

**MANAGING STAKEHOLDER CONTESTATION AND
NEGOTIATION IN AMENITY-DRIVEN LAND-USE
PLANNING**

by

Jennifer C. Ness
B.A., University of the Fraser Valley, 2004

RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF RESOURCE MANAGEMENT
(PLANNING)

In the
School of Resource and Environmental Management

Project No. 468

© Jennifer Ness, 2009

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

Spring 2009

All rights reserved. This work may not be
reproduced in whole or in part, by photocopy
or other means, without permission of the author.

APPROVAL

Name: Jennifer C. Ness
Degree: Master of Resource Management (Planning)
Title of Thesis: Managing Stakeholder Contestation and
Negotiation in Amenity-Driven Land-Use
Planning

Project No. 468

Examining Committee:

Dr. Alison Gill
Senior Supervisor
Department of Geography

Dr. Peter Williams
Supervisor
School of Resource and Environmental Management

Dr. Nicole Vaugeois
Supervisor
Department of Recreation and Tourism Management
Vancouver Island University

Date Approved:

ABSTRACT

Many destinations are promoting their natural and cultural amenities to attract visitors and bolster their local tourism product. Increasingly, such efforts are associated with inflows of amenity migrants. In many destinations, local amenities are created to facilitate increased tourism and amenity migration.

Growing research reveals that meaningful involvement of local residents in planning for tourism and amenity migration can minimize local contestation and negotiation over tourism induced change, and promote the sustainability of tourism planning initiatives. This research examines the engagement processes associated with an emerging amenity-driven golf-resort development in Ucluelet, British Columbia. The meaningful engagement of Ucluelet's residents in the rezoning of a 370-acre parcel of private land minimized contestation and negotiation among stakeholders, and generated a planning outcome that aligns with the community's established vision. Ucluelet provides a pertinent example of the ways in which the politics of place can be managed through meaningful and inclusive stakeholder engagement.

Keywords: amenity migration; Ucluelet, BC; contestation and negotiation; power relationships; golf resort development; community tourism planning

QUOTATION

“A thing is right if it tends to preserve the beauty, stability, and integrity of a community, it is wrong if it tends to do otherwise.”

(Aldo Leopold, 1949: 204)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am ever grateful for the support and guidance of Dr. Alison Gill and Dr. Peter Williams throughout my academic journey. Their passion for knowledge, respect for innovative research, and commitment to personal and professional growth, made this incredibly challenging and invigorating journey all the more rewarding. I could not have asked for more exceptional leaders and mentors. I am also thankful for the guidance and support from Dr. Nicole Vaugeois – your passion for sustainable rural community growth greatly enhanced this research.

I extend my gratitude to the residents, planners, business owners and associated stakeholders involved in the planning of the Weyerhaeuser lands. Without their interest, and their dedication to Ucluelet, this research would not have been possible. My particular appreciation extends to Mr. Felice Mazzoni, who provided his time, logistical support, and access to resources.

My most heartfelt appreciation extends to my family and friends, for their ongoing support and encouragement. I am especially grateful to the understanding of my fiancé, Blair Hetherington, who helped me remain determined enough to complete this research, and grounded enough to enjoy it. I am thankful for the support of my sister, Stephanie Ness, whose relentless pursuit of her dreams provided me with a consistent source of perspective and inspiration. I am also indebted to my REM colleague and friend, Shelagh Thompson, for providing a consistent source of optimism. JN

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Approval.....	ii
Abstract	iii
Quotation	iv
Acknowledgements	v
Table of Contents	vi
List of Figures	ix
List of Tables.....	x
Abbreviations	xi
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.1 Research Rationale.....	1
1.2 Research Objectives and Questions	3
1.3 Research Approach	4
1.3.1 Literature Review.....	4
1.3.2 Case Study	5
1.4 Research Significance.....	5
1.5 Report Structure.....	6
Chapter 2: Literature Review	8
2.1 Introduction	8
2.2 Amenity Migration	9
2.2.1 Amenity Migration Overview	9
2.2.2 Evolution of Tourism-led Amenity Migration	14
2.2.3 Amenity Migration Impacts	17
2.2.3.1 Environmental Implications.....	18
2.2.3.2 Economic Implications.....	19
2.2.3.3 Social Implications	21
2.2.3.4 Amenity Migration: Implications for Rural Coastal Communities.....	23
2.3 Contestation and Negotiation in Planning Processes.....	26
2.3.1 Power Defined.....	27
2.3.2 The Role of Power in Tourism Planning	31
2.4 Amenity Driven Land-Use	34
2.5 Golf and Amenity Driven Land-Use.....	36
2.5.1 Golf-Course Development	36
2.5.2 Golf-Centred Development (GCD)	38
2.5.3 Contestation and Negotiation in Golf-Centred Planning	44

2.6	Participatory Tourism Planning Models.....	46
2.7	Summary: Managing Planning for Amenity-Driven Developments.....	49
Chapter 3: Case Study and Methods of Inquiry.....		51
3.1	Introduction	51
3.2	Case Study Context.....	51
3.2.1	Case Study Approach	51
3.2.2	Case Study Overview and Rationale.....	53
3.3	Research Objective and Questions.....	58
3.3.1	Primary and Secondary Research Questions	58
3.4	Research Methods	59
3.4.1	Qualitative Approach.....	59
3.4.2	Active Interview Approach	60
3.4.3	Interview Instrument.....	62
3.4.4	Interview Process.....	63
3.4.5	Participant Selection and Recruitment	64
3.4.6	Secondary Data Collection.....	65
3.5	Data Analysis	66
3.5.1	Primary Data Analysis (Key Informant Active Interviews)	66
3.5.2	Secondary Data Analysis	66
3.6	Limitations	67
Chapter 4: Findings		69
4.1	Introduction	69
4.2	Key Informants' Profile.....	69
4.3	Golf-Resort Decision-Making Processes.....	71
4.3.1	Weyerhaeuser Rezoning	71
4.3.2	MDA Process.....	73
4.3.3	The Master Development Agreement	76
4.3.4	Golf-Resort Development.....	79
4.4	Contestation and Negotiation in the Planning Process.....	82
4.4.1	Points of Contestation	82
4.4.2	The 'Task Force'	87
4.4.3	Development Parties.....	88
4.4.4	Power in Planning and Municipal Administration	90
4.5	Perspectives on the Public Processes.....	93
4.6	Amenity-Driven Real Estate Development: Effects on Ucluelet.....	95
4.6.1	Perceived Overall Impacts of the Emerging Golf-Resort Development.....	95
4.6.2	Anticipated Environmental Impacts	98
4.6.3	Potential Economic Implications	100
4.6.4	Perceived Social Ramifications.....	103
4.7	Informing Planning for Amenity Migration	107
Chapter 5: Discussion		111
5.1	Managing Stakeholder Contestation and Negotiation	111
5.2	Implications of GCD on Ucluelet's Future Growth.....	114

5.3	Revisiting the Framework	118
5.3.1	Identification of Vulnerabilities and Opportunities	120
5.3.2	Managing the Politics of Place: Stakeholder Contestation and Negotiation	121
5.4	Learning from the Process	122
5.4.1	Lessons for Amenity-Driven Planning	122
5.4.2	Improvements to the Process	124
Chapter 6: Conclusions		126
6.1	Research Summary	126
6.2	Recommendations for Future Research	131
Appendices		133
Appendix 1 - Key Informant Active Interview Template		134
Appendix 2 – Respondent Solicitation and Project Synopsis.....		137
Appendix 3 - Research Participant Consent Form.....		139
Appendix 4 - Assessment Framework.....		142
Reference List.....		146
Websites Consulted.....		155
Legislation Consulted		155

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Tourism-led Migration and the Transformation of Place (Gill and Williams, 2008)	12
Figure 2. Arena of Power Relations	28
Figure 3. District of Ucluelet Location.....	54
Figure 4. Weyerhaeuser Land Use Concept Map	80
Figure 5. Wild Pacific Trail	83

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Modes of Power.....	30
Table 2. Golf Centred Development: Impacts and Implications.....	39
Table 3. Distribution of Stakeholders Interviewed	62
Table 4. Key Informant Residence Characteristics	70
Table 5. Unique Ucluelet Design Parameters in the Master Development Agreement.....	77
Table 6. Amenity Provisions Specified in the District of Ucluelet/Weyerhaeuser MDA	78

ABBREVIATIONS

CP	Collaborative Planning
GCD	Golf-Centred Development
MDA	Master Development Agreement
OCP	Official Community Plan
SDM	Shared Decision Making

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research Rationale

The reaches of 20th century globalization and the subsequent mobilization of people, power, and capital have propelled tourism to be one of the world's largest industries (Choi and Siryaka, 2006). The impacts of these trends are key areas of concern for many communities, and the most spectacular manifestations of these changes are being seen in tourism destinations.

Many communities traditionally dependant on resource based industries embrace tourism for the economic benefits, and promote local amenity attributes to stimulate growth in this sector (Dahms and McComb, 1999). The promotion of tourism can lead not only to inflows of visitors, but also amenity migrants - permanent and non-permanent residents attracted to destinations by the high quality of life amenities. This is particularly the case in rural resource areas attempting to overcome declining employment in primary industry (Chipeniuk, 2006).

Empirical assessments and theoretical explorations of the amenity migration phenomena have paid significant attention to the physical and social transformations occurring in destinations contending with amenity migrant flows (Hall and Williams, 2002; Moss, 2006; Moss 2008). Few academic contributions have contended with the socio-political transformations, ramifications, and management strategies associated with amenity migration and the politics of

place. The means by which space and place are appropriated and negotiated can be unduly influenced by the power of new amenity migrants and developers. Emerging research in tourism settings (Hall, 2003; Mair, Reid, and George, 2005; Reed, 1997; Reid, Mair, and George, 2004; Ryan, 2002) describe models to assess the interactions of stakeholders and the ways in which they utilize their power resources, modes, and tactics to bring about their desired planning outcome. Conventional research on power relations in tourism settings uphold that traditional 'power elites' such as development and entrepreneurial interests, as well as relevant government authorities, tend to use their power to successfully secure their desired planning outcome (Reed, 1997; Reid, Mair, and George, 2004). The ways in which stakeholders utilize their power to influence planning outcomes can be greatly influenced by the management of planning processes (Marien and Pizam, 1997; Ryan, 2002). Typical tourism planning situations generate outcomes that tend to be greatly shaped by the conventional elites. These stakeholders tend to have greater access to resources, and their utilization of power modes and tactics can create imbalanced opportunities for community members and civil society organizations to influence the end-product of planning processes. A growing literature (Marien and Pizam, 1997; Reed, 1997; Reid, Mair and George, 2004; Ryan, 2002) suggests that in tourism settings, this can be addressed, if not overcome, by managing planning processes in a fashion that focuses on creating meaningful and consistent opportunities for citizen engagement. Not only are such processes likely to create more locally acceptable outcomes given their democratic nature, a critical factor to the success of tourism initiatives (Gunton, Day, and Williams, 2003; Hall, 1994; Hall and Williams,

2002), but also, they are likely to generate more sustainable and appropriate planning outcomes.

This research explores the planning processes used to manage the planning of a 370-acre parcel of land in Ucluelet, British Columbia, Canada. This rural coastal community on the west coast of Vancouver Island is embracing tourism for economic stability, and is experiencing influxes of tourism-led amenity migrants. Ucluelet, known in the British Columbia planning community for its innovative and community-centred planning approaches, utilized an extensive, five month community engagement process to create a shared vision for the last large tract of undeveloped land in the community. The result, the approval of an amenity-driven golf-resort development which received majority support from all stakeholders, was the product of balanced stakeholder negotiations and grass-roots planning processes. The results of this study offer insights into the factors that facilitated the successful management of power relations in the planning of the amenity-driven real-estate development in Ucluelet, and their implications for other destinations contending with amenity migrant flows. The findings will inform the development of policy and planning approaches in other communities that seek to protect the inherent local environmental, economic, and social characteristics from the potential transformative effects of amenity migration.

1.2 Research Objectives and Questions

This research contributes to a larger project entitled ‘The Role of Tourism-Led Amenity Migration in the Transformation of Place’, carried out at Simon

Fraser University. The project seeks to understand the entanglements of tourism and migration with respect to the transformation of place, and uses case-study assessments of rural communities in British Columbia experiencing rapid influxes of tourism-led amenity migrants (Gill and Williams, 2008). This research employs a case-study of Ucluelet British Columbia (BC), to address the following overarching research question: ‘How can stakeholder contestation and negotiation be managed in amenity-driven land-use planning’. To elaborate on this question the following more specific questions guide the empirical investigation:

1. What was the nature of stakeholder engagement in the decision making processes in Ucluelet, leading to the golf-resort development?
2. What was the nature of the power relationships between community stakeholders, developers, and decision-making authorities involved in Ucluelet’s amenity-based planning efforts?
3. What are the perceived impacts of amenity-based land use such as golf-resort developments, on Ucluelet?
4. What lessons can be learned about planning for amenity migration from the planning of Ucluelet’s golf-resort development?

1.3 Research Approach

1.3.1 Literature Review

A literature review provided the main conceptual construct driving the design of the research (Allan, 2003; Chipeniuk, 2004; Few, 2002; Markwick, 2000; Moore, Williams and Gill, 2006; NWCCOG, 2004; Reed, 1997; Timothy and Tosun, 2003). Within the context of Gill and Williams’ (2008) model of ‘Tourism-led Amenity Migration and the Transformation of Place’ (see Section

2.2.1), the review sought to discuss and build upon emerging literature dealing with amenity migration, power relations and their management in tourism settings, and amenity-driven developments such as golf-centred developments.

1.3.2 Case Study

In keeping with Gill and Williams' (2008) amenity migration framework, and in particular, their contextualization of the politics of place, a case study approach was used to explore emerging approaches to managing power relations in the context of planning for amenity migration. The case study focused on the planning processes involved in an emerging golf-resort development in Ucluelet BC, a rural coastal community pro-actively planning for tourism-led amenity migration through sustainable, participatory community-centred approaches. The primary method of data collection involved an 'active' interview approach (see Chapter 3), supplemented by secondary public information sources. Key informant interviews were conducted with long term residents and amenity migrants, as well as relevant planning, development, municipal, and tourism business stakeholders. The results were interpreted in the context of the tourism-led migration and the transformation of place model, specifically in relation to the politics of place, policy directives, and community management strategies.

1.4 Research Significance

Theoretically, this research expands the existing literature on the management of tourism planning processes, power relations, place, tourism and mobility in the context of planning for amenity-driven real-estate development.

Using Gill and Williams' (2008) 'Tourism-led migration and the transformation of place' model as a navigational framework, this research highlights the management of relationships between stakeholders and politics of place, and how these factors directly influence transformations of place. This exploration will provide an empirical application of Gill and Williams' (2008) model, to assess the entanglements of tourism-led amenity migration flows and the transformations of place.

On an applied level, this research provides a model of the management of stakeholder contestation and negotiation in a tourism and amenity migration context. This report identifies key factors in Ucluelet's amenity-driven real-estate planning efforts, and highlights critical aspects of their approach to stakeholder management. This exploration is anticipated to stimulate further investigations into planning approaches that promote sustainable community development along with tourism-led amenity migrant flows, and to incite additional explorations of engagement processes operationalized to balance stakeholder contestation and negotiation in amenity-rich destination planning efforts.

1.5 Report Structure

This report is divided into six chapters. Following this introduction, Chapter Two contains a detailed review of literature that helps elaborate on the research objective and questions; describes the contextualization of Gill and Williams' tourism-led migration framework; as well as the framework for assessment. Chapter Three outlines the research design and methods, including detailed insights into the 'active' interview approach, and sets the case study

context. Chapter Four presents the research findings from the key informant active interviews. Chapter Five places the project's findings in the context of the tourism-led migration and the transformation of place framework, and presents discussions of key observations from the information collected. Chapter Six provides research conclusions, as well as recommendations for potential areas of future research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter explores three distinct bodies of literature. First, tourism-led amenity migration is examined to form a theoretical basis for understanding this social phenomenon. Amenity migration is discussed in the context of Gill and Williams' (2008) 'Tourism-led Amenity Migration Framework' to develop a deeper understanding of the relationships between tourism, mobility, and transformations of place. The impacts and implications of amenity migration are then explored to provide insight into the economic, environmental, and social costs and benefits of this phenomenon on destination communities.

The review then explores power as a social action, drawing upon Allen (2003) and Few's (2002) contextualization of power relationships in social planning to create a model of power relations. Drawing on definitions from the fields of human geography and tourism, power is understood as the ability to impose one's will or interest on others (Allen, 2003; Few, 2002; Hall, 1994; Hall and Müller, 2004; Reed, 1997). A framework of 'modes of power' is established, and power is then situated in a tourism planning context, to provide an understanding of the conflict, contention, and controversy inherent in tourism and amenity migration related developments.

Amenity-driven real-estate is then discussed through the lens of golf-centred development. An emerging issue in many destinations, and in the case

study community of Ucluelet, BC, is the association of golf-centred development with the advance of substantial and luxurious real-estate and amenities. Pursued as an economic motor for a strong tourism sector, golf-centred development showcases the many conflicts and issues around power relationships in planning for tourism-related growth, and particularly in this case, for amenity migration.

The review closes with an exploration of participatory approaches to tourism planning. Emerging research on community and tourism planning indicate that participatory approaches that seek to include all those with a potential stake in the planning outcome have beneficial effects. These processes help to manage stakeholder contestation and negotiation, facilitate power sharing among stakeholders, and create more sustainable planning outcomes (Frame (2002); Gunton and Day, 2003; Marien and Pizam (1997); Reed, 1997; Reid, Mair and George, 2004).

2.2 Amenity Migration

2.2.1 Amenity Migration Overview

Recent developments in the field of amenity migration – human movements to areas possessing high quality of life resources (recreational and tourism assets, climate, scenery, rural living) (Hall and Williams, 2002; Moss, 2006) - are of pressing concern to many tourism destinations.

Tourism and amenity migration have a cause-and-effect relationship, as the very amenities that attract temporary visitors also draw amenity migrants (Chipeniuk, 2004). The growing promotion of tourism in communities

possessing high quality of life resources draws many city dwellers from their homes to these destinations. Many non-rural residents, having discovered their favourite getaway areas which they value for their aesthetic and functional resources, make the decision to permanently or semi-permanently move to these areas (Buckley, 2005). While tourists visit destinations on a temporary basis, amenity migrants reside, either permanently or intermittently, in their new community (Moss, 2003).

Amenity migrants – people that have moved permanently or semi-permanently to a destination principally because of higher quality of life amenities (Moss, 2006) – have been motivated to make relocation decisions by one, or a combination of ‘motivator’ amenities (Chipeniuk, 2004; Green, Deller, and Marcouiller, 2005; Moss, 2006). These ‘motivator’ amenities (Moss, 2008) or ‘pull’ forces (Hunter, Boardman, and Saint Onge, 2005) have been addressed extensively in the literature, and often include leisure and/or economic opportunities, learning, spirituality, culture, climate, rural living, arts/heritage, the environment and unique ethnography (Buckley, 2005; Hall and Williams, 2002; Moss, 2008; Woods, 2005). Hunter et al (2005) contend that areas endowed with natural amenities tend to experience higher levels of tourism activity, and subsequently, higher levels of amenity migrant flows.

Amenity migration is influencing landscapes of amenity-rich locations around the world, as in many parts of coastal Australia, the United Kingdom, Austria and Norway (Gurran, Squires and Blakely, 2005; National Sea Change Task Force, 2007). Many destinations in North America are also embracing this

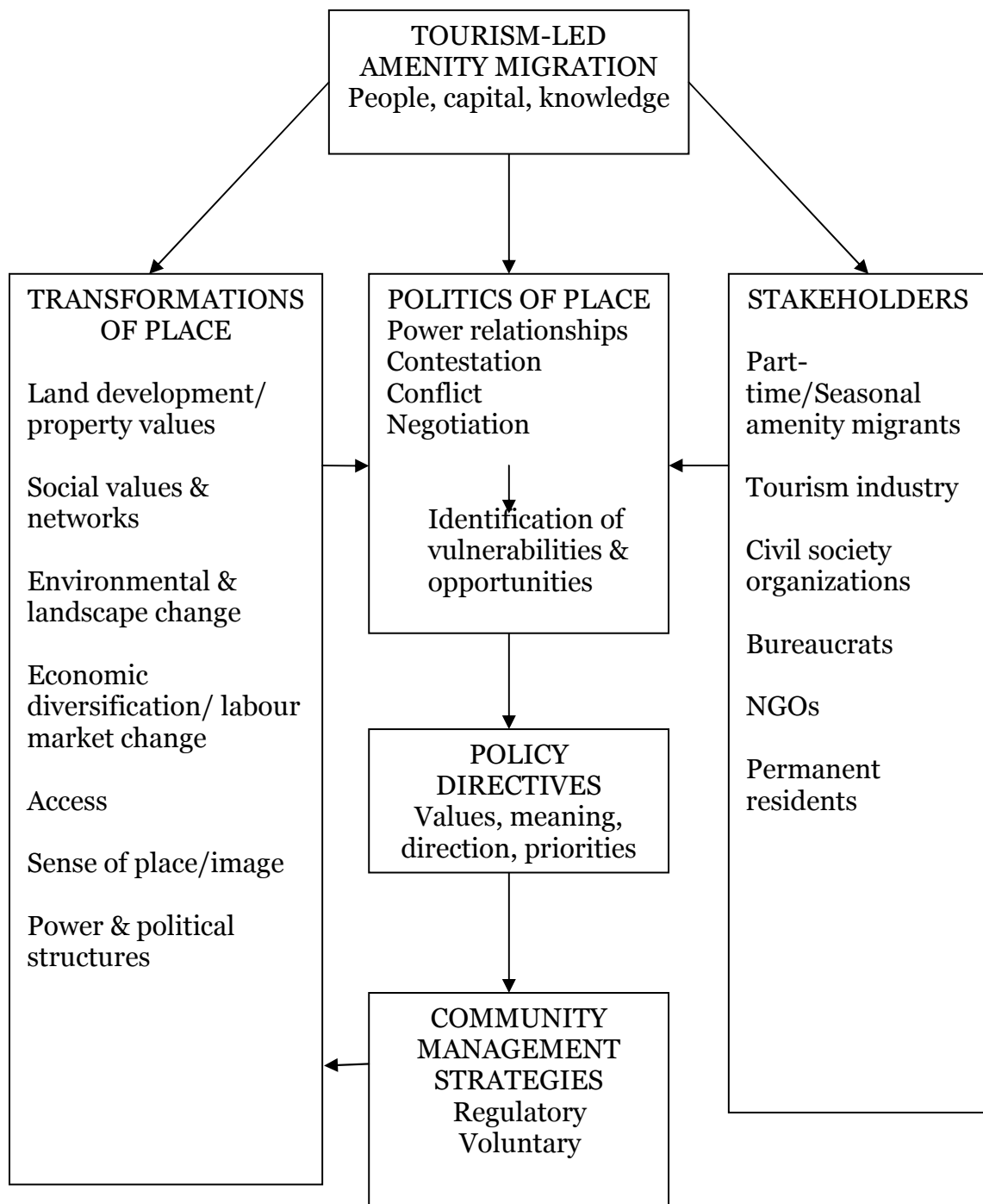
phenomenon to promote economic diversity. This is particularly seen in high-amenity rural areas, where local economies have historically been anchored in primary industry (Chipenuik, 2006). Late-modern economic shifts towards more secondary and service oriented production have created pressures for change. In these instances, tourism is often embraced as a means to diversify and help stabilize the local economy (Hunter et al., 2005; Scrow, 2003). Subsequently, these areas embracing tourism as an economic driver contend with not only increased tourism activity, but also increased amenity migrant flows (Hall and Serow, 1997; Moss, 2008; Stewart, 2002). Additionally, changes in late-modern political economy, such as increased discretionary time, wealth, land availability, and most significantly, increasingly mobile access technology, have facilitated growing numbers of amenity migrants in destination communities (Moss, 2006).

On the whole, it has been observed that inflows of amenity migrants can result in changes to a destination's resident population. The migrants themselves often demand additional amenities, infrastructure and services related to recreation, the arts, education, and health, placing great pressure on destination communities (Williams and Gill, 2006).

While relationships between tourism and migration have only recently received academic attention with respect to theoretical understanding or practical management (Coles, Hall, and Duval, 2005), Gill and Williams' (2008) model of tourism-led amenity migration (Figure 1) advances this body of research. The model connects the many entangled and interdependent characteristics of tourism destination management with the impacts and

implications of emerging realities in the paradigms of migration and mobility
(see Coles and Hall, 2006; Hall and Müller, 2004).

Figure 1. Tourism-led Migration and the Transformation of Place (Gill and Williams, 2008)



This model identifies the stakeholders, outcomes, and management considerations commonly associated with amenity migration, and enables research that can assess the potential impacts and opportunities derived from the promotion of a destination's amenities and attractions. The model allows for the many characteristics to be assessed in an integrated fashion, and promotes the formation of better informed policy and management responses. For instance, this research specifically explores politics of place through the lens of stakeholder power relationships, and the implications of these relationships on local policy and planning directives. The stakeholders considered include bureaucrats, tourism industry representatives, members of civil society, including developers, community members, interest groups, NGOs, and long-term permanent and amenity migrants. The stakeholders involved in this research negotiated uses and meanings of the local spaces and places, the results of which had potentially transformative effects on the community, including changes in: land development/ property values, social values and networks, environments and landscapes, economic diversification and the labour market, access, sense of place/ image, as well as power and political structures. The politics of place modifies, and is modified by the local stakeholders, as well as the environmental, economic, and social circumstances operating in the particular destination. The model enables an assessment of the actors, circumstances, and unique planning and policy responses developed in an iterative and interconnected fashion.

Such a concentration untangles the many factors of tourism-led amenity migration contributing to community level change, and provides useful information to inform effective planning and policy development.

2.2.2 Evolution of Tourism-led Amenity Migration

Tourism's typical contextualization depicts a journey from the everyday to the exotic; temporary mobilities that begin and end at home, but involve spending night(s) at a destination (Coles et al., 2005). Recent research and theoretical frameworks seek to broaden this narrow scope, and integrate tourism within the context of human movement and migration flows. Post-disciplinary approaches seek to understand tourism in an intertemporal model, with varying forms of human movement within the wide spectrum of human-mobility. Hall's (2005) macro-mobility model (in Coles, Hall, and Duval, 2005) depicts this relationship by representing the number of trips and interactions of tourists over time and space. As time spent at a destination increases, interactions evolve from visits and daytrips to vacations. This can evolve to taking extended working holidays, purchasing secondary homes for vacation use, and then permanent or semi-permanent migration (Coles et al., 2005).

The typical sequences of steps from the visitor's initial visit to eventual migration are formed through driving, or 'push' forces. These forces include: changing values of the post-baby boom generations (reflecting greater valuing of experiences, leisure activities, leisure time, and the natural environment); the priority of 'quality-of-life' lifestyle decisions over solely income-based decisions; opportunities to maintain desired and often well-paid employment irrespective of location (facilitated by communication technologies); lower property prices and cost of living in rural areas compared to urban and metropolitan regions; increased job-opportunities with the "second tier tourism economy, providing retail goods and services to tourists and other amenity migrants"(Buckley, 2005:

59); and the re-location decisions of retirees (Buckley, 2005; Dahms and McComb 1999; Hall and Williams 2002).

While many groups contribute to the amenity migration trend, two groups are prominent: entrepreneurial/professional individuals, and retirees.

Considerable research denotes that the most influential amenity migrants are those migrants in professional, entrepreneurial, or managerial positions. These individuals tend to spend disproportionately more than others on travel, second homes, artwork, collectables, and communication technology (Fetto, 2000; Haas and Serow, 1997; Scrow, 2003). Many professional/entrepreneurial amenity migrants willingly trade off additional monetary gain at existing locations for access to higher quality social, cultural, and environmental amenities elsewhere – a trade-off known as ‘half pay for a view of the bay’, or the ‘psychic income’ phenomenon (Williams and Gill, 2006). Following Hall’s aforementioned macro-mobility model, many urban professionals, after having found their favoured getaway destinations, decide to rent or purchase homes in these locations. This segment of the population has experienced increased mobility with the evolution of communications technologies, as highly paid professionals no longer need to live close to their places of employment (Buckley, 2005).

The trend of retirees migrating to amenity-rich areas has grown considerably in recent years, analogous to the present and impending retirement of members of the ‘baby-boom’ generation (Hunter et al., 2005). It is suggested that the number of amenity-retirement migrants will increase in the coming years, as the post-world war II baby-boom generation reaches retirement age. In

2000, approximately 11 percent of the world's population was aged 60 and above, and it is projected that by 2050, this figure is expected to increase to 20 percent (Hall and Müller, 2004). The impending demographic shift will have substantial implications for tourism-led amenity migrations, and for amenity-rich destinations with respect to second-home ownership.

Many communities are embracing amenity-retirement migration to stimulate economic growth and vitality. Growing research under the umbrella of 'International Retirement Migration' suggests that the residential mobility of those approaching or that have entered retirement often tends to favour international migrations (King, Warnes, and Williams, 1998). Many destinations have embraced this trend, and promote the attraction of the retirement amenity migrant population as an ideal policy tool. Florida, a popular tourism destination, prioritizes amenity migration as an economic strategy. The 'Destination Florida' Commission monitors the state's competitive position as a retirement destination to make Florida more retiree friendly (Scrow, 2003).

The mobility of those of retirement age has inspired growing recognition that settlement patterns of affluent retirees often differ from those of the working age population (Scrow, 2003). Retirees typically have increased discretionary time and income (Hall and Müller, 2004), and their migration decisions are influenced largely by the natural environments, arts, cultural, and recreational events and services, shopping activities, and the quality of health and wellness services (Hass and Sorrow, 1997; Williams and Gill, 2006) of a destination. Similar to entrepreneurial/professional amenity migrants, retiree's typically have

prior exposure to a destination, and make migration decisions relative to their personal valuation of destinations.

2.2.3 Amenity Migration Impacts

Tourism-led amenity migration has many positive and negative implications for destination communities. Local economies often prosper with the infusion of new economic and institutional capacity, and amenity migrants themselves can be a valued source of entrepreneurial spirit and innovation (Gill and Williams, 2008). However, many rural communities are not equipped to respond to the combined pressures of tourism activity and the needs of the affluent migrant markets (Gurran and Blakely, 2007; Gurran, Squires and Blakely, 2005). The physical and socio-cultural landscapes of such communities can be influenced in terms of access to environmental resources, cultural, recreational and health facilities, retailing services, and residential housing supply (Glorioso and Moss, 2007; Moore, Williams, and Gill, 2006; NWCCOG, 2004). As a result, unanticipated transformations of place have begun to occur in many amenity-rich rural destinations (Aguiar, Tornic, and Trumper, 2005), as the related population change and growth stress the local social, ecologic, and economic systems.

These impacts typically surround second-home ownership, and are most suitably summarized by Stedman, Beckley, Wallace and Ambard (2004: 603), who observed:

“Community change associated with visitors [and second-home owners] may challenge the preferred meaning that residents hold for their community and may lead to perceived declines in community quality of life and well-being.”

To effectively assess the sustainability of communities with respect to migrant flows, it is fundamental to assess the specific environmental, economic, and social implications of amenity migration.

2.2.3.1 Environmental Implications

The physical setting of destinations is often an enormous attraction for amenity migrants. The unique natural endowments of destination areas, which typically include water resources, beaches, mountainous terrain, climate, and unique biotic and biologic life, are valued for their aesthetic, recreation, and leisure purposes (Chipeniuk, 2004; Green, Deller, and Marcouiller, 2005; Hall and Müller, 2004; Moss, 2006; Müller, Hall, and Keen, 2004).

Amenity migrants are often attracted to the open space and solitude inherently associated with rural areas (Chipeniuk, 2006), and tend to bring conservation-oriented environmental values to destinations (Hall and Müller, 2004). While their significant purchasing power can encourage development that burdens local landscapes, statistical research demonstrates that amenity migrants encourage land-uses which promote sustainable growth (Smith and Krannich, 2000).

Key components of ‘rural’ are taken to be large open tracts of undeveloped land, (Hall and Page, 2005). However, increased levels of growth and development can erode the natural endowments characteristic of an area. A

fundamental issue for citizens and planners in amenity-rich rural communities concerns how land-use planning measures can help prevent developments that adversely affect the environmental features that make the place desirable (Stedman, 2003).

The promotion of tourism-led growth is typically associated with the development of amenities and attractions to draw tourist and migrant flows. This can intrude on available stocks of undeveloped land (NWCCOG, 2004; Venturoni, Long, and Perdue, 2005), and expand the local ecologic footprint. It is suggested that increased development corresponds with increased consumption of energy, water, natural resources and materials, and results in higher levels of effluent wastes, emissions, noise and chemical pollutants (Clark, Gill and Hartmann, 2006; United States Environmental Protection Agency, 2006). Converting undeveloped land into development areas often results in disruptions to local wildlife, and can pose risks to local species through losses of riparian and ecologic habitat (Chipeniuk, 2004).

2.2.3.2 Economic Implications

While amenity migration reaches destinations that pursue it both actively (i.e. through the promotion of tourism-related growth) and passively (i.e. through the natural demands for permanent/ semi-permanent residences), the phenomenon serves as both an economic stimulus, and often as an economic stressor in many host communities.

As amenity migrants are typically more affluent professionals and retirees, their prosperity can provide a relatively stable catalyst for economic growth

(Chipeniuk, 2004). On a fundamental level, the economic benefits of inflows of such amenity migrants can be equated to the benefits of general population growth (increased local tax base, increased revenue stream for the community, increased local spending) (Moss, 2003; NWCCOG, 2004; Scrow, 2003) with the additional benefit of new, economically secure residents.

These economic advantages associated with inflows of affluent amenity migrants have further positive benefits for destination communities. Increased local spending provides greater security to local business owners, thereby increasing the discretionary income of the population base and the economic profile of the community. When this increased wealth is spent within the community, the local tax base benefits doubly, from the additional local spending on behalf of amenity migrants, as well as the additional spending of long-term residents (Scrow, 2003). Furthermore, the increased local taxes from the increased population base can enable host communities to provide additional infrastructure, community amenities, and facilities (Moss, 2003; Venturoni, Long, and Perdue, 2005), which benefits the social characteristics of the destination.

From the opposing end of the economic impact spectrum, the significant purchasing power of amenity migrants as well as their demand for second-homes, local services, and amenities, generates increased property values and can drive up the local costs of living (Hall and Müller, 2004). In particular, the local costs of living and housing prices often inflate to points that constrain the ability of less-affluent community members and workers to acquire or retain housing in

the community (Williams and Gill, 2006). This creates an imbalance of supply and demand for service provision and generates economic inefficiencies (Deller et al., 2001). These changes can result in out-flows of community members and local employees (Hall and Müller, 2004; NWCCOG, 2004; Venturoni et al., 2005; Williams and Gill, 2006).

2.2.3.3 Social Implications

The social implications of amenity migration typically involve changes to the sense of place and the place attachments to the existing community, as well as changes to the norms, values, and daily patterns of the long-term residents.

Place-related challenges are perhaps one of the largest social considerations discussed in the amenity migration literature (Marcouiller, Glendenning, and Kedzior, 2002; Venturoni et al., 2005). Transformations of community spaces, places, and ways of life due to emerging changes in the community can greatly influence the way individuals attach to and identify with the place. Tuan (1977) provides a common contextualization of place, where a place is a spatial setting ‘given meaning based on human experience, social relationships, emotions, and thoughts.’

Building on this, sense of place can be understood through the symbolic meanings people attach a place. These are shaped by individual and collective experiences with place, as well as the physical characteristics of a place (natural, non-natural, biotic, and abiotic) (Davenport and Anderson, 2005; Stedman, 2003). These factors can be more precisely explored by assessing the ways in which people: 1) identify with a place, i.e. *what* does a place mean to them (‘place

identity'), which contributes to their sense of belongingness; and 2) define their attachment to a place, i.e. *how much* a place means to them ('place attachment') (Stedman et al, 2004; Davenport and Anderson, 2005). These factors are unique to each individual, and are based on their accumulated experiences, their modes of interaction, the ways they are directed towards spaces and places by land-use planning initiatives (access, signage), and social influences (group and individual norms, values, and categorizations) (Stedman et al, 2004). This applies to those that have long-term, permanent ties to a place, as well as those that may have transient, shorter-term connections (Stedman, 2003; Stewart, 2002).

While connections to place are undoubtedly rooted in the symbolic meanings that long-term residents, new permanent or part-time residents, and visitors alike, attribute to a community, there is great variation in the nature of the ways these individuals identify with and are attached to communities (Hall and Williams, 2002). Newcomer and visitor meanings typically reflect attitudes and values that emphasize the spectacular and unique, where the more long-term residents tend to have developed place meanings, deeply rooted in their accumulated local experiences and relationships (Stedman, 2003; Stedman et al., 2004). Additionally, amenity migrants tend to be attracted by the lifestyle, natural amenities, and community spirit of destinations. However, they often hold different values regarding the population growth, natural environment, economic circumstances, and tourism development associated with destination communities (Smith and Krannich, 2000).

As amenity migration perpetuates in a community, demands for new and more innovative businesses, services, and recreation opportunities often emerge (Müller et al., 2004; Williams and Gill, 2006). This trend can be problematic over time, as the new provisions may displace the mix of traditional commercial and social offerings in the community (Williams and Gill, 2006). This can alter the daily routines, experiences and relationships that make such places ‘home’. Social tensions and feelings of resistance to newcomers often follow which reinforces or instigates social polarities. In addition, place attachments can influence behaviour (Stedman, 2002), and Stedman et al. (2004: 629) suggest that people will ‘fight for places that are more central to [their] identities and [face] less than optimal conditions’. Therefore, planning initiatives concerning tourism and tourism-led amenity migration should be conducted with a mind to the potential impacts of the initiative on the meanings, identities, and attachments of community members (Williams and Patterson, 1996).

2.2.3.4 Amenity Migration: Implications for Rural Coastal Communities

The vast appeals of marine environments – temperate climate, beaches, ocean surf, unique flora and fauna – draw many tourists to coastal destinations around the world (Orams, 1999). The high quality of life resources and abundant recreation opportunities in coastal communities combined with the growing promotion of tourism as an economic engine have led to increasing tourist and amenity migrant flows to the coast (Gurran and Blakely, 2007; Butler, 2004). This ‘coastal amenity migration’ (known as ‘Sea Change’ in Australia) has come to represent the wider social and environmental transformations resulting from

rapid population growth and associated urbanization within rural coastal areas (Gurran and Blakely, 2007). Many coastal destinations are experiencing population shifts towards the coast sufficient to compromise a 'third culture' distinct from that associated with the 'city' or the 'bush' (Gurran and Blakely, 2007).

Coastal communities and small peripheral islands are particularly vulnerable to external influences and economic pressures, much more so than mainland destinations (Butler, 1996; Gurran and Blakely, 2007). Subsequently, influxes of tourists and amenity migrants to coastal destinations can have profound effects on the community in cultural, social, and environmental terms as a result of such size considerations (Androtis, 2004).

Case studies from high-growth non-metropolitan coastal destinations in Australia and along the Mediterranean peninsula reveal many social and environmental impacts from the current 'waves' of migration (Gurran and Blakely, 2007). These movements are causing significant adverse impacts on hydrologic systems and degrading coastal waters, wetlands, estuaries and mangroves (Gurran and Blakely, 2007). Gössling (2002) described how tourism-led migration substantially altered the coastal environment on Unguja Island, Tanzania through housing constructions, unsustainable fishing patterns, and sewage disposal. The surge in amenity migration related growth in destinations such as this can lead to the fragmentation and loss of coastal habitat, and can increase exposure to coastal hazards, including sea level rise associated with climate change (Gurran and Blakely, 2007). Long-term residents in these

communities have expressed fears that the current flow of amenity migrants will change the low-key character of their towns, which may be overwhelmed by new, high-density residential, tourism, and commercial development (Gurran and Blakely, 2007).

Many rural coastal communities face increasing demands for residential and tourism development, driven largely by institutional investors, second-home buyers, and retirees cashing in on high-metropolitan property values (Glorioso and Moss, 2007; Williams and Gill, 2006). These pressures are increasing housing costs, which reduces the availability of low-cost housing to rent or buy, and leads to socio-spatial polarization (Gurran and Blakely, 2007).

Development in coastal communities must be planned with respect to the social and environmental carrying capacities of the destination (Butler, 1996). As flows of migrants and capital to rural areas create demand for new types of businesses and services (Hitchcock, 2000; Vetruroni et al., 2005), the implications of increased tourism activity and the associated inflows of amenity migrants to rural coastal communities must be assessed. It is important that tourism-led amenity migration is planned for in pro-active ways, with specific development policies integrated into a destination's overall planning framework (Bramwell, 2004; Gurran and Blakely, 2007).

In coastal destinations contending with inflows of amenity migrants, policy responses have tended to support the continuation of tourism and amenity migration to non-metropolitan coastal regions as a strategy to manage metropolitan growth (Green et al., 2005; Gurran et al., 2005). This has especially

been seen in rural Australia, where policy recommendations are encouraging development in preferred areas, selected to reinforce existing settlement patterns while limiting the impact of new development on coastal landscapes and environments (Resource Assessment Commission, 1993). This response is being encouraged as a tool to prevent re-active coastal planning, which has tended to allow coastal growth patterns to be dictated by the private market and governed by a 'tyranny of small decisions' (Resource Assessment Commission, 1993), made by discrete local government authorities (Gurran and Blakely, 2007).

Examining the impacts of tourism-led amenity migrations in rural coastal areas is particularly important given the already sizeable magnitude of such human flows in many regions of the world. Furthermore, assessments of the conflict and contestations involved in planning for amenity migration are increasingly important, given the significant growth in amenity-driven developments in rural coastal areas (Androtis, 2004; Bramwell, 2004)

2.3 Contestation and Negotiation in Planning Processes

A number of research initiatives have attempted to develop models that portray the exercise of power in tourism related planning. These models tend to be concerned with how political systems and governing bodies position themselves in local decision-making processes (see Hall, 1994; Hall and Jenkins, 1995). Very little research exists which explores the role of power in shaping tourism-related planning outcomes in a more 'on-the-ground' fashion. That is, the interrelationships between the specific stakeholders involved in a planning process with respect to their capacity to influence planning outcomes.

Furthermore, research surrounding the specific modes of power used by stakeholders in planning for amenity migration and amenity-driven land-use planning is, at best, lacking. Such research could provide important information regarding the development of more inclusive planning processes, and may help in the formation of strategies to manage stakeholder contestation and negotiation in tourism and amenity migration related planning efforts.

2.3.1 Power Defined

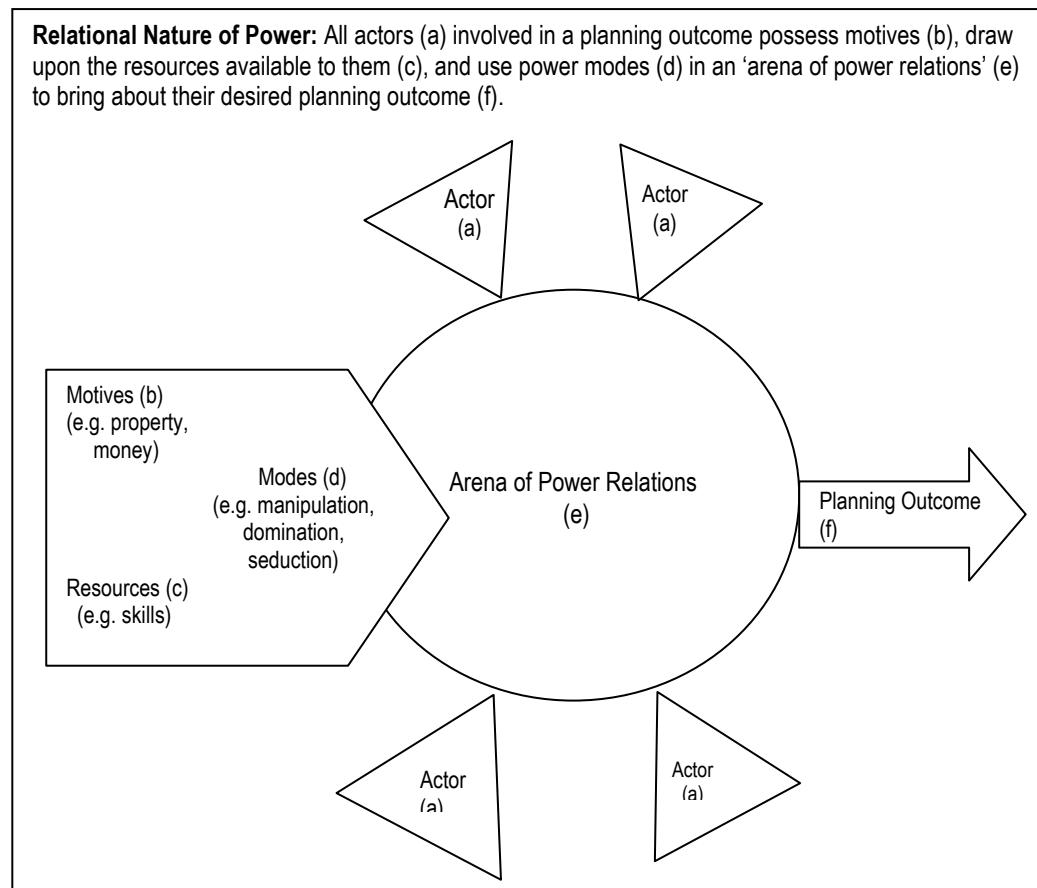
Power is a complex and multi-faceted construct with a range of definitions and meanings, each tied to specific disciplinary contexts (Few, 2002). This research employs a contextualization of power frequently cited in tourism and human geography, where power is the ability of an actor to impose their will, or advance their interest on others (Cheong and Miller, 2000; Reed 1997; Sharpe, Routledge, Philo, and Paddison, 2000). Power is operationalized in social relationships, generated from and within interactions between networks of actors¹ (Allen, 2003; Few, 2002; Sharpe et al., 2000), where every group/individual exercises and is subjected to power (Allen, 2003; Few, 2002; Sharpe, et al., 2000). Allen (2003: 257) effectively clarifies power in a relational context:

“It is ...the relational effects that give their name to what most of us would have little difficulty recognizing as power: that brush with... [a] manager ... or that feeling of deception which accompanies an act of manipulative advertising....It is only through the effects of such relations that it is possible to know and experience what it means to be on the receiving end of an act of power.”

¹ Actors are individuals, informal groups, and organizations that share similar interests in their interactions with others, and are active participants that engage others in the pursuit of their interest. Actors can have different positions in different situations and locations, and their values and perspectives are based on personal responses and experiences in such situations (Bramwell, 2006).

The complex nature of power requires further elaboration. From a planning and policy context, power is seen to operate in an ‘arena of power relations’ (Few, 2002), a space in which interactions among actors lead to a planning outcome (Figure 2). In this model, power is exercised when an actor participates in a social event (i.e. a public hearing, council meeting, news media, etc.) by putting forward a proposal, initiative, or argument (Few, 2002). The arena model elaborates on the relational definition of power by profiling the specific means actors can employ in a planning context to help impose their will or desired outcome on the other relevant actors.

Figure 2. Arena of Power Relations



(Adapted from Allen (2003) and Few (2002), with permission.)

With reference to Figure 2, the arena itself represents a planning situation and the individual actors represent the stakeholders involved. The power characteristics are well documented (Allen, 2003; Few, 2002) and include motives, resources, and modes of power. Motives are the factors that drive individuals to participate in a planning arena, and typically reflect personal/professional interests regarding a planning outcome (Few, 2002). Resources are an actor's personal skills and connections, which enhance their ability to achieve their motives or goals, including property, money, personal skills, competence, or knowledge (Welk, 2007). Modes of power (Allen, 2003), or power 'tactics' (Few, 2002) are strategic actions which can improve an actor's negotiating position. Power modes include seduction, persuasion, manipulation, coercion, domination, and authority (Table 1), and build on an actor's resources to help achieve their motives and goals (Allen, 2003).

Table 1. Modes of Power

Mode of Power	Defining Characteristics
Seduction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Modest form of power, intended to act upon those who have the ability to opt out (Allen, 2003) • Works at a level where choices are possible (Cheong and Miller, 2000) • May encourage desires for certain things to influence behavior (Allen, 2003) • Renunciation of total domination (Allen, 2003)
Persuasion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Process of guiding people to the adoption of an idea, attitude, or action (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982) • Social actions designed to convince stakeholders that an outcome is preferable (Few, 2002)
Manipulation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extreme form of persuasion (Few, 2002) • Concealment of intent serves to bring about a desired outcome (Allen, 2003; Hall and Jenkins, 1995) • Involves distortion, deception, and exploitation (Few, 2002)
Coercion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Compelling another to behave in involuntary ways (Dreyfus, Rabinow, 1982) • Use of threat, pressure, force, social constraint (Hall and Jenkins, 1995)
Domination	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language of command/obedience (French and Raven, 1959) • Manifested will of the 'ruler' is meant to influence the conduct of other(s) even against their reluctance (Allen, 2003; Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982) • Asymmetrical mode of power (Allen, 2003) • Zero-sum game (fixed number of resources, one actor's gain is another actor's loss) (Allen, 2003)
Authority	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Refers to the legitimacy; right to exercise power (Allen, 2003) • Power recognized as legitimate by the powerful and powerless (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982) • 3 forms: Traditional (long-established customs, habits, social structures); Rational-legal (formal rules and established laws); Charismatic (charisma of leader, through 'divine rights' of 'inspiration' – superior form of authority) (French and Raven, 1959; Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982)

The different modes of power have different impacts, influences, and spatial characteristics (Welk, 2007). The specific mode(s) used by an actor are context and relation specific, often changing to suit the nature of each interaction (Few, 2002). For instance, while tactics of manipulation or domination may be employed by a local politician to force their favoured policy agenda into action, this same politician may use tactics of persuasion or seduction with government officials to procure funding for local initiatives (Cheong and Miller, 2000). The relative amount of influence of each actor in a situation is unique to the depth of their motives and resources, and the number of modes they employ in the planning situation.

2.3.2 The Role of Power in Tourism Planning

At a community level, tourism-led development has long been associated with conflict and contestation, most often in relation to actual or proposed uses of the community's stocks of undeveloped land (Hall, 1994; Singh, Timothy, and Dowling, 2003). Tourism activity places pressure on the fixed space of a community, and often requires infrastructure and development beyond the needs of the existing population. The use and location of tourism related infrastructure can lead to substantial opposition from local community members, due to the pressures that such developments exert on the local land, resources, and infrastructure. Such developments can not only lead to increased costs of living for the local population (NWCCOG, 2004; Venturoni et al., 2005), but can also bring about transformations in the relationships locals have with the physical space of their communities (Hall and Williams, 2002).

Contestation over tourism in communities can also stem from changes in a community's 'sense of place', which can be pervasively changed with inflows of tourists (Hitchcock, 2000). The very customs and shared modes of thought and expression that provide a sense of belonging and community membership can be threatened by growing tourism activity (Coles et al., 2005). While resident perceptions and acceptance of tourism-led developments are key to the success of such initiatives, it has been found that the interests and representations of the local community are often marginalized by the more 'powerful' and influential local government and elite stakeholders (Hall, 2004; 2005). These concerns are exacerbated as tourism progresses, and growing flows of new part-time and permanent amenity migrants infiltrate the local landscape.

It is important for the creation of sustainable tourism and amenity-migration related planning that communities are recognized as complex entities, comprised of groups and individuals with different, but equally legitimate, interests and associations. Bianchi (2003) acknowledges that processes of tourism-led development are challenged and appropriated within a community by overlapping networks of action. Individuals and groups are guided by a variety of professional and private interests. While community members may be interested in maintaining the local status quo, destination planners, developers, and tourism managers tend to promote more growth-oriented perspectives (Smith and Krannich, 2000). Hall (1994) goes so far as to suggest that tourism related planning typically reflects the environmental, economic, and social goals of the specific government authority involved, implying that the outcomes of

tourism planning processes are often a direct reflection of the interests and values of the most powerful stakeholders involved.

Contemporary approaches to tourism planning give recognition to the differing levels of influence amongst stakeholders, and emphasize the need for meaningful involvement of community residents in the planning and decision-making process (Bianchi, 2003; Jamal and Getz, 1995; Murphy, 1985). Such involvement is critical to the sustainability of tourism related developments. Their success is often directly connected to the degree to which the host community accepts the tourism initiative (Timothy and Tosun, 2003). Such community-oriented approaches to tourism planning, posit that all stakeholders should have equal opportunities to participate in the process, and more importantly, to influence the outcome (Hall, 1994; Jamal and Getz, 1995; Reed, 1997). Tourism related planning processes should be designed with a mind to the power of each stakeholder and to their capacity to influence the outcome of the process, with efforts taken to marginalize any differences in the perceived levels of influence (Timothy and Tosun, 2003). Truly inclusive planning is best achieved when power is equally shared amongst stakeholders (Few, 2002; Reed, 1997; Timothy and Tosun, 2003).

There is great uncertainty in prescribing a set of factors that can mobilize a redistribution of power (Reed, 1997). It has been recommended that mechanisms to ensure adequate representation of all stakeholders, and specifically host community members, can help to limit the traditionally dominating power of government stakeholders and local elites in tourism planning processes and

outcomes (Hall, 1994; Reed, 1997; Timothy and Tosun, 2003). The greater the opportunities to participate in the planning process, the greater the power of community members to have their interests meaningfully addressed and potentially incorporated in planning outcomes (Hall, 1994). As Few (2002) found in an assessment of tourism planning in Belize, the motivation of community members to participate in the planning process was shaped by their perceptions of the openness and efficacy of the process.

2.4 Amenity Driven Land-Use

Tourism is an important economic activity in many locations worldwide, and the global mobilization of human and financial capital and information technology are placing pressures on destinations to diversify their tourism products (Green et al., 2005; Hall and Jenkins, 1994). Public policy responses are beginning to reflect the dependence of destinations on a strong tourism sector (Bramwell, 2004). In many destinations a common policy response has involved developing new, large-scale amenities, such as golf courses, marinas, exhibition and conference centres intended to attract the more ‘up-market’, higher spending visitors (Bramwell, 2004; Papatheodorou, 2004). While these amenity driven land-uses may be aimed at more exclusive audiences, they also have characteristics commonly associated with mass tourism developments, as they are typically large facilities that attract substantial numbers of users (Bramwell, 2004). Such amenities not only draw additional visitors, but also, following Hall’s macro-mobility model, semi-permanent and permanent amenity migrants (Hall, 2004). While both groups place significant pressures on the social and

environmental qualities of destinations (Moore, Williams, and Gill, 2006; Moss, 2003), the industry's rapid growth and its spatial and temporal concentration have intensified these impacts (Bramwell, 2004; Hall and Williams, 2002).

The growing presence of amenity-driven land-uses (golf courses, marinas, exhibition and conference centre's, retail outlets, resorts) in destinations worldwide has been noted to impact local social and environmental conditions (Marcouiller, Glendenning, and Kedzior, 2002; Markwick, 2000). Much debate surrounds the consequences of the commercialization of undeveloped space for tourism purposes. Common arguments depict this process as fundamentally destructive of the meanings through which locals organize their lives (Bramwell, 2004). Issues around the equity of funding provision for development of new public infrastructure and facilities to support amenity-driven land-uses, as well as the 'urbanization' of rural areas to support these developments are well documented (Dahms and McComb, 1999; Law, 1991; Müller et al., 2004).

Typical 'luxury' real-estate amenities can provoke negative environmental conditions in smaller destinations due largely to overburdened local infrastructure (Green et al., 2005; Papatheodorou, 2004). Inadequacies in road provision and surface quality, refuse collection and disposal, sewage collection systems and treatment plants are commonly seen, particularly in destinations where the local government is under-funded, unused to new levels of demand, or lacks relevant powers (Bramwell, 2004). For instance, in Malta, the burgeoning number of tourists visiting new resort developments has put pressure on an old sewage system with limited capacity, and the majority of the sewage generated is

pumped out into the sea untreated (Bramwell, 2004). Additionally, luxury, large-scale conference facilities attached to hotels on the Greek Islands have had negative environmental consequences related to resource use for construction and operation, and the use of design schemes that do not align with the local vernacular (Bramwell, 2004).

With the increasing prevalence of amenity-driven developments, it is important to assess the unique vulnerabilities and opportunities each form of such land use can bring to destinations. One of the most extensive and intensive forms of amenity-driven development is golf course development (Brassoulis, 2007; Markwick, 2000; Palmer, 2004).

2.5 Golf and Amenity Driven Land-Use

2.5.1 Golf-Course Development

The creation of golf courses is one of the most rapidly expanding types of amenity-driven developments (Markwick, 2000). There are an estimated 25,000 -30,000 golf courses worldwide. In Canada, the national population spends an estimated \$1.62 billion dollars annually on golf travel (Royal Canadian Golf Association, 2006). The global golf-industry serves a market of 60 million golfers annually, which spend over \$20 billion per year (Palmer, 2004). The number of people in the sport has increased steadily, especially amongst Japan's wealthy cohort of golfers (Palmer, 2004). The sheer size of the golf market is indicative of the significance of golf tourism as a niche market within the global tourism industry (Palmer, 2004).

While the importance of golf in the tourism market is particularly evident in Canada where the national golf participation rate of 21.5% is among the highest in the world (Royal Canadian Golf Association, 2006), there is little conclusive evidence of what has triggered the growing interest in the sport. Speculation suggests that a series of interrelated factors have aligned to encourage golf's prominence, and have transformed golf from a game to a major business, with many consequences for tourist destinations aiming to attract the major golf market from countries such as Canada, the United States of America, Japan, and the United Kingdom (Palmer, 2004; Petrick, 2002). These factors include: the global promotion of golf as a sport via the media; the plethora of magazines and articles designed to appeal to amateur sports enthusiasts; many of the factors related to amenity migration, including increased mobility, increased desire for leisure and recreation, access technology, and flexible work arrangements; and growing 'celebrity' appeal and public involvement of many of the sport's top players (Palmer, 2004; Royal Canadian Golf Association, 2006; United States Golf Association, 2007).

Whether for local recreation or to entice domestic and/or international tourism, the widespread emergence of golf-course development has spawned great controversy over the associated environmental, economic, and social costs and benefits (Brassoulis, 2007; Markwick, 2000). From an environmental standpoint, golf-course development requires extensive and ongoing use of local land and water resources. Courses commonly use 50-60 hectares of land surface and consume up to 10,000 meters³/cubed/hectare/year of fresh water supplies (Bramwell, 2004; Brassoulis, 2007; Markwick, 2000; Palmer, 2004).

From an economic perspective, golf courses can be a motor for economic development and generate significant benefits compared to other forms of development (Brassoulis, 2007; Markwick, 2000). As Markwick (2000) highlights, a well-designed golf course, promoted by an effective marketing campaign can draw higher spending 'low-season' tourists. This may extend the tourist 'high-season' and increase the economic contribution of tourism while enhancing the image of a place as a tourism destination (Markwick, 2000). The social costs and benefits of golf course development are experienced most readily in rural and emergent tourism destinations, and typically surround problems of social exclusion and access due to appreciated land values (Palmer, 2004).

These environmental, economic, and social considerations are exacerbated when golf course development is linked to other forms of amenity-driven land uses. The most observable form of this linkage is emerging in many destinations worldwide, and has been termed by Brassoulis (2007) as 'golf-centred development' (GCD).

2.5.2 Golf-Centred Development (GCD)

Golf-centred development (GCD), in Brassoullis' contextualization, can be described as up-market tourist and residential golf resort complexes catering to higher-spending consumers. Such developments are sometimes known as integrated resorts, golf-resorts, golf-communities, golf-estates, and resort communities (Brassoulis, 2007; Palmer, 2004; Papatheodorou, 2004; Pleumarom, 1992; United Nations Atlas of the Ocean, 2002). GCD links golf courses to substantial and luxurious real estate developments, as well as local and

regional economic development (Bramwell, 2004; Brassoulis, 2007). Such large-scale and intensive land-uses can not only impact environmental and landscape attributes, but can also generate substantial economic and socio-cultural implications (Bramwell, 2004). These considerations, specifically outlined in Table 2, can be positive or negative.

Table 2. Golf Centred Development: Impacts and Implications

Environmental Considerations	
Positive	Negative
Extending the utility of degraded/derelict areas (<i>Brassoulis, 2007; Palmer, 2004; Pleumarom, 1992</i>)	Requires substantial land (generally 50-60 hectares), which increases with GCD infrastructure (generally over 100 ha) (<i>Brassoulis, 2007; Markwick, 2000</i>)
	Diminishes land available for other uses (critical on islands) (<i>Brassoulis, 2007</i>)
	High water consumption (up to 10,000 meters/cubed/hectare/year – equivalent to the consumption of 12,000 people) (<i>Brassoulis, 2007; Markwick, 2000</i>)
	Surface and groundwater pollution and bio-accumulation from the use of pesticides, fungicides, and fertilizers (<i>Brassoulis, 2007; Markwick, 2000</i>)
	Groundwater intrusion, strained water tables, lowered lakes/ streams (<i>Brassoulis, 2007; Markwick, 2000</i>)
	Soil loss and degradation (<i>Brassoulis, 2007; Markwick, 2000</i>)
	Habitat degradation and loss; disruptions to local biodiversity (<i>Brassoulis, 2007; Markwick, 2000</i>)
	Land subsidence, saltwater intrusion, and coastal erosion in marine areas (<i>Brassoulis, 2007; Markwick, 2000</i>)

Table 2 (Continued)

Social and Economic Considerations	
Positive	Negative
Diversify tourism product (<i>Brassoulis, 2007; Palmer, 2004; Priestly, 2004</i>)	Burden on public sanitation, water supply and garbage collection infrastructure (<i>Brassoulis, 2007</i>)
Enhance high-season tourism (<i>Brassoulis, 2007; Palmer, 2004; Pleumarom, 1992</i>)	Increased real-estate values; increased local cost of living (<i>Brassoulis, 2007; Markwick, 2000</i>)
Enhance destination's competitiveness in the global tourism market(<i>Brassoulis, 2007; Palmer, 2004; Pleumarom, 1992</i>)	Host communities face maintenance costs of overburdened local infrastructure (<i>Brassoulis, 2007; Markwick, 2000</i>)
Lengthen 'tourist season' by attracting golfers to play when the weather is unsuitable in their country/region (<i>Brassoulis, 2007; Palmer, 2004; Pleumarom, 1992</i>)	Local and supra-local conflicts; local displacements (<i>Brassoulis, 2007; Markwick, 2000</i>)
Potential direct and indirect job creation (<i>Brassoulis, 2007; Palmer, 2004; Pleumarom, 1992</i>)	Local quality of life may decline (<i>Markwick, 2000</i>)

Many destination communities view golf-centred development as a means to upgrade their tourism product, curb tourism seasonality, solve fiscal deficit problems, and help counterbalance the decline of primary industry (Brassoulis, 2007). While this growth-oriented approach is promoted as a means to more favourable economic ends, the particular mode of production associated with 'golf destinations' and the gradual replacement of the indigenous populations with tourists and amenity migrants is notable. This can produce a socio-cultural identity distinct from a place's original one (Brassoulis, 2007). In Mallorca, Spain, the inflow of new permanent and seasonal residents (amenity migrants) associated with a recent GCD caused an observable outflow of the existing

population. There was an estimated population replacement rate of 40% within less than a decade following the developments completion (Bianchi, 2004; Brassoulis, 2007). While tourism is an integral part of economic development in many destinations communities, it is important that the consequences of such initiatives be considered in the context of sustainable local development in planning efforts (Brassoilis, 2007).

Many suggest that the overarching aim of tourism-related development efforts, including amenity-based land uses such as GCD, should be to maintain the resilience and integrity of the local community over time (Bianchi, 2004; Bramwell and Lane, 2000; Brassoulis, 2007; Hall, 1995). Additionally, they should emphasize the importance of local self-sufficiency, self-reliance, security, and well-being (Brassoulis, 2007). This has many implications for GCD, which tends to activate, or reinforce, processes of spatial polarization, and can produce inequalities, as well as impede local access to resources, power, employment, and leisure opportunities (see Table 2) (Bramwell, 2004; Brassoulis, 2007).

Golf-centred development inherently involves substantial landscape consumption and change. The up-market focus of these developments often leads to land appreciation and speculation as well-off outsiders demand semi-permanent or permanent residences (Palmer, 2004). This leads to further housing development, in which foreigners out-compete locals in the land and housing market. It can create real estate bubbles that distort local economic circumstances (Brassoulis, 2007; Markwick, 2004). The competition for land and resources created by GCD causes inflation, raising the cost of living for all

resident groups, including amenity migrants, and, with time, the costs of goods and services for tourists (Brassoulis, 2007; Hall and Page, 2005).

GCD also contests sustainable development practices in its over-consumption of resources by its considerable ecologic footprint, and its potential impacts on indigenous species and local habitat (see Table 2). Taken cumulatively, the components of golf-centred developments generally require over 100 hectares of land; only half of that space is typically occupied by a golf course (Brassoulis, 2007). GCD-induced infrastructure and related growth consume additional land and resources. This issue becomes critical where land supply is limited, as on islands and small rural communities (Brassoulis, 2007). Additionally, during construction and operation, GCDs often cause habitat degradation and loss. This can disrupt the dynamic balance of natural ecosystems by intruding on forests, wetlands and wildlife corridors and habitats (Gössling, 2002). GCDs, especially in remote or emergent destinations, often use foreign or genetically modified plant species and grasses, which disrupt local biodiversity (Brassoulis 2007; Gössling, 2001, 2002, 2003). The many negative environmental impacts of GCD (see Table 2) translate into the value of damaged or lost natural capital that cannot be put to other present or future uses.

Local conflicts over the use of land and resources, and most commonly over the use of water, are commonplace with GCD. The already high water demands of golf courses increase substantially with GCD, as the related infrastructure can considerably exacerbate demands for the local water supply (Brassoulis, 2007; World Wildlife Fund, 2004). This is particularly concerning

for destination communities where amenity migration is occurring, as seasonal and second-home owners have been shown to consume water in irregular and oftentimes exaggerated ways (Gössling, 2002, 2003; Pigram, 1999). Concerns related to water consumption are generally experienced at destination communities during the peak tourist season, and GCDs extension of the peak season prolongs the duration of these stressors. As Brassoulis (2007) noted, GCD makes intensive year-round use of resources, particularly when the cumulative impacts are considered.

Bramwell (2004) and Brassoulis (2007) suggest several related aspects of GCDs which may influence host communities. These include: climate change; volatile tourism and real-estate markets; competition and possible market saturation; changing preferences for golf; changing global economic conditions; changing demographic trends (i.e. end of the baby-boom generation); and technological change (Bramwell, 2004; Brassoulis, 2007).

Beyond these uncertainties, the merits of GCD can be difficult to assess precisely, as the specific benefits and costs a destination contends with, and their respective magnitudes depend largely on community-level conditions. To help destination planners work with GCD in more sustainable and perhaps more certain ways, a set of criteria which directly respond to the observed impacts and implications of GCD identified in Table 2 are necessary. Based on observations from GCD in the Mediterranean, Brassoulis (2007) has identified a series of necessary conditions for more sustainable GCD. These can be summarized as:

- Democratic governance: equitable representation of all interests in local and tourism decision-making; host population empowerment

(rights to decision-making, resource property rights) and involvement; collaboration and partnerships among stakeholders

- Socio-ecological moderation: conscientious management of local/regional resources; use of the precautionary principle; adaptation to local conditions; collective responsibility of accounting for the interests of future generations, natural habitats, present unknown groups
- Promoting planning, management, and policy initiatives which: 1) protect critical, strategic local/regional resources; 2) promote complementary use of resources and compatible forms of development; 3) promote coordination among sectors and communities to maximize multiplier effects; 4) foster policy integration; 5) ensure planning and policy commitment and compliance

It is clear that the sustainable management of environmental, economic, and social resources should be of primary concern in developing and managing golf courses and golf-centred developments. However, a pressing concern with GCD involves the management of stakeholder contestation and negotiation in GCD planning processes, and the capacity of community stakeholders to influence the outcomes of these processes (Markwick, 2004).

2.5.3 Contestation and Negotiation in Golf-Centred Planning

Scholarly golf course and golf-centred development discourses tend to focus on the impacts of such developments on communities, as opposed to the mechanisms that drive the decision-making processes that enable these initiatives. Markwick (2000) presents a case study of a proposed GCD in Rabat on the island of Malta. It begins to address the role and influence of power relations on the evolution of golf course and GCD decisions as being significant (Markwick, 2000). The research assessed the differing positions and interests of the stakeholders involved in the planning of what was depicted as a contentious

development. It revealed that in the Rabat context, the conflict stemmed from the particular perspectives the relevant stakeholders adopted. They tended to focus on a narrow range of concerns relating to their particular values and interests (Markwick, 2000). More specifically, those that supported the proposed GCD in Rabat focused on the beneficial economic development issues (capital growth and potential profits), while those that opposed the initiative focused on environmental impacts and conservation concerns (loss of habitat and ecological degradation) (Markwick, 2000).

Markwick (2000) suggests that in environmental planning, communications from government and elected officials with the public tend to be displayed prominently in news media, which tends to attract a great deal of attention to their interests. However, the general public and interest groups tend to promote awareness of their interests through public actions, such as protests or displays of opinion. These are often fragmented, and tend to be perceived as emotive responses rather than authoritative statements (Hall, 2003; Markwick, 2000). These findings only begin to illustrate the disparities between stakeholders' access to equitable representation in GCD decision-making processes. The extent to which individuals or groups can influence the actions of others, as well as the outcomes of processes they are involved in, depends largely on the management of power relations in formal and informal settings (Hall, 2003; Markwick, 2000; Reed, 1997). As such, sustainable destination management outcomes, particularly those embracing this form of amenity-driven land-use, must rely on models of successful stakeholder management in GCD and other associated amenity-driven land-use planning efforts.

2.6 Participatory Tourism Planning Models

Planning models related to the fields of tourism and land-use planning have begun to recognize the need for meaningful participation and equitable representation of stakeholders in destination planning efforts (Frame, 2002; Gunton and Day, 2003; Marien and Pizam, 1997; Reed, 1997). Sustainable community and tourism initiatives ‘cannot be successfully implemented without the direct support and involvement of those who are affected by it’ (Marien and Pizam, 1997; 165). As Rees (1989) suggests, the sustainability of these initiatives relies on the support of the people affected by the endeavour - most specifically, members of the host-community - as well as the local governance and social structures they are accustomed to.

Marien and Pizam (1997) suggest that an important first step in creating opportunities for stakeholder participation in tourism planning efforts is to evaluate a community’s sensitivity to tourism developments on an ongoing basis. This can be done through preliminary consultation measures (i.e. surveys, public hearings, open houses (Marien and Pizam, 1997) that open communication channels between permanent and non-permanent residents, tourism planners, bureaucrats, and local government officials. This open communication can help those administering planning processes devise methods for citizen involvement, and can help encourage stakeholders to participate actively in tourism planning efforts.

An integral component of engaged participation is the opening of power relationships among potential stakeholders (Arnstein, 1969; Marien and Pizam,

1997; Reed, 1997; Reid et al., 2004). Traditional power elites, including real-estate developers, business associations, landowners, local government representatives, and to some extent, local business owners (Reed, 1997), tend to not convene their power without sufficient tradeoffs (Arnstein, 1969).

Alternatively, those that typically face the barriers of power relations, namely local residents, contend with many restrictions in terms of knowledge and financial resources, as well as time constraints, and feelings of ‘alienation and distrust’ with respect to their local government (Arnstein 1969: 217). These barriers to equitable power relationships can be more successfully managed with planning processes designed to balance administrative and citizen objectives (Marien and Pizam, 1997), and include all those with a stake in the planning outcome (Frame, 2002; Hall, 2003; Ryan, 2002).

Recent research on land-use planning practices in British Columbia, Canada, has shown the utility of emerging ‘civics-based models’ of planning in achieving these dualistic civic and administrative goals. These processes, typically called ‘collaborative planning’ (CP) or ‘shared decision-making’ (SDM), involve face-to-face negotiations among stakeholders to find consensus solutions to their common interests (Gunton, Day, and Williams, 2003). Responsibility for the decision-making is delegated to the stakeholders involved (Gunton et al., 2003). While the CP and SDM can draw extensively on the time and financial resources of those participating in and administering the processes, this type of process puts power over the outcomes of the process in the hands of the parties involved and represented in the negotiations. These civics-based models must be designed to specifically meet the unique needs of the relevant stakeholder groups, and

must be inclusive, adaptable, and flexible (Gunton et al., 2003). Approaches that focus on engaging all those affected by or interested in a planning issue, and enable potentially affected or interested parties to participate in ways that facilitate shared responsibility for developing solutions to shared ‘problems’ can help offset power imbalances, and bring about more sustainable tourism planning outcomes (Marien and Pizam, 1997; Reed, 1997; Reid et al., 2004). Gunton et al. (2003) indicate that such approaches also increase the potential for the creation of outcomes that are in the public interest, improve relationships between stakeholders, and generate plans that are likely to be implemented .

Specific to tourism planning, Reed’s (1997) study of community tourism planning initiatives in Squamish, British Columbia, Canada, suggests that collaboration-based approaches may not be suited to all instances of tourism planning. Reed poses that power relations are ‘endemic features of emergent tourism settings’ and that they may ‘preclude collaborative action’ (Reed, 1997: 565-7). Tourism developments are typically established by entrepreneurs, and supported for economic reasons (Scrow, 2003; Singh, Timothy, Dowling, 2003). Information sharing about these developments tends to be restricted during the initial stages of planning, to prevent exposure to potential competitors (Reid et al., 2004). This limits the participation of citizens, and other individuals with a potential stake in the outcome, during a very fundamental stage in the planning process. More specifically, this limits the capacity of the stakeholders to influence the planning outcome. Recommendations to help overcome this emphasize policies that ‘open up the bargaining tables to citizens’ in the initial stages of the

planning process (Reid et al., 2004). While it has been speculated that such policies might deter potential investors, tactics such as offering subsidies to speculative investors and project sponsors, may help overcome this potential barrier (Reid et al., 2004). As a final step, citizen participation and the means to facilitate it in tourism planning efforts should be written as policies into community and tourism plans (Ryan, 2002; Sharpe et al., 2000).

2.7 Summary: Managing Planning for Amenity-Driven Developments

While it is advocated that tourism-related planning and development should maintain the resiliency and integrity of communities over time, global economic shifts and demographic trends have created a highly competitive tourism market. As such, destination communities, and particularly those in developing and resource-dependant areas, have sought unique ways to attract more visitors on a year-round basis. In many high-amenity communities, amenity-driven land-uses, such as golf-centred developments, have begun to occupy the landscape. These are typically pursued by destinations to diversify and strengthen their tourism product, as well as the local economy. A spin-off effect of such developments is the attraction of not only tourists, but also new part-time and permanent amenity migrants. Little research attempts to contend with the local political contexts which enable such developments to evolve, and how stakeholder relationships can be successfully managed in these instances. Assessing emerging approaches to managing contestation and negotiation among stakeholders in local planning contexts will have many implications for

communities contending with inflows of tourists and amenity migrants, in terms of their sustainable development and growth.

Reed (1997), and Timothy and Tosun (2003), have demonstrated the importance of taking efforts to equalize the distribution of power among stakeholders, particularly in tourism settings where the success of tourism related initiatives is directly linked to the community's economic well-being. If left unabated, the potential impacts of power inequalities at a local level could result in pervasive and un-sustainable community changes, which could erode the very qualities that make destinations appealing in the first place (Marien and Pizam, 1997; Reed, 1997). Efforts to balance power relationships, by embracing the local population as active participants in the planning process, are important to help create more inclusive and sustainable tourism and community outcomes.

CHAPTER 3: CASE STUDY AND METHODS OF INQUIRY

3.1 Introduction

To assess the ways in which stakeholder contestation and negotiation can be managed in amenity-driven planning efforts, a case study of Ucluelet BC, a rural coastal community pro-actively planning to manage influxes of tourism-led amenity migrants, was conducted. This chapter describes the case study approach and context, and presents the research design and methods of inquiry employed in this research. The case study used primary qualitative interview methods, as well as secondary data collection, to address the research questions, and provide further insights to the themes identified in the literature review.

The following sections describe the case study approach and the case study location, outline the research objective and questions, present the interview methodology and participant selection, and discuss the limitations of the research methods.

3.2 Case Study Context

3.2.1 Case Study Approach

To explore how power relationships between stakeholders can be successfully managed in amenity-driven land-use planning efforts, a case study approach was used. Case studies are particularly appropriate when the context involved in the study is as important as the phenomenon being explored (Yin,

1993). This consideration is important in situations where the research goals involve attributing causal relationships between the context and the phenomenon (Yin, 1993). In this research, a single-case study methodology was used. The emerging golf resort development in Ucluelet was selected as a case study for three reasons. First, Ucluelet has recently come to be recognized internationally for its exemplary planning practices, and in particular, for the inclusive and grassroots approach to community engagement and involvement in planning efforts. The small rural coastal community is increasing in popularity as a tourism destination and with its recent resort-community status. In the past few years, the local real-estate market has been inundated with permanent and semi-permanent home purchases.

Second, this particular opportunity enabled the study of both the phenomenon (managing stakeholder contestation and negotiation in planning for amenity migration) and the context (a rural amenity destination in British Columbia) in a way that allowed important explanatory variables about the phenomenon and concept to emerge.

Third, this descriptive study which presents “... a complete description of a phenomenon within its context” (Yin, 1993:5) is just one component of a larger (‘exemplary’) comparative case study analysis. It is thereby structured to ensure the same unit of study is employed in each of the larger project’s assessments, to facilitate effective comparative analysis.

Finally, while this study only addresses a single case, its methods and findings might encourage others to explore approaches to creating equitable

opportunities to influence planning outcomes in additional amenity migration related settings.

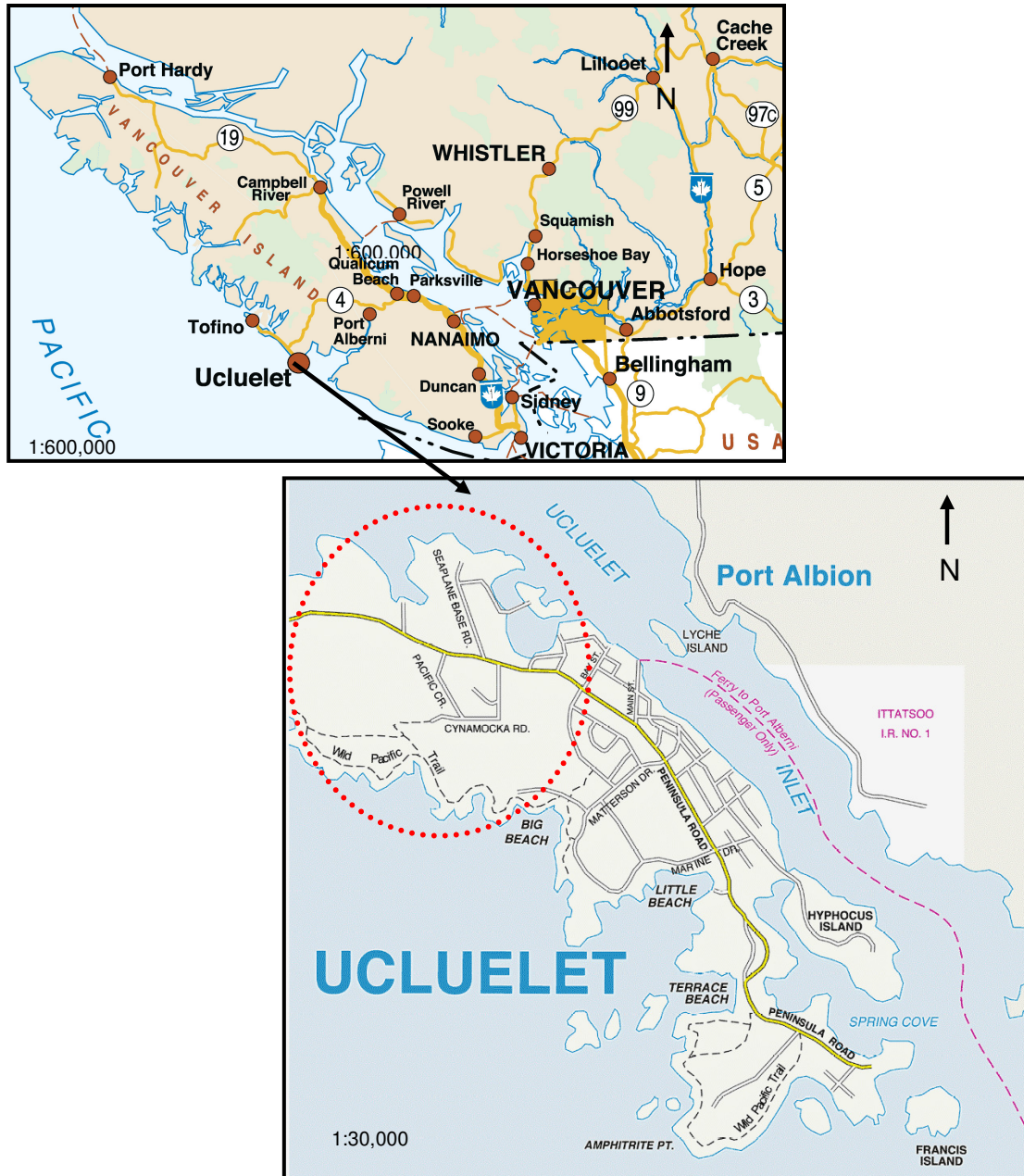
3.2.2 Case Study Overview and Rationale

In the coastal community of Ucluelet BC, planners and officials are embracing tourism to diversify and strengthen the local economy. The small rural town has a population of 1487 residents (BC Stats, 2006), and has historically been a resource-based community, drawing on fishing and forestry for economic prosperity. The town is rich in resources, scenery, and culture, and views growth as positive and fundamental (District of Ucluelet, 2006). Ucluelet has been impacted greatly in recent years by increasing tourism activity.

Located on the west coast of Vancouver Island, the District of Ucluelet spans an area of 3110 acres, approximately 1818 acres of land and 1297 acres of water along the open Pacific Ocean (Figure 3). It is 110 km from Port Alberni, the nearest large community, and proximate to spectacular natural amenities, such as the Pacific Rim National Park Reserve, a UNESCO Biosphere Reserve, Long Beach, Barkley Sound, and the Broken Group Islands. The community's abundant temperate rainforests and old-growth forests, unique marine and wildlife, and characteristically wet, maritime climate, provide additional natural attractions for residents and visitors alike. These features provide an ideal backdrop for leisure and recreation. Fishing, surfing, hiking, biking, kayaking, scuba diving, storm-watching, whale and wildlife watching, and so many more activities are commonplace in Ucluelet. The local community has come to be

recognized as a quaint, vibrant, and friendly community, with a very distinct small town charm (Ucluelet Community Profile, 2005).

Figure 3. District of Ucluelet Location



(Adapted from District of Ucluelet (2005), Base map © Davenport Maps Ltd., www.davenportmaps.com, with permission.) The red circle represents the area of the emerging golf-centered development.

Ucluelet, and its neighbouring community Tofino, are popular vacation and recreation destinations. Both communities were designated “Resort Municipalities²” in June 2008. This designation is anticipated to facilitate greater tourism and economic growth in these communities. With Ucluelet’s projected residential population growth rate of 55 percent by 2018 (District of Ucluelet, 2006), growing pressures for new types of businesses and services will be placed on the community, and many potential transformations of place could ensue.

The District of Ucluelet is well positioned to manage the potential impacts of such growth by controlling the nature and the pace of growth with effective, community-focused planning. The local planning department has received international recognition for its proactive and engaged approaches to sustainable community planning. The department was most recently was awarded for the engagement processes used in the Districts 2004 Official Community Plan processes (LivCom International Awards for Livable Communities; Planning Institute of British Columbia Sustainable Communities Award). These processes set the precedent for the municipalities’ forward-looking management of tourism and related growth. This 2004 OCP was shaped with substantial community consultation, and was fashioned around the vision established by community members:

² **Resort Municipalities:** Ucluelet and Tofino were granted Resort Municipality status, through the Government of British Columbia’s ‘BC Resort Municipality Initiative’, in June, 2008. This status enables the municipalities to qualify for new finance, development and business promotion tools to enhance their resort sectors. Agreements between the Provincial and Municipal Governments have been created to allow each community to finance the creation/improvement of resort services and infrastructure through taxation programs, creating greater tourism revenues.
(http://www.cd.gov.bc.ca/lgd/gov_structure/resort_municipality/index.htm)

“The desired Ucluelet is an attractive, safe, healthy, vibrant, ecologically sound maritime community contained by nearly 40km of waterfront, greenbelt, and natural environment. Ucluelet’s built and natural environment respects, above all, the outstanding diverse natural habitat and optimizes recreational opportunities for its citizens and its visitors. Ucluelet residents enjoy a high quality of life built upon a sustainable and diversified economy.” (District of Ucluelet OCP, 2004: 20)

The community process, which included four months of open houses, focus groups, coffee shop meetings, picnics, co-op events, a community survey and an ongoing steering committee, helped create a plan that supported the values of community members, and incorporated the sustainability and smart growth goals of the District (see District of Ucluelet OCP, 2004).

This grassroots approach helped to set the stage for the planning of the most recent large-scale development in the community. A 370-acre tract of forested acreage at the entrance of Ucluelet, was rezoned for tourism, residential and commercial development in 2005. This rezoning is reinforced by a Master Development Agreement, registered on the title of the property. Construction of a six-hundred million dollar golf-centred development on these pristine lands began in 2006.

The lands, previously owned by Weyerhaeuser, were zoned for logging under a Tree Farm License with the Province of British Columbia, until the company offered the lands for sale in late 2004, subject to successful rezoning. Under the 2004 OCP provisions, the nodes of tourism/resort accommodation were to be encouraged on this Weyerhaeuser property (District of Ucluelet OCP, 2004: p.20).

After a large-scale rezoning attempt failed due to a lack of compliance with the 2004 OCP, Weyerhaeuser and the District of Ucluelet took ownership of the rezoning process. These stakeholders set out to engage the community and relevant professionals in designing a proposal that would meet the community's, the Districts, and Weyerhaeuser's goals. A five-month, highly engaged planning process (see section 4.3.2) resulted in a rezoning package that was approved by council. This package set forth a development package that contained various forms of tourism and residential development, including a world-class golf-resort, a luxury hotel, single and multi-family housing, and additional amenities for residents and visitors alike (See section 4.3). This massive amenity-driven real estate development will provide an additional 600 homesteads in the District, and is anticipated to attract both permanent and non-permanent amenity migrants, in addition to tourists. To ensure viability of the rezoning package, a Master Development Agreement (see section 4.3.3) was created and registered on the property, to ensure perpetuity of the numerous amenity-tradeoffs and community contributions that were negotiated in the rezoning process.

Such a large-scale development, on the last large, undeveloped tract of land in Ucluelet attracted contentious negotiation. The extensive, five-month planning process facilitated active community participation and helped create equity in the capacity of all individuals, community or corporate based, to influence the rezoning outcome. Such grass-roots planning processes can help manage the contestation and negotiations that are seemingly commonplace in planning for tourism and amenity-migration.

3.3 Research Objective and Questions

The objective of this research was to explore emerging planning processes involved in the management of stakeholder relations in amenity migration related planning efforts. Specifically, this research traced the planning and decision-making processes that led to an emerging golf-centred development in Ucluelet BC, a growing tourism and amenity-migration destination.

3.3.1 Primary and Secondary Research Questions

A primary research question was formulated to achieve this objective: ‘How can stakeholder contestation and negotiation be managed in amenity-driven land-use planning’. The following secondary research questions were employed to assist in operationalizing the primary question:

1. What was the nature of stakeholder engagement in the decision making processes in Ucluelet, leading to the golf-resort development?
2. What was the nature of the power relationships between community stakeholders, developers, and decision-making authorities involved in Ucluelet’s amenity-based planning efforts?
3. What are the perceived impacts of amenity-based land use such as golf-resort developments, on Ucluelet?
4. What lessons can be learned about planning for amenity migration from the planning of Ucluelet’s golf-resort development?

These questions are elaborated on first, with lines of interview questioning, which incorporate the theoretical frames presented in the literature review (Appendix 4), and second, with the key informant interview template used to guide the data collection (Appendix 1).

3.4 Research Methods

This research employed qualitative methods to examine emerging planning processes used to manage stakeholder contestation and negotiation associated with amenity migration related growth and development. A single case-study approach was used to assess: the decision making process involved in the emergence of a golf-resort development in Ucluelet, BC; the management of the associated process; and the perceived impacts of the development. This approach used two data collection methods: a secondary document review, and key informant ‘active interviews’ with community, planning, and development stakeholders associated with the emerging golf resort in Ucluelet.

3.4.1 Qualitative Approach

Qualitative research approaches are most suitable for studies which seek to understand, explain and interpret human behaviours and perceptions (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000; Palys and Atchison, 2008). To obtain a true understanding of the phenomenon being examined, qualitative studies require researchers to approach their investigations with “the assumption that the perspective[s] of others [are] meaningful, knowable, and able to be made explicit” (Patton, 2002: 341). Qualitative research is best suited to in-depth exploration of specific cases or situations. Denzin and Lincoln (2000) indicate that successful qualitative research approaches seek to comprehend and define categories and themes of research after having listened to and understood the perspectives and experiences of the research’s informants.

Several pre-established research questions were designed, and used in this research to guide discussions with research participants. While the themes reported in the research findings and ensuing discussions were influenced by the research questions, they were specifically solicited from the information emanating from the key informant interviews. This allowed the researcher to provide a more specific and wholly genuine account of the perceptions, interpretations, and experiences of the case-study's relevant stakeholders.

3.4.2 Active Interview Approach

In many qualitative research methodologies, interviews are used to elicit detailed information about specific research themes. Whether these interviews take the form of structured, standardized in-person surveys, semi-structured guided interviews, or of free-flowing dialogue, interviews are, by nature, interactional events (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995).

Many traditional interview methods posit that interview respondents are passive 'vessels' of information, from which information can be elicited by following precise and iterative interview questions. Such methods follow highly standardized approaches, where the interviewer adheres to structured questions to minimize researcher bias, and to promote the reliability (replicability) and validity (correctness) of the results (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995). Emerging approaches acknowledge the interactional nature of interviews, and more specifically, the depth and quality of information that can emanate from interviews when interaction and interpretation between the interviewer and respondent are facilitated. The narratives that emerge from these events are

constructed 'in-situ', through the mutual interaction between the participants (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995).

Holstein and Gubrium (1995) articulate that whether acknowledged or not, all interviews are inherently active processes; meaning-making occasions where realities are "...actively and communicatively assembled..." (p 4). This 'active' orientation emphasizes the concomitant roles of the interviewer and the respondent as constructors and creators of meanings, reasons, and realities (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995). Embracing the 'active' nature of interviews, Holstein and Gubrium (1995) purport an 'active interview' approach, which respects respondents not as repositories of knowledge, but active creators of realities, and interviewers as active agents "...deeply and unavoidably implicated in creating meanings that ostensibly lie within respondents." (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995; 3).

Active interviewing formally acknowledges that, regardless of the structure of the interview situation, it is the interaction and collaboration between the interviewer and respondent that produce knowledge. This iterative and collaborative orientation translates to the marginalization of evaluative constructs such as reliability, validity, and researcher bias. Responses in one interview cannot be replicated, as they emerge from unique circumstances and interactions. Furthermore, the validity of responses, where the interview is acknowledged as active, is related to the capacity of the interview participants to clearly articulate and interpret relevant meanings (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995). It is critical to interpret the outcomes of active interviews with a mind not only to

the information discussed, but also to the environment in which meanings were created.

3.4.3 Interview Instrument

The literature review provided the main conceptual construct driving the design of the interview methodologies. To collect primary data, an extensive active interview template (see Appendix 1) was developed, which addressed the key research objectives and questions. The active interview template was used as a guide to facilitate open conversation with key informants, or stakeholders – groups, institutions or individuals with meaningful and legitimate interests in Ucluelet’s community planning. These stakeholders ranged from community members, local and regional planning representatives, tourism business operators, developers, and District representatives (Table 3).

Table 3. Distribution of Stakeholders Interviewed

Key Informant	Number
District Staff	3
Planning	4
Community	6
Tourism Business	3
Development	2
Total	18

The active interview template was reviewed and pre-tested with colleagues at the Centre for Tourism and Policy Research at Simon Fraser University to ensure comprehensiveness; identify potential areas of misinterpretation and inconsistencies with the research questions; and assess interview conduct.

Feedback from the pre-testing was incorporated to improve interviewer responsiveness and prompting techniques. As active interviews are unavoidably interactional, emphasis was placed on ensuring conversational techniques were refined, and emphasized, in the interview settings.

The interview template utilized was offered to all potential respondents prior to the active interviews, and shared with interview respondents during the interview. Respondents were informed of the interactive and conversational nature of the interviews, and were encouraged to promote free-flowing and open communication of their perspectives. The guiding goal was the creation of a genuine and informed narrative. Subsequently, the interview template was at times strictly adhered to, and at other times abandoned, determined by the comfort and candidness of the informant, as well as the interactions between the interview participants.

3.4.4 Interview Process

Interviews were conducted at locations selected by the participants, and lasted from thirty minutes to two-and-a-half hours. When interviews could not be completed in person, phone-interviews were conducted (n=4). Prior to the interview, respondents were provided a synopsis of the research, as well as the interview template. At the start of each interview, the research synopsis was reviewed and participants were asked to sign a research consent form, approved by Simon Fraser University's Office of Research Ethics. Verbal consent was acquired prior to conducting phone interviews.

The interview processes required the interviewer to be particularly perceptive and attuned to the participants needs and responses, asking probing and clarifying questions only as needed to elicit meanings and narratives (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995). The interviewer refrained from articulating personal opinions, perspectives and feelings in the interview setting, save occasions where issues were particularly sensitive, or key informant responses were particularly elusive. In these select instances, the interviewer disclosed such perspectives prior to key informant responses, to facilitate shared ownership of the meaning-making process, as well as more open communication of respondent perceptions.

All interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed verbatim. Participants were provided with a full transcription, as well as the opportunity to clarify information, and provide additional comments and insights. Three participants utilized this opportunity.

3.4.5 Participant Selection and Recruitment

Selection of interview participants was based on their involvement in, or their association with, the Weyerhaeuser rezoning and golf-resort development processes in Ucluelet. Initially, potential participants were identified through publicly available literature and online sources. To ensure all those with a stake in the outcomes of the amenity-driven real-estate planning processes, a 'snowball' sampling approach was used to identify additional participants: respondents were asked to recommend others that might wish to offer their perspectives. The interview process concluded when no new information was provided. In total

eighteen key informants provided their perspectives, between May and September 2008. Table 3 identifies their affiliation and distribution.

3.4.6 Secondary Data Collection

Secondary information was collected from January through December 2008, and was used to cross-reference key informant active interview responses, and provide additional context. It provided the interviewer with greater awareness of local matters, which promoted more meaningful interactions in interview conversations.

Secondary data were derived from publicly available documents and online sources. Local government records from the District of Ucluelet and the Alberni-Clayoquot Regional District were initially consulted. These documents included minutes of council meetings, public hearings, and other government forums which addressed: Weyerhaeuser land rezoning; rezoning applications; the emerging golf resort development and associated planning processes; newspapers; and public presentations. Online sources, including the District of Ucluelet website, the District of Ucluelet's 'Ucluelet Wiki', an online community planning interaction forum, the 'Ukee Tattler', a satire-based community blog, and websites related to the emerging golf-resort, were reviewed weekly from March to September 2008.

3.5 Data Analysis

3.5.1 Primary Data Analysis (Key Informant Active Interviews)

Holstein and Gubrium (1995) attest that where interviews are pursued in an explicitly active fashion, analysis and reporting should be undertaken in ways that acknowledge the context and content of the conversations. To maintain the integrity of the research design, the interviews were assessed by deconstructing responses from all key informants to elicit commonly occurring themes and perspectives. This assisted the reporting of the authentic narratives emanating from the key informant active interviews. This was done with a mind to both the context of each meaning-making occasion, as well as the more specific interactions within each conversation. The interviewer also assessed interview transcriptions for potential implicit meanings and perspectives embedded within key informant responses. To ensure the most comprehensive account of the information, the responses were also compared to the objectives and main questions guiding the research. This promoted primary data analysis both at a surficial level, as well as at a more 'interpretive' level.

3.5.2 Secondary Data Analysis

Sources of secondary information were reviewed to validate and contextualize information emanating from the key informant active interviews. Analysis of secondary data was centred on connecting the narratives provided in the interviews to the theoretical framework guiding the research. This was conducted through comparative analysis with interview responses.

3.6 Limitations

The qualitative methods used in this research require assumptions that may potentially limit the validity of the research results. These limitations are acknowledged to promote the transparency of this research.

- Ucluelet is a very small community that has been highly researched. Participant exhaustion and oftentimes fears of identification were evident. All efforts were made to accommodate the needs of potential participants, to create confidence and trust in the researcher (including maintaining confidentiality and anonymity in all discussions, record-keeping, and reporting).
- As interview respondents were not selected randomly, the narratives expressed in this research may not sufficiently address the perceptions of all individuals with a stake in the tourism and amenity migration related planning outcomes in Ucluelet.
- While constant efforts were made to ensure a clear understanding of the research goals and interview questions, these may have been misinterpreted by participants. Furthermore, the researcher may have misinterpreted responses.
- This small sample size (n=18) and single-case study approach prevent generalizations regarding successful planning processes involved in managing power relations in amenity migration related planning efforts, from being developed. This research only attests to knowledge of the management of power relations in amenity-driven real-estate development in Ucluelet, BC. Comparative assessments with other similar communities and with similar methodologies would facilitate more generalizable results.
- While all efforts to triangulate the research were made (comparative analysis of themes emerging from the interviews with the overall research framework, and secondary data), there were no strictly quantitative results with which to cross-examine the results.
- From traditional qualitative research perspectives, interviewing techniques have been associated with a profusion of bias (Patton, 2002) reducing their reliability. The dualistic nature of the interactions between interviewers and respondents required of active interviews may facilitate more reliable results, and minimize researcher bias; however, it may be impossible to ever be sure that any interview results were not influenced by bias.

- As qualitative research is inextricably interpretive, the interpretations of the researcher in this study must be acknowledged. Patton (2002) has identified that “the facts never speak for themselves” in qualitative research. Therefore, the accurate presentation of the perspectives and perceptions provided in this research required the researcher to interpret this information and situate it in the overall context of the research questions.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the key informant interviews and context-specific secondary data review, in response to the primary research question: ‘How can stakeholder contestation and negotiation be managed in amenity-driven land-use planning?’. The findings are based on information emanating from key-informant interviews as well as community websites, online community forums, and documents provided by the local planning and development authorities. The following sections: profile the key informants; describe the processes leading to the golf resort’s approval; outline relationships between community, planning, and development stakeholders; and summarize the perceived effects of the emerging golf-resort development on Ucluelet. The chapter concludes with insights concerning planning for amenity migration in light of Ucluelet’s experiences.

4.2 Key Informants’ Profile

During the key informant interviews, the 18 participants were asked several questions about the nature and duration of their residency in Ucluelet. This helped provide an indication of whether participants were visitors, semi-permanent second home-owners or permanent residents of Ucluelet. The responses also provided an indication of the amount of time the research participants have spent in the community, and helped contextualize the

respondents from an amenity-migration perspective. About 83% (n=15) of the participants indicated that they had a residence in Ucluelet, of which 45% (n=8) indicated they had permanent residencies, 33% (n=6) were second/seasonal home owners, and 22% (n=4) indicated they did not have a residence in the community (Table 4). The non-permanent residents were transient individuals living outside of Ucluelet, but working within the District.

About 83% (n=15) of the respondents identified themselves as amenity migrants. This was in relation to this research's definition of amenity migrants (i.e. people that have moved either permanently/semi-permanently to a destination principally because of natural environmental and cultural amenities). The research suggests that the amenities of Ucluelet may attract a less transient, more permanent type of amenity migrant (Table 4).

Table 4. Key Informant Residence Characteristics

Resident Characteristic (n=18 respondents)	Distribution of Responses
Type of Resident	Permanent Residents: 45% (n=8) Second Home Owners : 33% (n=6) Non-permanent Residents: 22 % (n=4)
Permanent Resident Characteristics (n=8)	
Number of Years Residing in Ucluelet	Average : 20 years Max : 62 years, Min : 2 years
Reason for Residing in Ucluelet	Born and Raised: 37% (n=3) Employment: 13% (n=1) Lifestyle: 50% (n=4)
Second Home-Owner Characteristics (n=6)	
Primary Place of Residence	Vancouver Area: 33% (n=2) Interior of BC: 17% (n=1) Vancouver Island: 17% (n=1) Alberni Clayoquot Regional District: 33% (n=2)
Duration of Residence in Ucluelet	Visit/stay 4-5 times per year : 33.3% (n=2) Visit/stay over 100 days / year: 33.3% (n=2) Visit daily :33.3% (n=2)
Non-Permanent Resident Characteristics (n=4)	
Primary place of residence	Vancouver Area: 50% (n=2) Interior of BC: 25% (n=1) Vancouver Island: 25% (n=1)

4.3 Golf-Resort Decision-Making Processes

This section describes the decision-making processes that enabled the development and approval of the golf resort in Ucluelet. The eventual approval of Ucluelet's golf-resort development stemmed from an extensive, grassroots and highly engaged community planning program.

4.3.1 Weyerhaeuser Rezoning

The approved golf resort development is sited on a 370 acre parcel of land at the southeast end of Ucluelet, within the municipal bounds. This property has undergone extensive land-use changes in recent years. It was previously owned by Weyerhaeuser, a prominent logging corporation during BC's high profile resource extraction days in the 1990s. The land was registered for use under a BC Tree Farm License until the early 2000s. With the advent of declining lumber markets in the late 1990s, Weyerhaeuser began selling off some of their unlogged tracts of land. One such tract was a 370 acre parcel of land on the outskirts of Ucluelet.

This parcel ('the lands') abuts the Pacific Rim National Park Reserve and extends to the last developed tracts of land in Ucluelet (Figure 4). 'The lands' were restricted in use by the existing Tree Farm License (TFL). The only permitted land uses were forestry related. This limited the future opportunities for the land owner and the District in a number of ways. Weyerhaeuser was restricted in terms of the sale of the lands, which subsequently constrained the District of Ucluelet's future community development and municipal tax revenues. Consequently, Weyerhaeuser and the District of Ucluelet successfully lobbied the

provincial government to remove the TFL designation in 2004. Once removed from its TFL status, the lands were listed for sale by Weyerhaeuser, subject to a successful rezoning approval.

In 2004, a private property developer applied to purchase the parcel of land. The proposal drew not only substantial opposition from the community, but also failed to gain rezoning approval by a 5-0 vote by council. Several key informants explained that the proposal failed to meet many of the clearly established community needs outlined in Ucluelet's Official Community Plan (OCP), and that it did not align with the community vision. One particular response captures this issue quite effectively:

“...they basically flew in and said ‘this is what we’re going to do, aren’t we great, we’re your saviours’... council unanimously voted down the rezoning... that was really great for the community ... because the development didn’t meet the aspirations that the community had established in the OCP....everybody learned from [these] mistakes... that council wouldn’t support something that didn’t adhere to the policies in the OCP.” (Key Informant 1)

Many key informants indicated that the community's priority regarding the sale of the lands was to ensure that future uses of the property enhanced Ucluelet in ways that promoted sustainable growth. The community wanted it to reinforce its ‘green’ and low-density style of development, and relaxed, west-coast vibe. Particularly important issues in affecting the non-approval decision were: the extent to which any proposed plans maintained the 100 percent waterfront access designation provided in the OCP; perpetuated the waterfront ‘Wild Pacific Trail’ through the development; and provided public access, a variety of land

uses, affordable and staff housing, and community amenities (Holland and van Hausen, 2008).

After the initial failed rezoning application, the District of Ucluelet and Weyerhaeuser determined that a more suitable way to address these important community issues and successfully sell the lands was to create a rezoning process guided by the community. This process, discussed in section 4.3.2, was extensive, and culminated in the creation of a Master Development Agreement (MDA) (2005) between the District of Ucluelet and Weyerhaeuser Company Ltd., which is covenanted on the current property title.

4.3.2 MDA Process

The District of Ucluelet/ Weyerhaeuser MDA evolved from a collaborative, grass-roots process. This 5 month public process was initiated in May 2005 as a way to promote land use that best served the community. One key informant involved in the planning process indicated the following rationale for the creation of this agreement:

“The incentive [for the MDA] was ... to make an agreement where there was a legacy left; the developer could give back to the community in a way that had not been done before.”
(Key Informant 6)

The process provided extensive opportunities for community stakeholder representation and for the airing of community members’ visions for the lands. Its collaboratively designed outcome was unanimously approved by council.

The first step in the process was a Public Ideas Workshop. In it, participants worked in an open-dialogue to ‘brainstorm’ a comprehensive list of opportunities and constraints for development of the lands. The participants then drew key

themes from the list, and broke out into facilitated thematic groups (i.e. Environment and Conservation, Social and Community Facilities) to map out the relevant features of potential development (Holland and von Hausen, 2008). The group results were shared in a large collective discussion. These outcomes were then translated into Comprehensive Development Plan Concepts that provided a collection of potential rezoning packages.

The second step in the process involved a series of Public Open Houses. Three open houses engaged community members in interactive ways. At the beginning of each event participants placed dots designating their place of residence on an aerial photo map of Ucluelet. This provided a visual indication of the geographic distribution of the participating stakeholders. The open houses also provided community members with access to technical expertise regarding the planning themes identified in a thematic mapping of the plan concepts (i.e. Environmental Analysis) (Holland and von Hausen, 2008). Feedback from participants on their preferred concept and the particular aspects of the other concepts they liked/disliked were solicited on comment sheets. This accumulated information was taken to all open houses, and served as a 'living' document, which helped to increase the transparency of the planning exercise. Maps were also provided for participants to help them outline new concept features/modifications. After each open house, the initial concepts were modified to incorporate the new ideas and important feedback provided.

The third and fourth steps in the process involved establishing a public booth at the local 'Ukee Days' festival, and a 'word on the street' exercise which

entailed consultants soliciting the perspectives of people on the streets of Ucluelet. Both of these activities helped solicit further community viewpoints and ideas regarding the concept plans.

The final step in this process was a formal Public Hearing. A concept plan which incorporated the community visions for the land with the environmental, social, and economic goals of the community was presented to council in October 2005. Over 250 community members attended and many provided their perspectives. This time council voted 5-0 in favour of the concept plan. As one of the planning consultants involved in the process explained,

“...the community engagement process for this rezoning package was completely transparent...the results were shared all the way with the community and with Council as well.” (Key Informant 1)

While no community engagement process will ever be perfect, the consensus amongst informants in Ucluelet was that more sustainable community and tourism planning outcomes can be achieved with extensive community engagement efforts, such as those involved in the MDA process. Greater community involvement tends to breed greater community acceptance of the final outcome. As one key informant noted:

“Real planning ... starts from the ground up and is completely grassroots...that represents sustainability. There are two aspects to planning, there's the process, and that revolves around public involvement, and ... the product. If you go full on with process, normally ...you get a product, which ... lousy or...great, people are happy with because they had a voice, and it came out of the community.” (Key Informant 10)

4.3.3 The Master Development Agreement

The District of Ucluelet/ Weyerhaeuser Master Development Agreement (2005) (MDA) is a comprehensive development plan that reflects the ecological, social, and economic goals and objectives of both the community and Weyerhaeuser. It is a unique example of how a collaborative local process helped establish a foundation for decades of community benefits to be derived from an amenity-driven land-use planning initiative. The MDA contains specific requirements with respect to zoning, development densities, affordable and staff housing, greenspace, conservation, and riparian areas. Wild Pacific Trail commitments and extensive amenity provisions which must be provided to the community by the developing parties are also included.

The specific features of the MDA are customized to fit with the community-centred vision of Ucluelet, and to complement the District's tourism economic goals and sustainability-focused environmental planning practices. Several plan elements, adapted from an award application prepared by parties involved in the planning (Mazzoni, Smith, and von Hausen, 2006), provide an example of the unique-to-Ucluelet site design parameters. Table 5 outlines these.

Table 5. Unique Ucluelet Design Parameters in the Master Development Agreement

Protects valuable ecological and visually sensitive areas: approximately 65 acres of the land will be protected as open space, trails and parks (including a 22 acre central nature park)
Provides an alternative to rural sprawl housing: protects natural resources while providing a variety of necessary cluster housing, including affordable housing (small lot and multiple family, employee housing linked to the hotels, market town houses, and market single family housing)
Expands hotel resort opportunities: promotes local economic diversification, boosts tourism, recreation, and associated employment
Creates a necessary and logical extension to the community of Ucluelet that extends its form and character, connects the Wild Pacific Trail, other recreation facilities, and transportation links with the site
Provides a unique cluster design that fits into the dynamic landscape and complements the rural character of the Ucluelet
Introduces a customized development framework to minimize any impacts on the landscape and reinforce the local rural character (i.e. tree retention and natural storm water management where possible)
Protects community character by using unique design techniques, protection and conservation of the environment and creating “sense of place” for residents of the community and visitors alike
Uses innovative techniques such as density bonusing, Smart Growth, Alternative Design Standards, riparian green space buffers, shared access properties, opportunities and constraints modelling, housing agreements, and conservation design

(Adapted from Mazzoni, Smith, and von Hausen (2006), with permission)

Perhaps the most striking components of the agreement are the amenity provisions. These include significant financial contributions to the community for 19 very specific amenity provisions (see Table 6), and are to be provided according to specific timelines. The amenity contributions are embedded in the covenanted MDA, as well as the corresponding rezoning bylaw and OCP amendments (MDA, 2005; District of Ucluelet OCP, 2004). The District of Ucluelet negotiated these amenities and their implementation guidelines in the MDA process. They did this with a view to creating a legacy for the community through the development of these lands. The benefits of this particular portion of the agreement were commented on by nearly all of the key informants. However,

one particular sentiment effectively summaries the unique advantage of this component of the MDA to the community:

“...the agreement that’s been created is registered on covenant, it applies to all developers...it doesn’t matter if it’s Weyerhaeuser or 10 developers later, the requirements still stand... the [amenities] ... in there, they are ... covenanted, it’s really quite strong because they can’t get building permits and occupancy permits until they’ve fulfilled the requirements ...” (Key Informant 6)

To date, the District of Ucluelet has accumulated \$7 million in land and cash and amenities from the MDA, with another \$4 million in land still to come, as the development proceeds northward.

Table 6. Amenity Provisions Specified in the District of Ucluelet/Weyerhaeuser MDA

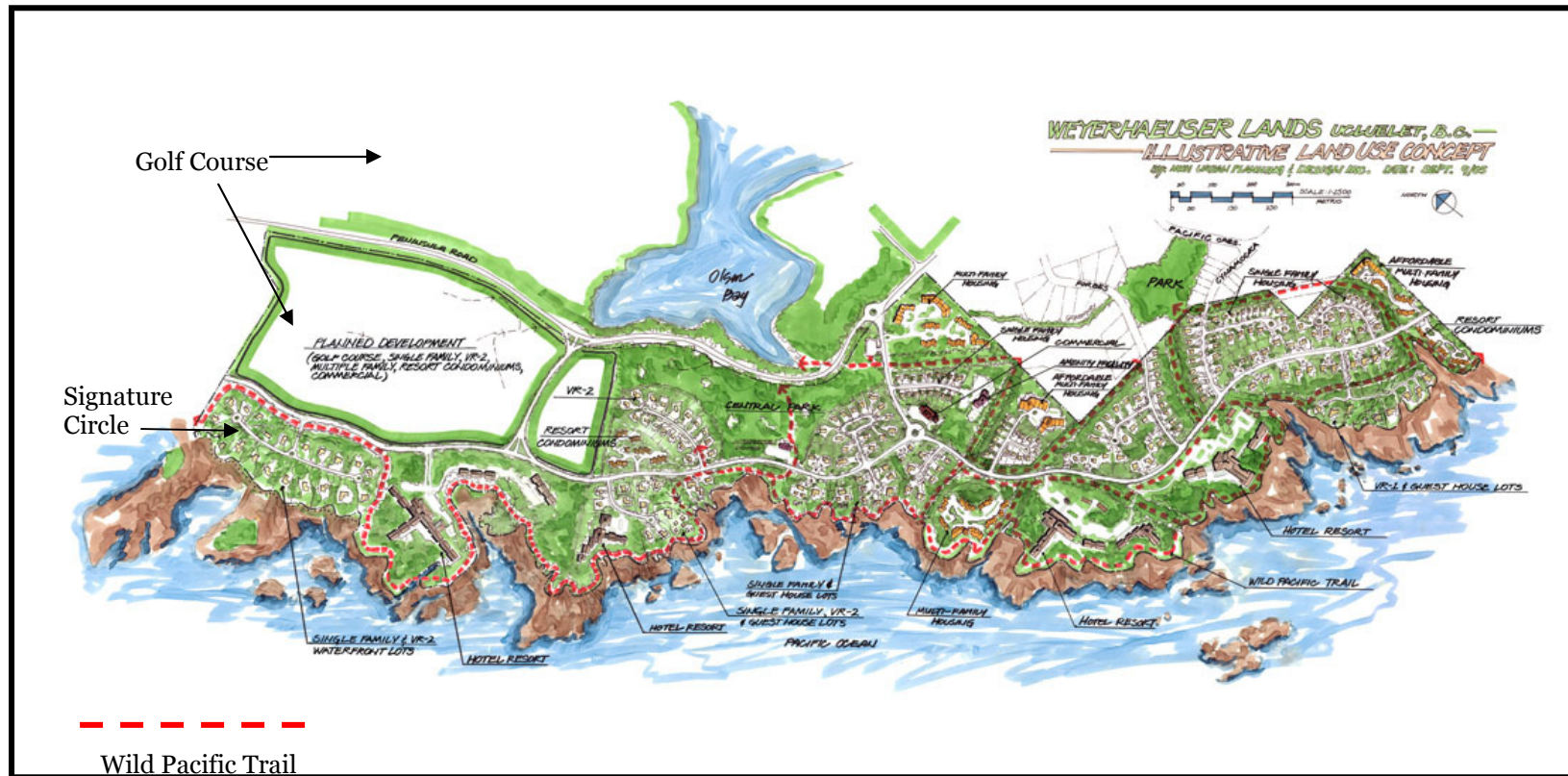
(A)	Provision of approximately 55.5 acres of land as public parkland, which includes a central park and trails
(B)	Extension of the Wild Pacific Trail through the Lands, including the provision of dedications, covenants, or Statutory Rights of Way, or combination thereof, to secure public use of the trail
(C)	Provision of no-build covenants to ensure property within building setbacks remains greenspace
(D)	Provision of conservation covenants for riparian areas
(E)	Securing provision of staff housing associated / concurrent with any hotel developments
(F)	Reservation, by covenant or affordable housing agreement, of two fully serviced lots, totalling approximately 6-7 acres of land for affordable housing units
(G)	Restrictions on multiple family residential and resort condominium development until affordable housing is also provided
(H)	Provision of a housing agreement for affordable housing
(I)	Cash contribution to the Westcoast Community Resources Society to be dedicated to their affordable housing initiative
(J)	Cash contribution to the development of the District’s Community Centre
(K)	Cash contribution to be used at the District’s new multi-purpose sports field
(L)	Cash contribution to the District to be used for a highway rescue vehicle
(M)	Transfer of approximately 10.2 acres of land to the District
(N)	Cash contribution to be used for bursaries for the education of Ucluelet students in post-secondary forestry studies
(O)	Cash contribution to the District’s Social Reserve Fund
(P)	Cash contribution to the Ucluelet and Area Childcare Society to be used towards a day-care facility
(Q)	Restriction on selling single family lots equal to or less than 7,000sq.ft. in area to the general public until such time that they have been made available for purchase by Ucluelet residents
(R)	Funding or provision of reasonably required equipment identified in the Fire Underwriters Survey to be prepared
(S)	Construction of off-site and on-site streetscape and site servicing improvements

(Source: MDA, 2005, p. 2-3, with permission)

4.3.4 Golf-Resort Development

In early 2006, a Ucluelet-based development company put forward a development application that met the requirements established in the rezoning process and reinforced in the MDA. The development proposal, which contained speculative plans for tourism and residential developments, including a golf-resort – and many of the amenities often tied to GCD (hotel, golf course, marina, recreation opportunities and restaurants) - was approved, and the sale of portions of the Weyerhaeuser lands was completed. The developer secured Lot 3 and Lot 5, totalling 350 acres of the lands, the highlighted area in Figure 4 below.

Figure 4. Weyerhaeuser Land Use Concept Map



(Adapted from MDA (2005) p. 26, with permission).

Construction of the golf-resort developments, which are anticipated to have a 10-15 year build-out, commenced in 2006 with the groundwork being laid for the golf-course, hotel site, and 'luxury' homesteads. Upon completion, the GCD is planned to be comprised of: an 18-hole professional golf course (designed by a world-renowned professional golfer and golf-course designer); a resort clubhouse; a luxury hotel/condominium development; 600 homesteads, including single family and mixed-use housing, an up-market area of 'luxury' homes (the Signature Circle), as well as staff and affordable housing; a marina; Wild Pacific Trail extensions; restaurants and spa(s); additional tourism/leisure opportunities; and a limited amount of commercial space. The developments have been marketed to attract both international and domestic visitors and second-home owners. According to the current developers, this marketing focus is expected to shift as the project nears completion, and will emphasize-attracting families and permanent residents.

The development party, which collected a consortium of designers and additional developers to contend with specific components of the golf-resort, is bound by the covenanted provisions of the MDA. At present, the developers have complied with many MDA stipulations, including hiring environmental monitors to oversee construction, as well as providing the specified land amenities to the District of Ucluelet, but they have had difficulties in providing the cash allowances to the District that were promised. However, due to the strength of the MDA, the District successfully secured the financial contributions through a BC court order.

4.4 Contestation and Negotiation in the Planning Process

The literature emphasizes that meaningful involvement of community members in tourism-related planning and decision-making processes can help balance stakeholder power relationships and bring about more sustainable community outcomes. While there were issues requiring particularly involved negotiations in this case study, individuals and groups of actors were able to, in some ways, influence the outcomes of the planning process. The consensus amongst informants was that the most influential stakeholders in the process were community stakeholders.

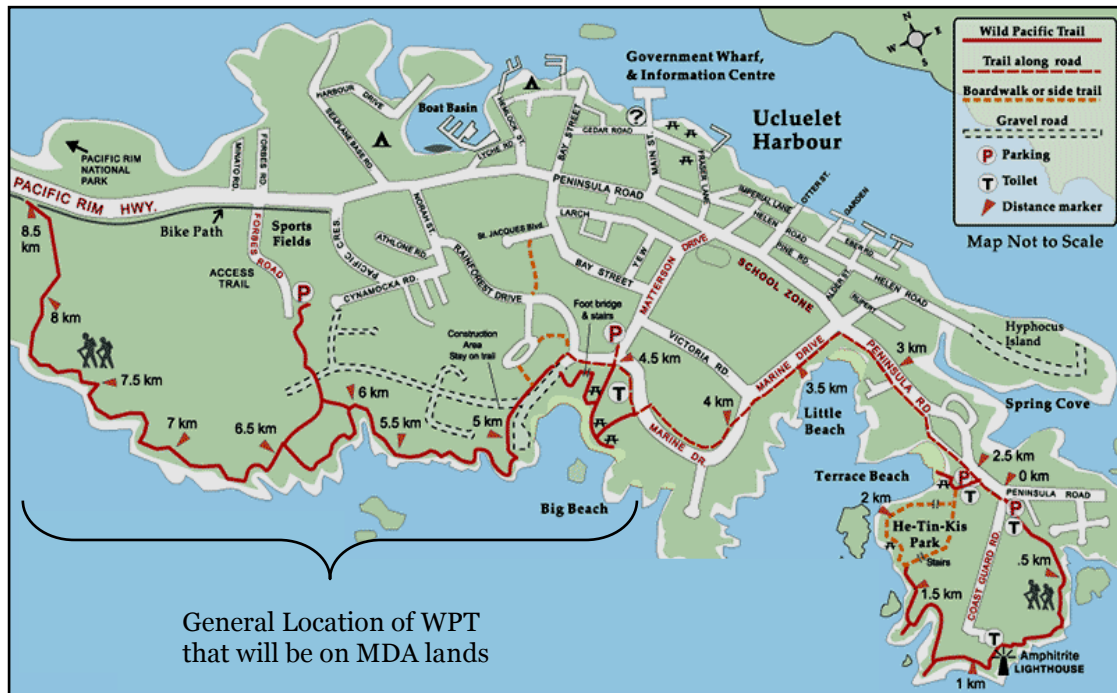
4.4.1 Points of Contestation

The most pressing issue in the negotiation process was the effects the development would have on the Wild Pacific Trail. Additionally, contentions over desires to develop the lands versus desires for conservation, and conflicts over the types of development suitable for the lands, were frequently raised in the negotiations.

The trail stretches approximately 5 kilometers from the Amphitrite Point Lighthouse to He-Tin-Kis Park, and will be up to 14 kilometers as it is built-out along its planned route (see Figure 5). It was intended to have 100 percent shoreline access (District of Ucluelet OCP, 2004) and offer a rugged, west-coast rainforest experience. The planned route of the trail extended across the waterfront portion of the lands, and was to be a high priority lasting legacy according to the 2004 OCP. One respondent's comments about the trail and its role in the community highlights this point:

“The Wild Pacific Trail... is the Golden Goose... developments will come and go, but the thing that will endure and be the shining asset of Ucluelet will be the Wild Pacific Trail.” (Key Informant 7)

Figure 5. Wild Pacific Trail



(Adapted from Schramm Design (2008) with permission).

With the rezoning of the lands, the 100 percent waterfront access provisioned in the 2004 OCP came into question. The priorities of some stakeholders with respect to waterfront portions of the lands seemed to differ. Community members tended to argue for the perpetuation of the trail along the waterfront. In contrast, many development and municipal stakeholders argued for waterfront development in some locations. Development-minded parties seemingly shared a view of high-end tourism development on portions of the waterfront acreage. Negotiations on this particular aspect of the rezoning were extensive, and in the end the MDA reflects a compromise between the two

competing sets of interests. The Wild Pacific Trail retains waterfront access throughout most of the lands, and resort-style tourism development has been designated for some of the most ‘prestigious’ parts of the coastline. In a discussion about the negotiations surrounding the trail, one local resident and business owner expressed that:

“...they came up with a nice compromise, but of course compromise by definition doesn’t please anybody... I’m not happy with them being allowed to divert the Wild Pacific Trail, I think the trail should be allowed to have its priority along the waterfront...I have clients every day who want to walk the trails, and the bigger and better the trails, the better off we will be.” (Key Informant 11)

Another substantial point of negotiation surrounded the opportunity costs of allowing/preventing development on the property. Many local residents expressed that the large tract of forested land should remain undeveloped in order to: retain the natural beauty of the area; preserve the rural nature of the community; and protect wildlife and natural habitats. As one key informant expressed:

“I would not be at all disappointed if ... the property just sat there for the next 20 years. It’s sort of the concept that if the diamonds are in the ground, are they worth more or are they worth less if we don’t mine them?” (Key Informant 15)

Many locals provided similar expressions of their desires to retain the lands as undeveloped property, often suggesting parkland preservation as a rezoning option. While it was reported that these aspirations were acknowledged in the planning process, the reality that the property was privately owned and that the municipality was not positioned to purchase the lands, was persistently conveyed to the stakeholders in the planning process.

While recognition emerged over time that some level of change would occur with the sale of this private property, acceptance of this reality was somewhat slow to materialize. Long-term attachments to the physical and social characteristics of the community, in some cases, prevented full acceptance of development on the lands. The over-riding message emanating from discussions with long-term community members was that development on the property was inevitable given the pressures for growth, and the provisions which address it in the OCP. However, many informants identified that this realization seen as more of a concern for the distant, not near, future. As two informants commented,

“...a lot of people in the tourism industry embraced [development], of course, and a lot of people that grew up here, were raised here, they didn’t embrace it so much because ... [they] just don’t want to live in a tourist town..... The reality of it is that the economic forces have shifted towards the tourist industry...” (Key Informant 13)

“I mean the people wanted something, nobody wants to be Tofino at all, and people wanted to do things to attract development, so there was this thinking that if we are going to go down this road, let’s do it right... but I don’t think anybody realized the extent and quantity that it would happen.” (Key Informant 1)

The management of the competing demands for development and preservation was conducted in a passive manner, through the iterative nature of the planning process, and the reiteration of sentiments from the local planning and development parties regarding the private nature of the sale of the property.

The last significant point of negotiation in the planning process involved contestation over the specific items included in the approved rezoning package. While all participants had opportunities to express their desired interests and ideas for the future of the lands, the process required a timely conclusion to facilitate the sale of the property. Nearly all key informants noted that as the

comprehensive development plan concepts were revised with input from the various public forums, and directions for the future of the property became clearer, discrepancies over the ‘right’ direction emerged. In particular, the golf course itself was a point of controversy. While many indicated that the golf course was undesirable, the overriding sentiments expressed from the interviews conducted and documents reviewed was that the community began articulating desires for a championship golf course long before the Weyerhaeuser lands were listed for sale. As one key informant noted:

“One of th[e] things, un-solicited from those people was, why don’t you put a golf course in...there was a strong leaning towards a thinking that we need to have some green space, and a golf course in some people’s minds, reflected a green area that wasn’t just going to be house upon house, business upon business... it was visioned as being what the people of Ucluelet ...want[ed]...” (Key Informant 4)

The most frequently raised points concerned potential negative environmental impacts as well as the social ramifications that might stem from an elitist golf resort. While many planning, tourism, and development related stakeholders promoted the positive aspects of such a land-use, several other long-term residents argued that a golf-course would degrade aspects of the ecosystems and local sense of place that made Ucluelet unique. In discussions over golf course negotiations, many long-term community members and municipal representatives explained that the resistance to it, stemmed from overall feelings of unease concerning the speed of tourism-related growth in the community. Two respondents in particular provided clarity on this issue:

There... [were] a lot of people that didn't want to see this happen... [but then] a lot of the community said that they wanted these lands to be rezoned for tourism developments, I just don't think that they thought it would happen so fast." (Key Informant 2)

"Maybe the golf course... will be great in the long run... It's taking Ukee from... a fishing village community with a little bit of tourism going on, to [this] whole high-end [tourism] thing... I'm against golf course in principle, but I'm pro anything that comes out of a good public process...that's what the community designed, chose, live with it. Or walk away from Ucluelet." (Key Informant 10)

4.4.2 The 'Task Force'

As a part of the 2004 OCP community process, a 'task force' of community members was established to help bring the local voice to the planning table.

Although the group formally disbanded shortly after completion of the 2004 OCP process, many members remained actively involved in community planning activities. In 2005, a small collection (less than 10) of the 'task force' members informally assembled by way of an ad-hoc citizens group. This was done in an effort to bring representation to a collection of shared interests concerning the planning of the Weyerhaeuser lands. Many key informants indicated that while all community members and interested individuals were encouraged to participate in the planning process, and while levels of participation were deemed high, the members of the task force were able to more successfully advocate community-wide concerns. In response to an inquiry into the degree to which stakeholders were able to shape the outcomes of the planning process, two respondents noted:

"...there was a group that called themselves the Task Force, the kind of self-appointed guardians of the community, and ...they did shape things. They brought things to the forefront... to help look at things a little more carefully." (Key Informant 17)

“I think that the Task Force was successful in bringing attention to a lot of issues that maybe other people were thinking of. I know that almost everything suggested [by the] task force was taken into consideration, and there was at least some movement on it.” (Key Informant 15)

The task force members persuaded the planning team to embrace their suggestions for the future plans for the lands, including specific requirements for ‘100% waterfront designation for the Wild Pacific Trail, affordable housing, staff housing, and low density development’. The tactics used by the task force members appear to have been persuasive in nature, which may indicate that more covert tactics (manipulation, coercion, domination, authority) may not been required for these individuals to effectively influence the planning outcome. This illustrates that perhaps that a sense of power balance existed between community, development, and planning stakeholders.

4.4.3 Development Parties

In many planning situations, the development parties (i.e. property owners/ developers) have considerable power to shape the outcome (Hall, 1994, 2003; Reed, 1997). They do not typically pursue development for solely altruistic reasons. When asked to describe the nature of the relationships between development stakeholders and the community/planning stakeholders in Ucluelet, several respondents offered that these relationships were amicable, though typically based in the developer’s self-interests. As one respondent noted:

“I mean developers don't typically go into a community to help a community, they go in because there's an opportunity to help themselves.” (Key Informant 10)

Many respondents also noted that any resistance on the behalf of development parties in Ucluelet towards particular development constraints, regulations, or policies tended to be addressed through aggressive power tactics. Several key informants felt that tactics such as manipulation and domination were arguably used in the case of the planning of the Weyerhaeuser lands. One particular issue associated with the rezoning of the property provides an especially useful example of the development parties' use of such tactics.

During the public engagements involved in the rezoning process, one of the development concept maps created included a golf course. Several community respondents expressed that while there was an awareness of its existence on the particular map, all of them felt that it, along with several other ideas appearing on the map, were 'outlandish'. Many respondents suggested that some manipulation of stakeholders -where the concealment of intent served to bring about a desired outcome - occurred to promote the golf-course in the process. This perspective was apparent in a statement from a long-term resident:

"The [selling party] did say that [there was] a buyer lined up ... if the rezoning [with the golf course went] through and no bells went off ... the rezoning went through [and] the [developer]... immediately announced there was going to be a golf course.... It was right there in front of us the whole time, and no one picked up on it or thought anything of it...the [selling party was] successful in getting the property rezoned...by simply not mentioning that they knew there was going to be a golf course." (Key Informant 15)

However, this example was the only example evident where the development parties were able to un-mitigatably alter the planning direction. For the most part, it appears that the development parties worked in the planning

process with a vested interest in the betterment of the community. The representative from Weyerhaeuser was acknowledged repeatedly throughout the interviews and informal conversations for holding the corporation accountable to helping the community. As one informant indicated:

“The [Weyerhaeuser representative] is responsible for Weyerhaeuser coming down to a community scale, and not... mowing the town over like they could have...” (Key Informant 6)

The leadership demonstrated by Weyerhaeuser provides a useful example of how power relationships can be made more equitable in such instances tourism planning. Weyerhaeuser wanted the community to have a meaningful voice and for the lands to be developed in a way that reflected the goals and needs of Ucluelet residents. It openly surrendered much of its authoritative power and influence on the outcome of the planning process. Informants suggested that this power ‘submission’ will be perpetuated in the future public processes associated with the rezoning of the lands, as a result of the Master Development Agreement. The following comments highlight this perspective:

“The developers are forced to be amicable, because the Master Development Agreement is registered as a covenant on the property, so even if they didn’t agree, they would be forced to.” (Key Informant #6)

“I think that developers that come to Ucluelet know that they are going to have a much harder time and be held accountable to a lot more ...because of [the MDA].” (Key Informant 15)

4.4.4 Power in Planning and Municipal Administration

The District of Ucluelet’s planning department and local council have long supported grass-roots, community-focused approaches to planning. This has been particularly evident since the early 2000s, when the local economic focus

necessitated a shift towards tourism. As the literature illustrates, opportunities for more sustainable tourism outcomes are intrinsically tied to the community's acceptance of the industry in their spaces and places. By engaging the local residents in community planning, the District's planning department facilitated a very balanced approach to managing stakeholder contestation and negotiation, and creating sustainable community tourism outcomes.

When inquiries were made regarding the nature of the relationships between local planning authorities, local developers and community members, all of the respondents expressed an appreciation for the work of the District's planning department in facilitating mutually beneficial relationships. More specifically, the key informants commented on the planning department's consistency in developing innovative approaches for meaningful and balanced engagement of stakeholders. As one respondent identified:

“... the planning department [works] really hard to get what's best for Ucluelet, and really to push... limit[s]. We have a very good town planner...[that] has been instrumental...” (Key Informant 15)

In this case study, the planning department not only promoted the voice of the community, but also worked to ensure that their visions for the future of the lands would be incorporated and reinforced through the MDA. As one local planning representative and one long term resident, respectively, indicated:

“...about 90% of the negotiation is already done in the Master Development Agreement, so it makes it easier [administratively] instead of having to ask for this, ask for that - it's all on title..” (Key Informant 6)

“There's no wiggle room [with the MDA]...policy, procedures, they are already laid out... It makes it so that there's accountability, there's oversight, and there's comfort in that.” (Key Informant 7)

One key informant alluded to the department's use of its authoritative power to help give an equitable voice to the community in the negotiations:

“ I think that Ucluelet has done a wonderful job of setting high standards ... for developers to try to meet ...the important thing is to establish systems for the community where there are checks and balances along the way to ensure that development is going through according to what's been promised or agreed upon. And [the planning department] has done a good job of th[at].” (Key Informant 12)

In terms of planning for amenity migration, in this case, the community's planning department and local council were seen as frontrunners in creating meaningful opportunities for balanced stakeholder engagement in the planning efforts. Many key informants commented that the planning department's forward looking, community centred approach helped maintain Ucluelet as a small rural working community, despite intense pressures for development.

The attraction for development in Ucluelet has accelerated at an 'alarming rate' in the few years. This has placed considerable pressure on the local planning department and council to balance the needs of the community with prospective economic gains from extensive tourism-related growth and development. In terms of the Weyerhaeuser rezoning, one respondent involved with the local council expressed that a key to managing this balancing act has been to work with the community's voice, indicating that:

“... as councillors ... that's what we're voted in for... it's our job to weigh it all up and to make the best decision that we think. I mean you can't let yourself be influenced, you have to really listen and weigh everything, it's a balance...” (Key Informant 8)

One local respondent expressed that perhaps the most important ‘take home’ message from this particular process is the need to emphasize the involvement of the community in planning efforts, and to support the community’s vision with enforceable policies. As this key informant stated, the biggest lesson to be learned in this regard from the Weyerhaeuser rezoning process is:

“...a good open conversation with the community, incorporating their ideas. And Ucluelet has done a really good job... and I think that that’s a big key, is reinforcing [the] community vision, and sticking to [the] plan.” (Key Informant 12)

4.5 Perspectives on the Public Processes

From key informant interviews and informal conversations with Ucluelet residents, tourism business owners/operators, and community planning/development interests, it is clear that there is a great sense of satisfaction with the public processes leading to the MDA exists. Though largely favourable, support for the final product itself is highly varied.

Most residents expressed that they were satisfied with the process and the management of its outcomes. Many explained that the combination of engagement initiatives enabled a truly democratic representation of the community’s interests. Three key informants offered statements that specifically demonstrate the appreciation of the public involvement in the process:

“...there were a lot of people involved in the community processes, and just quote un-quote, ‘normal people’ that were coming out ... This community is very charismatic in that way.” (Key Informant 17)

“I thought the system worked out quite well, I was quite impressed ...with the process, and I would not get into changing it.” (Key Informant 15)

“There were a lot of opportunities for involvement... I can probably count ... on one hand, the naysayers... I think council is doing a great job, and they’ve said ‘we’ve heard what the people want, and yes it’s a democracy... [we know] we’re not going to satisfy everybody” (Key Informant 4)

The management of the input and perspectives from the engagement opportunities allowed the building of ideas, and facilitated transparent community involvement. Overall, the key informants provided very positive feedback on the management of the processes’ outcomes. Favourable comments regarding the iterative nature of the process were provided. Additionally, sentiments supporting the post-process work undertaken by the District and Weyerhaeuser to synthesize the findings and develop a concept plan to present to council were offered. Two statements from local residents capture these messages:

“...the public process...was really good...with the combination of the public input, the efforts of the District and Weyerhaeuser, the OCP, the council sticking to their guns, the planning department being quite innovative... I really think it’s been a good process.” (Key Informant 17)

“I really appreciate the job that [the consultants and planners] did, they really got the voice of the community heard, and some of the things that they implemented were really excellent... (Key Informant 3)

Those managing the process felt that there were many advantages to working within such a community-focused approach to planning. The District’s ‘grass-roots’ orientation has promoted its success in local and international planning contexts in the past, with its receipt of awards for its 2004 OCP process.

Members of the District’s planning staff and local government expressed that the inclusive approach taken for the Weyerhaeuser rezoning was necessary to maintain the distinctive feel of the community, and to help address a variety of physical and social transformations that could affect the community. As one key informant involved with the development of the process commented:

“It was unbelievable the amount of input that went in... It was a huge process, and it’s the first time something has been done at that kind of a scale. It hasn’t happened, not in the land-use planning world to that extent, to that degree...” (Key Informant 6)

While this approach to community planning may have been facilitated by many local factors, the leadership on behalf of the private land-owner and the District of Ucluelet to engage the community in designing a plan for this large tract of land was the most important factor in creating this unique development agreement.

4.6 Amenity-Driven Real Estate Development: Effects on Ucluelet

This section explores the perceived effects of amenity-driven land-use developments on destination communities, as seen in the context of the emerging golf-centred development in Ucluelet. The anticipated role of the GCD and its influence on amenity migration in the community is also explored.

4.6.1 Perceived Overall Impacts of the Emerging Golf-Resort Development

Many implications are anticipated to stem from the amenity-driven development emerging on the rezoned Weyerhaeuser lands. Overall, the

sentiments of local residents, business owners, municipal and planning officials suggest that a high degree of acceptance and appreciation exists for the many benefits it is speculated to bring to the community. Two respondents offered sentiments that captured this sense of satisfaction particularly well:

“Generally... there’s a lot of pride around [this development]... I try to step back from it and ... look at the big picture... nothing is ever 100% positive or negative, you just try to manage it and try to get the best for the community that you can, and I really believe that we have in this case.” (Key Informant 8)

“Accepting development as a reality, I think that we’ve got a best-case scenario...” (Key Informant 7)

An important consideration in these sentiments is the notion of accepting development as a reality. As presented in section 4.4.1, a collection of community members expressed great resistance to development of the lands. In this regard, many of these individuals indicated that they did not foresee many positive aspects of the golf-resort development. While these views were expressed by a minority of the people interviewed, their perspectives are nonetheless important. From one respondent who questioned “...is there a benefit? I’m trying to think of something...” (Key Informant #15), to another that expressed that in terms of impacts “...it’s not helping the town at all...” (Key Informant #3), this segment of the population tends to suggest that the golf-resort may transform Ucluelet into something very different from the community they belong to.

While those that expressed concerns regarding the potential impacts of the golf-resort were certainly acknowledged in the planning process their perspectives were outweighed by others. In the end, the merits of the local

reliance on tourism for economic stability, the community vision incorporating tourism related growth, and the prevailing reality that the Weyerhaeuser lands were private, saleable lands, collectively outweighed other concerns. Through the inclusive nature of the planning process, concerns regarding possible impacts of this development were voiced, and clear action was taken to address most issues. For instance, concerns were expressed over the inclusiveness of the golf-resort, given its location on the outskirts of the existing developed footprint of the town, and speculations over the seemingly exclusive nature of the development. In response, the Master Development Agreement contains provisions which prevent any form of gated development on the lands. It also ensures that a main thoroughfare will run through the development area and connect to the town, and most importantly, that zoning on the lands emphasize mixed-use development and a variety of housing will be provided. The housing mix will range from affordable and staff housing to single and multi-family residential and residential tourism homes. As one respondent involved in the development of the property noted:

“We tried to do this in a way that it won’t be us and them....We tried to balance the housing between tourists and residents, future permanent residents, how well we did with that balance, we’ll find out.” (Key Informant 18)

While many concerns over the speculated impacts of the emerging golf-resort were mitigated or minimized through the planning process, many potential environmental, economic, and social impacts were left unresolved. These are discussed in the following sections.

4.6.2 Anticipated Environmental Impacts

Speculations over potential environmental effects of the golf resort were the most frequently discussed perceived impacts. The literature provides a great body of evidence concerning how golf courses and golf-centered developments can negatively impact local environments. While many such effects were addressed in the rezoning given Ucluelet's pro-active approach to sustainable and 'green' planning, the nature of the development and its consumption of land, energy, and resources imply that many environmental impacts may only be managed rather than prevented.

With development already underway, it became clear that local ecosystems and habitats were being transformed. As one key informant explained, the golf course is causing a 'shift' of ecosystems:

"You are going from one sort of an ecosystem to another. It was sort of swampy and scrubby...and they are going to replace that ecosystem with a whole other one... even though there are requirements and all of that, it's still degradation." (Key Informant 14)

The golf course's development process follows Audobon International's environmental stewardship standards. It promotes development design, implementation, and monitoring practices that embrace the natural environment (i.e. no pesticide use, water harvesting, and construction effluent management). However, there is a perception that disturbances to wildlife corridors, natural forest and aquatic ecosystems are happening. In particular, the feeding and

migratory patterns of cougars, wolves, and most notably bears have changed as the lands have been cleared for development.

“...with the golf course, if you follow the development right around, Thorton Creek Hatchery is there... a huge salmon habitat... where the bears all went in the fall to get salmon.... they logged the entire foreshore ...where the bear habitat was, [which] is now where the golf-course is... You can look at the statistics in town about how many bears have been shot because of this... (Key Informant 3)

Such impacts have stirred negative feelings in the community. The following comment offered by one respondent illustrates this viewpoint:

“...as far as I’m concerned, the golf course is an environmental disaster... what it’s done to wildlife....When development comes in and...interrupt[s] the migratory patterns of these animals...you get into ... human animal conflict, and with that there is only one loser, that’s easy to see....” (Key Informant 15)

Despite this situation, key informants interviewed expressed satisfaction with the many measures the development parties have begun to take to minimize some of the negative impacts. Several unique environmentally-conscious approaches to development were suggested by various development parties. For instance, all structures on the lands will be constructed to Gold LEED (Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design) standards, with emphasis on water conservation and harvesting measures, alternative energy generation (geothermal, wave, and wind energies), low-density and open space site development, and pollution prevention from construction activities. These initiatives do not prevent environmental change from occurring. Instead they promote a sensitive management approach to the use of the area’s natural resources. One respondent captured this perspective particularly well:

“Environmentally I’m very confident... this development is all about looking after and being responsible to the environment, small carbon footprint.... They are going to be Audobon certified ... [and] at [the developer’s] expense, a qualified registered biologist [is] monitoring everything...” (Key Informant 8)

Overall, it was felt that the pro-active ‘green’ initiatives put forward by the development parties and in the MDA helped prevent the golf-resort from creating those types of extensive deleterious environmental impacts that are commonly associated with golf-centred developments.

4.6.3 Potential Economic Implications

Perceptions of the economic effects of the emerging golf resort development were remarkably different from the anticipated environmental impacts. Golf-centred developments are typically pursued to bolster tourism activity, as well as to diversify and strengthen the local tourism product and economy. This was certainly legitimized in the case study of Ucluelet. All key informants indicated that positive economic spinoffs in the forms of job creation, increased spending, and an increased tax base, would likely be facilitated by this development. As one respondent speculated, the economic impacts can be more easily predicted:

“[It’s] just a matter of numbers... how many days are they likely to fill the golf course the financial impact of the golf course, and again conservatively, is somewhere between \$6-10 million dollars a year...I think there will be substantial benefits, absolutely.” (Key Informant 11)

All informants also provided positive comments on the employment opportunities that have already happened because of the emerging development. For instance, the community has already experienced job opportunities in construction-related services. Many locals are employed in services, so much so

that the golf-course's construction companies have begun to recruit out-of the community workers to top-up their work fleet. This has created a positive economic spinoff in the community. Additional outside workers require accommodation, food, and recreation in the community, and many local businesses have experienced increased business related to the construction.

This positive start to the development is expected to be just the beginning of the job creation in town. As development proceeds on the construction of the hotel, homesteads, resort facilities and other related amenities, additional employment opportunities will emerge, and growing numbers of outside workers will come to the community. The corresponding economic spinoffs into the community are anticipated to be great. As one respondent involved in the development of the golf resort explained,

“...the opportunity here for the contractors here in town, for construction....you put the hotel aside, and you've still got another 600 keys that are going to be homes.... From a construction standpoint, from a trade's standpoint, this property alone will keep them busy for the next 10, 15, even 20 years.” (Key Informant 13)

Furthermore, as the golf-resort facilities begin to open for public use, the projected tourism draw will attract extra revenues. Beyond the expected spillover of increased visitor spending, the community's ability to charge an additional 2% tourism tax because of their recent 'resort community' status will add stability to Ucluelet's economy.

“As we attract people here with the resort and the hotel, the golf course, and all of the other amenities that we will be providing, [this will] provid[e]the municipality with basically the economic network of people coming in to service their shops, to go to their restaurants, to use their services.” (Key Informant 13)

Nearly all of the key informants also noted the additional economic opportunities speculated to emerge from the tourism generated by the golf resort and related sub-services. Tourism demand is anticipated to increase for existing excursion-type services, such as the fishing, kayaking, whale and bear watching tours, as well as for coffee shops, restaurants, and other cultural and recreational attractions. This may be advantageous to the existing, and the new, population of the community, as demand for new business starts will emerge. One key informant explained:

“The real opportunities are there for the sub-services, for the guys that provide the tours ... those types of opportunities are there, for the related businesses that will cater to the tourists that will be coming. That’s where families can come in, set up a business of their own and make a go of it.” (Key Informant 12)

Finally, as the 600 planned homesteads are purchased it is expected that local spending will be fortified. This population, which is anticipated to be comprised of a mix of permanent residents as well as seasonal second-home owners, will likely purchase goods and services locally. This will boost the local tax base, create greater flexibility for the municipality to upgrade existing infrastructure (i.e. roadways, schools, etc.), and provide additional services to the community (i.e. cultural and recreational facilities, etc.). Many respondents identified the need for increased municipal revenues, and one key informant expressed the rationale behind this line of thinking especially well:

“...one of the things that the community aspires to... hav[e] is a community centre, and a community centre with all the things like a swimming pool and an ice rink and public areas is hugely expensive, and obviously we need a tax base to be able to do that. So, obviously the more people you have moving into your community, the bigger your tax base, and the more opportunity you have to do things like that...” (Key Informant 12)

Ucluelet is expected to experience growth rates of up to 55 percent by year 2018 (see Section 3.2.2). This is without considering the potential growth-related impacts of the emerging golf-resort. The potential escalation in permanent and semi-permanent residents associated with this development will likely bring substantial positive economic effects to the community.

4.6.4 Perceived Social Ramifications

The potential social implications of the emerging golf-resort were perceived to be on the whole, negative. These potential impacts were commonly raised in the key informant interviews, local news-media and council meeting minutes, and were associated with effects of the emerging development on the local ways of life, volunteer base, sense of place, and costs of living.

All key informants commented in some way on the anticipated quality of life transformations they suspect will take place. Some respondents expressed that as the local tax base will likely increase, so too will the District’s capacity to provide additional amenities and infrastructure for the community. These respondents speculated that this change would result in improvements to the local quality of life. Many others, however, felt that as development proceeds, the tourists and new residents that it may attract will likely bring new and different values to the community. As one key informant noted about the golf-resort:

“... [the golf resort] is exactly in line with the vision of the new ...folks that come with tourism development. But I really don't think that what's going on is healthy for local residents that have lived there for a long time, and are seeing [the] small community becoming a resort town.” (Key Informant 10)

More specifically, many of the current residents fear that the norms, values, and the laid back way of life within the community will be transformed with the golf-resort development. As one long-term community resident and local business owner explained that with the golf resort, the existing way of life will be influenced by:

“...more traffic, higher expectations for people of what they can get in the community, people who don't belong to the community... [and] ...a lot of the golf course ...properties will end up sitting empty for a good chunk of the year... drive up the local property values which drives [our] people out, because they can't pay the taxes...” (Key Informant 16)

This comment demonstrates the resistance to change in the community, and provides a better context for the oppositions expressed in the rezoning process.

With community and tourism-related growth, it is anticipated that volunteerism will be compromised. In Ucluelet, the growth in seasonal home ownership has resulted in an observable, though not statistically substantiated, population increase, particularly during summer months. A tendency in many destination communities is for tourism activity to increase the population base without correspondingly increasing the volunteer base. This has been noticed as an overall trend in Ucluelet with the District's shift towards tourism. As one respondent noted:

“...people ... come for a short time to stay, and then they leave, so it impacts the volunteer base in the community, the fire hall can’t get volunteer firemen, the Lions club is practically defunct, everybody is so focused on serving the tourism industry in the summer, that there’s no one left to do the normal community stuff...” (Key Informant 16)

While the emerging golf-resort will be one of the largest influences on tourism-related growth in the community and will arguably propagate the need for increased volunteerism, evidence has begun to emerge that the seasonal residents and visitors do volunteer in the community. One respondent indicated:

“I met a lady the other day that is on the Wild Pacific Trail Society, and she’s here from Alberta for a few months of the year, but when she’s here, she’s very involved....another lady, from... Georgia ... she was [volunteering] with the Edge to Edge marathon... she comes up for a few months in the summer ...people that come for even half of the year like that they [do] get involved...[as] a part of the community.” (Key Informant 8)

This demonstrates that perhaps the feeling of ownership of the community that was so evident in the planning of the lands extends beyond long-term permanent residents. Many respondents suggested that this sense of ownership and social responsibility is very apparent in permanent and non-permanent residents alike. Complications arise, however, with the irregularity of this involvement due to the seasonal participation by many of the non-permanent residents.

Perhaps the most feared potential impact of the golf-resort development expressed in the interviews is the potential changes to the ‘feeling’ of the community. This feeling relates to the community’s sense of place, place identity, and deeply entrenched allegiances to the current community. As place attachments and identities are shaped by social relationships and individual

experiences, the speculated changes to the natural, physical, economic and cultural aspects within Ucluelet may cumulatively change the ways in which residents and visitors identify with the community. Concerns over transformations in the ways people identify with and develop/maintain their attachments to the community were raised by nearly all interview respondents. While the comments to this effect were numerous, one key informant captured the frequently communicated message particularly well:

“I do feel that [this will] change the sense of place in Ucluelet... Part of Ucluelet’s charm was its small town feel, its feel as a fishing town, that was more sleepy than Tofino, and more real, lots of younger families, just more kind of relaxed and... my only fear would be that th[is] large high-scale, tourism, amenity-based development will affect that...” (Key Informant 1)

Many respondents also expressed that the attachments long-term residents have to the physical and social places and spaces in the community may be influenced as the golf-resort developments proceed. This refers to their capacities to follow regular patterns of conduct, which may be altered. This was cited by many as perhaps one of the most important sources of local feelings of resistance to this, or any, development on the lands.

Responsible management of the community as well as development demands, with attention paid to the potential environmental, economic, and social implications, can help mitigate negative impacts. Many respondents suggested ways in which the effects of this development can be managed:

“If we keep our hands on the reigns, if we keep being responsible...we don’t have to allow it to become a worse place...consider the nature of Ucluelet...its natural beauty, its diverse base of working class people... if we stay awake and... keep fighting for what we love about the community, it doesn’t have to be a worse place.” (Key Informant 15)

“It’s definitely going to be different, and that is inevitable. The trick is to do what the District has been doing, and particularly the planning department. That as this explosion happens, we gain as a community from it, and we are as well prepared as possible to cope with the problems that go with it.” (Key Informant 8)

4.7 Informing Planning for Amenity Migration

The over-riding goal of this research was to examine the ways in which Ucluelet has worked to manage stakeholder contestation and negotiation in amenity-driven planning. However, the interview respondents provided many sentiments which may inform the management of the planning processes dealing with other aspects of the amenity migration phenomena.

As many of the respondents in this case study noted, the amenity migration phenomenon has begun to influence Ucluelet. The community is beginning to face escalating demands from ‘out of towners’ for vacation and permanent residences. In discussing the rationale behind this growing demand, most respondents indicated that the abundant natural, recreational, and cultural amenities available in Ucluelet are the source:

“I find [Ucluelet] very similar to Whistler, in that you live here for the lifestyle. You live here for the surf, there is unbelievable hiking trails, kayaking... it’s really about the lifestyle...” (Key Informant #13)

To provide greater insight into the amenity migration trends the community is experiencing, and in particular the seasonal/second home ownership tendencies, the following statements from real-estate and development stakeholders in the community are helpful:

“...60-70% of our business is out of town buyers, either buying existing property, or a lot to build something... Some of them want ... the ability to have vacation rental, some of them ... want the ability to have their own property... [this trend] has been increasing year over year for the last 5 years.” (Key Informant 5)

“ There’s a new development in the area, the Ridge, it has about 35 units, and I think about 90% of them have been bought as secondary homes...the same for [another newer development in town], I believe half of that has been scooped up by out of towners.” (Key Informant 13)

While the community has faced these pressures in much more escalated ways in the last decade, the community members, District and planning staff, as well as real-estate and development stakeholders expressed feelings of satisfaction and as well as a sense of control over the potential implications of inflows of amenity migrants. Where Tofino’s tourism growth was managed in a more spontaneous fashion, Ucluelet learned from that experience, and set measures in policy to prevent overwhelming tourism-induced growth. For instance, as a part of the 2004 OCP process, the community expressed strong opposition to zoning that facilitated Vacation Rentals (VR’s) – a problematic issue in Tofino. The OCP contains zoning provisions which permits VR’s in only small pockets of the community, to help maintain the feel of a ‘real, working coastal community’, with some tourism attraction (District of Ucluelet OCP, 2004). This approach was carried forward to the MDA.

The preceding case is just one example of the measures undertaken in Ucluelet to help manage the community and amenity migration concomitantly. Many of the respondents expressed that they feel the community has some control over this phenomenon at present, but that they have concerns for the

future. As one long-term resident and planning representative noted, amenity migration is slowly, but clearly, changing the face of Ucluelet's population:

"...it's funny, I go ... in town and people are asking, oh, do you live here? 20 years ago, you knew everybody in Ucluelet...It's a lot different now, it's a different demographic...The fact is today that telecommunications are so good that you can do the things here equally as good and as efficiently as you could in downtown Vancouver." (Key Informant 4)

This is an important consideration when assessing the potential effects of the emerging golf-resort development on the community, and the ways in which the District's planning and municipal staff have worked to armor the community against the often negative transformations associated with amenity migration.

The golf-resort development is undoubtedly a catalyst for growth of the permanent, non-permanent, and visitor population bases of the community. While the mixed-use type development zoning in the MDA provides abundant opportunities for locals to purchase homesteads, many respondents suggest that the extent and type of development will draw a large number of visitors from outside. When inquiries were made as to whether this development would attract inflows of new permanent or semi-permanent residents, most respondents felt that semi-permanent ownership would be the greatest concern. As one respondent summarized:

"I see that development as more of an attraction for the transient kind of part-timers that will maybe buy homes, this is going to be an expensive golf course, and ... I don't see it as being an attraction for true permanent migration." (Key Informant 18)

Additionally, many respondents expressed that the demographic of the anticipated amenity migrant flow stemming from the golf-resort development

would likely be in-line with the profile of the migrant flows already coming to the community: footloose entrepreneurs, young families, and retirees of the baby-boom generation. One informant in particular provided useful sentiments to this effect:

“...having the golf course here it’s going to attract a lot of people here that want the coastal lifestyle that’s available here... it seems though that we are starting to attract that demographic [already] some ... for retirement purposes, boomers, you know buying up condo’s and living here 2-3 months of the year, and then putting their children in them...that kind of seems to be the phenomenon that’s going on here.” (Key Informant 6)

While it appears that Ucluelet will not remain immune to the effects of amenity migration, this case study has shown that their unique approach to engaged, pro-active community planning may help mitigate the negative effects of this phenomenon. In conversations surrounding possible improvements to the planning and development of the Weyerhaeuser lands, there was little suggestion for change. The three improvements recommended included: greater public involvement on a more regular basis, i.e. through a planning advisory committee; third party assessments on development proposals to ensure suitability and neutrality; and greater use of phased development agreements to facilitate more effective and more easily administrated density bonusing provisions.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

5.1 Managing Stakeholder Contestation and Negotiation

The management of stakeholder contestation and negotiation in amenity-driven real-estate planning in Ucluelet has been exemplary. Active and widespread stakeholder participation in the community's amenity-driven planning supported a successful approach to managing stakeholder contestation and negotiations. Many important community management lessons can be suggested from this case for other rural destinations managing the potentially transformative effects of amenity migration, amenity-driven real-estate, and golf-centred developments.

In terms of stakeholder participation, a number of factors helped facilitate active community engagement in Ucluelet's amenity-driven planning efforts. Two factors relate to the work of the local planning department, and an additional two factors connect to the existing socio cultural and geographic characteristics. These factors must be acknowledged to better equip other communities to draw their own lessons from Ucluelet's approach.

First, the planning department was undoubtedly innovative, forward thinking, and very grass-roots oriented. This helped set the stage for meaningful opportunities for public and private stakeholder engagement. Second, the planning department utilized many of the legislative tools enabled by BC's Local Government Act, the legislation responsible for municipal planning in BC, to

create greater community outcomes from future developments on the Weyerhaeuser lands. Their use of density bonusing provisions, and phased development agreement ³ provisions in the MDA helped the community obtain amenities from the golf resort developers in exchange for development capacity. The negotiating power that these tools afforded the community may have been an incentive for community members to participate actively in the rezoning of the Weyerhaeuser lands. The strong local leadership of the planning department, not only in prioritizing the meaningful involvement of the community, but also in embracing new planning legislation in innovative ways, was key to the success of the MDA process.

A third factor in this success is reflected in the District of Ucluelet's history of community activism. The most notable association was the Clayoquot Sound dispute of the early 1990s, where five months of protests, public actions and a blockade related to a forest land-use plan, resulted in BC Supreme Court injunction (Clayoquot Sound UESCO Biosphere Reserve, 2009). While the contentious atmosphere characteristic of those times has become dormant, the

³ Phased Development Agreements: In the Province of British Columbia, Phased Development Agreements are enabled by the Local Government Act CHAPTER # 323 [RS 1996], s. 905.1, and permit local governments, by bylaw, to enter into development agreements with developers that include additional terms and conditions agreed to by the local government and the developer, including but not limited to terms and conditions respecting one or more of the following: a) the inclusion of specific features in the development; b) the provision of amenities; c) the phasing and timing of the development and of other matters covered by the agreement; d) the registration of covenants under section 219 of the *Land Title Act*; e) subject to section 905.4 (3), minor amendments to the agreement, including a definition of "minor amendment" for the purpose of the agreement; f) dispute resolution between the parties; and g) early termination of the agreement, either automatically in the event that terms and conditions are not met or by mutual agreement. Phased Development Agreements in BC can be no longer than 10 years; however, with the approval of an inspector, or with an agreement renewal /extension, these agreements can be effective for up to 20 years. (Local Government Act CHAPTER # 323 [RS 1996], s. 905.1, Accessed online February 20th, 2009 at: http://www.civicinfo.bc.ca/LocalGovernmentAct/data/qsdoc150_1096.html)

active, informed nature of the community still stands. This has made widespread public participation relatively commonplace. Additionally, much of the community actively and consistently engages in local planning initiatives. This may be due to the unifying influence of past economic crises in the community, such as the economic downturn of the 1990s, when the provincial regulations led to declining employment in Ucluelet's local forestry and fishing industries.

The final factor is connected to the size of Ucluelet. The District has less than 2000 residents and a limited land base. This would likely have facilitated the creation of widespread awareness of planning initiatives and engagement opportunities involved in the Weyerhaeuser rezoning processes.

The stakeholder negotiations involved in the formation of the MDA demonstrate that community engagement initiatives which provide local residents with meaningful opportunities to negotiate the community's future, can help facilitate well-supported amenity-driven planning outcomes. The inclusive and community-centred approach to visioning and planning the future uses permitted on the Weyerhaeuser lands likely curtailed a great deal of contention and negotiation in the planning efforts. The approach used in Ucluelet promoted the capacity of all stakeholders, including long-term, semi-permanent, and new permanent residents, to meaningfully engage in shaping the amenity-driven development's planning outcomes.

This approach helped create a vision for future development grounded in the desires of the community, and that satisfied the aspirations of the private landowner and the municipality.

When visions are established and supported by the community, more sustainable tourism planning outcomes can emerge (Timothy and Tosun, 2003). The vision from the public processes directly informed the final rezoning package that was approved by council, as well as the MDA that reinforces it. This transformed the perspectives of all stakeholders, including community members, into a legislative tool which narrows the scope of future development possibilities to those that meet the criteria established in the visioning process, and outlined in the MDA.

5.2 Implications of GCD on Ucluelet's Future Growth

While the planning processes involved in the rezoning of the Weyerhaeuser lands were sound and widely embraced, it is unlikely any process, regardless of how appropriate, can generate consequence-free outcomes. The Master Development Agreement registered on the golf-resort property, may encourage development that is suitable and supported by the community. However, developments on the lands – and in particular the emerging golf-resort – will have many potential implications for the future of Ucluelet.

It is likely that the most visible impacts of the golf-resort development will be to the local environment and the landscape. Similarly, the local economy and socio-cultural characteristics will likely be modified and reconstituted as a result of this, and other developments on the lands.

As Markwick (2000), Brassoulis (2002), and Palmer (2004) demonstrated, the consumption of land and resources as a result of golf-resort developments can be substantial. In Ucluelet, the emerging golf resort will

represent nearly ten-percent of the physical footprint of the entire community. The current level of construction on the lands has already increased the presence of wildlife in the community, including large predatory animals. This will likely increase as additional areas of the forested lands are cleared to facilitate further development. Perhaps even more concerning than the threats to public safety associated with the increased animal presence, are the effects on the local wildlife themselves. These impacts will also influence the local ecosystems, and will be largely the result of habitat and corridor losses associated with development.

Additional implications for the local environment are tied to the golf-course. The developers of the course will be using internationally recognized standards for sustainability and environmentally sensitive development. However, it is very likely that the materials used to construct and maintain the area will increase the levels of effluent waste, bioaccumulation, as well as ground and surface water pollution. Furthermore, when the amenities and homesteads that will occupy the golf-resort lands are considered, these effects will only be exacerbated, and additional environmental factors will come into play. The resort will increase local waste, and intensify pressures for the municipality to create further management solutions.

Two further implications of the golf-resort surround the economic constraints implicit with the sale of the District's last large tract of private land, and the sustainability of the local norms, values, and customs that contribute the community's socio-cultural identity. From a taxation perspective, the emerging golf-resort development appears to be a very positive venture for the

municipality. The potential increase in municipal tax receipts, especially with those revenues mobilized by the community's new 'Resort Municipality' status, will facilitate greater municipal capacity to upgrade and provide public infrastructure. These benefits may be substantial. However, they could also represent the last substantial taxation benefit from development for the community. With no further expanses of private land of this size available for development in the community, the District of Ucluelet will need to rely on smaller tax receipts from both one-off developments on the limited remaining undeveloped land, and rezoning applications on developed lands within the municipal bounds.

From a socio-cultural perspective, the emerging golf-resort development could have many potential implications for the future of Ucluelet. The population influx that will likely follow as the resort lands reach full build-out could be substantial. These effects may be experienced more immediately, as the anticipated 600 homesteads of the golf-resort are completed, purchased and occupied. The community's resident, and private dwelling statistics could nearly double when the golf-resort developments reach completion. To this point, proactive and grass-roots planning, along with slow population growth have led to a consistently pursued and well supported vision for growth. However, such a potential influx over the next decade could affect adherence to the shared community direction. This will be of particular concern to the local sense of place. Newcomers that purchase seasonal and/or permanent residences within the GCD will bring their unique values and priorities to the community. The ways in which their priorities and goals support and contest the local norms, will influence the

existing values, and customs. Whether the new amenity migrants ‘buy in’ to the local vision, and whether they engage in or challenge the daily practices which shape the ways locals attach to and identify with the place, will only be seen in time.

These potential concerns may be exacerbated by uncertainty surrounding the ways in which the MDA will ensure the covenanted provisions and negotiated community benefits are realized. While the MDA is legally registered on the property, and while the many provisions contained within it were negotiated and agreed to in good faith, the MDA relies on voluntary compliance. Its future enforcement, therefore, may be inhibited by insufficient judicial ‘teeth’. This is not attributed to the efforts of the District of Ucluelet’s planning and/or municipal staff, but is caused by a lack of aggressive planning legislation in British Columbia. Ucluelet, however, may be aptly suited to overcome this lack of substantive legislative tools, given combined effects of the negotiating power afforded to the District due to the demand for development capacity in the community, the limited supply of undeveloped land, and their reputable history of negotiating for the perpetuation of the community vision and values. The management of power relationships throughout the construction and development of the lands will be important. This may promote the realization of the many negotiated terms in the MDA, given the present level of enforcement connected to this agreement.

5.3 Revisiting the Framework

It is necessary to take a step back, and contextualize the findings of this current research within the broader scope of Gill and Williams' (2008) 'Tourism-led Migration and the Transformation of Place' model. In this regard, it seems that the District of Ucluelet is adequately positioned to create ongoing, and balanced opportunities for stakeholder relationships, to help manage transformations within the local politics of place.

In a general sense, the foresight of the District of Ucluelet's planning department to create community-centred approaches to planning the community's future has helped promote more sustainable planning outcomes. More specifically, the municipality's use of collaborative visioning processes, such as the extensive stakeholder engagements behind the 2004 OCP and the 2005 MDA, have been effective in creating plans and agreements shaped by local residents. The processes, while different in design and management, have helped create inclusive and engaged community planning approaches, characteristic of those so often suggested in the community tourism planning literature (Reed, 1997; Ryan, 2002; Timothy and Tosun, 2003).

More specific to the planning processes involved in this study, Gill and Williams' model postulates that amenity migrant flows can introduce new power relations and political structures to a community's local politics. With the model, local 'politics of place' are reconstituted through contestation and negotiation among stakeholders. The recognition of vulnerabilities and opportunities relevant to the community is therefore suspected to contribute to the successful

and sustainable management of destinations contending with amenity migrant flows. This was demonstrably the case in Ucluelet.

This case study of Ucluelet provided evidence of two key departures from themes propositioned in the literature review, which have direct implications for Gill and Williams' model. These differences were evidenced in the volunteer participation of non-permanent residents in Ucluelet, as well as the environmentally sensitive design and construction provisions for the lands. While considerable research denotes that increased tourism and amenity migrant flows tends to correspond with decreased volunteerism (Gill and Williams, 2008), this case demonstrated the contrary. Perhaps the base of social capital created in Ucluelet through its consistent community-centred planning approaches, enables new part-time and permanent residents to comfortably engage in the community. From an environmental perspective, the literature examined suggests that not only do increased levels of tourism-led amenity migrations impose pressure on the local environment and landscape (Chipeniuk, 2004; Clark, Gill and Hartmann, 2006), but so to do amenity-driven land-uses, such as GCDs (Brassoulis, 2007; Markwick, 2000). The 'green' approach taken in Ucluelet in the planning of the lands (through the use of standards such as Gold LEED, Audobon International) demonstrates that with clear visions to creating environmentally sound development, perhaps more sustainable forms of amenity-driven and amenity migration related development can occur.

5.3.1 Identification of Vulnerabilities and Opportunities

In terms of vulnerabilities, the foresight on the behalf of the District of Ucluelet and Weyerhaeuser to engage all potential stakeholders in the visioning of the ‘lands’, helped prevent the community from being overwhelmed by an influx of individually organized development proposals. More specific to the model, the awareness of this potential vulnerability supported the successful management of stakeholder contestation and negotiation. This was achieved by the creation of more equitable opportunities for long-term residents, newer amenity migrants, tourism and development interests, and municipal representatives, to affect the planning outcomes.

In terms of opportunity awareness, it is likely that the District of Ucluelet and Weyerhaeuser recognized the potential community benefits implicit with the sale of such a large tract of undeveloped land. This may have helped instigate the inclusive engagement process involved in the rezoning of the lands. Furthermore, the active engagement of community, development, municipal, tourism, and business stakeholders in the planning of the lands likely promoted the awareness of the potential opportunities for the 370 acre parcel. This most likely created greater knowledge of the implications of these opportunities for the community.

If the community is again examined through a broader lens, there are important lessons regarding awareness of opportunities for other communities to be drawn from the Ucluelet example. From the secondary data review, it is apparent that the municipal staff and local council in Ucluelet are very conscious

of the economic, environmental and social initiatives and trends operating on the local, regional, provincial, national, and international scales. This awareness has helped the municipality to not only embrace possible opportunities and mitigate against potential threats, but also, to fashion plans of action that are unique and locally supported, given the additional time afforded by this knowledge. This proactive approach to managing opportunities may be a useful tool that could assist other communities working with tourism-led development and migrations.

5.3.2 Managing the Politics of Place: Stakeholder Contestation and Negotiation

The management of the planning processes that enabled the emerging golf-centred development in Ucluelet, provides a pertinent example of how successful involvement of stakeholders can help shape appropriate policy directives and community management strategies. As Gill and Williams' model demonstrates, when managing the role of tourism-led amenity migration in communities, there is a direct causal relationship between the stakeholders and the ways in which they contest and negotiate space. This relationship influences and is affected by the management of stakeholder relationships in a planning context, and consequently the formation of local policies, and management strategies. Without sufficient attention paid to the 'front-end' of the process, i.e. stakeholder relations and the politics of place, the outcomes of the process will suffer, i.e., lack of suitable and supported community policies and management strategies. However, with adequate and meaningful attention paid to providing balanced opportunities for all stakeholders to affect the planning outcomes, planning officials can more successfully shape policy directives that align with

relevant values and meanings. Subsequently, the implementation of these policies can be achieved through the development of locally-specific and appropriate voluntary/regulatory management strategies. For instance, the use of phased development agreements in Ucluelet to propagate the delivery of community amenities alongside construction of the developments on the Weyerhaeuser lands, serves to regulate and secure the timely provision of the amenities outlined in the Master Development Agreement. This reinforcement of the policies, developed with consistent stakeholder engagement, also helps to ensure that the amenity-driven real-estate developments on the lands continue to meet the negotiated development priorities of the community, and especially those of the stakeholders associated with the development.

5.4 Learning from the Process

5.4.1 Lessons for Amenity-Driven Planning

The management of stakeholder contestation and negotiation in the rezoning of the Weyerhaeuser lands offers a useful illustration of one way communities may be able to prevent the negative transformative effects of tourism-led amenity migration, and amenity-driven developments. More specifically, the Ucluelet case demonstrates how, by creating meaningful opportunities for active community participation in amenity-driven planning efforts, destinations may be able to prevent changes to the sense of place often associated with tourism-related growth and development (Stedman et al., 2004).

To be more precise, the engagement processes involved in the rezoning and creation of the MDA in Ucluelet enabled permanent and non-permanent

residents to provide input into the vision for the development of the lands. This helped planning authorities fashion development policies that set out to maintain the local customs, spaces and places, expectantly preventing transformations to the place attachments and identities held by residents, amenity migrants, and tourists alike. The meaningful incorporation of stakeholder interests in the final rezoning package and the MDA helped align the planning of the lands with the existing norms and values that have shaped the broader community. While changes to the place, are inevitable – as with all communities experiencing growth - entirely transformative changes to destinations may be circumvented by harmonizing community visions and values with the development policies that support them.

Further evidence supporting these sentiments stem from the public meetings associated with the rezoning process. The active and sustained involvement of community members, development parties, and all vested interests in the planning engagement processes facilitated opportunities for all stakeholders to present and discuss their priorities. This also enabled these stakeholders to challenge one another's perspectives, begin to understand the potential areas agreement, and become aware of potential needs for compromise. The involvement of 'technical experts' in the development of land-use concepts helped negate potential contestations over aspects of the potential plans. Additionally, the use of external facilitators to manage the amenity-driven planning process may have helped to mitigate contestation and negotiation in the engagement efforts, by placing perceivably neutral, un-biased, and un-involved actors in control of the process.

Perhaps the most substantial lesson to be drawn from the Ucluelet example is the importance of creating not only inclusive engagement opportunities, but actively promoting these opportunities within the community. This is especially pertinent in terms of planning where amenity migration is a factor. In this research, eighty-three percent of the key informants involved identified themselves as amenity migrants (permanent/ non- permanent residents attracted to Ucluelet for its natural and/or cultural amenities). All of these informants were involved, or at the very least aware of their capacity to participate, in the Weyerhaeuser rezoning processes. It seems from this example, that engaging amenity migrants in small, rural communities may not be an onerous task. To be more precise, other locales seeking to develop engagement processes to contend with planning for amenity migration and amenity-driven land-uses, may simply need to work towards the creating awareness of local planning initiatives within the community. This may help create equitable opportunities for existing and new residents alike to advocate their perspectives, and help prevent negative transformations in their community.

5.4.2 Improvements to the Process

It is clear that the management of stakeholder relationships through extensive and widespread community consultation processes have helped to protect Ucluelet from being overwhelmed by the pressures of amenity migrant flows, to this point. However, there are improvements that could be made to Ucluelet's amenity-driven real-estate planning processes, to help future planning efforts bring about even greater community outcomes.

While Ucluelet has come to be recognized for its innovative and grass-roots approaches to planning, the Weyerhaeuser rezoning process may have benefited from a more deliberately collaborative engagement approach. Other options may have led greater inquiry, shared knowledge and enhanced stakeholder communication and relationships. For example, dialogue is a process emerging as a useful tool in public planning contexts (Ness and Williams, 2008). It may be a useful addition to the repertoire of engagement techniques in Ucluelet. This approach might help bring stakeholders together in an active, respectful learning environment, and may be useful in helping stakeholders with perspectives that are less supported, but still equally valid. Dialogue can be used to demystify and advocate their positions and interests in ways that facilitate learning from others. This may enable perspectives to be explored more thoroughly, creating more informed decision-making.

Additionally, as several key informants expressed the desire for ongoing forums for community information sharing to help create greater community knowledge of opportunities and vulnerabilities, there may be room in the community for engagements such as monthly coffee houses, kitchen table meetings or study circles (IAP2, 2006). In such contexts, topical issues, vulnerabilities and opportunities can be openly shared, discussed, and examined by interested stakeholders. Such engagements may create more widespread awareness and inspire greater inquiry into community issues. These efforts may also help generate a greater base of probable solutions, as a result of an increasingly informed population base.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Research Summary

This research examined the processes involved in the successful management of stakeholder contestation and negotiation in amenity-driven land-use planning efforts in Ucluelet, BC. The assessment was situated in the socio-political dimensions of Gill and Williams (2008) 'Tourism-led Migration and the Transformation of Place' framework, which sought, in part, to untangle the relationships of human movements to areas possessing high-quality of life resources, induced or facilitated by tourism agents. The model was also designed to explore the regulatory and managerial approaches emerging to contend with the potentially transformative implications of this phenomenon.

This research set out to assess the overriding research question: 'How can stakeholder contestation and negotiation be managed in amenity-driven land-use planning?'. A case study assessment, facilitated by key informant 'active' interviews, explored this main research question by examining: the process of stakeholder engagement in the decision-making surrounding Ucluelet's emerging golf-centred development; the nature of the power relationships between stakeholders in the process; the perceived impacts of the emerging GCD; and the lessons that can be learned about planning for amenity migration from this example of amenity-driven land-use planning.

The emerging golf-centred development in Ucluelet, at its very core, emerged from an extensive, collaborative visioning process that spanned nearly half of a year. The removal of a 370-acre tract of land from tree-farm license and the listing of the parcel for sale subject to successful rezoning, inspired a series of responses from external development parties as well as local tourism, planning, and corporate interests. Fears of exorbitant transformations of the local economic structure, the landscape, ecosystems, and above all, the local sense of place, combined with an initial inauspicious rezoning application, drove the District of Ucluelet and the landowners to initiate a community-visioning process designed to create a rezoning package for the lands. With a decidedly tourism and amenity migration centred vision, the established rezoning package focused primarily on low density tourism development, greenspace, and a mix of housing provisions.

As the community, tourism, municipal, planning, and development stakeholders connected to the visioning and design of the Weyerhaeuser rezoning revealed, there was great satisfaction with the ways in which the engagement processes were designed, managed, and facilitated. Moreover, all expressed great satisfaction that the final plan was derived from and formed through the meaningful and collaborative input of all stakeholders; testament to the management of stakeholder contestation and negotiation in the amenity-driven planning, and a sizeable feather in the cap of those that organized the process. Barring two exceptions, the key informants involved in this assessment accepted and continue to support the final product.

While the processes in Ucluelet were fashioned to be relevant to the unique mix of economic, environmental, and social factors operating in the community, several tenets of their approach could inform greater power-sharing in other amenity migration and tourism planning contexts. First, Ucluelet's processes were designed with the goal of enabling the community to benefit extensively from the development, while enabling substantial involvement of *all* residents, including long-term locals and recent permanent and non-permanent amenity migrants. Similar goals will help other communities fine-tune the development of their planning processes, and yield greater community involvement, greater community acceptance of the process outcomes, and potentially more sustainable tourism and community outcomes.

Second, the duration of the engagement processes in Ucluelet was lengthy, with a variety of engagement forums held consistently within the visioning time-frame, and the forums were consistently promoted in the community. Other communities would be well-advised to create processes as lengthy and well-promoted as financially and administratively feasible, to help reach the broadest base of potential stakeholders possible, and generate as much civic participation as possible. Finally, the Ucluelet processes were primarily designed, delivered and facilitated by planning consultants. Though the involvement of the municipal planners and Weyerhaeuser representatives must be acknowledged - both in the hiring of the consultants and in the design and administration of the process- the use of external, assumingly unbiased individuals to administer the visioning process likely helped maintain fair and neutral opportunities for all stakeholders to have their positions and interests meaningfully heard, and incorporated into

the final rezoning package. Other communities may be well served in adapting Ucluelet's stakeholder management approach to be even more effective in managing the negotiations. A suitable amendment may involve, where feasible, a panel of diverse stakeholders, separate from the private interests behind planning initiatives, to form a search committee, and acquire external consultants to create and administer their planning processes.

To assist the transferability of the results of this study to other rural communities, three unique aspects of the Ucluelet example should be acknowledged: the role of strong local leadership, the corporate social responsibility (Cragg, 1996) of the selling party, and the availability of a full-time planner. The leadership demonstrated by the District of Ucluelet's planning department, taken in concert with the selling party's corporate social responsibility to convene their power, helped enable the community's voice in the rezoning of the lands and promoted the success of the MDA process. Furthermore, the availability of at least one knowledgeable full-time planner in Ucluelet, was a contributing factor to the outcome of this case. While some or all of these features may not exist in all rural communities, efforts can be taken to overcome the missing variables. Leadership may come, or be encouraged, from the community and/or local councils to attract funding for planning processes, as well as external facilitators to manage these processes and help craft suitable outcomes. Rural communities can also benefit from the knowledge and low-to-no cost work of tourism and planning students at nearby colleges and universities, by engaging them to manage community planning processes on their behalf.

Regarding Gill and Williams' (2008) model of tourism-led amenity migration and the transformation of place, this study specifically addressed how stakeholder contestation and negotiation can be managed to help prevent the socio-political transformations of place, and subsequently, to help bring about more sustainable tourism and planning outcomes. The findings of the research expose the prospect that the potentially negative transformative effects of the amenity migration phenomenon may be negated through pro-active management of stakeholder relations. Ucluelet was able to: protect the local sense of place through an engaged citizenry; preserve the local ecosystems, as best as possible given the consumptive nature of development, through the involvement of stakeholders with avid awareness of 'green' planning practices; protect local access through engaged and active stakeholders in the visioning of the property; preserve existing social values and networks by enabling all stakeholders voices to be meaningfully heard and incorporated in the planning process, and end product; maintain development that conforms to the local landscape through the municipal stakeholders avocation and enforcement of the community's vision, which includes low-density development ; and procure millions of dollars in desired community amenities through negotiations which sought to provide a net balance of gains for development and community stakeholders.

While this case-study is demonstrative of just one facet of emerging processes to manage tourism-led migrations and the transformation of place, many others likely exist, and will persist given exposure to leading examples such as the Ucluelet case. Other communities will have different stakeholder groups, different economic pressures, environmental characteristics and social settings.

The pressures of amenity migration will exert themselves on the prevailing local conditions of host communities. The Ucluelet example demonstrates that with efforts taken to be aware of the opportunities, threats, trends and vulnerabilities a community faces on both local and broader scales and with all attempts taken to create meaningful opportunities for all those with a potential stake in relevant planning outcomes, communities can thrive in sustainable ways when contending with amenity migration.

6.2 Recommendations for Future Research

The utility of the findings of this research could be enhanced with additional research endeavours. Potential areas of both theoretical and empirical research are outlined below.

Theoretical Works

- While this research addressed the ways in which stakeholder contestation and negotiation were managed through a wide-spread, lengthy community visioning process, further exploration which more aggressively situates this research in rural and coastal community planning theories would be worthwhile endeavours.
- Building on the power models (Allen (2003) and Few (2002)) involved in this research, additional studies using additional sociological methodologies (e.g. Welk, 2006; Ryan, 2002) may explore the specific power modes, motives, and resources utilized by stakeholders in local community settings, as well as the success of their tactics in securing their preferred outcome.

Empirical Works

- At the time of publication, an economic downturn on a global scale created an uncertain financial situation for the golf-resort developers. A supplementary study should be conducted to assess the ways in which the community negotiates with the current, or future, developers of the golf-resort in light of these uncertain conditions. This assessment could help to determine if the community has sufficient negotiating power to hold developers to

the covenanted agreements in the MDA in the face of economic uncertainty.

- This study only touched on the stakeholders perspectives of the speculated economic, environmental, and social implications of the golf-resort. Further case-study explorations of the actual effects of the amenity-driven development would help to confirm the effectiveness of balanced stakeholder planning processes in achieving truly sustainable community outcomes.
- A supplementary assessment of the golf-resort's development parties' adherence to the established vision for the lands would be advisable. This could explore which MDA provisions were successfully implemented, the points of contention and the ways in which the developers and municipal staff negotiated concessions, or revised tenets of the agreement. This endeavour would inform and refine future planning processes and development agreements for amenity-driven real estate developments.
- While this research explored the effectiveness of the engagement processes of the Weyerhaeuser land rezoning in enabling stakeholder contestation and negotiation to be managed, a more comprehensive assessment of the utility of the processes in achieving sustainable community outcomes in other amenity-migration contexts, would be useful. Assessments in additional rural communities contending with planning for amenity migration would be an ideal setting for such explorations.
- While this study attempted to ascertain the perspectives of all groups with a potential stake in the rezoning of the Weyerhaeuser lands, the intensive nature of the key informant active interview methodology limited the number of research participants. Additional research using survey methodologies, would facilitate broader representation of stakeholders, and aid in the creation of more generaliseable results.
- Current amenity migration literature could benefit from a more extensive study of Ucluelet, to examine the characteristics of the newcomers that purchase secondary/permanent homesteads within the golf-resort, as well as the ways in which those that are amenity migrants influence the local planning processes.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1 - Key Informant Active Interview Template

Managing Stakeholder Contestation and Negotiation in Amenity-Driven Land-use Planning

Key Informant Active Interview Guide for Stakeholders involved in the planning of Ucluelet's emerging golf-resort development

1) About You

- 1) Are you a resident of Ucluelet?
 - a. If no, how far from Ucluelet do you live?
 - b. If no, how often do you visit/stay in Ucluelet?
- 2) This study is a part of a larger research project that looks at the impacts of amenity migration. Amenity migrants are people that have moved either permanently/semi-permanently to a destination principally because of natural environmental and cultural qualities. Are you an amenity migrant to Ucluelet?
 - a. If yes, do you live here permanently, or semi-permanently?
- 3) Do you have a residence in Ucluelet?
 - a. If yes, how many months of the year do you live in Ucluelet?
 - b. If yes, how many years have you lived here?

2) Effects of Amenity Driven Real-Estate Developments

(What are the effects of amenity-driven real-estate developments such as golf-resort developments, on destination communities?)

- 1) What effects do you feel the golf-resort does /will have on Ucluelet?
- 2) From your perspective, what are the benefits that developments like this golf-resort development bring to the community?
- 3) From your perspective, what are the environmental aspects developments like this golf-resort development bring to the community?
- 4) From your perspective, what are the economic benefits developments like this golf-resort development bring to the community?
- 5) From your perspective, what are the social benefits developments like this golf-resort development bring to the community?
- 6) From your perspective, will Ucluelet be a better or worse place to live in five years because of this development? If so, how?

- 7) Should Ucluelet build other amenity-driven developments for its citizens over the next 10 years? If so, what type?

3) Tracking Golf-Resort Decision-Making Processes

(How have local, regional and provincial decision making processes shaped the evolution of the emerging golf-resort development?)

- 1) Can you tell me the story, from your perspective, of how the golf-resort came to be?
- 2) Are there groups/stakeholders in town that have played particularly influential roles in shaping decisions in about the golf-resort development? If so, who and how?
 - What were they particularly influential in doing?

4) Stakeholder Power Relationships

(What is the nature of the power relationships between community stakeholders, developers, and decision-making authorities in Ucluelet with respect to this development?)

- 1) With the golf-resort development, were there aspects of the decision-making process which required more debate than expected? (If so, what?)
- 2) In the decision-making processes that led up to the golf-resort development, do you feel that the power relationships (i.e. the capacity of individuals to influence outcomes, or, to impose their will or interest on others) between stakeholders were balanced?
 - If yes, can you give me an example which shows how stakeholders worked with one another as equals?
 - If not, can you give me an example of situation(s) where stakeholders used their relative power to secure their preferable option?
- 3) If you were to again tell me a story, this time about the relationships between the stakeholders in the decision-making processes that led to the golf-resort development, what would be the main themes?
 - a. How would you describe the nature of the relationships between community stakeholders (e.g. specific groups, and at large) and public planning authorities (council, planners)?
 - b. How would you describe the nature of the relationships between prospective/current developers (e.g. tourism, golf course, housing developers) and public planning authorities (council, planners)?
 - c. How would you describe the nature of the relationships between community stakeholders (e.g. specific groups, and at large) and prospective/current developers (e.g. tourism, golf course, housing developers)?
 - d. As Ucluelet a popular destination for tourism and an attraction for amenity migrations, do you feel that new amenity migrants have had a role in shaping the conversations around this development?
 - If so, what role have they played, and how does that relate to the role of long established residents?

5) Informing the Management of Power Relationships

- From your perspective, what sort of relationships between the community, municipal officials, and developers would make it easiest for you to have your interests incorporated into amenity-based land use planning/decisions? Why?
- Now that the golf-resort development is under construction, do the project developers and local planners actively engage you in the planning? More or less than before?
 - a) If yes, in what ways?
 - b) If no, how should they proceed?
- If you were running Ucluelet's public participation processes for land use-planning and development, would you continue current practices, or are there any changes you would make? If yes, what would you do differently?

Appendix 2 – Respondent Solicitation and Project Synopsis

Dear Participant,

I am a graduate student in Simon Fraser University's School of Resource and Environmental Management. As part of my program, I am conducting research on how citizens and other interest groups in small communities take part in decisions concerning the development of large recreation and tourism developments in their regions. The project is part of a larger national research program examining the ways and extent to which 'amenity migrants' shape the development of small communities. 'Amenity migrants' are people moving to small communities primarily because of the destination's surrounding natural, recreational and cultural qualities. This year we are researching aspects of this topic in four small communities in British Columbia.

My Focus:

My research focuses on Ucluelet. It uses the emerging golf-resort as a case study about how and to what extent citizens and other interest groups are shaping the development of this emerging facility.

How You Can Help:

It is my hope that you will provide me with some of your valuable time so that I can personally interview you on this topic. More specifically, I would like to learn your perspectives concerning how this development emerged and what you feel it means for the future of your community. Your individual responses will be kept strictly confidential and will only be reported as part of the collective record provided by all participating residents. Depending on the information you are able to share, the interview should take about 30 minutes to complete.

Why Your Information Is Important

Ucluelet has taken many bold tourism and recreation development steps in recent years. Your views and those of many other citizens can provide local decision makers with valuable insights into how permanent and seasonal residents can work together to create the best possible outcomes from such developments.

About the Interview

Depending on the information you are willing to share, the interview should take about 30 minutes to complete. Before the interview, your consent to participate in this research will be formally recorded. With your permission, our conversation will be recorded and transcribed. A copy of it will be made available for your review, and if needed, an opportunity to clarify what was recorded will be provided. Otherwise, all of your transcribed information will be kept strictly confidential and destroyed upon completion of the study. I will also be pleased to share the collective findings of all the interviews, once my research is complete.

Setting a Time

Your participation in this research is very important to me, and I would be grateful for any time you can share for this interview. Since I will be in Ucluelet from xxxx to xxxxx, an interview during this period would be ideal. Would you kindly let me know if there are any times available during this period when we might chat?

If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me at the information below, or my research supervisor, Dr. Peter Williams (788-782-3074).

Thank you for your consideration.

Respectfully,

Jen Ness

Master's Candidate, Centre for Tourism and Policy Research,

School of Resource and Environmental Management

Simon Fraser University, Burnaby BC V5A 1S6

(1)-604-864-7566, email: jness@sfu.ca

Cell:

The project is expected to be completed by March, 2009. Electronic copies of the research will be made available to you upon request.

This research has been approved by the Director, Office of Research Ethics, on behalf of the SFU Research Ethics Board in accordance with University policy R20.0, www.sfu.ca/policies/research/r20-01.htm.

Should you wish to obtain information about your rights as a participant in research, or about the responsibilities of researchers, or if you have any questions, concerns or complaints about the manner in which you were treated in this study, please contact the Director, Office of Research Ethics by email at hal_weinberg@sfu.ca or phone at 778-782-6593.

Appendix 3 - Research Participant Consent Form

Informed Consent by Participants in a Research Study

Managing Stakeholder Contestation and Negotiation in Amenity-Driven Land-use Planning

Investigator: Jennifer Ness, Master's Candidate, School of Resource and Environmental Management

The University and those conducting this research study subscribe to the ethical conduct of research and to the protection at all times of the interests, comfort, and safety of participants. This research is being conducted under permission of the Simon Fraser Research Ethics Board. The chief concern of the Board is for the health, safety and psychological well-being of research participants.

Should you wish to obtain information about your rights as a participant in research, or about the responsibilities of researchers, or if you have any questions, concerns or complaints about the manner in which you were treated in this study, please contact the Director, Office of Research Ethics by email at hweinber@sfu.ca or phone at 778-782-6593.

Your signature on this form will signify that you have received a document which describes the procedures, whether there are possible risks, and benefits of this research study, that you have received an adequate opportunity to consider the information in the documents describing the study, and that you voluntarily agree to participate in the study.

Having been asked to participate in the research study named above, I certify that I have read the procedures specified in the Study Information Document describing the study. I understand the procedures to be used in this study and the personal risks to me in taking part in the study as described below:

Purpose and goals of this study: This proposed project is part of a larger research program currently underway at Simon Fraser University's Centre for Tourism Policy and Research. It assesses the ways and extent to which 'amenity migrants' are changing the character of destination communities, and how these places are responding to such pressures. In this program, 'amenity migrants' are people moving to small destination communities primarily because of the areas' natural, cultural, and recreational qualities. My proposed research in Ucluelet explores the power relationships involved in amenity-based land-use planning, and more specifically, the relationships between community stakeholders and public decision-makers with respect to golf-resort (amenity) development. This includes exploring their perceptions of the positive and negative implications such amenities can bring to the community. The goal of my proposed research is to determine where the balance of power lies in Ucluelet with amenity-based land-use planning decisions. By exploring these issues from the perspectives of community and public stakeholders, I hope that patterns will emerge, and recommendations for inclusive land-use planning can emerge to inform planning efforts in other amenity-based destinations.

What the participants will be required to do: The participants will be required to participate in an active key informant interview that involves open questions concerning amenity-based land-use planning in relation to a recent golf-resort development, and the relationships between community stakeholders and public decision-makers with respect to positive and negative implications of amenity development in the community. The interview will be recorded with the participant's permission. The participant can end the interview session at any time during the interview.

Risks to the participant, third parties or society: The risks of this study are minimal. Some participants may be concerned about the disclosure of their particular views about golf-resort development and relationships between community stakeholders and public decision makers. To mitigate this concern, participant identities will be kept confidential, participants may decline to answer any question, and participants may withdraw from the study at any time.

Benefits of study to the development of new knowledge: Recent developments in the field of amenity migration are of pressing concern to many tourism destinations. In amenity-rich locations, there is a growing trend towards increased growth and development, which places pressures on the local communities and landscapes. As relationships between tourism and migration have only recently received academic attention, it is fundamental to the sustainability of amenity-rich destination communities to develop an understanding of local planning and management responses to this phenomenon. The proposed research will explore the approaches to amenity-based land-use planning in Ucluelet, and will specifically explore the inclusiveness and responsiveness of land-use planning processes to the community, through the lens of recent golf-resort development. It is hoped that the lessons learned from this exploration will increase community stakeholders and public decision makers' awareness of the pressures and opportunities that amenity-based land-use developments, and in particular golf-resort developments, bring to destination communities. Through the evaluation of this research, it is intended that local decision makers will be provided with insights into how amenity-rich destination communities can effectively mitigate power relationships to ensure inclusive and representative land-use decision making.

Statement of confidentiality: Your signature on this form will signify that you have received information which describes the procedures, possible risks, and benefits of this research study, that you have received an adequate opportunity to consider the information in documents describing the study, and that you voluntarily agree to participate in the study. Any information that is obtained during this study will be kept confidential to the full extent permitted by the law. Knowledge of your identity is not required. You will not be required to write your name or any other identifying information on research materials. Unless your consent is explicitly requested and granted, no specific names or identifiers will be used in the final report that would allow readers to attribute a reference to a particular person. With your permission the interview will be recorded and materials will be maintained in a secure location.

Interview of employees about their company or agency: The interview is voluntary in nature. Consent will not be obtained from the participants' employers, agencies or other organizations with which they are affiliated. The choice of whether to participate or not will be left up to those individuals contacted. The participant can choose to not answer any of the questions and can end the interview at any time.

Inclusion of names of participants in reports of the study: Your identity will be kept confidential to the full extent permitted by the law. In any reports, publications or presentations arising from this research your name will not be used when citing information acquired from you, and only those demographic characteristics that would help in the understanding of the findings will be reported. I request your permission to refer to you by a title in any reports, presentations or publications arising from this research. You may choose a title that describes your position, or remain as an anonymous participant.

Contact of participants at a future time or use of the data in other studies: Please state whether or not you can be contacted again at a future time to obtain further information pertaining to this research as necessary. The data obtained from this research will not be used in other studies. I understand that I may withdraw my participation at any time. I also understand that I may register any complaint with the Director of the Office of Research Ethics.

I understand that I may withdraw my participation at any time. I also understand that I may register any complaint with the Director of the Office of Research Ethics.

Dr. Hal Weinberg
Director, Office of Research Ethics
Office of Research Ethics
Simon Fraser University
8888 University Drive
Multi-Tenant Facility
Burnaby, BC V5A 1S6
hal_weinberg@sfu.ca

I may obtain copies of the results of this study, upon its completion by contacting: jness@sfu.ca,
peter_williams@sfu.ca

I understand the risks and contributions of my participation in this study and agree to participate:

Name	
E-mail address	
Signature	Witness
Date	

Appendix 4 - Assessment Framework

The following framework operationalizes the themes and perspectives presented in this study's literature review into questions to guide the examination of the overriding research question, 'How can stakeholder contestation and negotiation be managed in amenity-driven land-use planning'. Lines of interview questioning, which are more specifically detailed in the case study's interview instruments (Chapter 3), are offered and linked with associated themes derived from the literature review.

What was the nature of stakeholder engagement in the decision making processes in Ucluelet led to the golf-centred development?	
Operational Questions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can you tell me the story of how the emerging golf resort came to be? • Can you tell me a story about how you, and others, were engaged in the planning processes? • Are there groups/stakeholders in town that have/had particularly vocal perspectives about the golf resort development? What were they expressing concern about? 	
Theme	Line of Interview Questioning
Public involvement in the planning process (Reed, 1997; Bianchi, 2003; Murphy, 1985; Jamal and Getz, 1995)	Nature of the local planning climate Nature of community interests for tourism, and related infrastructure Public engagement in planning Form of public involvement (tokenism/meaningful engagement) Accuracy of planning process related to legislation
Local acceptance of tourism and golf-resort (Timothy and Tosun, 2003; Palmer, 2004; Markwick, 2000)	Community approval/ resistance to the development Community need for such development

What was the nature of the power relationships between community stakeholders, developers, and decision-making authorities involved in Ucluelet's amenity-driven planning efforts?

Operational Questions:

- Were there areas in the decision-making process which required more debate than expected?
- Do you feel that the power relationships (i.e. the capacity of individuals to influence outcomes, or, to impose their will or interest on others) between stakeholders promote equitable representation of interests?
- What is the nature of the relationships between community stakeholders (e.g. specific groups) and public planning authorities (council, planners)?
- What is the nature of the relationships between prospective/current developers (e.g. tourism, golf course, housing developers) and public planning authorities (council, planners)?

Theme	Line of Interview Questioning
Power relationships (Allen, 2003; Few, 2002; Bianchi, 2003; Hall, 1994,1995)	Consequences for local planning authorities and community if opportunities for equitable consideration of interests are not provided Balance of power in decision-making processes Capacity of community stakeholders to influence the planning outcome
Modes of power (Allen, 2003; Few, 2002; Welk, 2007)	How power was mobilized in the arena of power relations Characteristics of power in a planning situation Actor characteristics Capacity of local authorities to convene their power

What are the perceived impacts of amenity-driven land use such as golf-centred developments, on Ucluelet?

Operational Questions:

- What effects do you think the golf resort will have on Ucluelet?
- What do you feel the community benefits of developments like this golf-resort development will be?
- What do you perceive as the environmental impacts that developments like this golf-resort might bring to the community?
- What do you perceive as the economic impacts that developments like this golf-resort might bring to the community?
- What do you perceive as the social impacts that developments like this golf-resort might bring to the community?

Theme	Line of Interview Questioning
Impacts of Amenity Migration (Moss, 2006, 2008; Chipenuik, 2004; Coles, Hall and Duval, 2005; Gill and Williams, 2006)	Transformative changes on the landscape/ in the community Economic, environmental and social implications of amenity-based land use development Relative costs/benefits associated with amenity migration
Impacts of golf-course and golf-centred development (Palmer, 2004; Brassoulis, 2007; Markwick, 2000)	Economic, environmental, and social impacts of amenity based land use development in rural coastal communities Motivations for development Transformative effects of amenity-based land-use development

What lessons can be learned about planning for amenity migration from the planning of Ucluelet's golf-resort development?

Operational Questions:

- What tools/practices were particularly effective in the planning of the golf-resort?
- What tools/practices could be used to improve the effectiveness of the planning processes related to amenity based real estate development and tourism-led amenity migration?

Theme	Line of Interview Questioning
Participatory Planning (Reid, Mair and George, 2004; Marien and Pizam, 1997); Frame, 2002; Gunton and Day, 2003; Gunton, Day and Williams, 2003).	How stakeholders were identified and engaged in the planning processes Process management strategies Capacity of process management strategies to create equitable opportunities to influence planning outcomes
Power Relations Management (Reid, Mair and George, 2004; Reed, 1997; Marien and Pizam, 1997); Arnstein, 1969)	How did the process enable citizens to influence the outcome Modes of power used to influence the outcome How process managers facilitate contentions between stakeholders Amenity migrants and their influence on the planning outcome Process management strategies for sustainable tourism outcomes Role of permanent and non-permanent citizens in the tourism outcomes

REFERENCE LIST

- Aguiar, L., Tornic, P. and Trumper, R. (2005). Work hard, play hard; selling Kelowna, BC, as a year-round playground. *The Canadian Geographer*. 49(2): 123-139
- Allen, J. (2003). *Lost Geographies of Power*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Andriotis, K. (2004). Problems of island tourism development: The Greek Insular regions. In B. Bramwell (Ed.) *Coastal Mass Tourism: Diversification and Sustainable Development in Southern Europe*. Clevedon: Channel View Publications. (114-132).
- Arnstein, S.R. (1969). A ladder of citizen participation. *AIP Journal*, 35: 216-24.
- BC Stats. (2007). 2006 Census Profile: Ucluelet DM. Available Online at: <<http://www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca/data/cen06/profiles/detailed/59023019.pdf>> Accessed February 24th, 2009.
- Bianchi, R.V. (2003). Place and power in tourism development: Tracing the complex articulations of community and locality. *PASOS Revista de Turismo Patrimonio Cultural*. 1(1): 13-32.
- Bianchi, R. (2004). Tourism restructuring and the politics of sustainability: A critical view from the European periphery (The Canary Islands). *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*. 12(6): 495-529.
- Bramwell, B. (2004). Actors, power, and discourses of growth limits. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 33(4): 957-978.
- Bramwell, B. (2004). Mass tourism, diversification and sustainability in Southern Europe's coastal regions. In B. Bramwell (Ed.) *Coastal Mass Tourism: Diversification and Sustainable Development in Southern Europe*. Clevedon: Channel View Publications. (1-31).
- Bramwell, B., and Lane, B., (eds.)(2000). *Tourism Collaboration and Partnerships: Politics, Practice, and Sustainability*. Clevedon: Channel View Publications.
- Brassoulis, H. (2007). Golf-Centred Development in Coastal Mediterranean Europe: A Soft Sustainability Test. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*. 15 (1): 441-462.
- Briand, M. (2007). Democracy at the Core: Recalling Participation's Raison d'Être. *International Journal of Public Participation*. 1(1): 1-15.

- Buckley, R. (2005). Research Note: Social trends in ecotourism; Adventure recreation and amenity migration. *Journal of Ecotourism*. 4(1): 56-60.
- Butler, R. (1996). Problems and possibilities of sustainable tourism: the case of the Shetland Islands. In Briguglio, L., Butler, R., Harrison, D., and Filho, W. (eds.). (1996). *Sustainable Tourism in Islands and Small States: Case Studies*. London: Cassell. (11-31).
- Chipeniuk, R. (2004). Planning for Amenity Migration in Canada. *Mountain Research and Development*. 24(4): 327-335.
- Chipeniuk, R. (2006). Some tools for planning for amenity migration in rural settlements: lessons from participatory action. *Community Development Journal*. 2006: 1-17.
- Cheong, S.M., and Miller, M.L. (2000). Power and Tourism: A Foucaultian Observation. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 27(2): 371-390.
- Choi, H., and Siryaka, E. (2006). Sustainability Indicators for Managing Community Tourism. *Tourism Management*. 27: 1274-1289.
- Clark, T.A, Gill, A., and Hartmann, R. (eds.) (2006). *Mountain resort planning and development in an era of globalization*. New York: Cognizant Communication Corporation.
- Clayoquot Sound UNESCO Biosphere Reserve (2009). Available Online at: <<http://www.clayoquotbiosphere.org/index.php>> Accessed January 11th, 2009.
- Coles, T. and Hall, C.M. (2006). Editorial: The geography of tourism is dead. Long live geographies of tourism and mobility. *Current Issues in Tourism* 9 (4&5): 289-292.
- Coles, T., Hall, C.M., and Duval, D.T. (2005). Mobilizing tourism: a post-disciplinary critique. *Tourism Recreation Research*. 30(2): 31-41.
- Cragg, W. (1996). Shareholders, stakeholders and the modern corporation. *Policy Options*. 17: 15-19.
- Dahms, F., and McComb, J. (1999). 'Counterurbanization', interaction and functional change in a rural amenity area – a Canadian example. *Journal of Rural Studies*. 15(2): 129-146.
- Davenport, M., and Anderson, D. (2005). Getting From Sense of Place to Place-Based Management: An Interpretive Investigation of Place Meanings and Perceptions of Landscape Change. *Society and Natural Resources*. 18: 625-641.

- Deller, S., Tsai, S., Marcouiller, D, and English, D. (2001). The role of amenities and quality of life in rural economic growth. *American Journal of Agricultural Economics*. 83(2): 352-365.
- Denzin, N.K., and Lincoln, Y.S. (2000). *Handbook of Qualitative Research: Second Edition*. California: Sage Publications.
- District of Ucluelet OCP (2004) Ucluelet Official Community Plan Bylaw No. 900, 2004. Available Online at: <http://www.ucluelet.ca/UserFiles/File/Bylaws/OCP/OCP%20Jan%2011%202007.pdf> Accessed February 7th, 2008.
- Dreyfus, H.L., and Rabinow, P. (1982). *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and hermeneutics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Fetto, J. (2000). Vacation destination. *American Demographics*. February 2000: 45-46.
- Few, R. (2002). Researching actor power: analysing mechanisms of interaction in negotiations over space. *Area*. 34 (1): 29-38.
- Frame, T. (2002) *Shared Decision Making and Sustainability: An Evaluation of Land and Resource Management Planning in British Columbia*. MRM Research Project. Burnaby, BC: School of Resource and Environmental Management, Simon Fraser University.
- French, J.R.P., and Raven, B. (1959). The bases of social power. In Cartwright, D., and Zander, A., *Group Dynamics* (105-167). New York: Harper Row.
- Gill, A. and Williams, P. (2008). "Tourism-led Migration and Transformation of Place" Framework. Ottawa: SSHRC Proposal.
- Glorioso, R.S., and Moss, L.A.G. (2007). Amenity Migration to mountain regions: Current knowledge and a strategic construct for sustainable development. *Social Change*. 37(1): 137-161.
- Gössling, S. (2001). The consequences of tourism for sustainable water use on a tropical island: Zanzibar, Tanzania. *Journal of Environmental Management*. 61: 179-191.
- Gössling, S. (2002). Global environmental consequences of tourism. *Global Environmental Change*. 12(4): 283-302.
- Gössling, S. (2003). A framework for the assessment of the global environmental costs tourism, working paper. Department of Service Management, Lund University. Helsingborg: Sweden. Retrieved June 22, 2007 from http://www.uvm.edu/~mceroni/ecotourism_course/env_costs_global_icis.pdf

- Green, G.P., Deller, S.C., and Marcouiller, D.W. (eds.) (2005). *Amenities and Rural Development: Theories and Public Policy*. Northampton, Massachusetts: Edward Elgar Publishing, Inc.
- Gunton, T.I., and Day, J.C. (2003). Theory and Practice of Collaborative Planning in Resource Management. *Environments*. 31(2): 5-19.
- Gunton, T. I., Day, J.C., and Williams, P.W., (2003). The Role of Collaborative Planning in Environmental Management: The North American Experience. *Environments*. 31(2): 1-4.
- Gurran, N. and Blakely, E. (2007). Suffer a Sea Change? Contrasting perspectives towards urban policy and migration in coastal Australia (Review Article). *Australian Geographer*. 38 (1): 113-131.
- Gurran, N., Squires, C., and Blakely, E., (2005). Meeting the Sea Change Challenge: Report for the National Sea Change Task Force. Sydney, Australia: The University of Sydney Planning Research Centre.
<http://www.seachangetaskforce.org.au/Publications/researchreportno.1.pdf>
- Hall, C.M. (1994) *Tourism and Politics: Policy, Power and Place*. New York: John Wiley and Sons Limited.
- Hall, C.M. (2001). Trends in ocean and coastal tourism: the end of the last frontier? *Ocean and Coastal Management*. 44: 601-618.
- Hall, C.M. (2003). Politics and place: An analysis of power. In S. Singh, D.J. Timothy, & R.K. Dowling (eds.) *Tourism in Destination Communities*. Cambridge: CABI. (99-114).
- Hall, C.M. and J. Jenkins (1995) *Tourism and Public Policy*. London: Routledge.
- Hall, C.M. & Müller, D.K. (2004). *Tourism, Mobility and Second Homes: Between Elite Landscape and Common Ground*. Clevedon, UK: Channel View.
- Hall, C.M. and Page, S. (2005). *The Geography of Tourism and Recreation: Environment, Place and Space*. London: Routledge.
- Hall, C.M. and Williams, A. (eds.) (2002). *Tourism and Migration: New Relationships between Production and Consumption*. Dordrecht, Netherlands: Kluwer.
- Hass, W.H. & Serow, W.J. (1997). Retirement migration decision making: Life course mobility, sequencing the events, social ties and alternatives. *Journal of Community Development Society*. 28(1): 116-130.

- Hitchcock, M. (2000). Ethnicity and tourism entrepreneurship in Java and Bali. *Current Issues in Tourism*. 3(30): 204-226.
- Holland, S., and von Hausen, M. (2008). Effective Public Engagement in Urban Planning & Design: Working Draft. (1-119). Available online at: <<http://www.mvhinc.com/course.shtml>> Accessed August 17th, 2008.
- Holstein, J. and J. Gubrium (1995). *The Active Interview*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Hunter, L.M., Boardman, J.D., & Saint Onge, J.M. (2005). The association between natural amenities, rural population growth, and long-term residents' economic well-being. *Rural Sociology*. 70(4): 452-469.
- Jamal, T. and D. Getz (1995) "Collaboration theory and community tourism planning" *Annals of Tourism Research*. 22: 186-204.
- Johnston, R. and Tyrrell, T. (2005). A Dynamic Model of Sustainable Tourism. *Journal of Travel Research*. 44: 124-134.
- International Association for Public Participation. (2006). IAP2's Public Participation Toolbox. Retrieved November 19, 2008 from http://www.iap2.org/associations/4748/files/06Dec_Toolbox.pdf.
- King, R., Warnes, A.M., and Williams, A.M. (1998). International Retirement Migration in Europe. *International Journal of Population Geography*. 4: 91-111.
- Law, C.M. (1991). *Tourism as a Focus for Urban Regeneration: the Role Tourism in the Urban and Regional Economy*. London: Regional Studies Association.
- Leopold, A. (1949). *A Sand County Almanac*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Mair, H., Reid, D., & George, W. (2005). Globalization, rural tourism and community power. In Hall, D., Kirkpatrick, I., & Mitchell, M. (eds.) *Rural Tourism and Sustainable Business*. Clevedon: Channel View Publications (165-179).
- Marcouiller, D.W., Glendenning, J.G., and Kedzior, R. (2002). Natural Amenity-led development and rural planning. *Journal of Planning Literature*. 16(4): 515-541.
- Marien, C., and Pizam, A. (1997). Implementing Sustainable Tourism Development through Citizen Participation in the Planning Process. In: Wahab, S., and Pigram, J. (eds.) (1997). *Tourism Development and Growth: The Challenge of Sustainability*. London, UK: Routledge. (164-178).

- Markwick, M. (2000). Golf tourism development, stakeholders, differing discourses and alternative agendas: the case of Malta. *Tourism Management*. 24: 515-524.
- Master Development Agreement between District of Ucluelet and Weyerhaeuser Company Limited (MDA) (2005). District of Ucluelet Zoning Amendment Bylaw No. 1006, Bylaw No.1007 (2005). Available Online at: <http://www.ucluelet.ca/UserFiles/File/Planning/CD5%20Zone%20MDA.pdf> Accessed Jun 28th, 2008.
- Mazzoni, F., Smith, C., von Hausen, M., (2006). 2006 PIBC Awards for Excellence in Planning: Ucluelet/Weyerhaeuser - Comprehensive Development Plan. Submitted to the Planning Institute of British Columbia, May 2006.
- Moore, S., Williams, P.W., Gill, A.M. (2006) Finding a pad in paradise: Amenity migration effects on Whistler, British Columbia. In Moss, L. A (ed.) (2006) *The Amenity Migrants: Seeking and Sustaining Mountains and their Cultures*. Wallingford, UK: CABI. (135- 162).
- Moss, L.A.G. (2003). Amenity migration: Global phenomenon and strategic paradigm for sustaining mountain environmental quality. *Proceedings of Conference: Sustainable Mountain Communities*. Banff AB, June 14-18, 2003. Mountain Culture at the Banff Centre. <http://www.mtnforum.org/resources/library/mosslo3a.tm>
- Moss, L.A.G. (Ed.) (2006). *The Amenity Migrants: Seeking and Sustaining Mountains and their Cultures*. Wallingford, UK: CABI.
- Moss, L.A.G. (2008). Building Amenity Migration Planning Capacity – *Proceedings of Conference: Planning for Amenity Migration*. Castlegar BC, April 9-11th, 2008. International Amenity Migration Centre.
- Müller, D.K., Hall, C.M. & Keen, D. (2004). Second home tourism impact, planning and management. In C.M. Hall & D.K. Müller (eds.). *Tourism, Mobility and Second Homes: Between Elite Landscape and Common Ground*. Clevedon: Channel View Publications. (15- 27).
- Murphy, P. (1985). *Tourism: A Community Approach*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Ness, J., and Williams, P.W. (2008). Dialogue Management Factors: A 2010 Vancouver Olympic and Paralympic Games Case. *Journal of Teaching in Travel and Tourism*. 8(2-3): 193-222.
- NWCCOG (2004). "Second homes and the amenity based economy." Paper presented at State of the Valley Symposium, April 30, 2004. Silverthorne, CO: Northwest Colorado Council of Governments.

- Orams, M. (1999). *Marine tourism: Development, impacts and management*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Palmer, C. (2004). More than just a game: The consequences of golf tourism. In B.W. Ritchie and D. Adair (eds.) *Sport Tourism Interrelationships, Impacts and Issues* (117-134). Clevedon: Channel View Publications.
- Palys, T.S. (1997). *Research Decisions*. Toronto, Canada: Harcourt Limited.
- Palys, T.S., and Atchison, C. (2008). *Research Decisions: Quantitative and Qualitative Perspectives*. Toronto: Canada: Nelson Education Limited.
- Papatheodorou, A. (2004). Exploring the evolution of tourism resorts. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 31(1): 219-237.
- Patton, M.Q. (2002). *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods*. California, USA: Sage.
- Petrick, J. F. (2002). An Examination of Golf Vacationers' Novelty. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 29(2): 384-400.
- Pigram, J.J. (1999). *Infrastructure development for local tourism: Physical aspects*. Centre for Ecological Economics and Water Policy. Research Paper Series, University of New England: Armidale.
- Pleumarom, A. (1992). Course and effect: Golf Tourism in Thailand. *The Ecologist*. 22(3): 104-110.
- Resource Assessment Commission (RAC) (1993). Resource Assessment Commission Coastal Zone Inquiry*final report, Department of the Environment and Heritage, Canberra.
- Royal Canadian Golf Association (RCGA) (2006). *2006 Golf Participation in Canada Survey Report*. Toronto: Ipsos Ried.
- Reed, M. (1997). Power Relations and Community Based Tourism Planning. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 24 (3):566-591.
- Rees, W.E. (1989). 'Defining sustainable development', *CHSR Research Bulletin*, University of British Columbia, May 1989.
- Reid, D., Mair, H., and George, W. (2004). Community Tourism Planning: A Self-Assessment Instrument. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 31 (3): 623-630.
- Ryan, C. (2002). Equity, management, power sharing and sustainability – Issues of the 'new tourism.' *Tourism Management*. 23: 17-26.

- Scrow, W (2003). Economic Consequences of Retiree Concentrations: A review of North American Studies. *The Gerntologist*. 43(6): 897-901.
- Sharpe, J., Routledge, P., Philo, C., and Paddison, R., (2000). Entanglements of power: geographies of domination/resistance, In: Sharpe, J. (2000). *Entanglements of Power*. London, UK: Routledge. (121-134).
- Singh, S. Timothy, D. and Dowling, R. (eds.) (2003) *Tourism in Destination Communities*. Cambridge: CABI.
- Smith, L.G. (1984). Public Participation in Policy Making: the State-of-the-Art in Canada. *Geoforum*. 15(2): 253-9.
- Smith, M.D., and R.S. Krannich. (2000) *Culture Clash* revisited: Newcomer and longer term residents' attitudes toward land use, development, and environmental issues in rural communities in the Rocky Mountain West. *Rural Sociology*. 65:396-421.
- Stedman, R. (2002). Toward a social psychology of place: Predicting behaviour from place-based cognitions, attitude, and identity. *Environment and Behaviour*. 34(5): 405-442.
- Stedman, R. (2003). Is it Really Just a Social Construction? The Contribution of the Physical Environment to Sense of Place. *Society and Natural Resources*. 16(8): 671-685.
- Stedman, R., Beckley, T., Wallace, S., Ambard, M. (2004). A Picture and 1000 Words: Using Resident Employed Photography to Understand Attachment to High Amenity Places. *Journal of Leisure Research*. 16 (6): 580-606.
- Stewart, S.I. (2002). Amenity Migration, in Chipeniuk, R. (2004). Planning for Amenity Migration in Canada. *Mountain Research and Development*. 24(4): 327-335.
- Timothy, D.J., and Tosun, C. (2003). Appropriate planning for tourism in destination communities: participation, incremental growth and collaboration. In: Singh, S., Timothy, D. J., Dowling, R. K. (eds.) (2003). *Tourism in destination communities*. Wallingford, UK: CABI Publishing. (242-258).
- Tuan, Y.F. (1977). *Space and place: The perspective of experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Ucluelet Community Profile (2005). Available Online at:
<http://www.ucluelet.ca/communityprofile/docs/Community%20Profile.pdf>
 Accessed June 14th, 2008.

- United Nations Atlas of the Ocean (UNAoO) (2002). Recreation and Tourism: Impacts of Tourism. Economic: Negative Impacts, Enclave tourism, and other effects. UN Atlas of the Oceans.
<http://www.oceansatlas.org/servlet/CSDServlet?status=NDoxOTY2NiY2PWVuJmZPSomMzc9a29z>.
- United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) (2008). Sustainable Development of Tourism: Global Code of Ethics for Tourism.
<http://www.unwto.org/ethics/background/en/background.php?subop=1>
- United States Environmental Protection Agency (USEPA) (2004). Buildings and the Environment: A Statistical Summary. Green Building. Available online at <<http://www.epa.gov/greenbuilding/pubs/gbstats.pdf>>
- United States Golf Association (USGA) (2007). USGA History: 1991 – present.
http://www.usga.org/aboutus/usga_history/1991_present.html
- Venturoni, L., Long, P., and Perdue, R. (2005). The economic and social impacts of second homes in four mountain resort counties in Colorado. Paper presented at the *Annual Meeting of the Association of American Geographers*, Denver, Colorado, April 7, 2005.
- Warren, R.L. (1977). *Social Change and Human Purpose*. Chicago: Rand McNally.
- Welk, E. (2006). *The Evolution of a Coastal Community: Power Relations and Tourism Geographies in Tofino, British Columbia*. MA Thesis. Burnaby, BC: School of Resource and Environmental Management, Simon Fraser University.
- Welk, E., and Gill, A.M. (2009). Contested Resort Development on the West Coast of Vancouver Island, British Columbia, Canada. In Dowling, R., and Pforr, C. (eds.) *Coastal Tourism Development*. New York: Cognizant Communications. (151-167).
- Williams, P.W., and Gill, A.M. (2006). A research agenda for tourism and amenity migration destinations. *Tourism Recreation Research*. 31(1): 92-98.
- Williams, A.M. & Hall, C.M. (2000). Tourism and migration: New relationships between production and consumption. *Tourism Geographies*. 2(1): 5-27.
- Williams, D.R., and Patterson, J.W (1996). Environmental meaning and ecosystem management. *Society and Natural Resources*. 9: 507-521.
- Woods, M. (2007). Engaging the global countryside: Globalization, hybridity and the reconstitution of rural place. *Progress in Human Geography*. 31(4): 485-507.

World Wildlife Fund (2004). *Freshwater and Tourism in the Mediterranean*. Rome:WWF Mediterranean.

Yin, R. (1993) *Applications of Case Study Research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Websites Consulted

District of Ucluelet. Webpage Available Online at <<http://www.ucluelet.ca/>> Accessed March 22nd, 2008.

The Ukee Tattler. Webpage Available Online at <<http://ukeetattler.wordpress.com/>> Accessed August 17th, 2008.

Ucluelet Wiki. Webpage Available Online at <<http://wiki.ucluelet.ca/>> Accessed August 21st, 2008.

Wild Pacific Trail Society. Webpage Available Online at <<http://www.longbeachmaps.com/wpt-street-map.html>> Accessed March 16th, 2009.

Legislation Consulted

Local Government Act [RS 1996]. Chapter 323, s. 905.1