Encounters with Difference and Politics of Place: Meanings of Birdwatchers and Dog Walkers at a Multiple-Use Urban Forest

by

Taryn M. Graham

A thesis
presented to the University of Waterloo
in fulfilment of the
thesis requirement for the degree of
Master of Arts
in
Recreation and Leisure Studies

Waterloo, Ontario, Canada, 2013

AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

Abstract

With a particular interest in birdwatchers and dog walkers, this case study explored place meanings of users at Westmount Summit Woods, a multiple-use urban forest located just west of downtown Montreal, Quebec, Canada. A document analysis was conducted on the research site, followed by data collected through online questionnaire. A total of 120 users participated in the online questionnaire, of which included birdwatchers (n=44), dog walkers (n=61), and the broader community (n=15). Three themes relating to place meaning were interpreted: (1) Attachment to and Preference for; (2) (Re)connection with Self and Others; and (3) Conflict Between and Within. Findings suggest encounters played key roles in the formation of social identity, capital, and conflict. Questions regarding access to and use of public space, how humans and animals are placed vis-à-vis one another, and ways to build civic culture out of difference were addressed. Following on from these findings, recommendations for outdoor recreation management and future research were offered.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

One of the joys of completion is to reflect upon the journey past and recognize all those who have helped along the way.

First, I would like to express sincerest gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Troy D. Glover, for your honest guidance and endless support. I am additionally appreciative for the helpful direction of my committee members, specifically Dr. Bryan S.R. Grimwood and Dr. Paul F.J. Eagles. I would like to candidly extend recognition toward Dr. Neil Carr for motioning researchers to consider animals in leisure-related studies. To Dr. Felice Yuen, thank you for inspiring me to pursue graduate studies and kindly supporting me in scholarship applications ever since. I am especially grateful for the many stimulating conversations and restorative laughs shared amongst fellow graduate students, many of whom have become cherished friends. Financial, academic, and technical support from the University of Waterloo and Ontario government is likewise acknowledged and appreciated.

Second, I would like to thank participants of the Summit Woods Research Project for providing insightful contributions aimed towards increasing trail etiquette and outdoor recreation. Your stories have fostered in me a greater awareness of all those with whom we are privileged to share nature. I also hereby acknowledge that this thesis reflects *my* interpretation of your stories and for any inadequacies, the responsibility is entirely my own.

Lastly, I am eternally indebted to my loving parents, Marilyn and Wayne, and incredible partner, Christopher, for your constant encouragement, which has always made any obstacle feel surmountable. Thank you for giving me wings to fly and roots to come back. And to Baloo, for boundless hours of quietly sitting at my feet while I typed, as well as bringing me deep joy and reflection through our daily walks. You are forever my inspiration behind researching animals as a window into human health.

The path to completion of a Master's degree is filled with doubts and distractions. I'd especially like to thank these for helping me grow into the person I am today.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures vii
List of Tables viii
Chapter One: Introduction 1
Chapter Two: Literature Review 5
2.1. Place as a Way of Understanding 5
2.1.1. Expectations 7
2.2. Negotiating Difference 8
2.2.1. Intergroup Contact Theory 8
2.3. Conflict in Outdoor Recreation 9
2.3.1. Norms 10
2.3.2. Conflict as Asymmetrical 11
2.4. Purpose Statement 12
2.5. Research Questions 13
Chapter Three: Methods **14**
3.1. Summit Woods Background 14
3.1.1. Research Site 14
3.1.2. Political Struggle for Off-leash Access 19
3.2. Case Study 21
3.3. Researcher's Role 22
3.3. Casual Interview with City Council 23
3.5. Design 24
3.6. Procedures 26
3.7. Data Analysis 27
Chapter Four: Profile of Participants **35**
Chapter Five: Findings **36**
5.1. Attachment to and Preference for 36
5.1.1. Desire for (Un)Controlled Nature 36
5.1.2. An Off-leash League of Its Own 38
5.1.3. A Gendered Perspective 40
5.2. (Re)connection with Self and Others 41
5.2.1. Dogs as Social Facilitators 42
5.2.2. Birdwatching as Sharing 43
5.3. Conflict Between and Within 42
5.3.1. Asymmetrical Conflict 45
5.3.2. Perpetuating Stereotypes 47

Chapter Six: Discussion **48**
6.1. Reaffirming Identities 48
6.2. Social Capital 50
6.3. Getting Placed 51
Chapter Six: Conclusion **53**
6.1. Management Implications 53
6.2. Limitations and Future Research 55
References 57
Appendix A. Recruitment Poster 67
Appendix B. Participant Information Letter and Consent Form 68

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Conceptual Framework Depicting Potential for Conflict at a Multiple-Use Urban Forest 12

Figure 2. Map locating Westmount in the Greater Montreal Area 14

Figure 3. Aerial View of Westmount's Summit Circle and Woods..... 15

Figure 4. Entrance Sign of Summit Woods' Rules and Regulations 17

Figure 5. Map of Westmount's Off-leash Designations and Hours 18

Figure 6. Outdoor Activities Pursued at Summit Woods..... 33

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Interpretation of Data Gathered from the Online Questionnaire 25

Table 2. Profile of Summit Woods User Groups 32

Table 3. Levels of Use among Summit Woods User Groups 34

Table 4. Most Sought after Experiences by Summit Woods User Groups 35

Table 5. Application of Indirect Management for Improved Outdoor Recreation and Trail Etiquette 54

Chapter One: Introduction

Rejuvenation and preservation of green space in urban areas is a key policy concern for development and maintenance of community health. As Canadians increasingly live in metropolitan areas (Statistics Canada, 2012), most choose to spend their leisure time in or close to home (Williams, 1995). Urban forests, in particular, can reduce anxiety, boost contemplativeness, and provide sense of peacefulness (Hartig, Mang, & Evans, 1991; Kaplan, 1983; Ulrich, 1981), while also enhancing climate, mitigating air pollution, and filtering wind and noise (Tyrväinen, Pauleit, Seeland & Vries, 2005). Presence of nature promotes use of outdoor spaces, thus increasing opportunity for community integration through social contact (Coley, Kuo, & Sullivan, 1997; Kuo, Bacaioca, & Sullivan, 1998). Benefits of urban forests are thereby not solely based upon physical attributes of the environment, but also found in experiences with social interactions therein. Indeed, "by definition a public space is a place accessible to anyone…in entering the public [realm], one always risks encountering those who are different, those who identify with different groups and have different opinions of different forms of life" (Young, 1995, p. 268). Understanding different users' place meanings (e.g., their feelings toward and relationships with a particular landscape) can help local officials anticipate and possibly avoid conflict in outdoor recreation (Cheng, Kruger, Daniels, 2003; Kaltenborn 1998). As Stewart (2006, p. 408) noted, "we are not always conscious of the meanings of our environments…[they] are situationally-defined, and dependent upon negotiations with other people and places". While place meanings can be challenging for local officials to collect as they often operate at a subconscious level, experiencing conflict or difference in a particular landscape "prompts people to become more conscious of place" (Manzo, 2003, p. 57). Conflicts arising from unpleasant encounters or competing perspectives may spoil individual experience

and polarize users who could be working together as opposed to against one another (Moore, 1994). Such is the case with Summit Woods, a 57-acre nature reserve and bird sanctuary located in Westmount, just west of downtown Montreal, Quebec, Canada.

Summit Woods represents a meaningful landscape to both humans and animals. With pathways meandering throughout, those who make extensive use of this multiple-use forest are various groups, including birdwatchers, dog walkers, families, joggers, hikers, outdoor photographers, and many other recreationists. As Westmount's largest green space, residents are expected to help preserve this fragile area (City of Westmount, 2011a). Summit Woods is an ideal habitat for nesting birds, most recently the American Robin, Northern Cardinal, Great-Crested Flycatcher, Red-Eyed Vireo and American Crow (G.R.E.B.E., 1996). This urban forest is also one of the very few public areas in the city where pet owners can legally walk their dogs off leash. Contrary to official dog parks where built environment does not necessarily encourage exercise (Graham & Glover, in press), the multiple-use trails and lack of built installations at Summit Woods keep both owners and their dogs physically active. Yet, despite this popularity amongst dog walkers – or indeed, perhaps because of it – in 1995, as part of a rejuvenation plan, community members exercised their collective power to successfully pledge for the enforcement of stricter leash regulations (Sweeney, 2011a, p. 8). A petition motioned by Westmount Dog Owner's Association (WDOA) was subsequently presented to city council, albeit rejected as local officials were "not interested in changing the current dog regulations and opening up Summit Woods to greater use" (Sweeney, 2010a, p. 3). Proceeding media coverage on Summit Woods was portrayed as highly controversial among users, with conflict particularly aimed at dog walkers:

> As a non-dog owner who enjoys Summit Woods, I believe the park has increasingly turned into a dog run, not a shared space. I have almost entirely avoided the Woods this winter because…I have not been able to walk there without worrying that a dog may attack…The problem is not limited to winter, when off-leash is in effect at all times…I continue to visit the Woods because it's an urban oasis, but I don't love the stress that comes from worrying about dogs approaching unleashed. Last summer, I politely queried dog owners about why their dogs weren't on leash when they were required to be. The answers varied: "This is a dog run," "I didn't know," "Look how much fun my dog is having." Some chose not to reply. Some owners admitted they knew the leash rules; one said she wasn't worried about getting ticketed (Kazanel, 2012).

> I understand the dog regulations…but fail to comprehend the logic .If certain dogs misbehave why insist that the majority – dogs and owners included – suffer? We welcome canines into our community but when it comes to providing them with ways to fulfill their basic needs, we fail miserably. Exercise and fresh air are necessary ingredients to achieve a healthy lifestyle for dogs, to say nothing of the benefits for ourselves (Kierans, 2011).

> Ah, the Summit Woods. A veritable oasis in the middle of the city where one can easily forget how close they are to the hustle and bustle of the real world. Even at this time of year, a casual bird watcher can see Downy Woodpeckers and Chickadees. And dogs. Lots and lots of dogs…But dogs on leashes? Not so much. The signs clearly state that dogs must be leashed during the hours from 9am until 6pm, from June 16 [until] November 30. It's also very clear about the fines for not controlling said dogs, or picking up after them. But these dogs are having so much fun running through the woods and jumping on strangers, leaving their droppings wherever feels right to them, how can we expect them to stop and read the signs? I do believe there are no bad dogs. But bad dog owners? Now that's another story (Joy, 2011).

Expectations users have toward Summit Woods – irrespective of prior experience – can therefore be influenced by media's representation of conflict therein.

Summit Woods presents a unique off-leash designation because the outdoor recreation site is also a nature reserve and bird sanctuary, thereby presenting distinctive management challenges. To my knowledge, no other studies have examined conflict in such a landscape. Although case studies often address particular issues, "the essence of the usual case is not its problem" (Stake, 1995, p. 127). As such, examining conflict among stakeholders may serve as a starting point for understanding the conditions, complexities, and coping behaviours of a

particular site, but does not build a positive foundation for community-based dialogue (Stewart, 2006). Instead of asking users for their perceptions on conflict directly, this case study put *place meanings* – users' feelings toward and relationships with Summit Woods – at the forefront. Since "people often think of their place meanings as inherent characteristics of the physical world…felt as 'out there' rather than as being 'inside one's head'" (Williams, Stewart, & Kruger, 2013, p. 7), this case study encouraged storytelling as a reflexive method for participants to make sense of the meanings they hold of Summit Woods. Doing so not only provided practical implications for outdoor recreation management, but also important contributions to the daily negotiation of difference in urban societies (Amin, 2002).

Accordingly, the purpose of this case study was to explore place meanings of users at Summit Woods, with a particular interest in birdwatchers and dog walkers. The two main research questions were: 'Why do users find Summit Woods meaningful?' and 'How do encounters play a role in user experience?' In what follows, I begin by presenting relevant literature, wherefrom a conceptual framework was created to help guide this study. Next, I explain the methods and procedures used to acquire and interpret data. A profile of participants is presented, followed by three interpreted themes regarding users' place meanings of Summit Woods: (1) Attachment to and Preference for; (2) (Re)connection with Self and Others, and (3) Conflict Between and Within. Significance of encounters is then discussed in relation to social identity, capital, and conflict. Lastly, I conclude with practical recommendations for future research and outdoor recreation management.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

In this section, I begin with a brief review of the social construction of place meanings. I then proceed to discuss how encounters can potentially help negotiate difference across user groups. From this point, I turn to conflict in outdoor recreation, specifically regarding norms of acceptable behaviour. I end with a guiding conceptual framework to demonstrate the interrelationships of meanings, encounters, and expectations in the context of place-based conflicts.

2.2. Place as a Way of Understanding

The following distinction between space and place provides reference in understanding how users come to develop feelings toward and relationships with their environment. As Spivak (1973, p. 44) noted, "it is what people do in space that makes that space into a place". Space is largely understood as an abstract, value-free realm, while place is contrastingly embedded with meaning (Cresswell, 2004). For Gieryn (2000), place has three necessary features: (1) geographic location, as in the distinction of here and there; (2) material form, as in physicality and built environment; and (3) investment with meaning and value, as in feelings derived from experiences therein. Indeed, an experiential aspect of place exists, as emphasized by Tuan's (1974) notion of *topophilia*, known as the affective bond people hold towards a particular setting. Because experiences in outdoor recreation are constantly changing, place meanings are also in flux (Cooper Marcus, 1992; Greider & Garkovich, 1994; Hannigan, 2002) and therefore, gaining insight into users' feelings toward and relationships with a particular landscape can be challenging.

Meanings users hold of outdoor settings "extend far beyond use; they are layered with very passionate and deep-seated personal elements" (Cheng et al., 2003, p. 93). Place-based approaches to urban forest management have brought forth "more efficient planning, ability to build on common ground, reduced conflict and litigation, and more enduring management plans" (Yung, Freimund, & Belsky, 2003, p. 856). Those with strong attachment to place are likely to advance local environmental issues (Kaltenborn, 1998), express intention to preserve natural resources (Stedman, 2003), volunteer in neighbourhood green spaces (Walker & Chapman, 2003), and be concerned about conservation (Ryan, 2005). While reflexive stories about feelings toward and relationships with Summit Woods can help local officials promote environmental preservation and reduce conflict, narratives can nevertheless "illustrate the complex and at times contradictory nature of peoples' relationships to public space" (Cattell, Dines, Gesler, & Curtis, 2008, p. 556). As Stokowski (2002, p. 374) noted, place meanings are "always capable of being discursively manipulated towards desired (individual and collective) ends". Indeed, how one comes to develop meanings of a certain landscape and encounters therein is likely tied to their social identity, which can be defined as "that part of the individuals' self-concept which derives from their knowledge of their membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel, 2010, p. 2). Realizing potential of Summit Woods is therefore conceptualizing place both in terms political difference and common ground.

This case study does not seek to find a solution to the complex problem at hand, but instead serves as basis for encouraging users to reflect upon what Summit Woods means to them. Issues relating to different users' place meaning in outdoor recreation are often approached as emotionally charged and nonconductive to dialogue, thereby further alienating stakeholders to

one another. As Stewart, Glover, & Barkley (2013, p. 236) stated, "sharing stories about place is not about reaching consensus nor resolving differences; rather it is about understanding place meanings of oneself and others, and opening opportunities for new meanings to emerge". By reflecting upon experiences and sharing stories, meanings are brought to life (Richardson & Lockridge, 1991; Riessman, 1993) in ways that provide contexts for understanding and opportunity for connection. It is these representations of Summit Woods that this case study aims to collect.

2.2.1. Expectations

Place meanings are regularly conceptualized as experiential and indeed, often negotiated through contact. However, Kaplan and Kaplan (1989) found that landscapes known to provide quiet retreat are valued when perceived as accessible and nearby, irrespective of use levels. Just as restorative feelings can be attributed to a landscape without need for prior contact, conflict can likewise be furthered through representations of place made by local officials, media, and users themselves. Such representations reflect, amplify, and inform public attitudes (Oliver & Lee, 2005; Saguy & Almeling, 2008), thereby "generat[ing] a response from people, even among people who have never even been to the place in dispute" (Cheng et al. 2003, p. 97). Blake (2002) claimed groups can share symbolic place meanings regardless of whether people have visited the area, while Brown, Reed, and Harris (2002) similarly found specific meanings can be assigned to places people only know of indirectly. As Tuan revealed, (1980, p. 6), "city people are constantly making and unmaking places by talking about them. A network of gossip can elevate one shop to prominence and consign another to oblivion …in a sense, a place is its reputation". For Stokols (1980), *social imageability* meant collectively perceiving place as "the totality of functional, motivational, and evaluative meanings conveyed by the physical

environment to current or prospective occupants of that place (p. 398). Expectations represent socially constructed beliefs of a particular landscape, including how people relate to one another therein. Although expectations about Summit Woods can exist without actual need for physical or visual contact, it is through interaction that conflict potential is negotiated.

2.3. Negotiating Difference

Initially, the concept of encounters may seem contradictory to expectations of solitude in an urban forest. Indeed, the meandering trails and tall trees at Summit Woods isolate users from many reminders of city life. However, positioning Summit Woods as an important site of everyday intergroup and interspecies contact is at once to challenge this very notion of urban forests as escapement from crowds. As Smith (1990, p. 30), stated, "Nature is nothing if it is not social". Although conflict can occur when different groups come together, users are often not as dissimilar as they envision themselves to be (Watson, Williams, & Daigle, 1991). Encounters can positively foster identity and community in outdoor recreation (Jonas, Stewart, & Larkin, 2003). Under specified conditions, optimal contact can reduce prejudice and increase appreciation for difference (Allport, 1954).

2.3.1. Intergroup Contact Theory

Originating from research on encounters between different ethnic groups, contact theory suggests that under specified conditions, bringing different groups together leads to greater tolerance and social solidarity. The following structural conditions were assumed to reduce prejudice and promote social integration: equal status between groups; common goals; cooperation in the task involved; and support of authorities, law, or custom (Allport, 1954). Pettigrew (1998) later added a fifth condition for encounters to be transformative, which was

potential for friendship. To expand, prejudice reduction is likely attained when groups not only perceive one another as *equal* within the situation, but also share *common goals* achieved through *cooperation* instead of competition. Social sanctions through *support of authorities, law, or custom* can furthermore establish norms of acceptance (Pettigrew, 1998). Lastly, *potential for friendship* can produce a sense of familiarity, thereby reducing anxiety and increasing predictability and control.

Applications of contact theory have been criticized for conflating proximity alone with mutual acceptance. Indeed, proximity can serve to produce or even aggravate comparisons between different groups, especially concerning access to resources or special treatment (Valentine, 2008). Tolerance can likewise mask true feelings people hold of one another as civility or etiquette does not necessarily equal mutual respect. According to Jackson and Wong (1982), major factors behind conflict in outdoor recreation include: (1) activity style, (2) resource specificity, (3) mode of experience, and (4) lifestyle tolerance. As Waltzer (1997) revealed, however, "toleration is always a relationship of inequality where the tolerated groups of individuals are cast in an inferior position. To tolerate someone else is an act of power; to be tolerated is an acceptance of weakness" (p. 52). Emerging from dissatisfaction with contact theory, *geographies of encounter* have since been used to critically explore questions of living with/in diversity (Amin, 2002; Valentine, 2008). To develop mutual respect through encounters, Amin (2002) expressed the need to create spaces of interdependence where users can "break out of fixed patterns of interaction and learn new ways of being and relating" (p. 14). Understanding place meanings of user groups can help name relations across difference, thereby potentially reducing conflict.

2.4. Conflict in Outdoor Recreation

Research in outdoor recreation has repeatedly acknowledged potential for conflict when different user groups interact (Vaske, Dyar, & Timmins, 2004). Defining conflict can be challenging, however, as "there has never been agreement on how recreation conflict should be measured" (Watson, 1995, p. 237). Some researchers examine social carrying capacity, which refers to the nature of encounters user groups can withstand without reducing quality of experience (Manning, 1999; Pigram & Jenkins, 2006), while others focus on norms (Blahna, Smith, & Anderson, 1995; Carothers, Vaske, & Donnelly, 2001; Ramthun, 1995).

2.4.1. Norms

Whether explicitly stated or implicitly understood, all outdoor spaces have norms, which are established through interaction and accordingly refined over time (Moore, 1994). *Norms* are evaluative beliefs (standards) on what is considered socially acceptable behavior in a given environment (Vaske et al., 2004). Both personal and social norms not only influence how people behave, but also carry expectations on how others ought to act.

Norms appear more useful for understanding conflict than outdoor recreation goals (Moore, 1994; Vaske, Donnelly, Wittmann, & Laidlaw, 1995). For example, a birdwatcher and a dog walker may share the same goals of enjoying nature and "escaping" city life, but might have different expectations on how users should behave. Therefore, conflict among user groups are not necessarily due to an obstruction of goals, but rather perceived appropriateness of behaviour therein (Tumes, 2007). Using activities pursued in Summit Woods to illustrate, birdwatchers require tranquility and silence to engage in their recreation activity (Banks & Bryant, 2007), but uncontrolled dogs can be loud and rambunctious (Gidlöf-Gunnarsson & Ohrstrom, 2007),

thereby resulting in conflict toward dog walkers (Iojă, Patroescu, Nita, et al., 2010). Furthermore, urban forests provide opportunity, especially for children, to learn about nature (Tyrväinen et al., 2005) and yet, for safety reasons, off-leash dogs and children do not always positively mingle. Lastly, runners may avoid outdoor recreation sites because of frequent encounters with dogs, whereas dog walkers might feel restricted because of the very same conflict (Arnberger & Haider, 2005).

2.4.2. Conflict as Asymmetrical

Perceived conflict in outdoor recreation is often found to asymmetrical, whereby encounters with one group detracts from another's enjoyment (Adelman, Heberlein & Bonnicksen, 1982; Stankey, 1973; Devall & Harry, 1981; Jackson & Wong, 1982; Ramthun, 1995; Schreyer & Nielsen, 1978). For example, Jackson and Wong (1982) found cross-country skiers disliked encountering snowmobilers on trails, while snowmobilers either enjoyed or seemed indifferent towards cross-country skiers. Conflict was also found to be one-way among canoeists who were displeased with motorcraft users (Adelman, et al., 1982) and hikers towards mountain bikers (Ramthun, 1995). Likewise, conflict among user groups at Summit Woods is often projected in the media as disproportionate insofar as dog walkers do not seem to be bothered by other users, whereas birdwatchers, parents with young children, and joggers have all expressed concern in encountering off-leash dogs (Joy, 2011; Kazanel, 2012; Sweeney, 2010a).

In sum, the following conceptual framework was designed to illustrate the interrelationships among literature used to guide this case study (see Figure 1):

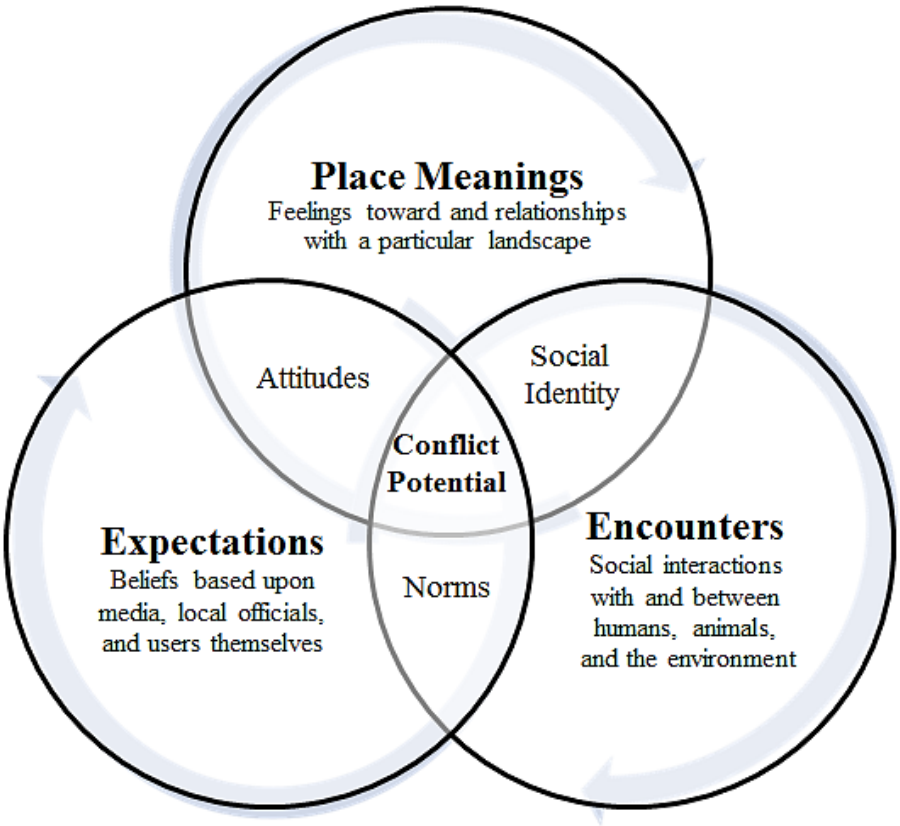


Figure 1. Conceptual Framework Depicting Potential for Conflict at a Multiple-Use Urban Forest

2.5. Purpose Statement

The purpose of this case study was to explore place meanings of users at Summit Woods, with a particular interest in birdwatchers and dog walkers. By understanding what users were looking for in terms of leisure experience, what was needed to achieve it, and what could potentially detract from it (Foster & Jackson, 1979), this case study aimed to provide practical information for city council to subsequently hold a meeting for community-based dialogue.

2.6. Research Questions

Two main research questions connected directly to the purpose statement. The first question, 'Why do users find Summit Woods meaningful?' aimed to understand embedded feelings associated with participants' experiences at Summit Woods. The second question, 'How do encounters play a role in user experience?**'** involved understanding the social dynamics of intergroup and interspecies contact at Summit Woods. Data collected from the aforementioned questions brought forth a final challenge: 'How might management be successful in fostering community-based dialogue that is considerate of people, animals, and the environment at Summit Woods?' While this case study used an online questionnaire to explore place meanings of users at Summit Woods, opportunities for community-based dialogue should also be implemented to develop a holistic picture of the phenomenon and help build common ground.

Chapter Three: Methods

The following chapter reflects methods and procedures I used to explore place meanings of users at Summit Woods. I begin with a background on the research site and phenomenon being studied by including materials extracted from the City of Westmount's website, private and public reports, local newspapers, and personal conversation with local officials on Summit Woods. I then proceed to explain case study research, my role throughout the process, and how data were acquired and analyzed.

2.1. Summit Woods Background

The following section provides history on Summit Woods, including its size, rules, recent rehabilitation efforts, and off-leash politics.

2.1.1. Research Site

With a population of 19,931 residents (Statistics Canada, 2012), Westmount is an independent municipality, just west of downtown Montreal, Quebec, Canada (See Figure 2).

(Ville de Montréal, 2013a)

Figure 2. Map locating Westmount in the Greater Montreal Area

Perched on a mountain and considered one of the wealthiest neighbourhoods in North America (Statistics Canada, 2012), homes increase in size and value toward the top of Westmount. The largest and most expensive real-estate is on or near Summit Circle, a street that loops around a multiple-use urban forest (see Figure 3).

(Fauteaux et Associes, 2011)

Figure 3. Aerial View of Westmount's Summit Circle and Woods

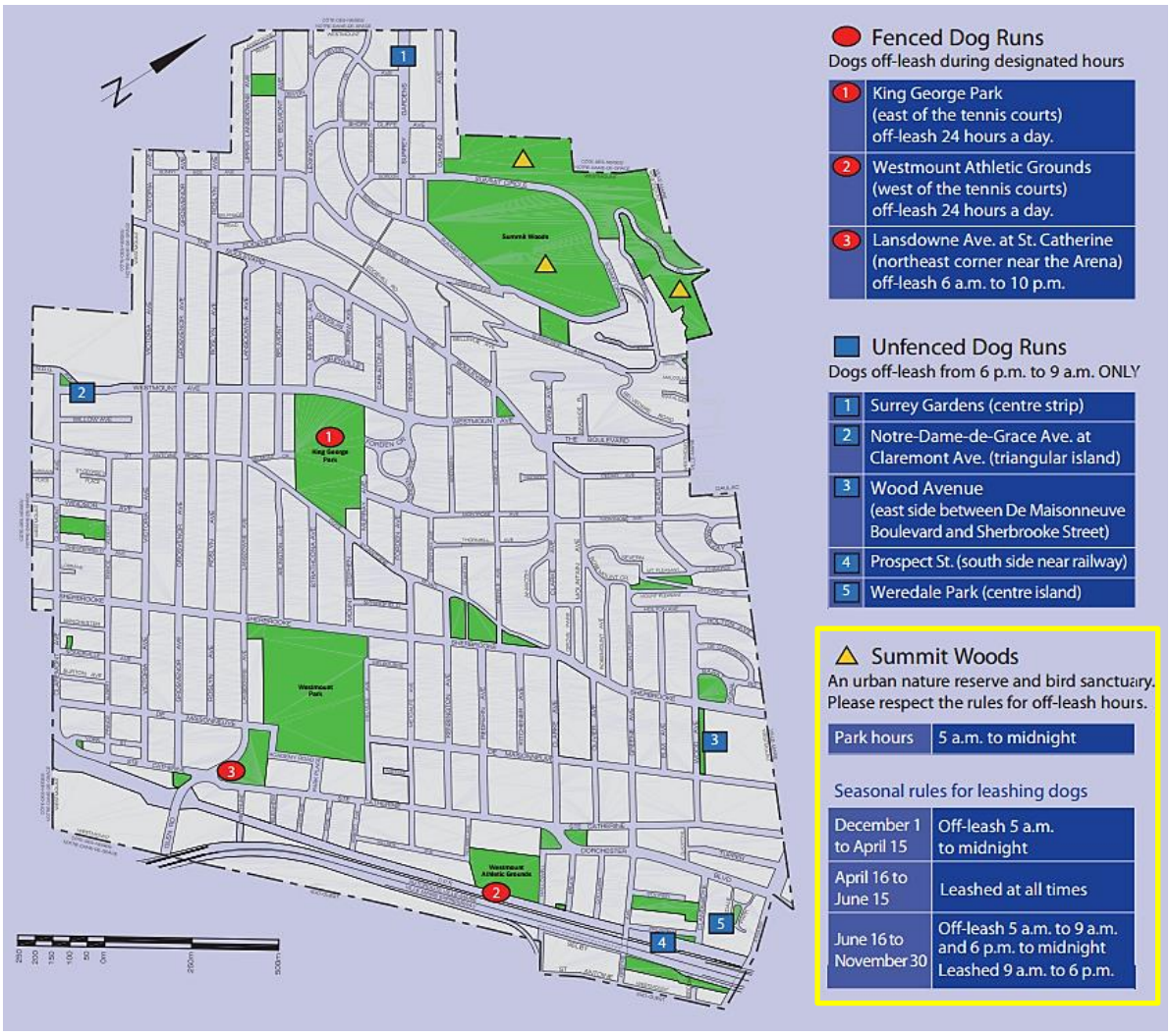
Originally bought in 1985 by McGill University (known at the time as the Royal Institute for the Advancement of Learning), this forest was used as an observatory from 1906 to 1928 (Lindsay, 2010). The City of Westmount bought the land in 1940 for $300,000 promising to keep it as a designated bird sanctuary, thus protecting the area from residential development (Les Amies de la Montagne, 2013). In 1987, M.J.D. MacArthur made a report on the condition of the woods and offered recommendations for its management which brought forth a three-year rehabilitation project commencing in1990:

> An unusually large number of features combine to support the opinion that this area is a truly priceless example of what an urban forest should be. There are trees of all ages present. The area of some 20-25 acres permits true forest ecosystems to occur. There are several examples of forest ecosystems present. Variations in topography result in variations in trees, shrubs and herbaceous vegetation. Here and there, interesting examples of local geology appear in rock outcrops. As more and more people use the Summit, problems developed in that the existing trails increase in width and smaller secondary trails begin to appear (as cited in Lindsay, 2010, p. 30).

In 1998, however, a severe ice storm brought forth unique challenges as some areas were destroyed (Fauteaux et Associes, 2011). Recently, rehabilitation plans were again proposed to revitalize and preserve this multiple-use urban forest. Originally named Summit Park, this outdoor space was purposely rebranded as Summit Woods in 2010. Westmount Commissioner of Parks and Urban Planning, Cynthia Lulham, explained, "the term 'woods' more accurately reflects what the urban forest really is and may help increase awareness of the need to maintain it as a natural habitat" (Sweeney, 2010b, p. 1). Local officials, in this sense, were intentionally constructing place meaning by trying to influence expectations and attitudes held toward Summit Woods. Furthermore, new signs were posted at high-traffic areas to reinforce urban forest rules, including seasonal dog-leash hours and fines; Summit Woods' curfew (midnight to 5 am), and pictograms prohibiting fires, littering, cycling, alcohol drinking, picking of flowers, camping, or motorized vehicles. Apart from reminding users that it is a "nature reserve and bird sanctuary", the new signs read, "Please enjoy this unique urban forest and help its fragile biodiversity by staying on the pathways." (see Figure 4).

Figure 4. Entrance Sign with Summit Woods Rules and Regulations

To accurately represent its users, a new volunteer advisory committee reflective of the many different user groups at Summit Woods was created (Sweeney, 2010b). Although resurfacing trails, removing invasive vegetation, and replanting degenerated areas were listed as needing immediate attention (Sweeney, 2010b), also included in the rehabilitation plan were seasonal rules for leashing dogs (see Figure 5). In particular, dogs were required to be leashed at all times during critical weeks of bird nesting season (April to June).



(City of Westmount, 2011b)

Figure 5. Map of Westmount's Off-leash Designations and Hours

As of 2012, Westmount dog owners are also required to pay an annual $20 licence fee to frequent off-leash designations in Westmount, while outside residents must pay $40 to walk their dog in this neighbourhood. Westmount dog regulations are contained in bylaw 535 and its amendments, which state that owners may be fined up to $300 if their dog bites a person; damages public or private property; barks/howls excessively; is unleashed or unaccompanied while off their owner's property; is without a licence or vaccinations; or is not picked up after (City of Westmount, 2011c).

2.1.2 Political Struggle for Off-leash Access

Managers of multiple-use trails are expected to not only minimize negative environmental impacts to fauna and flora, but also provide positive outdoor recreation for all those who visit (Moore, 1994). Given the scarcity of green space and number of users with different preferences in urban environments, however, providing high-quality opportunity for every type of leisure experience can be challenging. As Walsh (2011, p. 166, original emphasis) revealed,

> Ironically, as the activity of dog walking *increases* in popularity, it has been more likely to come under attack. People seek to eliminate it, citing its very popularity or "too many dogs". The proper response to signs of an increasingly popular activity, which is healthy and enjoyable, is to find *more, not fewer* places in which to engage in the activity. While dog parks certainly help fulfill the demand, multi-use areas are also needed and are symbolically important.

Dogs, in particular, are most likely to venture with their owners into the broader community (Wood, Giles-Corti, & Bulsara, 2005) and thus, have tremendous potential to influence outdoor recreation. Furthermore, dogs can promote community integration by facilitating increased *human* contact, particularly among strangers (Blackshaw & Marriott, 1995; Guégin & Ciccotti, 2008; McNicholas & Collis, 2000; Robins, Sanders, & Cahill, 1991; Rogers, Hart, & Botz, 1993; Wells, 2004, Wood, 2011). Pet owners, in this sense, not only value their relationships to their own dogs but also with other dog owners. Multiple-use trails are especially important as they bring different people together and more importantly, define dog walkers as a part of the community - rather than fenced off from others (Walsh, 2011).

Presence of dogs in urban environments can nevertheless reduce outdoor recreation benefits, particularly when space is small, crowded, or used for different leisure pursuits (Barbosa et al., 2007; Dwyer, McPherson, Schroeder, & Rowntree, 1992). Uncollected waste can

not only cause pollution through spreading of weeds and pathogens (Lee, Shepley, & Huang, 2009), but also been seen as lack of respect for the community. Derges et al. (2012, p. 421) found dog waste served "as a metonym for the disgust felt by residents about their experience of incivility". Furthermore, research examining the environmental effect of dog walking in urban forests is polarized. Some studies demonstrate dog walking as reducing bird diversity and abundance (Banks & Bryant, 2007) and impacting soil compaction and vegetation growth (Buckley, 2003). Contrastingly, Forrest and St. Clair investigated fifty-six green spaces in Edmonton (2006, p. 61) to conclude "designation of sites for dogs to be on- or off-leash had no measurable effect on the diversity or abundance of birds and small mammals". As Serpell (1995, p. 2) expressed,

> People's opinions about the domestic dog have a tendency to veer towards extremes. For an increasingly large sector of the population, the dog is now perceived as a dangerous and dirty animal with few redeeming qualities: a source of vicious and unprovoked assaults on children, fatal or debilitating disease risks, and unacceptable levels of organic pollution in our streets and public parks - a veritable menace to society…
>
> At the other end of the spectrum, an even larger constituency of dog lovers exists for whom this animal become the archetype of affectionate fidelity and unconditional love. To members of this group, dogs are more human than animal.

Criticisms cannot solely be directed towards dogs at Summit Woods as even humans can "induce anti-predator responses in birds including vigilance and early flight" (Banks & Bryant, 2007, p. 611). Bekoff and Meaney (1997) found people disrupt wildlife more frequently than dogs. Furthermore, humans who pick flowers and other plants or walk on vegetation contribute to environmental degradation at Summit Woods (City of Westmount, 2011a). As Bekoff and Meaney (1997, p. 28) remarked, "there are always going to be "problem" dogs and "problem" people…reports of unruly dogs seem to attract a lot of attention, but of course, people do not

report when dogs are well-behaved." Rather than furthering conflict or scapegoating a particular group, understanding place meaning to improve outdoor recreation and trail etiquette is what this case study aimed to achieve. Pigram and Jenkins (2006) stated "a competent recreation management program would incorporate environmental considerations *and* human needs and desires" (p. 132), thereby failing to include animals as "potential consumers themselves and/or influences on their human companions' consumption of the leisure experience" (Carr, 2009, p. 410.

Though leisure is often thought to be based upon free-will, regardless of weather conditions, dogs need to be regularly walked. Harraway (2008) would argue that dogs can form preferences and indeed, often act on these. A dog's behaviour is thereby not only likely to influence their owners' outdoor site of activity, but also meanings attributed to that particular landscape based on encounters therein. Presence of birds is likewise central to many users' outdoor recreation at Summit Woods and therefore, the positions, roles, and influences of dogs and birds (or lack thereof) at Summit Woods warrants exploration, especially since when humans talk about animals, they speak about themselves (Dalla Bernardina, 2006).

3.2. Case Study

Summit Woods was chosen because of its uniqueness as a nature reserve and bird sanctuary, which represents a distinctive kind of off-leash area, thereby bringing forth its own set of management challenges. A case study design should be considered when the focus of the study is to answer '*why'* and '*how'* questions (Yin, 2003), such as '*why* do users find Summit Woods meaningful?' and '*how* do encounters play a role in user experience?' Summit Woods represents an intrinsic case study (Stake, 1995), which was of genuine interest to myself as a dog owner and

user of the research site. My goal was not to generalize off-leash issues with other cases, but rather to explore place meanings of users at Summit Woods to better understand *why* and *how* encounters at Summit Woods not only impacted their feelings toward and relationships with Summit Woods, but also their views and values of different user groups. The purpose of case study research is "not veridical representation so much as stimulation of further reflection, optimizing readers' opportunity to learn" (Stake, 1995, p. 42). Ultimately, my goal was to make the case understandable and relatable for readers, thereby allowing them to make their own conclusions.

3.3. Researcher's Role

In the context of this study, my personal experience sparked my interest in this case. My dog rarely engages in play at dog parks, but instead sits or lies down and welcomes affection from those who kindly decide to pet him. While I enjoy the socialization aspect of dog parks, my dog and I unfortunately do not get proper exercise through this activity. At Summit Woods, my dog acts completely different, however. I revel in his happiness as he stays near me on the trail, yet is free to sniff all the wonders of the woods. My dog and I are able to work on our trust and connection when we walk in sync without anything physically tying us together. In addition, seeing my dog's spirit at Summit Woods whenever snow has fallen has fostered in me a new appreciation for winter. The connections made with other users – not just dog owners – also helps build community.

While Summit Woods may offer unique opportunities for some, I nevertheless understand how others – including people, dogs, and birds – may feel uncomfortable around off-leash dogs. To create more harmonious relationships among all those who frequent Summit

Woods, I was particularly interested in encouraging participants to offer recommendations for improved trail etiquette. I also wanted to gain knowledge about users' experience with birdwatching, especially since media often portrayed this group as having opposing feelings toward dog walkers. Personally, I was curious to understand why users who seemed to engage in activities based on love and admiration for animals - birdwatching and dog walking - seemed to nevertheless be in conflict for those very reasons.

3.4. Casual Interview with City Council

Prior to ethics clearance, I met with Westmount Commissioner of Parks and Urban Planning, Cynthia Lulham, at City Hall to discuss goals of the research project and explore how findings might be subsequently used for community-based dialogue. Question 13 of the online questionnaire was developed based on this meeting, where I asked which outdoor recreation activities were most often pursued at Summit Woods. During our casual interview, Cynthia Lulham seemed most concerned over number of visitors at Summit Woods, mentioning how too many might lead to environmental degradation or leisure dissatisfaction. She nevertheless mentioned that crowding is likely mitigated by the presence of dogs as some people presumably avoid this urban forest *because* off-leash dogs roam freely. She continued by sharing how dog owners, irrespective of weather conditions, regularly use Summit Woods, and therefore, if leash laws become more stringent or dog access further restricted, very few visitors may otherwise use this site, especially during winter months (personal communication, March 21, 2013). Lulham has also previously said the city "valued the security role that dogs play in preventing camping and other illegal activity" (Sweeney, 2011a, p. 8). Indeed, presence of dogs deters vandalism, crime, and other risky behaviours in deserted places (Grahn, 1985; Bixler & Floyd, 1997). As such, *behaviour* of user groups is often more important than the actual *number* of visitors

(Manning, 2003). Denying access or charging a fee for non-Westmount residents to use Summit Woods was briefly mentioned by Lulham, which was of particular concern for me as doing so would impact my use as a non-resident (personal communication, March 21, 2013). Information exchanged during our meeting, including the online questionnaire, was said to be passed onto and approved by the Summit Woods Advisory Committee (SWAC), a citizen group whose mission is to encourage preservation and education of Summit Woods.

3.5. Design

The online questionnaire was structured as follows: Participants were asked to fill out specific demographic information, including date of birth, sex, race/ethnicity, marital status, employment status, education level, approximate household yearly income, spoken language(s), and neighbourhood of residence. Questions relating to levels of use included: 'How often do you visit Summit Woods?', 'How long is your average visit?', and 'During which times do you usually visit Summit Woods?' Questions relating to experience included: 'What outdoor activities do you engage in at Summit Woods?', 'Which user group do you most identify yourself with?', 'What experience(s) do you seek at Summit Woods?' and 'What do you find most meaningful about Summit Woods?' Invited to answer in an open-ended way, participants were then asked to reflect upon the quality of their encounters with: (a) users from the same self-identified group as themselves; and (b) different user groups. Afterward, participants were encouraged to be as descriptive as possible in sharing stories (both positive and negative) of their most memorable social interactions at Summit Woods. Lastly, participants were given opportunity to provide recommendations, if any, on ways to improve outdoor recreation and trail etiquette at Summit Woods. Users' reflections and recommendations from Questions 16 to 20 formed the basis of my interpretations, while the remaining responses were used to create a

profile of the participants (see Table 1). In case any information gathered required further explanation or clarification, participants were asked to kindly provide an email address.

Table 1

Interpretation of Data Gathered from the Online Questionnaire

Analyzed demographics to create a profile of participants	**Interpreted themes from open-ended reflections and recommendations**
1. Age 2. Gender 3. Race/Ethnicity 4. Marital Status 5. Education Completed 6. Employment Status 7. Annual Household Income 8. First Language 9. Neighbourhood of Residence 10. How often do you visit Summit Woods? 11. How long is your average visit? 12. During which times do you usually visit Summit Woods? 13. What outdoor activities do you engage in at Summit Woods? • Birdwatching • Dog Walking • Viewing Natural Features such as Scenery and Flowers • Hiking • Outdoor Photography • Trail Running/Jogging • Snowshoeing/Cross Country Skiing 14. Of the user groups listed above, which one do you most identify yourself with? 15. Please check the experience(s) you seek at Summit Woods: • Bird-related activity (e.g., Observing and/or photographing birds) • Dog-related activity (e.g. Allowing my dog off leash and/or to meet other dogs) • Be with family and friends • Connect with nature • Stay fit and healthy • Be with people who enjoy the same things • Escape from crowds and enjoy solitude • Talk to new/varied people • Teaching others about nature	16. What do you find most meaningful about Summit Woods? 17. Overall, how do you feel about your face-to-face encounters at Summit Woods with: a) Users from the SAME group as yourself (refer back to Q.14) b) DIFFERENT user groups 18. Please share a POSITIVE story about a memorable social interaction you encountered at Summit Woods. 19. Please share a NEGATIVE story about a memorable social interaction you encountered at Summit Woods. 20. What recommendations (if any) do you have to improve Summit Woods?

3.6. Procedures

Selection was guided by convenience sampling through the posting of a recruitment announcement on Facebook pages likely affiliated with Summit Woods (e.g., City of Westmount, Westmount Independent, Westmount Examiner, Montreal Dog Blog, Bird Protection Quebec). A barcoded bilingual poster, which was approved by city council, was also placed on bulletin boards at Summit Woods entrances (see Appendix A). Interested users were instructed to open a link to the online questionnaire, which included an information letter. Since data were collected online, asking for signed consent seemed impractical and therefore, the information letter explicitly stated that by submitting stories, participants were automatically giving consent to use any disclosed information as pertinent data for interpretation and dissemination (see Appendix B). Given my background as a dog owner and appreciation for Summit Woods, I was particularly sensitive about any risks findings may present for dog walker access. Of particular importance was my obligation to ensure participants were provided with sufficient information to make an informed choice about voluntary participation. Participants were thereby notified that potential risk resulting from outcomes of the study was that access to Summit Woods may be limited for certain groups to better provide high-quality experiences for all those involved. Pseudonyms were used for both humans and animals in order to protect anonymity.

Snowball sampling occurred, in particular with participants recommending those from the same user group as themselves to take part in the study. For example, I read each transcript as they were being submitted, considering users as individuals first and then in light of their user groups. Doing so enabled me to notice an emerging political impetus behind participation as oftentimes birdwatchers would urge other birdwatchers to participate, while the same process

arose with dog walkers. With 120 participants, a response bias occurred whereby birdwatchers (n=44) and dog walkers (n=61) became both overwhelmingly present and passionately involved, thereby demonstrating strong political clout for both sides of the off-leash debate.

Shared stories varied with some being very long and descriptive, ranging anywhere between two to three paragraphs, while others were as short as a few sentences. As Stewart (2008, p. 85) reminded us, place meanings are "audience-sensitive [insofar as their] telling depends on who is being told and why they need telling". Those that were short revealed how birdwatchers and dog walkers believed they had positions to support and promote. For example, shorter entries from birdwatchers largely emphasized negative encounters with dogs and their owners, followed by recommendations asserting, "have dogs leashed and muzzled at all times", "control dogs", "enforce stricter leash rules", and "ban dogs completely". Correspondingly, shorter entries from dog walkers were largely optimistic describing encounters across all groups as positive, with recommendations for: "greater flexibility with leash laws" and "year-round off-leash access". Whereas 120 participants may be considered a large number to interpret qualitative data, recruitment was closed when I noticed sufficient depth of information and redundancy of data to meet the purpose of this case study. Although some stories were not as descriptive as others, interpreting how and in whose perspective entries were being told nevertheless added insight into the case.

3.7. Data Analysis

The purpose of case study research is to pull the case apart and put it back together more meaningfully (Stake, 1995). To provide historical context on the research site and understand how Summit Woods was depicted by media and local officials, I first conducted a document

analysis by interpreting materials extracted from the City of Westmount's website, private and public reports, local newspapers, and personal conversation with local officials on Summit Woods. Documents were thoroughly read and compared in order to highlight important dates and events in the history of Summit Woods, reveal meanings and messages transmitted by media and local officials on conflict therein, and track prominent concepts, differences, and themes (Bryman, 2001).

The next step involved interpreting data gathered from the online questionnaire, which started with a general reading of each transcript, considering participants first as individuals and then in light of their self-identified user group. For example, if a birdwatcher completed the online questionnaire, I would read it once quickly to understand how their experiences were unique and then, considered the transcript in light of Q.14 'Of the user groups listed above, which one do you most identify yourself with?' Understanding users as both individuals and members of a specific user group helped me see the relationship between whole and part (Wertz, Charmaz, McMullen, Josselson, Anderson, & McSpadden, 2011). After getting a general sense of the data, I started to code, which involved moving from particular statements to more abstract interpretations (Charmaz, 2006). Specifically, I began with open coding procedures by closely reviewing each transcript line by line (Strauss, 1987) for detailed words or phrases which seemed to attribute meaning to Summit Woods. For example, words such as "magical" or "meditative" used to describe relationships with Summit Woods were highlighted and labelled under the umbrella term of therapeutic experiences. Next, according to self-identified user groups, transcripts were classified and interpreted together (e.g., birdwatchers, dog walkers, and the broader community) to identify patterns and interrelationships across difference, thereby bringing forth interpreted themes. After that, document analysis notes were compared with

interpretations of the online questionnaire. To improve research validity, findings were reported using *thick description*, which (Denzin, 1989, p. 83) describes as:

> Present[ing] detail, context, emotion, and the webs of social relationships that join persons to one another. Thick description evokes emotionality and self-feelings. It inserts history into experience. It establishes the significance of an experience, or the sequence of events, for the person or persons in question. In thick description, the voices, feelings, actions, and meanings of interacting individuals are heard.

Important to note is that findings are reflective of *my* interpretations of users' stories and not necessarily generalizable to similar populations or contexts. Other analyses bringing forth additional interpretations are always possible and warranted. Nevertheless, even if findings cannot be generalized to a larger population, "people can learn much that is general from single cases" (Stake, 1995, p. 85). Furthermore, analytic generalization involves using developed concepts as a model against which to compare findings of the case study, thereby potentially adding new insights to theory (Yin, 2003).

Chapter 4: Profile of Participants

A total of 120 Summit Woods users participated in the study (see Table 2), of which forty-four self-identified as birdwatchers and sixty-one as dog walkers based on their answer to Q.14, 'Of the user groups listed above, which one do you most identify yourself with?'. Remainder of participants were classified as the broader community (n=15), comprising of self-identified hikers, outdoor photographers, parents teaching their children about nature, viewers of natural scenery, artists, and environmentalists.

Nearly all self-identified as Caucasian (n=109). Most were married or in a relationship (n=87) and held a university degree (n =96). Though an affluent profile may not seem surprising given that Summit Woods is located in a wealthy neighbourhood, most participants were non-Westmount residents (n=83). While Summit Woods can be accessed via bus numbers 51, 166, and 165, dogs are not allowed on public transit in Quebec and therefore, non-Westmount pet owners not only have to pay a $40 dog licence but also likely need a car to access this urban forest. Though the rationale behind such fees were to hold irresponsible owners liable and "prevent bylaw officers from possibly being bitten by having to bend down too close to dogs" (Perreaux, 2012), this philosophy nevertheless promotes homogenous enclaves where non-resident dog owners with fewer resources are denied opportunity to access this neighbourhood. Not taking a car or public transit to access Summit Woods requires presents an additional constraint as people need to be physically competent since the walk - regardless of where you are coming from - is nearly all uphill.

Majority of participants were between the ages of 55 and over (n=63), which describes why many were retired (n= 37), followed by full (n=37), self (n=23), or part (n=12)-time

employed. There were more men (n=29) birdwatchers than women (n=15), whereas more women (n=42) walked dogs than men (n=19). Gender among broader community members was almost evenly split. As for birdwatchers, their activity often entails travelling in order to be able to sight and photograph different species. Nevertheless, only two self-identified birdwatchers were Westmount residents, which brings forth the following questions: Do those who live in the area engage in birdwatching? If so, why did they not participate? Perhaps an additional political impetus can be found here, whereby non-residents feared their access to and use of Summit Woods may be taken away.

Table 2

Profile of Summit Woods User Groups

Demographics	Birdwatchers* (n= 44)	Dog Walkers* (n= 61)	Broader Community (n= 15)	Total (N=120)
Age				
18-34	3	9	3	15
35-54	12	22	8	42
55 and over	29	30	4	63
Gender				
Men	29	19	7	55
Women	15	42	8	65
Race/Ethnicity				
Caucasian	39	56	14	109
Other	3	4	1	8
Refused	2	1	-	3
Marital Status				
Single/Divorced/Widowed	10	19	4	33
Married/In Relationship	34	42	11	87
Education Completed				
High School	5	1	2	8
CEGEP/College/Trade	12	3	1	16
University	27	57	12	96
Employment Status				
Employed (Full/Part/Self)	21	45	6	72
Unemployed	1	2	1	4
Work at home (Unpaid)	-	1	1	2
Student	1	3	1	5
Retired	21	10	6	37
Annual Household Income($)				
<$60 K	14	8	3	25
$60 K-119,000	16	23	5	44
>$120 K	5	23	2	30
Refused/Didn't know	9	7	5	21
First Language				
English	9	44	8	61
French	34	15	6	55
Other	1	2	1	4
Neighbourhood of Residence				
Westmount	2	27	8	37
Other	42	34	7	83

*Derived from Q.14: Of the user groups listed above, which one do you most identify yourself with?

Responses to Q.13: ‘What outdoor activities do you engage in at Summit Woods (check all that apply)?’ revealed that some dog walkers and broader community members engaged in birdwatching (see Figure 6).

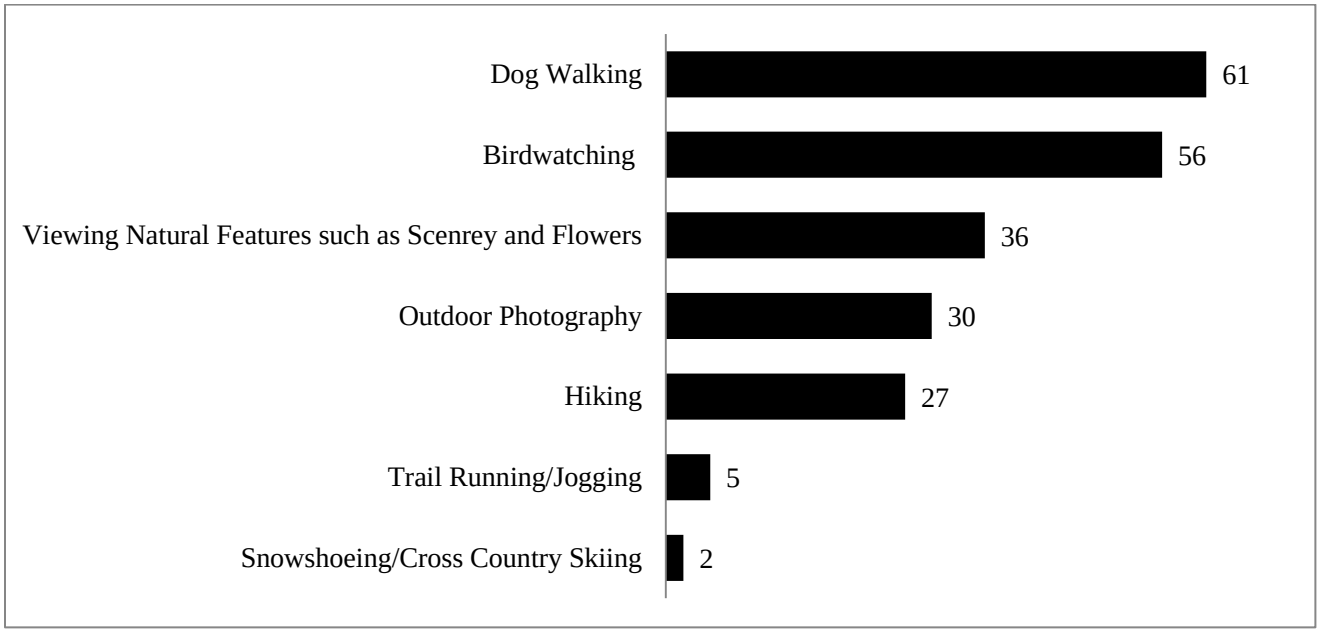


Figure 6. Outdoor Activities Pursued at Summit Woods

Regarding use levels (see Table 3), dog owners visited Summit Woods most frequently; perhaps not surprisingly so as dogs are required to be taken out on a daily basis. Eighteen dog walkers mentioned visiting Summit Woods two times per day both in early morning (5:00 a.m. to 8:59 a.m.) and either afternoon (2:00 p.m. to 4:59 p.m.) or evening (5:00 p.m. to 7:59 p.m.). Majority of birdwatchers (n=32) mentioned visiting Summit Woods only a few times per year, in early morning (5:00 a.m. to 8:59 a.m.) or morning (9:00 a.m. to 11:59 p.m.), often emphasizing how their use was solely during the migratory periods where “best sightings were most likely” and “dogs were required to be leashed”. Birdwatchers tended to stay the longest of all groups for 75 minutes or more (n=26), presumably because of the activity itself, but also since majority (n=42) lived outside of Westmount, which involved anywhere from thirty minutes to over an

hour of commuting. Birdwatchers' visitations were largely on weekends and often part of organized group outings.

Table 3

Levels of Use for Summit Woods User Groups

Levels of Use	Birdwatchers (n= 43)	Dog Walkers (n= 60)	Broader Community (n= 13)	Total (N=120)
How often do you visit?				
Daily	-	19	3	22
A few times per week	1	27	2	30
A few times per month	4	5	5	14
A few times per year	32	9	3	44
How long is your average visit?				
30 mins or less	1	3	4	8
30 - 60 mins	6	41	3	50
60 - 75 mins	10	12	3	25
75 mins or more	26	4	3	33

Apart from engaging in bird and dog-related activities, responses to Q.16: 'Please check the experience(s) you seek at Summit Woods' revealed participants as most interested in connecting with nature (n=113) (see Table 4). Interestingly, birdwatchers hoped to be with people who enjoy the same things (n=27), while dog walkers were most interested in staying fit and healthy (n=43), followed by escaping crowds and enjoying solitude (n=37). Solitude to dog walkers did not necessarily mean walking on their own but rather, "getting away from everyday life with like-minded people".

Table 4

Most Sought after Experiences by Summit Woods User Groups

Experiences	Birdwatchers (n=44)	Dog Walkers (n=61)	Broader Community (n=15)	Total (N=120)
Be with family and friends	5	26	5	36
Connect with nature	43	57	13	113
Stay fit and healthy	9	43	6	58
Be with people who enjoy the same things	27	32	4	63
Escape from crowds and enjoy solitude	13	37	8	58
Talk to new/varied people	6	25	5	33
Teaching others about nature	24	9	2	35

The aforementioned results were meant to provide readers with a profile of the participants (derived from Questions 1 to 15) and do raise certain questions that warrant attention in future research, which can be seen in the conclusion of this paper. Given that the purpose of this case study was to explore place meanings of users at Summit Woods, however, qualitative data collected from Questions 16 to 20 will be used for the following section.

Chapter Five: Findings

Shared and contested place meanings illustrated commonalities and differences both among and across self-identified user groups. The following three themes were interpreted from participants' open-ended reflections and recommendations from Questions 16 to 20 of the online questionnaire: (1) Attachment to and Preference for; (2) (Re)connection with Self and Others; and (3) Conflict Between and Within.

5.1. Attachment to and Preference for

Initially, birdwatchers, dog walkers, and the broader community may not seem to have much in common. However, they have all found themselves passionately drawn to the same outdoor recreation site. A salient commonality among participants was their attachment to and preference for Summit Woods.

5.1.1. Desire for (Un)Controlled Nature

Summit Woods was valued for its ecological uniqueness, described as "natural", "wild", "raw," "pristine", "unmanicured", and "undeveloped". As birdwatcher Denis demonstrated, "the natural setting creates a 'wild' habitat…because there are few man-made installations such as benches, playground equipment, and mowed areas, Summit Woods is set apart from the other parks in the city". Birdwatcher Michelle valued Summit Woods for its "almost predictable opportunity at specific times of the year…we wouldn't travel to Montreal without this as an activity…we used to live downtown and could walk to Summit Woods at any time. Little else brings us back". Dog walker Kathy did not want any built installations: "I would like Summit Woods to stay the way it is. I do not want to see it become more groomed, or improved with bathrooms or anything like that". In her recommendations, hiker Janet also suggested

management keep the woods as is: “Avoid too much manicuring, cutting down of all possible ‘dangerous’ trees – would prefer the woods as wild as possible. Many birds use dead trees for foraging or nesting.” While some participants valued Summit Woods for being uncontrolled, others suggested better maintenance. Dog walker Casey revealed this dualism between wild yet controlled nature: “Take better care of the forest. It is in bad condition…But keep it as wild as you can – it makes the place charming”. Likewise, outdoor photographer Tracy shared, “I know Summit Woods is supposed to be ‘natural’, but some minimal maintenance would go a long way to making [the area] both safer and aesthetically pleasing”. Dog walker Julie suggested, “I understand that it is important to let the dead trees lie where they fall and let Mother Nature take care of things, but Summit Woods has way too many fallen trees. It would be wonderful to get a serious clean up on a yearly basis”. Accordingly, while users valued Summit Woods for its wildness, safety regarding maintenance seemed to be of primary concern.

Lack of proper lighting was frequently stressed as a safety concern. As dog walker Carol mentioned, “The after 6pm rule leads to crazy crowding as the autumn light fades and everyone arrives right at 6pm so that they will have a bit of daylight. The time should allow at least 2 hours of daylight off-leash walking time”. Melanie echoed this sentiment by recommending off-leash hours commence at 4pm: “Allow dogs off leash earlier when days get shorter”. Hiker Jean expressed concern over fallen trees as potentially dangerous obstacles, especially for people visiting in the late afternoon: “I recognize the need to preserve the woods in as natural of a state as possible…for many reasons…to provide shelter for animals…However…I would appreciate [fallen trees] being cleared…to prevent an accident which could prove serious”. Indeed, many users expressed intention to help maintain Summit Woods, thereby demonstrating strong attachment to and preference for.

In their recommendations, participants revealed willingness to volunteer their time for conservation and education efforts. As dog walker Shellie noted, "It would be so wonderful if there were more maintenance and planting. I would be willing to help out…keeping the paths nice (woodchips in waterlogged or sloped areas), clearing out fallen debris and most especially planting a large variety of trees and shrubs". Likewise, dog walker Nikki suggested:

> What about a QR code that would take folks to a site with additional information on multiple levels (e.g., cultural, aesthetic, flora and fauna)? A more information-rich site, with content regularly updated - perhaps even with the opportunity for Summit Woods visitors to upload pictures or stories, would help enrich lived experience [online] with stories and artifacts after the fact. I would love to be part of a team that would generate this content, if this recommendation were to move forward in any way.

Elizabeth also demonstrated readiness to help toward preservation:

> To be able to visit a wooded area in its natural state in an urban environment is unique and a gift that should be maintained and protected. As a dog owner, I respect the woods and am willing to follow guidelines that will help ensure that the woods are with us for years to come.

Demonstrating attachment to and preference for, dog walkers especially compared Summit Woods to other nearby areas.

5.1.2. An Off-leash League of its Own

Dog walkers mentioned favouring Summit Woods over local dog parks which felt "less natural". Sam preferred Summit Woods for its potential to keep both dogs and owners fit and healthy: "Taking dogs to a small, confined, often dirty, fenced-in area full of gravel rocks known as a 'dog park' is not enjoyable for me, nor my dog". Likewise, Jonas revealed, "It is the only place I can walk my dog off leash. This is really important to me. My dog loves to run and hates dog parks (just stands around doing nothing)". Dog walker Carl noted how, unlike fenced-in dog parks or city streets, the trees at Summit Woods provide protection, while the terrain does not

hurt dogs' paws: "Whether it is in the summer escaping the hot sun or in the winter avoiding salty streets, it is always a tremendous pleasure to be there." Pam similarly favoured Summit Woods over local dog parks:

> My dog will not go into dog runs…[yet] is well socialized around other dogs at Summit Woods and their owners. For him, the highlights of his day are our Summit walks. As well, I love the woods. They are lovely at all times of year, in rain, snowstorms, windy or calm, sunny days. The scents of the vegetation, the twittering of the birds, the verdant environment are all very special to me. I respect the woods and feel blessed to be able to use them.

Dog walker Helen suggested increasing education for off-leash hours so that users know what to expect upon arrival:

> These spaces help reduce the risks of dog-related incidents by allowing dogs to burn their energy in a positive way on top of keeping their owners fit. The idea of having specific hours for off-leash walks is great. I completely agree with the interdiction of off-leash walks in spring as I value the conservation of nature. However, it might be useful to notice more clearly the general public about off-leash hours…so they can prepare accordingly.

Furthermore, Casey described how Summit Woods presents the ideal outdoor space to train her dog:

> Summit Woods is a jewel and life saver for dog owners! Having the opportunity to let my pup run freely - rain or shine, warm or cold - has helped me with her training…she has become more calm and responsive…daily leash walks on the street wasn't enough and regular dog parks weren't good places to set good dog habits.

Clearly, dog walkers preferred Summit Woods over any other urban park or city street. Women dog walkers, in particular, mentioned valuing Summit Woods for its ability to feel secluded, yet safe.

5.1.3. A Gendered Perspective

Women dog owners expressed feeling safe at Summit Woods *because* dogs were present. As dog walker Claire noted, "[Summit Woods] is quiet and yet feels safe because not too far away, you know there are other people walking their dogs on the trails that intersect." Likewise, dog walker Ruby noted,

> I have made a couple of 'dog friends' (people who I've met because we've both been walking dogs) at Summit Woods. Usually, these have been women who like myself have been walking alone with their dogs…a GREAT thing about Summit Woods is that it feels like a completely safe place for a single woman to walk her dog, which I can't say about [other parks or green spaces nearby]".

Overall, participants admired Summit Woods for its natural state and ability to provide meaningful experiences that other nearby green spaces were unable to satisfy. Participants described Summit Woods as feeling small and personal as opposed to larger landscapes: "*little* oasis in the heart of the city", "*hidden* gem in an urban jungle", "little bit of country in the middle of a big city", "a *private 'bubble'* up on top of Montreal", and "*little bit* of heaven in a world that is noisy, rushed, and demanding". Many birdwatchers reported Summit Woods as "best place in the city" for bird sightings during spring, while several dog walkers called it the "best place in the city" to walk their dogs off-leash. Interestingly, most dog walkers labelled their experiences as therapeutic, noting Summit Woods as "magical", "meditative", "quiet", "peaceful", and "tranquil", while birdwatchers meanings leaned towards ecological attributes, mentioning its "size, variety, and richness", "beautiful spring flowers", "geographic location, which makes it great for fauna and flora", and "educational nature".

5.2. (Re)connection with Self and Others

(Re)connection at Summit Woods was not merely among humans, but also with nature, animals, and self. As outdoor photographer Tracy stated, "I don't [visit Summit Woods] for the social interaction…but do have memorable experiences 'connecting' with trees and nature. I find this interaction wonderful and fulfilling every time I'm there." Likewise hiker Laura remarked, "Summit Woods has been a savior for my wellness! While hiking through the trails, I usually don't talk to people since I go to connect with nature and exercise." Nature not only served to (re)connect users with self but also provided opportunity to interact with others: "There are so many meaningful encounters…meeting another person on a beautiful day – winter or summer – who is appreciating the beauty as much as I am." Birdwatcher Jessie shared how Summit Woods fed children's imagination, thereby (re)connecting them to nature and one another:

> On my last visit, two young girls around 12 years old were walking through [the woods] and it was a pleasure overhearing their conversation, which included mention of how the woods reminded them of Narnia or Terebithia. One of them seemed to feel at home among the trees, the other more cautious and, she admitted, a little scared.

Additionally, dog walker Jordan conveyed how nature at Summit Woods helped him bond with family members: "Summit Woods has allowed me to reconnect with my in-laws…Even though they don't really like dogs, they admire the woods and therefore, join me on my dog walks there where we can revel in nature together". Whereas some participants may have been uninterested in meeting dogs or people, others visited Summit Woods for those very reasons.

5.2.1. Dogs as Social Facilitators

Connections among dog walkers were experienced *through* their pets. Nicole demonstrated how walking her dog off-leash provided for vicarious experience:

> By walking my dog off leash, I personally feel a sense of freedom. I love watching Cooper run and play. It makes me so happy as dogs have such a short life span and there are really no other places nearby where you can leave your dog to roam freely. My Summit Woods friends and I share in the contagious joy and playfulness of our dogs. Seeing them in action is a wonderful moment of our day, every day.

Likewise, dog walker Carol noted, "every time I go up there I feel uplifted by the social interactions and looking at my dog running so happily off leash and mixing with the other dogs." Summit Woods also provided opportunity for people who were unable to own a pet to nevertheless interact with well-behaved dogs. As Karen stated,

> My son desperately wanted [a dog]. We would go walking at Summit on weekends…he would ask people if he could pet their dogs and go from one dog to the next. Everyone was always very polite and considerate with him.

As broader community member Dale noted, "I came across an older lady who smiled and introduced her two dogs to me. We connected. I knew that if I had met her anywhere else, we wouldn't have acknowledged each other's presence – even a few blocks away." Likewise, dog walker Terry shared:

> We are a family….and for the most part, we support one another since we see each other every day…I have been going to Summit Woods twice daily since 1988 and…have made friendships. It is especially wonderful to have anonymity. We do not know people's names or where they live. We simply know the dogs. And if our dogs like the other person's dogs, then we walk together and talk. The friendship of our dogs gains entry into this 'club' and creates a calming and therapeutic experience.

Consequently, though human names were not always shared, durable relationships nonetheless forged among dog walkers. Dog walker Jamie revealed: "As a freelancer, I spend a lot of time

working alone from home. My walks up at the Summit give me as much positive interaction as my dog, and I have made lasting friendships with people I have met up there." Sally likewise demonstrated,

> I have met people on the Summit whom I would probably never have met if I had not gone there with my dog. Some of these people - one or two in particular - became treasured friends with whom I went on to share many other experiences.

Dog walker Susan noted how some relationships extended outside the boundaries of Summit Woods: "[I've made] so many new friends…those with whom I exchange books….friends I invite home for dinner with their dogs – I call these evenings 'dog night'…friends coming from another country and sharing their story." Bev demonstrated how support was shared among dog walkers, which brought forth sense of community and belonging:

> I've been walking at Summit Woods with my dogs for 20 years. During that time, I've met many people and we've shared good news, bad news and sad news. Every time a dog dies, we all mourn a little, especially if we've known him or her for a long time. I've walked with elderly women whose sole pleasure was to walk their dogs daily at the Summit and meet up with their friends, and I've walked with young people with puppies who needed help!

Just as dogs provided opportunity for friendly exchanges and possible relationship formation among humans, birds likewise served as social buffers.

5.2.2. Birdwatching as Sharing

Binoculars served as conversational starters for social learning opportunities. As broader community member Taylor described:

> [We] saw a man with binoculars near the new bulletin board showing some children (aged about 10 and 12) how to watch birds through his binoculars. At first we thought they were his children, but then realized he was a stranger who, with the mother's blessing, was helping the children to appreciate what they could hear and see in the trees. The kids were mesmerized when they got the birds in the binoculars and asked a lot of questions…We stayed to talk to

> him after the family moved on - he was a wonderful person, like almost all the birders I have ever met - so happy to share knowledge, so eager for others to enjoy the woods. As we spoke, he would point out other birds we were hearing and seeing.

For Birdwatcher Sheila, her binoculars facilitated connection across difference:

> I've had numerous positive encounters with non-birders in the park - walkers with or without dogs. When they see my binoculars and camera, they often ask what birds I've seen recently or tell me about what they've seen. The famous Summit screech-owl was quite a point of contact between birders and non-birders when it occupied a fairly public roosting place: everyone loves owls!

Particularly important for birdwatchers, was the ability to share information/referrals. Many birdwatchers revealed sincerest appreciation when directed towards recent sightings: "as soon as two people wearing binoculars meet up, there is an exchange of information and observations", "I've come across birds I've never seen elsewhere thanks to regulars who had the kindness to tell me the best places", and "Oftentimes, other visitors have helped me find birds that I was looking for". Many also showed pride in "passing on knowledge to those who may not be experienced with birdwatching but curious", thereby demonstrating Summit Woods as important sites of learning. As birdwatcher Christophe noted, "I've shown various birds to less skilled birders. I talked to more experienced birders about bird songs when starting out. I've helped a birder getting off a bus down below the Oratory find their way to the Summit". Likewise, birdwatcher Marc mentioned, "I really enjoyed showing children and their parents the screech-owl who was taking sun, perched in his tree hole". Birdwatcher Paul noted how organized groups openly welcomed him: "I met a group from Bird Protection Quebec during their guided walk to discover warblers. They were friendly and helpful even if I wasn't with their group." Demonstrating roles of encounters in overcoming difference and reducing fear, birdwatcher Pierre disclosed, "A man who lives near Summit Woods [allowed me to] pet his dog to show me he wasn't dangerous….The dog was on leash, which helps me feel more confident".

While positive encounters sometimes weakened prejudices held towards dogs and their owners, other experiences nevertheless solidified them.

5.3. Conflict Between and Within

Stories about negative social interactions were largely directed toward dog walkers. Common complaints included dogs that were not leashed, barked excessively, approached strangers without consent, or owners who did not pick up dog waste.

5.3.1. Asymmetrical Conflict

Negative encounters noted by birdwatchers and broader community members were predominately directed towards dog walkers. As one birdwatcher stated, "Unfortunately, like almost everybody who has visited Summit Woods, I've encountered dogs…who appear out of nowhere without their owners. Also, there are little 'souvenirs' discovered from time to time". Adding to this, broader community member Natalie stated:

> I was once followed by a large, scary looking dog. I've owned dogs before and I'm normally not afraid of them, but this [dog's] fur was raised and I couldn't see the owner. I stood still because I didn't want to startle the dog and after about a minute, the owner appeared. She called the dog back to her and apologized. The dog didn't listen and tried to follow me as I continued walking. It took several minutes for the woman to get the dog to obey her. I don't mind when dogs are off-leash…but when an owner knows that their dog tends to be disobedient, I think it's especially important that they use the leash.

Often, negative encounters with a few dog walkers extended toward the whole group. As dog walker Jo mentioned, "I have encountered people who have reacted very negatively, even aggressively, just because I own a dog". Likewise, dog walker Pam noted,

> By far, the worst is when people who don't have a dog tell you to go someplace else so they can have the Summit Woods to themselves. I resent it. Summit Woods is the only place like this in Montreal (where you can go with your dog unleashed) - they have the whole city to themselves.

Dog walker Ben stated, “I feel like dog owners are persecuted by the community and nobody seems to want to provide a nice place where both humans and dogs can get a good amount of exercise.” Dog walker Hailey indicated how dogs seem to have a bad reputation:

> The only negative memory I have from being up there was when a man started screaming at me to put my dog on a leash even though I was there during an off-leash time. I have negative stories lately that are not at the woods but about the woods…people maintaining that there are all kinds of dog people walking many, many dogs that are all running wild at the wrong times and not picking up. It is just not true!

Many dog walkers felt obliged to stand up for their relative rights regarding access to and use of Summit Woods. Birdwatcher Spencer pointed out how one dog walkers was defensive: “When I kindly asked a dog owner if it was possible to calm her barking dog, she responded, ‘my dog has just as much of a right as the birds to express himself’”. When owners did not respond as expected, birdwatchers and broader community users were displeased. As birdwatcher Peter noted,

> Just recently, a dog that was off-leash rushed at me while growling…I loudly asked the owner to come get his dog. He arrived shortly and said, ‘This is the first time my dog has done this!’ I love dogs and usually they are quite friendly at Summit Woods as a rule.

Similarly, broader community member Joey remarked,

> At the start of the "leashed only" season it is possible to ask dog owners to leash their dogs and to get a thoughtful and cooperative response from those who simply don't know the rule or who know it but don't realize that it's there to protect the ground-nesting birds. But after the first few days, I stop asking because the scofflaws are so unpleasant--"Mind your own business" or "What's your problem?" are the kindest responses at that point.

Other birdwatchers revealed how inappropriate behaviour of dogs disrupted their leisure experience: “While I was admiring a rare bird, two dogs who weren’t leashed came running towards me and made the bird flee”, “I once had to leave my professional camera on its tripod in

the middle of the woods because a dog was running after me", and "Two or three times, 'nice' dogs came and dumped their muddy paws on my pants while I was using my lunch hour to watch birds before returning to work. I had to then work all afternoon with dirty pants." While birdwatchers and the broader community expressed frustration towards dog walkers, dog walkers themselves revealed tensions toward their own group.

5.3.2. Perpetuating Stereotypes

Conflict was not only found between user groups but also within. That is, dog walkers shared stories of negative encounters with members of their own group. Emphasis was often, if not always, placed upon the rarity of these occurrences; likely out of fear that access to and use of Summit Woods would be further restricted should their group be perceived negatively. Dog walker Sandy demonstrated frustration toward her own group when owners did not act responsibly, noting how "people who have aggressive dogs that are noisy and not kept in check spoil it for everyone else". Dog walker Taylor stated, "one or two people have aggressive dogs who should not be at the Summit Woods. I know people hate to hear their dog has a problem but they ruin it for others who can control their dogs". Intragroup tensions were also noted by Corey who was discriminated against based on his dog's size and breed: "I have a large dog and owners with smaller dogs yell at me to leash mine, even though he is extremely friendly." Many dog walkers stressed disappointment with those who did act responsibly, with some stating that, in order to "keep the woods clean and reduce any stereotypes", they sometimes pick up dog waste when others have not.

Chapter Six: Discussion

Encounters at Summit Woods "point to the everyday challenges of contemporary urban living and the throwntogetherness of different bodies" (Wilson, 2011, p. 646). Users groups found Summit Woods equally unique, albeit for different reasons. Dog walkers valued Summit Woods for its associated physical activity and therapeutic experiences, while birdwatchers' meanings leaned towards ecological attributes and the urban forest's educational nature which provided opportunity to enhance skills and knowledge. Dog walkers expressed not having any other nearby urban space to legally walk their dogs off leash, while birdwatchers labelled Summit Woods as one of the only sites near downtown Montreal to be able to observe and photograph certain bird species. Both user groups were thereby faced with *resource specificity* in relying on just one or a few places appropriate for their needs (Hammitt & Schneider, 2000). While contact sometimes resulted in conflict, encounters nevertheless played key roles in users' social identity and capital.

6.1. Reaffirming Identities

According to Manzo (2003, p. 57) feelings toward and relationships with a particular landscape "can be part of a conscious process where people interact with the physical environment to suit their needs, express themselves, and develop their self-concept". Connection with Summit Woods provides insight into how users perceive themselves in relation to their surrounding environment (Proshansky, 1978; Stedman et al., 2004) and contact with user groups help define recreationists in relation to one another (Jonas et al., 2003). That is, encounters at Summit Woods legitimize important identities as "birdwatcher" or "dog walker" within a particular landscape. Meanings expressed by participants demonstrated that users chose Summit Woods

because the location allowed them to combine an important place with a specific activity, thus reaffirming their social identities.

Recreationists progress from low to high specialization by increasing experience with and commitment to an activity (Bryan, 1977). Seriously pursuing leisure not only involves users coming to express themselves in terms of their chosen activity (Yair, 1990) but also, influences their place meanings (Bricker & Kerstetter, 2000; Moore & Graefe, 1994). Birdwatchers' recreation specialization might explain asymmetrical conflict toward dog walkers insofar as variations between novice to specialist birdwatcher, for example, reflect differences in prior experience with and commitment to a given activity. The more specialized a recreationist becomes, the better skills and knowledge they tend to strive for, and in turn, more likely they are to be bothered by goal interference due to another's inappropriate behaviour (Jacob & Shryer, 1980; Thapa & Graefe, 1998). Dog walkers were committed to daily Summit Woods use, not necessarily to improve skills or knowledge, but rather due to their attachment to both place and their pets.

The motives behind pursuing activities differ between birdwatchers and dog walkers. For dog walkers, encounters provided opportunities for friendship and social support, while for birdwatchers, contact was crucial for sharing information about recent sightings and nature. As Jonas et al. (2003, p. 423) found, "without encounters, the reaffirmation from audiences and shared interpretations of the meanings of behavior would be absent". Users asking birdwatchers to share recent sightings or dog walkers if they could pet their dog "bec[a]me a backdrop that reflects back the conditions of their own existence" (Neumann 1999, p. 190). Identity became crucial in the types of actions facilitated through encounters, with access to and use of social capital differing across groups.

6.2. Social Capital

Social capital is premised upon the notion that an investment in social relations will result in a return to the individual (Lin, 2001). Consistent with Valentine's (2008) criticism of contact theory, simply because users occupy Summit Woods does not mean relationships and mutual respect will necessarily form among groups. As Field (2003, p. 133) noted, "we…can bring people together, and ensure that the conditions exist for instrumental cooperation. [But, we] cannot force people to like each other…and then go the extra mile in terms of trust and regard." Only those willing to invest in relations and reciprocate these exchanges can gain access to what Bourdieu (1985) describes as social credits, which can be used as capital to facilitate certain actions including: (1) expressive (getting by through positive sources of emotional support); (2) instrumental (getting ahead through exchange of or access to resources and information/referrals); or (3) obstructive (getting left behind because of peer pressure or threat of social sanctions) (Glover & Parry, 2005). Graham and Glover (in press) added an additional action: collective (working together towards the interests of the social group), which was clearly illustrated through the political impetus behind users' participation in the case. Interestingly, actions were not necessarily the same across user groups with dog walkers extending expressive actions through connections built at Summit Woods, while birdwatchers motioned instrumental actions by sharing information/referrals of bird sightings. Whereas Glover and Parry (2008) refer to obstructive actions as *getting left behind*, in the context of this particular case, users seemed to be *getting placed*.

6.3. Getting Placed

How humans and animals were placed impacted upon meanings users held of one another. As domesticated animals, dogs transgress and disturb urban orderings of society. As Serpell (1995, p. 254) revealed:

> In symbolic terms, the domestic dog exists precariously in the no-man's-land between human and non-human worlds. It is an interstitial creature, neither person nor beast, forever oscillating uncomfortably between the roles of high-status animal and low-status person.

By extension, dogs are seen as "belonging" to humans and therefore, judged by extension. That is, when domesticated dogs acted "wild" or "untamed", they became sources of conflict. As MacLeod (2009, p. 8) noted, "dogs alienate themselves from the category of the Self when they engage in behaviors that are imagined to be unacceptable for the Self". Acceptance of dogs was thereby influenced by how humans ordered them in relation to other people and animals, which Foucault (as cited in Bannet, 1989) referred to as epistemic principles "defining what objects can be identified, how they can be marked, and in what ways ordered" (p. 144). While positioning Summit Woods as a nature reserve and bird sanctuary is important for preservation reasons, doing so established logical standings of humans and animals vis-à-vis one another. For example, birdwatchers often used this name to legitimize their access to and use of Summit Woods, stating "this is a bird sanctuary, NOT a dog sanctuary". Peters (1979) suggested we can reconnect with nature by breaking down this urban ordering and accepting those seen as "out of place". Perceiving dogs as belonging in Summit Woods will not necessarily equate to solidarity or consensus, but can however have implications for the way in which users experience and relate to one another. Borrie et al. (1999) found prejudice decreased when users were appropriately informed of and prepared for different types of experiences likely to be found onsite. As Jackson, Haider, and Elliot (2002, p. 110) indicated, "educating visitors that a

recreation area is multi-use enables them to arrive with appropriate expectations". Providing norms of acceptable behaviour that do not single out a particular user group can similarly increase likelihood of acceptance through contact. Lastly, governments should not align with a particular side in off-leash politics as this will only serve to further alienate user groups (Walsh, 2011) and reinforce some as feeling out of place.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

With a particular interest in birdwatchers and dog walkers, this case study explored users' feelings toward and relationships with Summit Woods and discussed roles of encounters in formation of social identity, capital, and conflict. Starting from the prospects of understanding place meanings for the creation of shared public values, complexities of multiple-use off-leash designations and challenges that local officials face have been illuminated. As everyday sites of encounter, Summit Woods is nevertheless uniquely positioned for *friendship potential* (Pettigrew, 1998). To borrow from Allport (1954), *cooperatively* working together, with *authority support*, toward the *common goal* of preserving and maintaining Summit Woods can help user groups to connect across difference.

7.1. Management Implications

Place meanings of users at Summit Woods provided implications for appropriate management actions to improve outdoor recreation and trail etiquette. Indirect management (e.g., information and education programs) is needed when lack of knowledge exists among user groups, whereas direct management (e.g., enforcement or change to regulations) is most appropriate in the case of willful rule violations (Hendricks, Ruddell, & Bullis, 1993; McCool & Christensen, 1996). Among those who expressed frustration in encountering off-leash dogs, lack of knowledge seemed to be most prominent. To illustrate, some participants requested Summit Woods be thematically highlighted to demonstrate specific areas which are more sensitive to erosion, thereby preventing expansion of trails or degradation of woods. Others demonstrated willingness to become civically engaged in conservation efforts but wanted further City Council support. Given the aforementioned, indirect management actions which promote users' freedom of choice

(Hendricks et al., 1993) and lead to positive visitor behaviour (Lucas, 1983) seem most appropriate (see Table 5). The following application of indirect management actions were based upon participants' recommendations:

Table 5

Application of Indirect Management for Improved Outdoor Recreation and Trail Etiquette

Education	*Promote inclusive information events.* Since birdwatchers particularly enjoyed sharing information about recent sightings and knowledge about conservation, having an organized event where they can do so would provide opportunities for positive connections across difference. Information about site characteristics and use patterns should be regularly updated online and onsite to increase user knowledge. Education events on reading dog body language and what to do upon sight of loose dog can likewise help promote neighbourhood safety.
Conservation	*Organize collective conservation efforts.* Participants shared willingness to take part in clean ups, woodland restoration, and/or helping to build greater online presence. Engagement in common conservation efforts can initiate new attachments, thereby allowing user groups to share goals and connect across difference.
Integration	*Welcome dogs as equally part of the community.* Local officials should work towards building a responsible pet ownership program, instead of an animal control approach. Since uncollected dog waste and uncontrolled dogs perpetuate negative stereotypes against the entire dog walking community, promoting positive public image is likewise important.
Regulation	*Manage expectations and promote communication.* Rules should be clearly outlined and easily accessible so that visitors know what to expect and how to appropriately act upon arrival. Although organized groups already exist (e.g., Summit Woods Advisory Committee, Westmount Dog Owner's Association, Bird Protection Quebec), many participants were unaware of them, nor did they know who to contact with any questions or concerns. Having ambassadors for each user group can bring people together around practices of shared meaning and help manage communication with local officials.

Consideration	*Learn about user groups different from oneself.* Given the high number of non-Westmount residents who participated in this case study, both residents and non-residents should be welcomed to voluntarily join committees affiliated with Summit Woods. Users should ask questions to learn more about one another's outdoor recreation. Social learning processes can create common vision among groups. Lastly, special consideration towards the environment, birds, and wildlife therein is of utmost importance. A follow-up bird inventory should be conducted to compare any changes in bird abundance and diversity.

7.2. Limitations and Future Research

Participants are not representative of all Summit Woods user groups as those who volunteered were mainly birdwatchers and dog walkers, many of whom happened to be non-Westmount residents. The profile of participants furthermore lacked ethnic and socio-economic diversity, which should be further addressed through follow-up studies. Indeed, due to monetary, mobility, or cultural constraints, some people may not feel able or even comfortable to use Summit Woods.

The political impetus behind participation resulted in some users sharing short entries with evident sides to support (e.g., "don't allow dogs" versus "allow more off-leash hours"). Although these entries may not have added depth in terms of qualitative data, those coming from anti– or pro–leash sides nevertheless revealed how polarized views do not allow for shared meanings to be built. Walsh (2011, p. 162) suggested governments should avoid choosing sides in off-leash debates as this will only cause people to become defensive:

> People behave with much less restraint when they do not think there is anything to lose…Once people feel 'safe' or believe that the government is truly unbiased and committed to compromise, they will almost assuredly become a part of the solution.

Another limitation refers to literature on conflict in outdoor recreation. Given my aim to explore place meanings, this case study did not refer to the expectations literature in outdoor recreation (e.g., stimulation seeking versus avoidance) when constructing the list of most sought after experiences at Summit Woods. Also, I did not specifically ask about users' recreation specialization, yet findings demonstrated experience with and commitment to a chosen recreation activity could have impacted place meanings across user groups. Further studies on multiple-use off-leash designations may benefit from consulting the aforementioned literature.

Lastly, due to time constraints, engaging users in community-based dialogue for Summit Woods planning was beyond the scope of this particular case study but is highly recommended so that users can learn from one another and build shared public values. Furthermore, local officials, media, and users themselves need to become conscious of the ways in which their representations impact attitudes held toward Summit Woods.

In sum, it is my hope that this case study allowed participants to reflect upon the impact of their leisure on other people, animals, and the environment and with authority support, encourages community members to collectively work towards preserving Summit Woods, thereby allowing for possible connection across difference.

References

Amin, A. (2002) Ethnicity and the multicultural city: living with diversity. *Environment and Planning A*, 34 (6) 959-980.

Adelman, B.J.E., Heberlein, T.A., & Bonnickson, T.M. (1982). Social psychological explanations for the persistence of a conflict between paddling canoeists and motorcraft users in the Boundary Waters Canoe Area. *Leisure Sciences* 5(1): 45-61

Allport, G. W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice.* Reading: Addison-Wesley

Arnberger, A., & Haider, W. (2005). Social effects on crowding preferences of urban forest visitors. *Urban Forestry & Urban Greening*, 3(3), 125-136.

Banks, P. B., & Bryant, J. V. (2007). Four-legged friend or foe? Dog walking displaces native birds from natural areas. *Biology Letters*, *3*(6), 611-613.

Bannet, E. (1989). *Strcuturalism and the logic of dissent.* Lodon: Macmillan.

Barbosa, O.,Tratalos, J.A., Armsworth, P.R., Davies, R.G., Fuller, R.A., Johnson, P.,et al. (2007). Who benefits from access to green space? A case study from Sheffield UK. *Landscape and Urban Planning*, 83, 187–195.

Bekoff, A. & Meaney C.A. (1997). Interactions among dogs, people, and the environment in Boulder, Colorado: A case study, *Anthrozoos***,** 10(1), 12-31.

Bixler, R. D., & Floyd, M. F. (1997). Nature is scary, disgusting, and uncomfortable. *Environment and Behavior*, 29(4), 443-467.

Blahna, J. B., Smith, K. S.,&Anderson, J. A. (1995). Backcountry llama packing: Visitor perceptions of acceptability and conflict. *Leisure Sciences*, 17, 185–204.

Blackshaw, J. K. and Marriott, J. (1995) *Public open spaces and dogs: a design and management guide for open space professionals and local government.* Hauthorn East, VIC Harlock Jackson Pty Ltd Planning and Development Consultants.

Blake, K. S. (2002). Colorado fourteeners and the nature of place identity. *Geographical Review*, 92(2), 155-179.

Borrie, W.T., Freimund, W.A., Davenport, M.A., Manning, R.E., Vallerie, W.A., & Wang, B. (1999). *Winter Visit and Visitor Characteristics of Yellowstone National Park.* University of Montana, School of Forestry.

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. Richardson (ed.), *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education (*pp. 241-258). New York: Greenwood.

Bricker, K. S., & Kerstetter, D. L. (2000). Level of specialization and place attachment: An exploratory study of whitewater recreationists. *Leisure Sciences*, 22, 233-257.

Brown, G. G., Reed, P., & Harris, C. C. (2002). Testing a place-based theory for environmental evaluation: an Alaska case study. *Applied Geography*, 22(1), 49-76.

Bryan, H. (1977). Leisure value systems and recreational specialization: The case of trout fishermen. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 9, 174-187.

Bryman, A. (2001). *Social research methods.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Buckley, R. (2003). Ecological indicators of tourism impacts in Parks. *Journal of Tourism*, 2, 54-66.

Carothers, P., Vaske, J. J., & Donnelly, M. P. (2001). Social values versus interpersonal conflict among hikers and mountain bikers. *Leisure Sciences*, 23, 47–61.

Carr, N. (2009). Animals in the tourism and leisure experience. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 12 (5-6), 409-411.

Cattell, V., Dines, N., Gesler, W., & Curtis, S. (2008). Mingling, observing, and lingering: Everyday public spaces and their implications for well-being and social relations. *Health & Place*, 14(3), 544-561.

Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Cheng, A. S., Kruger, L. E., & Daniels, S. E. (2003). "Place" as an Integrating Concept in Natural Resource Politics: Propositions for a Social Science Research Agenda. *Society & Natural Resources*, 16(2), 87-104.

City of Westmount. (2011a). *Parks and Green Spaces: Summit Woods and Summit Lookout.* Retrieved from:http://www.westmount.org/page.cfm?Section_ID=2&Menu_Item_ID=24&Menu_Item_Sub=41

City of Westmount. (2011b). *Community Safety: Dog Runs and Hours.* Retrieved from: http://www.westmount.org/page.cfm?Section_ID=10&Menu_Item_ID=391&Menu_Item_Sub=393

City of Westmount. (2011c). *Community Safety: Dog Regulations.* Retrieved from: http://www.westmount.org/page.cfm?Section_ID=10&Menu_Item_ID=391

Coley, R., Kuo, F., Sullivan, W. (1997). Where does community grow? The social context created by nature in urban public housing. *Environment and Behavior*, 29, 468–494.

Cooper Marcus, C. (1992). Environmental memories. In I. Altaian & S. Low (Eds.), Place attachment (pp. 87-112). New York: Plenum Press.

Cresswell, T. (2004). Place: *A short introduction.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Dalla Bernardina, S. (2006). *L'éloquence des bêtes: Quand l'homme parle des animaux*. Paris : Editions Métailié.

Denzin, N. K. (1989). Interpretive interactionism. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Derges et al. (2012). Complaints about dog faeces as a symbolic representation of incivility in London, UK: a qualitative study. *Critical Public Health*, 22(4), 419–425.

Devall, W. & Harry, J. (1981). Who hates whom in the great outdoors: The impact of recreational specialization on technologies of play. *Leisure Sciences* 4(4): 399-418

Dwyer, J. F., McPherson, E. G., Schroeder, H.W., & Rowntree, R. A.(1992). Assessing the benefits and costs of the urban forest. *Journal of Arboriculture*, 18, 227–234.

Fauteux et Associes (18, July 2011). *Le Bois Summit: Ajout au plan directeur por les parcs et les expaces verts de Westmount*. Montreal, QC.

Field, J., 2003. *Social Capital.* Routledge, London

Foster, R. & Jackson, E. (1979). Factors associated with camping satisfaction in Alberta Provincial Park campgrounds. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 11, 292-306.

Forrest, A. & St. Clair, C.C. (2006). Effects of dog leash laws and habitat type on avian and small mammal communities in urban parks, *Urban Ecosystem* , 9, 51-66.

Gidlöf-Gunnarsson, A., & Öhrström, E. (2007). Noise and well-being in urban residential environments: The potential role of perceived availability to nearby green areas. *Landscape and Urban Planning*, *83*(2), 115-126.

Gieryn, T. F. (2000). A space for place in sociology. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26, 463-496.

Glover, T. D., Shinew, K. J., & Parry, D. C. (2005). Association, sociability, and civic culture: *The democratic effect of community gardening*. Leisure Sciences, 27(1), 75-92.

Glover, T. D., & Parry, D. C. (2008). Friendships developed subsequent to a stressful life event: the interplay of leisure, social capital, and health. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 40(2), 208-230.

G.R.E.B.E. (1996). Étude de la problématique de l'effet des chiens sur l'avifaune du parc Summit. Montreal ,QC.

Graham, T.M. & Glover, T.D. (in press). On the fence: Dog parks in (un)leashing of community and social capital. *Leisure Sciences.*

Grahn, P. (1985). Man's Needs for Urban Parks, Greenery and Recreation. Institute for Landscape Planning, Swedish Agricultural University, Alnarp.

Greider, T., & Garkovich, L. (1994). Landscapes: The social construction of nature and the environment. *Rural Sociology*, 59(1), 1-24.

Guéguen, N. & Ciccotti, S. (2008). Domestic dogs as facilitators in social interaction: An evaluation of helping and courtship behaviors. *Anthrozoös*, 21, 339-349.

Hannigan, J. (2002). Environmental sociology: A social constructionist perspective. New York: Routledge.

Hammitt, W. E. & Schneider, I.E. (2000). Recreation conflict management. In W. C. Gartner & D. W. Lime (eds.), Trends in Outdoor Recreation, Leisure and Tourism, (pp. 347-56).New York: CABI Publishing.

Harraway, D. J. (2008). *When species meet*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Hart, L.A., Hart, B.L., & Bergin, B. (1987). Socializing effects of service dogs in social interactions between strangers. *Anthrozoös*, 1, 41-45.

Hartig, T., Mang, M., Evans, G., (1991). Restorative effects of natural environments experiences. *Environment and Behavior*. 23, 3–26.

Hendricks, B., Ruddell, E., & Bullis, C. (1993). Direct and indirect park and recreation resource management decision making: A conceptual approach. *Journal of Park and Recreation Administration,* 11, 28-39.

Iojă, C. I., Rozylowicz, L., Pătroescu, M., Niţă, M. R., & Vânau, G. O. (2011). Dog walkers' vs. other park visitors' perceptions: The importance of planning sustainable urban parks in Bucharest, Romania. *Landscape and urban planning*, *103*(1), 74-82.

Jackson, E.L. & Wong, R.A.G. (1982). Perceived conflict between urban cross-country skiers and snowmobilers in Alberta. *Journal of Leisure Research* 14(1): 47-62.

Jackson, S. A., Haider, W., & Elliot, T. (2003). Resolving inter-group conflict in winter recreation: Chilkoot trail national historic site, British Columbia. *Journal for Nature Conservation*, 11(4), 317-323.

Jacob, G. R., & Schreyer R. (1980). Conflict in outdoor recreation: A theoretical perspective. *Journal of Leisure Research, 12*, 368–380.

Jonas, L. M., Stewart, W. P., & Larkin, K. W. (2003). Encountering Heidi Audiences for a Wilderness Adventurer Identity. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 32(4), 403-431.

Joy, A. (2011, November 14). Summit Woods: Must Love Dogs, *Westmount Examiner*. Retrieved from: http://www.westmountexaminer.com/web-article/3604/Summit-Woods-Must-love-dogs

Kaltenborn, B. P. (1998). Effects of sense of place on responses to environmental impacts: A study among residents in Svalbard in the Norwegian high Arctic. *Applied Geography*, *18*(2), 169-189.

Kaplan, R. (1983). The analysis of perception via preference: A strategy for studying how the environment is experienced. *Landscape Urban Planning*, 12, 161–176.

Kaplan, R. & Kaplan, S. (1989). *The Experience of Nature: a psychological perspective.* New York, Cambridge University Press.

Kazenel, S. (2012, March 7). Unleashed dogs can be a nuisance. Letter to the Editor Westmount Examiner. Retrieved from: http://www.westmountexaminer.com/Opinion/Letter-to-the-editor/2012-03-07/article-2917924/Unleashed-dogs-can-be-a-nuisance/1

Kierans, C.A. (2011, January 18-19). Free the dogs (and the people). Letter to the Editor. Westmount Independent. p. 4

Kuo, F., Bacaioca, M., Sullivan, W. (1998). Transforming inner city landscapes: Trees, sense of safety, and preferences. *Environment and Behavior*, 1 (30), 28–59.

Lindsay, D. (2010, November 23-24). History quiz: The Summit. *Westmount Independent*. 4(11d), p. 30, 33.

Lee, H., Shepley, M., & Huang, C. (2009). Evaluation of off-leash dog parks in Texas and Florida: A study of use patterns, user satisfaction, and perception. *Landscape and Urban Planning*, 92, 314-324.

Les Amies de la Montagne. (2013). *Westmount Summit: 201 m above sea level.* Retrieved from: http://www.lemontroyal.qc.ca/carte/en/html/Summit-Park-30.html

Lin, N. (2001). *Social capital: A theory of social structure and action.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Lucas, R. (1983). *The role of regulations in recreation management*. Western Wildlands, 9, 6-10.

MacLeod, A. (2009). Dog as self and other. *Language and Ecology*, 3(1), 1-15.

Manning, R. E. (2003). What to do about crowding and solitude in parks and wilderness? A reply to Stewart and Cole. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 35(1), 107-118.

Manning, R. (1999). *Studies in Outdoor Recreation* (2nd Ed). Corvallis: Oregon State University Press.

Manzo, L. C. (2003). Beyond house and haven: Toward a revisioning of emotional relationships with places. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 23, 47–61.

McCool, S.F., & Christensen, N.A. (1996). Alleviating congestion in parks and recreation areas through direct management of visitor behavior. In D.W. Lime (Ed.), *Congestion and crowding in the National Park System: Guidelines for management and research. Miscellaneous Publication*. Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Minnesota, St. Paul, MN

McNicholas, J. & Collins, G.M. (2000). Dogs as catalysts for social interactions: Robustness of the effect. *British Journal of Psychology*, 91, 61-70.

Moore, R.L. (1994) *Conflicts on Multiple-use Trails: Synthesis of the Literature and State of the Practice* (FHWA-PD-94-031). Raleigh: North Carolina State University.

Moore, R. L., & Graefe, A. R. (1994). Attachments to recreation settings: The case of rail-trail users. *Leisure Sciences*, 16, 17-31.

Pigram, J. J., & Jenkins, J. M. (2006). *Outdoor recreation management*. London: Routledge.

Peters, H. (1979). *Docklandscape.* London: Watkins.

Pettigrew, T. F. (1998). Intergroup contact theory. *Annual review of psychology*, 49(1), 65-85.

Proshansky, H. (1978). The City and Self-Identity. *Environment and Behavior*. 10, 147-169.

Ramthun, R. (1995). Factors in user group conflict between hikers and mountain bikers. *Leisure Sciences*, 17, 159–169.

Richardson, L., & Lockridge, E. (1991). The sea monster: An ethnographic drama. *Symbolic Interactionism, 14,* 335-340.

Riessman, C. (1993). *Narrative analysis.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Robins, D.M., Sanders, C.R., & Cahill, S.E. (1991). Dogs and Their People: Pet‐Facilitated Interaction in a Public Setting. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 20(1), 3-25.

Rogers, J., Hart, L. A., & Boltz, R. P. (1993). The role of pet dogs in casual conversations of elderly adults. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 133(3), 265-277.

Ryan, R. L. (2005). Exploring the effects of environmental experience on attachment to urban natural areas. *Environment and Behavior*, 37(1), 3-42.

Schreyer, R. & Neilsen, M.L. (1978). *Westwater and Desolations Canyons: Whitewater Recreation*. Utah State University. Institute for the Study of Outdoor Recreation and Tourism. Logan.

Serpell, J. (1995). *The domestic dog.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Smith, N. (1990). Uneven development: Nature, capital, and the production of space. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Spivak, M. (1973). Archetypal places. *Architectural Forum*, 140, 43-48.

Stake, R. E. (1995). *The art of case study research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Stankey, G.H. (1973). *Visitor Perception of Wilderness Recreation Carrying Capacity* (Research Paper INT-142), Ogden, UT: USDA Forest Service. Intermountain Forest and Range Experiment Station.

Stedman, R. C. (2003). Is it really just a social construction?: The contribution of the physical environment to sense of place. *Society & Natural Resources*, 16(8), 671-685.

Stedman, R., Beckley, T., Wallace, S., & Ambard, M. (2004). A picture and 1000 words: Using resident-employed photography to understand attachment to high amenity places. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 36(4), 580-606

Stewart, W. (2006). Community-based place meanings for park planning. *Leisure/Loisir*, 30(2): 405-416.

Stewart, W. P., Glover, T. D., & Barkley, J. R. (2013). Sharing stories of place to foster social learning. In W. P. Stewart, D. R. Williams, & L. E. Kruger (eds.), *Place-based conservation: Perspectives from the social sciences* (pp. 137-150). New York: Springer.

Stokols, D. (1981). Group X place transactions: some neglected issues in psychological research on settings. In D. Magnusson (Ed.) *Towards a psychology of solutions: An interactional perspective* (pp. 393–415) Hillside: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Strauss, A. (1987). *Qualitative analysis for social scientists.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Statistics Canada. (2012). *Focus on Geography Series, 2011 Census.* Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 98-310-XWE2011004. Ottawa, Ontario. Analytical products, 2011 Census. Last updated October 24, 2012.

Stokowski, P. (2002). Languages of place and discourses of power: Constructing new senses of place. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 34(4), 368-382.

Sweeney, L. (2010a, October 12-13). Petition urges more off -leash time at Summit Park: Dog owners offer to pay more. *Westmount Independent*, 4(10b), pp. 3.

Sweeney, L. (2010b, November 2-3). Summit Park Rebranded as Summit Woods. *Westmount Independent*, 4(11a), pp. 1,11.

Sweeney, L. (2011a, April 5-6). City: New dog regulations to be strictly enforced. *Westmount Independent*, 5(4a), p. 1, 9.

Tajfel, H. (2010). *Social identity and intergroup relations*. Cambridge University Press.

Thapa, B., & Graefe, A. R. (1998). Level of skill and its relationship to conflict and tolerance among adult skiers and snowboarders. In *National Recreation and Park Association Leisure Research Symposium*, Miami Beach, Florida.

Tuan, Y.F. (1974). *Topophilia: A study of environmental perception, attitudes, and values.* New York: Columbia Univ. Press.

Tumes, K. (2007). Out of my way: Using qualitative methods to understand recreation conflict between bushwalkers and mountain bike riders. Anthropological Notebooks, 13(1), 45-57.

Tyrväinen, L., Pauleit, S., Seeland, K., & de Vries, S. (2005). Benefits and uses of urban forests and trees. In *Urban Forests and Trees* (pp. 81-114). Springer Berlin Heidelberg.

Ulrich, R. S. (1981). Natural versus urban scenes some psychophysiological effects. *Environment and Behavior*, 13(5), 523-556.

Valentine, G. (2008) Living with difference: reflections on geographies of encounter. *Progress in Human Geography*, 32 (3) 323-337.

Vaske, J.J., Dyar, R., & Timmons, N. (2004). Skill level and recreation conflict among skiers and snowboarders. *Leisure Sciences*, 26(2), 215-225.

Vaske, J. J., Donnelly, M. P., Wittmann, K., & Laidlaw, S. (1995). Interpersonal versus social values conflict. *Leisure Sciences*, 17, 205–222.

Ville de Montréal. (2013a).Map of boroughs.Retrieved from: http://www.ville/montreal.qc.ca

Ville de Montréal. (2013b). Westmount, Summit Park and the summit of Mount Royal. Retrieved from: http://www.lemontroyal.qc.ca/carte/en/html/Summit-Park-30.html

Walker, G. J., & Chapman, R. (2003). Thinking like a park: The effects of sense of place, perspective taking, and empathy on pro-environmental intentions. *Journal of Park and Recreation Administration*, 21(4), 71-86.

Walsh, J. M. (2011). Unleashed Fury: The Political Struggle for Dog Friendly Parks. Purdue University Press.

Waltzer, M. (1997) *On Toleration.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Watson, A. E. (1995). An analysis of recent progress in recreation conflict research and perceptions of future challenges and opportunities. *Leisure Sciences*, 17, 235–238.

Watson, A.E., Williams, D.R., & Daigle, J.J. (1991). Sources of conflict between hikers and mountain bike riders in the Rattlesnake NRA. *Journal of Park and Recreation Administration*, 9(3): 58-71.

Wells, D. L. (2004). The facilitation of social interactions by domestic dogs. *Anthrozoös*, 17, 340-352.

Wertz, F. J., Charmaz, K., McMullen, L. M., Josselson, R., Anderson, R., & McSpadden, E. (2011). *Five ways of doing qualitative analysis.* New York: The Guilford Press.

Williams, S. (1995). *Outdoor recreation and the urban environment*. London: Routledge.

Williams, D.R., Stewart, W.P., & Kruger, L.E. (2013). The emergence of place-based conservation. In W. P. Stewart, D. R. Williams, & L. E. Kruger (eds.), *Place-based conservation: Perspectives from the social sciences* (pp. 3-31). New York: Springer.

Wilson, H. F. (2011). Passing propinquities in the multicultural city: the everyday encounters of bus passengering. *Environment and Planning A*, 43(3), 634.

Wood, J. W. (2011). Community benefits of Human-Animal Interactions: The ripple effect. In *Animals in our Lives: Human-Animal Interactions in Family, Community, & Therapeutic Settings*. Baltimore, MD: Paul H. Brooks Publishing.

Wood, L., Giles-Corti, B. & Bulsara, M. (2005). The pet connection: pets as a conduit for social capital? *Social Science and Medicine*, 61(6), 1159–1173.

Yair, G. (1990). The commitment to long distance running and levels of activity: Personal or structural. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 22, 213-227

Yin, R. K. (1981). The case study as a serious research strategy. *Science Communication*, 3(1), 97-114.

Yin, R. K. (2003). *Case study research: Design and methods* (3rd Ed.). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Young, I.M. (1995). City life and difference. In Kasinitz, P. (Ed.), Metropolis: Center and Symbol of Our Times. New York University Press, New York, pp. 250-270.

Yung, L., Freimund, W. A., & Belsky, J. M. (2003). The politics of place: Understanding meaning, common ground, and political difference on the Rocky Mountain Front. *Forest Science*, *49*(6), 855-866.

Appendices

Appendix A. Recruitment Poster

Project de Recherche sur le Bois Summit

PARTICIPANT(E)S REQUIS

POUR LA RECHERCHE SUR
LOISIRS DE PLEIN AIR À SUMMIT WOODS

Nous sommes à la recherche de bénévoles pour participer à un projet de recherche sur Summit Woods. En tant que participant, vous serez invité à fournir des informations démographiques sur vous-même et à partager vos expériences personnelles au Bois Summit. En particulier, vous serez invités à décrire ce que cette forêt urbaine signifie pour vous et comment vos rencontres avec d'autres partisans de ces lieux ont eu un impact sur vos expériences d'activités de loisir de plein air. Le temps nécessaire pour remplir ce questionnaire en ligne peut varier entre 10 et 35 minutes.. SVP soumettre votre questionnaire AVANT le **1er Juillet 2013**.

Pour plus d'informations, s'il vous plaît contacter: summitwoodsresearchproject@gmail.com
Pour participer, s'il vous plaît visitez: https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/SummitWoodsResearchProject

Ce projet de recherche a été
approuvé par le Conseil municipal de Westmount et
examinée /approuvée par le Conseil de l'éthique en recherche de l'Université de Waterloo.

Summit Woods Research Project

PARTICIPANTS NEEDED

FOR RESEARCH ON
OUTDOOR RECREATION AT SUMMIT WOODS

We are looking for volunteers to take part in a research project on Summit Woods. As a participant, you will be asked to disclose demographic information about yourself and share stories about your personal experiences at Summit Woods. In particular, you will be encouraged to describe what this urban forest means to you and how encounters with users have impacted your outdoor recreation. Your participation involves approximately 10-35 minutes of filling out an online questionnaire BEFORE **July 1, 2013**.

For more information, please contact: summitwoodsresearchproject@gmail.com
To participate, please visit: https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/SummitWoodsResearchProject

This research project has been
approved by Westmount City Council and
reviewed/received ethics clearance through University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee.

SummitWoodsResearchProject

City of Westmount

Healthy Communities
RESEARCH NETWORK

Appendix B. Participant Information Letter and Consent Form

POUR UNE VERSION FRANÇAISE DU QUESTIONNAIRE EN LIGNE, S'IL VOUS PLAÎT VISITEZ: http://surveymonkey.com/s/projectderecherchesurleboissummit

---

Dear Participant,

Thank you for your interest in the Summit Woods Research Project (SWRP). The goals of SWRP are to:

1. Encourage you to share stories about social interactions encountered at Summit Woods;
2. Understand the purpose of your visits and what this urban forest means to you; and
3. Provide management direction for positive outdoor recreation opportunities considerate of people, animals, and the environment.

As a voluntary participant, you will be asked to disclose demographic information about yourself and share stories about your personal experiences at Summit Woods. In particular, you will be encouraged to describe what this urban forest means to you and how (if at all) encounters with user groups and/or animals have impacted your outdoor recreation at Summit Woods. Lastly, you will be able to provide recommendations, if any, on ways to improve trail etiquette at Summit Woods.

Time taken to complete this online questionnaire may range from 10-35 minutes. You are free to withdraw your consent at any time prior to submitting your online questionnaire and may do so by simply closing your web browser or navigating away from this website. This online questionnaire uses Survey Monkey(TM) which is a United States of America company. Consequently, USA authorities under provisions of the Patriot Act may access this survey data. If you prefer not to submit your data through SurveyMonkey (SM), please contact me and I will make arrangements to provide you another method of participation (such as through an email or paper-based questionnaire). The alternate method may decrease anonymity but confidentiality will be maintained.

Findings will be shared with Westmount City Council and likely used in academic reports, publications, or presentations. The minimal (if at all) risk to you as a participant is the possibility of identification based on quotations used. However, at no time will participants' identities be revealed as pseudonyms will be used to protect anonymity. Data collected will be maintained on a password-protected file, electronically archived after completion of the research project, maintained for two years, and then erased. A risk that may result from the outcomes of the study

is that access to Summit Woods may be limited for certain groups in order to better provide high-quality experiences for all those involved.

If you have any questions regarding SWRP, or would like additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about participation, please contact me via email at taryn.graham@uwaterloo.ca. You can also contact my supervisor, Dr. Troy D. Glover at (519) 888-4567 ext. 33097 or troy.glover@uwaterloo.ca.

SWRP has been approved by Westmount City Council, and reviewed/received clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee. However, the final decision about participation is yours. If you have any comments or concerns resulting from your participation in this study, please contact Dr. Maureen Nummelin of this office at (519) 888-4567, ext. 36005 or maureen.nummelin@uwaterloo.ca.

I thank you in advance for your valuable time and insightful contribution aimed towards the improvement of Summit Woods.

Sincerely,

Taryn Graham
M.A. Candidate, Department of Recreation & Leisure Studies
Associate Member, Healthy Communities Research Network
University of Waterloo

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE

BY COMPLETING AND SUBMITTING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE, I UNDERSTAND THAT I AM AUTOMATICALLY GIVING CONSENT TO USE ANY DISCLOSED INFORMATION AS PERTINENT DATA FOR THIS RESEARCH PROJECT AND DISSEMINATION OF ITS FINDINGS. WITH FULL KNOWLEDGE OF ALL FOREGOING, I AGREE, OF MY OWN FREE WILL, TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY.