

**THE EVOLUTION OF A COASTAL COMMUNITY:
POWER RELATIONS AND TOURISM GEOGRAPHIES
IN TOFINO, BRITISH COLUMBIA**

by

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ABSTRACT

Tofino, on Vancouver Island's west coast, has experienced periods of intense community conflict regarding tourism development. The research considers the question: how have the relations of power affected the re-configuration of space, place and the environment in the resort community of Tofino, British Columbia? Tourism geography, encompassing aspects of place, space and the environment, is related to power relations through an operational framework. Employing key informant interviews and secondary data sources to examine power relations, local politics and resources control, stakeholder values and tensions are revealed. The research offers insights into the politics of tourist places, with respect to the ways that power relations are exercised – for example, through power tactics of domination, manipulation, cooperation or negotiation.

Keywords: power relations; tourism geographies, coastal development; resort planning

Subject Terms: Tourism; Tourism -- Government policy; Tourism -- Social aspects; Human geography

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Stories abound about the west coast of Canada. Tofino is the setting for many tales of wild adventures and humorous encounters. Clearly illustrated in these stories, especially those recounting events from the 70s or earlier, is the hardy and tough nature of those brave individuals who chose to live on the wild west coast frontier. There are tales recounting long hours at sea on the fishing boats, stolen artwork, the Coca Cola truck that stopped at Long Beach and stayed forever stuck at the mercy of a relentless tide, and the broken front door that was used as a surf board to break the boredom of small summer time waves. Even today, 20 and 30 year olds, having decided to settle in Tofino, must eek out a living with creativity and hard work. You might say these individuals are tougher, and more resilient than their city counterparts. What is clear however, when surveying the eclectic mix of residents in Tofino, is their varying appreciation for those amenities that have made Tofino renowned. The pristine ancient temperate rainforest, the coastal and marine wildlife, the miles of deserted beaches and the rustic community atmosphere are elements much sought after and valued. The tales of adventure or comedy will not be recounted in the following pages. Instead, what follows is an account of the politics of place in Tofino's evolution from a small fishing town, to a tourism resort community. Noteworthy in the development of the place have been the periods of intense conflict and disagreement among community members and residents that are illustrative of the ways that Tofino has developed as a community and as an international tourism destination.

Set in the context of globalization, Hannam (2002) argues that tourism development is involving broader political questions and the ownership of power, where economic, political and cultural power relations are being re-configured. However, there are currently few empirical applications of relations of power in tourism settings (Hall, 1994; Allen, 2003). This thesis considers the relations of power in the tourism community of Tofino, Canada (located on the west coast of Vancouver Island). Tofino, and the surrounding Clayoquot Sound area, has a history of conflict over values associated with 'wilderness' and 'community'. The project investigates in detail the power relations

between major stakeholders over the last decade. These relations are grounded by the way in which the geography of Tofino has evolved over the past 40 years.

The analysis of Tofino's identity as a place is strongly interwoven with the tourism industry. As early as 1979, when discussing directions of the geography of tourism, Pearce (1979) identified a need to approach and study the inter-relationships within tourism. This project follows Pearce's suggestion by looking at the relationships of stakeholders, their sometimes conflicting roles in the community and the tourism industry, and the ways that differing motives, perspectives and ideals about community, wilderness and tourism influence the power relations that shape the tourism geography of Tofino.

At its core, geography is the study of place, and as Lew (1999: 1) states in the inaugural issue of *Tourism Geographies*: "place is...an intrinsic element of tourism, as all tourism involves some form of relationship between people and places that they call 'home' and 'not home'". To complement place, the notions of space and the environment round out the conceptualisation of tourism geographies. Power relations will influence all aspects – those of place, space and the environment – of a place's tourism geographies. Lew's (1999) simple observation of the relationship between one's home and one's travel destination highlight particular challenges all resorts face in development and planning – maintaining the delicate balance between the needs of residents and tourists. The ways in which officials and planners, residents and tourists negotiate significant issues, directions and policies for a community will contribute to 'place image.' Positive and unique place images are essential to most tourism destinations; the actions and interactions between stakeholders within a community – power relations – will shape the types of images that are exposed about a place. The notion of space considers the way places and people are organized and distributed. The spatial distribution of tourism contributes to a place's identity, and is influenced by power relationships. The concept of environment considers not only the ways that a place deals with environmental concerns but also how aspects of the environment are expressed, negotiated and changed. As a whole, tourism geographies consider all aspects of a tourism community from the residents to the tourists, and the industry to the amenities. The conceptualisation of tourism geographies – those of place, space and the environment – implies a place that is continually evolving and changing. Notions of community change and restructuring are interpreted through the conceptual lens of tourism geographies. Power relations provide

a way of explaining and analysing the actors and factors significant in the reconfigurations of the tourism geographies of a community.

In this research the focus is on power relations and the resulting community and tourism development in Tofino. The project does not consider the requirements and the opinions of tourists, but instead investigates how stakeholders interact as the community and resort evolves and develops.

1.1 The Case Study

The resort of Tofino, a small community of 1700 people on the tip of Estowista Peninsula on Vancouver Island's west coast serves as an example of how a coastal village once dependent on fishing, and to some extent coastal logging, has transformed into a resort community. Figure 1 illustrates the District of Tofino. In many ways echoing the resort cycle stages of Butler's (1980) model – Tofino's tourism identity has evolved from a remote counter-culture/surfer village to an internationally marketed year-round resort with a diverse set of attractions predominantly based on its natural heritage resources (Gill and Welk, Forthcoming). As the result of international attention drawn to the conflict over logging in the area, Tofino has become associated with the entire Clayoquot Sound region, an area of 349,947 hectares that is now designated as an international biosphere reserve that contains some of the world's largest untouched tracts of old growth temperate rainforest. The municipality, located on a narrow peninsula, is bordered to the south by the Pacific Rim National Park Reserve and is surrounded by several First Nations settlements. The physical attributes of the region have played a significant role in the evolution of the community as a tourism destination. Tofino now attracts around 1 million visitors a year (*Westerly News*, 2005) and in recent years the resort has attracted external capital in the form of up-market hotels and residential real estate.

The main question guiding the research is: how have the relations of power affected the re-configuration of space, place and the environment in the resort community of Tofino, British Columbia? Sequential sub questions listed below indicate the types of information that contribute to answering the primary question:

- Who are the stakeholders and have they changed?
- What are the key events that have effected change?

- What are the characteristics of community change? (environmental, social, economic and political)

The research questions are addressed empirically within the timeframe of the last decade. The research employed in-depth interviews with key informants in Tofino combined with reviews of secondary sources to examine the evolution of power relations that have influenced how and where tourism has developed. Pilot research was used to identify key stakeholder groups and significant events in the community. I used the categories of stakeholders that were identified in the pilot research as a guide to begin the in-depth interviewing process. I attempted to achieve stakeholder representativeness across the following main categories of stakeholders: members of municipal council; members of business organizations; tourism operators; members of environmental groups; and First Nations members. An interview guide (see Appendix) directed the interviews, but I asked more in-depth questions. The analysis of the interview transcripts drew out themes and identified major factors to do with power relations in Tofino. Information from newspapers and other community documents complemented this data.

1.2 Limitations of Research

This project is a single case study that is limited in scale and scope. The sample size (n=20) of in-depth interviews attempted to ensure stakeholder representativeness, although the data may not represent the viewpoints of all residents of Tofino. Attempts were made to ask questions in straightforward, simple manner. The respondents may have misinterpreted the questions, or the researcher may have misinterpreted the results. The use of direct quotations from the interviews when presenting the results is designed to mitigate this problem. Several inaccuracies in the results may occur from respondents commenting on events that occurred in the past (sometimes as much as 8 to 10 years previously). The questions and topics the researcher focused on during the interview may elicit responses from interview participants that represent only partial truths, or embellished stories.

During the 4 month period I conducted the in-depth interviews I stayed with my parents who own property in Tofino. My family has lived in Tofino for 5 years, and one member holds a professional position at the local hospital. Prior to this research, I had experiential knowledge of Tofino. During three summers living there, I worked for different resorts and tourism companies, which gave me a few initial, strong contacts

within the industry. During the research and analysis I was careful to leave out the opinions of those who were not part of the research sample. I continually attempted to guard against any researcher bias. Rather than hinder my research, I expect that my position in the community assisted me in finding and contacting appropriate interview candidates. As well, as I was more of an insider in the community, I sensed that I created a stronger bond of trust with each respondent (many of whom stated that they were tired of responding to researchers from the 'outside').

1.3 Structure of Thesis

This thesis contains 8 chapters. Following this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 contains a literature review that focuses on the two main theoretical frames of the research question: power relations and tourism geographies. Chapter 3 outlines the methodology used to conduct the research. This includes an operational framework for studying power relations, drawn from the preceding literature review. Methods that included both primary and secondary data sources are described. Chapter 4 outlines the local political framework of municipal politics in British Columbia, and highlights events in Tofino's historical evolution. The results of the empirical research are organized into 2 main sections. Local politics are discussed in Chapter 5 and resource control is examined in Chapter 6. Both are considered from the perspective of power relations. Chapter 7 synthesises the literature and results to formulate an answer to the main research question. Chapter 8 concludes with a discussion of the change in Tofino's tourism geographies, place identity and evolution in power relations.

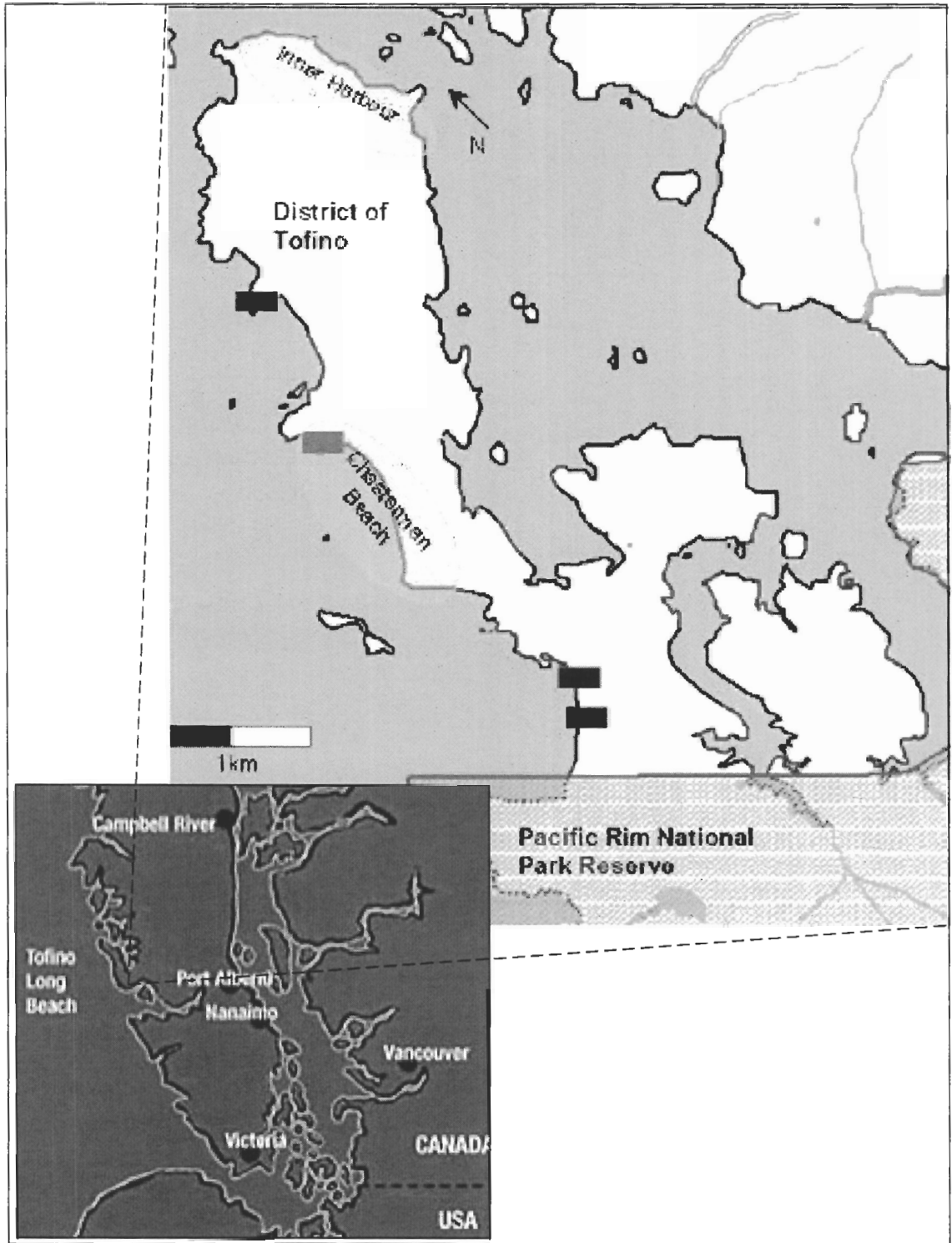


Figure 1: Map of Tofino and Vancouver Island

CHAPTER 2: POWER RELATIONS AND TOURISM GEOGRAPHIES: A LITERATURE REVIEW

The following chapter reviews recent literature relating to two main topic areas, both embodied within the main research question: *how have the relations of power affected the re-configuration of space, place and the environment in the resort community of Tofino, British Columbia?* The topic areas are: power relations; and tourism geographies, which encompass considerations of space, place and the environment. Literature related to power relations is grounded in ideas of global-local connections and community restructuring and change. Power relations, for the purposes of this research, is a geographical concept that encompasses the interactions of varied actors over space, with unpredictable and changing influences on the tourism geography of a place. Power and politics is conceptualised through approaches from political science as well as geography. Literature that focuses on notions of 'space' and 'the environment' includes the movements of people and capital, sections that focus on coastal tourism development and trends, and notions pertaining to peripherality. Concepts of 'place' focus on ideas of place making, imagery and heritage.

2.1 Power Relations and Community Change

Geographic, economic, socio-cultural or environmental perspectives of the tourism industry are often interpreted in the context of globalization, a concept and process that suggests a geographical widening of linkages between places (Shaw and Williams, 2002; Meethan, 2001). Globalization has integrated economic activities, and in terms of the global tourism industry, has driven firms to create alliances to achieve strategic goals and enhance competitiveness (Crotts et al., 2000). Current approaches to power relations are grounded in the concept of globalization as a process of restructuring which encompasses global – local connections, where global processes serve to influence local experiences. In the context of the tourism industry, both businesses and consumers (tourists) respond to the stresses of global events. However, often not acknowledged is the influence of local experiences on processes at

the global scale and so on the other side of the coin, interpretations of processes associated with globalization have increasingly acknowledged and studied its local influence (Meethan, 2001; Keller, 2000; Tomlinson, 1999). As Keller (2000: 296) states, “the internationalisation of new areas of industry and services contrasts with the growth of place specific services.” To borrow Tomlinson’s (1999) language of connectivity, global and local interests continually interpenetrate, and this means changing the nature of localities. With reference to power relations, this indicates that the ways that actors engage in negotiation or dialogue, at various scales, will influence a local place or tourism destination. The way an international company behaves in a local situation is influenced by its history of experiences in that, and in other places (Norcliffe, 2001). By contrast, local reactions to global events, or, for example, foreign tourists, are interpreted based on a place’s history of previous local experiences that “collectively shape local impressions of what the ‘global’ represents” (Norcliffe, 2001: 16).

2.1.1 Community change and restructuring

The interaction of the global and the local – conceptualised through processes of globalisation – is a driving force in economic, and socio-cultural or political change in which tourism and recreation are increasingly valued uses of landscapes. Economic restructuring, and the transition to a post-productive landscape has been extensively documented in the case of rural Britain, where agricultural economies have been diversified to include tourism and recreational uses (Wilson, 2001). On the other hand, the resorts on the British seaside have traditionally been one-industry towns that have relied on tourism almost exclusively to generate economic benefits (Williams and Shaw, 1997). During the late 20th century, many of these resorts, such as Blackpool, have diversified and employ less than half the resident population in the tourism industry (Williams and Shaw, 1997). British coastal resort communities have responded to important shifts in demand derived from economic and cultural factors. These include short holiday breaks, increasing internationalization of travel (more foreign arrivals to the UK, more departures to international destinations from the UK), and changing priorities of tourists to attract the extraordinary or the unique (Williams and Shaw, 1997; Agarwal, 1997). The example of the British seaside indicates how coastal areas are susceptible to economic and cultural changes and restructuring at various levels from the local to the global.

British Columbia is connected to the global economy by its forestry industry dating back 120 years, and provides an example of a resource periphery. More specifically, the coastal areas of the province, such as on the west coast of Vancouver Island, represent resource peripheries within the province. As Hayter (2003: 725) observes “places have become increasingly globally integrated, they have remained unique and the local vitality important...globalization must be seen as a multidimensional phenomenon. Yet globalization in BC cannot be understood without reference to the local.” The fortunes of single industry towns reliant on staples production of resources have followed a boom and bust cycle and most recently have waned in the face of international decision making and commodity prices, technological change and supply of resources (Hayter and Barnes, 1997). New products, technologies, labour practices and markets formed the basis of a new forest sector (Hayter et al., 1994). These global processes have profoundly influenced local economies, especially in hinterland and coastal regions where restructuring has resulted in job loss (Howlett and Brownsey, 2001; Hayter et al., 1994). Increasingly the economy of British Columbia is transforming from a staples resource production system, notably of fish and timber, to include consumptive uses of the landscape, that recognize the importance of rural amenity values, tourism and recreation sites (Hayter, 2000; Ommer and Newell, 1999; Halseth et al., 2002).

The rural landscape has a number of varied and evolving uses, ranging from the more commonly perceived uses for agriculture, forestry and mineral extraction industries to land use for recreation and tourism (Hall and Page, 2002). The so-called new rural economies are named to identify changes related to primary production and labour requirements (Bruce, 2002). Since the 1980s small towns have struggled to provide basic services to residents in the face of declining industries (Bruce, 2002). Rural tourism development is sometimes viewed as the saviour of rural areas as it provides labour intensive jobs (Mitchell and Hall, 2005). According to Mair et al. (2005: 176) “the orientation of tourism as a part of the community’s solution to economic problems, although not the only possible solution, puts power in the community’s hands to use tourism in a proactive way.” With respect to tourism and recreation, factors that make rural areas attractive to both tourists and residents include personal contact, authenticity, heritage and individualism and a pace of living that reflects a relaxed lifestyle (Long and Lane, 2000). A desirable spatial and environmental characteristic includes the relative isolation from urban areas (Long and Lane, 2000). Often city dwelling travellers are

attracted to imagined and idealized forms of small town and rural characteristics (Long and Lane, 2000).

As with other industries, not all rural areas and communities are successful in attracting a tourist market, and some rural areas have environments and tourism products that are more attractive to tourism markets than other rural areas (Mitchell and Hall, 2005). Regional planning, product development and marketing strategies can contribute to a competitive advantage for a rural place. As Mitchell and Hall (2005) have recognized, rural tourism businesses have tended to develop without addressing any strategies for maintaining environmental and marketing sustainability. Addressing competitive advantage and monitoring marketing strategies are two ways of developing rural vitality and establishing business sustainability (Mitchell and Hall, 2005). The significance of economic change and the influence of government policies are demonstrated by Mair (2006) in her comparison of two rural Canadian communities. On a local level, tourism is a major part of rural economic development strategies, and the municipal council takes on additional responsibility for tourism development. The case of Paris, Ontario, suggests that the government relationship with tourism, particularly with the municipal council, could have a greater role in tourism planning (Mair, 2006).

Certain business qualities have been identified that enable rural communities to have success in tourism development. Bruce (2002) identifies the qualities of community leaders (both in organized positions such as mayors or individual residents) as those individuals who promote a visionary goal, act strategically by investing resources wisely, and have entrepreneurial instincts. In a study of entrepreneurial qualities in Austrian farmers, Schiebel (2005) identified factors such as independence, the ability to argue effectively, and the ability to withstand high levels of stress as several of the personality traits of successful tourism entrepreneurs.

Jurisdictional control in rural tourism development can confuse the ways that tourism development occurs, and may change where the benefits of such development accrues. For example, the provision of rural countryside amenities such as clean air and scenery, perhaps as a part of a national park system, may not benefit the rural residents and communities, but instead be distributed to the nation as a whole (Bruce, 2002). These situations may also create a loss of decision making or property rights (Bruce, 2002). Alternatively, in the case of the British countryside, Shaw and Williams (1994)

recognize that tourism and recreation in the rural countryside is contingent on factors such as social access and the politics of countryside ownership.

2.1.2 Power relations in a tourism context

The responses of local communities to global-local processes of globalization, economic restructuring, cultural and social change can be interpreted through power relations. From a geographer's perspective, Low (2005) argues that relatively few literatures foreground power as a central object of analysis. With respect to tourism, over a decade earlier, Hall (1994: vii) argued that "[p]olitics is a fundamental yet much ignored component of tourism development and tourism studies." The apparent implicit consideration of power can be attributed to the ubiquitous use of the term within social science as well as in everyday language, whereby the context of power and its use readily changes (Low, 2005). The lack of tourism research on politics and power can be in part attributed to an unwillingness of decision makers in both the private sector and the government to acknowledge the political nature of tourism development and because of certain methodological challenges in studying tourism (Hall, 1994).

Allen (2003: 4) defines power as "a relational effect that is an outcome of social interaction" and distinguishes between the exercise of power and the mobilization of resources that sustain those actions. That power is both everywhere and nowhere – two general paradoxes surrounding the notion of power – result in power being conceived as that which no one can control, or conversely as that which extends from one centralized point or place, as in the concentration of resources in multinational corporations (Allen, 2004). Low (2005) emphasizes the importance of considering the diverse practices of stakeholders and their interactions in detail, without necessarily dissecting what power is or where it is located. Indeed, Allen (2003) and Sharp et al. (2000) argue that power relationships create modes of power, including domination, manipulation, negotiation, seduction, persuasion and authority that have different spatial characteristics or reach.

Theories of power, particularly those espoused by Foucault, were first presented in a tourism context by Urry (1990) who introduced the idea of the tourist gaze, where tourists experience place as a series of symbols and signs that they consume. Work by Hollinshead (1999), Cheong and Miller (2000), Ryan (2002) and Wearing and McDonald (2002) have applied similar theories in a tourism context. All of these researchers observe that power relations are complex and unstable, changing over time.

Indeed, despite the theoretical nature of Allen's (2003) 'geographies of power', or Urry's (1990) tourist gaze, Allen acknowledges that the forms of relations between power and space remain empirical. However, in empirical studies of processes associated with the transition of economies from resource extraction to greater dependency on tourism, often power is considered implicitly. For example, a study of the privatization of tourist activities outside a fishing cooperative in Korea revealed how the village cooperative lost some of their ability to control access by opening up to outside influences (Cheong, 2003). Gill (2006) examines the power relationship between the resort community of Whistler and Intrust (a corporation that owns mountain operations) with respect to one specific planning tool, that of bed units.

Considerable research on tourism at the community level focuses on the importance of stakeholder involvement (e.g. Gill and Williams, 2005; Jamal and Getz, 1995; Reid et al., 2004). With respect to power relations, Jamal and Getz (1995) argue that collaboration and cooperation within communities is a key to developing a successful resort destination. In corporate situations Oinas (2002) reveals how proximity may help improve collaboration. In part, the body of enquiry in collaboration and community tourism development has stressed the importance and need to study the processes that occur within communities (Hall 2003).

2.1.3 Community conflict and management

One of the most influential processes that is acted out in a tourism community is that of conflict over specific issues or developments. One characteristic of post-Fordist restructuring is the environmental movement (social movements that are concerned with the preservation of the natural environment), which has had profound implications for resource peripheries. Hayter (2003: 711) recognizes that "the imperatives of flexibility, neoliberalism, environmentalism, and aboriginalism have created highly politicised, differentiated forms of globalization among resource peripheries." Environmental concerns, more clearly articulated in the 1980s and more forcefully supported by the public than in past decades, affected the supply of wood and timber as well as the activities of the forest industry (Hayter et al., 1994). It seems that resolution in these situations, despite the specifics of the conflict, requires understanding the local and cultural factors that affect the content and dynamics of the conflict (Rojas et al., 2002).

While tourism development has not been the significant driver for environmental conflict in British Columbia – conflict has focused on forestry practices and the environmental impacts of mining operations – often tourism is one factor that confounds community and environmental disputes. Tourism and recreation activities – although acknowledged as a resource dependent industry – are contradictory to those of resource extraction activities. Often tourism can develop as a paradoxical industry for the community. On one hand tourism provides an alternative industry to the declining fortunes of resource extraction industries, such as the localized activities of a lumber company. Alternatively, tourism simultaneously brings new tourists and residents to the community who may unbalance the traditional ideologies of older residents. Local perceptions of tourism development vary, and the social, cultural, economic and environmental costs and benefits of development are not distributed fairly among stakeholders (Tosun and Timothy, 2003; Murphy, 1983). Tosun and Timothy (2003) claim such unequal distribution results from disconnection between the power structures of stakeholder groups – such as local people and tourism operators. Outside investment in land property development can increase real estate prices and precipitate conflict between long term and newer residents (Macleod, 2004; Long and Lane, 2000).

Research points to the role of local regulation and individuals, especially at the local scale, who develop and enforce regulatory policies, as a significant factor in how communities respond to tourism. As Stanton and Aislabie (1992: 29) observe “the regulatory process is discriminatory and potentially distorting in its resource allocation effects, altering the expected returns on some proposed projects at the expense of others.” Local regulation and guidelines by planning departments of local authorities have the potential to significantly increase or decrease the profit of developers of resorts (Stanton and Aislabie, 1992). A study of residents’ attitudes to cultural tourism development in Lewes, Southern England demonstrates how resident perceptions are heterogeneous and variable, and residents may perceive and receive positive and negative benefits unevenly (Ritchie and Inkari, 2006). In general tourism development in Lewes was viewed by residents as positive. Negative consequences were expressed with respect to parking and traffic problems, and concern over the distribution of the benefits of tourism throughout the wider community (Ritchie and Inkari, 2006). The authors recognize that the host community needs to be recognized by destination planners as an essential portion of the long term continuation of a community tourism

industry, and consequentially, tourism development must take into consideration the views of local residents (Ritchie and Inkari, 2006).

While the methods of engaging local residents in tourism planning, or gaining input on tourism development projects creates planning challenges, community participation in the tourism development process may more evenly spread the costs or benefits of tourism development (Ritchie and Inkari, 2006; Tosun and Timothy, 2003; Dredge and Moore, 1992; Murphy, 1985). Murphy (1985) considers community planning from an ecological perspective where species include human and other living and non-living aspects of the environment and argues for a community emphasis that encourages public participation. According to Murphy (1985), this participation must consider the interrelated nature of the tourism industry. In the context of recreational fishing in Norway, Borch (2004) acknowledges that, economic, social and ecological values need consideration in a multidisciplinary fashion to minimize conflict between marine stakeholders, such as commercial fisheries, aquaculture, environmental organizations or tourist operations. Dredge and Moore (1992) identify a lack of a cohesive voice in the tourism industry as one constraint to not fully include the tourism sector in town planning schemes. Murphy (1985: 176) recognizes how tourism is integrated into the economies of regions, and states that “[b]y stressing the community and systems aspects of tourism it becomes apparent that this activity is now interwoven into the social, economic, and environmental aspects of all communities, whether or not they are major destinations.”

Consensus building, alliances and partnership development are ways of planning and responding to tourism growth and attempting to mitigate conflict. Consensus building is one strategy that has been used as a tactical form of decision making, and is often conceptualised as a polar opposite to conflict, in which actors view power in zero-sum terms, where winners take all. In a consensus process, many stakeholders collaborate together to develop situations in which power is shared for mutual benefit (Pellow, 1998). In the context of consensus building in the environmental movement Pellow (1998: 201) has observed that actors may engage in subversive tactics within a cooperative framework, thereby combining negotiation with confrontation where “consensus based decision making framework provides an opportunity for conflict-oriented ideologies to take root within an atmosphere of compromise.” But regardless of the rhetoric of inclusiveness in the consensus building process stakeholders may be excluded from the decision making process.

The Land and Resource Management Planning process in British Columbia provides an example of large scale regional collaboration, where consensus was reached in the majority of the nineteen land use plans completed (Gunton et al., 2003). In addition to government and private for-profit enterprises, two stakeholder groups involved in the process included civil society and the tourism sector. With respect to the civil society stakeholder groups, their relative lack of resources did not inhibit this group from being influential in the process (Gunton et al., 2003). With respect to the tourism sector, Gunton et al. (2003) acknowledge that while collaborative planning is an effective strategy the process must include multiple representatives to reflect tourism's diverse interests.

Selin and Chavez (1995) identify four phases through which tourism partnerships evolve: the problem setting where various actors acknowledge that resolution of a problem will involve collective action; the direction-setting where stakeholders set goals and gather information; the structuring phase, where attempts are made to manage stakeholder interactions in a systematic manner; and finally the outcome stage where visible and tangible outcomes of the partnership are appreciated. Like consensus building, the practice of partnership development and collective action has several constraints. Selin and Chavez (1995: 854) identify several constraints to collective action for tourism partnerships, including "competition, bureaucratic inertia, and geographical and organizational fragmentation."

2.2 Tourism Geographies: Place, Space and Environment

Tourism geographies are considered in this section through the concepts of place, space and environment with specific reference to topics significant to the study area. The concepts of space and environment include the topics of the movements of capital and people, coastal development and regions at the periphery. Specific topics include that of amenity migration and second homeownership, which provide a background to dominant forces of change that are occurring in the research area currently. A consideration of 'place' includes ideas about place-making and heritage. It is understood that the distinction between place and space in particular, but also environment is subjective, and often topics overlap and pertain to more than one section. They are organized for clarity and simplicity.

The history of research and enquiry into the geography of tourism can be traced back to the 1920s in the United States; arguments for the treatment of tourism from a geographical perspective were considered seriously during the 1970s following an increase in mass international and domestic travel following the Second World War (Mitchell and Murphy, 1991; Pearce, 1979; Mitchell, 1979; Robinson, 1976). Pearce (1979) identifies the inter-relationships within tourism and its multi-faceted nature as aspects of the geographies of tourism that characterize this field of research, despite the very different methods of subdividing or categorizing the specifics of the discipline. Until the early 1990s, the 'geography of tourism' was primarily concerned with description and weakly theorized. Topics included descriptions of travel flows, economic, environmental, cultural and social impacts, tourism in developing countries, and planning implications (Hall and Page, 2002; Britton, 1991). The subject area of '*Tourism Geographies*' has begun to more critically develop as a discipline reflecting the evolution of geographic thinking, especially following the cultural turn with the increasing use of theories of post-structuralism and post-modernism.

2.2.1 Space and environment

Migration and second home acquisition are two processes that drive community evolution and change. Amenity migrants are often classified as those individuals who move to areas of attractive environmental or culture resources to live there either seasonally, permanently or intermittently (Price et al., 1997). The driving factors in migration to different areas, often characterized by migration to mountains, coastal areas or the countryside is driven by factors within a global society, such as improved communication and transportation, and improved discretionary time and wealth (Price et al., 1997).

In Canada as elsewhere, tourism landscapes are recognized to be in competition with other resource uses such as productive uses (fishing, forestry, mining) but also as amenity rich areas which are attractive places to live (Murphy, 1983). One impact of amenity migration is that it converts land use and may increase real estate costs, thereby displacing residential use by indigenous people or long term residents (Price et al., 1997). Although real estate development is one way of contributing to community vitality, it also introduces contentious issues such as the impact of outside investment, land and property prices and unbalances communities with alternate uses of property

(Long and Lane, 2000). Local attitudes to tourism fluctuate, and are triggered by local stress issues, such as parking, affordable housing or access to recreational sites (Murphy, 1983).

In community tourism settings, distinctions between residents and tourists are confounded by that of second homeowners. Second homeowners range from those who own a single family residence to those who have varying degrees of fractional ownership in a condominium development or time share property (Kuentzel & Ramaswamy, 2005; Hall & Muller, 2004). These distinctions contribute to differing perceptions of the impacts of second homes, complicating planning processes (Muller et al., 2004).

In Canada, second home tourism has its origins in the summer traditions of travel to 'cottage country' on the lake strewn Canadian Shield, located north of major metropolitan areas in Ontario (Wolfe, 1951; Halseth, 1998). Today, second homeownership – primarily associated with vacation homes and recreational property – is widespread in all regions of the country (Halseth, 2004). In western Canada, there is an escalating demand for accessible coastal property as amenity migrants (largely second homeowners) seek lifestyle opportunities and are drawn to an increasingly scarce commodity.

2.2.1.1 Regions at the periphery: coastal development

Geographic, political, economic and demographic characteristics are often used as standard measures of peripherality including geographical distance from main centres of economic activity, limited employment opportunities resulting from a dependence on one primary industry, low per capita income levels, lower populations than core regions and a lack of political influence (Boyne et al., 2000). Peripherality, while it is often defined by spatial associations, as for example the outermost boundary of an area, often also carries social, economic or political implications through connections between peripherality and the loss of power or marginalization (Brown and Hall, 2000). Peripheral regions are often perceived to be economically depressed with insufficient political clout and lack political power (Blackman et al., 2004). Challenges associated with developing tourism in peripheral areas include the opposition to development by local community members resisting external influence, limited infrastructure, such as transportation and accommodation, and a host of challenges associated with financial viability and economic leakages (Blackman et al., 2004). Blackman et al. (2004) recognize that

successful tourism planning for peripheral regions, perhaps more so than in central areas, requires long term government support, training, planning and research activities.

Geographically peripheral communities face challenges for tourism development; however the characteristic of being peripheral, hard to access or 'on the edge' can be an asset for the destination and many of these areas provide specialized niche tourism products and experiences. Scott (2000: 58) recognizes that "demand is growing for a different kind of tourism product offered by more remote peripheries which exercise a special appeal, in the form of 'unspoilt' landscapes and / or 'traditional cultures'." For example, economic restructuring efforts on the Isle of Bute on the west coast of Scotland have emphasised the island's uniqueness and the niche segmentation of products have focused on distinctive characteristics and resources of the island such as heritage, land environment and water (Boyne et al., 2000).

Peripheral regions are often subject to individual opinions and perspectives that are subjective – the perceptions that tourists have of peripheral regions such as having characteristics of natural beauty and quaintness, are attractions to some and to others a repellent (Brown and Hall, 2000). Cartier (2005: 14) describes the allure of the coast and peripheral regions in her discussion of the seduction of places when she states: "we are drawn to edges: the narrative power of looking over the cliff." On a global scale, marine and coastal tourism is considered by some to be the fastest growing type of tourism development (Hall, 2001). Coastal tourism includes a range of activities that occur in the coastal zone and offshore waters, such as accommodation, food industry, infrastructure suppliers such as retail and marinas, and tourism activities such as recreational boating, swimming, diving and surfing to name a few (Hall and Page, 2002; Orams, 1999). The fact that coastal areas are in some instances already concentrated with human settlement, industrial location, agriculture and fishing, their use for tourism and recreation may cause increased pressure on already pressured coastal systems (Hall and Page, 2002).

Despite its importance in the tourism industry, coastal tourism and development has undergone considerable changes. Many of these changes result from evolving tastes in recreation sites and activities or result from societal changes related to socio-economics, and culture. In the case of the British seaside, Agarwal (1999) observes that traditional family beach activities still exist in some places but the products of the contemporary postmodern resorts are more diversified and customized to more

individualized forms of production. Those same British seaside resorts have been subject to decline and in some instances have been rejuvenated through different products in part as a result of wider cultural changes that have taken place throughout society (Gale, 2005).

By region, considerable research in coastal tourism has focused on the British holiday at the seaside (e.g. Agarwal, 1999) and on destinations, regions such as the Mediterranean or Caribbean, that provide the '4 S's' of tourism – sun, sand, surf and sex (Bramwell, 2004). In Canada, although there are enormous areas of coastal land, much of it is difficult to access and large areas remain sparsely inhabited. Coastal communities are intertwined within wider contexts of Canadian federal and provincial planning and management policy. During the last 5 years and especially at the federal level, Canada prioritised ocean and coastal initiatives. In 2002, the Canada Oceans Strategy was released with an agenda of sustainable development while the Ocean Action Plan released in 2004 demonstrates a commitment to integrating social, economic and political elements of coastal communities into a wider agenda for developing ocean technology, establishing networks of marine protected areas, implementing integrated management plans, and enhancing rules governing oceans and fisheries.

2.2.2 Place: images and heritage

The knowledge and the study of places is a defining aspect of geography and received renewed attention during the last decade of the twentieth century (Agnew and Duncan, 1989). The term 'place' has been used in several ways; for example, to refer to tangible physical settings such as a beach, or to identify "socially constructed contexts of interpersonal interaction and practice" (Stokowski, 2002: 372). A contributing concept to 'place' is that of heritage. Both cultural and natural heritage are considered, with the former focusing on aspects of man made settlements and histories, while the latter focuses on perspectives of wilderness and natural environment. The case study area for this research project is a place of rich wilderness that has both natural and cultural heritage. Interpretations of heritage and wilderness are used in much of the place marketing for tourism business in Tofino (Gill and Welk, forthcoming 2007). Residents of communities and tourists will interpret cultural heritage and natural heritage, or 'wilderness' in diverse ways and these concepts may be used by actors in the relations of power in community tourism settings.

2.2.2.1 *Placemaking*

Communities or tourism associations and authorities use place image, or placemaking to highlight unique qualities and characteristics within tourism communities to enhance competitiveness for particular tourism markets. The concept of placemaking takes into account both marketing initiatives and the perspectives and opinions about places of both its residents and tourists. Understanding the influence of placemaking to tourism destinations also involves consideration of the authenticity of the images and those perceptions that are created through a place's image, whether they are actively cultivated or appear organically.

Trends in tourism and community development, in some ways stemming from the globalization process, renders the tourism industry highly competitive, and necessitates a continued reinvention, or re-imagining of destination products or communities. According to Britton (1991: 475) "[t]ourism is also a facet of an ever changing spatial organization and political economy of production and consumption, and as such is implicated in some of the critical economic and political issues of current concern to geographers: ...industrial and regional restructuring...the transformation of rural economies...and the creation of new postmodern' and vernacular landscapes." With respect to the Japanese tourism production system in Whistler, British Columbia, Yamamoto and Gill (2002: 92) observe a tourism production system that "embraces increasingly differentiated, spontaneous and fragile consumption patterns of tourists." Keller (2000: 294) refers to a "touristic hypercompetition" where the development of new destinations has forced existing destinations to differentiate themselves, develop unique products and market their area as a brand.

The concept of branding, although often linked to corporate products and used as a marketing strategy, is similar to placemaking, in that it is used to strategically position tourism services and products. For tourism destinations, branding must consider the wider goals and values of the community, while also gaining a market position that is favourable for tourists (Ritchie and Crouch, 2000). Tourism destination brands create identities for targeted tourists as well as community residents and convey values that are linked to a destination's sense of place (Williams et al., 2004). According to Morgan and Prichard (2002) the most effective brands for tourism destinations are place specific and generate recognition of a place's values by building emotional links between themselves and their target markets. Creating brands that reflect place specific values helps to

reinforce a destination's sense of place in consumer and resident marketplaces (Williams et al., 2004).

Placemaking draws on marketing, images and the perceptions of images, to highlight certain aspects of a destination. Due to the capitalistic nature of tourism, places are commodified within the tourism production system in two ways (Britton, 1991). First, places are marketed as vehicles through which to consume places (Britton, 1991). Second, Britton (1991: 475) notes that "the social meaning and materiality of space and place is created through the practice of tourism itself, and how these representations are then incorporated into the accumulation process." Images are acknowledged as critical determinants for any traveller's decision to travel to an area, and in general positive images increase visitation (Dann, 1996). Not only do travellers select destinations out of multiple competing images, but those images are modified or reinforced following the visitor's experience (Dann, 1996). Of course, the image is influenced by numerous factors both at the destination and following from the values and expectations of the tourist. From the perspective of the local community or tourism destination management body, images are generated as a vital part of tourism marketing (Dann, 1996). Along with the promotion of places it is important to understand the ways that tourists, residents, government officials and tourism professionals appreciate perspectives of place and tourism imagery. The 'circle of representation' is a way of conceptualising the ways that images of tourist destinations are produced and reproduced by media, destination marketers and tourists themselves (Jenkins, 2003). In a study of advertising brochures aimed at Canadian backpackers travelling to Australia, and the subsequent photographs that backpackers take during their travels, Jenkins (2003: 324) observes that "images are tracked down and recaptured, and the resulting photographs displayed upon return home by the backpackers as evidence of the trip."

The creation of images of places, and the marketing of certain tourism products over others in destinations for tourists, has caused many researchers to question the authenticity of some tourism products. Much research and writing has focused on the 'tourist space', which results from the staging of tourist attractions that separates tourist areas from those of local residents (Cohen, 1995). Cohen (1995) identifies two types of attractions, each of which are at polar extremes: that of the natural and that which is contrived. While attractions have different elements of either quality, two alternate processes are working to close the gap between contrived and naturalized tourist sites. The preservation of tourist sites can make them more contrived, and alternatively,

contrived attractions evolve and are integrated into the tourist environment, actually becoming naturalized (Cohen, 1995). For example, some individuals perceive park areas to be contrived wilderness.

The concept of authenticity, having received much attention by tourism scholars, has been heavily critiqued. For example, Reisinger and Steiner (2006: 66) contend that the “concepts, values, and perspectives on the authenticity of objects and activities are numerous, contradictory, and irreconcilable.” Instead, these authors contend that the understanding of tourism and tourist experiences would be best served by understanding the variable and personal nature of tourism experiences rather than merely assessing the genuineness of experiences (Reisinger and Steiner, 2006).

Cartier (2005: 2) describes ‘touristed landscapes’ as those places – distinct from theme parks or holiday destinations – that have diverse cultural or environmental qualities that have not relied solely on tourists to establish their character. This ‘touristed landscape’ involves the multiple roles of tourists and locals where “people occupy simultaneous or sequential if sometimes conflicted positions of orientation toward landscape experience and place consumption. This kind of landscape necessarily reflects histories of travel and mobility, relations between local, national, and global economies, the possibilities for different identity positions, and the environmental contexts, built and natural, of places and sites” (Cartier, 2005: 3). In this way, residents and tourists may perceive their place through a number of alternate and perhaps conflicting views. Residents fulfil a number of roles in a small community, for example, as a leader of a tourism marketing organization, as a volunteer for the local school or as an entrepreneur running a tourism and recreation company. The residents fulfilling multiple roles contribute to a complex tourist landscape; the maintenance of a healthy community that provides strong schools and residential neighbourhoods can clash with the promotion of place to satisfy individual economic realities and tourist expectations. As Williams et al., (2004: 10) note, in the case of creating and managing destination brands “the task of harmonizing the perspectives of tourism and non-tourism stakeholders is laced with political and power struggles, which makes coherent branding challenging.”

The paradox of multiple roles of residents is complemented by the paradoxes of travellers, and the roles they engage in, and the ways they interact with residents while at a tourism destination. Norkunas (1993) discusses authenticity by using the example of

the regeneration of Fisherman's Wharf in Monterey, California, where the site is constructed by insiders to uphold a version of history, a reality that has been reconfigured to apply to the outsider. As Meethan (2001: 140) observes "[l]ocal forms of identity legitimise claims to a form of commonality and shared experiences by contrasting these with other places and other people."

2.2.2.2 Cultural and Natural Heritage

Heritage is one of the attributes that influences place identity by affecting the ways that particular places are remembered and represented and can be interpreted in terms of cultural and natural phenomena (Graham et al., 2000). Local history may ascribe importance to specific sites, for example, buildings, workplaces, raw materials or aspects of the environment or landscape (Meethan, 2001). Symbolic forms and collective meanings of places and of localized knowledge ascribe importance to specific sites (Meethan, 2001). These aspects form portions of a place's cultural heritage. The reasons for preserving human made heritage structures, such as buildings or monuments, are often presented as a cultural necessity by media and some tourism marketing initiatives. The importance of heritage sites to tourism products make them an economic resource. Ways that heritage sites are presented, or the ways that a place's history is marketed and presented makes heritage a political resource as it helps to define meanings of culture and power (Graham et al., 2000). Seeing heritage as a meaning, as opposed to just an artifact, allows one to see it in the context of social conflict and tensions (Graham et al., 2000).

Cultural landscapes may be conceived as those that have some special imprint on the local landscape – such as an ancient monument or a historical relic, where landscapes have traces of human activity (Arntzen, 2003). Cultural landscapes are managed through qualities – such as ecological, recreational or aesthetic – that deem them worthy of preservation (Arntzen, 2003). Arntzen (2003) interprets preservation where landscapes are preserved not because of the physical human-created attributes, but because of their immaterial qualities that deal with the potential effect of the landscape on human feelings and behaviours. This goes beyond the physical structures to those immaterial components of the landscape that influence how people interact with and perceive their environment (Arntzen, 2003). Preservation is conceived of as based on an identity value, which helps to preserve a sense of belonging.

Heritage tourism also includes natural heritage that comprises valued 'wilderness' landscapes and designated park areas. Like heritage, the values associated with interpretations and views of wilderness are another element of a place's image. In the United States the construct of 'wilderness' underlies the early formation of National Parks (Nash, 1967, Graham et al., 2000). As Shaw and Williams (2002) argue, the signifiers that attract tourists have been reinforced by the social construction of wilderness in National Park designations. However, as Maikhuri et al. (2001) observe in the context of the Himalayas, protected area designations often follow restrictions on traditional resource uses by local communities. The notions of power, wilderness and nature tourism are studied collectively by Hannam (2004) revealing that state operations, embodied by the Ministry of Environment and Forests in India, control the attempts of national parks' authorities to limit tourism development in land adjacent to parks.

There is considerable debate over the definition of 'wilderness' (Nash, 1967), and as Bauriedl and Wissen (2002) recognize, the concept of nature is formed from many different discourses, from numerous types of contexts, times and spaces. The US Wilderness Act defines 'wilderness' as a roadless area essentially free from human activity while Tuan (1974) refers to wilderness as a 'state of mind'. Indeed, as London (1998) observed in a study of environmental activism in California, wilderness was constructed as a 'living space', serving local residents that included both forestry workers and environmentalists. A post-Fordist perspective of development in 1970s Germany recognized nature as an unlimited resource to be used for industrial growth. The post-Fordist social relations with nature that underlie the sustainability concept reveal that urban and regional actors in Hamburg used nature to represent an efficient resource for economic growth (Bauriedl and Wissen, 2002). Rogers (1994) draws on social theory and the ideas of naturalists and argues that nature is not only a sink for toxins, but recognizes that nature has a social relationship to human communities. By using this conceptualization, nature is considered as a social place (Rogers, 1994). To further support his argument, Rogers (1994: 92) contrasts the 'placelessness' that exists in capitalist society with that of the 'belonging' that occurs in wild nature. These culturally influenced perspectives on wilderness and nature generate the notion of wilderness as a continuum which can range from untouched pristine environments to those that encompass considerable levels of human activity. Whether it is conflict over resource extraction for fishing or logging, or over tourism development, Robbins and Fraser (2003) pose the question: where does one draw the line between pristine and degraded?

In a Canadian context, where there are extensive areas of uninhabited territory, 'wilderness tourism' has become a commodified product encompassing a range of adventure tourism and ecotourism activities. Many coastal B.C. landscapes represent the resources of a productive forest economy and yet are marketed as 'wilderness'. In light of the ways in which wilderness is valued and perceived, the environment can be viewed as a medium of politicized conflict and public debate (Hillier, 2003).

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

An operational framework for studying power relations follows from literature on power and tourism geographies. A description of the detailed methods for conducting this research includes the process of research design, data collection, data analysis and the presentation of results.

3.1 Operational Framework for Studying Power Relations

The operational framework for studying power relations is derived from the literature relating to power and tourism geographies (see Chapter 2). Figure 2 illustrates the operational framework for this study of power relations in a tourism community. It is adapted from the model used by Few (2002) to study processes of power relations in negotiations over protected area developments, with reference to Allen's (2003) notions of the spatiality of power and the networks of stakeholder relationships. Unlike Few (2002), who investigates only processes within an 'arena of negotiation', this study considers the community as the 'arena of interaction' in which relations of power occur. The arena of interaction represents the place, space and the environment of this tourism community. It is understood that some stakeholders may influence the arena of interaction (those tourism geographies of Tofino) but may not always be proximate in the community.

'Power characteristics' (Few, 2002: 33) of stakeholders in the 'arena of interaction' include motives, resources and tactics. It is conceptualised that the motives, resources and tactics of stakeholders will influence the place, space and the environment of Tofino in several significant ways. Power resources provide the ability for stakeholders to achieve their motives or goals. Resources may include property, money, skills, competence or knowledge (Kayat, 2002). While Few (2002) conceptualizes tactics – domination, negotiation, seduction, manipulation, authority, cooperation – as those actions which can improve a stakeholder's negotiating position, these tactics are equivalent to Allen's (2003) modes of power. As Figure 2 illustrates, for the purposes of this investigation, the outcome of these tactics will vary depending on the proximity of

the stakeholders. These stakeholders may be part of complex alliances at various spatial scales from local to international.

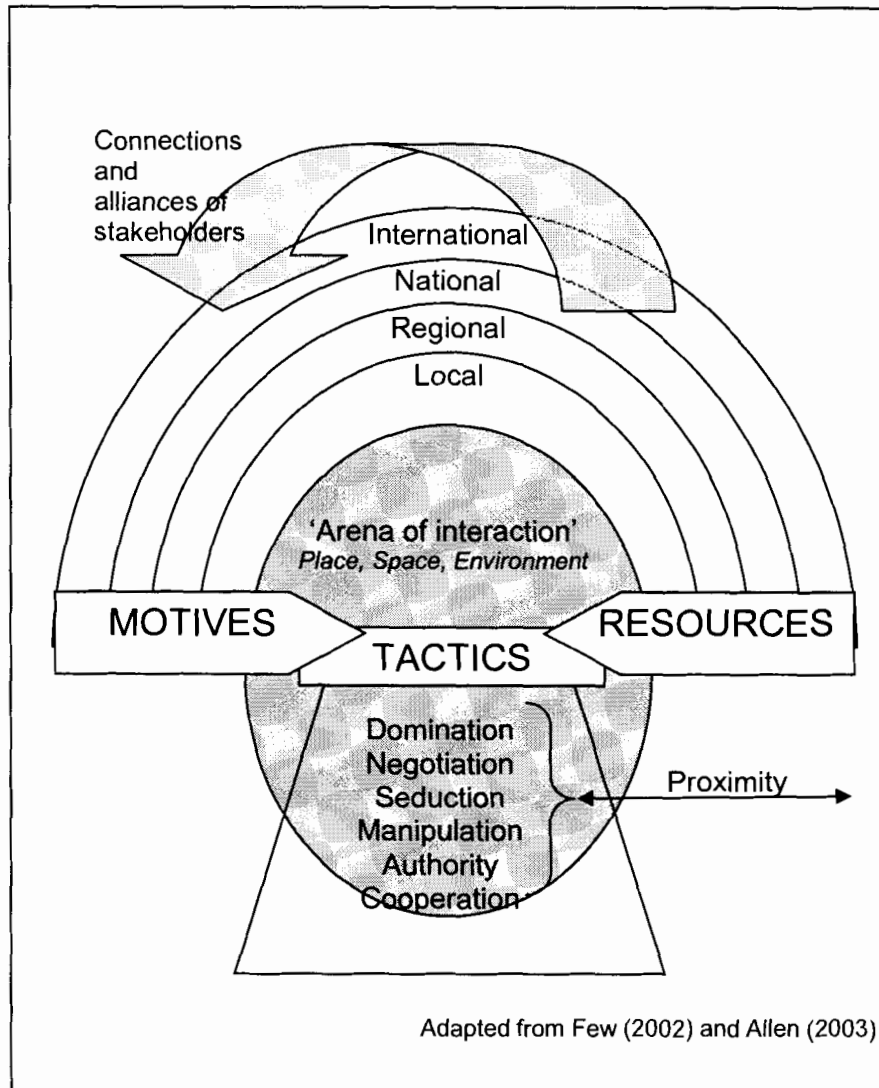


Figure 2: Operational Framework to Examine Power Relations

Oinas (2002) argues that the role of power needs to be analyzed in more detail not only at the local scale, but also at wider spatial scales. Reed (1997) offers an example of a study of the relations of power at a community level during a tourism planning initiative in Squamish, B.C. Focusing on relations of power between institutions, Reed revealed that power differences among stakeholders impeded attempts at collaboration, and that the redistribution of power in evolving communities may be contested. Hannam (2004) considers the network of power relations between tourism,

forest management and state institutions in India, revealing how the Ministry of Tourism and Culture lacks material power for management, despite their intentions.

3.2 Methods

A qualitative case study approach was employed to investigate concepts of power relations as they influence emerging geographies of tourism. The use of a single case study method allows for a detailed, in-depth investigation of processes and characteristics associated with real life experiences (e.g. Miles and Huberman, 1994; Yin, 1994; Orum et al. 1991). The empirical data are derived from in-depth, semi-structured interviews. Reviews from secondary sources including academic literature, community and government (federal, provincial and local) documents, and newspapers support the primary data.

3.2.1 Secondary data sources

Secondary source collection was ongoing throughout all stages of the research from the initial development of the research questions through to the research design, the collection of primary data, the data analysis and the writing process. Secondary sources were derived from academic literature, newspapers, government and community documents. Academic literature drawn from journal articles and books provided a theoretical context for the research. Federal and provincial government documents provided contextual information for events and processes that impact the case study area. *The Westerly News* was used and is the only local, weekly newspaper that covers both Tofino and Ucluelet. News articles provide information about specific events, while Letters to the Editor provide clues to opinions about controversial issues in the community. *The Sound Magazine*, published from 1996-2002, is an editorialised news-magazine that is useful for identifying tensions, alliances and rivalries in the community at the end of the 1990s. Community documents include those from the District of Tofino, such as minutes from council meetings or documents pertaining to bylaws, regulation, and zoning. Other community documents include publications and material from businesses and stakeholder groups. Information about individual tourism business operations was often drawn from company websites.

3.2.2 Primary data collection

The primary data were collected over a six-month period from June to November 2005. The researcher lived in the community for three months (June – August) when the majority of the interviews and intensive fieldwork took place. Two additional trips were taken in October and November to conduct interviews with members of the community who were unavailable during the summer months. During the main tourism season - the summer months and especially July and August – tourism businesses in Tofino are often at capacity, and generate high revenue compared to the quieter shoulder and off seasons. That the majority of the interviews were conducted during the tourism season, when the participants may have been very busy, is perhaps a limitation in the research design. However, during the winter months, which are in comparison quieter with fewer tourists, some residents and tourism operators leave the community, and may have been unavailable to participate in the study.

The trustworthiness of qualitative research is assessed by credibility, a criteria that concerns how data are interpreted. Baxter and Eyles (1999: 314) define credibility as “the degree to which a description of human experience is such that those having the experience would recognize it immediately and those outside the direct experience can understand it.” Carefully designing respondent selection procedures, interview practices and methods of analysis enhances the credibility of qualitative research that uses in-depth interviews as the main source of primary data (Baxter and Eyles, 1997). Table 1 summarizes the purpose, respondent selection procedures, interview practices and methods of analysis during the pilot and main data collection phases of the primary research.

Table 1: Primary data collection processes

	<i>Purpose</i>	<i>Respondent selection procedure</i>	<i>Interview practices</i>	<i>Methods of analysis</i>
<i>Pilot Research June 2005</i>	Identify key stakeholders (individuals and groups) and recent key events	Purposive sample Criteria based on length of residence and occupation	Informal conversations (n=4)	Compare stakeholder groups and key events; look for overlapping answers
<i>Main Data Collection July – November 2005</i>	Answer research question Detailed data on two key events	Purposive sampling Snowball technique	In-depth interviews (n=20)	Contextualized thematic analysis

The following sections detail the ways that the strategies for credibility were implemented in the stages of overall research design, data collection, data analysis and presentation. While centred on the phases of primary data collection and analysis, especially that of the main data collection, the final section describes the synthesis of primary and secondary data, through a method of data triangulation.

3.2.2.1 Pilot Research: Informal conversations

Due to the exploratory nature of the research question, the primary data was collected in two phases. In-depth interviews conducted during the main research were able to build on the knowledge collected from the informal conversations conducted during the pilot research. As a result the main body of data was more nuanced and detailed. Before discussing the details of the main data collection, the following sections detail the purpose, respondent selection procedures and the interview process and data content of the Pilot research.

The purpose of the pilot phase of primary data collection was to familiarize myself with the key issues, events and actors in the community. During the conversations I attempted to understand who were the stakeholders – both individuals and groups or organizations – as well as which events from 1995 to 2005 signified key issues and changes in the tourism industry and community. Both enquiries correspond to the first two sub-questions of the research project. The data from the pilot research assisted in developing a set of more specific questions for the in-depth interviews. The

informal conversations provided a method of achieving a broad spectrum from which to start the purposive sampling procedure, a process advocated by Baxter and Eyles (1997).

Participants for the pilot research were selected through a purposive sampling technique, where individuals were chosen based on their length of residence in Tofino and their occupation. Table 2 summarizes the characteristics of the six informal interview participants. Each participant is numbered from 1 through 6. The goal was to gain a balance between long-term residents who have lived in the community for over 15 years (participants 1, 2, 5 and 6) and those residents who have lived in the community for less than 15 years (participants 3 and 4).

Table 2: Characteristics of pilot research interview participants

<i>Interview participants (numbered 1-6)</i>	<i>Characteristics of interview participants</i>
1 & 2*	- Long term residents (>15years) - Independent tourism operators
3	- New resident (<15 years) - Self employed
4	- New resident (<15 years) - Tourism employee
5 & 6*	- Long term residents (>15years) - Retired
*Participants 1&2 and 5&6 are partners who I spoke with together	

The distinction of 15 years as being a long term resident was chosen after several people in the community commented that only the true locals were those who had lived in the town for over 15 years. Participants 1, 2, and 4 work full time in the tourism industry. Participants 1 & 2 own an independent tourism operation while Participant 4 has a management position with a large resort. Participant 3 is self-employed while participants 5 and 6 are retired. The diversity in demographic, length of residence and occupation of these six informal interview participants provided diversity from which to begin the snowball sampling process in the main data collection of the research.

The informal conversations lasted between 20 and 30 minutes and participants' answers to questions were recorded in detailed notes, and later transcribed to digital format. During the conversations, informants identified key events in the community during the last decade. Various events were identified (Table 3) that provide indications of some of the main issues and controversies in the community, and include: the Jensen's Bay development, during which one developer was also a municipal councillor (late 90s); the controversy over the 'Eik Street Tree' where an inner harbour waterfront development threatened the root system of the town's oldest cedar tree; and the issue of implementing pay parking in the downtown core of Tofino, and at the beach access points.

Table 3: Key events identified by pilot research interview participants

<i>Key events and issues</i>	<i>Total number of interview participants who identified each event</i>
(1996-99) Pay parking proposal	2
Jensen's Bay Development approval	1
(2000)UNESCO Biosphere Reserve Designation	1
1999-2002 Eik Tree Campaign	2
New Community Hall	2
Information Center moves out of downtown to Pacific Rim Highway	1
2002 Marine Wildlife Viewing Guidelines Developed	1
2001Tonquin Development	4
2002 OCP Updated and Implemented	1
2003- 2005 (on-going) Regulation of Short Term Vacation rental properties	4
2004 Pay parking proposal	1
On-going: water shortages	2

Although the above events and issues were raised in some of the in-depth interviews, explicit questions were asked of the participants during the main data collection interviews for only the following two recent key events: the Tonquin Development and the regulation of short-term vacation rental properties (identified in bold in Table 3). These two events were chosen to be investigated in more detail during the main data collection– including factors associated with power relations and the

actions of actors during each event – because the events were identified by each informant, and both were recent, having begun during the last five years. Informants identified the ‘Tonquin Development’ as a controversial issue, and one that seemed to demonstrate the agency of local residents. The attempt by municipal council to regulate short-term vacation rental properties (VRPs) was the galvanizing issue during the 2002-2005 municipal council term of office. It offers an example of contestations over community values and appropriate levels and types of tourism development. Each interviewee suggested I speak with key individuals who were deemed significant to either key event.

The main actors that were identified by the participants in the informal conversations correspond to five stakeholder groups and classifications: affiliations with local government; tourism and economic organizations; length of residence in Tofino and perceived ideologies; affiliations with environmental organizations; and members of First Nations groups. Table 4 identifies the number of participants in the pilot research who identified each category, and provides details of specific stakeholder organizations that were identified.

Table 4: Stakeholder classifications according to pilot research interview participants

<i>Stakeholder groups and classifications</i>	<i>Total number of interview participants who identified each category</i>	<i>Sub-categories</i>
Local Government	4	Elected Officials
		District of Tofino Staff
Tourism or Economic Organization	4	Tofino Business Association (TBA)
		Tofino-Long Beach Chamber of Commerce (TLBCC)
		Bed and Breakfast Society
		Tofino Vacation Rental Association (TVRA)
Length of residence and ideology	3	
Environmental organization	3	Friends of Clayoquot Sound (FOCS)
		Streamkeepers Association
		Clayoquot Biosphere Trust
First Nations	3	

Two organizations were notable in part because of their rivalry – the Tofino-Long Beach Chamber of Commerce (TLBCC) and the Tofino Business Association (TBA). The municipal council is re-elected every three years, but participants specifically pointed to the ways that the ideologies and affiliations of elected officials have shifted and changed during the past decade.

3.2.2.2 Main Data Collection: In-depth interviews

The identification of stakeholder groups, and an understanding of how the affiliations of individual residents are perceived in the community presented a starting point for proceeding with the main data collection. The purpose was to engage each respondent in a discussion of power relations and tourism development in the municipality of Tofino. The overall goal was to gather information that contributed to answering the main research question. Power relations and the interaction of different stakeholders in the community were specifically studied through a microcosm of two key events, which allows a window into the ways that individuals and organizations shape and respond to the tourism industry and community.

A combination of purposive sampling and the snowball sampling techniques were used to select participants for the in-depth interviews. The initial sampling strategy was to interview key informants from each of the identified stakeholder groups shown in Table 4. These were: members of the TLBCC and TBA; elected officials; long and short-term residents; tourism operators; member of First Nations; and residents with affiliations to environmental organizations. The in-depth interviewing process continued over a period of approximately four months, and I recursively evaluated and revised the key informants I was selecting as the interview process continued.

The snowball technique was the most useful way of identifying additional key informants. Participants in the interviews identified other individuals, some of whom had specific associations with one of the key events. The initial sampling strategy was to interview key informants from each of the identified stakeholder groups, while also evaluating and revising the key informants I was selecting as the interview process continued.

The snowball sampling technique was useful in three main ways. Having only limited knowledge of the people who were influential in the community, the snowball technique allowed a fluid and evolving method of identifying key informants in the

community. One of the advantages of the snowball technique is that it allows the research and research questions to evolve as additional information is understood and key informants are identified. For example, despite the identification of First Nations people as a stakeholder group in both the informal conversations and during many of the in-depth interviews, participants often did not explicitly speak about, for example, the role of First Nations in community tourism processes. For this reason, the researcher began to ask explicitly about First Nations people in many of the later interviews. Second, mentioning the name of another key informant added local legitimacy to my position as a researcher, and most often the prospective interviewees were responsive to the idea of also participating in the research. Third, while the key informants provided a diverse set of suggestions for potential key informants throughout the interviewing process, many respondents also identified the same key informants, particularly elected officials. This demonstrated that many of those I interviewed were deemed by more than one key informant to have important opinions to assist in answering the research questions. The snowballing technique reinforced the categories of stakeholders identified during the informal conversations. However, there were two categories of stakeholders that were not identified initially: the Tofino Vacation Rental Association (TTRA); and residents who were distinguished by their status as either renting or owning property in the community.

The interview process followed the guidelines of the Simon Fraser University Ethics Board that protects the confidentiality and anonymity of interview participants. In the case of the two telephone interviews, a copy of the ethics form was faxed to each key informant and returned before the scheduled telephone interview. During the initial introduction of the research project, rationale and goals, both on the telephone and again in person at the beginning of the interview, I indicated that the interview would take 30 to 40 minutes. I remained conscious of this time constraint as each interview progressed, as I wanted to respect the time of the key informants. A number of the interviews did take longer, although this was at the informant's initiation.

In-depth, semi structured interviews can provide data that is rich, detailed and multi-layered (Valentine, 1997). The approach allows for flexibility in question structure and allows the interviewer to address unexpected responses from interviewees (Dunn, 2001; Valentine, 1997). The questions were open ended and invited participants in the interviews to expand on subjects that they perceived as relevant to the topic areas. For example, the question, "*in your opinion, what is the most powerful group in Tofino, and what gives them that power*" garnered a range of responses from discussions about

'power' to practical cut and dry responses about individuals, organizations, and 'non-human actors' to more subtle discussions of manner in which groups controlled or influenced tourism processes. The Appendix is the interview guide, and documents the main themes and questions that were asked during the interviews.

Each prospective key informant was contacted by telephone, whereby an interview time and site was arranged. One prospective informant refused outright to take part in the study, claiming time constraints, while another failed to return four phone messages. A total of 20 successful interviews were completed (n=20). The majority of interviews were conducted in person, tape recorded and transcribed verbatim (n=16). Two interviews were conducted by telephone due to scheduling conflicts and two key informants were uncomfortable speaking in the presence of a tape recorder. In those cases (n=4), detailed, hand written notes were taken, and later transcribed to computer text. The key informants chose the meeting places for the interviews. They included the informant's place of work (n=9), coffee shops (n=6), individual's homes (n=2) and the Weigh West Pub (n=1).

3.2.2.3 Strategies to enhance credibility

The following section details strategies that were employed to improve the credibility of the in-depth interviews through the actual practice of interviewing. These, as identified by Baxter and Eyles (1997) include assessing ones' own ethnocentricity and biases throughout the interview process, having prolonged engagement in the field community, and persistent observation where focus is on the factors important to the research questions.

The timeframe for conducting the field research was three months. My knowledge of the community and awareness of some of its development history as a result of part time residence over the past four years assisted in contextualizing the research and understanding the context of controversial events, the current actors and tourism tensions. The pilot research (informal conversations) also contributed to my general knowledge of the community and its stakeholders prior to conducting the in-depth interviews. Discrepancies in interview information were investigated by comparing responses from other interview transcripts, asking pointed questions to the respondents, and referring to secondary documents such as newspapers or minutes from municipal council meetings. I employed persistent observation (Baxter and Eyles, 1997) through

the use of snowball, purposive sampling which involved interviewing those key informants who seemed to be able to tell me the most about relations of power in Tofino.

The main primary data collection (in-depth interviewing) continued until key informants from the identified stakeholder groups had been interviewed, and the data became redundant, where no new themes were emerging. These two conditions appeared – a process known as data saturation – after twenty interviews (n=20).

3.2.3 Methods of analysis

Each interview was coded by number (1-20) to protect the identities of key informants. Identifying letter codes were added to identify the characteristics of the key informants. These characteristics correspond to the broad stakeholder groups identified in the pilot research and shown in Table 4.

Table 5 provides the codes for these stakeholder groups and the numbers of key informants who represent each group. Apart from the distinction between long term and newer residents (n=20), the classifications of key informants are not mutually exclusive. That the key informants have many different roles in the community can complicate their opinions, perceptions and motives. With the exception of two informants, all participants hold multiple roles in the community, with informants holding as many as four different roles.

Table 5: Categorization of interviewees according to stakeholder group

<i>Stakeholder group / Position in community</i>	<i>Code</i>	<i>Total number of participants (out of possible n=20)</i>
Long term resident (over 15 years)	LR	11
New resident (less than 15 years)	NR	9
Municipal Councillor (2002-2005)	M	4
Tourism Operator	T	10
Business organization	B ₁ – TLBCC	9
	B ₂ – TBA	5
	B ₃ – TVRA	1
Industry (fishing/logging)	I	1
Environmental Organization	E	3
Developer	D	2
Member of First Nations Nuu-Chal-Nalth	F	1

For example, one informant is a new resident, an elected municipal council member, and is a member of the TLBCC. The classification codes for each participant were used to assist in the interpretation of the data, but all classifications are not revealed for each participant in the written analysis in order to protect the confidentiality of the interviewees. When describing the key informants in the results sections, where informant quotations are used for evidence, the stakeholder group code is identified with the interview number if it was clear in what capacity the key informant was speaking. For example, one key informant prefaced comments about a development with “as a councillor” which made clear in what context to interpret his comments, and is therefore identified with an ‘M’. However, there were instances where the perspective from which key informants were speaking was unknown, and therefore just the numerical code is used to identify the participant. It is useful to identify the characteristics of key informants (interview participants) because certain experiences and positions in the community that are critical to the research question may be overlooked. Describing the key informants also offers an indication of inclusion or omission from the interviewing process (Baxter and Eyles, 1997).

The data from the in-depth interview typed transcripts were analyzed for emergent themes by using a process called contextualized thematic analysis (Baxter and Eyles, 1999). This strategy connects the words of participants, presented as quotations, with themes. Use of quotations in presenting the research results is important because they reveal “how meanings are expressed in the respondents’ own words, rather than the words of the researcher” (Baxter and Eyles, 1997). Related themes were identified and illustrate the main factors that contribute to and influence power relations in Tofino.

3.2.4 Data analysis and presentation

Primary data were triangulated to compare interview responses with secondary sources derived from newspapers, government and community documents. Triangulation is a method utilized for achieving credibility and dependability in qualitative research (Decrop, 1999; Baxter and Eyles, 1997). Data source triangulation was used in this research for the analysis of the two, recent key events This involves the systematic comparison of primary and secondary sources – in this case these were in-depth interview transcripts and local newspaper sources. This method of triangulation

addresses the problem of bias in the responses of the in-depth interview participants (Oppermann, 2000). Secondary sources were also used to verify facts.

CHAPTER 4: CASE STUDY: THE RESORT COMMUNITY OF TOFINO, B.C.

The following chapter considers characteristics of the case study area, namely the structure of governance in which municipal decisions relating to tourism are created and enforced. The local government framework is the setting in which many instances of a community's power relations are played out. A section details the historical facts about the community and development of the tourism industry. The evolution of Tofino is traced through four stages of development beginning the in 1960s. This provides the context for discussions of current relations of power in the community.

4.1.1 Local government framework

An overview of the structure and responsibilities of local government provides the context for the subsequent presentation of results that consider power and local politics. The legal framework and legislation enabling local government bodies is granted to local authorities by the Provincial government through Bill 14 entitled the 'Community Charter' (Government of B.C., 2003), which evolved out of the Local Government Act (Government of B.C., 1996). The Community Charter gives municipalities the legal status of a natural person and allows municipalities the broad powers to regulate, prohibit or impose guidelines in local jurisdictions. Guides to all facets of municipality operations are included in the Act, for example, guides to elections and to the composition of zoning bylaws (Government of B.C., 2003). Under the BC provincial legislation, The District Municipality of Tofino, is designated as both a village (with a population under 2500) and a District Municipality (as the land area is greater than 800 hectares and has a population density of less than 5 people per hectare). Tofino is a part of the Alberni-Clayoquot Regional District, a region that includes the Village of Ucluelet, the City of Port Alberni, the communities of Sproat Lake and Bamfield, and 17 First Nations reserves.

The responsibilities for local government services and regulation lie with the municipal councils and the regional districts. With the exception of a minority of

municipal councillors, no participants referred to the regional district when discussing power relations. This suggests that the local residents do not perceive the Alberni district as an organization factoring highly in the power relations of tourism development.

A new municipal council – in Tofino it consists of a mayor and six councillors – is elected every three years; the timeframe of the recent councils has been: 1996-1999; 1999-2002; 2002-2005. The empirical research was conducted in the lead up to a municipal election in November 2005. The municipal council is supported by District Staff, consisting of 8 employees who deal with finances, building inspection, administration, and parks and recreation. The public works and bylaw enforcement departments each have two full-time employees. For the past 2 years, in the absence of a full time planner, the District has contracted its planning duties to a small consulting firm named 'Shine On Consulting'.

The District of Tofino provides services to its citizens, such as bylaw enforcement, the upkeep of local beach access points, parking facilities, and the maintenance of local roads. The District is also responsible for regulation, including determining and enforcing land use planning and issuing business licenses. Although the specific guidelines for municipalities are fixed in provincial legislation, the local government has considerable freedom – in theory – to govern according to citizen priorities. The municipal council is responsible for all land use decisions, zoning and bylaw creation, amendment and enforcement.

One of the ways that local priorities are legislated is through the Official Community Plan, a bylaw that broadly sets out the goals of the community and spatial distribution of services through zoning regulations (District of Tofino, 2002). Tofino's Official Community Plan was rewritten in 2002 through an intensive community consultation process. All subsequent bylaw and zoning decisions that are guided by planners and approved by the municipal council are meant to reflect the guidelines in the OCP (District of Tofino, 2002).

The municipal government receives the majority of its income from the property taxes levied on residential and commercial land. The connection between property tax levels and municipal funding makes the local government vulnerable to fluctuations in property values.

4.1.2 Historical evolution

The historical development of Tofino and Clayoquot Sound provides a critical context for understanding contemporary power relations and tourism development in Tofino. Over the last 40 years the processes of social and economic change have brought settlers to the community who have introduced alternate values and ideologies. These settlers, and later tourists, have both responded to, and themselves driven, a transition from economies associated with fishing and to some extent logging, to those associated primarily with tourism (and some aquaculture). Spatial changes in Tofino include the uses, values and ownership of land, and a growing international profile. Political and institutional factors important during these transitions include, for example, the Federal Park designation, and the formation of new business alliances.

Socio-economic factors, spatial characteristics and political/institutional factors in Tofino's development are discussed according to four eras of settlement and development: the counter-culture (hippy) era of the 1960-70s; the era of environmentalism in the 1980s; resort and tourism development in the 1990s; and amenity migration and mass recreation in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Table 6 summarizes the key events, socio-economic, spatial characteristics and political or institutional factors of development during each era of development.

Table 6: Major events and characteristics in the development of Tofino (1960-2000)

<i>Development era</i>	<i>Socio-Economic Characteristics</i>	<i>Spatial characteristics</i>	<i>Key Events: Political and Institutional factors</i>
			-1959 – Road connects Tofino to Port Alberni
<i>1960s & 1970s Counter-culture</i>	-New migrants: draft dodgers/ hippies -Economic activity: fishing, some logging	-Original settlers (families) purchasing large tracts of land -Development of original infrastructure	-1971- Creation of Pacific Rim National Park Reserve -1979 – Formation of the Friends of Clayoquot Sound
<i>1980s Environmentalism</i>	-New Migrants: environmentalists/ feminists -Economic activity: fishing, tourism activities -e.g. whale watching, sea kayaking, B&Bs, restaurants and coffee shops	-Importance of inner harbor for tourism activities (whale watching), fishing, processing plants, community services and the western terminus of the Trans Canada Highway	- 1988-1995 Clayoquot Sound Dispute - Jamies Whaling station -1986 Remote Passages Whale Watching and Sea Kayaking begins business - Aerial photographs depicted the region as untouched and pristine wilderness propelled Tofino's international profile and accelerated tourism and residential settlement in Tofino.
<i>1990s Resort Development</i>	-Tourism Growth: -Resorts attracting wealthy, international tourists -1996 - Wickaninnish Inn -Development of 5 resorts on western coast	-Increasing importance of land on the outer, Pacific coast	-1995: TBA formed out of TLBCC
<i>Late 90s to present Amenity migration/ property speculation/ coastal recreation</i>	-New Migrants: second homeowners -Economic activity: Tourism, aquaculture -Vacation Rental Properties used as a major tourist accommodation industry -Importance of recreation – surfing and kayaking (5 surf schools)	-New homeowners (Chesterman Beach and throughout municipality) change nature of residential neighborhoods	-2000 Clayoquot Sound designated a UNESCO Biosphere Reserve

Each new era is layered upon the last, and participants indicated this diversity provides a context for understanding contemporary relations of power in Tofino.

During the 1960s and 1970s, the community of Tofino was dominated by a small number of families (termed the 'old guard' by contemporary Tofino residents). During that time, the first counter culture migrants also settled in Tofino, some of whom were draft dodgers from the United States who were avoiding service in the Vietnam War (CBC, 1970). Some of these original settlers purchased large tracts of land throughout the municipality giving a small group of families a large share of influence in more recent tourism development in Tofino.

During the counter culture era, the major economic industries were fishing and logging. With the designation of the Pacific Rim National Park Reserve directly south of Tofino's municipal boundaries in 1971, Tofino became a service centre to an increasing number of tourists who were attracted to the area. At that time, some residents disagreed with the park designation for ideological reasons while others opposed its creation because residents at Long Beach were forced to move their homes and businesses into Tofino.

The era of environmentalism in the 1980s and early 90s is characterised by the controversy that began in 1988 over logging within Clayoquot Sound, and at one point in 1993 900 protesters were arrested in the largest act of disobedience in Canada (e.g. Magnusson and Shaw, 2003; Langer, 2003; White, 1999; Willems-Braun, 1997). New migrants to Tofino included environmentalists whose tactics of opposition to logging ranged from physical blockades to more conservative campaigns involving letter writing and lobbying. The Friends of Clayoquot Sound (FOCS), an environmental NGO, was the main lobby group and organizing force during the dispute. The FOCS distributed internationally the now famous aerial images of Clayoquot Sound that depicted the region as untouched, with complete tracts of old growth forest wilderness.

Despite increasing interest in the area within and surrounding Tofino for tourism after the creation of the National Park in 1971, participants acknowledged that it was the international media attention during the 'war in the woods', that was "*the spark that set the gas can off*" (8 LR) for tourism development in Tofino. Many new residents who became entrepreneurs were active in the Tofino-Long Beach Chamber of Commerce (TLBCC), and began capitalizing on the increasing tourism demand. Businesses included whale watching and sea kayaking operations, restaurants and coffee shops,

and bed and breakfast accommodations. Many of these businesses as well as commercial and recreational fishing moorings, fish processing plants and residential boat moorings were located at the inner harbour of Tofino. At the Government dock, located at the end of 1st Street is the western terminus of the Trans Canada Highway.

In the aftermath of the Clayoquot dispute, and during an acceleration of tourism development in the community, there were perceived differences in values and ideologies between residents of Tofino - including 'old guard families', new environmentalists, feminists, tourism entrepreneurs, and employees in productive industries of fishing and logging. Significant in local politics during this time was the development of new institutions and organizational rivalries. In 1995, a group of business owners formed the Tofino Business Association (TBA) as an alternative to the existing Tofino-Long Beach Chamber of Commerce (TLBCC).

During the 1990s, in a local political climate characterized by hostility and distrust, tourism developers began to respond to the increasing demand for tourism products in Tofino. While there was one original resort development on the western coast of Tofino in the 1970s, five major resort developments, all located on the exposed western Pacific coast of the peninsula, were started/or completed in the 1990s. Notable was the Wickaninnish Inn, which at the time of its development in 1996, was controversial in part for its location on the previously residential Chesterman Beach, a section of coastline approximately 2 kilometres long that faces the western, open ocean. The 'Wick' as local residents call this resort, attracted a clientele of increasingly, wealthy international tourists through the resort's clever advertising of "Rustic Elegance on Nature's Edge" (www.wickinn.com). In an effort to create an alternate season for tourism, this resort successfully commodified and marketed storm watching on the wild Pacific coast as a winter tourist activity, where visitors could enjoy luxury amenities and fine dining while observing 'wilderness'. Designed to attract visitors during the previously quiet winter months, storm watching has become a major draw of visitors to the entire community.

During the late 1990s and early years of 2000, tourism and residential development continued in the community; the influx of wealthy tourists, attracted by luxury hotels and unique experiences, has triggered tourism-related amenity migration to the area. This in turn has contributed to land and property speculation, particularly on land immediately adjacent to beaches and coastline and has led to rapid increases in

property values throughout the municipality of Tofino. Local residents have coined Chesterman Beach, one of the main beach areas with access to open Pacific water, as 'millionaires' beach'. Amenity migrants include both permanent and second-homeowners. Permanent amenity migrants include retirees, 'foot loose' professionals, and local small business owners. Rising property values have forced some local residents to leave the community due to increasing property taxes and living costs. Increasingly, 'vacation rental properties' (VRPs), often owned by part time residents or second homeowners, have provided additional accommodation for tourists alongside residential properties.

In addition to storm watching, Tofino has become a popular, mainstream outdoor recreation site for hiking, kayaking and especially surfing. While surfing has been a part of Tofino's identity since the early counter-culture days, it was not commodified to any degree until recent times (Shilling, 2003). The explosion of surfing activities on the beaches of Tofino and the Pacific Rim National Park, is in part a reaction to the global popularity of the sport, and in part due to the re-positioning of Tofino from a small picturesque fishing village with counter culture overtones to an international resort destination. The economic and social importance of surfing to the tourism economy in Tofino is apparent with the development – from one surf shop and surf school in 1999 – to, in 2005, five surf schools and four other surfing retail and rental outlets. The use of the community's beaches on the outer coast – at Chesterman Beach and Cox Bay primarily – for surfing instruction is driving conflicts in Tofino over issues concerning appropriate levels of coastal resource use, community access and maintenance.

Factors associated with the relations of power in Tofino during the recent trends towards amenity migration, and the changing uses of natural landscapes as sites of consumption – such as during the activities of storm watching and surfing – are considered in more detail throughout the results chapters on Local Politics and Resource Control. The history of development and settlement in Tofino, with each settlement phase bringing residents who have introduced alternate values and ideologies, provides the background to the complexities of tourism, resource and community development and management that residents struggle with currently.

CHAPTER 5: POWER AND LOCAL POLITICS

This chapter presents the results from the in-depth interviews together with secondary sources about power and local politics in Tofino. Results relating to power are first structured thematically around key themes: historical interactions; conflicting community values; stakeholders in the local political arena, the methods and resources stakeholders employ for influence, and the adherence to, and the enforcement of bylaws and regulations. The influence of power relations on the tourism geographies of Tofino is studied more specifically through an examination of the tensions within the community leading up to the regulation of Vacation Rental Properties (VRPs). This event presents an example of contestations over appropriate levels, areas, types, and management strategies for tourism development and growth. The results presented in this chapter contribute toward answering the main research question by identifying stakeholders involved in relations of power and present factors that affect power relations in the community. In addition, the results point to themes and motives that drive the relations of power, drawing out how tourism geographies are influenced by power relations.

The 'arena of interaction' (Figure 1, page 26) for this case study is at the scale of the community and with respect to tourism, relations of power appear to be acted out in processes of local politics, and primarily within local government settings. Provincial, Federal and international organizations and governmental bodies - for example the Pacific Rim National Park Reserve or the UNESCO designation for Clayoquot Sound – contribute to processes of relations of power and are often enacted through local representatives and organizations and/or within the local government. All participants in the interviews (n=20) discussed aspects of the local government in relation to power and tourism in Tofino. When participants answered the question at the end of the interview, '*which group is the most powerful in Tofino*', the majority of the participants acknowledged the influence of the local, municipal government. Referring to the regulatory bodies that influence and control tourism development, one participant stated:

the local municipal council and the District of Tofino, mayor and council really control that [tourism development] when they stop allowing development permits to proceed or do not make appropriate investments

in infrastructure. They are ultimately controlling the course of development (2T).

Table 7 shows the main factors identified by participants as influential in the power relations that occur within the local political arena.

Table 7: Local political factors in power discussed by participants

<i>Sub-themes</i>	<i>Main Topics</i>
Historical interactions	Land ownership and development Changes to community: new residents Political and institutional change <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perceptions of change in the municipal council
Stakeholder interactions and power	Elected Officials <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Connections to other organizations; experience; length of residence; available free time; occupation District Staff Developers Lobby Groups
Regulations and bylaws	Non-compliance Enforcement

Three major themes are discussed with respect to the general characteristics of power relations in the local political arena. The first considers historical interactions that interview respondents identified as continuing to influence contemporary power relations. A second theme, stakeholder interactions and power, relates to aspects of the motives, resources and tactics of elected officials, district staff, developers, and lobby groups. Each group has a different type of influence, or potential for influence, on the tourism place, space and environment of Tofino. The third theme relates to stakeholders' responses to regulations and bylaws.

5.1 Historical Interactions

In interpreting recent power relations in the past 5 years, respondents highlighted the importance of Tofino's history in understanding contemporary power relations. At least once during each interview 14 participants described aspects of tourism development and power relations in Tofino during the last decade by referring to past community characteristics and subsequent changes in the community. Factors associated with land ownership and development, community change – particularly

through new resident migration – and political or institutional factors emerged as important to contemporary tourism development and power relationships.

Participants identified ownership in the new development of land as a factor that influenced the type of tourism developments. One new resident observes:

some of the people who are very long time residents who have large parcels of property and then have left that undeveloped for a long time...the development of their properties is being directed at tourism (7 NR)

Several participants indicated that these residents who have lived in the community for many years have considerable influence over contemporary tourism development as a result of land they acquired at low cost.

Several factors contributed to the changing nature of the landscape through tourism development. Participants identified resort development as one factor that changed the pattern of ownership, which resulted in an increase in property values. One tourism resort, The Wickaninnish Inn, according to one municipal councillor “*changed the whole makeup of Tofino*” (9M). A resort operator discussed the impact of rising property values, noting:

I think the property tax issue is a very real one for people. You don't want a little old lady who has lived in her house for 50 years not to be able to afford the taxes because of all the properties have risen in value (2T).

One tourism operator discussed the need for an affordable housing plan:

it is something that is sorely needed in this town to keep people living and working here. You know, instead of commuting from Ucluelet. One after another people are moving out of here (1 T)

Key informants also cited quality of life concerns in an increasingly tourist driven and second home environment. A long term resident recently sold his home on Chesterman beach because of the lack of community and respect in the area, stating:

the people who own property on Chesterman Beach now think that they own the beach (16 LR).

Other changes to the community include new migrants who have altered the character and makeup of the community, and as a result, affected the relations of power in the community. In the 1960s and 70s residents developed the original infrastructure of Tofino, including the water and sewage systems (8 LR). In many ways, the ‘old guard’

and counter culture migrants rejected authority, and their independent, 'do it yourself' attitude towards community development characterized this group. In describing the difference between the days of the original white settlers and the contemporary community, one long term resident reflects:

If you compare then to now, the greatest thing that I notice is that we are not dependent anymore on one another, or in getting things done that should be done. We leave it up to a municipal administrator in the village office or a bylaw officer, or a police officer or somebody to come along to tell us what is best for us. (8 LR)

One resident described how new ideologies and economic industries introduced by primarily female entrepreneurs created tensions in the community:

you've got this first wave of business people...and what you see there was a shift in power from the really old families, and very much a patriarchal structure, and it shifted very much into a very matriarchal [system where a few women] really brought a new spirit to the community. (10 NR)

The dominant inter-organizational rivalry during town politics in the mid-1990s, discussed by 11 respondents, is the rivalry between the Tofino-Long Beach Chamber of Commerce (TLBCC) and the Tofino Business Association (TBA). According to TBA members, perceptions of environmental activism and anti-business values by members and leaders of the TLBCC provided the impetus for creating the TBA. Both members of the TBA and the TBLCC described similar reasons for the division. One key informant states:

the TBA was created because the Chamber of Commerce was in fact, at one point, anti-business, against growth, against business investment in the area, and was really controlled primarily by B&B owners and operators. And so the TBA was created because the business voice of Tofino was not being heard (2 B₂)

A member of the TLBCC acknowledged the differences in values between the two organizations:

I think the Chamber was becoming more interested in social issues and had some connections with non profit organizations and that sort of thing, and of course the non profit sector is dominated by environmental groups and I think at that point some people in the Chamber felt that it wasn't business oriented enough (18 B₁)

The comments of members representing the TLBCC and the TBA also indicate that cross membership and similar ideologies and values created perceptions of alliances between the TLBCC, the Bed and Breakfast Association (a coalition of B&Bs that advertise and lobby as a group) and the Friends of Clayoquot Sound (FOCS).

Throughout the 1990s the rivalry between the TLBCC and the TBA involved personal attacks, name calling and the spread of misinformation that inspired rumour, paranoia and distrust throughout the community (Harper, 1997). Discussing the rivalry between the TLBCC and the TBA, one councillor stated:

the relations between those two groups have been embarrassingly silly over time. In years gone by its been ridiculous frankly, that adults would behave like that (4M).

5.1.1 Perceptions of change in municipal councils

The elected officials on the municipal council are chosen by residents in the community and, in general, represent the broad values in the community. The following section traces the perceptions of change in the overall values expressed by municipal councils in Tofino; this provides clues to possible changes in characteristics or priorities of residents in the community (or at least those residents who are vocal and involved in politics) as often municipal councils will reflect broad community values. The tensions over conflicting community values provide some of the motivations for the actions of residents and stakeholder groups in relationships of power.

Over the last 3 municipal councils, the overall priorities that are expressed as dominant during each council term has shifted, expressed as follows by one key informant:

we tend to go radically from one side to another, and backwards and forwards at election time depending on what the recent history has been. So the pendulum swings from one side to the other...its not good for the community it is very divisive. (4M)

The councillor's comment highlights the lack of continuity in community management, and with respect to tourism, the relatively small amount of planning and regulation that is enforced. Participants referred to the overall influence of elected officials on municipal councils as shifting from elected officials who are members of the 'old guard', and original settlers or their families, to those who espouse environmental, or anti-development views. Key informant 4 also highlights that this shift in the associations of

elected officials can give certain viewpoints and stakeholder groups more influence than others and creates tensions and discontinuity in the community political process.

Table 8 presents key statements by participants to illustrate the changes between the council terms.

Table 8: Perceptions of Municipal council attitudes 1996-2005

2002-2005	1999-2002	1996-1999
<i>Perceptions of anti-business attitude</i>	<i>Perceptions of control by TBA</i>	<i>Perceptions of a anti-development, left council</i>
<p>"I would generally see that it's the green element if you will, and people who believe in no growth and close the gate because I 'm here, I don't want anyone else coming in, the NIMBY attitude. Those are the people who I think are doing their best to influence council and in fact are on council" 2 LR</p>	<p>"It was essentially a pro TBA, pro salmon farming pro logging. Which is fine. But they became the council after us and essentially the mayor of the day was also the executive director of the Tofino Business Association. Even now, my friend over at the TBA says that that council was disastrous and that council caused a lot of problems" 18 B₁</p>	<p>"if you go back three councils, I mean I call it left wing, which I know isn't a good term, but that is the best one we have, but it was sort of an extreme left council" 4M</p>

While highlighting the changes in the overall influence and change in municipal councils, the comments of participants shown in Table 8 also point out the ability of individual officials to act on behalf of their constituent base, and thereby influence tourism and community policies. The perceptions of council members' values as 'left', or anti-development during the terms from 1996-1999 and from 2002-2005, contrast with those from 1999-2002 which are perceived to be 'conservative' or business oriented and more in favour of the development of economies of production – such as fishing farming, in addition to tourism development. These views are corroborated by the perceptions of values held by members of council from 1996-2005 shown in Table 9.

Table 9: Perceptions of municipal councillors' values and connections 1996-2005

<i>Year</i>	<i>Municipal Councillors</i>	<i>Values/ Connections</i>
1996-1999	Scott Fraser (Mayor)	Environmental Friends of Clayoquot Sound
	M. Amrhein	N/A
	R. Arnet	Member of 'old guard'
	K. Gibson	Member of 'old guard'
	L. Nicolay	New settler
	J. Schwartz	Real Estate Agent
	A. Anderson	Business owner Anti-development
1999-2002	B. Bryant (Mayor)	Executive director TBA
	A. Anderson	Business owner Anti-development
	L. Byers	Environmental connections
	G. Cameron	N/A
	D. Haley	N/A
	S. Paone	N/A
	J. Schwartz	Real estate agent
2002-2005	A. Anderson (Mayor)	Business owner Anti-development
	P. Ayres	Member TBA
	J. Schwartz	Real estate agent
	D. Shaw	Environmental values
	O. Strudwick	New settler Environmental values
	M. Tilitzky	Manager TLBCC Environmental values
	V. Webb	Environmental values
Source: Interview Data		

Although the council characteristics are presented in Table 8 as being binary, the values in the community, similar to its settlement history, are complex.

I think it is no longer as easy as left and right or old and new, because some of the new values are more pro development based on older values. Which isn't because the old values also don't want change (10M)

As shown in Table 8, the comments of Key informant 2LR regarding the most recent municipal council illustrate how elected officials and residents, some of whom are new residents, are perceived to be resistant to growth and community change. The “NIMBY” (not in my back yard) phenomena is akin to that of the ‘last settler syndrome’, which according to the tourism operator 2T, has been providing the motivations for some of the recent actions of elected officials and associated groups.

However, it is not only the characteristics of councillors that have changed over the past three council terms. The workload for councillors as well as the volume of development proposals and activity in the community has increased considerably. A former municipal councillor from the 1996-1999 term states:

when I was on council a really big load would be 6 or 7 development applications. And now there is 50 at any given time, there is just no comparison...the fact is that it may be a small town but the amount of development activity is phenomenal. (18)

This comment highlights how, in the midst of an internationally profiled tourism resort area, residents of small communities and particularly councillors must handle a diverse set of priorities, one of which is the management and decisions for appropriate levels of growth and development.

Factors associated with the historical development of the community have provided indications of some of the conflicts over community development and values. Participants in the interviews referred to power relations in the community with respect to recent or ongoing tensions and debate over opinions of acceptable volumes, types and areas of tourism development, the maintenance of both small town community character and the environmental integrity of the wilderness within District boundaries and the surrounding Clayoquot Sound region. More specifically, key informants expressed concerns over, and the balance between, quality of life, affordability, economic diversity and environmental integrity of the land and coastal resources.

In particular the comment in Table 8 by the tourism operator and long term resident (2 LR) regarding the most recent municipal council (2002-2005) highlights a prominent community tension: the disparity between appropriate and viable economic development and diversity, both within the tourism industry and other industries, and the maintenance of small town amenities. These community characteristics may be the motivating factor for residents to move to the community. A key informant who is

involved in tourism and other industries reflects on the nostalgic attitude of some residents or settlers:

some people won't be happy unless its just a quiet little village that has no real economic base. And you [new residents] can just exist here because you have other means of staying here, move here from the city, living on RSPs or are a consultant or whatever (15T)

In Tofino's small community, some distinguish between those residents who live and work in the community and those residents, part time residents or second homeowners who do not rely on Tofino's economies for financial security. The comments by 15T highlight the tensions between cultivating the community's economic industries while maintaining the small town qualities that attract and are expected by tourists and residents.

The perceptions of the disparity between economic growth in the tourism industry, and the ability of the town to maintain its quality of life and small town character seem to, in general, describe the crux of differences within Tofino. With respect to appropriate areas of tourism development, a municipal councillor states:

we need to sit down and say how we see our community and decide where tourism fits in. Are we going to develop these things [vacation rental properties] and go this way, and commercialise our neighbourhoods? (9M)

In part the commercialisation of residential places, such as at Chesterman Beach, stems from unregulated and unplanned tourism growth. One of the key events, the regulation of vacation rental properties, discussed below, considers this issue in detail.

One tourism operator explains some of the tensions between the protection of the environment, including the coastal areas and the temperate forests, and the need to develop and maintain a viable tourism product:

I find people with very large resorts say that they don't care if all of the forest is gone because their visitors come to look at the beach, what is behind them doesn't matter. So there are people who you think would be very concerned with the environment but are not. So the larger the resort, the more driven they are by profitability or by being able to pay their mortgages or service their debt. Its not always a quest for profit its often just a hope for survival type of situation. (3T)

Key informant 3's comments also indicate how some resort owners may distinguish between coastal resources – such as the beach views towards the Pacific ocean – and

the forested resources inland. Perhaps this opinion lingers from the dispute over logging during the 'war in the woods' where distinctions were made between an entire region of pristine forest wilderness, and the scenic corridors that depict a version of 'wilderness' for the majority of tourists. Nevertheless, the distinction between environmental quality, and which activities and areas are appropriate for tourism development remains an issue that is highly contested during local politics. The tourism operator's comments also highlight the challenge for large resorts, particularly in a wider competitive tourism community and province, to remain economically viable year round.

Tensions that relate to the quality of life in a community, its affordability, the economic diversity and viability of industries and the environmental qualities are contested factors over which power relations are played out in the community of Tofino. Aspects of these tensions are discussed in greater detail, and with specific respect to processes of power relations in subsequent sections.

5.2 Stakeholder Interactions and Power

5.2.1 Elected officials

Participants identified several factors, in addition to personal ideologies and views relating to politics that are influencing the actions of elected officials. Shown in Table 7 (page 54), these factors include: the connections and involvement in other community organizations; experience; occupation; available free time; and, length of residence in Tofino.

The very nature of municipal politics where prospective elected officials may campaign as a representative of a dominant organization, such as the TBA or the TLBCC is not surprising or unusual. The comments of key informants in Table 8 allude to the importance of the connections that elected officials have to other community organizations. Similarly, Table 9 (page 53) demonstrates the multiple connections that municipal councillors have to community organizations. During the council term from 1999-2002, the Mayor was also the Executive Director of the TBA. Several key informants indicated that this gave the TBA influence on the council, but also cautioned that these connections were not necessarily beneficial. A current TBA member states:

Last term we had a mayor that was the Executive Director of the TBA and that put us in a bit of a strange position. So that almost worked against us

because it was too close. It's the same thing with ___ and the Chamber (15 B₂).

The latter comment refers to the municipal council from 2002-2005, where one municipal councillor has a prominent position with the TLBCC. However, key informants, such as the TBA member (15B₂) were also suspicious of how much these connections actually influenced what actually was accomplished. However, the perceptions of individuals' connections and influence, however tenuous, sometimes act as catalysts for reactions by other community members or organizations. This sensationalisation of local politics is evident during the examination of the connections and perceived connections of elected officials during recent key events.

Key informants indicated how motives of elected officials range from a self-centred or singular cause, to ideological (meaning for the greater good of the community). A long term resident gives an important window into how individuals achieve change in Tofino:

everyone who wants to get something done runs for council. That is well known around town (17LR).

It seems that while councillors have motivation to effect positive change within their community, there are negotiations that also occur between councillors over trading of votes. A municipal councillor stated:

I was pretty naïve when I first got on council. I just knew that I was interested in doing something for my community. And you can't always be honest, and that was my biggest fault. I was very disillusioned. People try to solicit votes on council, well if you vote this way for this, I'll vote with you on your thing (9M).

The quotation highlights different motivations of councillors – distinguishing between achieving personal goals or pursuing objectives that benefit the community – that influence local political processes. It seems that councillors attempt to negotiate for votes and support from other councillors. This power tactic, or mode of power appears to suggest negotiation, although others may view vote trading as a tactic of manipulation, particularly if the councillors discuss these matters in private.

Participants discussed other important characteristics of the municipal council (2002-2005) and individual councillors. One key informant states:

everybody is a relative newcomer... and they are also people who either don't work full time, or have seasonal jobs...a number of them are people that have a strong anti-business attitude. Council used to be made up of people that are firmly embedded in the community and big companies. (3)

This comment suggests that some residents perceive elected officials to have motives that are not represented by dominant industries or are perceived to have, because of their length of residence, less attachment to the community. Tofino in reality does not have what that key informant 3 describes as 'big companies.' The Wickaninnish Inn, which employs 160 residents, or the aquaculture industries are the only close approximations. The tourism economy in Tofino is fragmented and many small operators and home-based businesses seem to complicate the connections and motives of elected officials.

5.2.2 District of Tofino staff

Several participants discussed the overall influence of municipal staff in influencing how tourism development proceeds. Key informants identified their perceptions of the various power tactics that each of these District employees, often in conjunction with different lobby groups (such as a developer or community institution), engaged in. Main actors include administrative officials, the city planner (contracted to 'Shine-On Consulting') and bylaw officers. District staff was identified as a resource that stakeholders or lobby groups use in power relations – perhaps to gain 'insider' information or improve their development chances – but are also described as individuals who have agency over aspects of tourism development in Tofino.

With respect to the former – the use of District staff as a resource – one municipal councillor described a tactic of manipulation, where, allegedly, District staff have been providing copies of the council packages (prepared exclusively for councillors) to the TBA. According to this key informant, District employees have been distributing this package to the TBA since the council term from 1999-02, when the Executive Director of the TBA was also the Mayor. The informant states:

so a private body would discuss the council package. So what is the influence?...this comes from complications in our [Tofino's] past and the District staff (10M).

The councillor went on to discuss how individuals, developers or residents had knowledge about zoning or land use issues in advance because of their connections to

the TBA. The perceived manipulation, regardless of its actual, concrete influences – or to put in another way, if this actually will provide individuals with information that can be used to their advantage – demonstrates that stakeholders may use District staff as a resource in power relations to gain insider information. When discussing how developers in Tofino achieve their objectives, a long term resident states his speculation concerning a developer manipulating district staff:

I've seen people having dinner together that raises your eyebrows. One person in particular who is a long time District staff person who I saw having dinner with him [a developer]. (11LR).

The comments of key informants 10 and 11 suggest that individuals in Tofino, such as developers or members of institutions (in this example the TBA, although this does not indicate other institutions do not act in similar ways), have used their connections with District employees, or used particular tactics like 'wining and dining' key individuals.

Other key informants indicated how District staff, such as planners and building inspectors can delay or stall developments. This power tactic used by District staff is best described as one of authority. A developer in Tofino states:

the planners are exercising a fair bit of power over us right now. One of them pulled a big power trip a little while ago. In terms of the kind of detail to which she wanted us to follow the letter of the development permit, what was agreed to or permitted at the beginning (11D).

This participant is referring to the municipal planner prior to 2004. Following 2004, planning duties were contracted by the municipality to 'Shine-On Consulting. The authority described by 11D is within the job descriptions of District employees – however it appears that the problem occurs when the authority is perceived to be exercised unevenly. Authority by District staff becomes manipulation or domination by developers when certain developers are able to get away with greater infractions than others.

5.2.3 Developers

In Tofino, the term 'developer' is slightly ambiguous. Developers range from, for example, residents who want to attach a separate unit to their property for short or long term rentals, to those who may purchase undeveloped land to develop accommodation units, timeshare, or recreation properties. In general, when key informants in the interviews were describing developers, they were referring either to a number of local

residents – often equated with the ‘old guard’ residents – or developers who do not live in the community who purchase property for development (often significant tracts of land). Participants in the interviews identified a number of examples of tactics or, modes of power that the developers engage in. Most often the tactics were employed during processes of development approval through municipal council and through interactions, or reactions of residents to particular proposals.

‘Neighbourhood meetings’ are one type of tactic of negotiation or collaboration, which are designed to gauge public opinion about a development. Key informants indicated that meetings were often held prior to bringing the proposal forward to council. The feedback from residents and interested stakeholders, such as, a resort adjacent to the proposed lot for development, is often worked into the proposals before being submitted to council. One developer in Tofino, who purports to have been the first to start these meetings in 2002 during the approval process for a multi-use building states of the neighbourhood meeting:

we really beat the bushes and promoted it. It was a good turnout. There was a presentation and a question and answer time. So we made changes before it got to the official impart with the council. And that seemed to resolve all of the issues. (11D)

However, other key informants distinguished between meaningful public hearings and those that were for the sake of appearances. One developer in particular has organized public consultation meetings during the daytime in August; some participants indicated that this was unfair, as most residents are too busy with tourism businesses to attend meetings during the day in August. This could be perceived to be more akin to power tactics of seduction, where residents are tricked into believing that a public consultation process occurred.

One long term resident speculated about the influence of proximity to development approval processes:

There is a lot of development going on right now, in my observations only, sometimes people who are here on board in the community, who are developers, will get noticed a lot compared to someone who is outside the community, like ___ who will come in an all of a sudden they are developing something and no one will know. And I don’t really know how that evolves. (14LR)

This resident highlights one of the characteristics of small town politics, where active rumour mills can drive unwarranted speculation and fear mongering.

One municipal councillor summarizes the trade offs between economic and community development that are important in the relationship between the municipal council and developers, in this councillor's opinion, those that attempt to circumvent the rules. He states:

within our [council] structure, you know these community values, our responsibility is to make sure that we make the most of the investments, and most of the developers are not bad people, but they are driven, they obviously want to create a community that people want to come to, otherwise their development is not going to sell. They want to maximize their investment. So there is always that stress between the developers getting what they want, and the council trying to ensure that they get what is best for the community. (10M)

5.2.4 Lobby groups

The groups that attempt to influence the municipal council reflect many of the broad stakeholder groups identified during the pilot research. Local residents are distinguished on the basis of their ideologies, occupations or length of residence. Ideologies were identified as those groups espousing environmental, feminist, conservative, anti-development or pro-development views. In similar ways that individual elected officials are motivated to act, so too are individual residents. Residents lobby council as individuals through informal coalitions that are formed on an issue-by-issue basis or with formal community organizations.

The main industry and stakeholder groups in Tofino, discussed by all key informants are the TLBCC and the TBA. Industry groups include developers, realtors, the fixed roof accommodation industry (hotels), retailers, other small tourism operations and business associated with aquaculture and to a lesser extent commercialised fishing. Organized industry associations include the B&B Association, TVRA and the Whale Watching association. The FOCS and Streamkeepers are two of the main environmental non profit organizations.

The TLBCC and the TBA are the two main organized alliances, the former representing business at the Tourism Information Center, and the latter an economic alliance of primarily large business and industries in Tofino and Ucluelet. Both lobby the municipal council in Tofino, although they have other functions and roles in the

community. As discussed in the historical section, the TLBCC and the TBA have had an adversarial relationship since discouraged businesspersons first formed the TBA in 1995. The municipal council is often the forum through which relations between these two groups occur. First, the motives and resources of these two main organized industry groups the TBA and the TLBCC are presented. An initiative between the District of Tofino, the TLBCC and the TBA – Tourism Tofino – offers examples of negotiation and cooperation.

5.2.4.1 Motives: TLBCC and TBA

The TLBCC continues to consist of many small tourism operations and bed and breakfast accommodation facilities. Perhaps due to the history of environmental conflict in the 1980s and accelerated tourism growth in the 1990s, the activities of the TLBCC in Tofino appear to differ from those in most other communities. One long term resident describes the current role of the TLBCC:

the chamber functions really, really well as an information body, representing tourism businesses. So they don't function commercially, they don't deal with booking or anything. They are strictly an information center. I think the day that they finally decide to put a business information center in the Chamber, like most chambers function, for the community, the business community, then they will start to see both sides of it (14LR)

The singular role of the TLBCC, and the organization's limited ability to support or criticize government policies is reinforced by its funding structure. One TLBCC member states:

for years we have been receiving...a fee for service from the District to help run the Information Center. So as you can imagine, if the Chamber wants to say something about whatever issue, it can be difficult because you don't want to bite the hand that feeds you. (18 B₁)

Separating visitor services from political processes in the community is one goal of the TLBCC. A TLBCC member states:

the idea is to get politics completely out of visitor services and tourism marketing so that will free everybody up. (18 B₁)

The TBA functions as a business lobby group and represents some of the large resorts, fishing and logging interests in both Tofino and Ucluelet. The regional organization's function is described by a TBA member and tourism operator:

The TBA's role is really to present the business perspective, the broad business perspective, not just the hotel industry because there are many other industries here as well that are represented (2 B₂).

The perceptions of the TBA's role as an economic alliance by those outside the organization are less clear.

It's [TBA] a political thing and they are always writing up politically based messages, they are not really a business association. You know, its like the Tofino Reform Party Association. I just don't see what they do in terms of business. But I have never been invited to join the TBA. Its kind of a small group of people. (3T).

This respondent's comments highlight the perceptions of political conservatism that some local residents have of the TBA. The confusion and animosity of some individuals and groups towards the TBA may simply be a reaction to being left out of the 'old boys club' – or the somewhat exclusive invitee only membership structure.

During the interviews participants implicitly identified the resources, and perceived resources, of the TLBCC and the TBA. The main resources identified were: membership; alliances with other groups; and organizational clarity. Although alliance building is presented here as a resource for these two groups, it can also be viewed as a tactic in relations of power. As already discussed, both the TLBCC and the TBA have connections with elected officials, and participants acknowledged these connections as significant assets for the organizations.

The TLBCC has a large membership in Tofino with 300 members. The large and diverse membership base appears to be both an asset as well as a vice for the TLBCC in relations of power in Tofino. Following from perceptions of alliances during the 1990s, the connections between the TLBCC, B&B Association and the FOCS persist currently and appear to be based on cross membership between the organizations. One tourism operator states:

I would say right now that the Tofino Chamber of Commerce... and the B&B Association have a lot of cross membership and understanding and a lot of relationships in a sense whether it is personal or business...it is difficult to differentiate this in Tofino...and the Friends of Clayoquot Sound are left leaning and the Chamber of Commerce, or at least the

directorship of the Chamber seems to be more environmental and left leaning. Not that that is the basis of it but it just seems that there are quite a few of those [members] who are involved in the other environmental organizations. (1T).

While the high membership base and networks or cross-connections of the Chamber allows the organization to represent a range of viewpoints, particularly with regard to its function as an information center for tourists, the diversity of membership in the TLBCC also prevents the organization from effectively lobbying on tourism issues. One tourism operator describes this problem in the context of the Vacation Rental Property debate:

the Chamber of Commerce was very conflicted within itself because we had members that were vacation rental operators and members that operated other B&Bs or other things and they were either for or against depending, so just because it was so internally confusing on which direction we should go they basically took a step back and took no direction. (1T)

Also, key informants indicated how during many council meetings prominent members of the TLBCC eloquently or forcefully present their thoughts and opinions – often personal – but are perceived to be representative of the organization. This confusion seems to fuel irrational behaviour and paranoia during relations of power.

The TBA currently has 28 members determined by invitation only, although according to one tourism operator and TBA member “*the TBA represents the majority of the employment base*” (2 B₂) in Tofino and Ucluelet with 470 employees in the region (Tofino Business Association, 2006). TBA members explicitly identified alliances with other organizations, both within the community and regionally, as a resource that contributed to their ability to achieve their goals and promote and support business in the area.

We were working with the vacation rental owners, we supported vacation rentals...there are alliances with the Ucluelet chamber, there are alliances with the big hotels. (15 B₂).

Unlike the TLBCC, participants acknowledged that the organizational clarity, where the TBA presented a united, clear front on issues, contributed to its influence as an organization. One resident states of the TBA:

if they chose to exercise their strength they would have a lot to pull on, whereas other people would have to get organized to do it. (14 LR)

5.2.4.2 *Towards cooperation, collaboration and negotiation: Tourism Tofino*

Despite the radically opposing perceptions in the community of the political influences, motives and resources of both the TLBCC and the TBA, perceptions which, in the past have contributed to adversarial relations, 8 participants explicitly identified moderating and professional relations between the two groups. However, the perceived tendencies towards moderation in relations could simply be attributed to the lack of controversial issues in the community at the time of the field research. A municipal councillor states:

the relationship really depends on different flash points. And right now there really isn't any. (10M)

Nevertheless, negative relations of power, including manipulation and domination, are acknowledged as detrimental to the management and growth of tourism in the community. One municipal councillor states:

its not very beneficial to the community to have such rifts between organizations. These two groups are making attempts to work together. (10M).

In particular the leadership of both the TBA and TLBCC are engaging in relations of negotiation and cooperation at weekly lunch meetings.

One initiative called Tourism Tofino, is a collaborative effort between the TLBCC, TBA and District of Tofino. Table 10 summarizes the motives, resources, interactions and modes of power identified by participants with respect to Tourism Tofino.

Table 10: Power relations* in the establishment of Tourism Tofino

	<i>TLBCC</i>	<i>TBA</i>
<i>Motives</i>	Depoliticise tourism	Improve industry in area
<i>Resources</i>	Large membership Vocal members Weekly meetings	Employment base Networks/ alliances with regional organizations
<i>Interactions</i>	non threatening	Efficient spread of ideas
<i>Tactics</i>	Cooperation, Collaboration, Negotiation	
*the motives resources and tactics represent main themes derived from the interviews		

A TLBCC member describes the initiative:

So, Tourism Tofino' would be set aside to be marketing and visitor services...we don't know, we are proposing that Tourism Tofino would be the group to administer the hotel tax. (18B₁)

Individuals from both the TLBCC and TBA indicated that Tourism Tofino is a way for both organizations to achieve their goals. For example the TLBCC is attempting to remove politics from tourism and visitor services and the TBA is attempting to encourage tourism business in the area. A TBA member states:

Tofino is getting left behind because we fight each other too much I think...So instead of always viewing tourism as a negative hopefully we can get some people in who view tourism as a positive, and think about visitor services because it comes back to the customers. (15 B₂)

The presidents of both the TBA and TLBCC appear to be engaging in modes of power of negotiation, collaboration and cooperation. However, participants did express concern over the proposed management structure of Tourism Tofino, primarily because the TBA membership is small, and is determined by invitation only. A municipal councillor stated:

their [TLBCC and TBA] proposal was to have two members from the Chamber, two members from the TBA and one member from the municipality on their board. And some of us didn't think that that kind of board was necessarily appropriate, that it entrenched certain groups in a position of power (7M).

5.3 Negotiation of Regulation and Bylaws

Tourism development in Tofino is, for the most part, controlled by the Municipality and District of Tofino staff. Municipal councillors make final decisions about development proposals or zoning changes but District staff members, especially those involved with the development and enforcement of regulations, have considerable influence towards relations of power in tourism. One long term resident and former municipal councillor says of municipal staff:

the people we elect to run it [the city] kind of find a place off on the side to leave it to the staff (8LR)

The following section considers participants' discussions of regulation and bylaws. Major topics include: the irregular or uneven enforcement of bylaws and regulations; and the adherence of individuals, developers and stakeholders to bylaws and regulations.

Several participants perceive the relations of power to be unequal or irregular between District of Tofino officials, such as planners (or consultants) or bylaw officers, and certain developers or residents. The previous section concerning the interactions of developers in the tourism development process presented perceptions of some participants that certain developers have more leeway in regulations for tourism development than others. Several participants perceived that those developers with large amounts of capital available to use to provide amenities for community use were able to either accelerate the development approval process, or to proceed with greater infractions in their development.

One of the tidbits that our legal advice suggested to council was that most developers are happy to pay additional amenities to the community whatever they might be as long as their projects can move quickly, because actually time is worth more than money. And unfortunately what we end up with in Tofino is that everything gets slowed down. (4M)

In addition, one participant indicated that the proximity of the developers to everyday interactions with residents of Tofino would allow those developers to proceed with their development below the radar of public attention.

Sometimes people who are here on board in the community, who are developers, will get noticed a lot compared to someone who is outside the community...who will come in and all of a sudden they are developing something and no one will know. (14 NR)

It is difficult to determine whether or not there is actually unfairness in the enforcement of bylaws in the community. It seems that regardless of the actual fairness of bylaw and regulation enforcement, it is the perception of unfairness or inequality that creates perceptions of unequal relations of power in the community. One long term resident speculates about bylaw enforcement:

or else they [bylaw officers] are running around enforcing it on the ones they want to enforce it on, on those people and not on some others (8LR)

In terms of the adherence to bylaws and regulation by residents and developers, one long term resident was pragmatic about attitudes in town:

there is a certain philosophy around and that is that it is easier to go ahead and do something and be forgiven, than it is to ask permission and be refused. So people just go ahead and do it. (13LR)

Several participants indicated that many residents simply were not willing to wait for zoning changes prior to build an extra duplex or unit onto their house. In these cases residents will wait to be asked to have a property comply with a bylaw rather than wait in the queue of zoning changes to have their modification approved. In addition, some participants indicated that the volume of bylaws in Tofino is confusing and inefficient. A long term resident suggested the following solution:

'Somebody said the other day that we have 4 bylaw officers...what in the world do we need 4 bylaw officers when not any of the bylaws are being followed. It just strikes me that you would be far better to have a few less laws and enforce the ones that you've got, and not bother with having hundreds of bylaws and laws that you can't enforce and just not doing anything with them. (8LR)

During the time of the primary research, the main topic with respect to the adherence to bylaws in Tofino was the issue of complying with a newly implemented bylaw for residents and second homeowners who owned Vacation rental properties. This is important for power relations as it demonstrates the extent to which municipal regulations control the actions of stakeholders, and furthermore the ways that stakeholders can influence tourism in the community by not adhering to municipal bylaws or regulations. The regulation of vacation rental properties is covered in detail in the following section.

5.4 Regulation of Vacation Rental Properties

In 2003, the Municipal council began a process to regulate and control 'vacation rental properties' (VRPs), and this issue became the dominant tourism development conflict in the community throughout the most recent term of Municipal council from 2002-2005 (9M). VRPs, although occurring throughout the municipality, are particularly abundant in the 'residential' neighbourhood of Chesterman Beach, a section of outer, western coastline 2 kilometers long. Speaking to the tensions between local residents and outside interests – tourists and new amenity migrants, – one municipal councillor observed:

I think we have lost Chesterman Beach...we can fight and fight but I think we are going to lose (Dickens, 2003a).

In 2003 there were approximately 130 VRPs (Dickens, 2004), and in 2005 at the time of the empirical research, it is estimated that there were 170 rental units. Ninety-five percent of VRPs are owned by non-residents (19 LR). The VRPs were not regulated by municipal bylaws; during the first public meeting on the issue, common complaints by local residents included: noise; partying; fires on the beach; lack of community due to temporary tenants; and, lack of local contacts for VRPs because of absentee ownership (Dickens, 2003b). However, the VRP issue, according to another councillor, was not one of the major community issues considered in the previous municipal election campaign, and observes:

it wasn't even on the radar and never has been...there wasn't a community issue...however it happened there was enough support in the community and on the council to put it forward on the agenda (4 M).

Reacting to the municipal council's initiative, stakeholders in the debate included VRP owners, amenity migrants (retired or 'footloose professionals'), homeowners and non-homeowners opposed to unregulated vacation rentals (Dickens, 2004). The stakeholders acted both as individuals, and through community organizations. The alliances between organizations and individuals were not black and white, and as one municipal council member observed:

its hard to identify groups...and some of the previous presidents of the B&B Association were some of the driving forces opposed to V.R., basically because of competition, but even the B&B Association couldn't come to an agreement about it...so there are no identified sides, with the exception of council that was driving it, council was the only identifiable group (4 M).

In general, the TBA supported the VRP owners and management companies while many interviewees spoke of perceived alliances between some members of the municipal council, B&B Association, the FCS and the TCC.

The majority of local residents and stakeholders agreed that VRPs needed legitimization through licensing and controls. Table 10 summarizes the main bylaw options, and identifies the stakeholders, their motives and the perceived problems of the bylaw alternatives proposed to regulate VRPs. The VRP issue was characterized by several elected councillors as one polarizing the community (Osborne, 2003), although

the motives of stakeholder groups at the outset of the debate reflect both the diversity of ideologies and opinions about tourism growth and VRPs in Tofino. (For the purposes of the analysis, the resources and tactics of stakeholders are presented between those who supported VRPs in some form, and those stakeholders who attempted to enact restrictive policies on VRPs).

Several different options were presented as ways of regulating vacation rental properties. Option 1 in Table 11 is to restrict vacation rental properties spatially, such as in the residentially zoned areas of Chesterman Beach. Option 2 – pursued most forcefully by the owners of vacation rental management companies – was to have a management company look after each vacation rental property for its owner. Option 3 was advocated initially by the municipal council. This was to have the owner of the vacation rental property live in the house if it was being rented. Option 3 was proven to be illegal. In the end, in February 2005, the municipal council voted 4-3 in favor of the “ District of Tofino Zone text Amendment Bylaw No. 981 – 2005 (Option 4 in Table 11) (District of Tofino, 2005).

Many participants acknowledged that power relations during the VRP debate were, in part, driven by stakeholders acting out of fear for their community and livelihoods. The themes in the power relations surrounding the vacation rental debate, including the resources and tactics used by stakeholders are summarized in Table 12.

The TLBCC, although neutral as an organization throughout the debate, took a position in support of VRPs (against the final decision municipal council eventually took), in part because a director of the TLBCC was also an owner of a VRP management company in Tofino.

Both those stakeholders in favour of limiting VRPs, and those who supported the VRP industry engaged in tactics of manipulation, the former used perceptions of loss of community, residential character as tools in the debate, and the latter drawing on economic fears in loss of tourism revenue and employment to the community. These opinions were articulated in casual conversations, at municipal council meetings, and in letter writing campaigns. One notable power resource was the external support in favour of VRPs from VRP owners and tourists, who were vocal at public hall meetings and in letter writing and petitions.

Table 11: VRP regulations: options and stakeholders in support

<i>Options for bylaws to regulate VRP</i>	<i>Stakeholders in support</i>	<i>Motives</i>	<i>Perceived Problems</i>
1 Restrict VRP in residential areas Build new area only for VRP commercial use	Municipal council members Some long term residents of Chesterman beach	-Retain residential neighbourhoods, maintain school classes	-Zoning -Displacement of houses Environmental concerns with new development
2 District issues license to VRP management companies	Vacation Rental Management company owners	-Legitimize VRP industry -Provide revenue for district	-Benefits management companies and not individual owners
3 Owner of VRP lives on site		-Force control over properties -Retain residential character -Ensure management of property	-Not legal
4 -Full time resident living in a secondary suite of the VRP -Business license required Adopted Bylaw No 981-2005		-Force control over properties -Retain residential character -Ensure management of property -Generate revenue for District	- Attraction for some tourists is privacy of VRP - Many VRP are cabins and need major renovations to provide a secondary suite - Enforcement of bylaw

Table 12: Themes in the relations of power during the VRP debate

	<i>Legitimize but not limit VRPs</i> -VRP owners, TBA, TCC	<i>Restrict VRPs</i>
<i>Resources</i>	-external support – VRP owners/tourists) -legal advice -importance of VRPs to tourism revenue	- Support of some municipal council members - perceptions of loss of community values
<i>Interactions</i>	Letter writing Personal attacks Threats	Letter writing Defence against personal attacks (legal council)
<i>Tactics</i>	Manipulation Domination	Manipulation

One councillor states:

they [VRP owners] had some of their guests write letters that they would never come to our community again if they [municipal council] regulated, and when I read the letters, it was fairly obvious that they had been fed what to write at the time (M 9).

Power tactics of domination, in the form of personal attacks and threats, were used by those opposed to the regulation of VRPs against municipal council members in favour of restricting VRPs. One municipal councillor was threatened by phone and at work while another was accused of a conflict of interest, although ultimately chose to vote on Bylaw 981-2005. A member of the TLBCC states:

there was one tactic at the end that really bothered me and it was some people – pro vacation rental people – who openly attacked [a member] and said he had a conflict of interest (18 B₁).

There was little evidence of tactics of negotiation or cooperation during the debate and one municipal councillor stated of the final decision:

the direction that I heard expressed at the town hall meetings was not the direction that the council ultimately took. They took a much more restrictive approach to them [VRPs] I think, and even the council was supposed to be still revising and taking feedback etc. but didn't listen to what the community said (4 M)

The controversial VRP issue, an attempt by local members of the community to retain residential and community character, particularly on sections of the outer western coast, in the face of increasing tourism growth, demonstrates the power of elected officials and municipal councils to pass legislation despite the opinions of community members.

However, many participants have noted the difference between the power to pass legislation and the power to enforce bylaws in the community. In July 2005, there were only 30 VRP that were registered with the District. One long-term resident states of VRPs:

well I don't think they are complying [with Bylaw 981-2005] ...I guess they've quieted down the advertising of them (8 LR).

That same resident speculated that the District was enforcing the bylaw, "on the ones they want to enforce it on, on those people, and not on some others."

CHAPTER 6: RESOURCE CONTROL AND POWER

Several interview participants explicitly identified the control over land resources, and its uses in the District of Tofino, as the main factor in relations of power in Tofino. A tourism operator and resident stated: “*he who has land has the power*” (5T). Land use was a theme discussed by the majority of interview participants. Table 13 shows the main topics associated with land as a resource in the relations of power in Tofino. They include: ownership structure; the perceived and actual value of land; and a number of adjacent areas outside the boundaries of the municipally controlled land that may in the future influence tourism development.

Table 13: Topics associated with 'land' as a resource

<i>Topics</i>	<i>Sub-topics</i>
Ownership structure	Government
	History of development
	New migrants
Value of property	Affordable housing
	Perceived value vs. use for tourism
Land adjacent to the municipality	National Park
	First Nations
Opposition to the Tonquin Development	Motives, resources, tactics of stakeholders

One key event provides an example of contestation over resources. The ‘Tonquin Development’ offers an example of how perceptions of ‘wilderness’ were used as a tool in the negotiation of power during the contestation over a tourism development proposal. Ten participants in the interviews were involved in the Tonquin development, its opposition or were observers of municipal politics at the time.

6.1 Ownership Structure

The ownership of land, both within the municipal borders and throughout the Clayoquot Sound, was identified as one factor that creates unequal power relations. Due

to the peninsular geography, where development is constrained on three sides by water and to the south by the borders of the national park, Tofino has a finite land base. The municipal council has direct influence over city owned land that is currently undeveloped, and indirect influence over privately owned land. One tourism operator states:

the tourism industry...a big part of it is controlled by land use and land use is controlled by municipalities and cities. And that in turn is controlled by the council responsible for running and the people managing the city.
(2T)

Although the District and council has overall influence on land use, especially during the approval process for a tourism development, several participants referred to other stakeholder groups who were influencing tourism development. One municipal councillor states

some of the people who are very long time residents who have large parcels of property and then have left that undeveloped for a long time...the development of their properties is being directed at tourism
(7M)

In addition to the large family conglomerates, participants also referred to wealthy, amenity migrants, second homeowners or private investors who have purchased land throughout the municipality. These new residents have created upheaval in the town, as documented in the history of development of Tofino. Several residents spoke about the disparity between the types of jobs available in Tofino and the price of land and housing. This difference is facilitating absentee ownership and amenity based properties as opposed to cultivating a community of young homeowners, families or individuals working and living full time in Tofino.

6.2 Value of Property

The values of land, as well as the perceived, social values of land were discussed by participants during the interviews. The lack of available land for housing combined with high property values makes affordable housing one of the main community concerns in Tofino. One local resident states:

It's a big issue now, and it will become an even bigger issue. I mean, you just can't afford to buy a house here, not working for 15-20 dollars an hour. Unless everyone's kids are going to be forced out of town, they are going to have to come up with something, and open up a development to locals or young people. I mean, every time you open up a property here,

someone usually from outside, lets say Calgary, is there with the money the next day, and they'll offer them well above the asking price (13 LR).

13 LR's comments highlight the influence of the resources of wealth and capital, particularly those from outside the community. However, in the context of increasing property values and those individuals' power, one long-term resident states:

people have a false sense of power I think. Or maybe a blurred sense of power, because they feel all mighty when they see how much their business or property is worth, and yet if they were to take that somewhere else they might not have that kind of wealth (14LR).

Participants discussed the perceived value of land both in terms of the community values of residents, and the environmental and aesthetic qualities. That individuals attribute different values to areas of land is not surprising, but these perceptions contribute to tense and sometimes confused relations of power in tourism development. One municipal councillor refers to the motives of individuals towards the purchase of land:

so now its 400 or 500 hundred thousand for a house, and its people from all over the world, and you know, we've become an economic engine. And what I am concerned about, I mean, we've moved here because of lifestyle and a lot of people were investing in it because of the economic benefit, and so its been a huge shift. (10M)

The councillor's comments highlight the tension between the perceptions of the community as an amenity and residential place, and the uses of the land solely for economic investment. Several participants in the interviews speculated on the differences between the perceived value of the temperate rainforest, the outer coastline, and the economic goals of some large resorts. The comments of interview participants 10 and 3 (see page 52) illustrate the tensions between the perceived values of the land and environment, both for tourists and residents, and the actual uses of the land for economic profit.

6.3 Adjacent Arenas of Tourism Development

In terms of tourism development, participants identified organizations or groups who have, or potentially will have, control over areas outside the borders of the Municipality as significant to relations of power in Tofino. For example, differences in fees for accessing the land in the Pacific Rim National Park Reserve, and the land in the

Municipalities' beaches (such as Chesterman Beach) is one factor. A long term resident states:

I don't know what is going to happen with the Park charging all that money out there and Chesterman Beach not charging anything either. What's going to happen when the word gets out, they'll [tourists] all be there (8LR).

This long term resident points to the ability of the District of Tofino to manage the popular beach areas within the municipality, but also refers to the opposing motives of the District and the federally funded and managed park. One resident states "*the park just do their own thing*" (14LR). That the revenue from the park is not all utilized within the park may limit mutual cooperation and hinder amiable relations of power between the municipality and the park. Many older residents continue to harbour grudges against the federally run Pacific Rim Park, due to the confiscation of homes, and upheaval of businesses in the early 70s following its designation. It appears that in addition to the sometimes opposing motivations of residents of Tofino and the Federal Park officials in Ottawa, some residents of Tofino resent others controlling land that was previously openly accessed by anyone.

6.3.1 First Nations

At the outset of this research project, it was predicted that participants in the interviews would identify First Nations groups or individuals as influential in the tourism development process of Tofino. Although many participants mentioned or discussed the role of First Nations, in most cases it was contrary to expectation and less frequent. Within Tofino, participants indicated that members of First Nations, or First Nations groups had little influence in the relations of power in Tofino. Respondents suggested that the lack of a strong First Nations lobby group within Tofino prevented the aboriginal people from influencing municipal politics. One municipal councillor suggested that the interests of First Nations residents may be better reflected by an aboriginal member of council.

Despite the First Nations' current lack of involvement in the relations of power in Tofino, several participants predicted that the potential for First Nations people to influence tourism in Tofino would increase. This is predicted to be primarily due to the ongoing and expected resolution of treaty disputes in the area. One tourism operator states:

they [First Nations] have huge influence on where future tourism will develop because of treaty negotiations...So they don't wield a lot of control in Tofino, but once treaties are settled, they'll have significant control in different areas where they hold treaty lands (2T).

The control over land, and the potential therefore to control the types of activities that occur on the land – whether they are for recreation, logging or other uses – gives First Nations bands important potential in future relations of power. One First Nations member summarizes the philosophy of the First Nations people with respect to power and power relations:

power is in the environment. It is in the trees on Meares Island and in the water. It is more powerful than any human being (16F).

6.4 Perceptions of 'Wilderness' in the Negotiation of Power: the Tonquin Development

Conflicting perceptions and values associated with wilderness were evident during the debate over a recent tourism development proposal – one of the most controversial in the last 5 years in Tofino. The relations of power during the Tonquin Development were played out during the approval process of a development proposal for 44 condos and timeshare units on 14 acres of land adjacent to the 'Tonquin Park' – the only 'wilderness' park within the municipal boundaries of Tofino. As Willems-Braun (1997:5) has observed "the most intense, mediated, and internationalized conflicts in British Columbia have surrounded the 'fate' of the region's temperate rainforest." Although only a small area, 5.4 hectares (Riley, 2002a) of 'wilderness' was under threat, the meanings associated with, and the perceptions of this particular tract of old growth forest were socially constructed.

At the outset, the Municipal Council attempted to dominate the relations of power, by considering few public opinions and approving the Tonquin Development on October 21, 2002 (Riley, 2002). The initial lack of public consultation for this development proposal, particularly during a municipal election campaign, created widespread outrage from community residents as well as tourists. Residents who lived in and around Tonquin Park organized the opposition, and were supported by two community organizations: the Friends of Clayoquot Sound and Tofino Community Investments. Pressure from these opposition groups in the form of petitions and letter writing, persuaded the municipal council to table the development for a public hearing in

November 2002. At a hearing attended by over 100 people, concerned citizens and opposition groups presented a case that argued the development would cause considerable damage to the adjacent municipal wilderness park, and threaten important stream and forest ecosystems.

In most instances, the developer made offers to purchase lands that were conditional on achieving the appropriate zoning regulations and development approval from the municipal council. In this instance however, the developer purchased the land outright. One participant speculated that this was because a significant amount of money had already been spent on surveying and plans, and the developer did not want to lose his investment. Following the November public hearing, a conglomerate of residents, using the outside capital of Tofino Community Investments, formed the Tonquin Nature Reserve Committee, and purchased the land back from the developer. Currently the land remains undeveloped, although one participant indicated that currently there are discussions to develop half of the land into affordable housing, and protect the remaining land in park form.

The main motives, resources and tactics of power relations that were used by the developer and opposition groups are listed in Table 13.

Table 14: Motives, resources and tactics of groups in opposition to the Tonquin Development

<i>Motives</i>	Concern over neighbourhood values Dislike of developer Concern for personal property values Environmental concern
<i>Resources</i>	Outside capital Respected professionals (doctors, biologists) Aerial photography
<i>Tactics</i>	Letter writing Petitions Spread of misinformation Flooding of council meetings

The motives of the stakeholders in opposition to the development proposal cannot simply be attributed to the lack of public consultation. Nor are they reactions to a dislike of the developer, as his development projects before and after the Tonquin

development did not generate such public opposition or controversy. One resident stated of the motives of the opposition group

who knows what their motivations were, whether they just didn't want to see that land on the market at that time because it would have impacted their land values (4 NR).

One municipal councillor sees it as an issue of residents – especially those whose homes bordered the park and the proposed development – taking a stand for neighbourhood values, stating:

the biggest objection was the commercialisation of the beach, like the long line of cars down to Tonquin (9 M).

However, most others acknowledged that the main motivations were concern for the environmental quality of the park and surrounding wilderness areas. One resident who was prominent in the opposition to the development states that the land:

borders a park and a beach, much beloved by locals, and was way too much density that people were uncomfortable with and was going to result in a road that was going to go right up to the border of the park and then make it easy for the district to continue the road into the park and build parking (11LR).

Similar sentiments were expressed in numerous letters to the editor in the local *Westerly News*. In one, a local biologist stated that, if pursued, the Tonquin Development “dramatically changes zoning, traffic, water flows, park access and use” (Darling, 2002: 5) of the adjacent park.

In addition to strong motives, the opposition groups appear to have had considerable resources, both within and external to Tofino. These included access to float planes and aerial photography equipment, the support of well known and respected local residents, including doctors, and marine biologists, environmental and geographical knowledge of the area, and access to wealth and capital. Through the use of aerial photography, ‘wilderness’ was portrayed as an intact, environmentally significant area of land. In this context, the aerial images were a deliberate attempt to reimagine the landscape in order to meet the conservation objectives of the local residents. At a public hearing attended by over 100 residents and tourists, biologists described the environmental impact of the development using aerial photographs and topographic maps. Photographs are constructed realities of landscapes (Willems-Braun, 1997), and

during the Tonquin development dispute, 'wilderness' was portrayed as an untouched landscape, even in the form of a park. 'Wilderness', constructed as fragile and under threat, was used as a tool in the relations of power between the municipal council, the developer and the local community groups opposed to the development.

That 'wilderness' was socially constructed by local groups as fragile and under threat from the development, were it to be approved, is viewed by some community members as a power tactic best representing manipulation. Several interview participants indicated that there was considerable misinformation and fear mongering used in the opposition. One resident states:

I found that a lot of people that I was talking to on the street were very misinformed and people were sort of making out that the development was going to cut off access (1 LR).

However, the outcome of the Tonquin development dispute demonstrates the ability of local actors to engage in relations of power to achieve their goals, and supports the view that local residents may exercise power and influence over or against external forces or developers and in the three years following the dispute the 'wilderness' has remained untouched. Currently there are indications that a local conglomerate might once again develop the land with a combination of park and affordable housing units.

CHAPTER 7: POWER RELATIONS AS A FACTOR IN THE RECONFIGURATION OF PLACE, SPACE AND ENVIRONMENT IN TOFINO

Several topics must be considered when assessing how power relations have reconfigured the place, space and environment of the resort community of Tofino. Power relations have evolved and emerged, and have driven conflict and growth – two general characteristics of the development of Tofino. Reference to conflict and growth contributes to the picture of tourism geographies as continually negotiated, reconfigured and re-evaluated. The ‘power tactics’ of stakeholders in the arena of interaction illustrate how stakeholders achieve unequal relations of power in the tourism community. The spatial distribution of power considers concepts of proximity and scale with respect to tourism geographies in Tofino. Power relations are also demonstrated as having influenced the geographical distribution of tourism in Tofino. Issues of space and place highlight ideas of community, peripherality, and wilderness which serves to emphasise specific elements of place making and environment.

The themes presented in Chapters 4 and 5 focus on aspects power with respect to local politics and resource control. Together, local politics and resource control represent factors that affect power relations in Tofino. Significantly, these two topics also encompass the elements of place, space and environment. With respect to each major topic, a key event illustrated specific instances of power relations in the ‘arena of interaction.’ The regulation of Vacation Rental Properties demonstrates the dissention between factions of the community that support tourism growth (and growth of industry in general) and those who advocate for limited growth, or a reduction of tourism in the community. Not only do the fundamental disputes over community values create havoc with the planning and management systems of the town, the conflicts over community values create a distinct place image. The conflict over the Tonquin Development demonstrated how perceptions of wilderness were used in negotiating power relations. Not only were environmental images used (or misused) throughout the process, the conflict highlights how power relations can influence space and the environment.

7.1 Conflict and Growth

The transition from a fishing and forestry dependent community to a tourism destination has been evolving in Tofino for the past 40 years. While the environmental debates surrounding logging define the most painful era of community contestation, notably pitting Tofino residents, many of whom were environmentalists, against their neighbours in Ucluelet who were predominantly forestry workers, recent contestation has surrounded tourism-community related issues (Ungerleider, 1995). The values and actions of the second major wave of residents, who arrived in the late 1980s and 1990s, have at times conflicted with the 'old guard' members and the original counter culture community - some of whom acquired sizeable tracts of land during the 1960s and early 1970s. Pressure for development is intense as the availability of land in the municipality is limited because of the peninsular location and the boundary of the park to the south, however some residents have resisted selling their land to developers. Long-term residents are concerned about loss of control to outside interests (both commercial and residential) and also resent loss of access to local beaches, especially those being developed along the outer coast. Local residents worry about affordable housing and the overall effects on 'community' caused by the influx of amenity migrants.

The loss of control to outside interests was one theme that key informants in the in-depth interviews raised with respect to the groups that are attempting to control and influence the municipal council. In this manner actors in Tofino's power relations are influenced by global-local connections (Woods, 2006; Shaw and Williams, 2002; Meethan, 2001). Increasingly, development proposals in Tofino come from developers who do not live in the community, and who have capital and resources to allot to amenity bonuses for the community. While the analysis of power relations illustrates that local residents have agency to slow or restrict certain developments – as evidenced in the cases of the Tonquin development and the Vacation Rental issue – the increasingly global nature of tourism in the community is constricting and confusing local control. Norcliffe (2001) has observed the influence of global phenomena where local reactions to events depend on a place's history or previous local experiences. In the case of Tofino, a history of loss of control to outside influence continues: beginning first with new settlers and entrepreneurial initiatives during the 1980s and 90s, residents continue to resist changes to patterns of land ownership, and community control.

The decrease in local control also results from the sale of residential property to outsiders, many of whom are buying property for second home use. As one member of the Tofino Housing Authority stated:

sustainable housing issomething that is sorely needed in this town to keep people living and working here. You know, instead of commuting from Ucluelet, and one after another people are moving out of here (1).

The availability of affordable land for residential dwellings was one of the major concerns key informants addressed, and one that factored in the power relations of land use and control. Those who own property in Tofino, where land is viewed as the most powerful asset, have the ability to influence events to a greater degree. Over the last decade in Tofino, property has appreciated significantly, so much so that much of the employment opportunities do not afford residents the luxury of paying the commensurate property taxes. The demographic of homeowners has also shifted away from those who live and work in the community to those who do not necessarily reside in Tofino year round, and do not rely on the community for financial support. In terms of the power relations, many of these external individuals have considerable resources to draw on, as evidenced from the vacation rental debates, where VRP owners consulted with lawyers, members of other resort communities, and allied with their tourist guests to argue their case.

In current debates, the environmentalists and more conservative old guard community members have been divided into two factions and represented by two major community institutions: the Tofino Chamber of Commerce (TLBCC) and the Tofino Business Association (TBA) respectively. Efforts to manage tourism development have caused considerable controversy over the past 10 years. The challenges of managing tourism development in Tofino appears to reflect what has been observed by Rojas et al. (2002) in the context of environmental disputes that commonly focus on interests and values and override the facts. Relations of power in the community of Tofino continue to be acted out through different management decisions and contestations, where prior alliances or adversarial relationships confuse and complicate management processes. Management strategies have been introduced to constrain development, preserve residential areas, and control the capacity on beaches and associated amenities of parking and trail networks. The influx of new surfers, associated businesses and surf schools is precipitating additional discord over appropriate use and capacity on the area's beaches, while part time residents and second homeowners that are allowing

their properties to be used as vacation rental units are changing the makeup of established residential areas.

Initiatives to stop further tourism development have been championed by environmentally inclined members of the community, and have sometimes had support from members of the old guard of long-term residents. One environmentalist and business owner reflects on attempts to reduce the rate of tourism development:

I think particularly the green sector of the community has tried to slow down willy nilly development. In a sense they have been effective, as we have had a moratorium on development in the last couple of years (3T).

However, simply halting tourism development without a clear plan for future management of growth creates pressure on the District of Tofino as increasing numbers of applications are stalled. The same resident elucidated the problems with this type of management tactic:

rather than deal with things, this is just sort of delaying it, and an unintended consequence of doing that is that you get bad development when finally that dam breaks (3T).

The argument for increasing tourism growth in Tofino has often been framed as a solution to economic problems. These arguments reflect what Mair (2005) observes of rural communities that use tourism proactively to gain power. Between municipalities, power may be measured by absolute tourism dollars earned or by the ability to influence provincial and federal governmental bodies. But regardless of community power, conflict and dispute within the community – although sometimes attracting media attention and creating publicity for the area – undermines the legitimacy of the local government and tourism industries. The examples in Tofino of restricting vacation rental properties or of halting all development approvals has confused the tourism message that is expressed to return guests. On one hand, Tofino relies on tourism activities to sustain its local economy. Conversely, the community seeks to retain its rural amenities and values that include a pristine environment, a small town atmosphere and a relaxed pace of life.

Reflective of the struggle between these opposing forces, local municipal councils have oscillated between development and non-development ideologies. This inconsistency has limited the ability of the community and the tourism industry to thrive in harmony. Mair (2006) demonstrated that in the case of Paris, Ontario, the municipal council could have a greater role in tourism planning. For Tofino, power relations that

result in conflict appear to result in inconsistent and reactive policies. One tourism operator commented on this problem:

the way the planning department operates is on very short notices. So that there is no long term planning. Development proposals are proposed and if they are wise the developer proposes it in the summer when everyone is away or busy. So there is less chance of organizing any opposition to it...There has to be a change in the way of doing things, so that there is more community response (5T).

The lack of a clear plan for tourism development in Tofino allows for a greater diversity in power relations, and leads to conflicts over appropriate areas, levels and types of growth to the tourism industry and community itself.

7.2 Power Tactics

The power relations have been considered through use of an operational framework that identifies motives, resources and tactics – modes of power – of stakeholders (see Figure 1, page 29). The framework conceptualises an arena of interaction where power relations occur, and which produces outcomes that result in the reconfiguration of place, space and environment. For the purposes of this research, the arena of interaction is the resort community of Tofino, and more specifically the local political processes that allow for tourism discussions (or disputes!) over development, regulation and planning.

Most of the 'power tactics' that were identified during the in-depth interviews reflect those identified in literature by Allen (2003) and Few (2002). These include negotiation, cooperation, manipulation, and domination. Several other tactics identified by participants included networking and non-compliance. Each of these tactics are employed by stakeholders in Tofino in various ways. The resources of stakeholders influenced the effectiveness of many of the tactics.

Manipulation was the power tactic identified most often by participants in the interviews. There were some differences in the ways that participants interpreted manipulation. One participant described manipulatory tactics as domination, while several others identified instances that could also be interpreted as seduction. Manipulation of information was a tactic in which many stakeholders engaged. The *Westerly News* was often used, particularly the Letter to the Editor section, to share

opinions on issues. Interpretations of issues and events are also influenced through the active rumour mill in the town.

It appears that the power tactic of manipulation created the most tension and outrage, garnering the most reaction or response from other stakeholders in the community. For example, during the opposition to the Tonquin development, the community stakeholders interpreted the council's refusal to hold a town hall meeting about the issue (as it was also just prior to a Municipal election) as manipulation. However, those who supported the Tonquin development viewed the ways community stakeholders interpreted 'wilderness' as manipulation.

The tactic of domination is used in different situations by many of the stakeholders in order to achieve influence. Physical domination was identified by participants as those groups who attended council meetings en masse in order to 'brow beat council.' Similarly, during many controversial issues such as the VRP issue or opposition to the Tonquin development, participants identified tactics of stakeholders that included vocal outbursts or telephone threats. Participants identified several developers who attempted to dominate proceedings in the municipal council by using capital resources. For instance, in several situations developers offered amenities for the community in order to expedite the development approvals process. Other stakeholders have perceived that individuals in positions in the District of Tofino, such as planners or bylaw officials have engaged in domination. One stakeholder indicated that the degree to which the development regulations needed to be followed amounted to petty domination by city officials. During the Vacation rental issue, stakeholders who supported VRPs attempted to dominate the Municipal council and others through legal threats. In many cases, the participants indicated that domination was a common process of interactions in Tofino, but contributed to distrust and inefficiency in the community. Problematic for the smooth management of tourism in the city is the perception that bylaw and city officials exert domination unevenly.

Non-compliance or resistance was not identified as a power tactic in the original operational framework for studying power relations. The results from the empirical research suggest that this type of tactic occurs often in Tofino, and contributes to the milieu of power relations that affect the community. Sharp et al (2000) have recognized the influence of non-compliance or resistance on conflict and planning. In Tofino,

individuals, businesses and groups circumvent official processes. One long term resident commented on this tactic:

there is a certain philosophy around and that is that it is easier to go ahead and do something and be forgiven than it is to ask permission and be refused. So people just go ahead and do it (13LR).

Unequal power relations are manifested in these instances when certain groups are allowed to continue with the infractions, while others are made to wait for official approval or public consultation.

It appears that tactics of negotiation, cooperation and consensus building occur less often than tactics of manipulation, domination and non-compliance during explosive and controversial issues in Tofino. Most often negotiation occurred informally between groups and stakeholders on a day to day basis. However, it is less prevalent during official municipal business, such as development approval processes. Participants identified that tensions between the TBA and the TLBCC negatively influenced the tourism products in Tofino as well as the residential and visitor experiences. However, it appears that relations of power have evolved towards a noticeably more amiable relationship between business groups. During the past 5 years the TBA and TLBCC have been attempting to work together and collaborate. Their relations have been assisted by weekly meetings and civil phone conversations.

Networking of stakeholders is one tactic that several groups and stakeholders identified as important in Tofino. Networking is a process in consensus building, negotiation or partnerships where stakeholders attempt to develop situations where power is shared for mutual benefit (Pellow, 1998). One long term resident identified this important power tactic:

mostly it is people trying to get alliances with people who are more apt to sway the general public or the municipal council...in a town this size, talking to people on the street is where most of the information gets filtered down (14LR).

In Tofino, this study of power relations demonstrates that whom stakeholders and groups know contributes to ensuring that projects or developments are undertaken.

7.3 Spatial Distribution of Power and the Geographical Distribution of Tourism

7.3.1 Proximity, scale and power

Key informants highlighted issues of proximity and scale with respect to power relations, but in most cases proximity and scale were not identified as primary factors in the relations of power in Tofino. The importance of proximity is demonstrated through the reactions of the residents whose properties were adjacent to the proposed Tonquin development, and the outrage of some residents who felt that Chesterman Beach was becoming inundated with rowdy and unregulated tourists. In both cases, those residents who lived closest to the development were those who organized the opposition. Several power tactics that were identified, such as negotiation and networking, seem to favour those who are proximate in the community. However, participants also identified how developers who were not known, or perhaps from outside of Tofino, may be able to gain approval for developments without much public opposition. This suggests that a lack of proximity to the tourism community may assist stakeholders in engaging in tactics of manipulation or seduction.

Oinas (2002) suggests that power needs to be examined in more detail not only at the local scale, but also at wider spatial scales. Investigating how power relations in a tourism context are altered by provincial or federal decisions and interactions with local residents or municipalities represents an important avenue for future research. Issues of scale appeared during the opposition to the Tonquin development where external capital and connections assisted the opposition group in purchasing the threatened land from the developer. International tourists had the opportunity to influence the vacation rental dispute by writing letters to editor in the local *Westerly News*. Those groups who were opposed to vacation rental regulation attempted to sway public and municipal opinion by drawing on 'experts' from other communities such as Whistler.

Results from the research provide an example of the importance of Allen's (2003) topological view of power relations as those involving connections and nodes. Physical proximity is demonstrated as significant, particularly in power relations involving domination or manipulation. The example of the Tonquin development illustrates how the networks of local opposition, whose actors combined a wide range of resources, from aerial photography equipment to support from tourists and external capital, allowed them to ultimately prove influential in preventing the tourism development.

7.3.2 Shifting dominance of space: from the inner to the outer coast

The spaces and places of dominance in Tofino are identified throughout the research as having shifted from land on the inner harbour to areas of land at the outer coast. This is significant for this research as it indicates how land ownership or tourism development may be influenced by its spatial location in the community. Similarly, the relations of power are intensified over land on the outer coast, as evidenced by the conflicts over the Tonquin development and the Vacation Rental properties.

The inner harbour in Tofino developed its spatial dominance as the site for fishing and residential boat moorings, fish processing plants, community services and the western terminus of the Trans Canada Highway. During the 1980s, and with the increase in tourism and interest in wildlife viewing, whale watching operations also began to utilize the inner harbour as a base. Up until the early 1990s, the inner harbour was viewed as the centre of the economic and social activities in Tofino.

Although currently the inner harbour continues to be significant in terms of tourism development, tourist attractions, resident amenities and social interaction, the outer coast has become a dominant area, due to the importance of resort and property development, and the activities of storm watching and surfing. Property speculation was most pronounced on the outer coast, namely at Chesterman Beach, where some long term residents were forced to sell their houses to amenity migrants due to major property tax increases. Thus the outer coast can be viewed as one coveted by both tourists (with the demand for resorts) and by amenity migrants. Figure 3 illustrates the inner harbour and areas of the Chesterman Beach in Tofino.

The wilderness pursuits of tourists and residents can also be seen to have shifted to the outer coast. In an effort to create an alternate season for tourism, the Wickaninnish Inn successfully commodified and marketed storm watching on the wild Pacific coast as a winter tourist activity, where visitors could enjoy luxury amenities and fine dining while observing 'wilderness'. Other resorts such as the Long Beach Lodge and Middle Beach Lodge are also capitalizing on this trend. In addition to storm watching, Tofino has become a popular outdoor recreation site for hiking, kayaking and especially surfing. The importance of surfing to the tourism economy in Tofino is apparent with the development of five surf schools. The use of the outer coast for surfing and instruction is fuelling conflicts over issues concerning appropriate levels of coastal resource use, community access and maintenance.

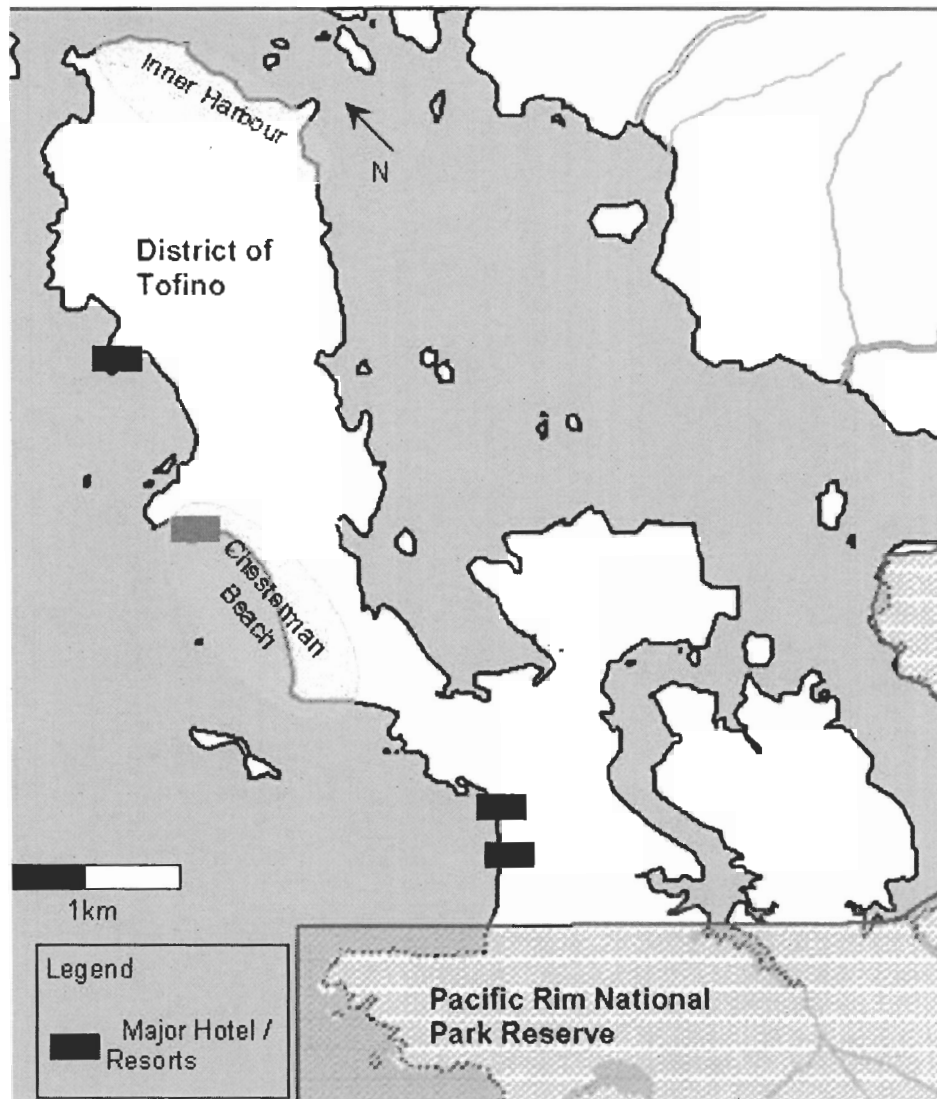


Figure 3: Areas of Inner and Outer Coast in Tofino

In Tofino, the history of community development and the tourism industry is interpreted spatially through a shift from the importance of the inner harbor to the economic significance of the outer Pacific coast. Processes of amenity migration have introduced outside capital, created tensions with local residents and accelerated tourism development. Interpretations and uses of 'wilderness', for example as a commodified object for storm watching, or as the site of recreation for surfing, have compounded the importance of the Pacific coast in Tofino.

7.4 Issues of Place and Space: Peripherality and Heritage

Mair (2006) provides two arguments for the need to consider the history of a community's economic development. She argues that the peripheral nature of some rural communities, coupled with government cut backs may create a willingness of communities to engage in tourism development projects. This misguided support for tourism development in rural areas confounds the reasons for tourism development and the motives of stakeholders. Peripherality and inaccessibility have been defining factors in Tofino's development as a tourist destination. Identity (indeed 'status') as "the end of the road" - the furthest point west that one could drive in Canada has in itself been an attraction. However, as Darling (1991:4) observes, "[t]he harbinger of land use conflict in Clayoquot Sound was probably the road from Port Alberni to the West Coast." By providing access to the previously isolated area, the notion of wilderness was threatened. Road access allowed logging access to areas of the Clayoquot Sound as well as access by settlers who no longer needed to access Tofino by boat. For the counter culture migrants of the 1960s and early 1970s – some of whom were US draft evaders avoiding the Vietnam conflict (CBC 1970) -this remoteness was an element of the desired amenity. While today a paved (though still challenging) road, float planes, and commercial air companies make the community more accessible, the experience of getting to Tofino enhances the sense of reaching the edge of the continent.

In Tofino, the 'end of the road phenomenon', combined with the 'last settler syndrome' (Nielsen et al., 1977), whereby new residents resent further development or settlement, has contributed to conflict over defending the sense of 'wilderness' versus tourism and residential growth. In terms of tourism development, one long term resident highlighted the last settler syndrome when discussing power relations in Tofino:

there were people who had been here for years, and then the ones who have just moved in the last 7 years or so and had built places on the beach saying no no no no, I don't want anyone else coming, or I discovered this place...

The concept of the last settler at the periphery appears to have influenced the power relations in Tofino, particularly over the last 10 years. Often those individuals who discuss the need for community amenities and the maintenance of community beaches or park areas are also those individuals who want to restrict development and maintain an unchanging community atmosphere. In the interactions between stakeholders in the

community, that view contrasts with those individuals who support economic growth and adaptations to a globalized tourism and resource market. These differing visions of the community come into conflict over the management of existing tourism industries and in the development of new projects. For example, the conflict over the best way to regulate vacation rental properties saw those who wanted neighbourhoods to remain for residents only opposing individuals who wanted to promote a tourism industry that boosted the economic returns to individuals in the community. Although regulations and bylaws have made it more difficult for property owners to rent their houses, the power relations during the vacation rental issue demonstrates the time and resources that community conflict over the views of those 'last settlers' can consume – ultimately benefiting no one.

Tourism attention was first drawn to the natural heritage of the Tofino area with the designation of Pacific Rim National Park Reserve in 1971. The Park promoted an image of a preserved pristine coastal wilderness of rich coastal temperate rain forest, tidal shore ecosystems and marine wildlife (White, 1999). The designation of the area south of Tofino as a National Park and the social construction of the area as 'wilderness' not only displaced residents (and a garage and bakery) from Long Beach but also was antithetical to the ideas of wilderness held by some residents in Tofino who considered that park designation and the resulting influx of visitors would lead to destruction of the area. (Personal communication, Long-term resident, July 2005). Tuan's (1974) idea of wilderness as a 'state of mind' - one seemingly espoused by many 'counter culture' residents of Tofino at the time - conflicted with the notion of 'park wilderness', especially where a fee was charged in order to experience the wilderness.

However, for the tourist, the contrast between the 'wilderness' park environment and the surrounding forest landscape was heightened as access to the park brought visitors through a highly productive forest region that in the latter part of the 1970s and early 1980s was harvested using a progressive clear-cut logging technique, that left few trees. The resulting landscape was one of destruction that was not only aesthetically unappealing but also alarming in its apparent ecological destruction (White, 1999).

These ideas of wilderness were again challenged during the conflict over the Tonquin Development. According to Rohde, (2004: 200) the very use of the wilderness as an endangered landscape can only be "understood in the context of social and political systems, as a physical object which is always implicated in questions of power,

authority and perspective.” For example the specific case of the controversy over the Tonquin development illustrates how ‘wilderness’ was used by local residents as a tool in the relations of power with the developer and the municipal council. While the municipal council at first attempted to dominate the approval process, local residents demonstrated the importance of proximity to the ‘arena of interaction’ – the community – and the ability to use external networks of alliances and capital to purchase, and protect, the land.

While the National Park designation attracted the first wave of tourists to the area it, was the ensuing battle between environmentalists and the forest industry in the early 1990s over the logging of old-growth timber in the Clayoquot Sound area that really established the importance of accessible wilderness in peoples’ image of Tofino. The angry debate and mass acts of civil disobedience were played out on a global stage and drew intense media interest. Throughout the dispute Tofino’s place identity was shaped in a global arena in part by aerial photographs that depicted Tofino as flanked on one side by large tracts of untouched and pristine wilderness and on the other by a spectacular wild coast and pristine beaches. Further, as Willems-Braun (1997) highlights, the region, as portrayed in a popular coffee table book, *Clayoquot: On the Wild Side* (Dorst & Young, 1990), was depicted as virtually void of human habitation. The title of a section of his article on the discussion of the politics of nature in British Columbia - “Saving ‘Wilderness’: Nature as the Absence of (Modern) Culture” – aptly captures what he refers to as ‘environmental racism’ whereby the voices of First Nations are excluded in discourses on natural resources (Willems-Braun, 1997:18).

While the debate was over forestry and the coastal location quite incidental, the visual images of stunningly beautiful coastal landscapes and seascapes triggered a significant increase in tourist numbers, including visitors from Europe. German visitors were especially attracted to the area as they had a strong national environmentalist movement and had thus been exposed to extensive media coverage of the conflict (Hayter and Soyez, 1996). Whether they were drawn to see the site of the environmental debate and old growth forest or to experience the beauty of the coastal environment and engage in its ecotourism opportunities is unknown.

In the mid-1990s, the need for investors to enhance returns on high-end hotel development on the outer coast by attracting a viable year-round market seems to underlie the drive to add value for visitors by offering a diversity of attractions and

activities (Sutherland, 1999). The seasonal re-positioning of Tofino as a place where one can experience the rawness of nature was an inspired innovation. As one British Columbia tourism website proclaims “Take a break from your winter skiing trip to experience the raw power of the mighty Pacific Ocean, as ferocious waves roll in from Japan and pound the shores of the rugged west coast - nature in all its fierce majesty!” (BritishColumbia.com, 2005).

The packaging and marketing of bad weather as a commodity reflects the power of the ‘tourist gaze’ – once the experience is signified, the tourist seeks to gain that experience. Now, as one promotional web site observes, international visitors are “defying logic” by flocking to Tofino to go storm watching (tourism VancouverIsland.com, 2005). The combination of ‘raw nature’ and luxury accommodations, spa facilities and fine dining, has been highly successful. As the Wickaninnish Inn website states “The storm-watching experience can be enjoyed in luxury and at close range from this location, with every room featuring an ocean view, soaker bathtub and fireplace for optimum viewing and ambiance” (Wicinn.com 2005). The prime positioning of the viewer and the scene, hints at the era of the picturesque and romantic perspectives on landscape – and the associated social distinction of tourists that occurred in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century in both Europe and North America (Towner, 1996). The commodification of nature and wilderness on Tofino’s outer coast also echoes an earlier era of tourism to Canada’s national parks when in the late 1800s the railway companies constructed grand hotels in the Rocky Mountains such as Banff Springs Hotel where the wilderness was juxtaposed with civilization and could be experienced at a safe distance. In Tofino it is primarily the elite tourists and amenity migrants that have captured the prime vantage points along the coast. Although the beaches are public domain, access points for visitors are restricted.

The issue of access to wilderness is one final element in the evolution of Tofino that was identified as a symptom of contemporary power relations in the community. Just as access to wilderness was changed with the designation of the National Park, and the international conflict over logging in Clayoquot Sound, so is access to wilderness and coastal amenities being challenged within the municipal limits of Tofino. Parking and amenities like washrooms at the beaches, notably Chesterman Beach, are stalled in a revolving cycle of groups placing responsibility for the tasks with alternate parties. That the beaches are used for the economic activities of surfing instruction confounds this issue. Nevertheless, the numbers of public beach access points are slowly disappearing

with private, gated communities on the coast taking precedent over public access points. In these instances, it seems that the groups and individuals that control land on the coast have the most power in influencing who, and how access is managed. It appears that while some long term residents have retained coastal property, the majority has been purchased by individuals from outside of Tofino, thereby diluting the influence of local community members.

CHAPTER 8: THE CHANGING TOURISM GEOGRAPHIES OF TOFINO: CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

Tourism geographies in Tofino – encompassing aspects of place, space and the environment – are changed and altered through processes of power relations. The case of Tofino is one where conflict and disagreement among community members have been indicative of the way that Tofino has developed as an international tourism place. Hall (2003) advocated the study of processes that occur within communities. Two processes that have been considered in detail – the regulation of vacation rental properties and the opposition to the Tonquin development – reveal the prominent actions and tactics of stakeholders and highlight significant tensions within Tofino.

With respect to the regulation of vacation rental properties, the issue was first proposed in response to changes in the space and environment of residential neighbourhoods on the outer coast. Those in favour of limiting vacation rental properties attempted to manipulate public opinion by highlighting the loss of residential neighbourhoods, community values and local control. Those stakeholders who opposed placing limits on areas or volumes of tourism also used tactics of manipulation in the power relations citing the economic significance of VRPs for tourism revenue in the community. Ultimately, the municipal council succeeded in passing legislation to restrict VRPs despite considerable public opposition. However, in the 18 months following the legislation, it appears that there have been few alterations to the space and environment of the “residential” coastal areas. VRPs continue to operate illegally; residents and stakeholders in the community continue to circumvent planning and zoning regulations. This is contributing to an inadequately controlled tourism community that struggles with water shortages, parking and beach access. Moreover, the regulation of VRPs contributes to a confused and contradictory place identity for Tofino.

The example of the opposition to the Tonquin development demonstrated how stakeholders succeeded in manipulating and influencing how parts of the environment – in this case an area of old growth forest wilderness – were interpreted and utilized. That

the development was adjacent to a “wilderness” park much beloved by local residents galvanized the opposition. Aerial photographs and testimonials from prominent environmentalists and biologists contributed to the arguments of the opposition. In the end, the preservation of the land adjacent to the wilderness park once again highlighted the perceptions of environmentalism as having a strong base in Tofino.

8.1 A Tourism Place Identity for Tofino

The power relations that occur within the community on a daily basis, as well as those which occur in response to controversial events and issues contribute to the place identity of Tofino as a tourism community. The events and circumstances that have contributed to Tofino’s place identity are unique – as is true of any place. However, the evolution of Tofino as a tourist destination draws attention to several key factors of how power relations are utilized in the process of creating place identity. The case study also highlights the contestation that occurs as tourism destinations evolve and change. This is especially evident in the case of Tofino where tourism represents the transformation of the landscape from one of production to one of consumption.

A central theme that runs through Tofino’s place identity is its isolated location at the end of the road on the edge of the continent. Coasts have long been represented as the end of a journey, whether for early pioneers in their westward journey across the United States or adventure seeking travellers seeking the periphery. In the Americas, it has been the western Pacific coast that for both historical and geographical reasons has been represented as the periphery. ‘End of the road’ signifiers can be found in promotional materials in coastal places ranging from Patagonia to Alaska. The importance of isolation in defining insiders from outsiders is also observed by Larsen (2004) in his study of an isolated community in interior northern British Columbia. Some of the tensions in Tofino have their roots in the resistance of longer-term local residents to further tourism and residential development.

The image of isolation is linked to the commodification of natural heritage as ‘wilderness’, which has become a defining feature of place identity for Tofino. The notion of wilderness has become layered in a complex manner as it has evolved concurrently with development and change in the community of Tofino. It was first constructed for tourist consumption within the confines of Pacific Rim National Park Reserve. Subsequent conflict over land use in the Clayoquot Sound region portrayed

wilderness as untouched and complete tracts of old growth forest. With tourism growth portrayal of 'the wild' shifted attention to the ocean as a wilderness environment. Although the old growth forests on the mountain slopes serve as a scenic backdrop to the ocean, tourists' attention is drawn to the ocean either as active participants in adventure and ecotourism activities such as marine wildlife watching, fishing, kayaking, surfing or beach combing or more passive activities as their gaze is drawn to the ocean especially during winter storms.

As Hall and Page (1999: 222) observe " the value of wilderness is not static. The value of a resource alters over time in accordance with changes in the needs and attitudes of society". While viewing a winter storm from the window of a luxury hotel or boating with a dozen fellow passengers on a whale watching trip could hardly be classified as a true 'wilderness' experience, the experiential and 'mental and moral restorational values' of wilderness outlined by Hendee et al. (1978) are embodied in the wilderness product that defines Tofino as a destination.

Surprising perhaps in the creation of Tofino's place identity as a tourist destination is that it has been constructed around natural heritage to the exclusion of cultural heritage. However, there has been a history of resistance by First Nations in the Clayoquot Sound area to engage with the 'colonial' economy (Willems-Braun, 1997). Nevertheless, the richness of First Nations culture in the coastal Pacific Northwest of North America is internationally renown – especially the highly developed artistic representations of culture expressed in the creation of carved totem poles, elaborately carved jewellery, masks and other artefacts and this offers considerable opportunity for the engagement of First Nations in developing a cultural tourism product.

Perhaps the essence of Tofino's place identity is epitomized in the *Common Loaf* organic bakery and café. Begun by a female entrepreneur during the counter culture era, it served as an informal community centre, and even today continues as a local hangout. The notice board is filled with information on ride sharing, requests relating to affordable accommodation or the offering of informal services. In many ways it encapsulates what attracts visitors and new residents alike to Tofino - the small, friendly, picturesque fishing village in a spectacular setting. It also embodies the community's true cultural heritage, that of its environmentalist roots and appreciation for the land. However, like so many small communities that become successful tourism destinations, success itself may lead to its destruction as a community. The following

statement taken from a real estate website suggests local planning and management control may have already left it too late.

Tofino, population 1500 (sic), is now the resort town for a mix of Hollywood celebrities, Calgarian oil money, Vancouver retirees and hip young surfers. Some are already calling it the next Whistler and, if housing demand is any indication, it's already in the big league (Coastrealty.com/parksville/ucluelet-tofino.html, 2005)

8.2 Future Research

The empirical research was grounded in literature relating to power relations and tourism geographies and operationalized through a framework that considers the motives, resources and tactics of stakeholders within an arena of interaction. For the purposes of this research the arena of interaction was the community of Tofino and represented aspects of place, space and the environment. To expand the understanding of how power relations at different scales influence a tourism industry, the arena of interaction can be defined for various scales. Also, the issue of proximity could be further investigated by evaluating power tactics based on the actors' proximity to the arena of interaction.

The methods used for the research – key informant interviews – relied on the participants memory of what had occurred in the past. Although valuable, the understanding of power relations would be assisted through further research that utilized methods of participant observation in council meetings and direct observation of power tactics. The conclusions about power relations in Tofino cannot be generalized or extrapolated to apply to any other tourism community. However, the utility of the operational framework would be enhanced through its testing and application to other tourism communities that have different tourism, environmental and community characteristics.

8.3 Conclusions

This case study of politics and power in Tofino highlights the contestation that occurs as tourism destinations evolve and change. As Kneafsey (2001:778) observes in a discussion of changing rural cultural economy in Brittany, France, “[n]ewer social relations are layered over and mediated through, the sedimented social relations already

established within places.” In Tofino, the history of community development and the tourism industry is interpreted spatially through a shift from the importance of the inner harbor to the economic significance of the outer Pacific coast. Recent contestations over the regulation of ‘vacation rental properties’ and the opposition to the Tonquin development are attempts by local residents in Tofino to regain control of tourism development and changing socio-economic characteristics of residential neighbourhoods and wilderness areas, particularly those located on the western outer coast.

Whereas 10 years ago there were distinct divisions between community organizations (namely the TCC and the TBA), “*when everybody had a badge almost, everyone was branded*” (8LR), it appears that currently relations of power in Tofino are more nuanced, where alliances and adversaries and the distinctions between residents and tourists – although complicated by relations over the last 10 years – are moulded for each issue. The power relations in Tofino complicate and restrict tourism planning initiatives. By way of conclusion, a business owner summarized this problem in a recent Letter to the Editor in the local *Westerly News*:

There is agreement on these matters to be had among the stakeholders in our community, but once again I fear that Tofino council does not have the ability to grasp it (Bernard, 2006, 5).

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APPENDIX: GENERAL GUIDELINES FOR INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. In your opinion, who are the main stakeholders in Tofino?
2. Do you see any alliances between stakeholders?
3. Describe the relationship between the TLBCC and TBA.
4. Are there stakeholders that you see as having an adversarial relationship?
5. Has anyone ever tried to manipulate or dominate others to try to achieve their goals?
6. Do you see any examples of anyone blatantly ignoring any of the rules passed by council or any other rules in order to get ahead?
7. In terms of influence on council during the last 5 years, are there groups that have been more influential?
8. What are the tactics or methods that individuals or groups use to get things done?
9. In your opinion right now, what do you see as the most important thing that is happening with development in the tourism industry in Tofino?
10. Can you describe to me what happened with the Vacation Rental issue?
11. Can you give examples of tactics that your organization or others used to try to influence the council or others on the Vacation rental issue?
12. Do you know anything about the opposition to the Tonquin Development?
13. What is the role of First Nations in Tofino's tourism?
14. What gives someone the most power in this town?