall or winter's day, and drive down there for the 4 o'clock draw on a CHANCE to hunt, . . . and if you didn't get it then you went back home and that was that . . .

. . . a lot of guys would go for the draw and then never go out [to the marsh] for another half hour, or hour, . . . so that discouraged you from wanting to go [hunting] at all (Interview with Bob, 1996).

After the hunter finally acquired his blind in the marsh near his assigned "stake," he was not allowed to move from that position. This was seen as problematic by the hunters, for the wind could change the position of the hunter's decoys, which happened quite often.

In addition to the fees the hunter had to pay for a gun license, a hunting license, and a migratory duck permit, the park attempted to initiate a \$3 per day user-fee in 1978. This fee was part of a "proposed plan to control duck hunting in the park," the park's "first attempt to impose formal control on the annual duck hunt . . . since 1918" (Windsor Star*, 10 March 1978). The fee was not initiated until 1981, however, when it was raised to \$4 per day. One park administrator interviewed claimed that the fee was to prevent hunters from hunting "too often" during the season (Interview with Mike, 1996). Another reason offered was that the fee helped to cover the cost of the hunt (Windsor Star*, 22 July 1981). Hunters, however, believed the formal rule was another small structure designated to constrain the activity to the point of elimination (Interview with Bob, 1996). Point Pelee was the only affordable place in South Western Ontario to hunt ducks, as most of the land feasible for hunting was owned by private clubs or corporations. Attesting to the increasing number of naturalists throughout Canada during this decade, one hunter admitted "[naturalists] across Canada can practice their leisure in many national parks, but [there is] only one [national park] for duck hunters" (Interview with Doug, 1996).

The issue of eliminating duck hunting at Point Pelee was brought before the Federal Cabinet in 1977. The attempt of Warren Allmand, Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs, to terminate the leisure activity collided with resistance from Cabinet ministers who "felt [duck hunting] couldn't be stopped due to the commitment made when the park opened" (Windsor Star, 2 September 1977: 3). This "commitment" referred to the Federal Branch's "order-in-council" dating back to 1918, which allowed duck hunting; however, this document is quite mysterious. Many hunters referred to it, but not many have ever seen it (Interview with Ellis, 1996). Indeed, the only available copy to be analyzed by the researcher appeared to be "unofficial" scribbled hand writing. Despite this mystery, the 1918 agreement was signified the "smoking gun" that persuaded the Cabinet ministers to allow hunting in the park to continue (Windsor Star*, 9 September 1977). Informant interviews, however, assigned the majority of this tentative victory to the political influence of a Minister of Parliament who represented Essex County. Eugene Whelan, known to be a local defender of duck hunting, also happened to be "good friends" with the previous Parks Branch Minister, Jean Chretien (Whelan, 1986: 91). The local Advisory Committee for Point Pelee park went on record in 1977 as favouring the Cabinet decision, with one member stating that "duck hunting in the park has become a privilege established by tradition" (Windsor Star*, 9 September 1977).

By 1978, this tradition was extended to landed immigrants in Canada "for the first time in 24 years" (Windsor Star*, 23 September 1978). Both new and old hunters, however, were not prepared to continue the debate over hunting in the park. The 1977 Cabinet decision, on the other hand, left naturalist groups determined to continue their siege of letters

and petitions to prohibit this "incompatible" activity. One administrator recalled a story which contextualizes the vehemence of this debate:

Minister Warren Allmand had just been the Justice Minister, where there was debate over Capital punishment, and he said he'd been in the habit every morning of having his secretary place the letters received from the public on capital punishment on his desk. Those in favour on one side and those opposed, on the other. And every day he would glance through those letters. When he became the Minister of Indian Affairs, he discovered he had more mail, in fact by ten times, on the issue of duck hunting in Point Pelee, than he did on capital punishment. I think that put things in context, on how volatile that particular issue was (Interview with Mike, 1996).

The numbers of hunters had slowly decreased during the 1960's and 1970's, mainly due to the changes in society noted earlier. The majority of those who hunted during these decades were aged between 20 to 40 years (Interview with Doug, 1996). Because the "witching hour" for the future of hunting occurred in the late 1980's, most of those who cared to fight for the tradition of hunting were between 40 to 60 years of age at that time. With families or retirement occupying their time, few local hunters were left to debate the more popular naturalist groups (Interview with Bob, 1996). It was claimed that hunters were their "own worst enemy" in these closing years of the activity, believing that hunting "was a tradition . . . [with] an agreement, . . . they got to honour that for life" (Interview with Red, 1996). With dwindling numbers of people at local club meetings, coupled with the retirement of partisan politicians like Eugene Whelan, duck hunting's influence diminished.

Hunting was not eliminated during the time period under investigation for this thesis, but the majority of structures affecting its future can be traced to the years of 1960 to 1982. Formal rules from the Master Plan, changes in societal ideologies and institutions, the presence of naturalist authoritative resources and the absence of hunter authoritative resources

all affected the changes in duck hunting at Point Pelee. Like a choking weed, these structures altered this activity during these years and beyond until its elimination in 1989.

Chapter III

Analysis and Summary of Leisure Changes

Social change is very a complex process which can be explained through a variety of theoretical perspectives. This thesis has used Gidden's *duality of structure* paradigm to produce a representational history of how visitor leisure practices changed at Point Pelee National Park from 1960 to 1982. Two theoretical questions were investigated in this thesis:

- 1) What structures contextualized the facilitation, constraint, or elimination of leisure activities at Point Pelee National Park between 1960 and 1982?
- 2) How did agents interact with these structures to facilitate, constrain, or eliminate leisure activities at Point Pelee National Park between 1960 and 1982?

In this chapter, these two questions will be analyzed to offer cautious generalizations about some of the patterns of change which occurred in this context. Firstly, insight into the changes in leisure practices at Point Pelee will be summarized, and secondly, insight into the process of social change will be discussed in relation to the academic literature.

All the leisure practices investigated in this thesis were altered, to varying degrees, from structure/agent interaction; some practices were facilitated, some constrained, and only one (camping) was eliminated. Leisure at Point Pelee during the 1960's was mostly a locally constructed product, shaped by and best serving the leisurely desires of local people. Bird watching, smelting, beaching and duck hunting were each activities that were specific to Point Pelee, and virtually unique in the national park system. Increasingly over time, however, the park became a more nationally-oriented product, spurred on by the conscious intention of park officials to serve a more national and international audience. Duck hunting's presence in

Point Pelee was consciously marginalized by park administrators, as were the illegal and the environmentally destructive activities associated with smelt fishing. As well, overpopulated beach and camping areas led to the conscious marginalization of beach activities. This national orientation was intended by park administrators to serve both the interests of local as well as national and international visitors by facilitating more "preferred" park activities, such as birding and nature study.

In general, the structuring of park leisure over time increasingly became more publicly regulated, meaning that ideas connected with government, rather than the private individual, helped to shape that individual's leisure practices. For example, smelters who chose to collect wood for beach fires from park forests, despite a park regulation prohibiting such behaviour, risked a greater chance of being fined and removed from the park: as a result, most smelters consciously complied with this regulation. Ideological conflict over preservation versus recreational use of the park between park visitors (i.e., birders versus hunters), and between the "state" and park visitors, resulted in a relative decrease of private power and control for most park visitors concerning the defining of "legitimate" leisure experiences. Explicit examples from each activity offer further insight and substantiate these generalizations. First, however, it is important to understand how closely structures and agents were interconnected to form a social context.

Structures do not exist independent of each other, but interact to form an integrated whole. For example, formal rules existed at Point Pelee in the 1960's that were intended to prevent certain behaviours. Posted speed limits were intended to prevent "hot-rodders" from speeding down the main park road, and park laws existed to prevent the consumption of

alcohol and the building of fires on the beach. Formal rules such as these, however, were ineffective partly because of the local park administration's lack of allocative and authoritative resources. Without the money to afford a sufficient staff of wardens during the 1960's and early 1970's, such rules were not acknowledged by agents (i.e., park visitors) as being highly effective. As well, most local visitors and administrators did not earnestly believe in the ideology of preservation at this time, as it was just beginning to emerge as the ideology of choice within the Federal parks system. As a result of these deficiencies, *informal* rules structured many park visitors' behaviours. Point Pelee's main road became known as a place where youths could "cruise the strip" in their hot-rods. Smelters inconspicuously drank liquor from their thermoses, comfortably knowing that such behaviour was informally considered acceptable, and not "illegal." The absence of formal rules were replaced with informal rules by duck hunters, who claimed that designated areas were informally established which directed where one was allowed to hunt in the marsh. Informal rules are sometimes very subtle: imbedded in what one would call "normal" behaviour. For example, beach visitors interested in finding a parking spot in the summertime, (a "normal" behaviour), followed an informal rule: they parked "anywhere there wasn't a tree" (Interview with Matt, 1996). Of noted importance, thus, is that formal rules need ideological acceptance and authoritative and allocative resources to make them more effective in inhibiting behaviour.

Broader societal changes which affected leisure practices at the park are another example of how structures are interconnected, together forming a context for the much broader process of social change. Kneese (1977) discussed how the late 1960's and early

1970's came to be known as a time of "environmental awareness" (pp. 1-13).¹ Social awareness at this time belaboured issues of institutional injustice, focusing on the rights of women and blacks (Scheffer, 1991). Issues associated with both social and environmental awareness attracted many of the same activists, whose awareness also included the rights of animals.² Urbanization and industrial development were instrumental in disassociating the individual consumer from the process of harvesting animals.³ This disassociation process, coupled with an increasingly acute awareness of both social and environmental issues at this time, assisted in reformulating a new ideology regarding the "fragility" of nature and the "sanctity" of wildlife in the minds of many urban residents in the 1970's. In relation to Point Pelee, such ideological changes in broader society affected the assumptions many naturalists held concerning the "killing" behaviour of duck hunters at the park (Interview with George,

¹Kneese (1977) believed that three things, rather slowly and more or less simultaneously are responsible for the greater environmental awareness at this time.

1. The decades during and after WWII witnessed immense increases in industrial production and energy conversion, which altered the physical, chemical, and biological quality of the atmosphere and hydrosphere on a massive scale. This would be fine but for the fact that scientists now have the means to detect such small changes in the earth's natural systems that we are much more aware of what is happening.

2. "Exotic" materials created from physical and chemical byproducts (e.g., plastics) are being released into the natural systems which make adaptation more rigorous, not to mention the adaptation of plant and animal species to such byproducts.

3. Only recently [1977] have ordinary people come to expect cleanliness and safety in their surroundings that were once only for the rich or well-born of earlier times (pp. 1-13).

²See chapter 12, *Endangered Species*, in Scheffer (1991: 94-100).

³Wall & Marsh (1982) have noted that with urbanization and industrial development, "the Canadian people became increasingly divorced from the wilderness and the farm as a residential environment, so the wilderness increased in importance as a national symbol and as a recreational environment" (p. 2).

1996).⁴ These broader societal changes, in turn, contributed to ideological changes in the administration of leisure practices at Point Pelee. However, to make such administrative changes, both allocative and authoritative resources of the federal government were needed to institutionalize such ideologies into formal policy through the creation of National Park Master Plans.

Further insight into the interconnection of structures and agents can be illustrated through the institutional changes in the National Parks Branch in 1968, when Jean Chretien became the Minister of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Chretien used his authoritative resources to instigate the formation of formal policy which would "phase out" duck hunting practices at Point Pelee. Chretien's policy intentions, however, were contrasted by the reactions of local hunters, and one specific bureaucrat. Gene Whelan's authority as a local Member of Parliament from Essex county, coupled with the formal "order-in-council" policy of 1918, directly challenged Chretien's policy attempts, arguing instead for the reproduction of the leisure practice of duck hunting, rather than for its elimination. As exemplified here, institutional and ideological structures require authoritative and allocative resources for their implementation and possible confirmation by agents.

Structure/agent interaction within broader society and within the federal level of park administration affected leisure at Point Pelee, but the interaction of local park administrators

⁴Tuohey & Terence (1992) briefly discussed the Animal Rights Movement in the United States, by addressing Peter Singer's 1977 case for the protection and for the equality of animal species. Also, Vitali's (1990) article on Sport Hunting offers an excellent discussion on the naturalist/hunter debate over the moral arguments for sport hunting.

and park visitors also affected the shape of the leisure context at the park. Local agents (i.e., park visitors) utilized authoritative and allocative resources to reflexively act upon the transit system introduced by park officials. The local "public's" rejection of both phase II and III of the public transit system, and the corresponding confirmation of this rejection by local park officials, exemplify how park administrators and park visitors acted upon this structure to limit its impact on park leisure.

From this cursory discussion about social practices at Point Pelee using the *duality of structure* paradigm, it becomes more clear how social change can be described using this framework. The changes which affected each specific activity at the park entailed structure/agent interaction: more specifically, the interaction of agents with the public regulatory structures of government and broader social structures. The majority of these structures were introduced in the 1970's; many were simply formal rules that were part of the Master Plan. In general, however, the story of how leisure changed over time at Point Pelee National Park can thus be better understood by examining the interconnection of numerous regulatory structures and agent interactions.

Smelting in the 1960's was, in essence, a social gathering for many local area residents. The comradery of this customary annual event was an important motivation for many people - although the free fish for their supper table or garden was probably of equal importance as well. These aspects did not change over the time period under study, but what did change during the 1970's was how smelter-behaviour became more publicly regulated. Informal rules allowing "illegal" activities such as beach fires and inconspicuous alcohol consumption significantly diminished during this time due in part to the more noticeable

threat of law enforcement from the increased number of wardens. As well, the transit system constrained smelting in the park by regulating what beaches were accessible, and when the activity would be finished daily.⁵ Public regulation of smelting by park administrators was thus used to usurp private control over the customs of the activity from park visitors, and make the conduct of the activity a "public" responsibility. One informant's reaction to this increased regulation was symbolic of several informants who also assumed a subordinate position of authority to that of the park's administrators, "[i]t's the way it is, we have to accept it, unless someone [the government] changes their mind" (Interview with Red, 1996). The fact that the Master Plan was to be a public document, composed with public input, was dismissed by informants who claimed to "not be interested enough" at the time to have done anything about the imposition of such public regulations. Thus, the administrative implementation *and* agent confirmation of the formal rules associated with the Master Plan shaped the context of smelt fishing in the 1970's into a more publicly regulated leisure product.

Bird watching and nature study in the park were not as publicly regulated as other activities during the twenty-two year time span under investigation. The Master Plan did not identify any improper behaviours associated with these activities which needed correction. The boardwalk and Interpretive Centre were, indeed, constructed to facilitate these behaviours. Informants did not recall any areas of the park where either birders or naturalists were prohibited from practicing their activities. The transit system, in general, facilitated bird

⁵The last train was at 12 midnight after approximately 1976. Prior to this, smelting could go on well into the morning hours (Interview with Dan, 1996).

watching, in that it "freed up the congested tip area, and the roads so that people [who were birding] didn't have to dodge cars" (Interview with George, 1996). Broader social structures, such as the ideology of Environmentalism, legitimated these activities as the "preferred" manner for park visitors to appreciate nature's surroundings. While few formal rules contextualized birding/nature study in the same way that they shaped other activities in the park, it can be said that birding was constrained - at least slightly. As birding increased in popularity up to and well beyond the early 1980's, many birders yearned for the "quieter" days of solitude and serenity that they enjoyed before Point Pelee earned its reputation as a national and international mecca for birds. For example, a group of twenty birders admiring a "discovery" in 1972 could translate into a group of 100 in 1982 (Interviews, 1996). Thus, birders and naturalists, more often than not, were facilitated by the same structures which constrained or even eliminated other activities.

Beach activities were certainly one aspect of park leisure which accrued a noticeable amount of public regulation; more specifically, though, it was the sheer masses of people and their cars, rather than the activities on and around the beach *per se*, that commanded this regulatory attention. Park managers and officials operationalizing the Master Plan eliminated many of the barbecue grills and all of the food concession stands on the beaches, closed off the "tip" area to cars and the "tip" beaches to people, and eliminated family camping. All summer visitors, however, regardless of their activity, were affected by those park officials who limited the numbers of people allowed into the park at one time, and by the increases in the fees charged at the front gate. By suppressing the behaviours and eliminating the resources that facilitated beach activities, park officials were successful at limiting the crowds

of people to more "manageable" numbers. What was critical to these changes taking place, however, was that local agents i.e., park visitors, simply reproduced these park structures, probably because "[i]t was totally foreign for tax payers at that time to believe that they had a say-so" (Interview with Mike, 1996). Resistance to these structures was speculated by certain informants, who claimed that some visitors would not frequent the park after these major changes took place; however, the following year it was assumed that they would return "probably after they forgot [about them]" (Interview with Jane, 1996). In general, beach activities at Point Pelee changed and/or were eliminated because local and regional park administrators utilized authoritative resources to enforce newly created formal rules inhibiting behaviour, which were then reflexively confirmed and reproduced through agent interaction.

While a similar conclusion could be used to partially explain the changes in duck hunting at Point Pelee, emphasis needs to be placed as well on the ideological conflicts between duck hunters, park administrators and naturalists. No other activity at Point Pelee was as publicly scrutinized, publicly regulated, and therefore constrained, as was duck hunting. Local park administrators utilized authoritative and allocative resources to implement several formal rules that would suppress and constrain duck hunting in the park, including the lottery system, the user-fees, and the location of hunters once they were in the marsh. Ideological changes, however, in both the park and in broader society were the most constraining of structures on this leisure practice because widespread anti-hunting beliefs served to legitimate the constraining actions that park administrators used to socially construct a more orderly and less "visible" way of hunting during the 1970's. To compromise between the needs of the bird watcher and the bird hunter was the dilemma faced by park

administrators, and because the ideologies of preservation and Environmentalism were changing society's views about hunting, this activity was slowly and consistently suppressed during the 1970's using the formal rules of the Master plan at Point Pelee park.

Two central questions were investigated in the histories of this thesis, including: 1) what structures contextualized the facilitation, constraint, or elimination of leisure activities at Point Pelee National Park between 1960 and 1982?; and 2) how did agent interaction facilitate, constrain, or eliminate these structures? Upon analysis of these histories, it can be summarized that structures associated with a) both Interpretive and Master Planning, including the ideology of preservation, the transit system, and the park's formal rules; b) the structures associated with the National Parks Branch at federal, regional and local levels, and c) the broader structures of society, such as Environmentalism, contextualized the facilitation, constraint, and/or elimination of leisure activities at the park.

Agents' interaction with these structures occurred at three levels of park administration, but also involved the local park visitors. In acknowledging and interacting with the latter structures, agents confirmed and legitimated the existence of these structures, and how they facilitated certain leisure behaviours while constraining and eliminating others. Thus, the single most important role that agents (i.e., park administrators and park visitors) had in affecting leisure practices in the park was to acknowledge and reproduce the structures which legitimated a more nationally oriented, publicly regulated, and preservation-oriented park.

Link to the Academic Literature

This thesis contributes to the academic literature concerned with leisure and national

parks. For example, Donnelly's (1993) work on the social construction of national parks was clearly illustrated through this examination of leisure at Point Pelee National Park. Changes in leisure practices over time at Point Pelee exemplified how natural landscapes are socially constructed for particular uses, and do not inherently reflect characteristics that make them "obvious" for any one particular recreational practice. To further explain the contributions of this thesis to the academic literature, Corrigan & Sayer's (1985) work on *moral regulation* can be used to delineate a clearer representation of how leisure changed at Point Pelee.

Like any social behaviour, leisure is a form of human expression that enables people to form an identity of themselves and their "place" in the world. Duck hunters using the marsh, birders using the forests, smelters using the fish, and beachers using the sand and water, were all personal expressions of identity which occurred in the social context of Point Pelee park. Corrigan & Sayer (1985) note one role of "the state" as being to "define, in great detail, acceptable forms and images of social activity and individual and collective identity" (p. 3). At Point Pelee, this was done by the "encouraging" of some leisure activities by the National Parks Branch, while others were suppressed, marginalized, and undermined. The late-night carousing of youths in campgrounds, the bonfire bonding of smelters on the beach, the thousands of Sunday drivers touring the park's tip area, the blasting of gun shot from the rifles of hunters - each of these activities was actively marginalized by park administrators, while other activities such as birding and nature study were actively "encouraged." A consequence of these actions, however, was that some people were denied the ability to express the identities which made them unique, and/or that stemmed from their customary leisure practices. Their ability to form an identity of themselves and their "place" in the

world was increasingly being regulated for them by the state and its agents, other park visitors, and the ideological structures of broader society. This regulatory process is called *moral regulation*, and its paradigmatic framework can also be used to more accurately explain the changes in leisure practices at Point Pelee. An excellent example through which to elaborate on the process of *moral regulation* and leisure at the park is through the example of duck hunting.

Moral regulation is "a project of normalizing, rendering natural, . . . [or] in a word [making] 'obvious', what are ontological and epistemological premises of a particular and historical form of social order" (Corrigan & Sayer, 1985: 4). This process is accomplished through a "continuous . . . suppression of alternatives, coupled with 'active' encouragement by state agencies . . . of preferred forms" (p. 199). Park administrators at the federal, regional and local level utilized Interpretive and Master Planning at Point Pelee to "educate" park visitors that preservationist behaviour was the more "preferred" form of leisure practice. Duck hunting, on the other hand, was not a preferred form of behaviour. It was a consumptive activity in a park that was being ideologically reshaped by societal and administrative beliefs in the "non-consumption" of nature, and by the formal rules of the Master Plan which complemented such ideologies by institutionalizing them. Because it was perceived as an alternative to preservation, duck hunting was going to be actively suppressed.

Duck hunters who were interviewed were well aware that the licenses, the user-fees, and the lottery system and its inflexible starting hour of 4 a.m. were all formal rules that were used to actively marginalize their "alternative" social practice. These structures were specifically intended to constrain the behaviour of hunters. Other structures such as public

transit, and formal signs prohibiting liquor, fires, garbage, or beach access, only added to the atmosphere of public regulation which was reshaping the park's leisure context. All these structures working together aimed to morally regulate and suppress and/or redirect and refocus the breadth of possible forms of leisure expression at Point Pelee.

The combining of the *duality of structure* paradigm with the concept of moral regulation was extremely useful in the analysis of this thesis for three reasons. Firstly, Giddens' paradigm helped to illustrate the process of how moral regulation legitimated select leisure practices at Point Pelee park. Secondly, it was interesting and useful to connect Giddens' theoretical "tools" of society to a concept like moral regulation that explains how structures and agents are used to shape society in a moral fashion. This marriage of concepts is analogous to the architect who uses drafting tools to create a representation of architecture: the researcher in this thesis used tools (structures) to create a representation (moral regulation) of how society was morally constructed. Thirdly, the theoretical combination in this thesis contributed to the academic literature. "State" institutions and their agents are the central means through which moral regulation occurs (Corrigan & Sayer, 1985), however, this thesis also illustrated how private citizens can facilitate the moral regulation process. The lobbying efforts of naturalist groups encouraged the state to assist in the regulating of "unacceptable" leisure practices like duck hunting and "rowdy" beach activities. Public planning was the official discourse through which the morals of preservation were debated and subsequently institutionalized within the Master Plan. The preferred form of leisure at the park from the perspective of the state was outlined quite clearly:

Only the wholesome outdoor types of recreation which are compatible with the natural atmosphere will be permitted. This is intended to rule out the

noisy, gaudy or tawdry elements and amusements commonly associated with midway or amusement park atmosphere (Recreation Plan, 1976: np).

The preferred forms of leisure at Point Pelee facilitated a certain type of visitor. The park was "officially" for the "people of Canada," but in reality a very select type of visitor was desired at Point Pelee. Leisure at Point Pelee, like Robbins (1987) research on the Victorian sport of mountaineering, did not so much reflect the "common sense" of the preservationist ethic, but rather was one of many sites at which it was constituted.⁶ As a medium for leisure, Point Pelee was increasingly becoming a more publicly regulated, nationally-oriented park which demanded that visitors be aware of the morals of preservation.

Wilson (1977) investigated the growth of wilderness interests in America and discovered that many nature enthusiasts⁷ were middle-class urbanites, wishing to escape the alienating world of work. They sought to 1) escape the technology and urbanization of modern living, and 2) achieve a greater sense of self-awareness. This type of visitor became more prevalent during the 1970's at Point Pelee. Grant and Wall (1979) recorded that Point Pelee's primary visitors were urban day-users, and concluded that the park "does not attract a cross section of the population, but tends to be patronized by a relatively young, relatively well-educated, and relatively wealthy clientele" (p.121).

A certain type of visitor was being promoted by park administrators and the naturalists of society, a type promoted as "obviously" better than any other through the process of moral regulation. One may ask, however, why the preservation of Point Pelee's natural environment

⁶Robbins concluded that the sport of mountaineering was one of many sites in which the Victorian ethic of athleticism, scientism, and romanticism was constituted.

⁷Wilson's study included backpackers, mountaineers, cross-country skiers, and bicyclists.

was of such great concern to the National Parks System? Was Point Pelee's unique flora and fauna being protected as a result of government altruism, a selfless devotion to the betterment of Canadian citizens' awareness of nature's beauty? The theoretical concept of *rational recreation* may help to explain a hidden agenda within this promotion of preservation as the "obvious" way to practice leisure in a national park.

Research (Bailey, 1978; Rojek, 1993) focused on the concept of *rational recreation* describes how social movements in England, instigated by both Church and state in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, aimed to achieve the incorporation of the industrious working class into the body politic. "Civilizing programmes" in leisure, sport and education were designed to "make the industrious working class identify their interests with the national interest" (Rojek, 1993: 130). Similarities can be drawn between such historical movements and the "national interests" of the Federal Parks Branch in Canada in the 1970's.

National parks are symbols of "our" heritage. The two-fold increase in the number of national parks created by the federal branch during the 1970's extended to every region of the country, standing as symbolic representations of national unity. The tarnish of symbols like Point Pelee with the "inappropriate" behaviours associated with duck hunting, smelt fishing, or beach activities, meant that Canadian citizens were tarnishing the image of Canada. To organize the "proper" behaviour within such shrines of national symbolism, orderly citizenry were encouraged through the process of *moral regulation* to recreate *rationally*. Structures such as formal rules were created to prevent alternative behaviour, while other structures (or the absence thereof) helped to promote and facilitate more preferable leisure practices that were self-improving (e.g., the Interpretive Centre). The identities of park visitors, largely

formed through private leisure pursuits, became more publicly regulated, and as a result, more unified within the ideological boundaries of nature preservation.

Cautious generalizations have been made about the changes in leisure practices over time at Point Pelee National Park. Smelt fishing, bird watching/nature study, beach activities, and duck hunting have each been summarized and shown to be facilitated, constrained and/or eliminated through the interaction of structures and agents. Park leisure was altered from being more locally oriented in its people, its products, and its promotion, to a more nationally and internationally oriented park, guided by a "national" ideology, which resulted in a park of more national significance. The gradual increase in public regulation from 1960 to 1982 reshaped the dominant ways of knowing and defining reality. This, in turn, influenced the social context of leisure at Point Pelee, as certain practices were labelled either good or bad, right or wrong, proper or improper.

The theoretical explanations offered here are intended to help explain how social change occurs, and why it occurs. Leisure practices changed at Point Pelee because the structures which shaped the social context of park leisure were altered. This process involved the introduction of structures by park officials, such as Interpretive and Master Planning and the transit system, and their subsequent confirmation by park visitors. In general, the ideology of preservation increasingly reshaped the recreational mandates of park administrators at the federal, regional and local levels over the twenty-two year period of this study. In positions of privilege, these administrators were cognizant of and had access to the selective resources that could institutionalize and enforce this preservationist ideology; this, in effect, was the formal guidelines of the Master Plan. To change the shape of park leisure

however, these rules needed to be acknowledged and reproduced by other agents i.e., park visitors. As "[i]t was totally foreign for tax payers at that time to believe that they had a say-so" in the operation of the park (Interview with Mike, 1996), many informants simply obeyed the newly created rules at the park. Naturalists who were cognizant of and interested in the resources that could affect change, namely the "public" planning process, were more highly represented and more vocal at local public meetings, and were therefore more influential in the process of social change.

Social change requires the interaction of agents and structures, but more clearly, it requires the actions of agents to be either facilitated or inhibited by the structures in which those actions take place. The broader social ideology of Environmentalism was one structure which facilitated not only the preservationist mandates of park administrators, but facilitated (and legitimated) park visitors' confirmation of the formal rules aimed at reconstructing their leisure practices at the park. Increasingly, over the time period of 1960-1982, formal rules and ideologies were reproduced by park administrators and park visitors to reshape a park, once locally and recreation-oriented, into a more nationally oriented, publicly regulated, and preservation-oriented park.

Chapter IV

Summary and Conclusions

This study was an examination into the changes in leisure practices at Point Pelee National Park from 1960-1982. Four leisure practices were examined: smelt fishing, duck hunting, bird watching/nature study, and beach activities. Secondary and primary sources were used in this thesis to confirm and/or clarify the data gleaned from one main primary source - private interviews. Twenty individuals were interviewed who fell under the classification of park visitor or park administrator. The majority of these respondents were local residents, but all of them lived in Canada.

The theoretical purpose of this study was to examine the nature of social change by investigating the process of how leisure is socially constructed, and how particular forms of leisure behaviour become more "acceptable" than others. This study does not describe historical reality, but rather represents historical reality. The reality represented concerns those individuals who often lack the ability to produce knowledge. Historical research often derives from individuals in positions of privilege, such as those in government or academe. The thesis was used to break the silence of those individuals in subordinate social groups, and show that they also possess a knowledge of history, but often lack the resources to disclose this information. Through its creation, this thesis has filled a gap which existed in the academic literature of leisure and outdoor recreation by building upon the knowledge of agents rather than just structures.

Giddens' (1984) *duality of structure* paradigm was used as a framework in this thesis

to explain and analyze the changes in leisure at Point Pelee. Two questions were addressed which utilized this paradigm: 1) what structures contextualized the facilitation, alteration, or elimination of leisure activities at Point Pelee National Park between 1960 and 1982?; and 2) how did agents interact with these structures to facilitate, alter, or eliminate leisure activities at Point Pelee National Park between 1960 and 1982?

General findings summarize that structures associated with the National Parks Branch and structures in broader society interacted to shape the context of leisure in the park. However, it was the interaction of agents (park administrators and park visitors) with these structures that reproduced their shape, thereby confirming their existence and legitimating how leisure practices in the park were constructed.

Specific findings describe how duck hunting, beach activities and smelt fishing were the most constrained leisure practices at the park, while bird watching/nature study was found to be more facilitated. Duck hunters were constrained not only by the formal rules of the Master Plan, which regulated their use of and behaviour in the park's marshes, but by broader ideological structures in society which encouraged the rights of animals. Structural components such as the Master Plan and the ideology of preservation also served to regulate and constrain the behaviour of beach-goers and smelters within the park's gates. For example, the public transit system was instrumental in limiting access to the Park's "tip" beaches, and authoritative resources in the form of park wardens increasingly monitored and constrained the "environmentally damaging" activities of smelters. While constraining such activities as duck hunting, beach activities and smelt fishing, formal rules within the Master Plan refrained from inhibiting the more "preferred" activities of bird watching/nature study. Indeed, the

transit system and the ideology of preservation served to facilitate, rather than to constrain, these "non-consumptive" activities at Point Pelee.

This thesis has extended the body of academic literature concerning leisure and outdoor recreation both empirically and theoretically. Practical knowledge has been recorded from park visitors and park administrators in this thesis which illuminates leisure practices heretofore unnoticed by scholars of that time period, along with explanations of why and how such behaviours occurred. The work of Bella (1987) has been further clarified by detailing the process of how leisure was "limited" at Point Pelee within a context of tension between recreation and preservation ideologies.

Various viewpoints have been documented in this thesis which serve to examine rather than assume the hegemonic value of preservation, challenging the literature to seek out new and unexplored historical reasons for social change. The role of human agency in the process of social transformation was explored, uncovering how many agents who were offered access to structures that could have been used to maintain their customary practices (e.g., the Master Plan consultation process), chose to neglect such resource avenues and instead confirm rather than confront the structural changes occurring at the park. This process of confirmation could be further investigated through the use of Williams' (1977) ideas of hegemony. Finally, this thesis has produced "research from the margins" by extending the production of knowledge into areas heretofore unexplored by scholars, and in the process, legitimating the claims that these agents have knowledge which is worthy of examination.

Further Insight and Future Recommendations

Kirby's (1989) "research from the margins" was a valuable tool for researcher introspection. By listening to the viewpoints of individuals in marginalized groups, scholars can learn a great deal about themselves and their practice of social research. Through the use of this method, both status quo methods and status quo explanations of how and why leisure changed in Point Pelee park were challenged. By utilizing research from the margins, the boundaries of knowledge production were broadened, thereby becoming more inclusive. This style of research has assisted the author to become more accustomed to listening to the ideas of others and valuing alternate ways of defining reality, and in the process, learning a new respect for what counts as "knowledge."

Giddens' *duality of structure* paradigm was also very useful in this thesis in helping to explain the process of social change, by calling attention to rules and resources as the basic building blocks of society, as well as the interaction of agents with these structures. This framework was useful in clarifying how leisure practices were constructed over time at Point Pelee, in terms of how particular agents were able to work within structures. What was not delineated in this thesis, however, was the relationship of relative power between various agents or groups of agents. In the future, the use of hegemony might enable such power relations to be more clearly illuminated.

Hegemony is a dynamic process whereby the "dominant" attempt to produce and reproduce their preferred values by gaining consent of subordinate groups. This analysis of leisure practices at Point Pelee implicitly suggested that hegemonic interaction between groups with different degrees of power in society does indeed exist at the park. Those

individuals with greater knowledge of and access to resources were able to facilitate "preferred" beliefs by using available resources to create formal rules which in turn regulated the "right" patterns of behaviour. Through this regulation, select behaviours became institutionalized and made legitimate, while other behaviours were labelled as deviant.

This thesis was helpful in documenting how agents largely confirmed government-initiated ideas about "legitimate" leisure behaviour in the park. Future research could, however, more actively search out examples of agent behaviour which challenged/resisted "legitimate" leisure. Data which could assist this examination might include, for example, the legal records existing at the park which describe those individuals who were fined or charged with park violations. Understanding the ways in which individuals challenged park rules would lead to a greater understanding of the contested nature of the hegemonic process. Giddens paradigm and the concept of moral regulation could thus be complimented in future research by illuminating the hegemonic process inherent within the changes in leisure at the park during 1960-1982.

The major focus of this thesis was the process of social change, using select leisure practices at Point Pelee. Further research could focus on the breadth of leisure practices carried out at Point Pelee, incorporating activities such as cycling, boating, angle fishing, and leisure driving. Additional studies might also compare leisure activities within various parks at the municipal, provincial and/or national level.

The time period of 1960-1982, while central to the changes in leisure practices at Point Pelee, may be too limiting for a comprehensive examination of "legitimate" leisure practices in Point Pelee. For example, a study commencing shortly after WWII, focusing on

patterns of increasing government involvement in Canadian life, and concomitant actions by citizens to accept and/or challenge government regulation, could provide this broader backdrop. Such a study, and/or the other suggested studies noted above, would each be helpful in extending the findings of this thesis.

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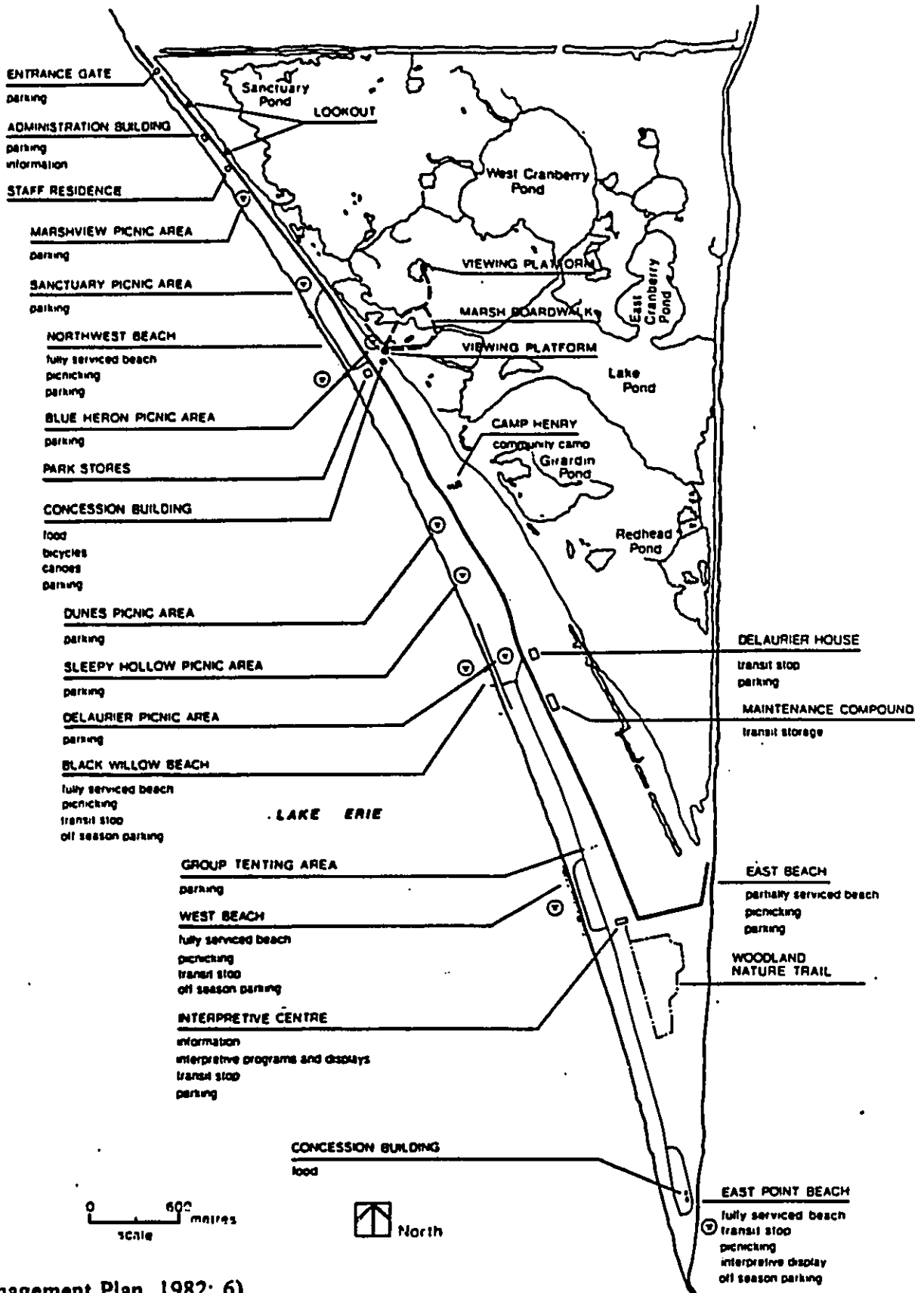
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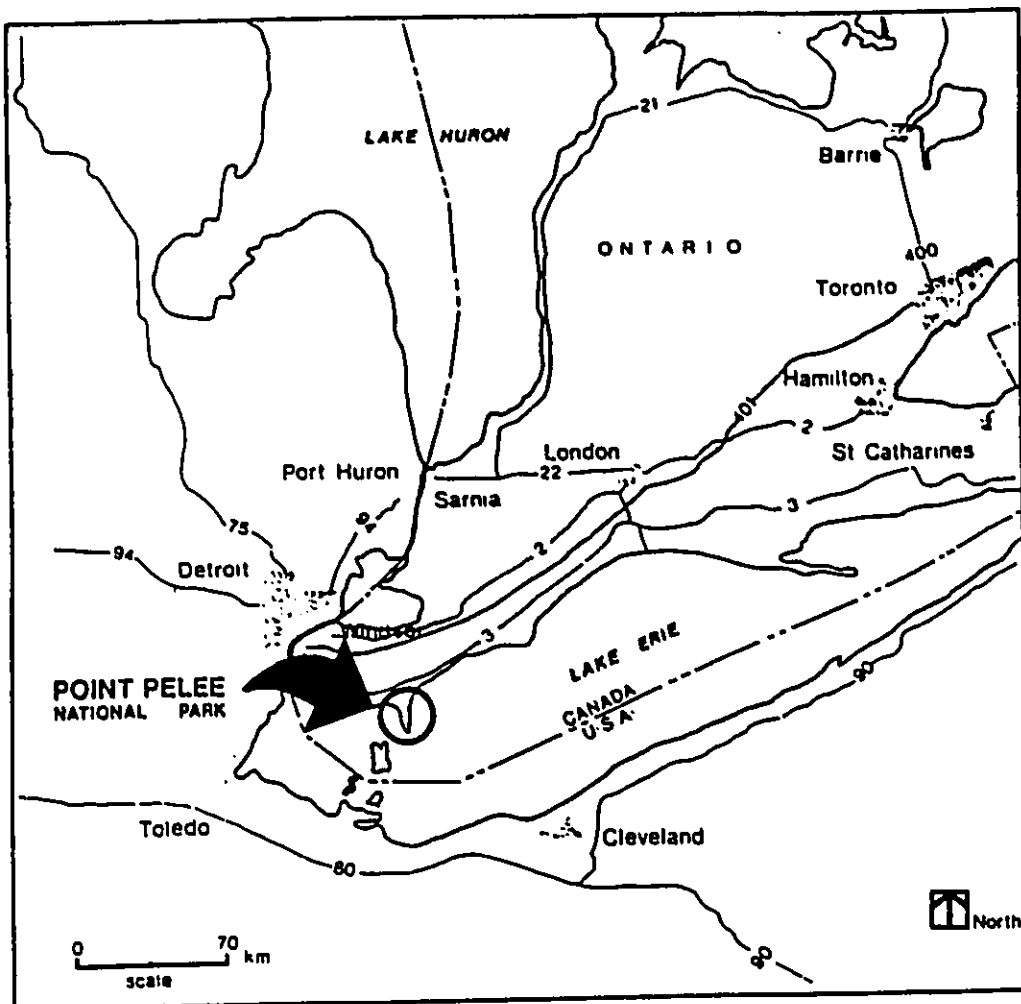
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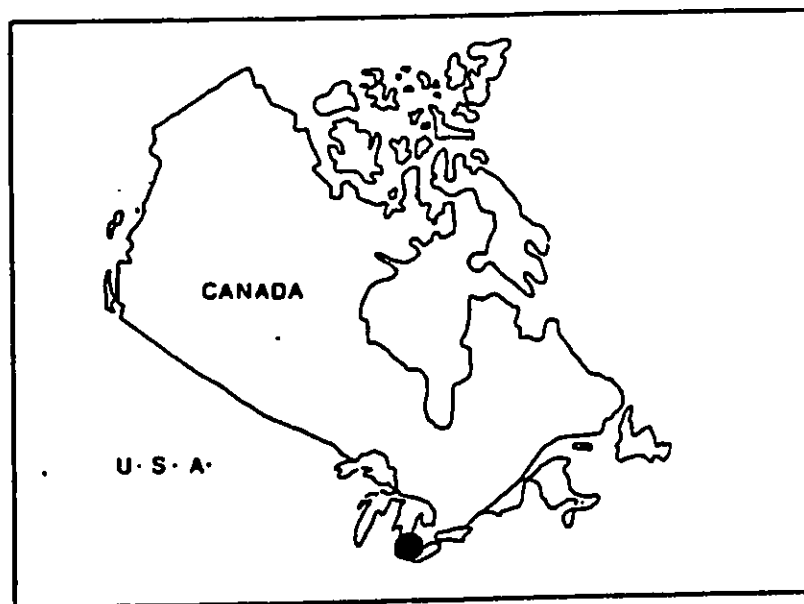
Appendix A: Diagrams of Point Pelee



(Management Plan, 1982: 6)



POINT PELEE NATIONAL PARK IN ITS REGIONAL CONTEXT



POINT PELEE NATIONAL PARK IN ITS CANADIAN CONTEXT

(Master Plan, 1982: 6)

Appendix B: Sample Letter to Informant

Paul E. Levesque
Faculty of Human Kinetics
University of Windsor
401 Sunset St. Windsor, Ontario
N9B 3P4

January XX, 1996

Re: Interview concerning Point Pelee National Park

Dear (Informant):

I wish to thank you for agreeing to participate in my research on Point Pelee National Park. This thesis is aiming to understand how people's leisure, or "fun times," at the park has changed over time. Specifically, I am interested in changes that took place between 1960 to 1982. I am interviewing people from various backgrounds, who use the park for many different reasons. Some people will be interviewed that belong to organizations connected with the park, others willing to be interviewed will represent no one but themselves.

Your name was suggested by your (dad, friend, colleague), who thought you could help me. Because of your interest in (duck hunting activities) that occurred at the park, I was hoping that you could shed some light for me on the way people hunted. As well, I want to know what's fun about this activity, how it may have changed over the years, and what you feel may have caused some of these changes.

Interviewing is an essential part of my thesis, as I believe many individuals have a vast amount of knowledge that never seems to be considered by those in "academia." As a graduate student, I want to change this, starting with my thesis. I hope you will help me, as I value any information that you would be willing to share with me that could help me answer

some of my questions about Point Pelee National Park.

Here's a list of some of the questions concerning issues I need to discuss with you during our meeting on January XX at 5 p.m.

1. What were the relations like between hunters and park officials, . . . naturalists, . . . general visitors?
 - Was there opposition to duck hunting in the park? Why, . . . from whom?
2. If there was such opposition, why do you think duck hunting was allowed to continue for so long? Were there actions taken to maintain hunting in the park?
 - Who was involved, how did they go about taking action?
3. Do you remember there being a Master Plan for the park?
 - What were your feelings or thoughts about the Master Plan,
 - Were there changes to the way the duck hunting was done in the park?
 - Did the park officials make an effort to let people know about proposals to change the duck hunting practices in the park . . . what happened?
 - Were there group/individual actions taken by hunters towards the Master Plan?
4. Were hunters aware of environmental issues in the park?
 - What were some of those issues?

Thank you for your time and consideration. I look forward to meeting you and to our discussions about Point Pelee National Park.

Sincerely, Paul E. Levesque

Appendix C: Questions from Interviews

The following is a sample of some of the questions that were asked to informants. Some of the questions are repetitive, as they were intended to ensure that each respondent was allowed a chance to respond to those topics (e.g., Master Plan, environmental issues).

Bird Watching/Nature Study

1. Were naturalist-type activities, like bird watching, a common activity for people at the park? When did birding or nature study become common?
 - Did the park naturalists help to get people involved in the activity?
 - Were there any specific people or groups that helped to make naturalist activity popular?

2. Do you think naturalist-type activities were favoured by the park officials and government? Why? Why not?

3. Do you remember there being a Master Plan for the park?
 - What were your feelings or thoughts about the Master Plan?
 - How did the plan relate to naturalist activities?
 - Were there changes to the way the park was operated?
 - Did the park officials make an effort to let people know about proposals to change the park. What happened?
 - were there group/individual actions taken by visitors towards the Master Plan?

4. Did you ever camp in the park?
 - Were there any changes to the camping facilities in the park?
 - How did you feel when you couldn't camp overnight anymore?
 - Were there actions taken by visitors towards the decisions about these changes to camping facilities?

5. Were park visitors aware of environmental issues in the park?
 - What effect did the introduction of the Nature Centre or the Interpretive Centre have on park visitors?
 - How did people generally respond to the transit system; did you ride the trains; who rode the trains?

Duck Hunting

1. What were the relations like between hunters and park officials, . . . naturalists, . . . general

visitors?

- Was there opposition to duck hunting in the park? Why, . . . from whom?
2. If there was such opposition, why do you think duck hunting was allowed to continue for so long?
 - Were there actions taken to maintain hunting in the park?
 - Who was involved? How did they go about taking action?
 3. Do you remember there being a Master Plan for the park?
 - What were your feelings or thoughts about the Master Plan,
 - Were there changes to the way the duck hunting was done in the park?
 - Did the park officials make an effort to let people know about proposals to change the duck hunting practices in the park . . . What happened?
 - Were there group/individual actions taken by hunters towards the Master Plan?
 4. Were hunters aware of environmental issues in the park?
 - What were some of those issues?

Park Administrators

1. What was Point Pelee park like during the 1960's; was it a peaceful park to come and watch birds?
 - Did this change over the years, throughout the 1970's? How?
2. Do you remember the Master Plan for the park?
 - What were your feelings or thoughts about the Master Plan?
 - Was it good for the park, did it rectify problems or bring about more problems?
 - Were there changes to the way the park was operated?
 - How did visitors deal with the restrictions on their recreational activities?
 - Did the park make an effort to let people know about proposals to change the park? What happened?
 - Were there actions taken by visitors towards the Master Plan?
3. What were the public relations like between the park and the general public?
 - Were rules always enforced? Any examples of when? Why weren't they enforced?
4. How did the Liberal government affect the direction the park would take?
 - Were local government officials influential in park decisions?
 - Were there sufficient funds available; were you under-staffed? Was this a problem?
 - Who was in charge of where or how the money would be spent?
 - Was there a discrepancy, or disagreement, between those who made the rules and those who enforced them?

5. Were park visitors aware of environmental issues in the park?
 - What effect did the introduction of the Nature Centre or the Interpretive Centre have on park visitors? Were they immediate successes?
 - How did people respond to the transit system, the trains . . . who rode the trains?

Smelt Fishing

1. Is smelt fishing a fun activity, what makes it fun?
2. Were park wardens ever around when you were smelt fishing?
3. Were there rules that wardens enforced that changed how people smelt fished at Pelee?
 - Do you think anyone disregarded, or chose to not abide by the rules that the park created?
4. Do you remember there being a Master Plan for the park?
 - What were your feelings or thoughts about the Master Plan?
 - Were there changes to the way the park was operated; did it affect smelt fisherman?
 - Did the park make an effort to let people know about proposals to change the park..what happened?
 - Were there individual/groups actions taken by smelt fisherman towards the Master Plan?

Beach Activities

1. How have swimming/beach activities changed since you first started coming to the park, (in terms of; facilities offered, restrictions enforced?)
 - Were there enough bath houses to change in?; Do you remember picnic areas, were there barbecue pits, playground equipment; Did this change at all?
 - What was the best beach to go to; Did you always go to that beach when you went to Pelee?
2. Do you remember there being a Master Plan for the park?
 - What were your feelings or thoughts about the Master Plan?
 - How did the plan relate to beach activities?
 - Were there changes to the way the park was operated?
 - Did the park officials make an effort to let people know about proposals to change the park..what happened?
 - Were there group/individual actions taken by visitors towards the Master Plan?
3. Did you ever camp in the park?

- Were there any changes to the camping facilities in the park?
- How did you feel when you couldn't camp overnight anymore?
- Were there actions taken by visitors towards the decisions about these changes to camping facilities?

4. Did the public transport system affect what you did at the park? How?
 - Were you still able to drive where you wanted?
5. Did the availability of parking affect people's access to park beaches? How?
6. Were you aware of environmental issues concerning how the park may have been managed?
 - What were some of those issues?

Appendix D: Written Consent Form

My name is Paul Levesque and I am a Master's Candidate within the Faculty of Human Kinetics at the University of Windsor. Personal interviews are one of several sources of information for understanding the changes in leisure at Point Pelee National Park. I would like to thank you for your assistance in the formation of my thesis.

Participation in this study is strictly voluntary. Because I would like to tape record the interview, please be assured that I will honestly respect the confidential nature of your information, and ensure that your name remains anonymous.

I will contact you in the future to confirm the accuracy of my understanding of your information and ideas, before anything is put into final print. A copy of this study will be available upon completion from either myself or through the Faculty of Human Kinetics at the University of Windsor. If you have any questions or ethical concerns about this study please feel free to contact Dr. Victoria Paraschak at the University of Windsor (253-4232 ext.2445). If you need to contact me in regards to this interview or this study, the phone number at the school is 519-253-4232 ext 2429, or ext 2452. Please leave a number where I can contact you if I am not available.

I, _____, understand the above information and voluntarily agree

(please print name)

to participate in the interview. I am aware that I maintain the right the withdraw from the interview process at any time.

(signature)

(date)

Appendix E: Request for Demographic Material

Thank you for participating in my research on Point Pelee National Park. It is important for my records that I have some statistical knowledge on the background of those individuals I have interviewed. This information is strictly confidential, and will not be associated with your name or organization. If you do not have any concerns, would you please answer the following questions to complete the interview process.

1. What is your sex? M F

2. What age group do you belong to?

30 - 39

40 - 49

50 - 59

60 - 69

70 - 79

80 - 89

3. What is/was your general occupation?

4. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

high school

college

university

Masters

Ph.D.

trade school

other _____

5. Did you belong to any groups that were involved with issues relating to Point Pelee National Park from 1960 to 1982? For example, Federation of Ontario Naturalists, Essex County Green Head Club, etc. Which ones?

Appendix F: Demographics* of Informants

Park Administration

Pseudonyms - Jane, Mike, David, Craig, Tom

Occupation - 2 Wardens, 1 Superintendent, 1 Visitor Services Officer

Age Range - 40-70 yrs.

Education - 1 Elementary School, 1 High School, 1 College, 2 University

Sex - 4 Males, 1 Female

Time Span Covered - 3 (1960-70), 2 (1971-82)

Smelt Fisherman/ Duck Hunter

Pseudonyms - Dan, Doug, Red, Bob, Ellis

Occupation - 2 Merchants, 1 Auto worker, 1 Sales Representative, 1 Plumber

Age Range - 30-70 yrs.

Education - 4 High School, 1 College,

Sex - 5 Males

Time Span Covered - 3 (1960-70), 2 (1971-82)

Bird watching/Nature Study

Pseudonyms - Betty, George, Chris, Linda,

Occupation - 1 Farmer, 1 Merchant, 1 Librarian, 1 Civil Servant, 1 Teacher

Age Range - 40-70 yrs.

Education - 1 High School, 3 University, 1 University (Masters)

Sex - 3 Males, 2 Female

Time Span Covered - 2 (1960-70), 3 (1971-82)

Beach Activities

Pseudonyms - Stewart, Matt

Occupation - 1 Mechanic, 1 Machinist, 1 Teacher, 1 Journalist, 1 Housewife

Age Range - 50-60 yrs.

Education - 2 High School, 1 College, 2 University

Sex - 4 Males, 1 Female

Time Span Covered - 3 (1960-70), 2 (1971-82)

* Organizations have been purposefully withheld for the sake of informant anonymity.

Vita Auctoris

Paul Edward Levesque was born in 1970 in Petrolia, Ontario. He graduated from St. Clair High School in Sarnia, Ontario in 1989. From there he went on to the University of Western Ontario where he obtained an Honours B.A. in Physical Education in 1994. He is currently a candidate for the Master of Human Kinetics degree at the University of Windsor and hopes to graduate in Spring of 1996.