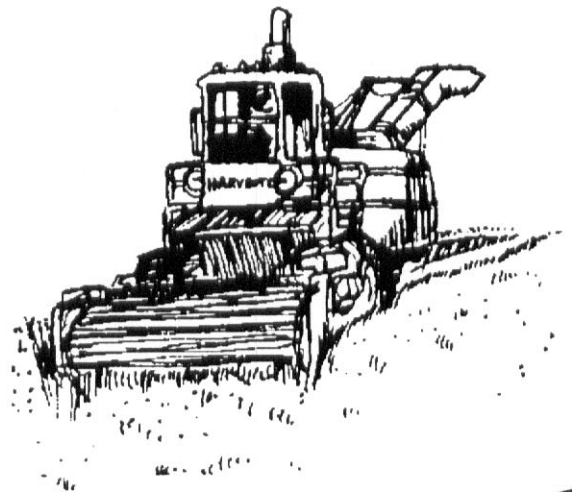
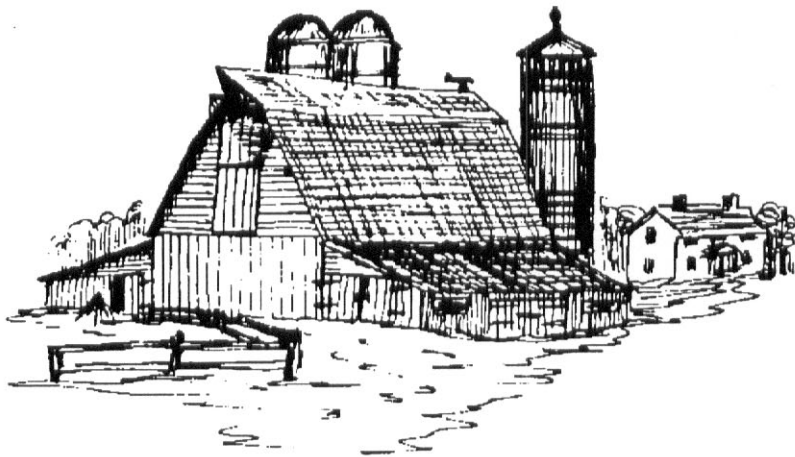




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**Impact of Non-Resident Land Ownership and  
Permanent Recreational Development in  
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**IMPACT OF NON-RESIDENT LAND OWNERSHIP AND  
PERMANENT RECREATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN  
TRADITIONAL FARM AREAS**

**by Robert Curle  
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**and**

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**The Rural Development Institute  
Brandon University**

**1992**

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The views contained herein are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of any other organization or person.

## PREFACE

Rural restructuring is occurring more rapidly than anticipated and responding to a greater variety of regional, national and international influences. Agriculture will retain its position as the dominant industry and land use in agro-Manitoba, but it is neither desirable nor sustainable for all rural areas or communities to rely solely on the agricultural sector for financial and social continuity. Just as it is better to diversify agriculture for long-term stability of farm operations, it behooves rural areas to use the total available human and physical resource base to diversify and stabilize local economies.

This, however, will not be easily accomplished. Rural people have long-established social and political mores based on traditional lifestyles associated with agriculture, and the servicing of farmers. Increasing farm size allowed by the replacement of farm labour by mechanization has resulted in dramatic depopulation of rural lands, and the lack of alternative employment opportunities have resulted in mass exodus from entire regions. Unfortunately, most movement has occurred in young age groups, so the populations have not only thinned, but also aged. This strengthens traditional culture and may mitigate against the change necessary to diversify the economic base of an area.

Some rural areas possess physical landscapes that offer not only opportunities to farm, but also the possibilities offered by tourism and recreational development. Outstanding resources often attract and concentrate tourism on a seasonal or year round basis. If planned properly, highly attractive areas can generate considerable economic opportunity with little disruption of other activities. In areas with dispersed resources, recreational development may be dispersed, and may create either perceived or real negative impacts in the attendant culture. Planning for a broad-based integration of new activities in a traditional rural area is very different from that required to institute high-intensity tourism. Both forms of development, however, offer opportunities for regional economic diversification.

The two local government units presented as case studies in this report present very different scenarios based on both dispersed and concentrated forms of recreational development. Although adjacent and sharing similar site and situation characteristics and opportunities, the two jurisdictions have divergent histories of development.

Bob Curle was a long term resident of the LGD of Park and served as both councillor and reeve. Richard Rounds has conducted research both within Riding Mountain National Park and in the adjacent municipalities for more than 20 years, and is familiar with both the resources and people of the area. The ideas presented are those of the authors, and are meant to open new avenues of thought for local people to consider as they debate their futures. The Manitoba Departments of Rural Development and Education and Training (through the Universities Grants Commission) provide funding to support RDI. We especially thank Ernie Antonow, Secretary-Treasurer of the RM of Rossburn, and Syl Yakielashek, Secretary-Treasurer of the LGD of Park for assistance in accessing information. Joan Rollheiser, Administrative Assistant at RDI, prepared the manuscript for publication. Dan Scott and Dion Wiseman served as cartographers for the project.

Dr. Richard C. Rounds,  
Director,  
Rural Development Institute

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## INTRODUCTION

Rural depopulation (MacLean and Rounds 1991) has impacted negatively on the ability of municipal governments to maintain or expand services to their citizens. Inflation and escalating costs for service obviate effective budget reductions and offset potential savings relating to loss of people. Most essential services cannot become more cost-effective with declining populations unless remaining people are geographically aggregated. The pattern of distribution of rural residents, however, remains dispersed in spite of significant losses in numbers. School bus routes, roads, bridges and other major services, therefore, must be maintained for an ever-decreasing number of citizens. Declining cost-effectiveness impacts at the provincial as well as local levels, and is most evident in health care and education sectors of the economy (Rounds and MacLean 1991, Rounds 1991).

Population decline is usually a regional phenomenon, and often the consequence of external forces. Local communities or regions may be helpless to mitigate the forces causing decline, but they are left with the legacy of adjusting to changes. Since the history of planning in North America has been of regulating growth, the advent of regulating decline presents new challenges including devising strategies to slow down losses, finding new uses for under-utilized infrastructure, and identifying niche opportunities instead of expanding on a generally increasing industrial base. A major problem may be negative attitudes and perceptions of both residents and planners who face declining scenarios (Fabos 1985). Abandoned structures are a constant reminder of periods of economic growth, and a sign of the challenge ahead.

Population decline occurred in 101 of 117 (86 percent) rural municipalities (RMs) in agro-Manitoba between 1961 and 1986 (MacLean and Rounds 1990). Areas of increase in rural population were concentrated near the City of Winnipeg. Municipalities in western Manitoba were particularly vulnerable to population loss and eight RMs lost more than 50 percent of their 1961 population by 1986. When populations of local towns are included with their RM, the overall losses are buffered, but the pattern remains the same, and 63 percent of RMs had population losses of greater than 10 percent even when towns are accounted in the data. These numbers summarize not only the depopulation of rural Manitoba, but also the base upon which planners must attempt to stimulate rural development.

### Purpose and Objectives of the Study

In recognition of the fact that many rural areas have limited opportunities to encourage local development, this study was designed to assess the impact of alternative land uses in traditional agricultural areas. Specifically, the development of permanent private facilities for recreation by non-resident landowners is analyzed for impact on local economic and social resources through the municipal tax base. Both small area high-intensity developments (cottages and subdivisions) and larger land tracts used more extensively for resource production or recreation are included. Both legal and social encouragement or discouragement may affect such alternative development. Conversely, the degree of success and type of development will affect the traditional economic and social values of long-term residents.

We realize that ownership and use are separate issues, but in the study area the two are intrinsically related. Our concern with land use relates to diversification of the resource base to lessen agricultural dependency. Conversely, our concern with non-resident ownership reflects the need to retard or reverse rural depopulation.

This study will compare two adjacent municipalities with similar situational factors based on physical resources and settlement patterns but histories that have resulted in divergent site development. Comparison of the municipalities allows assessment of the impact of situation and site on non-resident recreational development, and concomitant effects of development on local socio-economic characteristics.



Primary data for each jurisdiction include assessment rolls from the census years of 1961, 1966, 1971, 1976, 1981 and 1986, and an update to 1989. This 28 year longitudinal study is designed to show changes within the municipalities in 1) numbers of both resident and non-resident landowners, 2) size and location of non-resident properties, 3) total property assessments, 4) tax levies, 5) ratios between land and building assessments, and 6) resident and non-resident taxes. Data for each census period will allow determination of not only sequential change, but also rates of change during inter-census intervals. Comparisons between the two municipalities are designed to reveal commonalities and dissimilarities in land use change and development, as well as suggest historical factors that may have caused divergent results.

## Methods

The Councils of the RM of Rosburn (hereinafter Rosburn) and the LGD of Park South (hereinafter Park) were given an outline of the proposed study, and each Council passed a resolution allowing access to their tax levy and assessment rolls. The Manitoba Department of Rural Development's local assessment office cooperated in the study.

All data for resident populations were taken from Census of Canada publications. Use of numerical classifications for agricultural capabilities of land are based on the Canada Land Inventory (CLI). Land classification was devised to allow definition of the characteristics and use of properties owned by non-residents (Table 1).

Table 1. Non-resident land classification code used for property identification

Symbol	Definition
"r"	Recreational land use. Denotes a small holding of 10 acres or less with a permanent building/residence.
"ru"	Recreational land use undeveloped. Denotes a small holding of 10 acres or less without a permanent building/residence.
"n"	Natural lands of more than 10 acres, but in a single parcel containing a building/residence. Agricultural use is not dominant.
"nu"	Natural lands of more than 10 acres with no building/residence. These lands are generally unsuitable for agriculture, but may have high potential for subdivision for recreational use.
"a"	Agricultural lands of more than 10 acres used primarily for production. Most are at least partially cultivated, but may have secondary recreational value.

In nearly all cases, properties were easily classified into one of these categories. Most properties were very small, or quarter-sections. Other than legally subdivided properties, quarter-sections (65 hectares or 160 acres) were used as base ownership units. All data were coded into a computer for collation and analysis.

## Description of the Study Area

The study area consists of two local government units: the Local Government District of Park (South), and the Rural Municipality of Rosburn (Figure 1). The two units are adjacent to each other, form the south-central and southwestern boundaries of Riding Mountain National Park (RMNP), and include Ranges 17 to 26 W.P.M. and Townships 17 to 21 N. Approximately 350,500 acres (142,000 ha) are included.

The area is situated above the Manitoba escarpment on the Second Prairie Steppe of the Great Plains Region, and forms part of the Western Uplands of Manitoba. Elevation ranges from 1,750 - 2,100 feet (533 - 648 m) asl, with topography blending from undulating to rolling till plains in the south and west, to steeply sloping hill country adjacent to RMNP. Many poorly integrated depressions contain sloughs, marshes and lakes. The region is drained by the Birdtail, Little Saskatchewan and Rolling Rivers, all of which are tributaries to the Assiniboine River.

Two major soil zones occur in the area. The Black Earth Zone of the southwestern portion of the study area includes naturally fertile soils of the Newdale Association and evolved under prairie grassland. A sub-zone of Grey-Black soils occurs as a transitional strip across the study area and generally lie between 1,900 - 2,000 feet (580 - 610 m) asl as the Erickson, Seech and Onanole Associations. Although formed under prairie conditions, these soils were covered by closed forest prior to cultivation. They are not seriously depleted and compare in productivity to soils in the Black Earth Zone.

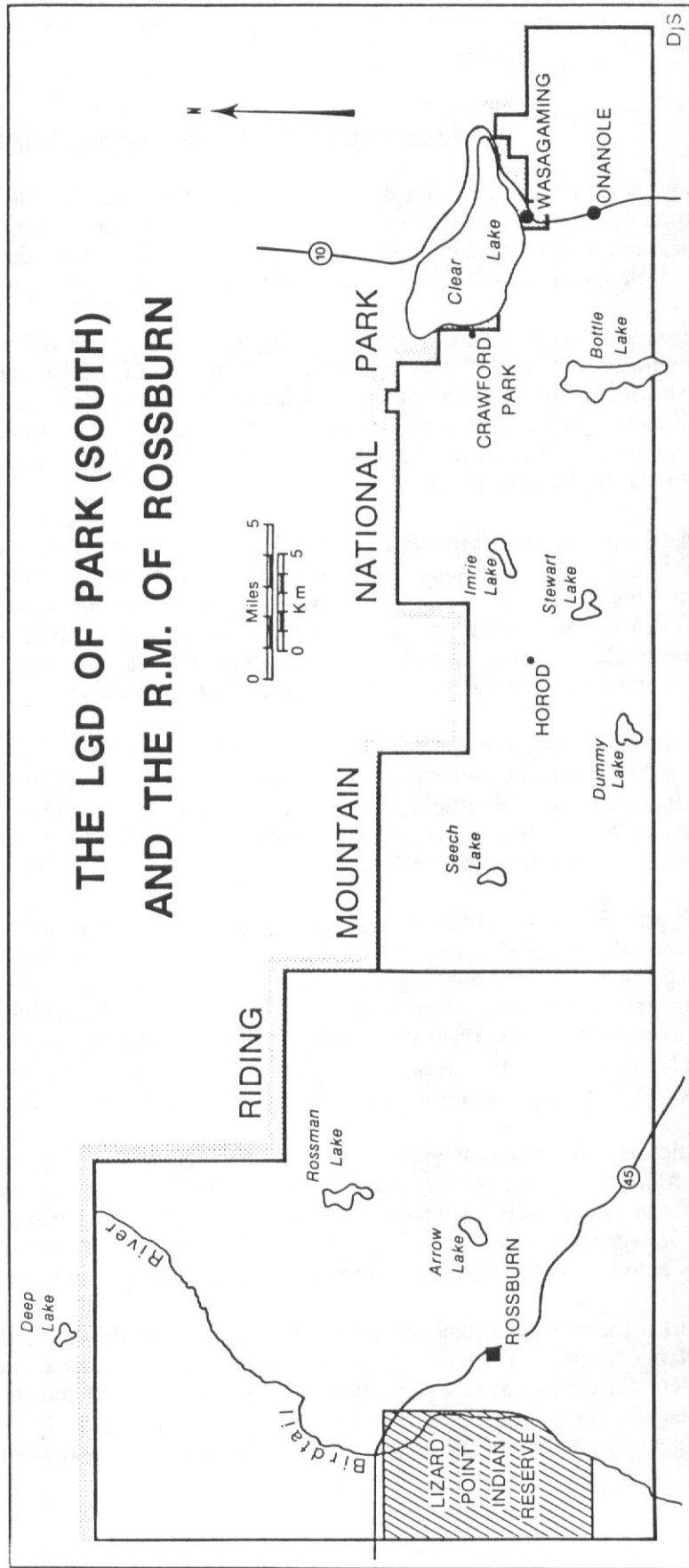
Grey-wooded soils occur on sloping land above 2000 feet (610m) asl. Most are adjacent to RMNP, developed under forested conditions and are strongly degraded or leached. They are susceptible to erosion on slopes. Included are the Waitfield, Rackham, Zaporozha and Granville Associations. Non-zonal soils that occur locally within the area are the Horod, Proven Lake, Benchland and Assiniboine complexes. Sand and gravel deposits are common (Gartner Lee 1983; Young 1982).

The study area lies in the transitional zone of the dry subhumid climatic region. The southwestern portion of the area extends into the dry fringe of Manitoba, while the northeastern portion lies in the moist fringe of the Parklands zone. Average annual precipitation ranges from 16 to 18 inches, with the higher elevations receiving the greater amounts. Mean temperatures are above freezing between mid-April and mid-October, and below freezing for the alternate six months. Average temperature for July is 62<sup>o</sup>F (16<sup>o</sup>C) near RMNP and 66<sup>o</sup>F (18<sup>o</sup>C) in low-lying areas to the south. Mean January temperatures range from -1<sup>o</sup>F to -3<sup>o</sup>F (-17<sup>o</sup>C) across the region. The growing season varies between 85 and 100 days.

Three major natural vegetation types occur within the region. Wooded grasslands originally occupied the southern portion of the area, and most forest has been cleared to allow extensive agricultural use of the fertile soils. The transitional soils originally supported stands of broadleaved forests. The grey soils, steep topography and higher elevations of areas adjacent to RMNP support mixed broadleaf and coniferous forests. Agricultural activity has greatly affected the original nature of the vegetation in all areas.

Agriculture is the most important land use in the study area. Although the climate is suitable for all grains grown in Manitoba, the cooler temperatures and shorter growing season may limit success of wheat, and places greater restrictions on corn or sunflowers. Mixed farming dominates, with emphasis on livestock where adverse soil or topographic aspects restrict cropping, and on grain production where fewer limitations apply. The southern portion of the study area supports many farms that produce only grains.

Figure 1



In the physically more restricted upland regions near Riding Mountain National Park the landscape may preclude extensive farming and other land uses become options. Many areas remain heavily forested, or lightly grazed, and recreation, wildlife habitat and forest production occur. Much of the remaining natural landscape lies within RMNP, but peripheral areas either serve as extensions of the Park, or are ecological recipients of spill-over wildlife resources originating within RMNP. Some marginal agricultural enterprises have either reverted back to wild lands because of poor economic returns, or been purchased for non-agricultural purposes. The area adjacent to RMNP, therefore, is a mosaic of mixed farms, properties developed for private recreational interests, and unoccupied wild lands.

Populations in the study area have followed the regional trends for west-central Manitoba in that major decline has occurred during the last 30 years (Table 2) (MacLean and Rounds 1991). The RM of Rossburn and the Village of Rossburn are censused separately, but Onanole is not separated from the LGD of Park (Figure 1). The RM of Rossburn lost 58 percent of its resident population between 1961 and 1991. The Village of Rossburn, conversely, increased by 3 percent during the same time interval. In total, however, the RM and Village combined lost 39 percent of their 1961 resident population by 1991. The LGD of Park lost 33 percent of its 1961 resident population by 1991, but nearly all losses occurred between 1961 and 1976, and numbers have remained steady since 1976. Losses in Rossburn (combined Village and RM) continued throughout the 30 years. The resident population of the entire study area declined by 37 percent.

Table 2. Population changes in the RM of Rossburn and LGD of Park, 1961 - 1991<sup>1</sup>

Jurisdiction	Resident population							%change
	1961	1966	1971	1976	1981	1986	1991	
RM Rossburn	1,499	1,284	1,077	890	766	715	658	-58.0
Village of Rossburn	591	638	638	652	696	664	609	2.9
Total	2,090	1,922	1,715	1,542	1,462	1,379	1,267	-39.4
LGD Park	1,390	1,238	1,075	993	951	945	935	-32.7
Study area	3,480	3,160	2,790	2,535	2,413	2,324	2,202	-36.7

<sup>1</sup>MacLean and Rounds 1991

## THE PATTERN OF NON-RESIDENT OWNERSHIP

Three aspects of ownership of properties in Park and Rossburn are presented. First, the number of small-holdings and quarter sections owned by non-residents is assessed to determine trends. Most, if not all small-holdings are held for recreation purposes or investment. Second, the origins of non-resident owners are traced to provide insight into areas generating demand. Third, the location of properties are mapped and analyzed to ascertain spatial patterns and changes through time.

### Numbers of Non-resident Landowners

The number of non-resident small holdings in Park increased from 39 in 1961 to 647 in 1989 (Table 3). The number doubled during the first 10 years, increased seven-fold during the 1971 - 81 period, and increased an additional 30 percent between 1981 and 1989. Most rapid growth in land ownership, therefore, occurred

during the 1970's. Development on these properties, however, lagged as the ratio of developed to undeveloped sites shifted between 1981 and 1986. Since all subdivisions were not developed at the same time, some temporal variations may have resulted from timing rather than economic restraint. Similarly, although the rate of increase has dropped off, demand remains high as witnessed by an overall increase of 114 small-holdings between 1986 and 1989.

Table 3. Changes in non-resident land holdings, 1961 - 1989

Jurisdiction	Yr.	Small holdings (<10 acres)			Quarters <sup>1</sup>			Total
		No. developed	No. undevel.	Total	Agricultural	Rec. develop.	Rec. undevel.	
Park	1961	19	20	39	32.5	0.0	2	34.5
	1966	21	26	47	42.5	0.0	13	55.5
	1971	39	33	72	35.0	0.0	12	47.0
	1976	52	40	92	47.0	7.0	16	70.0
	1981	111	386	497	66.0	8.5	16.5	91.0
	1986	314	219	533	61.0	30.5	16	107.5
	1989	393	254	647	79.5	28.0	26	133.5
Rosscburn	1961	1	2	3	29.0	1	0	30.0
	1966	3	5	8	41	2	0.5	43.5
	1971	10	3	13	67	0	3	70.0
	1976	14	9	23	69.25	2.5	8.5	80.25
	1981	26	17	43	93.5	8.0	12.5	114.0
	1986	29	13	42	102.5	14.5	9	126.0
	1989	29	13	42	125	15	11.5	151.5

Source: Original files of the local jurisdictions.

<sup>1</sup> Quarter sections approximate 160 acres (65 ha). Minor variations were not accounted for. The values of 0.5 reflect landholdings of approximately 80 acres (33 ha). Nearly all properties fit clearly in quarter sections, 80 acre parcels or small holdings. A quarter section is considered developed for recreation if a permanent or seasonal residence is occupied by the owner, who does not farm the land.

Larger land holdings were analyzed by quarter sections (Table 3). In 1961, nearly all of the 34.5 quarters were classified as agricultural lands. This signifies that although owned by a non-resident, the land use had not changed. In many instances, these lands belonged to non-resident members of original families, and were farmed by relatives. We were unable to accurately trace ownership by original residents who had moved away, but evidence suggests that it is common throughout the 1961 - 1989 period.

The number of quarters owned by non-residents increased irregularly during the 28 years. The number of properties increased rapidly between 1961 and 1966, but declined during the next five years. The total of 133.5 quarters in 1989 was approximately four times the number in 1961. Non-resident ownership of larger land holdings, therefore, increased significantly, but lagged far behind small holdings in number. Undeveloped recreation properties (wildlands) appear early, but developed recreation lands did not appear until 1976. In 1989, developed and undeveloped recreational quarters were about equal in number, but still constituted only 40 percent of all non-resident owned quarter sections (Table 3).

Ownership of small holdings in Rosssburn is uncommon. Only three small properties occurred in 1961, and only 42 in 1989 (Table 3). About two-thirds were developed in 1989, and the numbers have not changed substantially since 1981. Most of these properties are located near Rossman Lake or the Village of Rosssburn (Figure 1).

The number of quarter sections owned by non-residents increased steadily between 1961 and 1989 in Rosssburn (Table 3). Quarters used for agriculture dominate, but the percentage of recreational quarters increased from about 3 percent in 1961 to 17 percent in 1989. The number and percentage of recreational quarters has not changed greatly since 1981. Undeveloped recreation quarters were most common prior to 1981, but developed quarters gain dominance since 1981. In total, agricultural quarters owned by non-residents are more common in Rosssburn than in Park, and recreation quarters are more common in Park.

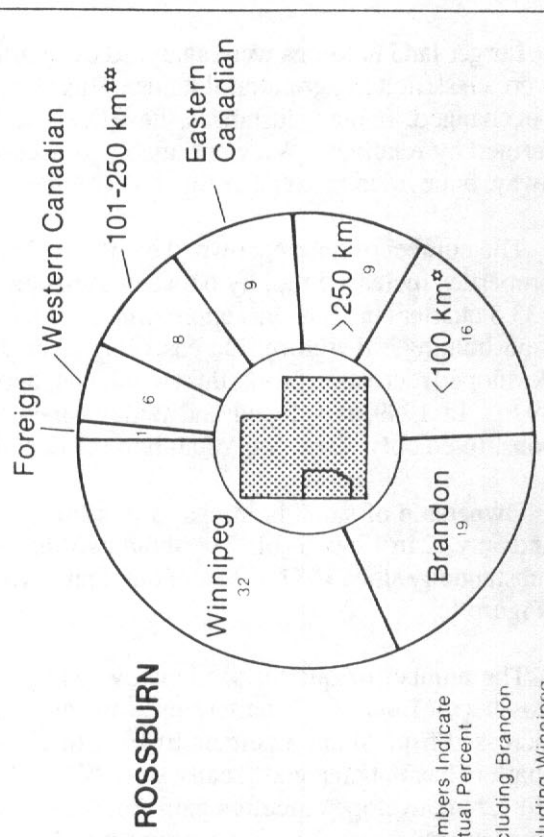
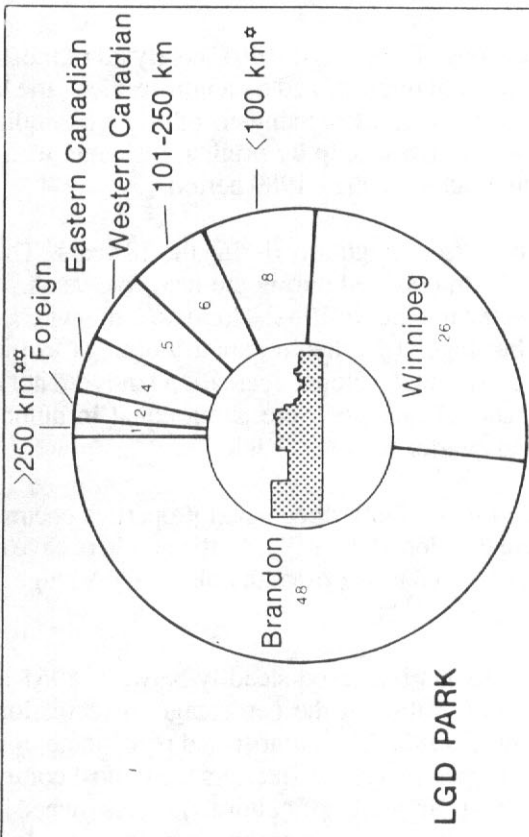
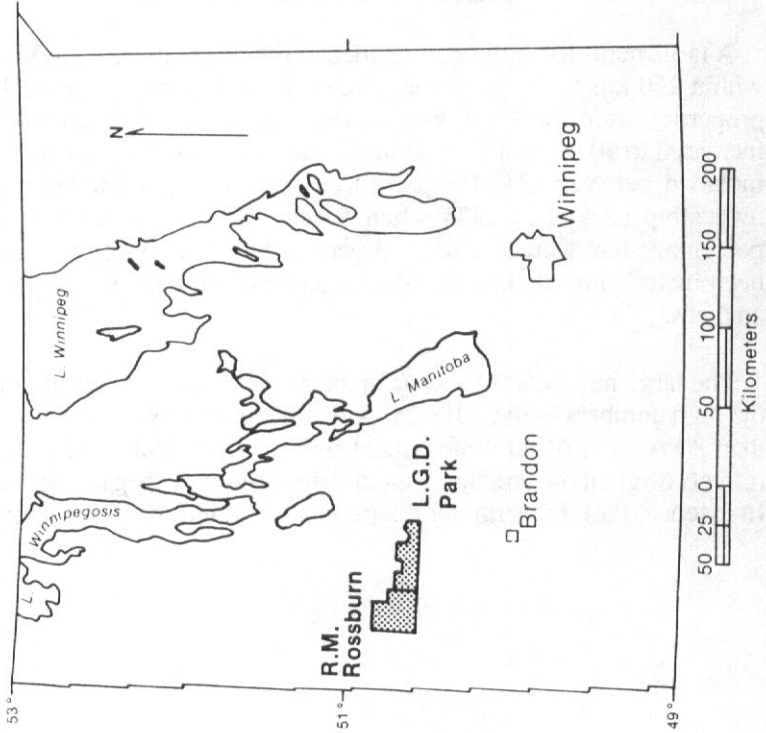
## **Origin of Non-resident Property Owners**

A large majority of the non-resident landowners in Park are Manitoba or Saskatchewan residents who live within 250 km of the properties (Table 4 and Figure 2). In 1961, 78 percent of all non-resident controlled properties were involved, and although the percentage decreased to 72 percent in 1976, it subsequently increased to 90 percent in 1981 and remained at this level since. When other western Canadian residents are included, between 89 and 95 percent of all non-resident owners are included in all years except 1966. Foreign ownership peaked in 1976 when 8 percent of the non-resident owners were from other nations. This percentage has decreased to 2 - 3 percent in recent years, and more European than American citizens have been included in the last two time intervals. Both small holdings and quarter sections are included in the analysis.

The large numbers that occur in the 51 - 100 km zone result almost entirely from Brandon residents, and the high numbers in the 201 - 250 km zone relate to Winnipeg (Figure 2). These two cities account for more than 80 percent of all non-resident owners since 1981. The shift from Winnipeg to Brandon dominance reflects original ownership of subdivisions by Winnipeg residents, and subsequent purchase by Brandonites. In essence, Park is a summer resort area for Manitoba's two major cities.

Figure 2

# Origin of Non-Resident Property Owners R.M. of Rossburn and L.G.D. Park



Numbers Indicate  
Actual Percent  
✦ Excluding Brandon  
✧ Excluding Winnipeg

Source: Data Compiled by R.D.L., 1991.

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Table 4. Origin of non-resident landowners in LGD of Park, 1961 - 1989

Distance zone/region	No. properties owned by non-residents						
	1961	1966	1971	1976	1981	1986	1989
<b>Manitoba/Saskatchewan</b>							
<50 km	12	9	9	6	17	17	29
51 - 100 km	12	30	43	71	180	382	419
101 - 150 km	2	0	1	4	8	20	26
151 - 200 km	1	0	1	1	4	4	13
201 - 250 km	28	35	34	37	325	205	217
>251 km	3	10	9	5	7	8	7
<b>Western Canada</b>							
Alberta	3	3	12	22	26	19	25
British Columbia	6	3	5	7	7	11	18
<b>Eastern Canada</b>							
Ontario	7	13	9	4	10	11	25
Quebec/Atl. provs.	1	1	0	1	1	5	4
<b>Foreign</b>							
United States	0	0	1	11	10	6	4
Other Foreign	0	0	0	3	7	10	11
<b>Total</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>104</b>	<b>124</b>	<b>172</b>	<b>602</b>	<b>698</b>	<b>798</b>

The current places of residence of non-resident landowners in Rosssburn are similar to those in Park (Table 5 and Figure 2). People residing within 250 km of the area in Manitoba and Saskatchewan comprise between 70 and 87 percent of all owners among years, with the highest percentages occurring in recent years. Other Western Canadian and Eastern Canadian residents comprise 5 - 10 percent of non-resident landowners, but the Eastern Canadian percentage has decreased through time. American and other foreign residents comprised 6 - 9 percent of non-resident owners between 1966 and 1976, but only 1 percent since 1976.

In total, there are only about one-fourth the number of properties in non-resident ownership as was observed in Park. Most of the difference lies in the lack of subdivision into small-holdings in Rosssburn. Most non-resident owners in Rosssburn live in the <50, 101 - 150 km and >251 km zones. Those within 50 km often are farmers or small town residents who grew up in the region but now live far enough away to be classified as non-residents. Those in the 101 - 150 km and >251 km zones live primarily in Brandon and Winnipeg, respectively (Figure 2). Readers are cautioned not to directly equate the number of landowners with the area of land owned. Nearly all properties in RM of Rosssburn are quarter sections, while most in LGD of Park are small holdings.



Table 5. Origin of non-resident landowners in RM of Rosssburn, 1961 - 1989

Distance zone/region	No. properties owned by non-residents						
	1961	1966	1971	1976	1981	1986	1989
<b>Manitoba/Saskatchewan</b>							
<50 km	3	1	6	7	7	18	24
51 - 100 km	1	3	4	3	10	11	8
101 - 150 km	4	8	10	3	27	36	46
151 - 200 km	0	2	2	4	10	8	7
201 - 250 km	0	3	1	0	3	2	2
>251 km	17	29	37	58	76	81	82
<b>Western Canada</b>							
Alberta/NWT	3	1	5	7	11	5	7
British Columbia	1	1	0	3	5	6	5
<b>Eastern Canada</b>							
Ontario	3	9	13	9	8	5	10
Quebec/Atl. provs.	0	0	3	0	0	6	7
<b>Foreign</b>							
United States	0	5	5	7	1	1	1
Other foreign	0	0	0	2	1	1	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>180</b>	<b>200</b>

### Location of Properties Owned by Non-residents

The location of quarter sections in non-resident ownership were identified (Table 6) and plotted for both jurisdictions for 1961, 1976 and 1989 (Figures 3 - 8). Although the number of land parcels increases from 39 to 107 in LGD Park and 37 to 149 in RM Rosssburn, the spatial distribution is very stable. The number of non-resident properties (excluding subdivided small holdings) within one mile of the boundary of Riding Mountain National Park (RMNP) in LGD Park increased from 13 in 1961 to 31 in 1976, but this group as a percentage of all properties remained stable at about 30 percent. Properties within two miles of RMNP decreased as a percentage and those within three miles remained stable. Non-residents, therefore, were purchasing properties throughout the region, and no recent concentration is evident adjacent to RMNP (Figures 3 - 5).

In LGD Park a zone including all areas within three miles of the National Park boundary includes about half of the total area. There is, therefore, some concentration of ownership near RMNP, but that pattern has not changed in the last 28 years. The total number of non-resident quarters in LGD Park comprised the following percentages of all land in the jurisdiction: 1961 = 4.0 percent, 1976 = 10.5 percent, and 1989 = 11.1 percent. Most land purchasing occurred between 1961 and 1976. In spite of the increase in number of properties, only 11.1 percent of the land was controlled by non-residents in 1989.

Figure 3

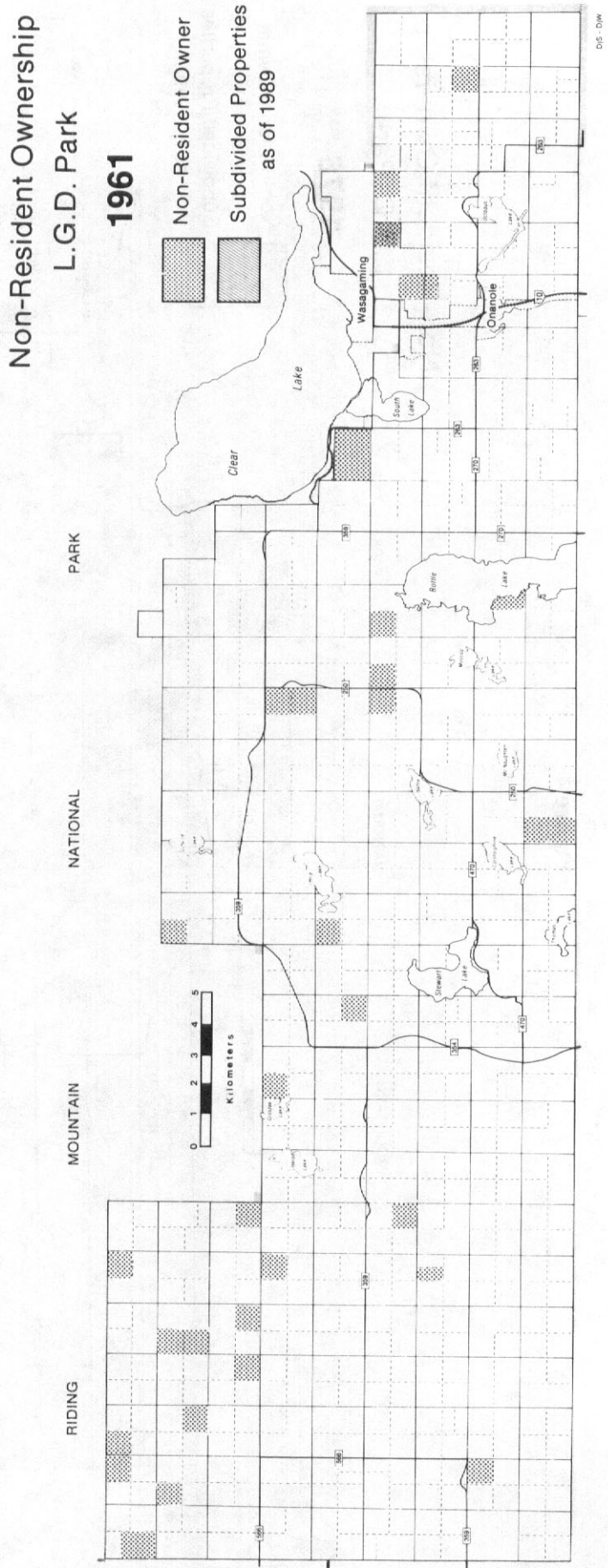


Figure 4

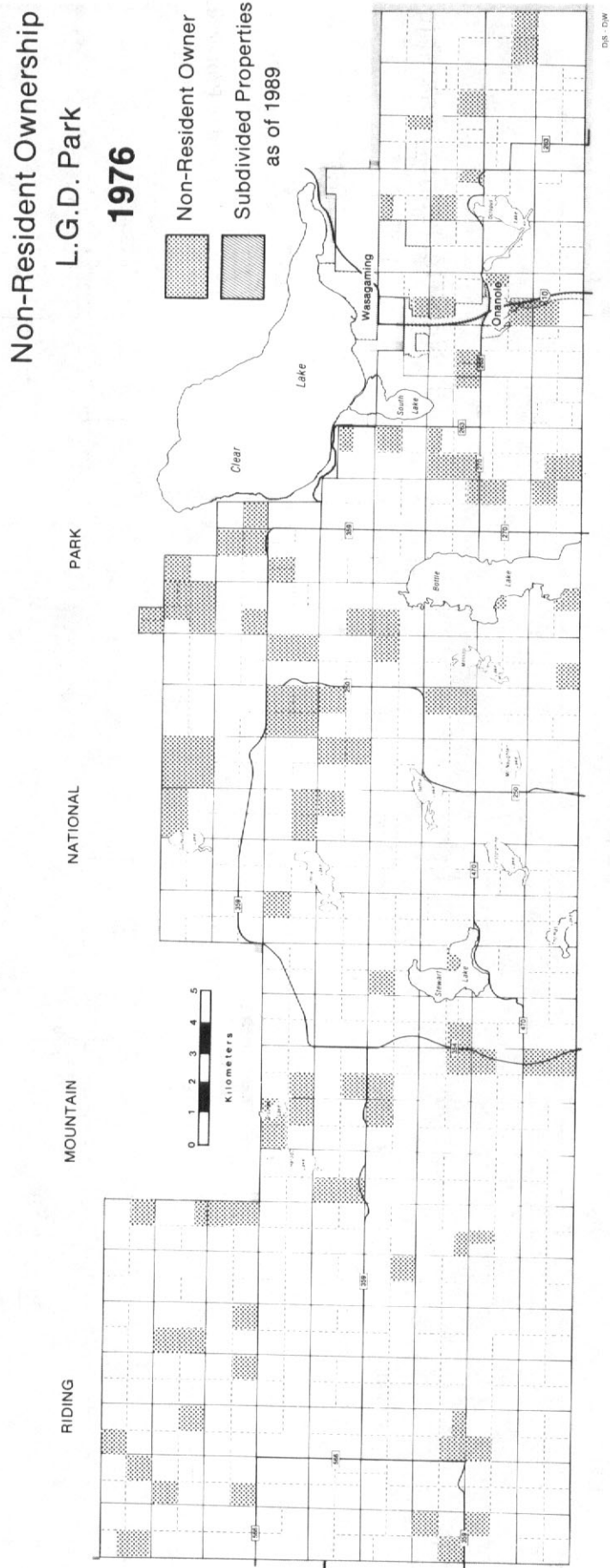


Figure 5

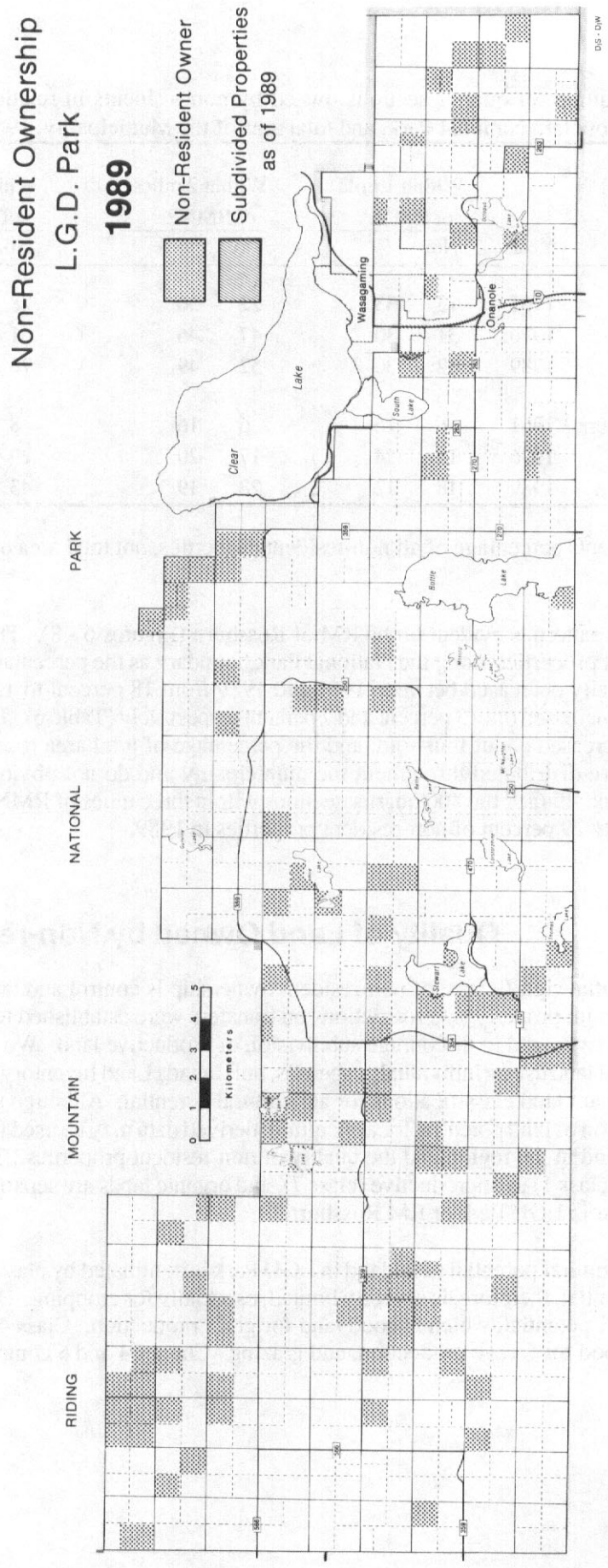


Table 6. Number of quarter sections owned by non-residents in relationship to the boundary of Riding Mountain National Park, and total area of the Municipality, 1961, 1976 and 1989

Jurisdiction	Year	Within 1 mile of RMNP		Within 2 miles of RMNP		Within 3 miles of RMNP		Total non-res. properties	
		No.	% <sup>1</sup>	No.	% <sup>1</sup>	No.	% <sup>1</sup>	No.	% total area
LDG Park	1961	13	33	22	56	28	72	39	4.0
	1976	31	30	47	46	61	60	102	10.5
	1989	32	30	52	49	76	71	107	11.1
RM Rossburn	1961	6	16	6	16	8	22	37	3.5
	1976	12	14	17	20	29	34	86	8.2
	1989	18	12	28	19	43	29	149	14.2

<sup>1</sup> Represents percentage of all non-resident properties, not total area of jurisdiction.

A similar pattern is evident in the RM of Rossburn (Figures 6 - 8). There is no evident concentration of non-resident properties along the National Park boundary as the percentage of properties within one mile of RMNP actually decreased between 1961 and 1989 from 18 percent to 12 percent, and that within two and three miles increased only 3 percent and 7 percent respectively (Table 6). The total number of quarter sections involved increased about four-fold, and the percentage of total area rose from 3.5 to 14.2 percent, but the properties are distributed throughout the municipality and do not obviously relate to the attraction of the National Park. In fact, the 400 quarter sections within three miles of RMNP constitute 38 percent of the land area, but only 29 percent of non-resident properties in 1989.

## Quality of Land Owned by Non-residents

The potential significance of non-resident ownership is control and land use change on productive farm land. Minimum property size restrictions on transfers were established to preserve the agricultural base for economic activity and to discourage subdivision of productive land. We were unable to obtain information on sequential land use on individual properties, but Canada Land Inventory (CLI) maps allowed determination of the dominant land classifications for agricultural potential. Although this classification provides only an approximation of land potential for agriculture, derived data may be used for comparison between the overall quality of land in the region and the quality of non-resident properties. The seven classes range from very productive (class 1) to unproductive (class 7), and organic lands are separately identified. No class 1 or class 7 lands occur in LGD Park or RM Rossburn.

The agricultural potential of all land in LGD Park is dominated by class 4 and class 5 properties (Table 7). Overall potential, therefore, is severely limited, especially for cropping. Only 21 percent of the area has class 2 and class 3 potential, which is good land for grain production. Class 4 land is marginal for cropping but generally good for forage production, and grazing. Classes 4 and 5 comprise three-fourths of the area.

**Figure 6**

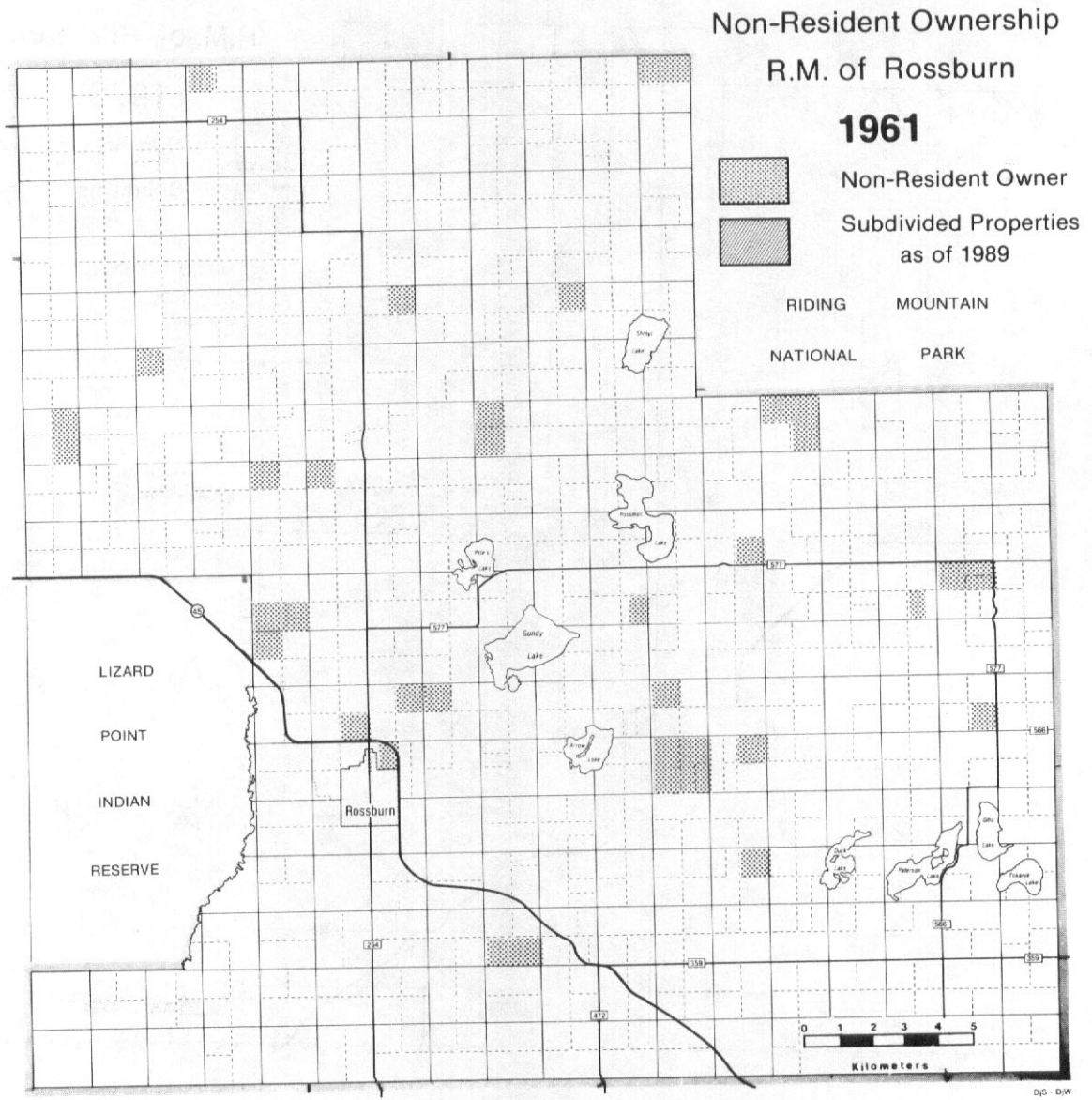


Figure 7

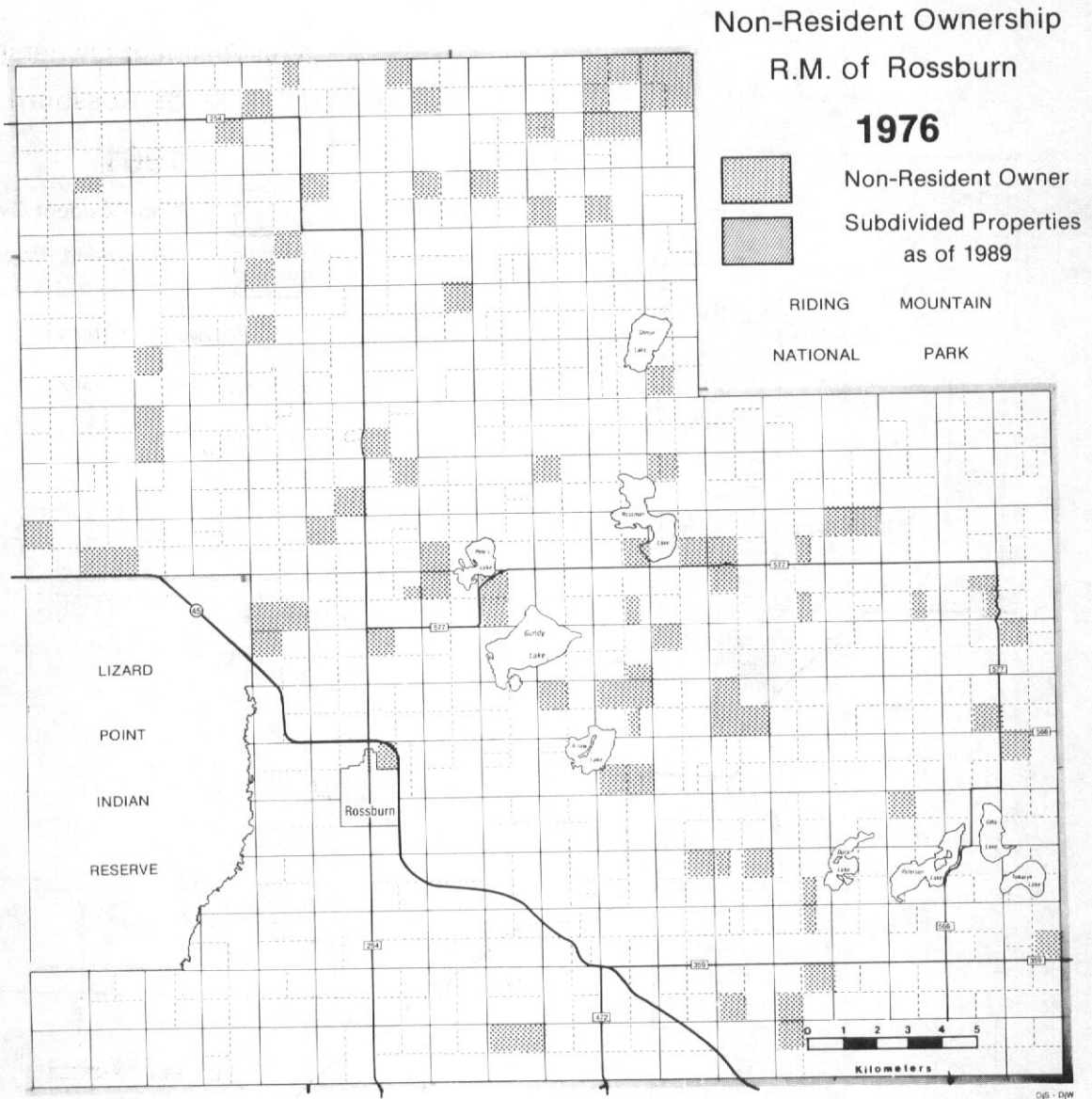
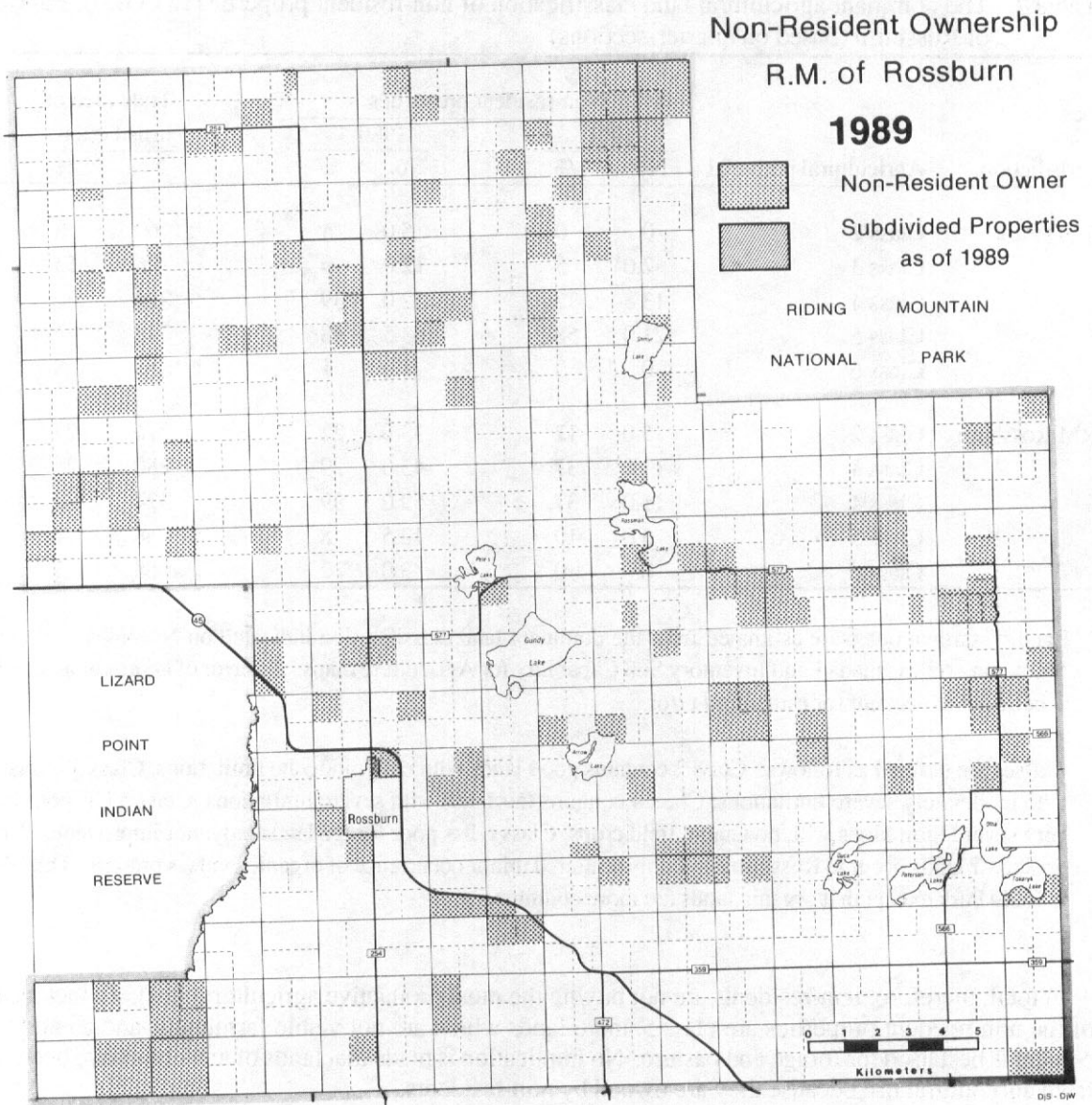


Figure 8





Non-resident property owners control lands with approximately the same proportions of potentials as observed for the entire LGD (Table 7). In 1961, Class 4 and 5 lands comprised 95 percent of the limited non-resident ownership. By 1989, these two classes still accounted for 87 percent of non-resident lands, and although ownership of good agricultural land (classes 2 and 3) had increased from 5 to 13 percent, good lands were not owned in proportion to their availability (21 percent).

Table 7. The dominant agricultural land classification of non-resident properties in LGD of Park and RM of Rosssburn (based on quarter-sections)

Jurisdiction	Agricultural potential	Non-resident properties				Total area of jurisdiction <sup>1</sup>	
		1961		1989		No.	%
		No.	%	No.	%		
LGD Park	Class 2 <sup>2</sup>	0	0	5.0	4	60	8
	Class 3	2.0	5	12.0	9	96	13
	Class 4	13.5	37	52.0	39	224	30
	Class 5	21.0	58	63.5	48	312	42
	Class 6	0	0	1.0	1	56	8
RM Rosssburn	Class 2	5.0	17	33.0	22	276	27
	Class 3	11.0	37	43.0	29	280	28
	Class 4	11.0	37	59.0	39	324	32
	Class 5	3.0	10	12.5	8	68	7
	Class 6	0	0	3.0	2	68	7

<sup>1</sup> Land classifications were estimated from the dominant land classification indicated on Neepawa -62J and Riding Mountain - 62K Canada Land Inventory Soil Capability for Agriculture maps. An error of approximately  $\pm 5$  percent is believed to account for estimation error.

<sup>2</sup> Classes are defined as follows: Class 2 contains good lands with only moderate limitations; Class 3 has good lands with moderately severe limitations; Class 4 contains fair lands with severe limitations; Class 5 has poor lands with very severe limitations with no annual field crops; Class 6 has poor forage lands only, not improvable. No Class 1 or Class 7 lands occur in Rosssburn, and only scattered minor occurrence of organic lands is present. This also is true in LGD Park except that organic lands are more common.

In total, therefore, non-residents are not buying the most productive agricultural land. In fact, nearly half of the non-resident properties are class 5 and 6 lands which are not viable farmlands, and an additional 39 percent is best used for forage and pasture. No implication is made that lands of any class have been removed from agricultural use because they are owned by non-residents.

In the RM of Rosssburn, non-resident properties were a mirror-image of the RM agricultural potentials in 1989 (Table 7). Classes 2, 3, and 4 account for 86 percent of all lands in the region and 90 percent of non-resident properties. Although the proportions have changed among classes, overall the ownership pattern in 1961 was similar (90 percent in classes 2, 3 and 4). In total, therefore, non-residents are buying land in proportion to its availability, rather than selecting either poor or good quality farmlands.

## ASSESSMENTS AND TAXES

Assessments on all lands and buildings, and taxes levied, have changed considerably in the two study areas since 1961 (Table 8). The percentage of assessment ascribed to land accounted for 98.5 percent of all assessment in 1961 in Park. The percentage attributed to land, however, decreased in uneven steps over the years, with a 17 percent decrease between 1961 and 1966, and 10 percent decreases between 1976 and 1981, and 1981 and 1986 accounting for most of the change. By 1989, land assessments accounted for less than half of total assessments. Reciprocal increases, of course, occurred in assessments on buildings. Total assessments increased approximately 10-fold from \$563,000 in 1961 to \$4,920,900 in 1989. Taxes levied increased rapidly from \$28,000 in 1961 to \$734,900 in 1989, a 26-fold increase.

A similar pattern, but of very different magnitude, is observed in Rossburn (Table 8). Total land assessment accounted for 93.8 percent of all assessment in 1961, and declined only to 88.4 percent by 1989. A concomitant 5 percent increase occurred in assessment on buildings. Total assessment doubled from \$1,618,400 in 1961 to \$3,280,700 in 1989. Taxes levied increased about 6-fold during the 28 year period.

The two jurisdictions, therefore, differ greatly in histories of assessment and taxes. LGD Park started at a much lower level in 1961, but increases were consistent and great. Rossburn started higher, but increases were not great through time. The final result is LGD Park surpassing RM Rossburn in all parameters except land assessments by 1989.

The pattern of resident-non-resident taxation in the two jurisdictions is as divergent as total assessment and taxation. The amount of non-resident land assessment in Park increased from 5.3 percent in 1961 to 25.6 percent in 1989 (Table 9). Non-resident building assessments accounted for 82.2 percent of all building assessments in 1961, but this reflects virtual absence of resident building assessment in that year. Adjustments by 1966 established virtually parallel assessments for land and buildings and residents and non-residents. Between 1966 and 1989, building assessments shifted rapidly from dominance by residents to 42 percent non-resident based. Total assessment decreased on a percentage basis from 94 to 64 percent for resident land owners. Virtually the same percentages of taxes were paid by residents and non-residents in 1989.

Land assessment followed a similar, but much less dramatic pattern of change in Rossburn (Table 9). Non-resident land assessment increased from 2.5 to 13 percent of all land assessments between 1961 and 1989. Assessments on non-resident buildings, however, increased more rapidly and reached 19.5 percent by 1989. Because Rossburn assessed land more than buildings, the total assessment for residents and non-residents closely follows land assessment until 1989. Similarly, the percentage of taxes levied against non-residents paralleled land and total assessment rates.

A new assessment system instituted in 1990 further changed the resident-non-resident ratios in the two study areas (Table 10). Records permitted definition of more finite classes to allow interpretation of changes on specific sectors of rural areas. We arbitrarily separated agricultural lands into good-to-fair (CLI classes 2 - 4) and poor categories (CLI classes 5 and 6), and small-holdings from quarter sections.

In Park the non-resident percentage of land assessment increased by only 1 percent, and that on buildings decreased by 5 percent (Table 10). The total change in assessment decreased from 36.2 to 33.8 percent between years. Portioned tax levies, however, resulted in an increase in the non-resident tax share from 35.6 to 43 percent. Tax increases occurred in all categories except good farm land (classes 2-4) where a 19.2 percent decrease occurred. Greatest increase occurred on small-holdings. In total, the taxes on non-resident properties increased almost twice as much (56.9 percent) as overall totals (29.6 percent) in Park.

Table 8. Total assessment and tax levies in LGD of Park and RM of Rossburn in 1961, 1966, 1971, 1976, 1981, 1986 and 1989

Jurisdiction	Year	Assessment (\$000's)				Total	%	Tax (\$000's)
		Land	%	Bldgs.	%			
LGD Park	1961	555.4	98.5	8.2	1.5	563.6	100	28.0
	1966	586.5	81.6	132.0	18.4	718.5	100	51.8
	1971	1,176.4	77.4	343.1	22.6	1,519.4	100	74.6
	1976	1,348.5	70.8	554.9	29.2	1,903.5	100	164.3
	1981	1,570.2	60.9	1,006.3	39.1	2,576.5	100	326.7
	1986	2,196.0	50.5	2,156.4	49.5	4,352.5	100	565.5
	1989	2,262.2	46.0	2,658.8	54.0	4,920.9	100	734.9
RM Rossburn	1961	1,518.3	93.8	100.9	6.2	1,618.4	100	115.4
	1966	1,618.8	93.1	119.2	6.9	1,738.6	100	155.2
	1971	2,986.7	95.2	152.3	4.8	3,138.9	100	312.4
	1981	2,890.4	91.7	261.6	8.3	3,151.9	100	444.3
	1986	2,901.8	88.9	361.8	11.1	3,263.7	100	614.7
	1989	2,899.5	88.4	381.2	11.6	3,280.7	100	662.9

The non-resident percentage of land assessment did not change in Rossburn between 1989 and 1990 (Table 10). Assessments on buildings, however, decreased from 18.4 percent to 10.3 percent of the RM totals. Overall the non-resident percentage of total assessment dropped by 1 percent under the new assessment scheme.

Changes in taxes levied in Rossburn contrast sharply with those in Park (Table 10). Overall, the RM's taxes decreased by 14.1 percent between 1989 and 1990, and non-resident taxes decreased by 17.8 percent. Greatest decreases occurred on non-resident farm lands. A 30.5 percent increase was evident in non-resident small-holdings.

Table 9. Resident and non-resident assessment and tax levies in LGD of Park and RM of Rossburn, 1961 - 1989

Jurisdiction	Year	Assessment (\$'000's)															
		Land		Bldgs.				Total				Tax (000's)					
		Non-res.	Res.	Non-res.	Res.	Non-res.	Res.	Non-res.	Res.	Non-res.	Res.	Non-res.	Res.				
\$	%	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%				
LGD Park	1961	29.6	5.3	525.8	94.9	6.7	82.2	1.5	17.8	36.3	6.4	527.2	93.6	2.2	7.9	25.8	92.1
	1966	40.3	6.9	546.3	93.1	7.6	5.8	124.4	94.2	47.8	6.7	670.7	93.3	3.6	7.0	48.2	93.0
	1971	80.2	6.8	1,096.2	93.2	52.0	15.2	291.0	84.8	132.2	8.7	1,387.1	91.3	6.7	9.0	67.9	91.0
	1976	143.9	10.7	1,204.6	89.3	92.0	16.6	462.9	83.4	236.6	12.4	1,666.9	87.6	19.6	11.9	144.7	88.1
	1981	406.9	25.9	1,163.3	74.1	287.2	28.5	719.1	71.5	694.0	26.9	1,882.5	73.1	82.0	25.1	244.7	74.9
1986	562.8	25.6	1,633.2	74.4	749.1	34.8	1,207.3	65.2	1,312.0	30.1	3,040.4	69.9	169.2	29.9	396.3	70.1	
1989	678.3	29.8	1,583.7	70.0	1,106.4	41.6	1,552.4	58.4	1,785.0	36.3	3,135.9	63.7	262.0	35.7	472.8	64.3	
RM Rossburn	1961	37.2	2.5	1,481.1	97.5	2.8	2.9	97.2	99.1	40.0	2.5	1,578.4	97.5	2.9	2.5	112.5	97.5
	1966	66.2	4.1	1,552.6	95.9	5.1	4.3	114.1	95.7	71.3	4.1	1,666.7	95.9	5.1	3.3	150.1	96.7
	1971	117.0	3.9	2,809.7	96.1	8.1	5.4	144.2	94.6	185.1	5.9	2,953.8	94.1	8.9	5.8	143.4	94.2
	1976	187.0	6.9	2,523.8	93.1	10.9	8.4	118.5	91.6	197.9	7.0	2,642.3	93.0	21.0	6.7	291.4	93.3
	1981	261.8	9.1	2,628.6	90.9	40.8	15.6	220.8	84.4	302.6	9.6	2,849.3	90.4	40.5	9.1	403.8	90.9
1986	299.3	10.3	2,602.5	89.7	62.4	17.2	199.4	82.8	363.4	11.1	2,900.2	88.9	86.6	11.2	546.1	88.8	
1989	376.8	13.0	2,522.7	87.0	74.2	18.4	307.0	80.5	451.3	13.8	2,829.4	86.2	90.2	13.6	572.7	86.4	

Table 10. A comparison of 1989 and 1990 non-resident assessments and taxes on equivalent properties to illustrate the impact of tax reform in LGD of Park and RM of Rosburn

Jurisdiction Land classes <sup>1</sup>	Land assessment		Bldg. assessment		Total assessment		Tax levied		% change 89-90
	1989	1990	1989	1990	1989	1990	1989	1990	
LGD Park									
Ag classes 2 - 4	158,790	1,839,400	32,270	419,400	191,050	2,254,800	28,301	22,875	-19.2
5 - 6	101,630	1,266,930	22,320	423,200	123,950	1,673,030	18,360	19,789	7.8
Small-holdings	413,980	4,898,000	1,050,720	10,254,000	1,464,900	15,258,650	214,609	367,192	71.0
Non-res. totals	674,400	8,004,330	1,105,310	11,096,600	1,779,900	19,186,480	261,270	409,856	56.9
LGD Totals	2,262,151	25,992,300	2,658,810	30,732,600	4,920,960	56,724,900	734,860	952,151	29.6
Non-res % LGD	29.8	30.8	41.6	36.1	36.3	33.8	35.7	43.0	
RM Rosburn									
Ag class 2 - 4	352,080	3,742,150	19,140	313,800	371,120	4,073,050	74,051	56,326	-23.9
5 - 6	18,670	202,500	2,930	24,100	21,689	226,690	4,518	3,146	-30.4
Small-holdings	5,330	94,700	47,930	368,900	53,260	460,900	10,617	13,853	30.5
Non-res. totals	376,080	4,039,350	70,000	706,800	446,069	4,760,640	89,186	73,325	-17.8
RM totals	2,899,530	30,765,700	381,180	6,860,800	3,280,700	37,626,500	662,942	569,484	-14.1
Non-res % RM	13.0	13.1	18.4	10.3	13.8	12.7	13.6	12.9	

<sup>1</sup> Ag classes refer to CLI classifications: see Table 7

## The Economic and Socio-cultural Impact of Non-resident Development

It often is easy to see the positive effects of development even though accurate accounting may be difficult. In the comparisons between Park and Rosssburn, cost analysis is complicated by special grants designated as "conditional revenue" that are given differentially to LGD's and RM's. To allow a general understanding of potential variations, Park and Rosssburn were analyzed for the years used herein for tax data (1969, 1971, 1976, 1981, 1986, 1989). During these years the conditional revenue varied between 0 percent and 68 percent for Park, and 1 percent and 7 percent for Rosssburn. Conditional revenue, however, exceeded 10 percent of total revenue in only two of the six years in Park, and the average was 9.1 percent in Park and 2.3 percent in Rosssburn. These transfers, therefore, are irregular in time, uneven in amount and, on average, account for only 5-10 percent of variation in budgets of the two jurisdictions (Table 11). Conditional revenues usually apply to road building, and construction standards associated with the grants generally are higher and somewhat obviate dollar differences. Conditional revenues do not apply to school taxes.

Another problem that enters into comparisons is equalization criteria that adjust assessments in an effort to standardize jurisdictions. This is used primarily to balance school taxes. For example, Park was reviewed in 1990, was considered undervalued, and a 20 percent school tax increase was applied. Unfortunately, equalization is not applied uniformly in time or place, and although equalization may be maintained over time, equivalencies may not exist at any given point in time. Given these constraints, one should be cautious when comparing absolute values in assessments.

Table 11. Conditional revenues as a percent of total revenue for LGD of Park and RM of Rosssburn, 1961 - 1989

Year	Total revenue		Conditional revenue		Conditional/Total (%)	
	LGD Park	RM Rosssburn	LGD Park	RM Rosssburn	LGD Park	RM Rosssburn
1969	70,200	131,600	0	300	0	1
1971	79,800	152,200	54,300	10,400	68	7
1976	175,000	305,500	2,400	1,200	1	1
1981	318,500	422,700	26,400	21,400	8	5
1986	548,300	614,700	13,300	13,500	2	2
1989	704,000	656,100	76,600	5,900	11	1
Totals	1,895,800	2,282,800	173,000	52,700	9.1	2.3

Trends, however, smooth absolute values over time, and suggest overall economic health of the regions. Looking solely at business assessments and levies, a clear distinction is evident between Park and Rosssburn (Figure 9). Business assessments were approximately equal in 1969, but Park began to surpass Rosssburn by 1971 and maintained higher assessments until 1981. The greatest difference, however, occurred between 1981 and 1986, when business assessments in Park increased from \$18,000 to \$68,000 while those in Rosssburn increased only from \$10,000 to \$13,000.

Prior to 1986, both jurisdictions taxed businesses at 10 percent of assessment. In 1986, Park reduced its business tax to 6 percent of assessment, while Rosssburn retained its 10 percent rate. Park continued to increase in both assessment and levy between 1986 and 1989, while Rosssburn decreased in both. In total, business tax revenue in Park increased by approximately 600 percent between 1969 and 1989, while Rosssburn's business tax revenue actually decreased.

Growth in the business sector of the Onanole region was summarized in 1988 (Canadian Parks Service 1988). National Park policy changes during the 1970's restricted significant commercial or private development inside Riding Mountain National Park (RMNP) and shifted demand to the Onanole area. In 1978, only one personal service, three general stores and a service station were identified in an inventory in Onanole. Subsequent subdivision and development resulted in 17 businesses providing a range of services in 1987. Included were a gift shop, two gas service stations, four general stores, one grocery store, six personal services and three specialty construction services. These sale and service outlets occupied 20 percent of the commercial floor space of Onanole, and most were open year-round.

Of six restaurants in Onanole in 1987, two were new and one had greatly expanded since 1978. Five accommodation services in Onanole in 1987 offered 107 lodge/motel units (35 units in 1978), and four operations offered 112 housekeeping units in 1987 (approximately 200 percent greater than in 1978). In addition, 200 fully serviced campsites are available outside of RMNP. Accommodation accounts for 63 percent of the commercial space in the Onanole area. Three of the five accommodation operations are open all year.

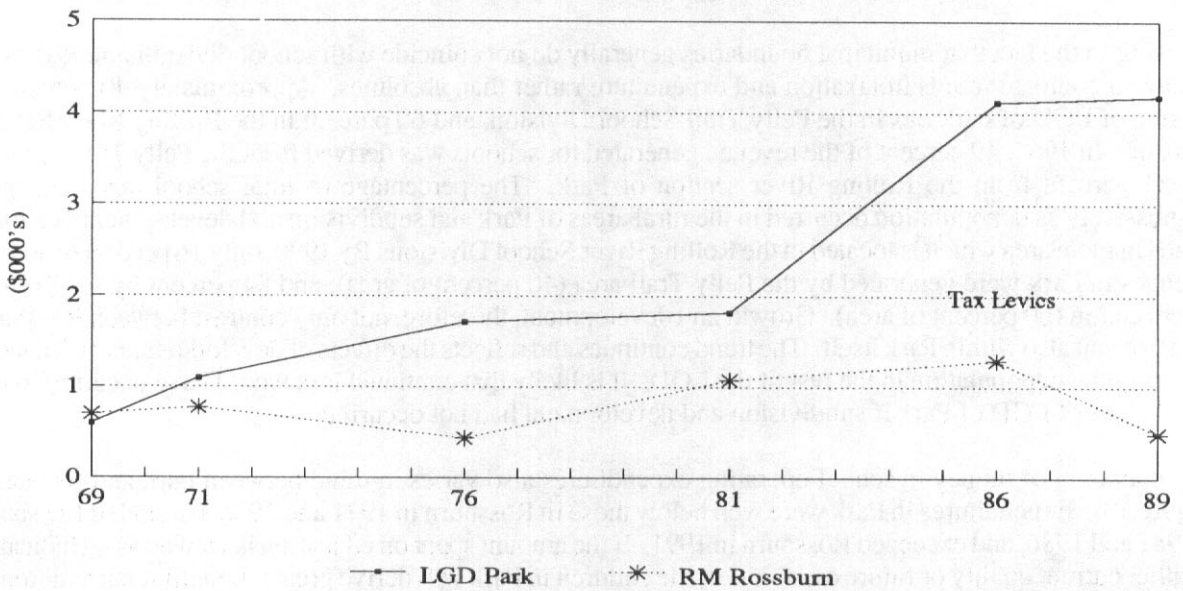
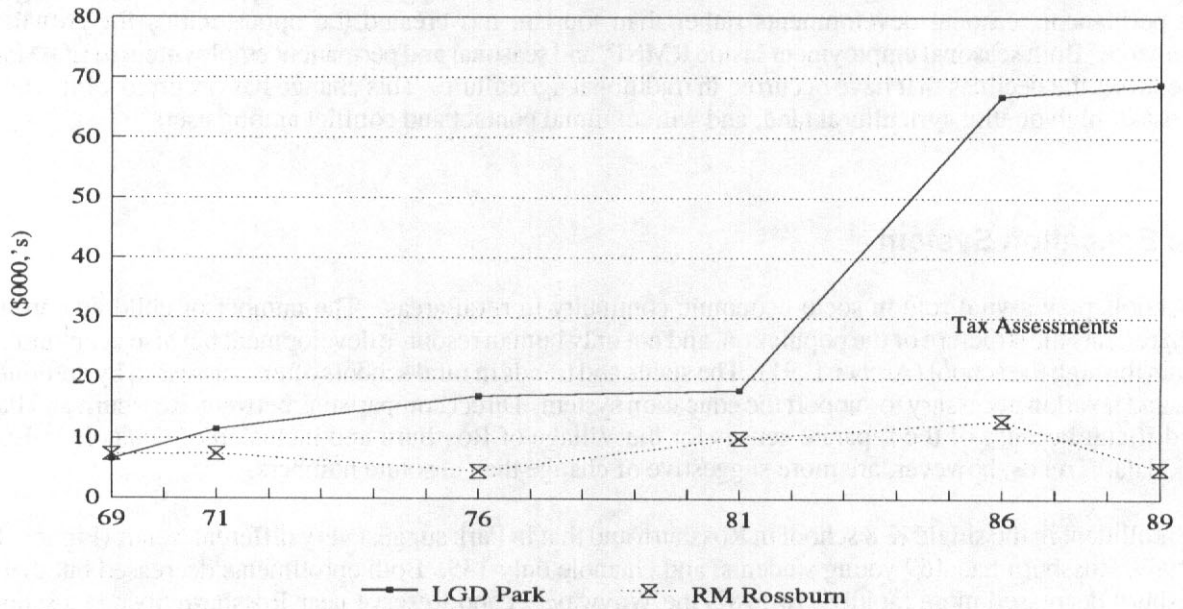
In addition, three out of four recreation enterprises operate year-round and provide a variety of services (Canadian Parks Service 1988). Nearly all equivalent or competing services within RMNP have remained stable or decreased since 1978. In summary, Onanole has expanded year-round commercial enterprise greatly during the 1980's, while RMNP has stabilized services and remained highly seasonal. Most growth outside of RMNP is attributed to the "growing seasonal resident population".

Clearly Wasagaming is functioning well as a seasonal townsite in the manner of a resort community catering to park visitors. Onanole seems to be functioning prosperously providing services complementary to Wasagaming by catering primarily to park visitors and local cottage residents (Canadian Parks Service 1988:51).

An equivalent analysis of the business sector of Rosssburn is not available. Population, general taxation and business taxation trends, however, strongly suggest a declining rather than growing community. The difference in subdivision activity between the two jurisdictions clearly shows why Onanole has gained more than Rosssburn. Between 1961 and 1990, 68 subdivision applications were received by the two jurisdictions: 48 by Park and 16 by Rosssburn. Only two were rejected by each jurisdiction. The 46 applications approved by Park resulted in 43 lots for rural residences, 385 for seasonal residences and 21 others. The 14 approved applications in Rosssburn resulted in 8 lots for rural residences, 40 for seasonal residences, and 6 others. In total, therefore, Park received three times more applications that resulted in ten times more lots than equivalent numbers in Rosssburn. A total of 449 lots were subdivided in Park, and 54 in Rosssburn. The number of services and businesses needed to accommodate the subdivision and subsequent development in Onanole was reflected in business growth, resident population stabilization, and school enrollments.

Figure 9

Business Tax Assessments and Levies in LGD of Park and RM of Rosssburn, 1969 - 1989





Development, however, means compromise and cost as well as potential and benefit. The balance between the two must be maintained to avoid disruption and diseconomy. In essence, residents should gain in either or both economic opportunity or quality of life. In this light, one must look for key indicators in Park that address the balance of the equation.

Data clearly indicate that the number of permanent businesses has increased in Park. This would provide jobs for local residents and induce in-migration. Available employment is a major concern in all rural areas, and it is clear that seasonal residences have created opportunity near Onanole. It should be recalled that the total number of tourists visiting RMNP has not increased steadily during the 1970's and 1980's. This suggests that permanent seasonal developments rather than tourism has created the opportunities for growth in commerce. Both seasonal employment inside RMNP, and seasonal and permanent employment in LGD Park have offset the declines that have occurred in traditional agriculture. This change has occurred with little or no loss of high quality agricultural land, and with minimal contact and conflict among users.

## The Education System

Schools play a vital role in socio-economic continuity in rural areas. The number of children enrolled often reflects the structure of the population, and not only human resource development but also acculturation occurs through the school (Archer 1991). The status and trends in rural schools often is assessed by enrolment data and taxation necessary to support the education system. Direct comparisons between Rosssburn and Park are difficult because of the separate census for the Village of Rosssburn and inclusion of Onanole in LGD Park data. Trends, however, are more suggestive of change than absolute numbers.

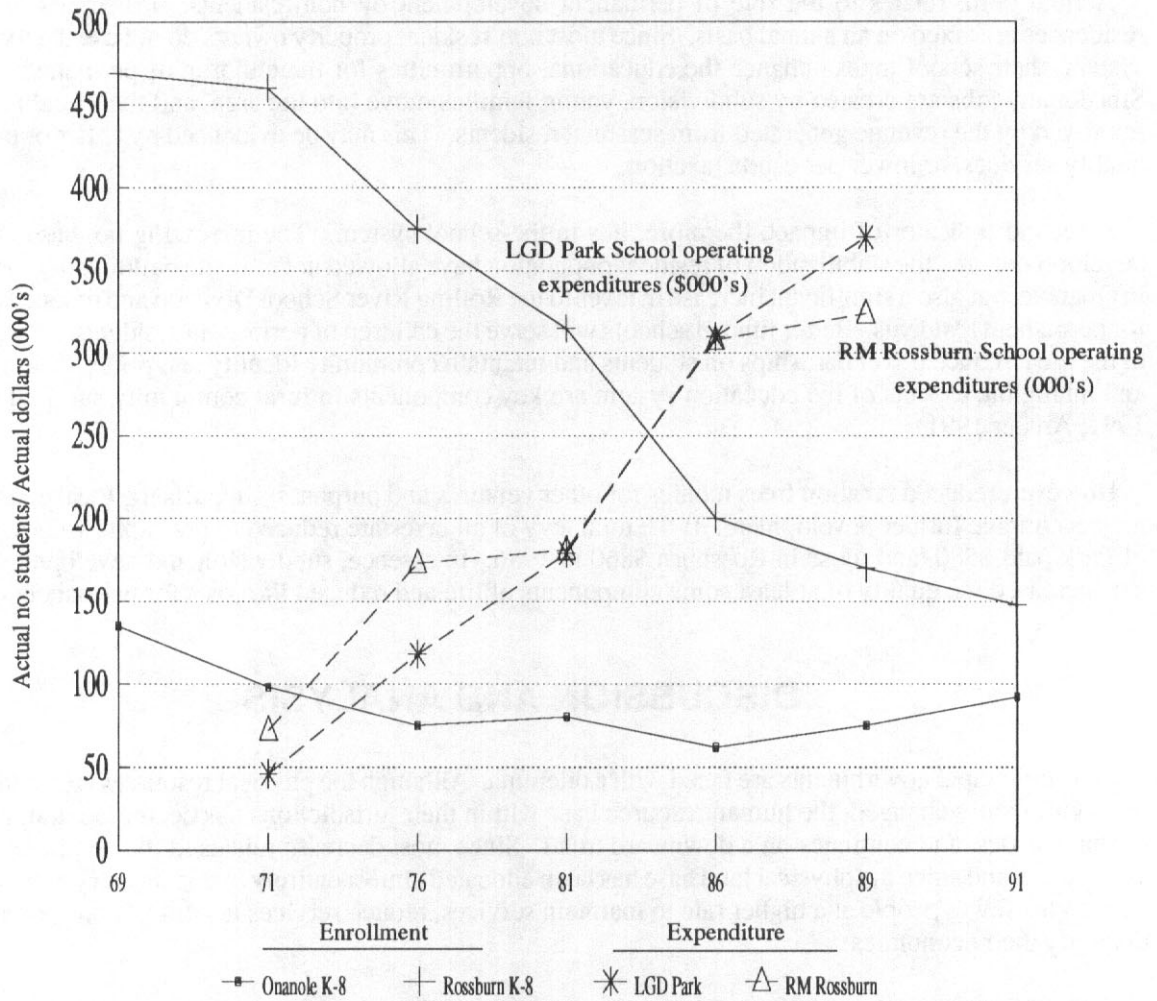
Enrollment in the single K-8 school in Rosssburn and that in Park suggest very different trends (Figure 10). In 1969, Rosssburn had 469 young students, and Onanole only 135. Both enrollments decreased but that in Rosssburn decreased more rapidly. In 1982, the Waywayseecapo Reserve near Rosssburn opened a school, resulting in further decline in enrollments. In Onanole, enrollments dropped below 100 students in 1971, and local leaders debated closing the school. Changes in employment and in-migration, however, resulted in projections of increases in numbers of children, and rather than close the school, a new facility was built in 1985. An enrollment increase has occurred, and in 1991, the Rosssburn K-8 had 148 students and the Onanole K-8 had 92. Trends, therefore, suggest growth in Onanole and continued decline in Rosssburn.

Owing to the fact that municipal boundaries generally do not coincide with school division boundaries, it is safer to compare trends in taxation and expenditure rather than absolutes. Approximately 40 percent of the area of LGD of Park lies in the Pelly Trail School Division, and 60 percent in the Rolling River School Division. In 1968, 49 percent of the revenue generated for schools was derived from the Pelly Trail section, and 51 percent from the Rolling River section of Park. The percentage of total school taxes changed progressively as depopulation occurred in the rural areas of Park and subdivision and development occurred in the Onanole area which is located in the Rolling River School Division. By 1990, only 16 percent of school revenues in Park were generated by the Pelly Trail area (40 percent of area), and 84 percent by the Rolling River section (60 percent of area). Growth and development, therefore, not only contrast between Rosssburn and Park, but also within Park itself. The trend continues and reflects the effects of development near Onanole and on-going depopulation in the rest of the LGD. It is likely that continual loss would have occurred in the eastern half of LGD of Park if subdivision and development had not occurred.

The amount of money in school operating expenditures also varies in trend between Park and Rosssburn (Figure 10). Expenditures in Park were well below those in Rosssburn in 1971 and 1976, paralleled Rosssburn in 1981 and 1986, and exceeded Rosssburn in 1991. If the amount spent on education is viewed as an indicator of either current quality or future capabilities, the children in Park will derive greater benefit if current trends continue.

Figure 10

K-8 School Enrollments and Operating Expenditures in Rossburn and Onanole, 1969-1991



Sources: Rolling River School Division  
and Pelly Trail School Division

The dominant effect of depopulation is evident in school expenditures. Population losses in Rosssburn have resulted in consistently higher per capita taxation for education. In 1971, Park residents paid \$39 per capita, and Rosssburn residents \$68 per capita for operation of schools. In 1986, Park residents paid \$330 per capita and Rosssburn residents paid \$426 per capita. In spite of the per capita difference, total expenditures in Park exceeded those in Rosssburn in 1986. Either this per capita gap will widen if population trends continue (less money will be available for schools in Rosssburn), or the quality of education may suffer. Recent trends in off-loading of education costs to municipal governments suggest that local revenues may have to increase to maintain standards (Rounds 1991).

A final point relates to the role of permanent development by non-residents. Properties of seasonal residences are taxed on an annual basis. Since most non-resident property owners do not use the local school system, their school taxes enhance the educational opportunities for the children of permanent residents. Since many jobs are created by subdivision, young families move into the area, and their quality of life is improved by the revenue generated from seasonal residents. This may be evidenced by either or both better quality services, or lower per capita taxation.

A second indicator of impact, therefore, lies in the school system. The increasing tax base created by development, and the stabilization of resident population have allowed not only the building of a new school in Onanole, but also a significant increase in taxes to the Rolling River School Division and reduced tax levies for permanent residents. Better funded schools will serve the children of permanent residents, retain teachers in the area, reduce travel hardships on students and maintain community identity and pride. These apparent and intangible aspects of the education system are key components in rural community survival (Rounds, 1991, Archer 1991).

However, reduced taxation frees monies for other ventures and purposes, supports the local economy and may encourage further development. If the total levy of all taxes are reduced to per capita values, residents of Park paid \$580, and those in Rosssburn \$860 in 1986. In essence, subdivision and development in Park has increased the quality of at least some components of life and reduced the costs for permanent residents.

## **DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS**

Most municipal governments are faced with a dilemma. Although the physical resources they control have not significantly changed, the human resource base within their jurisdictions has decreased dramatically in recent decades, and continues on a downward trend. Since most decrease relates to the dominant industry, agriculture, and since the physical land base has been allocated almost entirely to this industry, municipalities have to tax fewer people at a higher rate to maintain services, reduce services to control taxes, or attempt to diversify their economies.

Each of these options presents problems. Increasing taxes is not well-received by residents, and may be counter-productive if those remaining in the area are not able to pay more in taxes. This is particularly problematic under conditions of decreasing real farm incomes. Similarly, decreasing services to reduce costs lowers the standard and quality of living and detracts from recruitment of new residents. In many instances, essential services such as education and road maintenance cannot be reduced. Finally, most attempts at diversifying local economies have centered on urban municipalities rather than rural areas. Most small towns have a history as agricultural service centres and had little if any manufacturing activity. These towns may not have the skills or expertise required to develop or attract new business ventures. Agriculturally dependent communities in other regions have had great difficulty in diversify economies and sustaining populations.

Agriculture has dominated the economies of both study areas and remains dominant in the RM of Rosssburn. This is clearly evident in the number of residents versus non-residents and in the percentage of assessment and taxation carried by residents. Even among non-resident properties in the RM of Rosssburn, evidence suggests they remain primarily agricultural in land use even if the buildings are used for recreational purposes. Subdivided or small-holdings are uncommon and stable in number (Table 3). In Park, however, small holdings have increased rapidly in number and their owners pay a significant proportion of the municipal tax bill, yet agricultural lands remain dominant on an area basis.

Part of the distinction between the two areas is historical. Although both areas are similar physically, Park had the innate advantage of controlling lands near the major resort area at Wasagaming in Riding Mountain National Park. The attraction of the resort created demand for recreational development when further subdivision was stopped inside the National Park (Canadian Parks Service 1988). First subdivision occurred in 1975, when the Deer Road Subdivision was permitted (Table 12). Six major developments had been allowed by 1989, with a total of 517 parcels. Of these, 312 (60 percent) have been sold, and 160 (31 percent) are developed. The percentage of parcels sold varies from a high of 100 percent in the original subdivision to only 26 percent in Mountain Estates. Development ranges from 91 percent to none among the areas (Table 12). Further subdivision, therefore, may not be necessary for some time. These numbers do not include many small holdings that lie outside of the subdivisions.

The RM of Rosssburn has only one main area of subdivision along the south shore of Rosssman Lake. This resort was developed primarily as a recreation area for local residents. It includes boat launching facilities, a restaurant and store, beach area, golf course, some private cottages, and a campground. Further subdivision has not occurred since the cottage area was established in the early 1970's. Most of the small holdings in Rosssburn occur at Rosssman Lake (Table 3, Figure 1).

Subdivision into small holdings, however, does not reflect the current or potential demand for properties in either jurisdiction. Closely spaced small lots serve a high number of people in a limited geographical space, and most often reflect a point-source attraction such as Wasagaming and Clear Lake, or Rosssman Lake. Many non-resident urbanites, however, are attracted by the beauty, wildlife and quietness offered by the region surrounding Riding Mountain National Park, and these individuals may wish to purchase small holdings or quarter sections in areas away from the point-source attractions. The potentials of this segment of the non-resident population have not been given due consideration in the diversification possibilities in either municipality.

To an extent, both municipalities have attempted to extend their economic bases by increasing tourism. The long-established and high-quality site at Wasagaming had attracted visitors since before it became a National Park in 1932. In earlier years, however, the area outside of the National Park received marginal benefits from the transient non-resident populations. With affluence and mobility came an upsurge in construction of permanent seasonal residents that are privately owned. Once this trend spilled out of the National Park into the LGD of Park the latter began to benefit in more direct ways.

In the RM of Rosssburn, Rosssman Lake had long been a local recreation area, and improvements and additions to services were meant to increase both local use and tourism in the RM. The limited number of small holdings available, however, did not allow the scale of development engendered by formal private subdivision in LGD of Park. Also, there appears to have been local resistance to extensive development of the lake area. Many people who visit the lake on a regular basis are current residents of the area, former residents or relatives of residents (personal communication with residents). This characteristic contrasts to the history of non-resident landowners in subdivisions in LGD of Park, where a much more diverse public is involved.

Table 12. Analysis of subdivision development in LGD of Park in 1989

Subdivision	Available No.	Parcels or lots		Developed	
		Sold No.	%	No.	%
Campbell (Deer Rd. Sub.)	65	65	100	59	91
Countryside	66	58	89	40	61
Southbay Properties	44	22	50	13	30
Victor Crescent	18	8	44	0	0
Mountain Estates	182	47	26	30	17
Grey Owl Resort	142	112	79	18	13
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>517</b>	<b>312</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>160</b>	<b>31</b>

## Provincial Land Use Policies

Municipal governments do not have the freedom to determine their own land use policies without due consideration of existing provincial policies and public process. The role of provincial land use policies is explained in the following statement (Manitoba, 1980:3).

The Provincial Land Use Policies apply to all land in Manitoba with the exception of land within the jurisdiction of the City of Winnipeg.

The Policies will serve as a guide in the approval of Basic Planning Statements and Development Plans. Also, in municipalities where there are no such plans approved for the area, the Policies will be used in the review of subdivision applications. The Policies are intended to provide the overall framework necessary for the preparation and assessment of local plans, by setting out some general guidance and direction in the management of the Province's land resource.

By their very nature, the Policies must be fairly broad since they must serve to guide a wide range of uses in many differing areas throughout Manitoba. They do not take into account unique local situations and, therefore, must be applied with some amount of discretion and common sense, where it can be shown that the intent of the Policies can still be achieved, or where they are not appropriate.

Many of the Policies contain detailed criteria and specifications with respect to their application. While these units of measurement are definitive in and of themselves, it is not intended that they be interpreted as mandatory regulations or rigid formulas, but rather that they may be varied in unique situations so as to ensure that policy application can be as responsive as possible to local conditions.

These Policies have been designed to further the overall intent of The Planning Act as a process of local planning and decision making guided by provincial policy. Local circumstances can best be understood and interpreted through the preparation of more detailed plans for a given area since municipalities often have unique characteristics which demand a different approach. Through the process of planning at the local or district level, the Policies can be refined and adapted to suit the particular needs of the area. Once planning documents have been prepared by the local authority and approved by the Province, the local plans will replace this more general provincial policy document as the instrument guiding development in the area.

Many of the policy statements currently controlling rural land use in Manitoba have implications for potential permanent non-resident recreational development in the study area. This is especially true in Rossburn, where the municipality is in the initial stages of creating a planning district and separate plan, and all land use decisions still are reviewed under provincial policy. Similarly, Rossburn will have to account for these policies when devising a separate plan for approval. Once approved, however, the municipal plan will supercede the provincial policy.

Paramount among current policies is preservation of farm land and agricultural enterprises (Policy #1). Agriculture enjoys first priority wherever it is "dominant" (75 percent land involved) on class 1, 2 and 3 lands, and where it is "desirable to protect such activities" on lower class land. Protection takes the form of minimum size blocks (currently 80 acres), with severe restrictions on exceptions, and are designed to deter or reduce potential conflicts between agricultural and non-agricultural enterprises. Basically subdivision is allowed only if it involves members of the farm operation. The key word "desirable" is defined as "any situation where there is an established pattern of agricultural land use providing a permanent economic support base to the existing social infrastructure" (Manitoba, 1980:4-5). Because nearly all lands in the study area have at one time or another served as part of an agricultural enterprise, subdivision has been difficult, if not impossible, even on poor agricultural lands. The number of formal applications does not necessarily reflect demand because residents are aware of difficulties encountered, and may not file application following initial enquiry. Most crown lands in the area also have been designated and used for agricultural purposes, thus effectively removing them from alternate uses.

Even when a full range of agricultural uses are not possible with existing land use, agricultural use is given precedence (Policy #2). The key statement in the policy is that "All existing land uses in an area should have the right to carry on their operation and existence without fear of restriction by new uses" (Manitoba, 1980:6). Although intended to obviate potential land use conflicts, this policy virtually assures the status quo in rural areas where agriculture has historically been the dominant, or only land use. This applies to all of the RM of Rossburn and all but the Onanole development area of LGD Park. Agriculturally dependent areas are most at risk in rural development throughout North America.

Notwithstanding policies #1 and #2, policy #3 allows designation of rural lands for residential development as long as it relates to demand, safeguards natural resources, complements existing urban centres, and avoids unnecessary private or public costs. Its major thrust is to ensure planning of rural residential development. Policies #1 and #2, however, are clearly given precedence in that onus for development under policy #3 involves clear ..."demonstration that the proposed development will not conflict with the stated policy goals [of policies #1 and 2]" (Manitoba, 1980:8). Greater restriction is placed on allowing rural residences near incorporated areas because of potential infrastructural conflicts. Similarly rural residences must not unduly impact costs of essential services such as schools, roads, hydro and other normal services.

Policy #5 protects lands with scarce recreational and scenic resources, especially within a day's drive of urban centres. Only lands in classes 1, 2 and 3 of the Canada Lands Inventory classification for recreation are protected. Within the study area, the significant attractions and resources in LGD of Park are located within, and protected by Riding Mountain National Park. Some scenic areas occur on municipal land, but

these have not been designated as needing protection. If local authorities identify a need to develop protective policies for sensitive areas, they can be site specific rather than broad land use policies. Small areas of recreational potential, such as beaches, may occur on lakes within LGD of Park.

In Rosssburn, however, the only recreational resources used intensively occur at Rosssman Lake, with less important areas at other lakes. Since some residential development has occurred at Rosssman Lake, future development would have to account for preservation of the lake, beach and other amenities in order to comply with Policy #5. Policies #6 and #7 further protect use levels (carrying capacity) and public access and use of recreational resources, especially water resources. Special planning regulations apply to lands adjoining recreation or resource areas (policy #8) and significant cultural sites (policy #9) and may apply to limited lands near Wildlife Management Areas and historical sites in both study jurisdictions.

Regulations regarding protection of lands for renewable resource protection, utilization and preservation, including wildlife, forestry and fisheries, are provided in policy #10. This policy, however, restricts only development that does not relate to agriculture, as "agricultural and agriculture related purposes" are excepted (Manitoba, 1980:20). This policy is complicated and could potentially restrict most development if strictly applied to the poorer land classifications as they not only attract non-residents but also harbour remaining natural resources.

Policy #12 of Manitoba's (1980:24) Provincial Land Use Policies restricts development in the vicinity of provincial highways. Its intent is to ensure proper functioning of the regional transportation network. Within the study area, this policy would apply along provincial highway #10 in LGD Park, but development near Onanole may already allow the application of an exception relating to previous development.

Although not of widespread significance in the province, the policy that protects aggregate and quarry deposits may be significant in both study jurisdictions because deposits are common in the area (policy #13, Manitoba 1980:27). The province has prepared a map of known deposits with three levels of restriction on development that range from absolute restriction to little restriction (Gartner Lee, 1983; Young, 1982).

## Options and Implications

The percentage of assessment and taxation attributed to non-residents in the LGD of Park increased steadily between 1961 and 1989, with a 10-fold increase in assessment and 26-fold increase in taxes levied. Non-resident assessments increased from 5.3 percent to 25.6 percent, and taxes from 7.9 percent to 35.7 percent of all levies between 1961 and 1989 (Table 9).

These changes should be viewed in relation to two significant factors. The resident population of Park has stabilized since 1976, whereas rural populations in the Parkland region as a whole have continued to decline (MacLean and Rounds, 1991). One could attribute the LGD of Park's stability as solely related to the presence of the Wasagaming recreation area, but attendance at Riding Mountain National Park increased from approximately 685,000 in 1964 to 756,000 in 1971 when the resident population of LGD Park declined. Similarly the attendance in the National Park increased to a high of more than 950,000 in 1978 and 1979 and again in 1984. Increased attendance did not result in increased numbers of permanent residents, and annual fluctuations of as many as 150,000 visitors had little effect on permanent resident populations. Visitation to the National Park decreased by more than 200,000 between 1984 and 1988, but the resident population has changed little in recent years.

The major change that has occurred in LGD Park is the advent of permanent private non-resident residential development outside of the National Park. Development, maintenance and service industries have been created for permanent residents on either a year-round or seasonal basis, and apparently have effectively

halted depopulation of the LGD. By far the greatest increase in small-holding subdivisions occurred between 1976 and 1981 (Table 3) when the population first showed signs of stabilization (Table 2).

Our data are inadequate to prove a cause-effect relationship, but the closer association of the timing of subdivision and resident population stabilization, than that of National Park visitation trends and population stabilization, is highly suggestive of potential relationships. Depopulation occurred until the economic impact of the attraction of Riding Mountain spilled over into the adjacent municipalities. Partly in relationship to demand and partly in response to the need to revitalize the area, the South Riding Mountain Planning District was formed, and subdivision potentials became a reality.

The percentage of assessment and taxation attributed to non-residents in the RM of Rosssburn increased between 1961 and 1989, but accounted for only 13.6 percent of municipal taxation in 1989, or about one-third of that in LGD of Park (Table 9). The difference lies entirely in the type of non-resident ownership in the two jurisdictions. In the RM of Rosssburn, non-residents control a larger land base (151.5 quarters) than in the LGD of Park (133.5 quarters), and the Rosssburn lands are classified primarily as agricultural lands. Conversely, 647 small-holding were either owned or available in Park, and only 42 in Rosssburn in 1989 (Table 3).

As the number of non-resident properties increased in the RM of Rosssburn, the resident rural population declined steadily and continues to decline, while that of the Village is stable (Table 2). Again, no causal relationship is insinuated, but the difference between Park and Rosssburn appears to lie in the type, rather than land area of non-resident ownership. Non-resident ownership of quarter-sections of agricultural land apparently is not generating related economic opportunities that result in diversification and stability in the local economy in Rosssburn.

The lack of an historically well-developed and easily accessible recreation centre in the southwestern region of Riding Mountain National Park did not provide the early incentive or demand for development in the RM of Rosssburn. The Bob Hill - Deep Lake area (Figure 1), however, has been used by local residents for decades. Subsequent improvements to the recreational facilities and access roads have increased the potential of the area to accommodate visitors, and greater use potential exists than is being utilized. The proximity of Silver Beach, and enhancement of the Rosssman Lake facilities has increased the tourist attractions to the Riding Mountain fringe area of the municipality.

Having the resource base with potential to attract new residents on a year-round or seasonal basis is only part of the requirements to establish use. A major decision has to be made, in consultation with local people, to encourage development. In many rural areas the introduction of "outsiders" may be perceived as a threat to established lifestyles, cultural mores and tradition. People who do not have a history of involvement in the region may be viewed negatively as uncaring transients. In making the decision not only to allow but also to encourage residential development, local governments must account for the economic, social and ecological effects of subdivision (Smith, 1983).

There are many potentially positive economic effects. Putting people back on the land creates a need for roads, construction workers, maintenance personnel and other services. The monies generated from employment create multipliers in the local economy, and either stabilize existing businesses or generate additional businesses. Monies related to non-resident tourism usually are discretionary incomes that are lost to the permanent residential area of the individual, and gained in the region developing seasonal homes. If development is significant in numbers, economies of scale may be reached in some services.

The benefits of allowing non-resident development must be weighed against potential externalities (costs). Increased demand for land, facilities and services may cause artificial land values and obviate traditional activities in the area. Similarly, the infrastructure necessary to promote and maintain development may be costly, and, if loans are necessary, borrowing must be carefully done to insure return on investment. If demand



persists, employees may expect higher wages with experience, maintenance of facilities may increase, and costs of goods and services may rise. Total costs of operation, therefore, may receive upward pressure through time.

Opportunity costs also may be involved in development (Vaughn, 1977). Any monies spent on development are not available for other uses, and may preclude other developments. It behooves local government to plan expenditures on a long-term basis. Not only the potential benefits, but also the direct and indirect costs must be accounted. Both risk and uncertainty are involved in any venture, but tourism and recreation are particularly vulnerable to both. Risk (which can be evaluated) can be minimized by phased-in development, but uncertainty cannot be assessed. Because non-resident permanent recreational development is based on discretionary income, it is especially sensitive to unpredictable events in domestic economies.

The potential social impacts of non-resident development often are the underlying causes of local resistance or resentment to the influx of "outsiders". In the case of development in LGD of Park and the RM of Rossburn, most non-residents are residents of nearby cities and towns, and so the dramatic contrasts experienced in international tourism are not apparent. There is, however, a very real fear of inviting the "urban mentality" into traditional rural areas, both in terms of a threat to local lifestyles and fear of the "demonstration effect" on local culture (Smith, 1983).

The demonstration effect involves the fear and suspicion aroused in local people by the perceived higher material level of living of non-residents, and the clash of life-style with the traditions of the area. If strong ethnic settlement exists in an area, cultural fears also may be involved in the perceived threat to cultural norms. In conservative rural areas, the ability to "know" all of one's neighbours may be important, and traditional activities such as berry-picking, wood cutting or hunting may be threatened by land ownership change, or attitudinal change in landowners. Xenophobia, or the fear of strangers, can result from any social change created by the presence of non-residents or tourists.

An additional factor accentuates local resistance to development in the study area. Even within a cultural group, one expects to find generational conflicts regarding traditional activities. In both study jurisdictions, the remaining resident populations are aging (MacLean and Rounds, 1991), and older populations become more resistant to change and more fearful of strangers. Older people also may lack the financial security and resources necessary to allow investment in development projects with either long-term or uncertain future benefits. This factor must be considered in the socio-political aspects of promotion of subdivision that involves public monies.

Many of the provincial land use policies previously reviewed are designed to protect not only the socio-economic, but also the physical integrity of the landscape. The related ecological effects of development, therefore, can be either benefits or costs to local governments. Non-resident subdivision must be zoned and controlled in a manner that preserves the soils, flora, fauna and water of an area. If improper land use is presently occurring, subdivision may result in betterment of the resource base through corrective measures such as establishing permanent vegetation cover in erodible areas, or along water courses. Conversely, improper development can create damage or disrupt local ecological systems. Development, therefore, may be an ecological economy or diseconomy.

Smith (1983:180) states that "One important variable [in adjusting to change] is the strength of the local economy and culture." Although the culture of the Parkland region has been well-established historically, it has weakened in recent decades through both population loss and cultural diffusion within. The needed "strong sense of destiny" may be changing and evolving. Regardless of the strength of culture, it is broadly accepted that the economy based on agriculture is weak, and the area adjacent to Riding Mountain, where the soil base is poor, is particularly weak. Weakness in either cultural mandate or economy makes adjustment to change more difficult. This is, paradoxically, often the time when change is most needed. The important aspect of context of change lies in the fact that "the number of [non-residents] compared to the number of

residents, their length of stay, and the spatial integration (physical proximity) of [non-residents] with residents has an effect on their acceptance by the local population” (Smith 1983:181).

## **Potential Development in the LGD of Park and RM of Rossburn**

The number of small-holdings available in the Onanole area of the LGD of Park should be sufficient to satisfy demand in the immediate future. Current development has had minor impact on the agricultural potential of the jurisdiction as only a few sections of class 4 and 5 lands have been developed (Figure 11). The socio-economic impact, however, has been great both in local business and regional population stabilization. Because of its concentration in what has been a recreation corridor for many years, however, the potential cultural impact has been reduced, and the more remote areas of the LGD retain traditional agricultural societies.

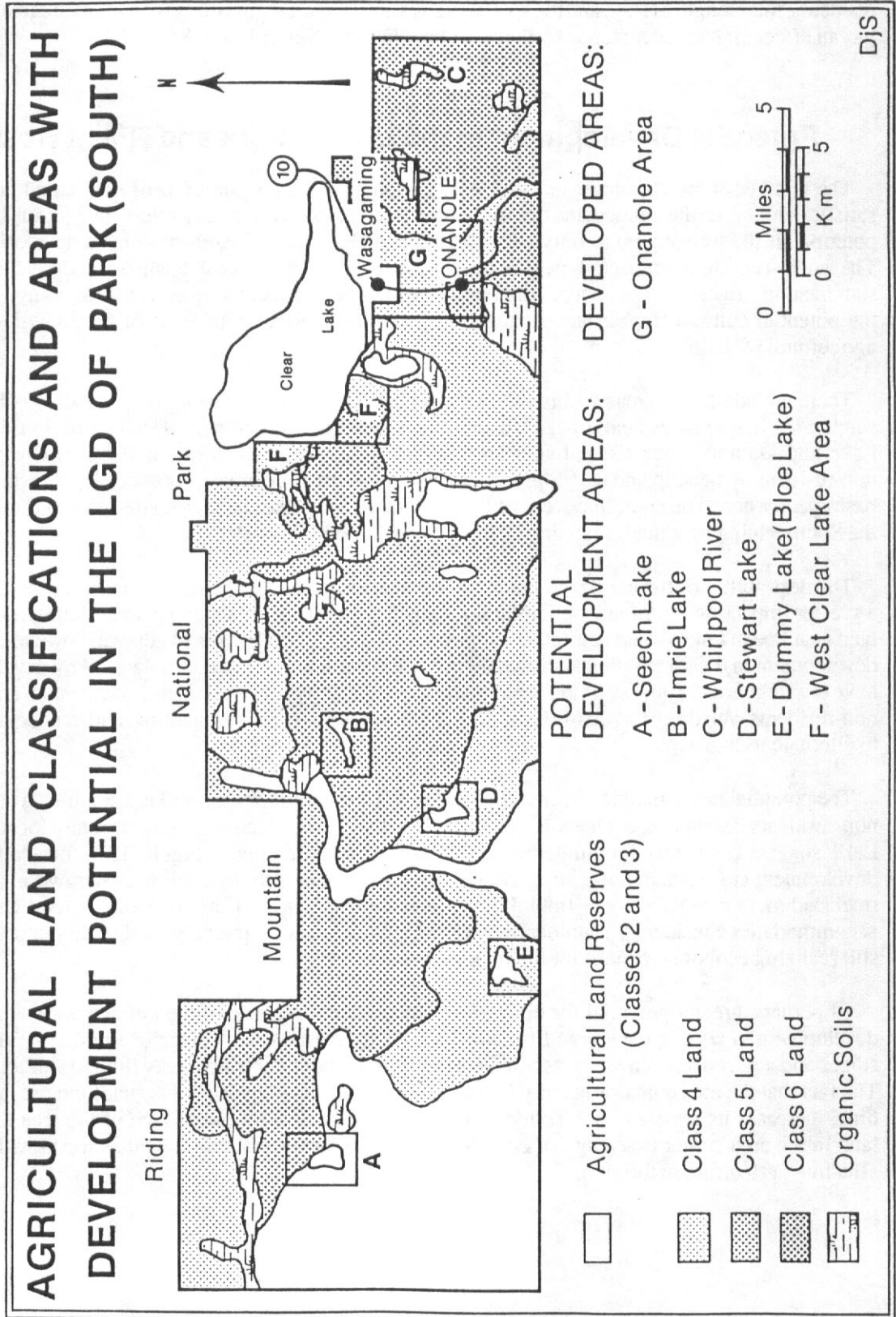
There are additional areas within the LGD of Park that could be developed as small-holdings, or at least subdivided into smaller land blocks (Figure 11). These are located near Seech Lake, Imrie Lake, Stewart Lake and Dummy Lake (Blue Lake) and the area adjacent to the western shore of Clear Lake. Some non-resident ownership and development already occurs in these areas, but generally it involves larger land bases per owner. The shoreline areas of Stewart and Seech Lakes have been designated for development in the South Riding Mountain Planning District plan for the LGD of Park.

The desirability of further development in these areas must consider the fact that non-residents may have a greater impact on traditional agricultural lifestyles away from the Onanole area. Similarly, the quality of land near Seech Lake would restrict development to the north of the lake. In general, however, most potential development in these out-lying areas would involve class 5, or marginal farm land. Any development would have to safeguard the quality of the ecological base, especially near the lakes. More remote areas may attract non-residents who do not wish to be near the major tourist centre at Wasagaming, and thus expand the demand to alternate user groups.

The potential development situation in the RM of Rossburn probably will never attract a concentration of non-residents like that near Onanole in the LGD of Park. The small-holdings currently located at Rossman Lake suggest potentials for limited development at site attractions (Figure 12). In addition to further development at Rossman Lake, some concentrated subdivision could occur near Arrow Lake and along the road leading to the Deep Lake - Bobhill Lake recreation area in the National Park. In total, these sites could accommodate a considerable number of non-residents and localize their regional socio-cultural impact while still realizing economic benefit for the municipality.

Of perhaps greater potential for diversifying the agricultural base of the municipality would be planned development of sites in the scenic Birdtail River Valley north of the Village of Rossburn. The steep valley slopes and adjacent terrain are class 5 and 6 agricultural lands which have very limited agricultural potential. The fact that the area contains heavily forested sections attests to its lack of agricultural use, and at the same time, increases its appeal to non-residents who want a seasonal retreat. Much of the area listed as class 4 land in the area contains acreage of class 5 or 6 characteristics that could be developed without adversely affecting agriculture in the area.

Figure 11



DJS

Local residents of both Park and Rosburn have publicly expressed concern that only uppermiddle class or wealthy people will purchase recreational properties. Both historical development and proper future planning, however, should alleviate such fears. Permanent recreational development inside of Riding Mountain National Park includes both very expensive private summer homes and very inexpensive cottage development. Similarly, some subdivisions in the LGD of Park have attracted upper middle class tenants, some cater to average wage earners, and others are mixed. The majority of small-holding developments at Rossman Lake are modest, although some more expensive residences have been constructed. Similarly, the seasonal campground at Rossman Lake accommodates trailers and campers. In outlying areas in both jurisdictions, both comfortable second homes and bush shacks have been constructed on non-resident properties. Future planning can zone and time development to accommodate any one or all potential user groups. Attracting a single, possibly undesired population has not occurred in practice.

## The Process

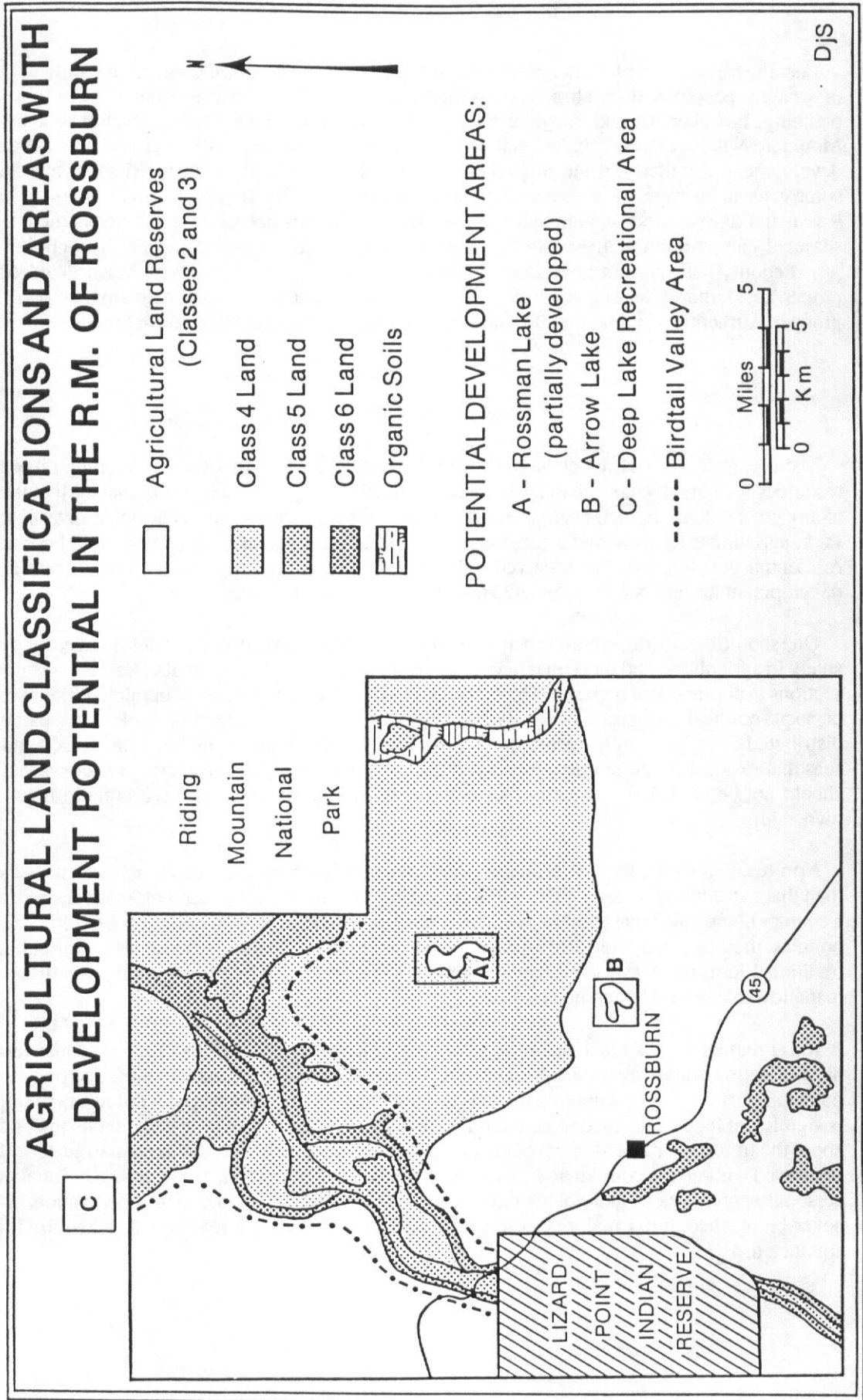
The diversification of the economy of rural areas necessarily involves developing physical and human resources for pursuits other than agricultural production. This does not imply that agriculture will decrease to any great extent. In fact, even where extensive rural subdivision has occurred, such as that in the LGD of Park, agriculture remains by far the dominant physical resource use. The minor land base needed for rural residential development has removed only a small fraction of the total land base from agriculture, and development has not occurred on any area of high quality farm land.

One should clearly differentiate between non-resident properties that have not changed land use and remain solely in agriculture, and those that have changed not only ownership, but also land use. Many of the quarter sections in non-resident ownership have had no appreciable impact on local municipalities in either economic or socio-political aspects. As family farms have either amalgamated or broken up, parcels of land are distributed amongst family members, many of whom move away, or have previously moved away. If seasonal residences are not developed and the land is not used for aesthetic or recreational enjoyment, it should not be considered anything but farm land. In other words, land use is more important than land ownership.

Non-resident ownership of farmland either as a family endowment or an investment is a different issue than that currently addressed. The only relationship that may exist is that non-residents wishing to develop a country home may have to purchase a minimum of 80 acres of land to obtain ownership. These subdivision policies, therefore, may mitigate against the very thing they are meant to protect — agricultural integrity in traditional farming areas. They also may prohibit diversification by pricing rural property ownership above that allowable in middle income families.

Rural municipalities must confront several basic issues in order to mobilize potential resources toward diversification with recreational emphasis. First and foremost, rural leaders must decide whether or not the potential positive socio-economic impacts of subdivision outweigh the potential negative impacts. If there is significant local resistance to non-resident development, community leaders must either educate citizens about the impacts, or abandon development. Negative impacts are almost certain to surface if development is allowed without the consent and awareness of residents. Public fora, small group information sessions and personal approaches to individuals may be necessary to “sell” the idea to the population. Unanimity will never be reached, but a majority consensus is necessary, and, if a referendum is required, one should be conducted.

Figure 12



If local people are willing to accept development, a second decision, that of adopting a system of top-down regulatory control or pro-active local planning, must be debated. Applying provincial land use policies to local areas is a top-down approach. The advantages include the ease of use of existing policies because they are regulatory rather than innovative (e.g. they are established to protect the status quo). They are comfortable, familiar and safe in the public eye. The disadvantages include potential negation of opportunities for diversification, preservation of a system that is inappropriate under current conditions, and rigidity in reviewing resource use options. Change, however, may be uncomfortable, unfamiliar, and frightening.

If change is viewed as necessary, it is easier to create a local planning district and create individual plans for the local area than it would be to change provincial policies. This becomes a bottom-up approach. Pro-active local planning can tailor land use options not only within provincial policies, but also accounting for local aspirations or tolerances. Establishing local plans, however, can be time-consuming. To reach agreement, communities must become introspective, candid and amicable. Time-frames should be established with step-wise goals reached by each interval leading to final decisions.

If municipalities decide to consider diversification into subdivision and use of local planning control, they must assess each appropriate land use policy in light of local resources. Each of the 13 provincial policies has broad implications regarding various impacts of change on the existing system. Because of their design to protect current situations, however, they do not engender change when existing systems no longer adequately serve local populations. The way around unwanted restriction is to form a planning district or adopt a municipal plan, and, using existing policies as a starting point, propose adjustments that reflect the desires of the regional population regarding land use change.

Lands that are scattered, however, will require special consideration before allowing subdivision. First, local residents and the municipal council will have to consider the ramifications of an increase in non-residents on agriculture in the area. If the admixture is deemed potentially negative, either all development should be stopped, or only areas of low conflict should be subdivided. The size of land parcel could be adjusted to each situation to mitigate potential negative impacts.

If conflict is not apparent, careful attention will have to be given to a number of considerations. First, areas with good potential to attract non-residents should be classified according to ownership and potential availability. Significant time may be required to convince private landowners that the good of the region may be served by diversifying into recreation, change regulations regarding use of crown lands, and construct a regional plan to submit to government for approval.

Second, potential lands should be assessed according to required infrastructure to allow development. Lands that are easily accessible and juxtaposed to essential services will be cost-effective for development, whereas remote lands with considerable servicing distances may be prohibitively expensive.

Third, potential development areas must be assessed in light of environmental sensitivity as designated by provincial land use policies. Sensitivities may restrict development rather than prohibit it completely. Attention must be paid to compatibilities of uses, but definitions of what is compatible should be openly discussed in light of current knowledge, rather than based solely on past conventional practices. For example, evidence now suggests that controlled recreational development may be more protective of wildlife resources than is continued use of marginal land by conventional agriculture. Again, time may be needed to debate policy changes to allow rural diversification. In total, the amount and location of land allocated to non-resident permanent recreational development will depend upon costs, opportunities and regulations. Careful step-wise planning can avoid major conflicts within targeted areas.

A fourth major consideration for instituting a change in land use development policy is the positive and negative aspects of private versus public investment. If municipalities wish to tightly control development, they will be limited to land areas they own, or will have to buy properties for subdivision. All land

development involves financial risk and a delay between investment and return. Public ownership, however, does provide control.

Conversely, the public role can be one of establishing mandates in light of locations, regulations and infrastructural needs, and leaving internal development to owners of private lands. This route involves little financial risk to municipalities if carefully planned, and potentially permits a broader range of options because private lands dominate both study jurisdictions. Private development can be controlled by planning bylaws and policies that either restrict or allow practices. The Onanole Sector Plan for LGD of Park (Underwood McLellan, 1984) is an example of an intensive private development within a general land use plan that reflects the dominance of "rural" agricultural concerns in the region as a whole.

Similarly, small areas where hamlets once thrived may be designated as "country-residential" and encourage development on land which historically has not been used for agriculture. This has occurred for Horod and Crawford Park in the LGD of Park, and could apply to a number of areas in the RM of Rosburn. Similarly, policies relating to "seasonal recreation development" which apply to Seech and Stewart Lakes in the LGD of Park can serve as models for designation of other lands (Underwood McLellan, 1984:31).

One potential development scheme that has not been implemented broadly is the separate sale or long-term lease and re-development of abandoned farm sites. Most of these sites are small (1 - 5 acres), lie along existing roads and power lines, contain derelict buildings and have no history of cultivation. If they are not easily worked into adjacent fields, consideration could be given to private development as there should be little or no effect on agriculture in the region.

The preamble to the South Riding Mountain Planning District's Development Plan states that "The overall goal of the Development Plan is to enhance the physical, socio-economic and environmental opportunities for the people in the Planning District. Inherent in the Plan are orderly and efficient development, equality, protection of the environment and the principle of public involvement" (Underwood McLellan, 1984:1). Careful design will enable rural areas to diversify their economic bases by utilizing physical assets to produce not only agricultural goods but also attract people back to the land they have left over the past 50 years.

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