$65 000 to circulate a comic park-use questionnaire to the citizens of Calgary. The response was overwhelmingly supportive of what the Association had known from the beginning of their efforts. The first stage of the park was opened on June 29, 1975[33].

Looking back on her efforts, Mrs. Gorrill commented recently that for her, the most satisfying part was to know that the Association had had an accurate assessment of the pulse of the citizens from the beginning so the Association never became an ego trip for the members. Obtaining a park was the paramount objective so they played into the hands of the politicians and let them make all the final grand gestures like "Look what we are giving you." Success came when the politicians learned to trust the Association and its low-key approach. Perhaps her assessment is correct but Fish Creek was a park with a very long gestation period. The question was never whether it should become a park, but rather when it would become a park.

NOSE HILL

In 1858 Captain Palliser noted that the Blackfoot Indians referred to Nose Hill as their wintering hills because it was a winter grazing area for the buffalo herds since the frequent winter Chinooks kept the grass clear of snow. This is substantiated by the discovery, on the hill, of teepee rings and of erratics which were used as buffalo rubbing stones. The area around the hill was used mostly for dairy farms while the plateau was grazed. The land has been subject to speculation since before World War I. "The great prairie fire of 1944" put an end to habitation on Nose Hill[1]. Its rich supply of gravel began to be exploited in 1961 when Calgary began to grow.

The Calgary Municipal Airport was constructed in the northeast corner of the city in the late 1950's. The runways were orientated north-south and east-west. Nose Hill was on the flight path of the latter so it was necessary for the Federal Department of Transport to impose a development ban on the area. This restriction forced some farmers on the hill to relocate. In the late 1950's much of the suburban sprawl occurred in the area to the east and south-east of Nose Hill. Purchasers of homes in these developments were told that they would always have the open space of Nose Hill adjacent to their communities. In 1960-61, the Calgary Winter Club proposed that they be allowed to develop a golf course on the top of Nose Hill but this idea was rejected by the Calgary Planning Commission because of the caveat imposed by the Department of Transport. Communities that developed later in the 1960's to the

south of Nose Hill were unaware of this caveat which was dropped when the jet replaced the propeller. Indeed, some residents nurtured the ambition to own a house on top of Nose Hill because of the fantastic view that it afforded of the City, the foothills and the mountains.

In the early 1970's Calgary was suffering growth pains. Suburban land was being developed wherever the existing trunk utilites could be connected. In April 1971 the Calgary Planning Commission directed the City Planning Department to prepare a sector plan for a maximum population of 20 000 on the Nose Hill highlands. This plan was to be consistent with the Calgary Plan[34] and the preliminary regional plan[35]. The City Commissioners recognized that this process could, but should not, continue indefinitely. In 1972 they developed a proposal that a major study into city growth alternatives be initiated and it had the support of the Calgary Planning Commission. The public hearing on the Nose Hill sector was scheduled for July 4, 1972. The announcement of this hearing triggered a series of responses in the community. Such diverse groups as the Calgary Field Naturalists' Society, Society for Pollution and Environment Control, The Junior League, and Local Council of Women indicated their intention to speak. Dean Bill Perks from The University of Calgary's new Faculty of Environmental Design recognized the opportunity to get his faculty involved with a citizens' group so they contacted some of the community associations adjacent to Nose Hill. Residents of nine communities met on June 26 and reached a consensus on their objectives for the Nose Hill Sector. A committee was appointed to prepare a brief and by July 4th two more community associations had joined the group[36]. The public meeting of Calgary City Council was held in a very crowded council chamber. Most speakers supported the City Commissioners proposal for a freeze on the development of Nose Hill until the major growth alternative study had been completed. The North Hill communities proposed that some of their representatives be given a year to work with the planning department to develop a design brief. Mayor Rod Sykes, who was opposed to a development freeze and supported a design brief for Nose Hill, was relieved to hear this proposal, particularly when the Faculty of Environmental Design had offered to donate their professional expertise to assist this group in its work. Calgary City Council voted 11-2 to support the community associations' proposal[37].

The Nose Hill Council was formed at a meeting held July 20 with the support of the Federation of Calgary Communities at which time an executive consisting of Gerald Kerr, Bob Zwicky, Doug Lamb, Al Munro and Ralph Brinsmead and a steering committee consisting of one member of the executive, Jim

McKellar of Environmental Design and John Hutton of the City Planning Department were created. The procedures to be followed were discussed and agreed upon. During the fall of 1972 the Nose Hill Council held meetings to inform members of the progress being made by the steering committee as well as to obtain information from community associations. The Calgary Field Naturalists' Society became involved in the Nose Hill Council because of their July 4 City Council presentation, however they decided to attend as a non-voting observer. Later in the fall the Local Council of Women and then the NPPAC requested and became members.

Top priority support for a park on Nose Hill was given by the citizens' task force appointed by the City Parks and Recreation Board in its report that was released November 1, 1972[13]. The Calgary Field Naturalists' Society released their report of a year-long study of five natural areas including 2600 acres on Nose Hill on January 6, 1973[1], and the Faculty of Environmental Design released their Nose Hill study on January 19, 1973[38].

A pivotal meeting was held at Thorncliffe Community Hall on January 25, 1973. The Calgary City Planning Department presented various alternative design proposals for Nose Hill. Local Council of Women and NPPAC each presented briefs advocating about 4000 acres of natural parkland while the Calgary Field Naturalists' Society described the results of their study of the eastern 2600 acres. Two developers, Carma and United Management, presented the case for development of a 1000 acre island on the plateau for 22 000 persons while preserving the escarpments. It was evident from the response at this meeting that public sentiment supported the largest park that could be afforded. The major problem for the park proposal was the estimated cost of land acquisition. Estimates varied from $2000 to $10 000 per acre[39].

Information meetings were held in most of the other seventeen community association halls. The presentations were the same as at Thorncliffe--as was the response. Nevertheless the meetings of the Nose Hill Council continued to be rancorous. Three distinct positions were evident. Some community representatives were committed to development (irrespective of the expressed wishes of members of their community who attended information meetings or indicated by other evidence their support for parkland); those who supported the Calgary Field Naturalists' Society proposal for 2600 acres of parkland; and the remainder who wanted 4100 acres of parkland. Those supporting development were strongly opposed to the concept of an open area natural park. By February 18, 1973 the Nose Hill Council had moved to the stage where it was prepared to support a

2800 acres park but not a natural park as well as the escarpments west of the Shaganappi Trail alignment with slopes exceeding 7 per cent but not the plateau land in this sector while agreeing to development in West Thorncliffe and in North and West Dalhousie. The approved policy statement was then circulated to all community associations for their approval. The next day the province announced its decision to create a park in the valley of Fish Creek. Roy Farran, a government MLA for Calgary North Hill was quick to give his former Calgary City Council colleagues a firm prod. "The City how has its hands free to deal with Nose Hill. I honestly believe it can handle that problem. But there was no way it could have handled both Fish Creek and Nose Hill"[11]. Mayor Rod Sykes acknowedged the City's responsibility, if a little cautiously[40]. The Fish Creek Association felt comfortable to support the need for a large park on the north side of Calgary now that they had been successful in their quest for one on the south side of the city.

Two communities, Dalhousie and Huntington Hills, felt that they had not received adequate park and open space within their communities so they began to move toward a position supportive of a 4100 acre open space, natural park. The Huntington Hills community association took the unprecedented step of organizing their own information meeting. The Nose Hill Council executive was extremely unhappy since, until this date, they had exerted complete control of these meetings. On March 8, a packed school hall voiced its strong and unequivocal support for a 4100 acre natural park. The event had been carefully staged and the various media as well as some North Hill aldermen were in attendance. Public support for this natural park was used to influence the aldermen who would make the final decision.

It had a significant effect on the Nose Hill Council when it met on March 11, 1973. The position of the executive had not changed substantially since the February 18th meeting, however this time an amendment to describe the 2600 acre parcel as "reserved as regional natural prairie parkland" was passed as well as a policy statement that "all roads bounding the Nose Hill preserved area shall be developed according to design standards which minimize their role as a barrier and maximize access by the public to the preserved area." However Dalhousie was unable to gain support, except from Huntington Hills, Local Council of Women and the NPPAC, for the additional parkland north of their community. This amended policy statement was endorsed on March 14 by the Calgary Planning Commission for consideration by Calgary City Council[41]. The amended Nose Hill Council policy statement was also submitted to the March 30th meeting of Calgary

Parks and Recreation Board. It was approved but the above-mentioned dissadent group were not permitted to present their case for 4100 acres although opposition from developers was heard. The media had a field day on this issue but they were for the most part fair in presenting both sides of the issue. The Mayor, Rod Sykes, continued to use his scare tactics to discourage a large park by claiming the 4100 acres would cost $40 million. The decision on Fish Creek Park started to change the public attitude about cost. However the province paid about $2500 per acre for the acquisition of parkland in Fish Creek. It was also becoming evident that the visual perception of Nose Hill had become a very important aspect of the increasing public support for a park.

The Nose Hill Council met on March 28th to discuss its presentation to the Calgary City Council Public Meeting. Bowness joined the Nose Hill Council and expressed concern about the possible extension of Sarcee Trail south across the Bow River and through their community to the existing Sarcee Trail. One of the alternatives was the extension of Shaganappi Trail south through Edworthy Park and this had played a role in the case for 4100 rather than 2600 acres. It was agreed that the Nose Hill Council had not included adequate consideration of transportation routes and that all affected communities should have full participation in such studies. Another tense meeting of the Nose Hill Council was held on April 13th which failed to pull the various factions together. The attempts of the Nose Hill Council executive to control and channel the presentations failed and only the NPPAC and Local Council of Women were prepared to reveal their prepared statements.

The public hearing of Calgary City Council on the evening of April 16th was an exciting event with the chambers jambed with over 200 persons. Local Council of Women had been carrying out a low key lobbying campaign by talking to the aldermen. They knew that the issue was not approval of a park but rather how large it should be. Moreover, they also knew that it would require only one switch by an alderman to give the nod to the 4100 acre park. All but one of the North Hill aldermen were committed to the larger area. While the public were entering City Hall, a Huntington Hills supporter gave the one uncommitted alderman a T-shirt with the slogan "Support a Park on Nose Hill" with a buffalo on it. He responded by waving it for all to see so those in the know sat nervously through the presentations wondering if, as we surmised, the vote would be in favour of 4100 acres. It is usual practice at public meetings in Calgary City Council for the City Clerk to compile a list of those wishing to speak. It happened that those making the Nose Hill Council

presentation were at the top and the NPPAC and Bowness were at the bottom of the list. The Mayor, Rod Sykes, who was opposed to the 4100 acre proposal, chose to call the speakers from the bottom to the top. The case was made by the NPPAC for a 4100 acre park and this was effectively supported by Al Commoner, the Bowness representative. By accident or design, the advantage was clearly for the larger area and the momentum was never lost. It is now history that approval came to reserve 4100 acres of land on Nose Hill and its escarpments as open space and parkland by a 7-6 vote of the Calgary City Council. The Nose Hill Council executive were stunned as it had never occurred to them that the vote would go as it did. Apparently they had failed to lobby the most important group, the aldermen, although they appeared to have a good pulse on the mayor's position[42,43,44]. A final meeting of the Nose Hill Council was held on April 26th. The executive and some communities could not understand that everyone had obtained what they worked for and were still trying to undo the decision of city council. The old bad feeling was even worse now. It felt compelled to reaffirm its stance for a 2600 acre park with the chairman casting the tie-breaking vote and attempted to ask Calgary City Council that if priorities were needed then it should accord first priority to the 2600 acre area. Eventually good sense prevailed and it was agreed unanimously that "the Council affirms its willingness to continue to work with the City Planning Department to create a sector plan for Nose Hill consistent with the instructions of City Council." The executive resigned and the work of the Nose Hill Council was completed[45]. The wrangle in Calgary City Council has continued intermittently since the initial decision. Some land has been acquired ($\sim$ 800 acres) and $2 million a year has been allocated for its purchase by Calgary City Council[46]. It remained at 4100 acres after a narrow 6-5 vote on November 20, 1973[47]. A new group of aldermen finally succeeded in reducing the designated size back to 2600 acres on January 27,1976[48].

CONCLUSIONS

The lessons to be learned from these experiences are simple and clear. Citizens groups must retain a high degree of unanimity of purpose and mode of action to be effective. Moreover, they must be extremely careful not to become involved in the political games of any political group. In the case of the Fish Creek Association, cost considerations played a relatively minor role because the area requested was the smallest that preserved the valley. The method of determining the membership of such groups is crucial to their