



Canyonlands as a Contested Landscape of Conservation

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For this year's State of the Rockies Project, Brooke Larsen researched the contested landscape of the Greater Canyonlands and the larger Southeastern Utah region. The year 2014 marks the 50th anniversary of the designation of Canyonlands National Park, but the conservation of the larger Canyonlands landscape still remains uncertain. Brooke analyzed four different policy case studies applicable to public lands across the state of Utah, all with potential implications for the future of Canyonlands. These include America's Red Rock Wilderness Act, Utah's Transfer of Public Lands Act, the proposed Canyonlands National Park expansion and Greater Canyonlands National Monument, and the Eastern Utah Public Land Initiative. These case studies not only provide a glimpse into the potential future of the Canyonlands landscape, but they also reveal cultural, political, socioeconomic, and legal factors important for understanding why landscapes such as Canyonlands are so contested in Southern Utah.

Introduction

As Western states urbanize and develop into disconnected metropolitan regions, contrasting views over how to create healthy communities, economies, and environments make the future of large landscapes in the West tenuous. Our national parks often protect the cores of contested landscapes in the West, but an increased recognition of the need to conserve the larger connected landscape surrounding national parks has arisen (Keiter 2013). The expressed need of landscape scale conservation addresses biodiversity concerns, but also economic ones as communities in the West increasingly depend on sustaining landscapes for their local economy (Keiter 2013). Nonmetropolitan areas display higher per capita income with greater land protection, as extractive industries contribute less to the local economy and the service sector grows (Headwater Economics 2013; Shafer 2010).

This cultural and socioeconomic transition has been analyzed through the binary of the New West and Old West, between those who embrace service sector industries and the environmental, recreational, and aesthetic values of landscapes in the West and those in rural communities who still hold onto agriculture and extractive industries for their livelihoods and economic survival (Keiter 2005). However, the growing dispute over landscapes in the West also mirrors larger development forces across the country and world, as well as site specific cultural, historic, and environmental factors (Robbins et al. 2009). The increased recognition of the need to manage landscapes at a multijurisdictional scale in order to preserve biodiversity and sustain the New West economy makes understanding the complex factors leading to landscape disputes increasingly important.

The Canyonlands region of Southeastern Utah is one of these contested landscapes with unique factors leading to the dispute. For nearly the past ninety years, government agencies and representatives, as well as citizens and conservation organizations, have proposed and urged for the conservation of the larger Canyonlands landscape. Thus, Canyonlands serves as an ideal case study for understanding some of the challenges to conserving large landscapes in the Rockies and more specifically Utah. In this paper I will first briefly describe the Canyonlands region; then I will provide a historical context for the current dispute over its management; next I will look in depth at different proposals and initiatives that may impact the future of Canyonlands and the larger Southern Utah landscape. The historical management and current proposals for the future management of the region reveal that challenges in conserving Canyonlands and large landscapes in Southern Utah go beyond a clash of Old West and New West. It is, instead, a story of identity preservation, resentment and skepticism of the federal government, mixed with the challenges of a new and diverse pool of stakeholders who struggle to understand or trust one another.

Introduction to Canyonlands

The Canyonlands landscape consists of nearly two million acres in Southeastern Utah encompassing Canyonlands National Park and a patchwork of lands managed by the Bureau of Land Management (BLM), Forest Service, and National Park Service. Greater Canyonlands is a biologically and culturally rich area. The Canyonlands region sits in the Colorado Plateau geologic province and ecoregion. Geologically it is composed of vividly colored canyons, arches, buttes, spires, and a variety

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of other geologic features. Some prominent geologic formations in the region include Navajo Sandstone, Wingate Sandstone, and the Kayenta Formation (Lohman 1974). It possesses the greatest plant diversity of any region in Utah and is home to twenty-one endangered and threatened plant species (Jones et al. 2012). In addition to diverse plant species, the region is home to hundreds of species of wildlife. Twenty-seven of these species are on Utah's sensitive species list, and seven species are federally listed as threatened or endangered (Jones et al. 2012). These species depend on the watersheds of the Colorado, Green, Dirty Devil, and San Rafael Rivers that flow through the region, as well as hundreds of miles of perennial watercourses and stream-riparian areas (Jones et al. 2012). People have inhabited the Canyonlands region for at least 11,000 years, including Paleo-Indian, Archaic hunter-gatherers, Ancestral Puebloans, and the Fremont, Hopi, Zuni, Navajo, and White Ute people (Spangler 2014). In more recent history ranchers, miners, cowboys, and recreation enthusiasts occupy the gateway towns to the Greater Canyonlands landscape (National Parks Conservation Association 2004). The area is sparsely populated though, with less than one percent of surrounding land owned by private owners (National Parks Conservation Association 2004).

For conservationists, this region is seen as "one of the last intact large landscapes in Utah's red rock wildlands" (Groene et al. 2014). Since the 1980s, the conservation biology community has recognized conserving large landscape habitat in their connective state as a necessity to conserve biodiversity and natural values of an ecosystem (Baldwin et al. 2012). However, during the disposal era of federal land policy, Canyonlands became dominated by agriculture and extractive industries, and many rural communities still want to preserve those livelihoods upon which their identity depends (Keiter 2005). Traditional industries such as mining, ranching, and logging only contributed six percent of the Rockies region employment as of 1991, revealing that the hold on traditional industries may reflect larger efforts to preserve identity rather than a threat of widespread economic loss (Shafer 2010). On the other hand, the natural values of the landscape may experience significant loss when the conservation community sets targets based on what's politically or socially acceptable (Noss et al. 2012). Thus, a challenging divide exists between preserving rural livelihoods and conserving large landscapes. With population growth and economic development, the diversity of stakeholders in the region has increased (Keiter 2005). Now the diverse interests range from conservationists and recreationists to mining corporations and ranchers, with various interests represented in between and on the periphery. From the current patchwork of land management agencies to the diverse sentiments about the region, Canyonlands has become a contested landscape with an uncertain future.

The current dispute over public lands in Canyonlands did not just surface with the recent urbanization and diversification of the region, though. Looking at the historical management of large landscapes in the region reveals that challenges to conserving large landscapes today evolved over the past century. The major challenges stem from resentment and dissatisfaction with the federal government on all sides of the

spectrum, as well as a lack of understanding or implementation of conservation biology into early federal land policies. Charles Wilkinson coined these early policies that still have influence today as the "lords of yesterday" (Wilkinson 1992). I further discuss the specific policies, the resentment and dissatisfaction those policies catalyzed, and the effect of these policies on conserving large landscapes in the next sections.

Federal Land Policy and the Settlement of Southeastern Utah

One can trace the debate over large landscape conservation in the Canyonlands region of Southeastern Utah back to the start of federal land management policies in the West. During the disposal era of the mid to late 1800s, the federal government promoted policies aimed at settling the West (Keiter 2005; MacDonnell and Bates 1993). The federal government wanted to transfer public land and resources into private ownership with little concern for native peoples or nature (Wilkinson 1992). Major legislation included the Homestead Act of 1862 and the General Mining Law of 1872, which allowed individuals to acquire acres from the public domain for residing, cultivating, and exploring for mineral rights. Homesteaders paid a minimal fee, and those who developed a valuable mineral deposit attained exclusive right to mine the area and potentially gain ownership of the property with no charge (MacDonnell and Bates 1993). At the time, land and resources in the West were abundant, and the federal government and settlers took these resources for granted (Wilkinson 1992).

The most important of these Western settlers in Utah were the Mormon pioneers. In 1847 Mormon pioneers fled persecution in Missouri and found refuge in the unsettled and barren Great Basin of Utah (Kay and Brown 1985). For Mormons, acquiring land and developing natural resources were not just forms of economic sustenance, but it was religious as well (Kay and Brown 1985). Mormons believed they were "redeeming the earth from its curse...and building the Kingdom of God on earth" (Kay and Brown 1985, p.257). Mormons believed the environment was for human use, based on a religious conservation ethic, seeing themselves as stewards of divine land (Kay and Brown 1985). Unlike some attitudes of the time that emphasized exploiting land to its fullest and moving on to next undeveloped area, Mormons saw nowhere else to settle and, thus, embraced the isolation of the desolate and barren landscape of Utah (Kay and Brown 1985). However, even though early church leaders emphasized cooperation and communal behavior, they never fully discouraged private enterprise either (Kay and Brown 1985).

As the twentieth century surfaced and the West, including Utah, became further settled and diverse, land policy shifted alongside larger public policy trends in the U.S. Progressives grew upset with corporate abuses and developed a stronger faith in the government. Public land policy shifted from disposal to government ownership and control, and a doctrine of multiple use and sustained yield guided federal land policy (Keiter 2005; MacDonnell and Bates 1993). Grazing and mineral activity on federal lands came under federal control, and a system of preservation and conservation began with

the establishment of agencies, such as the Forest Service and National Park Service, and the designation of lands as national parks, national wildlife refuges, and monuments (Keiter 2005).

The Canyonlands region experienced this shift in federal land policy in 1935 when the National Park Service proposed the protection of 6,968 square miles in Southern Utah as the Escalante National Monument (see Figure 1). The Park Service saw the Monument as a chance to enhance the recreational opportunities in the area and protect a scenic landscape. Thus, the understanding and acknowledgment of the importance of conserving large landscape began to find a place in the Department of Interior.

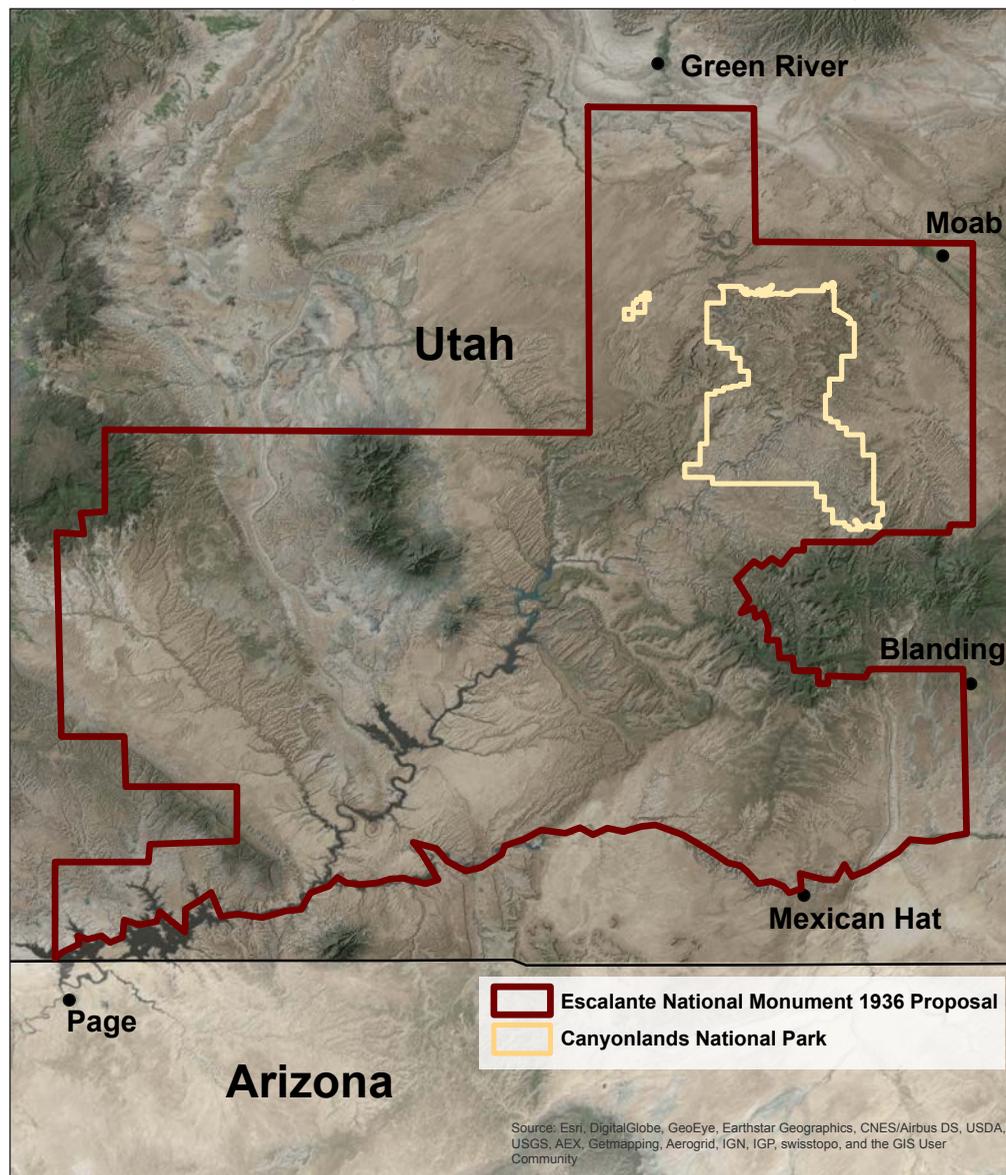
At the time, grazing and ranching were prominent livelihoods for rural Utahans and they expressed concerns that withdrawing large tracts of land as a national monument would threaten the cattle and sheep markets. During the negotiations, locals and state elected officials were concerned that the federal government was placing recreation and national interests over local interests. As the Department of Interior continued to push different bills through, mistrust for the federal government only grew. Utahans were initially somewhat receptive to expanding recreational opportunities in the area, but as the Park Service continued to discount the potential of mineral exploration and the threats to local livelihoods, such as ranching and grazing, resentment grew. Both groups also misunderstood the others' motives, fostering further antagonism. Due to strong opposition and the onset of WWII, the Department of Interior dropped the monument proposal (Richardson 1965). Throughout the negotiations it was clear that rural stakeholders held on to disposal era policies and their identity those policies created. Utahans also resented the federal government for changing policies and proposing policies that may negatively impact Utahans' traditional livelihoods. Thus, in the 1930s as the federal government began attempts at conserving large landscapes, there also began opposition to federal government intervention in public lands, a struggle to preserve identity, and misunderstandings between different stakeholders in the region.

In the 1960s, federal land policy shifted again with the onset of the environmental movement and the increase in diverse values attached to public lands, such as recreation, science, and aesthetics (Keiter 2005; MacDonnell and Bates 1993).

New policies required federal agencies to consider biodiversity conservation, protect lands from undue degradation, and fulfill preservation responsibilities. So land managers began to consider conservation biology and the importance of connective large landscapes in their decision-making. Congress also passed major environmental legislation during this period, such as the Wilderness Act of 1964, the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) of 1970, the Clean Water Act of 1972, and the Federal Land Policy and Management Act (FLPMA) of 1976 (Keiter 2005).

During this third shift in federal land policy, the Department of Interior addressed the conservation of Canyonlands again. In 1961, Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall flew over Canyonlands and said that the area was "superior to most of our national parks." The Governor of Utah acknowledged the unique scenery of the Canyonlands region, but objected to the proposed park size of 1,000 to 1,200 square miles. The proposals also alarmed mineral, grazing, and hunting interests. U.S. Senator Frank E. Moss (D-UT) introduced legislation for

Figure 1: Escalante National Monument 1936 Proposal with Current Canyonlands National Park Boundary



the protection of Canyonlands in 1961. Moss proposed to protect 300,000 acres and included multiple-use provisions. The proposal received criticism from both sides. Conservationists saw multiple-use provisions as a violation of traditional park values, and state representatives, as well as grazing, hunting, and mineral interests, believed the proposal was too large and did not accommodate multiple-uses enough. The battle between the state, special interests, and Udall and Senator Moss ensued until 1964. Finally, on September 3, 1964, President Lyndon B. Johnson signed Canyonlands National Park into law. In 1971, Moss introduced further legislation to expand the borders and add the Horseshoe Canyon unit, making the final acreage 337,258 (Smith 1991) (see **Figure 1**).

Even though the final boundaries of Canyonlands National Park were a compromise, that compromise did not create a sense of certainty or approval from the stakeholders involved. Those opposed to the park experienced the loss of some land for multiple-use and development purposes, while those in support of a larger park saw flaws in the politically rather than ecologically drawn boundary of the park. The federal government now had the challenge of not only pleasing local, rural interests, but also those of the conservation and recreation communities, creating resentment and dissatisfaction on all sides. In addition, the fight to prevent change—whether that be further change in the landscape or change in traditional livelihoods—continued. Adding in the complicated factor of increased diversity in stakeholders as the region urbanized and developed, the contest over Canyonlands only continued and is now at the forefront of federal land politics in Utah.

In the next four sections, I analyze the main proposals and initiatives for the future of the Canyonlands region and greater Southern Utah area that surfaced since the transition into the modern era of federal land management: America's Red Rock Wilderness Act; Utah's Transfer of Public Lands Act; the proposed expansion of Canyonlands National Park and the Greater Canyonlands National Monument; and Utah's Public Land Initiative. Some of these proposals specifically focus on Canyonlands and some apply more broadly to public lands across Southern Utah. I chose to analyze these proposals because they are currently relevant, represent different land management models, and all provide insight into the factors making Canyonlands a contested landscape today. The first two case studies—America's Red Rock Wilderness Act and Utah's Transfer of Public Lands Act—are relevant for the entirety of Southern Utah but provide important insight into the culture, politics, and legal factors that make Canyonlands a contested landscape. The third case study is specific to Canyonlands and specifically shows how the factors of contention described in the previous case studies are manifested in the Canyonlands region. The final case study, the Public Land Initiative, is relevant for all of eastern Utah but I focus my analysis on the two counties in Southeastern Utah to specifically assess the challenges in the Canyonlands region. Thus, my analysis of the proposals will reveal the different perspectives on large landscape conservation in Southern Utah and the challenges to conserving Canyonlands specifically.

America's Red Rock Wilderness Act and the Politics of Wilderness in Utah

Wilderness is a legally and figuratively defined aspect of Canyonlands and the greater Southern Utah landscape, and it carries disparate connotations among stakeholders in the region. Wilderness designation exists as one model for conserving primitive aspects of landscapes, but because of disparate connotations associated with wilderness, designating wilderness in Utah faces challenges. With different cultural values attached to wilderness versus the actual legal definition in American policy, wilderness is "one of the most debated environmental issues of today" (Wehrli and Clegg 1999). This is especially true in Utah due to the strong resentment of the federal government dating back to the persecution of Mormons and the political process of inventorying and designating wilderness in Utah. In addition, wilderness isn't necessarily what's at stake in the wilderness debate, but rather identity (Jeff Lockwood, personal communication).

During the new conservation and environmental era of the 1960s and 1970s, one of the hallmark legislations of the period surfaced: the Wilderness Act of 1964. The term wilderness has had various cultural meanings overtime, such as a place of self-restraint, test place for exhibiting climate change, a landscape for wildlife, and a place for scientific research (Todd Wilkinson, personal communication). The Wilderness Act of 1964 defines wilderness poetically as "an area where the earth and its community of life are untrammelled by man, where man himself is a visitor who does not remain" (16 U.S.C. 1131(c)). The Wilderness Act also contains a more direct, legal definition: "(1) generally appears to have been affected primarily by the forces of nature, with the imprint of man's work substantially unnoticeable; (2) has outstanding opportunities for solitude or primitive and unconfined type of recreation; (3) has at least five thousand acres of land or is of sufficient size as to make practicable its preservation and use in unimpaired condition; and (4) may also contain ecological, geological, or other features of scientific, educational, scenic, or historic value (16 U.S.C. 1131(c)). Wilderness designation conserves landscapes, but landscape worthy of wilderness designation must be devoid of noticeable human impact. Since large landscapes not only involve primitive areas, but also larger areas connected to communities and economies, wilderness areas exist as a tool to conserve part of a landscape, but not the whole. Therefore, wilderness is just one designation among landscapes composed of multi-jurisdictions and with diverse uses and stakeholders.

Land agencies began to incorporate wilderness areas into landscapes under their jurisdiction with the enactment of The Wilderness Act. The Wilderness Act called for a wilderness study of all National Park Service and National Wildlife Refuge System roadless areas of 5,000 acres or more and primitive areas of Forest Service lands to determine what agencies should add to the National Wilderness Preservation System created by the Act (Coggins etc. 2002). The Wilderness Act was not originally applied to BLM land because at the time the BLM was still managed under more traditional disposal mandates, and Congress had not yet resolved the retention of BLM lands (Hayes 2001). However, in 1976 the enactment of FLPMA

declared that the federal government would retain public lands, ending the disposal of BLM lands. Section 603 of FLPMA extended the National Wilderness Preservation System to include BLM lands and required the BLM to study its roadless areas for wilderness quality (Hayes 2001).

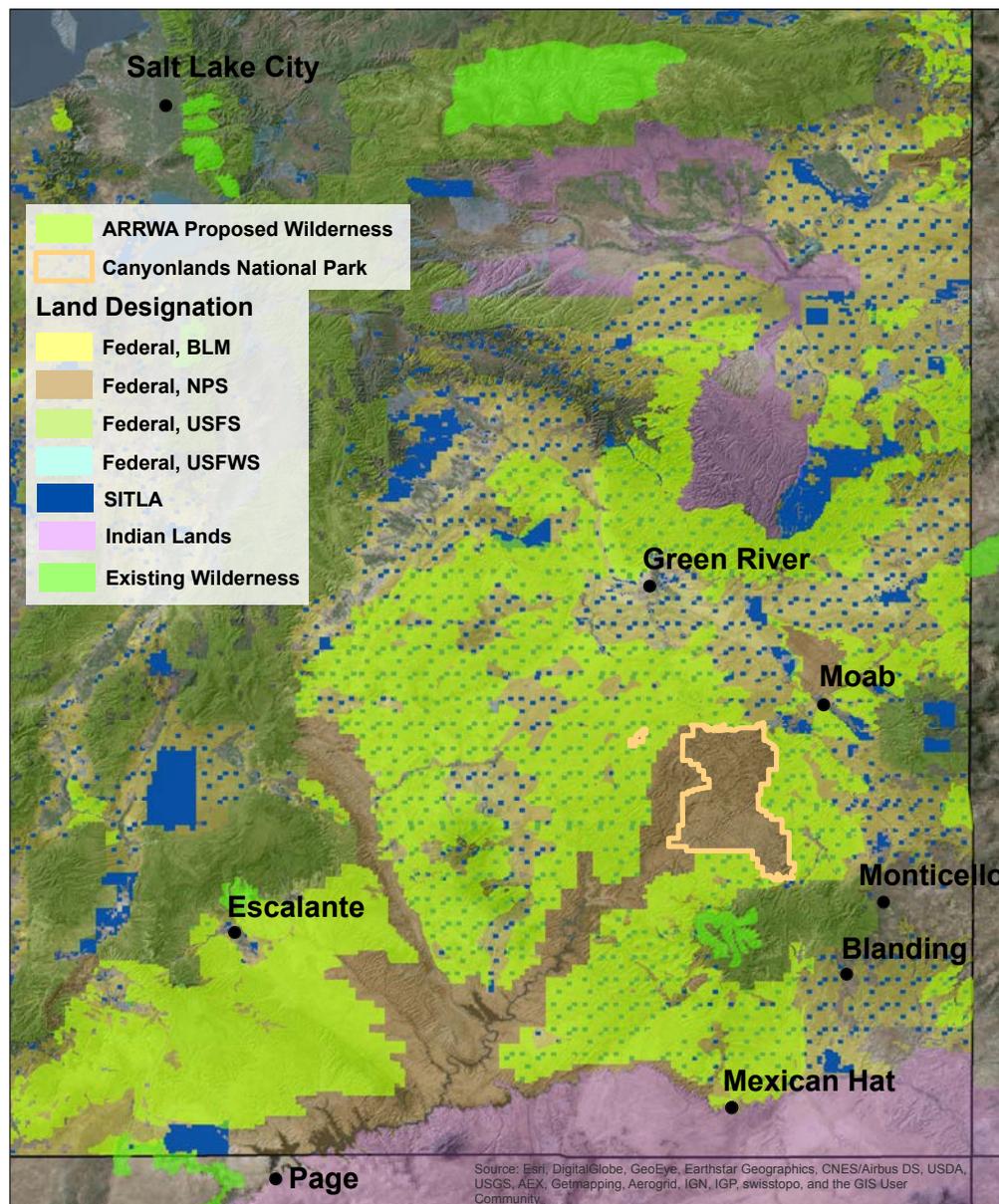
In Utah, the wilderness inventory process became increasingly difficult and politicized once BLM lands became involved. Under the guidelines of section 201(a) of FLPMA and the Wilderness Inventory Handbook (WIH) issued in 1978, the BLM began to inventory the potential wilderness quality of roadless areas under their jurisdiction. The WIH issued a two-year deadline for the identification of Wilderness Study Areas (WSAs), so all inventories had to be completed by September 30, 1980 (McCormick and Osiek 1999). Lands identified as suitable for wilderness preservation are managed as WSAs and must be managed “so as not to impair the suitability of such areas for preservation as wilderness...[and] to prevent unnecessary or undue degradation of the lands and their resources or to afford environmental protection” (FLPMA 603(c)). When the

inventory and study process ended in 1980, the Utah BLM reported 2.5 million acres of WSAs (Hartsig 2004).

Many conservation groups and citizens believed the BLM failed to adequately inventory their lands for wilderness. The Utah Wilderness Association (UWA) protested the BLM inventory before the Interior Board of Land Appeals (IBLA), and the IBLA found that the agency applied standards incorrectly or didn't apply them at all on some units (Hartsig 2004). The IBLA reversed the BLM on two units of around 16,310 acres and remanded nineteen areas of over 800,000 acres to the BLM for further review (McCormick and Osiek 1999). Even though the IBLA mostly ruled in favor of the UWA, they also emphasized that as long as the BLM demonstrated knowledge of the units and public consideration, then the BLM was allowed considerable discretion (McCormick and Osiek 1999). The BLM increased the inventory of wilderness quality lands to around three million acres, and only recommended 1.9 million acres for wilderness designation (Hartsig 2004).

The UWA and disgruntled citizens dissatisfied with the final BLM recommendations conducted a citizens' inventory using the BLM's inventory standards. The original citizens' inventory found 5.7 million acres of potential wilderness areas. This served as the foundation for the original America's Red Rock Wilderness Act (ARRWA) introduced in the U.S. House of Representatives in 1989 by U.S. Representative Wayne Owens (D-UT) (Hartsig 2004). In 1990, the UWA conducted a second inventory and found an additional 3.4 million acres of wilderness-quality areas, bringing the total proposed wilderness acreage to 9.1 million acres (see Figure 2). Of the 9.1 million acres proposed for wilderness designation in ARRWA, 678,000 acres are in the Canyonlands region. Thus, ARRWA provides a map of the larger wilderness landscape in Southern Utah and the wilderness value of the Canyonlands landscape.

Figure 2: America's Red Rock Wilderness Act Proposal



The expanded bill was introduced in Congress in 1999 and has been reintroduced since, with the most recent reintroduction in the 113th Congress in 2013 as H.R. 1630 and S.769. Currently the bill has 96 sponsors in the U.S. House of Representatives and 31 sponsors in the U.S. Senate, none of whom are from Utah. The fact that no Utah representatives or senators sponsor ARRWA, and in light of the difficulties in getting legislation through Congress, it seems highly unlikely that today's Congress

will pass a 9.1 million-acre wilderness bill in Utah. However, AR-RWA does identify where the wilderness conversation can start and serves to rally support from representatives and citizens across the country (Terri Martin, personal communication).

In contrast to the 9.1 million acres proposed in ARRWA, the BLM only manages around 3.4 million acres of its land as WSAs, 2.7 million acres as having wilderness characteristics, one million as possibly having wilderness characteristics and should be inventoried, and an additional two million exist that conservationists believe have wilderness quality but the BLM has not reviewed since 1970 or the BLM is in disagreement over with conservationists (Block and McIntosh 2003). Because the BLM only manages 3.4 million acres as WSAs, the majority of the proposed areas in ARRWA currently has little protection. Energy development, off road vehicles (ORVs), and the historic Revised Statute 2477 pose the greatest threat to the future designation of these areas as wilderness. Since the Wilderness Act requires that wilderness must be roadless and exist in a state “untrammelled by man,” [sic] oil and gas extraction and the existence and creation of roads will make these areas unsuitable for wilderness. However, those opposing wilderness see wilderness designation as a threat to their livelihoods, identity, and economic interests, revealing reasons behind the wilderness debate and the contest over large landscape conservation in the region.

As mentioned above, one of the main threats to wilderness areas in Utah is RS 2477, which has also evolved into one of the greatest legal challenges on public lands in Southern Utah. RS 2477 was enacted as section 8 of the General Mining Act of 1866 (Coggins et al. 2002). The statute is one sentence long and provides that “the right of way for the construction of highways over public lands, not reserved for public uses, is hereby granted.” Congress repealed RS 2477 with the enactment of FLPMA, but all existing rights-of-way that met the requirements of the statute were honored making this “lord of yesterday” continually relevant (McIntosh 2005; Wilkinson 1992). The state has claimed anywhere between 10,000 to 20,000 claims (Block and McIntosh 2003). The revitalization in RS 2477 claims is seen as a response to the threat of wilderness designation under ARRWA (Block and McIntosh 2003). Since a key component of wilderness criteria is that it is roadless, if existing rights-of-way to construct highways were found and honored in proposed wilderness areas, those areas would no longer be suitable for designation.

The immense number of claims from the state and local counties is not just a practical battle over roads, but rather symbolizes deeper issues of resistance to change that threatens identity. At the heart of the battle is an effort on both sides of the issue to preserve something. Those opposing wilderness and using R.S. 2477 as a tool to prevent its designation want to preserve traditional rural lifestyle and cultural values. Those advocating for the protection of wilderness want to preserve the pristine landscape that supports aspects of their personal or spiritual identity (Goodman and McCool 1999). Thus, in the end both are trying to preserve aspects of their identity closely tied to the landscape.

In addition to a battle over identity, the fight between wilderness advocates and state and local rights advocates surfaces deeper issues of resentment of the federal government on

both sides. For the wilderness movement, the formation of AR-RWA and the fight against R.S. 2477 claims are in response to what they see as failures from the federal government, whether that is in the outdated policies of the disposal era or the inadequate BLM wilderness inventory. For the state and local citizens, the battle is much more about preserving the rights they feel the federal government has taken from them. Thus, both disapprove of the federal government’s management of the landscape. To achieve conservation of large landscapes, Noss et al. (2012) discuss how decision makers must not compromise the conservation of large landscapes to what is politically or socially acceptable. However, federal agencies must consider public opinion in their final agency decisions under NEPA, creating a challenge for federal land agencies to reach conservation biology goals in the face of conflicting public demands.

In addition to disapproval of the federal government and conflicting demands clashing stakeholders place on federal land agencies, some don’t believe the federal government should intervene in public lands at all. During the time of AR-RWA’s development, the Sagebrush Rebellion was at its height. The Sagebrush Rebellion formed in the 1970s as a movement calling for the transfer of federal lands to the states (Southwell 1996/1997). The Sagebrush Rebels expressed frustration and resentment over what to them was overregulation and radical environmentalism from the federal government (Olson 1980). The movement was an anti-federal government movement at its core. Rural Westerners saw FLPMA as the end of local control and as a violation of a promise from the federal government that lands would be disposed to the state (Olson 1980). Thus, FLPMA and the resulting BLM wilderness inventory served as not only a catalyst for the creation of ARRWA, but also the creation of the Sagebrush Rebellion in Utah. The next section addresses the political, cultural, and legal challenges this creates for land management in Utah today.

Federalism and Utah’s Transfer of Public Lands Act

In contrast to environmentalists’ call for the federal government to preserve wilderness, state’s-rights advocates propose a different land management model in which the federal government disposes public lands to the state. As the federalism issues of the Sagebrush Rebellion continued to find a place in Utah politics, state-rights leaders in Utah brought the issue to the forefront of Utah’s land politics. In 2012, the Utah State Legislature passed the Transfer of Public Lands Act and Related Study (H.B. 148). The Bill “requires the United States to extinguish title to public lands and transfer title to those public lands to the state on or before December 31, 2014.” State Representative Ken Ivory was the chief sponsor of H.B. 148. Ivory is the director of the American Lands Council, an organization committed to the transfer of federal lands to states in the West. Ivory’s main incentive is economic, believing that Utah and other Western states are too dependent on federal funds and that Washington is not going to solve the state’s economic problems (Ken Ivory, personal communication). Ivory thinks the state’s dependency on federal funds is unsustainable, using the impact of the government shutdown as an example. During the shutdown, the national parks vital to local economies closed while

the state parks stayed open. In addition, Utah's public education system often receives the lowest funds out of all states in the country, and Ivory claims that Utah can't educate their kids or grow the economy because land is kept with the federal government. Ivory doesn't want to increase taxes so believes we need a bigger solution. His solution is that the state needs to control their "own land" (Ken Ivory, personal communication).

Under H.B. 148, the status of public lands and their management will change. Lands already protected as national parks, national monuments (except Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument), and national wilderness areas will remain under federal jurisdiction, but the federal government is to dispose of all other lands to the state. Thus, in the case of Canyonlands, the national park will remain, but increasingly disparate management outside of the park's boundaries may only worsen any border issues due to the original politically drawn boundaries of the park, and further prevent the conservation of large landscapes. In contrast to the belief in the field of conservation biology that landscape habitat must remain intact and connected, the state bill would further divide up land and may ultimately prevent conservation of species that depend on maintaining connected large landscapes. The issue of multi-jurisdictional management will be discussed further in the next section.

If the rest of public lands are returned to the state, multiple-use will be the policy, and Ivory believes oil rigs can improve the aesthetic value of land. The state or local government will define wilderness and will judge successful management by the amount of revenue they receive from the land. However, this is in contrast to the research of Noss et al. (2012) that says natural values of a landscape deserve equal importance as economic values. Ivory mentions environmental concerns, mainly the effect of forest fires and beetle kill. Ivory's solution to forest issues is timber harvesting, as he attributes forest problems to too dense of forests (Ken Ivory, personal communication). Thus, returning lands to the state may help the short-term interests of the economic aspects of the landscape, but the long-term sustained conservation of the landscape may experience more challenges with disposal of lands to the state.

In addition to adding to the conversation about the future possibility of the region, H.B. 148 and the American Lands Council reveal important cultural and political characteristics of the region important for understanding the challenge over large landscape conservation in Southern Utah. H.B. 148 and the American Lands Council build on ideals from the Sagebrush Rebellion movement of the 1980s. In 1979, Nevada passed Assembly Bill 413, which stated all "unreserved, non-appropriated federal lands" in Nevada were to come under the control of the State (Leroy and Elguren 1980, p. 229). This bill was passed during the beginnings of the Sagebrush Rebellion, and Utah's H.B. 148 is a direct reflection of these earlier efforts originating with the Sagebrush Rebellion of the late '70s and '80s. In 1980, eight beliefs and frustrations of the original Sagebrush Rebellion were identified and are relevant in understanding motives behind Utah's Transfer of Public Lands Act today: 1) The scale of federal ownership of land in the West is too large; 2) Federal land policy has changed from disposal to retention; 3) Agency officials fail to genuinely incorporate public participation into federal land

decisions; 4) Changes in operating procedures threaten multiple use of lands; 5) Officials make abrupt land management decisions; 6) Federal land decisions can restrict access or use of private and state land; 7) Federal lands are economically inefficient; 8) The federal government has broken promises it made to the state (Leroy and Elguren 1980).

In addition to the concerns of the larger Sagebrush Rebellion listed above, Mormons' antipathy to the federal government still exists from their early history. Even after Mormon persecution, Utah has been a state the federal government has used for nuclear testing and transporting missiles, continuing anti-federal government sentiments (Robert Keiter, personal communication). In addition, there are economic resentments. Less than one third of the land in Utah is taxable. The state does currently receive payment in lieu of taxes, but there's concern that those payments are not in a secure place legislatively (Ken Ivory, personal communication).

Many say from a political perspective H.B. 148 will not result in the disposal of federal lands in Utah. Since federal law governs federal lands, state law can't make the federal government dispose of federal land. If Utah petitions Congress to dispose of federal land and Congress decides to follow in that direction, then it is possible, but not just with the state bill (Kate Cannon, personal communication). Legally the state thinks it can win, but legal experts such as Robert Keiter don't think the state has valid legal claims (Robert Keiter, personal communication). The legal battle is over the interpretation of the Property Clause in the Constitution (Kochan 2013). The state of Utah claims the government made promises at statehood that federal lands would be disposed into private ownership or to the State. Proponents of federal land transfer believe that Utah's Enabling Act is a binding contract between the state and the federal government that makes it a legal obligation for the federal government to dispose of its land (Kochan 2013). However, with FLPMA it became official that the federal government was keeping the land. The question is over whether the federal government has an obligation to dispose or not, and some legal experts believe that the state is using a slender reed. Supreme Court precedent says that the property clause allows Congress to alter obligations, but the state thinks that they trump Congress's authority (Robert Keiter, personal communication).

The legal complexities of H.B. 148 deserve further examination, but for purposes of this paper the Bill reflects cultural and political issues important for understanding the contest over public lands in Utah. H.B. 148 clearly reveals Utah's resentment of the federal government. Thus, at the heart of this issue is federalism. The resentment of the federal government not only increases the tension over public lands, but also makes achieving conserving the large landscape of Canyonlands more challenging. ARROWA and H.B. 148 face significant challenges to becoming law, but the analysis of each proposal reveals the polarized nature of the debate over large landscape in Southern Utah and the cultural, political, and legal challenges to conserving Canyonlands. In addition, Both ARROWA and H.B. 148 address specific aspects of the landscape, but to achieve large landscape conservation we must address the entire landscape and that includes understanding how to manage across political

boundaries. In the next section I address the issue of inter-jurisdictional management across large landscapes and specifically Canyonlands. Even though the next section is the most specific to Canyonlands, ARRWA and H.B. 148 provide an important context for understanding the challenges discussed in the next section.

The Evolving National Park Idea and the Proposals for Expanding Canyonlands

As anti-federal government sentiments continue to find a way in western politics, conservation groups continue to demand more environmental protection from the federal government for large landscape conservation. It is clear that politics shapes federal land management, from wilderness to the compromised boundaries of Canyonlands National Park. The nature preservation system in the U.S. is dominated by political boundaries that don't adequately match the boundaries of ecosystems or large landscapes. As politics shaped land designations, the politically drawn boundaries also continue the contest over large landscape such as Canyonlands. With the current patchwork of management across the Canyonlands landscape, agencies such as the National Park Service and the BLM experience conflicting mandates and demands from stakeholders, making conserving the large landscape of Canyonlands difficult.

National Park officials recognize the importance of ecosystem or landscape scale management and that they can no longer see their parks as "isolated islands" (Keiter 2013, p.5). There's an effort to make national parks serve as cores of larger ecosystems, in which the core would have strict regulations surrounded by buffer zones that could accommodate more human use (Keiter 2002 and 2013). One way to improve the management of an entire landscape is to expand the park boundaries or designate another park. However, often residents of nearby gateway communities still oppose further protections due to issues of resentment of the federal government and identity preservation revealed in the analysis of ARRWA and H.B. 148 (Keiter 2013).

A lack of certainty exists for the future management of Canyonlands, and conservationists still disappointed over the political compromise of the Canyonlands boundary have been pushing for the protection of the entire Canyonlands landscape for the past three decades. Conservationists began recognizing the value of park expansion in Canyonlands during the 1980s when the U.S. Department of Energy (DOE) decided that the formations adjacent to the Needles District of Canyonlands National Park were suitable for storing nuclear waste. The DOE and oil industry also wanted to develop tar sands west of the park. Both of these plans threatened the Canyonlands ecosystem and conservationists' hope of completing Udall's original dream (Schmieding 2008). Amid the battle over the future of the region, the National Parks Conservation Association (NPCA) lobbied against the nuclear waste repository and tar sand development proposals, and proposed park expansion in 1982 (Schmieding 2008).

In the early 1990s, Walt Dabney became the superintendent of the Southeast Utah Group, which included Canyonlands National Park. Dabney looked into the Canyonlands boundary issue and became a supporter of Canyonlands expansion. Dabney

released a plan to the public in 1995 that was similar to the NPCA's 1988 plan, which called for the expansion of 564,000 acres. Dabney hoped the state would have an open mind to expansion, but as Sagebrush Rebellion sentiments remained in the region, especially after President Bill Clinton's designation of the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument in 1996, Utahans continued to mistrust and express resentment towards the federal government and preservation. Dabney then released a more developed Canyonlands completion proposal (see Figure 3). He gained support from the conservation community and some Utahans, but it never gained enough political traction. In 1999, Dabney left the Park Service, but the NPCA has kept the Canyonlands completion idea alive and still advocates for it as a way to conserve the large landscape of Canyonlands (Schmieding 2008).

Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance (SUWA) made the expansion of Canyonlands more politically relevant when they proposed the designation of Greater Canyonlands as a national monument in 2011. Under the Antiquities Act of 1906, the President of the United States has authority to declare public land as a national monument. Thus, if conservation biology efforts must be devoid of political and social compromises to succeed, national monuments are one way to avoid the political compromises that inevitably occur when trying to pass a bill through Congress (Noss et al. 2012). The proposed monument encompasses 1.8 million acres around Canyonlands National Park. It includes portions of the Manti-La Sal National Forest, the Natural Bridges National Monument, the northern section of the Glen Canyon National Recreation Area, and a large tract of BLM lands (see Figure 3). The monument is an attempt to complete the previous dream of Canyonlands National Park by expanding the boundaries to encompass the entire watershed. It is more expansive than the Dabney and NPCA proposals to encompass the land that still remains "wild" in the Greater Canyonlands landscape (Terri Martin, personal communication). It also would protect some lands in ARRWA (see Figure 3). The national monument would help identify Greater Canyonlands as a large landscape like the Greater Yellowstone Coalition has done in the Greater Yellowstone region and has potential to better coordinate management across political boundaries on the landscape (Scott Christensen, personal communication).

However, similar to the political connotations of wilderness, monuments symbolize federal government intervention and overreach in rural towns in Southern Utah. Thus, some residents of the rural towns surrounding Canyonlands National park strongly oppose the proposed Greater Canyonlands National Monument. Some of this resistance is due to historic issues that have been discussed, but resistance also increased further when President Clinton designated the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument in 1996 (Keiter 2001). The Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument came as a surprise to many people, damaging trust between the federal government and local communities. Local antagonism to the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument still remains and has given local communities a strong distaste for executive actions without state and local input (Robert Keiter, personal communication). This shows how even though monuments

may physically conserve large landscapes, they also can create further antagonism and feelings of resentment within communities. Thus, even though monuments may avoid political compromise in Washington to effectively conserve landscapes, they may create future political and social challenges in local communities to conserve landscapes through methods besides monuments.

Even though rural towns vocally oppose monuments, conservationists still believe them to be a useful tool. Terri Martin from SUWA believes that the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument never would have made it legislatively because there was a huge coal reserve in the area. So monuments are a way to protect landscapes beyond park boundaries when legislation seems politically infeasible. Monument designation in recent years has focused on protecting large landscapes rather than specific cultural sites or primitive areas. Monuments facilitate the conservation of large landscapes with diverse cultural and ecological values and can provide a buffer for areas that already experience protection such as national parks and wilderness areas (Keiter 2001). The Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument has resulted in multi-jurisdictional coordination and improved ecosystem management, which the proposed Greater Canyonlands national monument would accomplish as well (Robert Keiter, personal communication).

In addition, conservationists believe antagonism fades over time. The gateway towns surrounding the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument have experienced economic

growth since the designation (Headwater Economics 2011). Utah also has five large national parks (not including national monuments that are managed by the Park Service) and four of those started as national monuments. Those national parks are widely endorsed now, as they exist as major economic magnets. This shows that resistance and hostility towards monuments and parks can fade over time (Robert Keiter, personal communication).

Even though resistance towards the monument may fade, a larger question is whether or not resistance to the federal government and the polarization between stakeholders that results from monument designation fades as well, or if the core cultural and political causes of contested landscapes will remain. Thus, completion and expansion proposals have helped to broaden the conversation to the landscape scale, but they also resurface the political challenges to conserving large landscapes and the difficulties large landscape conservation poses in creating

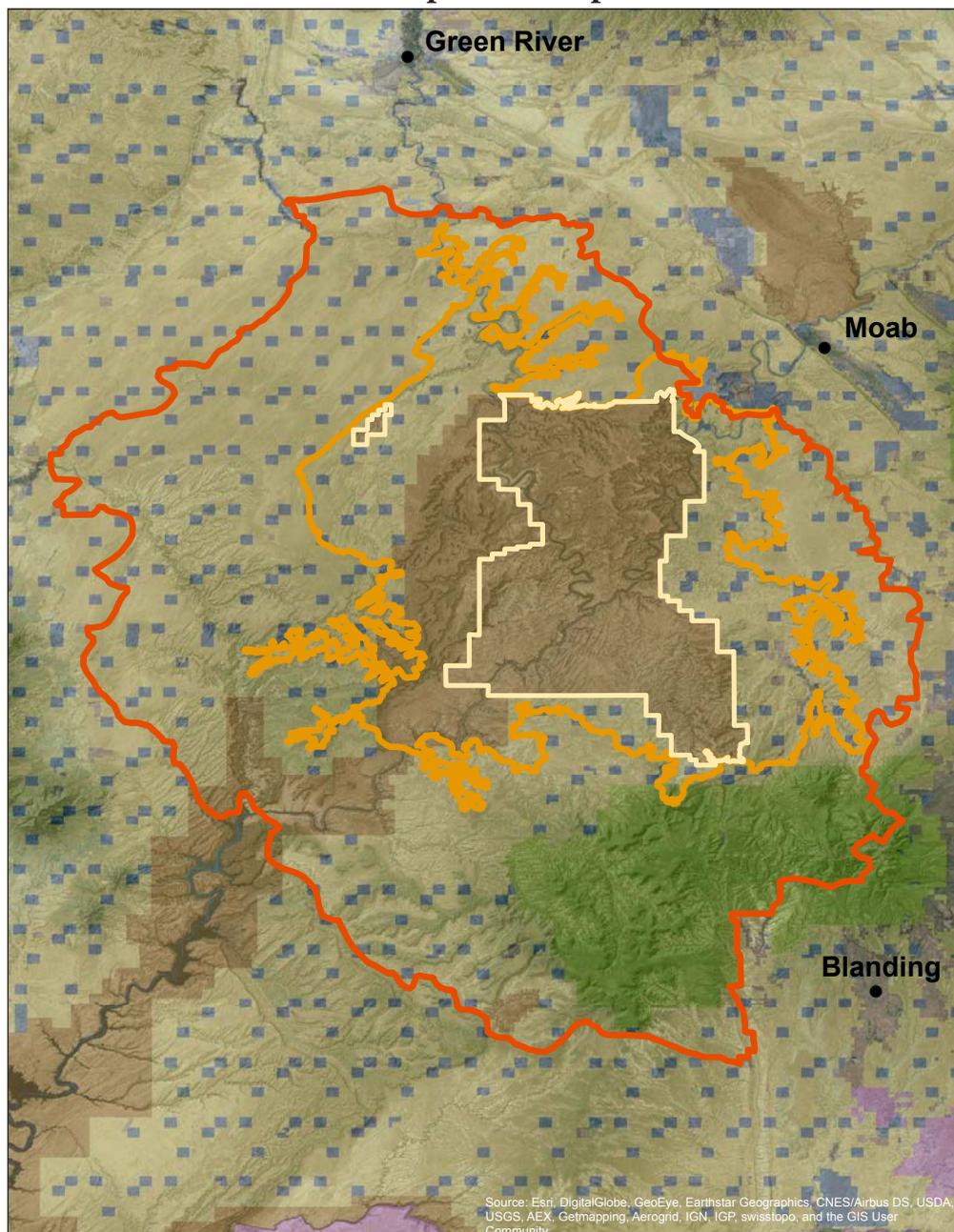
Figure 3: Canyonlands National Park and Completion Proposals

Legend

-  Greater Canyonlands National Monument Proposal
-  Dabney/National Parks Conservation Association Canyonlands Completion Proposal
-  Canyonlands National Park

Land Designation

-  Federal, BLM
-  Federal, NPS
-  Federal, USFS
-  Federal, USFWS
-  SITLA
-  IndianLands



Source: Esri, DigitalGlobe, GeoEye, Earthstar Geographics, CNES/Airbus DS, USDA, USGS, AEX, Getmapping, Aerogrid, IGN, IGP, swisstopo, and the GIS User Community

healthy communities. The Obama administration has recognized the need for local support, and the Greater Canyonlands Coalition has to deliver on the ground for President Obama to declare a national monument (Scott Christensen, personal communication). The Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument is different from Greater Canyonlands since the Grand-Staircase Escalante National Monument came out of nowhere while Greater Canyonlands has been on the public radar for quite some time now (Robert Keiter, personal communication). However, even if the public is more aware of Greater Canyonlands, that doesn't mean locals will approve of it more. One potential effect of the proposed Greater Canyonlands National Monument is examined in the next section.

The Public Land Initiative: Can Southeastern Utah Collaborate?

The proposed Greater Canyonlands National Monument brought the politics of large landscape conservation in the region to the heightened attention of local and state elected officials. In July of 2012, Congressman Bishop began the Public Land Initiative as an effort to bring certainty to public lands in Utah. From this initiative the numerous and diverse stakeholders in the future of public lands in Utah surfaced, revealing their desires and proposals for future management of the region (see Appendix 1). With the recent discussion on New West vs. Old West and the polarization that has resulted from the contrast between the wilderness movement and state rights advocates, the complex and diverse mix of stakeholders invested in the future of Canyonlands has been inadequately acknowledged as a core factor in the contest over the landscape. Traditionally there were two sides to public land management debate: extraction and wilderness. However, with the urbanization, development, and growing recreation economy, more diverse stakeholders now exist who are somewhere in the middle of the spectrum (Ashley Korenblat, personal communication).

The Public Land Initiative is "a locally-driven effort to bring resolution to some of the most challenging land disputes in the state of Utah" (Office of U.S. Congressman Bishop et al. 2013, p.6). The Public Land Initiative is essentially a wilderness bargain, as wilderness is seen as currency in the Initiative, as something that nontraditional wilderness supporters can use to get something else they desire (Wayne Bradshaw, personal communication). The Initiative is guided by three main principles and goals: collaboration, compromise, and creativity (Office of U.S. Congressman Bishop et al. 2013).

The Initiative is happening in the larger context of collaborative movements popping up across the West as an alternative to the traditional forms of conflict resolution for the conservation of large landscapes. Collaborative movements are composed of people who don't traditionally work together and may often be adversaries in work and personal values. The idea is that if a collaborative is successful, people will find agreements, learn from one another, and seek innovative solutions. Collaborative movements differ from traditional forms of environmental conflict resolution, as a goal is to find a balance between eco-centric and anthropocentric values, shift from regulatory democracy to civic democracy, and incorporate science

with local knowledge (Brick et al. 2000). However, if supporters of conservation biology believe social and political compromises will prevent adequate conservation of large landscapes, a question exists over the effectiveness of collaborative movements in fulfilling the goals of conservation biology (Noss et al. 2012).

There is question over how much the potential Greater Canyonlands National Monument motivated Bishop to start the Public Land Initiative and how much the potential monument motivates stakeholders to stay involved (Wayne Bradshaw, personal communication). The Bishop Office doesn't want people to participate solely out of fear, but the potential monument designation does serve as a form of motivation for both sides to participate in the process. As Jeff Lockwood said, "If we don't understand what people's fears are, we can't understand what motivates them" (personal communication). The ongoing process does make getting a monument designation more difficult because the administration will likely wait to see what comes out of the Initiative before they act on a monument. For those who are against the monument, it serves as an alternative form to create finality and prevent federal intervention in local politics. On the other side, it helps the environmental community to say that they did try alternatives to a monument but the politics of Utah make consensus impossible (Wayne Bradshaw and Terri Martin, personal communication).

For some that originally supported the monument, the Public Land Initiative also serves as a less political way for them to achieve their conservation goals. In 2012, the outdoor recreation industry came out in support of the proposed Greater Canyonlands National Monument, and some local businesses in towns such as Moab received some backlash from the local community. Leaders in the outdoor recreation community, such as Ashley Korenblat, learned that they might need to approach the issues slightly differently to involve businesses and other voices. If the Bishop bill fails, the recreation community might pivot back to the monument but there will be challenges. Thus, the monument is pushing people to write a bill while revealing the controversies in the region (Ashley Korenblat, personal communication).

Another motivator to reach consensus is state land. Currently land ownership in Southern Utah looks like a checkerboard of state and federal lands. At statehood, the federal government gave Utah land to fund public education. The state was divided into 36-square-mile townships, and the state was given sections 2, 16, 32, and 36 within each township. This resulted in a checkerboard of land ownership that still largely exists in Utah today (see **Figure 4**). The State Institutional Trust Land Administration (SITLA) manages these lands that are now largely referred to as SITLA lands. One goal of the Public Land Initiative is to trade out SITLA lands in protected areas for lucrative lands in other areas of the state (John Andrews, personal communication). These trades would not only benefit SITLA, which may acquire more lucrative land, but also may help conserve large landscapes if it results in a decrease in the current patchwork of jurisdictions and more connected landscape habitat.

Conflicting ideas exist over SITLA land exchanges, so smart politics and leadership are necessary. Differences exist over how people value land, so even though SITLA and stakeholders on all sides would like to see state lands traded out of

protected areas, different opinions exist on what lands to trade. SITLA would support a land exchange under the Canyonlands expansion proposal, but not the lands beyond that in the proposed Greater Canyonlands National Monument because of the energy potential (John Andrews, personal communication). Some conservation groups, such as Grand Canyon Trust, oppose SITLA acquiring large areas for oil and gas development because of the threats of climate change (Jane Butter, personal communication). Also, if too much SITLA land is traded over land for energy development, the deal can become more expensive (Wayne Bradshaw, personal communication). In addition, some counties don't want to lose their SITLA land, such as San Juan County. Thus, with differing views on the exchange, Sally Jewell and Representative Bishop need to build a relationship in which they can lead stakeholders (John Andrews, personal communication). Appraisals are only good for one to two years, which is a serious issue since past SITLA land exchange bills have taken five years to get through Congress and then another five years to implement. Because of this, it will be very difficult to get a successful exchange if the Public Land Initiative moves slowly (John Andrews, personal communication).

Even though collaborative efforts have been successful in other areas of the West, they have a history of being difficult in Utah and many question whether the Public Land Initiative will result in cooperation and passed legislation or if a cooperative model is not the right strategy to conserve large landscapes in Utah. Southern Utah is different from other areas because of its religious history and the

strong anti-government identity that history has created (Gary Tabor, personal communication). Collaborative efforts have their root in alternative dispute resolution, or environmental dispute resolution (EDR). The University of Utah's Stegner Environmental Dispute Resolution Program assessed EDR in Utah and gave Utah a grade of "Incomplete but Showing Promise." Participants in the debate lack trust of one another and respondents to the Stegner Environmental Dispute Resolution Program survey said that "lack of political support for dialogue and an unwillingness to compromise" served as obstacles to EDR in Utah. Many participants in the debate have formed strong ideological positions and refuse to negotiate. EDR can be time-consuming, as often participants' opinions are well developed and it takes time to collaborate and reach a compromise. For some interest groups, litigation or other methods of dispute resolution are more convenient than a lengthy collaboration process (Straube 2013).

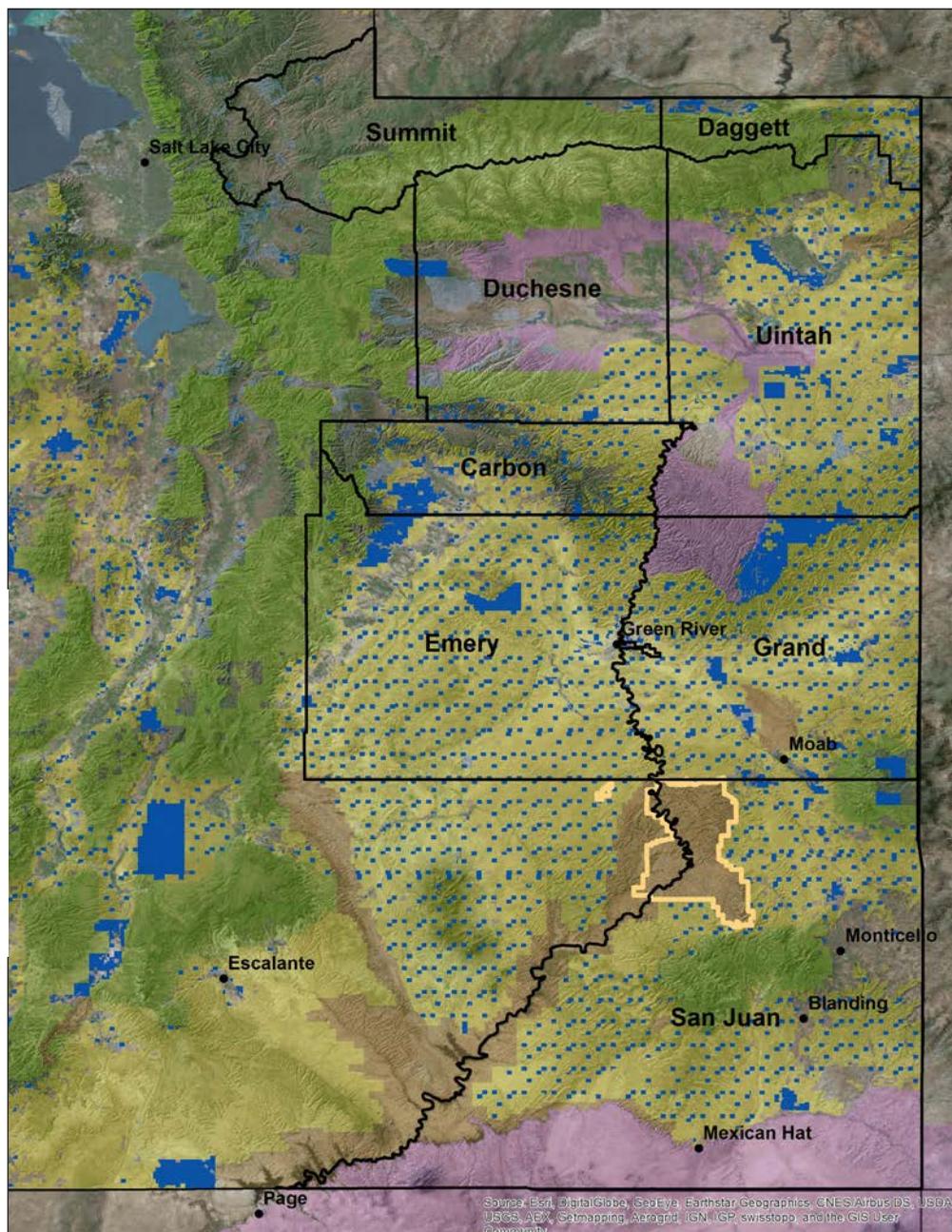
Figure 4: Counties involved in the Utah Public Land Initiative, State and Federal Lands

Legend

 Canyonlands National Park

Land Designation

-  Federal, BLM
-  Federal, NPS
-  Federal, USFS
-  Federal, USFWS
-  SITLA
-  IndianLands



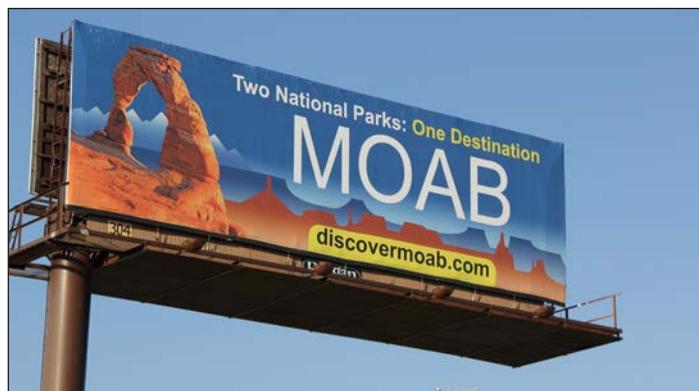
Sources: Esri, DigitalGlobe, GeoEye, Earthstar Geographics, CNES/Airbus DS, USDA, USGS, AeroX, Satmapping, AeroGRID, IGN, IGP, swisstopo, and the GIS User Community

Despite the skepticism, Congressman Bishop thinks there has been a paradigm shift in how people are viewing land management in Utah. He believes the environmental community is sick of litigating and the local communities are sick of uncertainty and change in federal land policy in the region, making collaboration more appealing (Wayne Bradshaw, personal communication). In addition, from the meetings early on it became clear that federal legislation was needed to reach positive outcomes and create certainty regarding the future of public lands, so the Public Land Initiative is seen as a way to create federal legislation while incorporating local voices. However, regardless of whether stakeholders can reach consensus, there still remains a question over whether collaborative movements will actually fulfill the goals of conservation biology.

In February of 2013, Congressman Bishop sent letters to stakeholders and local leaders to start a collaborative process (Office of U.S. Congressmen Bishop et al. 2013). County commissioners in Eastern Utah were most receptive to the Initiative, so the Public Land Initiative is solely working with counties in the eastern portion of the state, from Daggett County in the north to San Juan County in the south (Wayne Bradshaw, personal communication) (see **Figure 4**). For purposes of my research, I focused on the process in Grand and San Juan Counties, the ones involved in the initiative most relevant to the Canyonlands dispute. The Initiative is structured so each county, led by the county commissioners, is responsible for coming up with proposals and producing maps of proposed designations. County commissioners are seen as a partner in the process and as a go between the Bishop Office and stakeholders (Wayne Bradshaw, personal communication). These county plans will then contribute to a larger public lands bill that Bishop will introduce to Congress by either the end of 2014 or the beginning of 2015, but things have moved a bit slower than expected. The Bishop office is hopeful that once legislation is crafted, they can get it through Congress.

The process has exposed the polarized interests and diverse voices of stakeholders in the region, with those on the ends of the spectrum having the loudest voices. Whether or not this Initiative is successful, analyzing the Initiative reveals the complex and diverse stakeholders and their interests that make large landscape conservation in Canyonlands so challenging. Grand and San Juan Counties are the two counties most relevant to the Canyonlands region. For my research I met with or talked on the phone with various stakeholders invested in the future of Grand and San Juan Counties. Both counties must address how we compare conservation values with energy development values, as contrasting cultural, political and economic interests exist. Moab, the main city in Grand County, caters to the recreation economy and will benefit from conservation designations. However, Monticello and Blanding, towns in San Juan County, do not cater to tourists and want to maintain the traditional economic base of ranching and mineral extraction (Robert Keiter, personal communication). The challenges each county has faced reveal the deep misunderstandings and lack of trust among the diverse stakeholders, as well as the lasting resentment of the federal government and fear of threats to identity that make building trust and understanding so difficult.

Grand County is home to Moab, the gateway town to Arches and Canyonlands National Parks, a historic mining town, and a current recreation destination. Because of these factors, the stakeholders in Grand County are incredibly diverse compared to other rural, Utah towns (Lynn Jackson, personal communication). After the uranium-mining boom in the 1940s and 1950s, more people learned about Moab and the recreation economy grew. Unlike most rural towns in Utah that are predominately Mormon, Moab developed into a more diverse town, which makes consensus more difficult today (Lynn Jackson, personal communication). In the spring of 2014, Grand County released three alternative maps for the Public Land Initiative, making them seem ahead of some other counties. However, the process blew up after alternatives were released and the difficulty in reaching consensus in Grand County became clear.



The Public Land Initiative has brought up a clash between the ideas of “New and Old Moab” (Ashley Korenblat, personal communication). Even though recreation and tourism make up a large part of Moab’s economy, more traditional economic bases such as grazing and mineral extraction still exist. The Big Flat area north of Canyonlands National Park and Dead Horse Point State Park is getting more oil and gas rigs all the time, reflecting the conflict over recreation and energy extraction in the region (Terri Martin, personal communication). Conservationists, recreationists, and some local voices are concerned that drilling efforts are inappropriate in areas outside of Canyonlands National Park, and worry about the potential expansion of energy extraction on the landscape. Even though Moab has created a new culture, tensions between short- and long-term interests exist as represented in the conflict between energy interests and conservation and recreation interests (Gary Tabor, personal communication). Recreationists such as Ashley Korenblat argue that extraction jobs often only last 4-5 years, while recreation jobs can last much longer and guides can more easily transfer to other fields such as healthcare (personal communication). Ashley Korenblat uses the analogy of “burning Picassos for an hour of fire” to underscore the seriousness of assessing when energy development is worth it or not in the valuable Southern Utah landscape (personal communication).

The meetings in Grand County have revealed the difficulty stakeholders face since most of the discussions become personal and turn into negotiations (Lynn Jackson, personal communication). In addition to the debate over the recreation economy versus extractive industries, remnants of the

Sagebrush Rebellion still exist in the region, and add difficulty in attempts to reach consensus (Lynn Jackson, personal communication). Identity preservation continues to exist as a core cause of the dispute and when mixed with diverse stakeholders becomes even more of a challenge. If relationships are built, then people can have a conversation about what's on a map rather than their identity, but the difficulty is building that relationship (Terri Martin, personal communication).

In contrast to Grand County, San Juan County has a higher Mormon population and greater anti-federal government sentiments. The towns in San Juan County do not take advantage of the recreation and tourism economy as much as Moab in Grand County. Cities such as Monticello and Blanding are still predominantly Mormon towns, and the locals don't want to be the next Moab (Josh Ewing, personal communication). Thus, in addition to locals not wanting the federal government intervening in their lives, residents of San Juan County also don't want outsiders coming and changing the culture of the place (Josh Ewing, personal communication). The committee that worked on creating proposals for San Juan County had representatives from the major interests, including ranching, mining, recreation, and conservation. There was distrust within the process, but a sense of respect for one another has increased, showing that building trust and increasing an understanding of one another may be an important step in resolving the contest over the region (Heidi Redd, personal communication).

San Juan County also differs from Grand County in that it has a large Native American population. Over half of the population in the region is Native American, primarily Navajo, as part of the Navajo Nation reservation is in the southern portion of the county. When adding in Navajo voices, a whole other dimension of trust issues and identity preservation is added due to the history between Native Americans and the federal government, as well as between the Navajo People and Mormon settlers (Gavin Noyes, personal communication). The level of participation from the Navajo in the final decisions in San Juan County could largely affect the level of land set aside for conservation in the Public Land Initiative. However, few organizations or leaders have taken the time to listen or engage with the Navajo, and if people want a commitment from the Navajo they must build a long-term relationship.

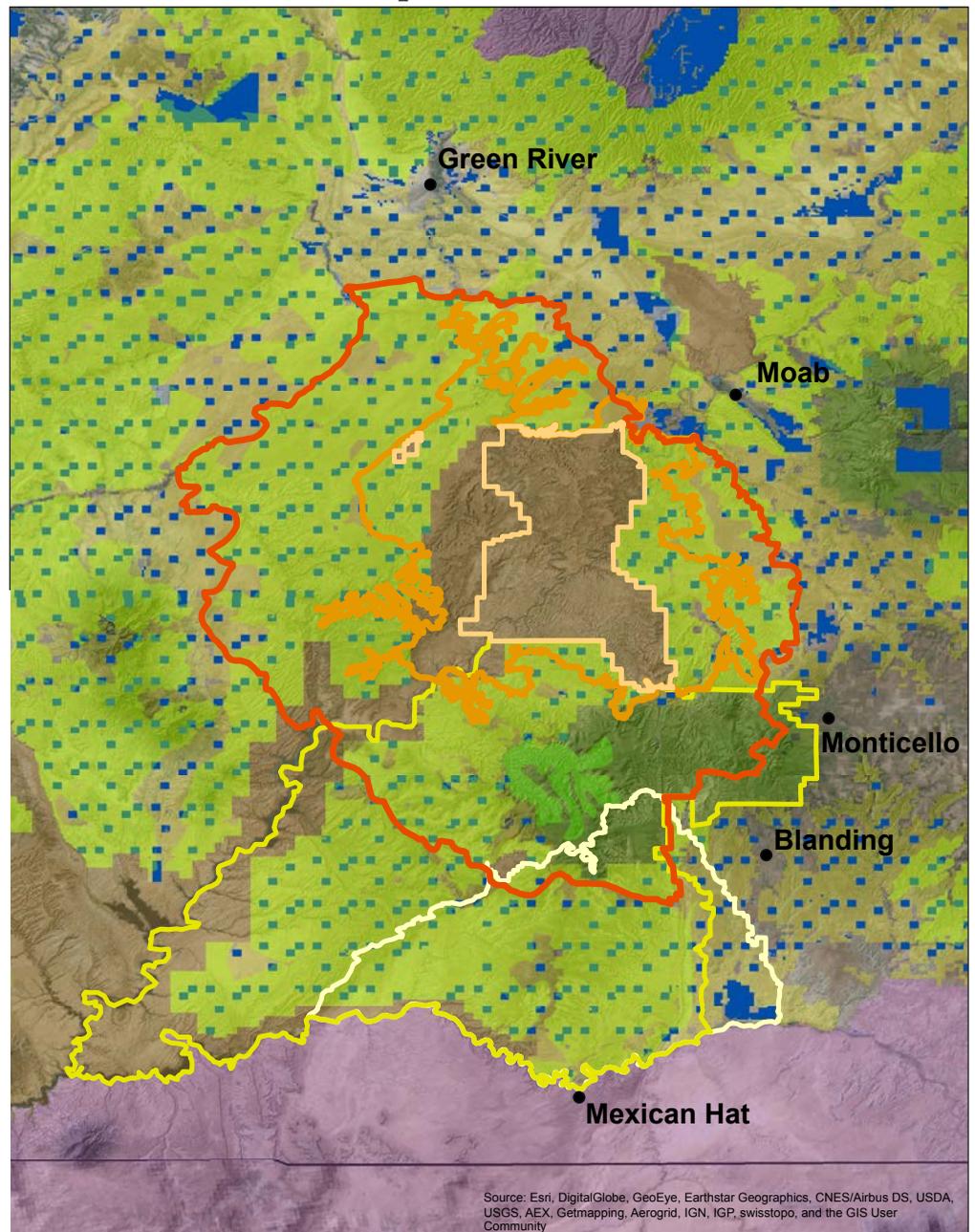
Figure 5: Canyonlands National Park Completion and Monument Proposals in Southeastern Utah

Legend

- Greater Canyonlands National Monument Proposal
- Dabney/National Parks Conservation Association Canyonlands Completion Proposal
- Dine Bikeyah Proposal
- Friends of Cedar Mesa Proposal
- ARRWA Proposed Wilderness
- Canyonlands National Park

Land Designation

- Federal, BLM
- Federal, NPS
- Federal, USFS
- Federal, USFWS
- SITLA
- Wilderness
- IndianLands



Source: Esri, DigitalGlobe, GeoEye, Earthstar Geographics, CNES/Airbus DS, USDA, USGS, AEX, Getmapping, Aerogrid, IGN, IGP, swisstopo, and the GIS User Community

The Navajos have proposed the creation of the Diné Bikéyah National Conservation Area, which would expand north of the reservation into areas south of Canyonlands National Park in San Juan County (see Figure 5). The Navajo are more culturally equipped for politics than some tribes, as they have savvy politicians. All past elected Navajos are on the Utah Diné Bikéyah board, a group that represents the Navajo of Utah. (Gavin Noyes, personal communication). The proposed NCA would protect ancestral lands in southeastern Utah outside of the Navajo Reservation. The proposed NCA is 1.9 million acres and extends up to the southern portions of the proposed Greater Canyonlands National Monument. The Diné Bikéyah priorities include protection of cultural and biological resources over other land uses, increased funding for improved management of the region, increased recognition of the interests of the Navajo, and the incorporation of traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) of the Navajo people into land management decisions. In addition to the Diné Bikéyah proposal, Friends of Cedar Mesa wants to see the Cedar Mesa area protected as a NCA or national monument. The proposed protected area encompasses approximately 700,000 acres. The area is a sacred place for several tribes and includes four WSAs. The proposed Cedar Mesa and Diné Bikéyah NCAs, as well as the proposed Greater Canyonlands National Monument, all overlap in certain areas, showing the variety of large landscape conservation proposals in San Juan County.

When one closely examines the different viewpoints and desires of the various stakeholders involved in Grand and San Juan Counties, it becomes apparent that this is not just a divide of Old West and New West interests, but rather a complicated mix of interests on all levels of the spectrum (see Appendix 1). For example, just within the conservation community there are those advocating for the national monument or wilderness, those pushing for the expansion of the Canyonlands National Park boundary, and those preferring smaller scale conservation efforts, such as the conservation of the Dugout Ranch currently owned by The Nature Conservancy (Robert Keiter, personal communication). Within the recreation community, there's the split between nonmotorized and motorized recreation, with those taking part in motorized recreation preferring more multiple-use policies. However, even within each of the sub categories of recreation, there is further split depending on the level of primitive use, as well as the level of respect for other forms of recreation (Clif Koontz, personal communication). Among ranchers and grazers there are those who are most concerned with maintaining their grazing rights and preventing further wilderness designation, while Heidi Redd, the manager and previous owner of the Dugout Ranch, supports wilderness preservation of the land around her ranch in the Indian Creek area (Heidi Redd, personal communication). Various levels of government interests exist in the area as well, from the highest levels in the state to local county leaders, from government organizations, such as the State Institutional Trust Land Administration, to the Navajo Nation in Southeastern Utah, all with different interests and viewpoints. Locals have an interest in energy development and mineral extraction due to the short-term revenue it will bring to the counties, but energy

and mineral extraction also bring in large energy groups, such as Western Energy Alliance, a much larger, wealthier stakeholder. Often local issues are used to further bigger issues, and money in politics makes it difficult to see what's local (Todd Wilkinson, personal communication). Energy interests also build a divide between stakeholders who think long-term and those who think short-term (Todd Wilkinson, personal communication).

The number and diversity of stakeholders go much deeper than Old West and New West and make compromise and consensus that much more difficult. It seems the political reality is that stakeholders can negotiate, but they aren't going to give up their individual values (Terri Martin, personal communication). However, Ashley Korenblat, CEO of Western Spirit Cycling and Managing Director of Public Land Solutions, believes the conversation needs to move away from values and rather address shared desired outcomes. When focusing on shared outcomes, it becomes evident that all stakeholders are connected to the landscape (Gary Taber, personal communication). To start understanding what the shared outcomes are, though, we need to figure out what the real issues in these communities are (Todd Wilkinson, personal communication; Gary Taber, personal communication).

Cooperation Among Federal Land Agencies

In addition to the challenges to large landscape conservation that the policy case studies analyzed above reveal, federal land agencies also face their own difficulties in conserving landscapes on a daily basis and will continue to regardless of whether the above policies are realized or not. As stakeholders continue to battle over the future of Canyonlands, federal land agencies continue struggling to meet their conflicting and various mandates. With the passage of NEPA, federal agencies must consider the environmental impact of their actions and receive comments from the public on their proposed actions. However, with the diverse and large number of interests in public lands, agencies such as the BLM often have to find a middle ground between the various comments they receive. In addition, the level of cooperation among agencies or the emphasis on environmental versus economic values changes depending on the administration. This was revealed in 2008, at the end of the Bush administration, when the BLM leased parcels of land adjacent to Arches and Canyonlands National Parks that would impact the viewshed and ecosystem of the parks. In response to this, the Obama administration revoked the leases and implemented a new leasing process called the Master Leasing Plan (MLP), which requires the BLM to consider the entire landscape in their leasing decisions.

The existing plans were amended and the BLM is in the process of creating new MLPs. Before the MLP process, the BLM looked at leasing acre by acre. Now the BLM is required to look at the whole landscape, including the viewshed, watershed, airshed, recreational assets, and communities. The process also requires cooperation and coordination with other agencies. Prior to 2008, the NPS and BLM were informally collaborating, and the NPS requested the BLM withdraw the troublesome leases but that was unsuccessful. Thus, the MLP

process is trying to prevent troublesome leases from going through again (Kate Cannon, personal communication). Kate Cannon, the National Park Service Southeast Utah Group Superintendent, sees the collaboration that the MLP process promotes as the “new world order” that prevents conflict between agencies. Cannon thinks that if the MLP process can work in Utah, then it can work anywhere. The MLP process also chooses conflict areas as the landscape of focus rather than potentially encouraging further conflict by forcing agencies and stakeholders to address areas that may not currently pose concern (Lance Porter, personal communication).

Ashley Korenblat has been working on the MLP process and providing insight into alternative ways the public input part of NEPA could be accomplished through her organization, Public Land Solutions. Public Land Solutions is trying to make conservation more mainstream (Ashley Korenblat, personal communication). Korenblat organized a mock meeting with stakeholders in which people expressed their desires, as well as where they're willing to compromise, rather than the BLM inferring where stakeholders are willing to compromise. Through the “iterative mapping process,” some zones of agreement came out quickly, and then people were able to work on zones of conflict (Ashley Korenblat, personal communication). However, the difficulties due to misunderstandings and a lack of trust for one another still came out in this process (Ashley Korenblat, personal communication). Korenblat's goal is to move beyond the negotiation on values, as there may not be shared values, but shared outcomes.

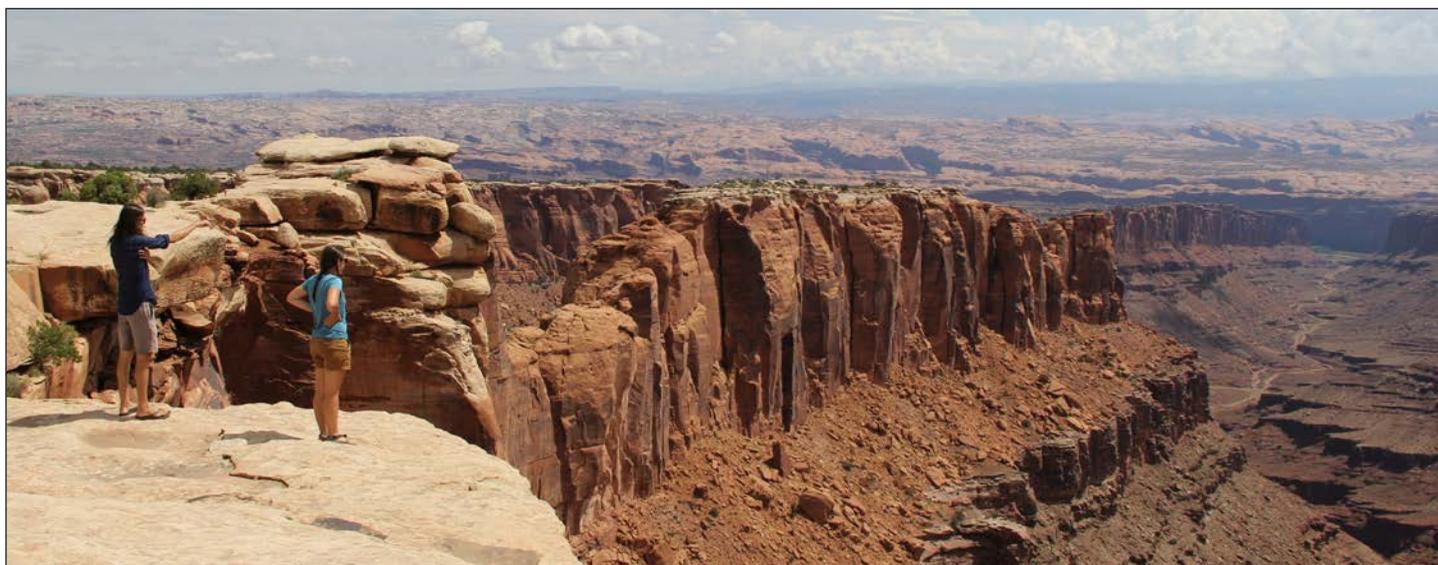
The recent evolution of the MLP process and Korenblat's contribution on ways the public input process could improve reveal a push toward making large landscape conservation a more dominant part of the land management conversation in the region. The MLP and NEPA process as a whole still face the challenges of a diverse mix of stakeholders struggling to preserve their identity and resenting the federal government, but they are at least enacted into the framework of land management rather than purely speculative policy options for the future like the case studies analyzed above. Thus, regardless of the future of proposed policies for the region, land agencies

will continue to consider large landscapes and the perspectives of various stakeholders under the current decision-making framework.

Conclusion

The examination of the history and proposed policies and initiatives affecting Canyonlands and the greater South-eastern Utah landscape reveal cultural, political, and economic factors that continue to make the region contested. The fight to preserve identity in a quickly changing world surfaces through battles over roads and wilderness. Resentment and dissatisfaction of the federal government find their roots in the beginning of the twentieth century and continue to find a place in politics through the Utah's Transfer of Public Lands Act and local opposition to federal large landscape conservation efforts, such as national monument proclamations. Both issues of identity preservation and federalism heighten when mixed with the complexities of a new and diverse pool of stakeholders who struggle to collaborate as displayed in the Public Land Initiative.

The analysis of the challenges to conserving Canyonlands reveals that people on all sides of the contest value the region—the ways in which they value the land just differs. The literature on large landscape conservation calls for expanding park boundaries and managing at the landscape or ecological level rather than political jurisdictions, but the next challenge is figuring out what practical management solutions exist in a politically contentious and divided environment such as South-eastern Utah. Continuing support for federal land agencies and expanding conservation responsibilities through monument designations may result in greater biodiversity protection, but if we also desire to resolve deeper cultural and political issues that will continue to threaten large landscapes in Southern Utah, we may have to think more creatively. However, when the cultural and political issues to address are rooted in over a century of history, resolving these issues may prove futile. Large landscape conservation strives to create healthy communities, economies, and environments, but in regions as contentious as Southern Utah, an aspect of the landscape may have to be sacrificed in order to better conserve another.



Brooke Larsen meeting with a representative of the Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance (SUWA) outside of Moab, Utah.

Appendix

The following are the main stakeholder groups and subgroups that I have identified from my research. The majority of the stakeholder information I acquired for my research came from interviews with stakeholders, but for those stakeholders I couldn't meet with I primarily looked at letters they wrote to Congressman Bishop or other documentation from Congressman Bishop's Office.

Conservation

Major conservation players in the Public Land Initiative in Grand and San Juan Counties include the Utah Wilderness Coalition (Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance, Sierra Club, and Natural Resources Defense Council), the Grand Canyon Trust, The Nature Conservancy, The Wilderness Society, National Parks Conservation Association, Friends of Cedar Mesa, and other regional and national organizations. I met with representatives from some of the conservation organizations taking part in the Public Land Initiative, and below is a description of those organizations, as well as the results they hope to see from the Public Land Initiative.

Friends of Cedar Mesa:

Josh Ewing, Executive Director of Friends of Cedar Mesa, was the sole conservationist on the committee in San Juan County working on plans for the Public Land Initiative. Friends of Cedar Mesa want 700,000 acres protected as the Cedar Mesa National Conservation Area or Cedar Mesa National Monument to protect important archaeological resources.

Grand Canyon Trust:

The Grand Canyon Trust was established in 1985 by Arizona Governor Bruce Babbitt and today works to protect and restore the environment of the Colorado Plateau. The Grand Canyon Trust has been an advocate for the Greater Canyonlands National Monument. They hope to see park expansion and wilderness designations similar to those proposed in ARRWA result. Their support of SITLA trades depends on the type of energy development that would result from the trade.

National Parks Conservation Association:

The National Parks Conservation Association (NPCA) was founded in 1919 and works to protect national parks and the surrounding landscapes. NPCA supports the expansion of the Canyonlands National Park boundary and wants to resolve R.S. 2477 claims within park units.

The Nature Conservancy and Heidi Redd:

The Nature Conservancy (TNC) has had an active presence in Utah since 1980. TNC strives to work collaboratively with landowners, agencies, and communities to preserve nature. TNC has a variety of priorities in the Public Land Initiative, but for my research I primarily focused on the Dugout Ranch, a ranch TNC owns that is located just outside of the Needles District of Canyonlands National Park. The Redd family previously owned the Dugout Ranch, and Heidi Redd still manages the ranch. Redd approached the conservancy so she wouldn't have to worry about her ranch being developed. She could have made \$100 million if she sold it off to developers but she wanted to protect the scenic beauty. Even though Redd is a rancher and a stakeholder in the ranching and grazing community, her association with TNC also makes her fit under the conservation category.

The Dugout Ranch existed before the park, maintaining rights to 350,000 acres, with only 6,000 of those being private lands. Redd is not only concerned about the development that comes with a park, but also the Nature Conservancy's Canyonlands Research Center, which is located on the Dugout Ranch. Part of their research is comparing what's occurring on land inside the park versus outside of the park. Even though Redd doesn't support Canyonlands expansion or the Greater Canyonlands National Monument, she does support wilderness. She wants SITLA lands traded out of the region and believes that state parks' main priority is revenue since they don't have enough funding to take care of them.

Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance:

Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance (SUWA) has been working to defend red rock wilderness since 1983. SUWA advocates for the protection of 9.1 million acres of wilderness under ARRWA and the proposed Greater Canyonlands National Monument. SUWA hopes to see areas proposed for wilderness designation in ARRWA designated as wilderness. SUWA would like to see R.S. 2477 issues resolved and swap school trust lands out of conservation areas.

Energy

Utah Mining Association:

The Utah Mining Association is a non-profit trade association with 115 corporate members involved in exploration and mining projects on public and private lands in Utah. UMA wants to secure access to public lands by resolving Wilderness Study Areas, as well as larger policy reforms, including restraints on the Antiquities Act and reforms to NEPA and the Endangered Species Act.

Western Energy Alliance:

The Western Energy Alliance represents over 400 companies involved in oil and gas development in the West. The Alliance would like to see restrictions on the Antiquities Act. In addition, The Alliance would like to see certain WSAs, such as Desolation Canyon, and lands with wilderness characteristics, such as Hatch Point, released to multiple use. The Uinta Basin is a priority area for The Alliance, and they would like to see the area designated as an "Energy Priority Area." To achieve this they are proposing a land exchange or federal management of the Uinta Basin as an "Energy Priority Area."

Agriculture

The Southeastern Utah Grazing Advisory Board (SEGAB):

The producers and their families who are part of SEGAB have been involved in agriculture on public lands in the region for up to six generations. SEGAB opposes wilderness and believes that WSAs should be released for multiple use. SEGAB also opposes further creation of national monuments, national parks, the consolidation of school trust lands, and restrictions on roads such as R.S. 2477 rights-of-way. If school trust lands are traded or wilderness is designated, SEGAB believes that historical uses should be maintained.

The **Utah Cattlemen's Association** and the **Utah Farm Bureau** share similar concerns as **SEGAB**.

Government

Grand County:

Grand County is home to Moab, a gateway town to Arches and Canyonlands National Parks, Deadhorse Point State Park, as well as other internationally renowned recreation areas. Grand County is also an historic mining town and has oil, gas, and potash resources still being developed with potential for further development in the future. The uranium-mining boom in the 1940s and 1950s brought greater diversity to Grand County, making it more diverse than other rural Utah counties. Coupled with the boom in the recreation and tourism economy after the bust in uranium mining, the diversity in stakeholder opinions in Grand County is large. Thus, Grand County is proposing a mix of wilderness designation and protection of recreation assets, as well as further energy development in Big Flat area north of Dead Horse Point State Park.

Councilman Lynn Jackson is the Grand County Council Chairman. Councilman Jackson is concerned that if Grand County and the rest of the Public Land Initiative aren't able to make workable plans, then the Greater Canyonlands National Monument will result.

San Juan County:

San Juan County is Utah's southeastern-most county in which half the population is Native American. The county is home to Canyonlands National Park, as well as Natural Bridges, Hovenweep, and Rainbow Bridge National Monuments, and the Glen Canyon National Recreation Area. San Juan County has not embraced the recreation and tourism industries as much as Grand County. San Juan County hopes to increase energy and potash development, limit the use of the Antiquities Act in the county, resolve wilderness issues, increase local management, and enhance recreation opportunities. San Juan County doesn't want to exchange SITLA land as they want to develop those parcels in their county (Wayne Bradshaw, personal communication).

Navajo Nation:

The Navajo Nation and their representatives in Utah, Utah Diné Bikéyah, propose the creation of the Diné Bikéyah National Conservation Area. The proposed NCA would protect ancestral lands in southeastern Utah outside of the Navajo Reservation. The proposed NCA is 1.9 million acres and extends up to the southern portions of the proposed Greater Canyonlands National Monument. The Diné Bikéyah priorities include protection of cultural and biological resources over other land uses, increased funding for improved management of the region, increased recognition of the interests of the Navajo, and the incorporation of traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) of the Navajo people into land management decisions.

State Institutional Trust Land Administration (SITLA):

SITLA manages state lands given to Utah at statehood to fund public education. SITLA wants to trade out of areas set aside for protection and acquire federal land that's financially lucrative so they can put money into the education system (John Andrews, personal communication). SITLA is willing to trade out everything in the Dabney Canyonlands National Park expansion proposal but there are more conflicts in the sections outside of this that are in the monument proposal. Fidelity found significant oil on portions of the Greater Canyonlands proposed monument. There is also potash potential on Hatch Point (John Andrews, personal communication).

Multi-Use

Various multi-use recreation groups exist with a stake in Southeastern Utah. I will highlight some of the main organizations below.

Blue Ribbon Coalition (BRC):

BRC's focus is securing and expanding motorized access on federal lands across the U.S. BRC wants to ensure no net trail loss from the Public Land Initiative and add planning certainty on public lands.

Sagebrush Coalition:

The Sagebrush Coalition wants to ensure that access and use of public lands is not limited, whether that be for recreation or energy development.

San Juan Alliance:

The San Juan Alliance is based in San Juan County and wants to keep all land and resources in the county open for all uses. SJA believes that all conservation areas in San Juan County should be returned to multiple-use, and that land management decisions should be made at the city and county level rather than by federal land agencies.

Utah Shared Access Alliance (USALL):

USALL works to protect access to public land and has over 10,000 members. USALL is primarily concerned with protecting and increasing off-highway vehicle (OHV) trails and access.

Outdoor Recreation

The outdoor recreation industry, locally and nationally, has a stake in the Public Land Initiative, as many of the areas being negotiated are internationally renowned recreation destinations. Some major organizations include the **Colorado Outward Bound School**, **International Mountain Biking Association (IMBA)**, **National Outdoor Leadership School (NOLS)**, the **Outdoor Industry Association (OIA)**, **Utah Outdoor Business Network (UOBN)**, **Recreational Aviation Foundation**, and the **Utah Back Country Pilots Association**.

Organizations such as **NOLS** and **UOBN** would like to see wilderness designations, wild and scenic river designations, NCAs, National Recreation Areas, and SITLA land exchanges in order to protect recreational assets.

Sportsmen

Some sportsmen groups such as **Sportsmen for Fish and Wildlife** and **Big Game Forever** focus their interests in the Public Land Initiative on securing local decision-making and access. **Backcountry Hunters and Anglers** and **Trout Unlimited** both propose habitats they want to see protected, such as the Book Cliffs area.

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