

Creative Destruction and Participatory
Tourism Planning in Rural British
Columbia: The Case of Salt Spring Island

by

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

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

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

Abstract

This study determines if participatory tourism planning has played a role in the creative destruction process on Salt Spring Island. This is important because it links together two bodies of literature that have formerly only been studied separately. Three objectives are identified.

The first is to determine Salt Spring's stage in the model of creative destruction. The second is to assess the role played by planning in the development of the Island. The third is to provide recommendations to ensure that the Island does not evolve any further along the creative destruction path. These objectives were met using a mixed methods approach. Data collection included two questionnaires (one for residents and one for tourists), semi-structured interviews with key informants, and content analysis of the local newspaper and planning documents.

Results suggest that Salt Spring is in the stage of advanced commodification. This state has been achieved in the absence of any participatory tourism planning. The tourism planning that has taken place, has been motivated by a preservationist discourse. This partially explains why the Island has maintained its current position in the model of creative destruction. It is recommended that the tourism plan currently being developed include local participation and be used to create a policy to guide future development.

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to Honey Halpern and Tony Dawson.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

“Must tourists destroy the things they love?” (George, 2004). The tourism industry is often seen as the light at the end of the tunnel for rural towns that are suffering from economic setbacks, due to decline of the primary sector. Although tourism may have a significant role to play in economic revival, there are consequences to development that are often overlooked or unseen. In extreme cases, large numbers of tourists may infiltrate an area and consequently ruin the environment or alter the way of life for the community. This research will determine if participatory planning plays a role in mitigating these impacts within communities that base their development on the commodification of culture. Research has revealed that although these heritage centres benefit from the arrival of tourists, their presence may destroy the very commodity upon which development was based. This paper will analyze tourism developments on Salt Spring Island, B.C. to determine if this destruction can be avoided.

In the following section, the research problem, context and rationale for undertaking this study are further outlined. It includes a brief discussion of some key concepts that shape the research, such as participatory tourism planning and creative destruction. Section 1.2 outlines the research purpose and scope, including an introduction to the case study. In section 1.3, the structure of the thesis is outlined.

1.2 The Research Problem and Rationale

Tourism that is unplanned, or planned by a few elite members of a rural community, most often benefits only a handful of people (Liu & Wall, 2006). This may cause community members to gain nothing from tourism, and instead may lead to the perception of tourists as a

burden. This is especially true for towns that base their development on the selling and the subsequent consumption of cultural heritage. Thus, while benefiting only a select group of people, tourism threatens to destroy a heritage town and make the place no longer desirable for the local residents.

This process has been documented in areas of Canada, such as the village of St. Jacobs, Ontario where the Mercedes Corporation was responsible for developing most of the tourism infrastructure (Mitchell, 1998). Overtime, the downtown core began to cater more to tourists at the expense of the basic services of local communities (Mitchell, 1998). This deterministic fate does not have to occur. Techniques can be utilized to develop tourism that is community-oriented, involves more local residents, and thus benefits more people.

One technique is participatory tourism planning, an alternative to traditional planning techniques. According to the planning literature, participation planning is a democratic form of planning that involves the client, which is the public. This allows society to be involved in planning rather than simply planning for society (Godschalk & Mills, 1966). In terms of tourism planning, the literature summarizes that participatory tourism planning has the ability to be more inclusive. This is because local residents are involved in the benefits of tourism, and have been educated about the advantages and disadvantages of the tourism industry (Timothy, 1999). Without this type of participatory tourism planning, tourism growth may make little contribution to the community's objectives of development (Tosum & Timothy, 2001).

Although tourism planning is necessary, it is equally important for research to evaluate how communities change and to understand the evolutionary processes that have occurred. This type of understanding is beneficial because the lessons learned may help prevent the destruction of other communities undergoing a similar process. The model of creative destruction is one

way to determine and track the changes that have occurred over time in heritage towns (Mitchell, 1998). The idea behind the model is that without pro-active planning, investments that commodify heritage will eventually lead to the destruction of the idyllic rural landscape (Mitchell & De Wall, 2009). By tracking visitor numbers, entrepreneurial investments and residents' attitudes, the model of creative destruction predicts what will happen to communities that have based their development on the commodification of culture. The term commodification in tourism literature is defined as turning a ritual, tradition or a specific aspect of culture into something that can be bought by tourists (Greenwood, 1989). The model of creative destruction is very useful in assessing what type of development has occurred, and what may be in store for the future.

Research has been done on participatory tourism planning, and the various techniques that can be implemented during this process (Jamal & Getz, 1995, Murphy, 1985, Reid, 2003, Reid, Mair, & George, 2004 and Tosun, & Timothy, 2001). Recent articles also have demonstrated how communities worldwide can evaluate their development through the creative destruction model (Huang, Wall, & Mitchell, 2007; Mitchell & de Wall, 2009; and Tonts & Greive, 2002). To date, no published research is known that identifies the role of participatory tourism planning in creative destruction. This is an important research area because it connects two bodies of research, thus filling a gap in the literature.

This study addresses the need for further research on the use of planning techniques for communities that base their development on the commodification of heritage. Specifically, this thesis will focus on the role that local residents play in the creative destruction process. Therefore, the purpose of this thesis is to explore, through the case study, the role of

participatory tourism planning in the process of creative destruction. To fulfill this goal, this research presents a study of Salt Spring Island, British Columbia.

Salt Spring is a unique Island, due to the number of artisans and craftspeople who have chosen to live there. After the establishment of colonial rule in British Columbia in 1849, Salt Spring was settled and the land was utilized for fruit harvesting and later for dairy and sheep farmers (Kahn, 1998). During the Vietnam War, Salt Spring became a haven for those escaping conscription, and since then has been known to appeal to those searching for an alternative lifestyle, including a large number of artists and craftspeople (Kahn, 1998). By the 1930s, vacationers had discovered Salt Spring for its natural beauty, but also for the markets where tourists could purchase local crafts and fresh produce. Currently, the Island has more than 10,000 residents and the number of visitors is continuing to grow (Salt Spring Island Chambers of Commerce, 2008).

This location was chosen because of its unique heritage. Tourism continues to grow and much of the Island's development is based on the commodification of rural lifestyles to tourists. The community on Salt Spring is also aware of some of the negative impacts of tourism. In the 1998 community plan, the Island Trust recognized three goals for the tourism industry: to encourage low impact tourism as a priority, to retain authenticity as a rural community, and to retain tourism benefits on the Island. These goals show how the community is aware of the potentially destructive nature of tourism, and the likelihood that Salt Spring may lose its idyllic qualities of an unspoiled rural landscape, that is home to a creative class.

The primary goal of this study is to determine if participatory tourism planning plays a role in the process of creative destruction. Three main objectives are identified to meet the research goal. First is to determine Salt Spring's stage in the model of creative destruction (based

on the 1998 model). Second is to assess the role played by tourism planning in the development of Salt Spring and, in particular, participatory tourism planning. Third is to provide recommendations to ensure that the Island does not evolve any further along the creative destruction path.

It is hoped that this research will give the local communities on Salt Spring an opportunity to present their views on tourism development. It is also the aim of this research to explore the connection between participatory tourism planning and the creative destruction model. This is an important link to make because the results can be transformed into policies and planning tools that can lead to stabilizing or minimizing the process of creative destruction. This will assist Salt Spring Islanders, and other communities, understand the forces responsible for change in settlements that base their development on the selling and consuming of heritage to visitors.

1.3 Organization of the Thesis

This thesis is organized into seven chapters. Chapter two details the relevant literature on which this study is based. Chapter three describes the methods used in obtaining data. Chapter four outlines the findings of objective one: to determine Salt Spring's stage in the model of creative destruction (based on the 1998 model). Chapter five outlines the findings of objective two: to assess the role played by tourism planning in the development of Salt Spring. Chapter six discusses the findings and draws comparisons with the literature on creative destruction and participatory tourism planning. The final chapter, chapter seven, summarizes the thesis and makes recommendations to both the tourism industry on Salt Spring and rural communities partaking in tourism.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a review of the literature that sets the context for this thesis, whose primary goal is to evaluate the role of participatory tourism planning in the creative destruction process. The literature review is divided into four main topics: the commodification of culture, rural tourism, models of tourism development and participatory tourism planning. This thesis contributes to knowledge by establishing links between these concepts; links that are identified for the first time through this academic research. This chapter thus sets the academic foundation for the study and grounds the research in current theory.

2.2 Commodification of Culture in Tourism

The term commodification of culture, a Marxist notion, was created to help people become aware of how culture changes when it is given a monetary value. In 1977, Davyd J. Greenwood became so enraged at watching a ritual in the Basque region being turned into a commodity for tourists by the local government, that he wrote an article called, *Culture by the pound: An anthropological perspective on tourism as cultural commoditization* (Greenwood, 1989). From Greenwood's Marxist view, commodification is defined as "an exchange system in which the exchange value of things (and activities) is stated in terms of prices from the market" (Cohen 1988:380). This article was one of the first to identify that onlookers can alter the meaning of activities being carried out by local people. The author states that by making culture part of the tourism package, cultural activities are turned into an explicit and paid performance that can no longer be believed by local people (Greenwood, 1989). Thus, Greenwood brought to the literature the notion that commodification of local culture is fundamentally destructive. His

views on commodification are still frequently cited, and have become the starting point for tourism literature on commodification (Cohen, 1988, Medina, 2003, Shepard, 2002, and Watson & Kopachevsky, 1994).

Numerous recent publications have built on Greenwood's views. For instance, Gartner (2004) suggests that when a particular region is being sold to, and consumed by, tourists, the tourism industry is reinforcing such popularly held images, and may be selling a social construction for visitors that can contrast and conflict with the reality of the destination. Thus, tourism focuses on consumption of cultures that often have no form or basis in reality. George and Reid (2005) agree that commodification results in the interruption of the ordinary, evolving dynamics and relationships that socially bind people together in a community. The future of a culture is changed, and much of it may be reinvented, refabricated, and reconstructed specifically for tourism appeal and tourism markets (George & Reid, 2005).

Another body of recent research has rebutted Greenwood's (1989) view, saying it was distorted by his pre-existing notion of a pristine, pre-tourist culture that can passively be taken over by tourists (Shepard, 2002). Unlike Greenwood (1989) and George and Reid (2005), Cloke and Perkins (2002) do not believe that increased tourism, based on the commercialism of culture, will destroy culture and render it meaningless; rather, this commercialization will take the form of a new importation around which local and global actors will compete in the ongoing and emergent construction of the meaning of place. Meethan (2003) also critiques Greenwood (1989) and argues that describing one's culture as inauthentic due to the infiltration of tourists, places culture in a container. He suggests that culture is not bounded by a set of entities, but is in a constant state of flux and movement. Moughtin (2003) also agrees that culture is in a constant state of change and is never static. Cole (2007) further suggests that this is a Euro-centric view

of the process of authenticity and commodification, because it assesses ‘inauthentic’ cultural changes on the basis of an implicit notion of prior, or traditional, culture that no longer fits the contemporary situation (Meethan, 2003). Instead, it may be visitors, not locals, who seek a past culture, and an unchanged ancient way of life. Echtner and Prasad (2003) call this notion, ‘the myth of the unchanged’ because by ignoring cultural change, destinations are fixed in the past, in order for tourists to journey back to ancient civilization. “The representations highlight and perpetuate the long lost glory of the destinations... The tourist is directed to marvel at the relics of these amazing eras (and to observe and note the simplicity of the peasant people).” (Echtner & Prasad, 2003: 669).

The view that tourists turn culture into a commodity is commonly seen as intrinsically negative because it changes the experiences from authentic to ‘unauthentic’, and turns the sacred into the profane (Shepard, 2002). The reality is, however, that no ‘other’ has ever existed in “never-never land” and segregated from both time and place, because missionaries, traders, political agents, explorers and anthropologists frequently arrived before tourists (Oaks, 1997:36, cited in Shepherd, 2002). Others also have realized that although commodification of culture has the potential to destroy the ‘authentic’ meaning of a cultural product, it does not necessarily do so, and thus does not entirely erase a culture’s ‘authenticity’ (Cohen, 1988). In fact, McMorran (2008) found that in Kurokawa, Japan, the community used heritage as an economic tool. By recreating past forms of architecture, and making the landscape increasingly rural by planting trees to idealize the landscape for tourists, a rejuvenated local sense of place was created.

Within the published research, commodification is most commonly seen as negative because researchers have focused on how the selling of culture has ruined cultural traditions and the cultural landscapes. Different points of view on the part of researchers, and personal biases,

will always affect whether commodification is viewed as inherently ‘good’ or ‘bad’, and it is unlikely that there will ever be a consensus among different schools of thought about which is the ‘right’ answer. Cole (2007) suggests, therefore, that it is important for research to move beyond the debate, and focus on other underlying issues, such as how to make cultural tourism socially and economically beneficial to local communities (Cole, 2007). For example, the commodification of heritage in Kurokawa, Japan, was found to be successful because of the trickle-down effect that benefited many community members. Furthermore, local government used tourism dollars to construct public town halls, thus allowing everyone to benefit from tourism (McMorran, 2008).

For cultural tourism to benefit communities both socially and economically, the issue of power needs to be visited. Currently, a major obstacle that many communities face is the issue of power, or who controls the resources, has money, and is in charge of policy-making. Unfortunately, little research has been undertaken to understand why, and in what circumstances, the power of tourism can be harnessed to enable positive outcomes for the community (Cole, 2007). This topic is important because local culture can be commodified by anyone without the consent of the participants, thus leading to its appropriation and the exploitation of local people (Cohen, 1988, Floysand & Jakobsen, 2007). In an extreme example, the people of New Gurna, Egypt, are segregated and relocated from their homes, so that visitors can enjoy and visually consume the ancient monuments ‘people free’ (Mitchell, 2001). International hotel chains, local entrepreneurs, Egyptian government policy and World Bank funding have all worked together to keep the ‘lawless and uncivilized’ population of Old Gurna out of their city to allow visitors to have a more pleasant stay. Instead of this type of alienation, “the key issue must be the ability of local cultures to decide for themselves what aspects of culture should be displayed and how they

should be presented” (Robinson, 2001:43). For this to be achieved, studies on commodification must identify which social group has the power to control and manipulate the commodity exchange and investigate how different stakeholders empower themselves to control their tourism industry and their community (Watson and Kopachevsky, 1994). This study of Salt Spring Island will attempt to do just this.

2.3 Rural Tourism Defined

To comprehend how rural areas are being consumed and commodified, it is necessary first to define rural tourism. To date, there are many definitions of rural tourism, but one that is widely used is Lane’s: “tourism that occurs in the countryside” (Lane, 1994:9). Because this definition is very simplistic, it may be applied to most rural areas in any country (Lane, 1994). However, it is criticized for failing to describe the nature of tourist activity and what constitutes a rural locale.

According to the World Tourism Organization, tourism includes “the activities of persons traveling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes” (World Tourism Organization, 1995). This definition suggests that the field of tourism is expanding from the traditional holiday, to almost any activity for which one must travel away from home. Consequently, the list of tourism definitions is almost endless (Sharpley & Sharpley, 1997).

Three main characteristics have been used in the literature to identify an area as rural: population density and the size of settlements, land-use and economy, and ‘traditional’ social structures (Lane 1994, Macdonald and Jolliffe, 2003, Sharpley & Sharpley, 1997). The first criterion assesses the population of an area, and how widely spread apart its settlements are (Lane, 1994). Although the size of a settlement may vary, the general rule is a population of less

that 10,000 (Lane, 1994). Lane is a researcher in Britain, where the landscape is more densely populated than Canada. Therefore, in the Canadian context, rural is defined as places with less than 1000 and a population density of less than 400/ km² (Salt Spring has a population density of 58.3 people per square km) (BC Stats, 2006). The second characteristic is land-use and the economy of the area. Rural areas are sometimes defined as having a built environment that comprises less than 10-20 percent of the land, which often relies on agrarian and forest-based economic activities (Lane, 1994). The third characteristic is 'traditional' social structures. These traditional social structures are seen as community-oriented, with close-knit networks of local people and with simpler economic structure (Lane, 1994). Although many rural communities are no more 'traditional' than urban centers, this is a huge pull for urban tourists going to rural areas in search of their romantic idyll (Sharpley & Sharpley, 1997). Rural communities appeal to urban folk because oftentimes "deep down, a lot of people travel to arrive where they came from" (Boniface & Fowler, 1993:13). Thus, they are searching for the nostalgia of the past. In reality, rural areas are dynamic, and very hard to categorize, and therefore these categories by no means encompass all rural areas, but they provide a starting point in understanding the countryside dynamics that may appeal to tourists (Lane, 1994). Moreover, in Canada, these traditional social structures may not be historically accurate, as they reflect the Western European view of what is rural, and completely neglect Indigenous culture that has survived on Canadian soil for a much longer time period (Hopkins, 1998). Nonetheless, for the purpose of this paper, rural is defined as a municipality with a population density of less than 400 people per square km and rural tourists as people who visit these municipalities for reasons related to the rural idyll (e.g. to experience rural customs, art, history, values and farm-based activities).

The literature often describes heritage tourism as a component of rural tourism. Heritage is a broad concept that encompasses things such as works of art, cultural achievements, and folklore passed on from earlier generations (Shipley, 2007). Nezar Alsayyad (2001) in *Consuming Tradition: Manufacturing Heritage*, describes the dictionary meaning of heritage as property which devolves from a right of inheritance involving a series of linked hereditary successions. Alsayyad continues that in the 21st century the term heritage does not have one simple definition but is used in a variety of ways. He argues that the exact meaning is difficult to pin down, but what is important is that heritage is socially manufactured. This is true because heritage is a deliberate embrace of a single choice as a means of defining the past in relationship to the future (Alsayyad, 2001). Graburn (2001) agrees that heritage is culturally constructed, as it is the material and the non-material objects that are refined by someone in society and transmitted to members or segments of a population. Thus, it is people who chose what is worth preserving. Therefore, an important part of heritage is the notion that there is something collectively important in the past that one must preserve for the future. This can be in the form of designating a building, site, or river that is significant for its historic architectural or environmental value, which is protected from alterations, or development (Oxford Canadian, cited in Shipley 2007). Garrod and Fyall (2000) define heritage tourism as “tourism centered on what we have inherited, which can mean anything from historic buildings to art works, to beautiful scenery” (cited in Yale, 1991: 21). Oftentimes heritage is manufactured, or re-created in order to attract tourism revenues (Boniface & Fowler, 1993). These re-creations may have little to do with past historical events, and instead may glorify false history because it is thought that is what the consumer wants (Alsayyad, 2001).

An example of portraying a false past comes from Ngadha, Flores, an Island in Indonesia. Cole (2007) found that local government had legislated to protect material traditional culture, and villagers were denied windows and electricity in their homes in order to portray a history of poverty to tourists. This was to show a past way of life that no longer existed in modern Ngadha culture. Also, in the case of Wales, Pritchard and Morgan (2001) found that England represented Wales as a place to escape to, and not as a distinctive heritage with their own language and culture. This shows how political process can control how the landscape is represented.

The culture that has been emphasized in Salt Spring is both rural/natural, because of the attractive landscape, and creative, since the Island has been identified as one of the best small art towns in North America (Villani, 1999). Like many similar communities, residents here have actively commodified this culture as a means to promote tourism on the Island. How this commodification occurs is described in the next section.

2.3.1 Commodification in Rural Areas

Commodification of the countryside has increased in recent years in response to the growing number of people who are visiting these areas, compared to the relatively smaller numbers that came in the past (Roberts & Hall, 2004). Many researchers have considered the reason for the countryside's growing attractiveness. Bunce (1994: 34), for example, believes that consumers are in search of the countryside ideal, "a complex mix of myth and reality encompassing at one end of the spectrum philosophical questions about modern urban civilization and at the other, simple escapism". Kneafsey (2001) suggests that this myth comes from a fantasy about the wholesome past glory of rural sentiment and pastoral solitude; a past where people have more time for one another and exist in a community where everybody belongs (Short, 1991 cited in Kneafsey, 2001). This view is in contrast to the busy city, where

people have no time for one another, and rush by each other on the crowded streets. Others confirm that tourists travel to rural landscapes to heal from and escape the ‘misery’ of urban life as expressed in the romantic period (Daugstad, 2008). Thus, it appears that rural areas embody all the qualities missing from urban areas and modern society (Roberts & Hall, 2001). Tourists begin to imagine their rural origins, because they feel an idyllic picture is missing from their urban lives. Thus, they are searching for a place of spiritual resonance and romantic simplicity (Kneafsey, 2001). Often, the simplistic view that tourists impose on rural areas derives from contrived memories of the treasured landscape and a desire to connect to the land (Park & Coppack, 1994). People have forgotten the countryside of dirt, disease, danger, and material discomfort and instead are purchasing a manicured rural culture (Park & Coppack, 1994).

When a particular region is being sold to, and consumed by, tourists, the tourism industry is reinforcing such popularly held images, and may be selling a social construction to visitors that can contrast and conflict with the reality of the destination (Gartner, 2004). These images are then used by entrepreneurs to satisfy the yearning of tourists who are searching for experiences of the idealized countryside (Mitchell, 1998). The images may have no similarity to present day rural life, and thus commodification may lead to rural production focusing on establishing a new landscape and new place-image (Gartner, 2004). For example, busy rural mills become a bustling exurban restaurant and inn where urbanites can escape (Park & Coppack, 1994). An example here is the Snyder Flour Mill in St. Jacobs, Ontario, which was a foundation for the economy until it closed in 1975 and was converted to the “The Country Mill” (Mitchell, 1998). The mill’s new ‘production’ was a place for tourists to purchase elite contemporary and pine-reproduction furniture in an ‘antique setting’ (Hoile, 1977 cited in Mitchell, 1998). The mill’s new meaning has been produced specifically for tourists to consume. Some may view this as a

positive change, as it provides visitors with a glimpse of the past, and can improve the economy of these rural areas that are facing economic difficulties (Fisher, 2006). If done in a sustainable way, the tourism industry can help preserve the rural cultural landscape (Fisher, 2006). In other cases, however, it is viewed as a negative change and one that may have significant impacts on local residents.

When areas are recognized for their heritage resources, local or non-local entrepreneurs will look to invest in a community, thus initiating the commodification process (Mitchell, 1998). If these investments are significant, then consumption levels can rise exponentially, and the rural environment may begin to erode. Oftentimes, an out-migration of local residents may begin, furthering disintegration of the sense of community that formerly characterized the area (Mitchell, 1998). This occurs because the marketing of such symbols involves selecting certain value system over others that may result in the “disinheritance of non-participatory, marginalized groups” (Robinson, 2001:40). These changes reflect a wider set of power relations and may lead to members of the community losing control of the way their culture is represented and sold. The people who stay in the area may feel a deep resentment towards tourists, and feel that tourism is an unwelcome intrusion into local life (Walmsley, 2003). It might also be hard for local people to create their own social identity, when the landscape is changed into infrastructure for tourists. For when the built environment is skewed to meet the expectation of visitors, “the cultural elements of placeness-continuation, evolution, stability and familiarity- are eroded (Robinson, 2001:51). The environment may partly define the local people, and the new commodified images may not correspond with their own aspirations (O’Rourke, 1999).

Another problem associated with the commodification of rurality, is that the dominant countryside ideals are often those of Anglo-American culture (Hopkins, 1998). The people who

are doing the place promoting are employing a cultural myth of place that is only relevant to a certain type of consumer who comes from the Anglo-American culture; thus the market becomes very exclusive to one type of group. This is a reflection of the larger view of tourism as a cultural arena that reproduces the configuration of world power relations (Pritchard & Morgan, 2000). This view may be more often used to identify the power relations between the east and west, north and south, and developed nations and undeveloped nations, but can easily be applied to the urban/rural dichotomy. The deep-rooted Western view of owning and consuming space is intertwined with the tourism landscape, and people, such as Canadian Aboriginal groups who traditionally dominated the landscape, may be represented through a Western Anglo-American lens (Pritchard & Morgan, 2000). This depiction of the countryside, in some cases, derives from the dominant elite and has encouraged the exploitation of the countryside myth for their profit and pleasure of a few (Hopkins, 1998).

2.4 Models of Tourism Development

A number of models have been designed to track the evolution of communities engaged in tourist activity. Three of these are described here. Doxey's Irridex (1975) studies tourism impacts from the perception of the host community. Doxey's Irridex (1975) predicts residents' perceptions as they change over time with increased tourism development. He places host communities in a state of euphoria when tourists first arrive. Perceptions change to apathy with increased formal contact, then to annoyance when residents become aware of the negative impacts of the tourism industry. Finally a state of antagonism is achieved when the community's carrying capacity, or the maximum number of visitors a place can hold without degrading the environment and ruining it for future generations, has been reached and one's livelihood is compromised by outside control (Doxey, 1975). If the carrying capacity is reached, it means that

local communities will not have a sustainable tourism industry for future generations because the local resources have all been utilized. This model predicts residents' reactions to increased tourism in a linear fashion because change can never be inverted. This model is used in research to gauge resident's perceptions of impacts, because it is residents who are most often affected by tourism development. Frequently, this model is critiqued for grouping all community members into one homogenous category (Mason & Cheyne, 2000). This is problematic because communities are heterogeneous, and there is high fragmentation between residents' perceptions (Ryan & Montgomery, 1994). It was the purpose of this model to stimulate discussion concerning host impacts, which it has, and the model still provides a strong theoretical foundation for studying residents' perceptions (Curto, 2006).

Butler's life-cycle model explains how tourist destinations evolve through six stages: exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation and from stagnation came either decline or rejuvenation. Social impacts only occur when capacity levels become too high (during the consolidation and stagnation stage), and the result will be social and environmental problems for the host communities (Butler, 1980). Thus, as tourists' numbers begin to exceed those of the local population, there is increasing opposition from residents', and especially those not involved in the tourism industry. This model is important because it has become the basis of contemporary models that attempt to demonstrate principles of sustainable tourism (Curto, 2006). A major criticism of Butler's model is that it does not account for the resort phenomena, in which a town with minimal tourism infrastructure builds a large resort that increases tourism very rapidly (Mason & Cheyne, 2000). This would mean that residents' perceptions would skip some of the stages of the model. Another critique is that Butler's Life Cycle was based on a product cycle concept, which shows a pattern of product sales (Butler, 2006); therefore, Butler is

considering a place to be a product. A place is much more complicated than a product, and has many more and complex variables that need to be considered. Finally, these types of models (Doxey's Irridex and Butler's Life Cycle) presume what will happen in the future, are unidirectional, and only show one point of view.

The model of creative destruction explains what happens to towns that base their development on the commodification of heritage. Schumpeter (1965) coined the term creative destruction to refer to the economic process of growth and decline. He argued that for new technology to profit, old technologies must be destroyed. More recently, Harvey (1985) used the term to describe 'rational landscapes' that function as centers of accumulation, where products are created and ultimately destroyed to make room for new technological advances. For example, old industrial regions have been replaced by landscapes that offer the maximum economic advantage (Harvey, 1985). In our post-modern society of increased consumption, recreation and accumulation, a profitable option for landscape is tourism that markets rural values and the consumption of rural heritage. Thus, the countryside often becomes a place where stakeholders are creating an idealized version of the rural lifestyle and landscape, while ultimately destroying earlier identities (Mitchell & de Waal, 2009).

Mitchell (1998) borrowed this phrase and developed a model to demonstrate how communities that commodify heritage evolve. According to Mitchell (1998), investment in the commodification of local heritage gives rise to a new landscape of accumulation. This landscape will entice consumers in search of a heritage experience (Hunag *et al*, 2007). As visitor numbers increase, this ultimately will lead to destruction of the original landscape, as it existed in the eyes of local residents (Mitchell, 1998). The model originally had five stages, which evolve from early commodification to post-destruction. In 2009, ten years since the

original paper, Mitchell and de Waal re-examined the model and added another stage at the beginning, called pre-commodification. Both models will be used in this thesis.

In the first stage of the 1998 model, early commodification, entrepreneurs have entered a town, or are from the region, and recognize the potential to generate a profit by investing in the area. Local residents generally see this stage favourably as it may enhance the well-being of the town. Tourists who travel to the area are authentic heritage-seekers traveling in low numbers. At this stage, the rural idyll remains intact. In stage two, advanced commodification, the investment levels have escalated to meet demands of the visiting population and a marketing campaign to attract visitors may begin. Residents who are not benefiting from commodification will observe some erosion of the community's environment, and the beginning of the destruction of the rural idyll will commence.

The next three stages are pre-cursors to the ultimate destruction of the old landscape. In stage three, early destruction, the need to expand visitor population escalates and entrepreneurs' investments reflect visitors' wants, thus pushing the community further along the development path. Businesses that cater to local residents may begin to close to meet the demands of visitors. Greater numbers of residents perceive the erosion of their community as problems of crowding, congestion or crime increase. In stage four, advanced destruction, consumption levels have increased exponentially and the rural idyll has been destroyed. This stage will only occur if the residents are complacent, and become resigned to the inevitable fate of loss of community, or in other words, if the profiteers win over the preservationists. In the final stage (five), post-destruction, the landscape has changed to no longer being dominated by authentic heritage, and visitor numbers may decline because of the lack of authenticity. If visitor numbers continue to decline, there may be a partial return to the rural idyll. The other option is that residents will

become resigned to the new landscape and will no longer have strong negative attitudes towards tourism. In this case, there is no return of the rural idyll.

In Mitchell and de Waal's (2009) revised model, a new stage was added, pre-commodification. In this stage, the community is productive and bases the economy on extractive activities. This may be stable, or in decline, and it is from this stage that commodification emerges as an economic tool. Another valuable change to the model was recognition of the effects of external forces. These often come in the form of motivational drivers of the community. Are those in control of community resources driven by profit, preservation, and/or growth/development? Which stakeholders have the greatest power will effect how a community moves from stage to stage within the model of creative destruction (Mitchell & de Wall, 2009). When these opposing ideologies come head to head, "the struggle for power will be won by those stakeholders with the loudest voice and the greatest influence" (Mitchell & de Wall, 2009: 165).

Three variables are used to describe the changes taking place as a community moves through the model's various stages: entrepreneurial investment, consumption of the rural heritage, and residents' attitudes towards development. Entrepreneurs are the most important stakeholder group because it is their visions, actions and investments that ultimately determine the fate of the rural settlement (Mitchell, 1998). In the follow up paper, Mitchell and de Waal (2009) examine how this fate may not be deterministic, and acknowledge that preservationists and promoters of development may contribute to the creation of this consumption space and/or have the potential to prevent its destruction. Another important point to bear in mind is that local residents will not be homogenous, but will reflect the social complexities of a landscape undergoing social and economic changes. For example, recent residents may perceive visitors

and commodification as favourable because that is all they have known, while older residents are more likely to be nostalgic for a time before visitors arrived (Mitchell & de Wall, 2009). This is important because it is a reminder to acknowledge different residents' attitudes and not just the majority or those with the loudest voice.

The model of creative destruction was chosen because it ties together both commodification and heritage destinations as a means of interpreting the process of rural growth and development. Although Tonts and Greives (2002) describe the original model as deterministic, they still deduce that the model is a useful means of conceptualizing the overdevelopment of the countryside. The creative destruction model is a suitable tool for framing a discussion of the impacts of tourism investment, and what the implications may be for a community (Huang *et al*, 2007). The model draws on the experiences of heritage communities. It can be used as a tool by decision-makers to prevent the appearance of the undesirable consequences of tourism development that have occurred elsewhere (Huang *et al*, 2007).

The model of creative destruction has been applied in rural communities across the globe. Within published research, the model began in Ontario, Canada and was applied to St. Jacobs (Mitchell, 1998), Elora (Mitchell & Coghill, 2000), and Old Niagara-on-the Lake (Mitchell *et al*, 2001). Tonts and Grieve (2002) applied the model in their case study in Bridgetown, Australia and Bei Huang *et al* (2007) and Fan *et al* (2008) applied the model in a developing context to Zhu Jia Jiao and Luzhi in China. The different contexts of these communities demonstrate how the model is versatile enough to adapt to different locations. The case study expands on the application of creative destruction in different locals, since Salt Spring is located in Western Canada and is an Island.

2.5 Participatory Tourism Planning

A question that needs to be addressed is, what are some solutions to excessive commodification of rural heritage towns? The main solution, which was mentioned briefly earlier, is local participation in the tourism planning process. Local residents need to be involved in the commodification dynamic, but often little is known about how best this process can be encouraged and it is not well understood how to get locals excited about participating in developing tourist initiatives (Walmsley, 2003). Tourism planning is a process based on research and evaluation, which seeks to optimize the potential contribution of tourism to human welfare and environmental quality (Tosun & Timothy, 2001). Research is continuously reporting the benefits of a more inclusive tourism industry, and some researchers claim that tourism planning continues to evolve from having mainly a design orientation to a more inclusive and sustainable community approach (Harril & Plotts, 2003). Unfortunately, to date, the most common type of tourism planning is a top down approach that is constructed on the principles of scientific rationality, scientific management and public regulations (Reid, 2003). This allows decisions affecting tourism communities to be driven by the industry and the national government; local people and their communities have become the object of development, but not its subject (Mitchell & Reid, 2001). This literature review will concentrate on a different type of planning, one that is a more inclusive process, not solely a product. Without this type of participatory tourism planning, tourism growth may make little contribution to the community's objectives of development (Tosun & Timothy, 2001). Participatory tourism planning is the involvement of locals in decision making, to ensure that the residents' goals are important and they favour tourism. In this process, locals are involved in the benefits of tourism, and become educated about the advantages and disadvantages of the tourism industry (Timothy, 1999). Participatory tourism planning also recognizes that social and environmental

considerations need to be included in tourism, and should serve both the tourists and the local residents (Reid, 2003).

2.5.1 History of Participatory Planning

The term participation in planning has come to mean community involvement in the decision-making processes. Participatory tourism planning theory evolved from literature on participatory planning. Two articles published in the late 1960s were influential in this field, the first being, Godschalk and William (1966), *A Collaborative Approach to Planning Through Urban Activities*. In this article the authors state “a successful democratic planning process, like a successful democratic government, must allow for representations of the interests and identities of its subcommunities” (86). The message is clear; for planning to occur with the community and not for the community, there needs to be a genuine interchange between planners and society. Instead of planners being separate from the community, they become a direct participant and recognize that the role of residents’ experience is as important as other forms of education. While Godschalk and William (1966) use the term collaboration, this process of evaluating levels of community engagement can be used within any method of participatory planning. This research understands the importance of collaborative planning, and discusses the steps needed to incorporate collaboration planning into traditional top down planning approaches.

The other innovative article on participation from that time period is Arnstein (1969), *A Ladder of Citizen Participation*. Similar to Godschalk and William (1966) Arnstein brings to light the importance of participatory planning techniques for mainstream planners. Arnstein shows that although participation may occur, this does not necessarily mean that power has been shared, or that empowerment has occurred. Instead, it allows those with the power to pretend to care about those less powerful and then follow their own agenda. To understand the difference

between actual citizen control, and being powerless, Arnstein (1969) created an eight-rung ladder of citizen participation. The non-participation rungs consist of manipulation and therapy, the degrees of tokenism range from informing to consultation to placation, and degrees of citizen power range from partnership to delegated power to the top level of citizen control. Arnstein (1969) also stresses that the groups with power, and those without, are not homogenous groups, but have many diverging points of view. She also acknowledges that the eight rungs are not fully separate, but often the levels can merge and be much less distinctive. Arnstein (1969) provides a classic image of levels of participation within communities and a great starting off point, but what is lacking is how, if that is what the community wants, do they achieve higher levels of citizen control? What are the steps that are needed for citizens to organize and successfully demand more power? This section has given a history of influential researchers in the field of participatory planning. Next, this review will investigate participatory researchers that have been significant in British Columbia.

2.5.2 Participatory Planning in British Columbia

In the past decade there have been numerous participatory planning techniques undertaken by planners and members of public office in British Columbia. In 1995 while updating the Vancouver Official Plan, the community vision program was initiated to involve communities in creating neighbourhood level plans (Uyesugi & Shipley, 2005). City planners first got in touch with community residents to share ideas in the form of workshops and mini workshops (for hard-to-reach groups). From the ideas generated at these workshops, a survey was created and distributed to all households, businesses and owners. The survey results were then reviewed and a final Vision document was presented to the city council (City of Vancouver, 2005). The objective of the vision is to “invent or imagine a desired future and bring it into

being through planning” (Uyesugi & Shipley, 2005:306). This particular study looked at multiculturalism, and how culturally distinct neighbourhoods may want different infrastructure due to their heritage. Uyesugi and Shipley (2005) found that the first steps of the participatory planning technique worked well; planners made an effort to reach out to underrepresented groups and mutual education occurred. The problem was little actual change occurred and, to date, there are few notable physical outcomes.

The second example of participatory planning in communities takes place on Galiano, one of the Southern Gulf Islands. Here, the Islands Trust used Geographical Information Systems (GIS) to discuss land use planning. GIS is a visual mapping technique that combines many types of information and displays it on a map. On Galiano, GIS was supposed to facilitate effective participation in local land use planning, to elucidate socially and environmentally responsible land use configurations, and to encourage economically and/or environmentally optimal land use (Holden, 2000). Government and citizen groups created maps to address land use problems. The problem with this approach, however, was that the government maps were more concerned with visual appeal than the content, and the maps were an end result rather than part of the process (Holden, 2000). The Islanders sought to employ GIS as a means of engaging government and fellow Islanders in land use planning debate. Instead, the sophisticated GIS implemented by the BC government excluded residents and their local information. Also, the BC government restricted access to certain digital data, which left residents frustrated and discouraged (Holden, 2000). No matter what type of innovative technology is used, such as GIS, it is the quality of public participation, as Arnstein (1966) discussed 30 years ago, which counts. In this case study, Islanders had modest citizen power and limited access to information and thus had little means of contributing to actual political change due (Holden, 2000).

The third example of participatory planning in BC comes from Ucluelet, a community located on the West Coast of Vancouver Island. Ucluelet is a town transitioning from an economy built on the forest and fishing industry to a tourism and service run economy (Morford *et al*, 2005). In 2003 the director of planning in Ucluelet made contact with a professor of tourism at the Malaspina- Vancouver Island University. Together they hired university students to design and implement public input processes for the updated Official Community Plan (Morford *et al*, 2005). This relationship allowed the community to have better access to research-based information, including planning data that small communities with a small staff do not usually have the funds to collect. The final result was that the 2003 OCP had policy alternatives for inclusion, and workshops to foster community awareness, education, and empowerment in tourism planning. These workshops led to the creation of the community development task force (Morford *et al*, 2005).

These three examples show different techniques that are used to engage the public. Although the process seems to work, it is the final step of implementation that seems to be the most difficult. This is problematic because without tangible outcomes, participants are left with bitterness and no validation of their time and effort (Uyesugi & Shipley, 2005). For citizen participation to be maximized, a democratic form of government is needed, with high levels of participation in many different fields of administration (Moughtin, 2003). Next, participatory planning from the tourism literature is examined.

2.5.3 History of Participatory Tourism Planning

Participatory tourism planning is significant to the evolution of heritage communities because it gives a voice to those who live in the area. It is fundamentally about the degree of power the citizens have, and the extent to which they can influence the policy-making process

(Behaire & Elliot-White, 1999). Thus, it allows a change to occur in the balance of power amongst stakeholders, and gives an advantage to other community members. Participatory tourism planning also benefits tourists because when local people have more opportunities to benefit from tourism, then they have a more positive attitude toward tourism development and the conservation of local resources (Tosum, 2006).

The community development movement in tourism was promoted early on by Murphy, in his book *Tourism: A Community Approach* (1985). Here he emphasized the need for community responsibility, because the tourism industry uses the community as a resource and sells it as a product. In this process all those who live in the community are affected by the influx of visitors. For the tourism industry to be sustainable, the destination also needs to be an agent of hospitality (Murphy, 1985). He urged tourism entrepreneurs to conserve local heritage, landscape and lifestyles; in sum, tourism should make the community a better place to live. In the seventeen years since Murphy published his book, little has changed in the tourism industry.

Participation in tourism generally refers to community-based tourism planning, where the community becomes a key stakeholder in decision-making processes. This method of creating tourism policy has been adapted from planning literature on power sharing. Collaboration is a distinct part of community-based tourism policy that includes a set of necessary conditions that allow for relationships between different stakeholders to occur (Jamal & Getz, 1995). Collaboration stems from marketing techniques, unlike the more general participatory practices that originate from planning literature. Collaboration-based planning outlines a process with key steps to achieve community participation, and is one type of community planning that is prominent in the tourism literature. Barbara Gray, in 1989, defined collaboration as “the process through which parties who see different aspects of a problem can constructively explore their

differences and search for solutions that go beyond their limited vision of what is possible” (5). Dr. Gray used collaboration for conflict negotiation and thus applied this method to the effective management of businesses.

In the early 1990s, collaboration theory began to be implemented by tourism researchers to understand the uncertainty, complexity and potential for conflict that may characterize tourism (Jamal & Getz, 1995). Unlike traditional methods of planning that produce a top-down approach, it was argued that collaboration adds value to the community because it builds on the knowledge, insights and capabilities of stakeholders in tourists’ destinations (Bramwell & Sharman, 1999). Collaboration planning allows the community to participate in a dynamic and active way that allows development to be adjusted as the economic, social, and environmental perceptions change within the community (Jamal & Getz, 1995). Relations are built between relevant stakeholders, a mediated forum to debate conflicting interests is founded and the identification of different views is noted, with the end result being a developed consensus (Reed, 1999). Instead of telling people how their land and resources will be allocated, collaboration strategies give the community a chance to input their ideas to come up with a solution that can potentially help everyone. For example, Williams *et al* (1998) found in the Cariboo-Chilcotin region of BC that a lengthy process of shared decision-making allowed the tourism industry, for first time, to have an input into strategic planning. The process also fostered information sharing, government support and improved government co-operation. Similarly, Bramwell and Sharman (1999) found that in Hope Valley, Britain, collaboration led to open dialogue, which resulted in less suspicion between stakeholders. Collaboration also led to greater support and coherence for the visitor management plan (Bramwell & Sharman, 1999). Collaboration processes also provide a venue for commodification of rural areas to be examined, discussed and, if desired,

implemented. This process can effectively modify the false images of rural landscapes that may currently be presented to tourists. Collaboration provides an opportunity for more balanced and better informed decisions regarding tourism planning, as it should involve all affected interests, and enhance community communication (Williams *et al*, 1998).

2.5.4 Important Factors Needed For Participatory Tourism Planning

Participatory planning will only be successful if various factors are taken into consideration. First, the issue of local control needs to be addressed to allow communities to reach their goals in tourism planning (Reed, 1999). An absence of local control may allow outside stakeholders who are motivated purely on economic grounds to initiate development that may not be in the community's best interests.

Second, community awareness must be promoted (Mitchell & Reid, 2001). This is necessary to inform residents of the benefits of community-based tourism development and to convince citizens that community members can control the tourism industry. There also needs to be awareness of the consequences of tourism development; that not all development may be beneficial but may have negative environmental or social consequences (Mitchell & Reid, 2001).

Community unity is a third factor that should be considered. A community is comprised of many different people with conflicting views, and different ideas regarding tourism. Thus, neighbourhood meetings and group discussions to identify shared goals are one method of finding unity among community members. Once stakeholders begin generating dialogue, it can create mutual understanding, cooperation, and a vision for the future direction of tourism. If the many sub-communities that comprise residents form a united front, it is then easier to expose these power relations more effectively to public scrutiny (Reed, 1999). This may be difficult in rural communities where there are many different opinions, but with a trained moderator,

common ground can be found (Reed, 1999). Unity must be found for participatory methods to work, because with so many different voices, and the lack of a united front, it is difficult to confront the elite, or those with the majority of the power (Bahaire & Elliot-White, 1999). Once people are able to identify shared concerns and aspirations, empowerment can be achieved through this foundation of connections and relationships (Gilchrist, 2003).

The final characteristic that needs to be addressed is the question of power relations. “The redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens... to be deliberately included in the future... is the means by which they can induce significant social reform which enables them to share in the benefits of the affluent society” (Arnstein, 1969:216). Without community stakeholders having a real voice, nothing significant in terms of instituting social change can occur. In reality, stakeholder power relations are not usually under discussion at the beginning of tourism development, because community members are still excited over the lure of development (Mitchell & Reid, 2001). Thus, by the time dialogue occurs, there are normally a few people who control the tourism industry and are often driven by market decisions. For participation to occur, these stakeholders need to realize that everyone benefits if growth occurs within the community (Dye, 1986), and thus political decisions concerning tourism need to be based on the community as a whole, rather than individuals.

In 2004 Reid, Mair and George published research that provided rural communities with the tools necessary to initiate communication in tourism development. In this article, *Community Tourism Planning: A Self-Assessment Instrument*, the first step outlined is community wide dialogue. Sometimes this is challenging if there has been no negative impacts of tourism within the community, because it is hard for citizens to understand why a dialogue must commence if they are satisfied with the industry. Thus, to get community members engaged in the planning

stages and not just the tourism product, Reid *et al* (2004) created a self-assessment instrument. This was a self-administered questionnaire that encouraged participants to think about decision-making processes and how the tourism industry was formed. Reid *et al* (2004) found that the questionnaire worked in aiding dialogue and engaging community members in tourism planning. The self-assessment process also created mutual understandings, cooperation, and visions for the future, and established baselines needed to set up a monitoring stage (Reid *et al*, 2004). Reid *et al* (2004), has given the academic literature a practical first step to begin planning with the community, not for the community.

2.5.5 Negative Aspects of Participatory Tourism Planning

Although viewed largely in a positive light, some criticisms have been voiced about community-based tourism. Stettner (1993) claims that participation lacks the transformative intent of community development, which begins with the recognition that current economic, political and social structures must change. With the current world power relations, the capitalistic economy and tourism as a force for economic growth, Stettner (1993) argues that there will never be the opportunity for greater community control and nor will outside stakeholders concern themselves about local communities. Since social equality challenges the vested interest of capital investment, tourism as a socially equitable industry can be strongly resisted by key powerful stakeholders (Blackstock, 2005). A less radical reason is that the process has failed to engage the contested nature of community, and recognize all the different viewpoints that encompass a group of people living in the same area (Blackstock, 2005). Moreover, the research has failed to acknowledge how community groups can act out of self-interest, rather than the collective good. Although it is frequently stated that power relations need to be addressed, little research has indicated how community voices may be rendered more

equal. Some suggest that this will necessitate a fundamental change in current economic, political and social structures (Stettner, 1993). Given that such a radical change is unlikely, others suggest that it is best to continue searching for a viable solution within existing structures (Newbrough, 1992). One method of closing the inequality gap is better education. Knowledge can be power and can help the individual and the community both benefit from tourism (Newbrough, 1992).

2.6 Conclusion

This literature review has examined four bodies of tourism literature: commodification of culture, rural tourism, models of tourism development and participatory tourism planning. This thesis implements the creative destruction model to investigate a heritage town that has based development on commodification. The literature on commodification is multifaceted, and has revealed both positive and negative aspects of selling one's culture to visitors. Regardless of the different views on commodification, it is important to remember the underlying power issues that have led to certain elements of culture being given a monetary value. In Canada, rural tourism refers to tourism that occurs in areas with population densities of less than 400 residents per square kilometer. Rural tourism is often concerned with the countryside myth, and the idyllic landscape that the visitor is often searching for. To understand how residents perceive the impacts of having their culture sold to tourists, researchers have created models that attempt to explain tourism development. The most useful one for this study is the model of creative destruction. Finally, with this practical method of evaluating heritage towns, one can begin to use the participatory planning literature to ensure that the evolution of the community remains where the citizens want it to be. To date, no study can be identified that connects the model of creative destruction to participatory planning; this is what this thesis will attempt to do.

Chapter 3

Methods

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the research design and methods used to answer the study's three research objectives:

1. To determine Salt Spring's stage in the model of creative destruction (based on the 1998 model)
2. To assess the role played by the public sector in contributing to the Island's development.
3. To provide recommendations to ensure that the Island does not advance any further along the path of creative destruction.

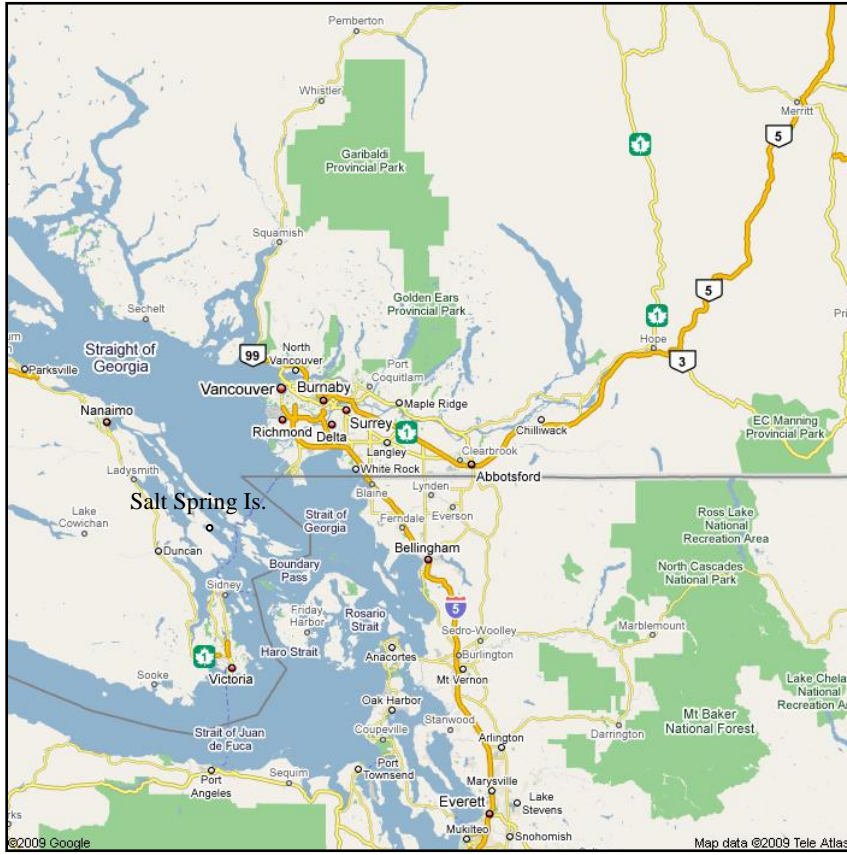
For these objectives to be fulfilled, a mixed methods approach was deemed the most appropriate choice. This approach includes both qualitative and quantitative methods of collecting and analyzing data. It dates back to 1959 when Campbell and Fiske used this type of inquiry to study the validity of psychological traits (Cresswell, 2003). For the past 50 years, mixed method has gained popularity because it is recognized that when multiple approaches are used to collect data, then biases from the data will be eliminated. Triangulating data sources also allows the data to be cross-referenced and compared, to eliminate any biases from one of the data sets and allows for a comprehensive analysis process (Daly, 2007). This thesis will use a transformative mixed method, as the creative destruction model shapes the data collection. Thus, the model of creative destruction becomes the overarching perspective of this study within a design of qualitative and quantitative collection and analysis.

3.2 Community Selection and Rationale

The case study approach was chosen to provide information needed to identify the role of participatory tourism planning in the evolution of communities that base development on the commodification of heritage. Case studies are a useful research tool because the goal is to expand and generalize theories (Yin, 2003). In this research, the case study was used to see if the creative destruction model applies to western Canada, and to an Island community. Another strength of the case study method, is its ability to deal with a full array of evidence, and to allow the evidence to converge in a triangulating fashion (Yin, 2003). This works well with a mixed methods approach because both use multiple types of data and allow the researcher to piece data together to uncover the answers to the research question. Finally, case studies give the research a real life example that can relate back to the literature and make a contribution to tourism development research.

Salt Spring Island, BC, was chosen as the research site. This Island is located between mainland Vancouver and Victoria Island in the waterway, the Georgia Strait. Salt Spring is 185 km squared and has 10,500 permanent residents (Figure 3.1 and 3.2). The primary town is called Ganges, and this is where most of the stores and boutiques are located (Salt Spring Island Chambers of Commerce, 2008). Although most of the shops are in one central area, tourists utilize the entire Island because of its diverse attractions, including 22 beaches, a range of arts and crafts studios that are connected through a studio tour, and provincial parks that are spread across the landscape.

Figure 3.1: Map of the Southwestern British Columbia



Source: Google Maps, 2009

Figure 3.2: Map of Salt Spring Island



Source: www.crd.bc.ca/saltspring/about.htm, accessed April 11, 2009

Salt Spring was chosen as a research site because it meets the three criteria, identified by Mitchell (1998), that give rise to heritage shopping centres. Firstly, it is located in proximity to an affluent city. Vancouver is home to a wealthy population who enjoy the natural beauty of the region, as well as the temperate climate. It is also the third largest city in Canada with the metropolitan area having a population of 2, 116, 581. According to Statistics Canada, the average income in Vancouver is \$46, 800 and 37 percent of the population has a university certificate or degree. By contrast, the average income for Canada is \$43, 200 with only 22 percent of the population holding a university certificate or degree (Statistics Canada, 2006). Secondly, the location must have access to investment capital; this appears to be the case on Salt Spring, where many private enterprises can be found, including the Salt Spring Coffee Co., the Garry Oaks Winery and the Salt Spring Island Cheese Company. These entrepreneurial businesses have been growing in number and are expected to keep increasing as more people travel to Salt Spring. The third criterion is an amenity environment. Salt Spring has more than 2000 hours of sunshine each year and is located in a beautiful natural setting, enhanced by the ocean, arbutus trees, beaches, and lakes. Salt Spring Island is also known for its cultural tourism resources. It has been identified as one of the 100 best art communities in North America; a reflection of its ability to embrace the creativity of locals and produce arts and crafts (Villani, 1996). Artists have been drawn to this area for the pursuit of an attractive and a more tranquil setting, that is also in proximity to an urban marketplace. Salt Spring is a beautiful, supportive and wholesome place (Villani, 1999) that is accepting of alternative lifestyles. Thus artists have been attracted to the sense of place that encourages and inspires the fine arts (Kahn, 1998). As the number of artists increases, they become a major part of the community's economic base (Mitchell *et al*, 2004), and create a type of heritage that is marketed to tourists. The Saturday

Market, for example, is a large cultural and agro-attraction that brings day tourists from Victoria to buy and participate in the artistic culture of Salt Spring Island (Figure 3.3).

Figure 3.3: Salt Spring's Saturday Market



Source: Halpern, 2008

Salt Spring Island also was chosen because members of the Islands Trust, the local form of government in charge of land use planning, approached Dr. Clare Mitchell regarding her creative destruction model. In a letter received by Dr. Mitchell in March, 2002, the chair of the Islands Trust Council wrote that “the local planning staff for Salt Spring Island will be interested to follow your studies.” After initial contact was made, Dr. Mitchell received follow-up emails indicating a strong interest in the model and expressing a concern that the Island would become a tourist town and lose its sense of community. Thus, contact with the community had already occurred, and certain key-informants had already shown an interest in the project.

3.3 Community Description

The Island of Salt Spring was the Coast Salish First Nation's territory until 1849. The Salish used Salt Spring for both temporary and permanent settlement because of the abundant

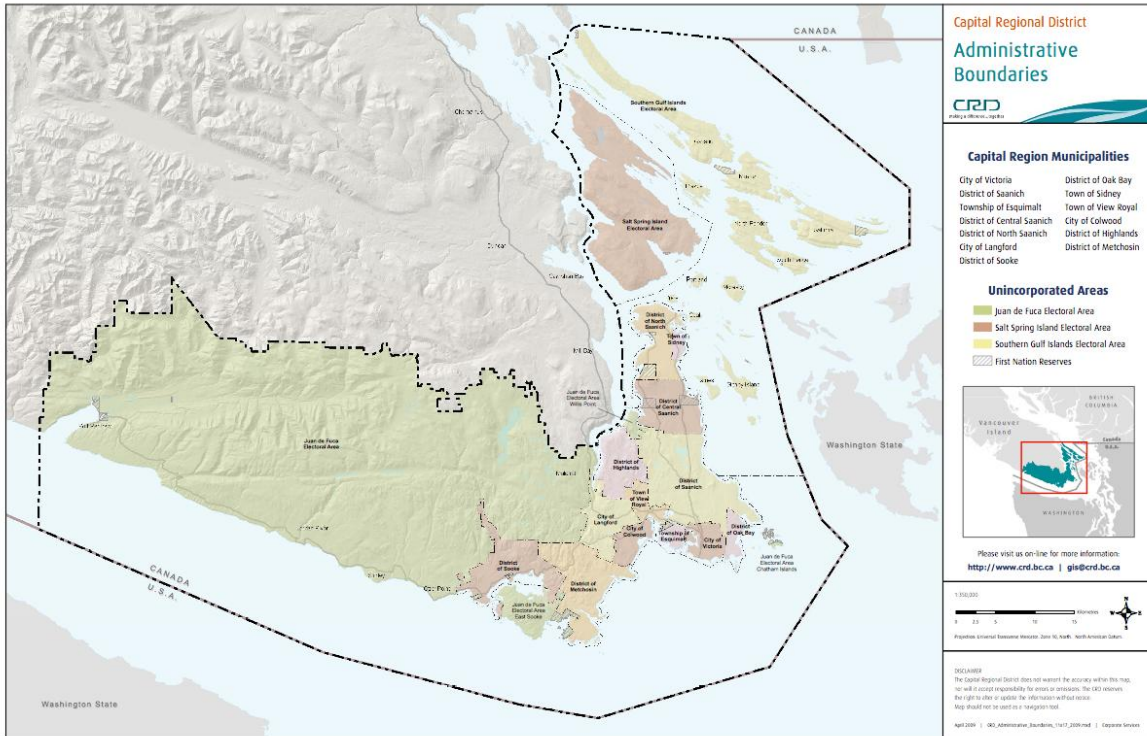
marine life that surrounds the Island. The current towns on the Island, Fulford Harbour, Ganges, and Long Harbour, were all previously First Nation villages. In 1849, Britain gave the Hudson Bay Company jurisdiction over Vancouver Island and the surrounding Islands. From that point on, First Nations were alienated from their traditional lands and the land was sold to settlers for five dollars an acre, which was expensive for that time period (Kahn, 2003). By the 1860s, Salt Spring remained sparsely populated, thus the price of land dropped to a dollar per acre. The first settlers planted potatoes and peas, as those could be planted even with large stumps in the fields. Although most settlers came to Salt Spring to farm, very few found farming profitable (Kahn, 2003). This is because Salt Spring's hilly terrain makes it impossible for large-scale farming to occur. Therefore, most settlers turned to dairy, poultry farms or small-scale subsistence farming.

By 1904, the business center had shifted to Ganges, and to accommodate the traveling salesman that would come to Ganges to sell goods to the locals, the Ganges Inn was established in 1911. With the increase of cars, tourism became important to the Island, and by 1925, there were two resorts: Ganges Auto Camp and Solimar Resort (Kahn, 2003). By 1947 tourism had expanded once again with the new ferry system that offered a daily service to Salt Spring, transporting a total of 13 cars. Even so, during the 1950s the main economic activities on the Island were logging and sheep raising, with tourism remaining a fairly small segment of the economy. In the 1960s, Salt Spring became a haven for Americans escaping the Vietnam War, and for many other young people leaving their parents' conventional lifestyles behind. They sought a place where they could be themselves, or find themselves without interference (Kahn, 2003). This alternative lifestyle brought many creative minds and artisans to the area whom set up small craft shops and initiated a craft show on the Island. Simultaneously, the economy got a

boost with the construction of cottages for tourists who were becoming increasingly interested in the area. Their arrival had a ripple effect on other industries on Salt Spring.

In 1974, the provincial government created the Islands Trusts as a special governing body for Salt Spring and the other Gulf Islands. The purpose was to make land use decisions under the mandate to “preserve and protect” the natural environment. One of the first things the Islands Trusts did was to create an official community plan based on the needs and wants of the community (Kahn, 2003). The other governing body on Salt Spring is the Capital Regional District (CRD), which provides a range of services that include sewage treatment, water treatment, building inspection, public transportation and garbage collection. The CRD is the regional government responsible for 12 municipalities and three electoral areas located on the Southern tip of Vancouver Island (Refer to Figure 3.4). Salt Spring also has some provincially-controlled services, such as the parks and highways. This double form of government is one of the factors that has contributed to the unique development, or lack of development, on the Island.

Figure 3.4: Map of CRD Boundaries



Source: <http://www.crd.bc.ca/maps/printable/index.htm>, accessed on April 11, 2009

Since the 1960s, Salt Spring has become a diverse community, with many opinions on a range of issues; one issue that is always central in discussions is whether to develop or to not develop the Island. A key question was whether to install a sewer system, because this was thought to be a flood-way to development (Kahn, 2003). This issue was fought for 20 years but, by 1986, the sewer was completed. By this time the Island demographic was changing again, and besides being a haven to alternative communities, Salt Spring was becoming a retirement community, with one fifth of the population being retirees by 1991. Another change came with improved ferry services, which allowed many people to commute off Island to work on Vancouver Island. This meant that people could live on Salt Spring without endangering their livelihood (Kahn, 2003). Home-based business also became a large feature of the economy with one in five people working from home in a business that was primarily tourism or building-

related (Kahn, 2003). That is still the case, as in 2005 the percent of self-employed individuals was 2.5 times higher than the provincial average (BC Stats, 2006). This is consistent with the fact that small, self-employed businesses are common for communities that depend on small-scale tourism economies. In addition, 22 percent of working adults on Salt Spring hold jobs that are a result of direct visitor activity, with an additional 200 jobs indirectly generated by the visitor industry (Ecoplan International Inc, 2008a). This makes tourism the second largest economic activity on Salt Spring (Kelly, 2006). Thus, Salt Spring industries have evolved from the first settlers, who used subsistence and animal farming to survive, to the current situation with most residents retired, working in the tourism industry, working off the Island, or working on the Island in a variety of occupations.

3.4 Data Sources

3.4.1 Data Collection

The first phase of data collection was carried out in accordance with the creative destruction model (Mitchell 1998), which recommends tracking business investments, visitor numbers, and resident attitudes. The second phase of data collection assessed the role played by the public sector, as recommended by Mitchell and de Waal (2009). This task consists of analyzing policy documents from the Capital Regional District (CRD), the Islands Trust, and the provincial government of British Columbia.

3.4.2 Business investments

Tourism businesses are located across the entire Island, but those in Ganges were the only ones documented because this is the commercial center of the Island (Figure 3.5 and 3.6). Business investments on Salt Spring were investigated from 1961 onwards, because that is the time period when tourism on the Island began to expand. To track the changes over time,

business operations were recorded in the years 1961, 1963, 1965, 1967, 1969, 1976, 1980, 1985, 1990, 1997, 2002, 2005 and 2008. Once the business was recorded, it was then categorized according to type to determine functional change over time. The business type was classified according to the Standard Industrial Classification (SIC), a numerical code that was developed to classify companies and enterprises according to the activities they are engaged in (Dun & Bradstreet, 1976). The business listings in the 1960s and 1980s were collected from archival telephone directories; the business listings in the 1970s onward were collected from the Dun and Bradstreet reference books and the business listings from the 1990s onward were collected from the BC business directory. This reference is a database that identifies a network of credible information on businesses in British Columbia. The 2008 listings were collected from Reference USA, an online database that displays all the businesses located within a valid postal code.

Figure 3.5: Town of Ganges



Source: Hann, 2008

Figure 3.6: Aerial View of Ganges



Source: Cameron, 2008

3.4.3 Visitor Numbers

Visitor numbers were collected from BC Ferries, as they keep a record of visitors bound for and away from Salt Spring. Ninety-five percent of visitors to Salt Spring get there using BC Ferries (Kelly, 2006); therefore, even though visitors do arrive by private boat or plane, their number is so small that they do not hold much statistical significance. BC ferries provided an Excel file containing passenger numbers for each month from each of the three ferries that travel to Salt Spring. BC Ferries only gave access to data from 1998 to present, even though data since the 1960s was requested. With the data obtained, the winter months and summer months of all three ferries were totaled and then the winter months' totals were subtracted from the summer months totals. This gave a difference that was used to estimate the number of visitors each summer to Salt Spring. Visitor numbers were also obtained from the Chamber of Commerce Visitor Center from 1999 onwards. These numbers count the people who visit the Visitor Center.

Although they do not include all the visitors coming to Salt Spring, they do track change over time. Thus, if there is an increase in visitors to the information center one year, it can be assumed that there are more visitors in general arriving in Salt Spring.

In Mitchell and de Waal's 2009 follow-up paper, it is suggested that visitor surveys be conducted to identify the types of tourists who are attracted to heritage site. It is suggested that as these sites evolve, they become increasingly attractive to post-tourists; individuals who are not drawn to a community for its authenticity, but simply to "identify with the intertextuality of tourist places and celebrate the accessories of the tourist experience – shops, coaches, with the same sense of fun and equivalence accorded to the site" (Mordue 1999: 629). For the present study, therefore, it is important to discover if tourists who visit Salt Spring Island are in search of authenticity. This information was ascertained from a questionnaire that was distributed to tourists visiting the Island. The questionnaire was distributed to tourists waiting to catch the Fulford Harbour ferry to Swartz Bay, Vancouver Island. This ferry terminal was chosen because it has the greatest number of ferries, and therefore people, departing each day. Contact was made with a BC Ferries community relations' officer who gave permission to hand out surveys at the terminal. Tourists were approached while waiting for the ferry on August 2nd and 4th, 2008. A research assistant helped distribute these questionnaires to make it possible to survey both walk-on passengers and passengers with vehicles. The researcher approached every fifth walk-on passenger, while the research assistant approached every fifth vehicle and asked people over the age of 18 to participate. The first question asked was, "Are you visiting Salt Spring?" If the answer was yes, the visitor was asked to fill out a questionnaire. Every fifth visitor was approached to obtain a random sample, and a total of 88 surveys were completed. The questions asked tourists what activities they participated in while on Salt Spring, how many times they had

come, where they stayed and what their reasons were for coming (See Appendix A for a copy of the visitor questionnaire).

3.4.4 Residents' Attitudes

Residents' attitudes were gathered in three ways: questionnaires, semi-structured interviews with key informants and a content analysis of the local newspaper, *The Driftwood*.

3.4.5 Residents' Attitudes Questionnaires

The first type of data collection in the triangulation process was the distribution of questionnaires. Thirty-six questions made up the preliminary field research findings. Participants were asked 6 socio-demographic questions that were multiple choice, two open-ended questions on shopping behaviour (the percentage of shopping that is done on the Island, and what products residents' buy on Island) and 29 additional questions on three topics: shopping behaviour, involvement in planning, and attitudes towards tourism. Respondents were asked to answer the 29 questions on a five point Likert scale, with 2 meaning strongly agree, 1 meaning agree, 0 meaning neutral, -1 meaning disagree, and -2 meaning strongly disagree (please refer to Appendix B for a complete resident questionnaire).

There were 250 questionnaires distributed to the homes that surround Ganges, as these are the homes most affected by tourist numbers. Ganges is comprised of only commercial and industrial buildings, and thus there are no residents within the four main streets. The questionnaires were delivered on August 1st, 3rd and 5th 2008. To ensure random sampling, every fifth house was approached, and a survey was dropped at the front door with a letter explaining the thesis-research, and a postage paid envelope. Since, on Salt Spring, many homes are gated¹,

¹ A large locked gate to keep deer out of the garden surrounds the occasional home on Salt Spring. These homes are not part of a gated community found in certain wealthy neighbourhoods in the United States of America.

the only way to hand out a survey to those homes would have been to trespass, and therefore, those houses were omitted. In total, 100 surveys were returned and all were valid.

A secondary source questionnaire was also used to obtain resident attitudes. This was a study done by students in Dr. Rick Rollins' methods class from Vancouver Island University in 2004. This study randomly telephoned 363 residents of Salt Spring to measure opinions concerning tourism on the Island. The results of this study were given to the researcher from Dr Rollins and were compared with the findings of this study, to see if attitudes have changed during the past four years.

3.4.6 Semi-Structured Interviews

Another method of gathering information was semi-structured interviews. This qualitative method was used to obtain information necessary to assess the attitudes of residents involved in tourism, and to gather information needed to assess the role played by the public and private sector in tourism development and preservation.

The first step was the identification of key stakeholders. These were chosen through online research, which revealed who owned tourism enterprises, and who were the stakeholders working in public office, or for public office. The key informants identified were council members of the Islands Trust, Salt Spring Island planners, the Capital Regional District elector, president of the Chamber of Commerce, local tourism entrepreneurs, and community members involved in tourism (please refer to Appendix C for a complete list of interviewees). Each interview was done over the phone and lasted between 15 and 20 minutes. Two stakeholders were interviewed from each group, unless there were not two available.

The semi-structured interviews covered broad themes such as local advantages and disadvantages of tourism, what changes have occurred on the Island, and what key informants want for future tourism developments. Some questions were general enough to ask to all the stakeholders, while other questions were specific to a certain group, (please refer to Appendix D for a complete list of interview questions). Interviews allowed the researcher to probe specific themes, taking into account the participant's particular experience (Jordan & Gibson, 2004).

3.4.7 Residents' Attitudes Content Analysis

Content analysis is the process of studying recorded human communication. It allows the researcher to analyze the meaning of words written in the community and by community members. It enables the researcher to gather rich data on "who says what, to whom, why, how, and with what effect?" (Babbie, 1998:309). This study involved a content analysis of the weekly Gulf Island newspaper, *The Driftwood*. This analysis was conducted to discover residents' perceptions of tourism and to gather information on business development from the 1960s onwards. The information was then used to determine if creative destruction has occurred on the Island. Content analysis of *The Driftwood* began with the 1960 issue and every second year was examined up to the present. For the issues spanning from 1960 to 1994, hard copies of the paper were consulted. Online versions were examined for the later period. Understanding of community attitudes came by coding, and re-coding, the articles by category. This ensured consistency and is a process recommended by many researchers (e.g. Babbie, 1998).

3.4.8 Policy Documents

To assess the role played by the public sector in developing tourism policy, documents originating with different levels of government were read and analyzed. The goal of this task was to identify the extent to which the different forms of government have been motivated by profit,

preservation and/or growth. A document, or section of a document, that was coded as profit-driven was defined as policy that assisted private entrepreneurs to maximize their financial gain. Preservation motivations were classified as any policy that maintains the authenticity of the Island, by either restricting development that was not in line with Salt Spring's heritage, or by promoting preservation of existing heritage. Finally, the motivational driver, growth, was defined as any policy that promoted economic or population growth on the Island.

The Salt Spring Island Official Community Plan was the first document analyzed. This document was revised in 2008 and has a section on tourism. The second document reviewed was the mandate of the Islands Trusts, which was written in 1974, and was used in the content analysis along with the strategic plan of the CRD. Finally, provincial tourism documents were assessed, including the Ministry of Tourism, Sport and the Arts Service Plan and their Action Plan of 2007.

3.5 Data Analysis

In light of the mixed methods approach of this thesis, both quantitative and qualitative analysis occurred.

3.5.1 Statistical Analysis

For the statistical component, the questionnaire data were inputted into Excel and then transferred into SPSS. The first step was to understand the demographic profile of the respondents and to determine what type of person had responded to the survey. The second step using SPSS was to apply descriptive statistics to test the frequencies of each question. This was undertaken to discover which questions were statistically significant. The final step using SPSS was to employ descriptive statistics to cross tabulate the data to identify correlations between

questions. For example, are those economically involved in tourism less likely to feel that tourism interferes with their enjoyment of the community?

3.5.2 Qualitative Analysis

Both the interviews and the policy documents were analyzed using qualitative methods. The analysis of information provided by key informants began with assembling the rich data provided during the interviews. The first step was to choose relevant codes, associated with the motivational drivers (profit, preservation, and growth), identified by Mitchell and de Waal (2009). To reduce bias, the researcher took part in self-reflection exercises, and read over the transcripts numerous times to ensure that the codes were true to the data (Charmaz, 2006). Once a narrative had emerged from the data, and the codes have turned into themes, these themes were triangulated with resident attitudes to determine if the key informants had similar opinions to residents. Thus, the results of the qualitative content analysis were compared to the quantitative data in order to provide a justification of the themes created and the attitudes presented in the data (Cresswell, 2003). The validity of the data analysis process was continually checked by reading the original data, member checking and having a peer debrief the data.

The government policy documents listed in section 3.4.5. were also analyzed according to the motivational drivers identified by Mitchell and de Waal (2009) . Each document was read three times to identify the three drivers (profit, preservation and growth). For example, the first objective of the tourism section of Salt Spring's official community plan (2008) is,

To recognize and welcome the economic value of our community of tourism that is compatible with preserving and protecting the Island's natural environment, authentic resident-based sense of community, and the aesthetic values that attract visitors.

This was highlighted and placed under the growth theme, because of the focus on the economic value of tourism, and also under the preservation theme, because the well-being of residents comes before tourism. When a policy was related to one of these themes it was highlighted either pink (growth), yellow (preservation), or blue (profit); this allowed the researcher to look at a policy document, note what color was most prominent and thus establish which theme was most important in the document. The highlighted themes were then compared to the same themes found in interviews with the key informants from the public sector to determine if what was said matched what was written.

3.6 Strengths and Weaknesses of the Research Design

Every method of data collection has strengths and weaknesses. For mail-back questionnaires, one weakness is that questionnaires presume literacy in the language of the study (Palys, 1992), thus narrowing down those who can be part of the study by their English literacy. Also, it is impossible to know if respondents take the task seriously. This is less of a problem, because those who do not take the task seriously are most likely to ignore the questionnaire and not return it (Palys, 1992). A strength of this method of data collection is that it offers complete anonymity (Babbi, 1979); not even the researcher knows who filled out which survey. Questionnaires are also beneficial because they generate a substantial amount of data quickly and cheaply. However, this method can be too standardized because the questions are unchangeable and the researcher cannot probe for information. In light of this issue, interviews were conducted to help fill this gap.

Semi-structured interviews are useful for gathering more specific information from knowledgeable stakeholders. Although providing in-depth information, only a limited number of stakeholders were consulted. It is possible that key informants were missed during the research

process. Although the information provided by these stakeholders was carefully checked, it is not possible to ensure the validity of their responses. Also, due to lack of experience, the researcher may have unconsciously steered the interviewee towards expressing views that represent the research themes. This issue was dealt with by having practice interviews with family members to improve probing skills.

The content analysis of the local newspaper made possible documentation of attitudes and actions of Salt Spring residents over time. This technique is very convenient and an unobtrusive source of information. Furthermore, as noted by Babbie (1998), content analysis allows information to be gathered from the past that other research methods cannot obtain. On the other hand, there is no way of checking how accurately the texts analyzed represent past situations of tourism on Salt Spring Island.

Finally, analyses of policy documents complete the triangulation process. Since meaning was taken from the documents, it was imperative that the definitions used remained constant throughout my investigation (Babbie, 1998). This was possible because documents were re-coded to check for errors and consistency. Although these documents may be guiding decision-making, it is impossible to gauge their accuracy, or to know which policy document more accurately portrays the community (e.g. the provincial government, the Capital Regional District or the Islands Trusts). By interviewing key stakeholders and analyzing questionnaire data, it becomes more apparent which documents are closest to social reality

3.7 Summary

The aim of this chapter was to describe and investigate the qualitative and quantitative methods that were used to determine the role of tourism planning in the creative destruction model. This chapter has discussed the rationale for selecting Salt Spring as a study site, and has

given a brief history of the Island, its economy, population and governing bodies. The data sources were described, as identified in earlier works on creative destruction. Finally, the different methods of analysis were outlined, and limitations identified. Results of this analysis are presented in the following chapter.

Chapter 4

Findings Part One

4.1 Introduction

The findings are divided into two chapters, according to the objectives. The first objective of this study is to describe the evolution of tourism development as predicted by the creative destruction model. The results of this assessment are presented in this chapter according to the model's three variables: business investments, visitor numbers, and resident attitudes. This discussion is followed in the next chapter, with an examination of the role of tourism planning in Salt Spring's evolution.

4.2 Business Investments

Although it is difficult to gauge exactly when tourism began on Salt Spring, investment in visitor infrastructure began in the first half of the twentieth century. The period before 1970 was one of considerable change in the business composition of the Island, as a number of venues were established to either provide accommodation to visitors, or services to local residents. In 1925, for example, the first resort opened on Salt Spring, called Solimar Resort (Kahn, 1998) to allow non-residents to enjoy the natural attractions of the Island. Fifteen years later, the first hotel, called the Harbour House, opened in Ganges (Greater Victoria Telephone Directory, 1961). By 1960, there were three accommodation facilities in Ganges: Harbour House Hotel, the Log Cabin Hotel and Café (which closed in 1965) and Sea Breeze Cottages. The Island economy was also prospering because locals were selling their handmade crafts to visitors at arts and crafts shows (Kahn, 1998). In addition to these tourist-oriented firms, by 1960, 21 other businesses in Ganges provided basic services for local residents (Greater Victoria Telephone Directory, 1961). For example, according to the Greater Victoria Telephone Directory, by 1960,

Ganges had a bank, pharmacy, beauty salon and an auto repair shop. The number of businesses continued to rise during the 1960s, and by 1965, 29 firms could be found in the Island's main town. Many of these firms were construction companies established to accommodate the growing Island population and the new homes being built. By the end of this decade, the town's first restaurant appeared, (called the Ganges Crest Restaurant). This venue likely served both locals and visitors, although no data are available to confirm if this was the case

The 1970s lead to greater development on Salt Spring Island, as Ganges continued to expand and have a more diverse selection of stores. By 1976 Sea Breeze cottages had closed, but two other types of accommodation had opened: Cedar Beach Resort and The Ship Anchor Inn. Also in that year, Mod N Lavender, a gift shop that likely catered to tourists, opened in town (Dun & Bradstreet, 1976). Despite the establishment of these tourist-oriented firms, the majority of businesses appear to have been geared largely to residents. For example, 20 out of the total 73 businesses in Ganges provided various types of construction services (Dun & Bradstreet, 1976), which may, in part, have been used to build tourism infrastructure. Visitors also may have utilized the two eating-places, two women's clothing stores, the fishermen's supply store, and one toy store, but it is likely that these shops would have relied largely on trade provided by Island residents.

By 1980, Ganges had experienced change in its business structure, with some businesses closing and others opening. Rita's Inn and Spindrift Resort replaced Cedar Beach Resort and The Ship Anchor Inn (Greater Victoria Telephone Directory, 1980). The construction businesses moved out of Ganges and were replaced with garden, flower, automotive and photo businesses, giving Ganges a more rounded array of services. Other new businesses likely catered to both local residents and visitors. Included here are the Et Cetera Salt Spring Book and Stationary

Shop, Kanaka Place Restaurant, Nan's Coffee Bar and Restaurant, the Village Specialty Cafe and the Volume II Bookstore (Greater Victoria Telephone Directory, 1980).

By 1985, many new businesses had opened, including The Cottage Resort and the re-opening of Seabreeze, as the Green Acres Resort Motel. Three new restaurants had also appeared by 1985, and three ice cream and candy shops, a boutique, and a craft store. In 1985, Flipper's Water Sports was established, marking the first time that a recreational business of this nature had been opened on the Island (Greater Victoria Telephone Directory, 1985). It appears, therefore, that Ganges early history was characterized by considerable change in the business community. Although a number of tourist-oriented firms came and went, the majority of firms likely catered to local residents, with only a limited number dependent on tourism for their economic survival.

The 1990s saw significant growth in establishments catering to non-local residents. Three types of business were identified; firms that sell products to visitors, firms that sell natural products to visitors that are marketed according to Salt Spring's heritage and firms that sell local artistic goods. The first types of business to be discussed are those that sell products to visitors. In 1990, one new accommodation business opened, called the Applecroft Bed and Breakfast, and a new craft shop appeared (Greater Victoria Telephone Directory, 1990). Although Flipper's Water Sports had closed by this time, it was replaced with Gulf Island Kayaks. By 1996, another motel (Arbutus Court Motel) and 8 restaurants had opened in Ganges (BC Business Directory, 1997). These initiatives were accompanied by the establishment of travel, stationary, and a gift (Stuff and Nonsense) shop (BC Business Directory, 1997).

In the 1990s a new type of business emerged, one that was selling Salt Spring's heritage to consumers. In particular, five businesses stand out, they include two wineries, Saltspring

Soapworks, Salt Spring Coffee Company and the Salt Spring Island Cheese Company. In 1999, two wineries also opened on Salt Spring, not in Ganges itself, but on the road between the main ferry terminal and Ganges (Personal Communications, 2008). These businesses, which also include a bed and breakfast, helped initiate agro-tourism on the Island. The idea behind the wineries was to create a great product in a beautiful setting, but to also offer more than just wine to the visitor. One winery invites guests to come explore their labyrinth (www.garryoakswinery.com, December 2008) while the other holds an annual Grape Harvest Ball as a fundraiser for a children's charity in Mozambique (www.saltspringvineyards.com, December 2008). These winery businesses provide visitors with a locally-crafted product, created in the unique atmosphere of Salt Spring.

Saltspring Soapworks is a family-business based on the principle of 'going back to your roots'. Here, homemade soaps are produced for sale by local residents.

We employ a group of 'locals' in our workshop to help cut, and wrap soap, glue labels on and mix up our famous natural bath bombs. Most of them have been with us 5, 10 or 15 years!! The end result: the finest artisan soaps available, pure in quality, clean in nature. Body Care that uplifts both Body and Soul. Still made by hand in the heart of the Saltspring Countryside (Saltspringsoapworks.com, January 22nd, 2008).

This type of business provides an excellent example of rural heritage being commodified for the benefits of people who live outside of the community. The year 1996 also saw the opening of the Salt Spring Coffee Company, a small organic coffee roaster that has experienced considerable growth since its beginning. Presently, the company is expanding to Toronto and other urban centers in Ontario, and was voted by Vancouver as the number one organic coffee company (Saltspringcoffee.com, November 24th, 2008). Like Soapworks, its marketing strategy

is to provide a good, natural product that has been produced in a unique location. This is reflected in their packaging, which highlights the unique alternative culture of the Island.

It's true we do things a little differently out on Salt Spring Island. We've got gumboots dancers, zucchini races, and zero traffic lights. It's a place where Island old-timers mingle with urban refugees and where Birkenstocks outnumber penny loafers, and it's where we roast really great coffee- as original as the people who live here (Saltspringcoffee.com, November 24th, 2008).

A fifth entrepreneur opened a shop on Salt Spring in 1996 that markets its product based on the commodification of Salt Spring's farming history. The Salt Spring Island Cheese Company offers a different approach to industrial cheese making. In addition to providing hand-made cheese, farm tours are also offered. These encourage consumers to come to the Island and see for themselves what type of place makes the cheese so unique (Saltspringcheese.com, November 24th, 2008). These companies are selling their product by using the culture of Salt Spring, even though none of the products are traditional Island crops and all the raw materials (ie- coffee bean, goats' milk, etc) have to be delivered via boat. In addition, these businesses are selling a product that they claim is made unique because of the location. Thus, this suggests that commodification is occurring.

Another change in the business infrastructure in the 1990s was the beginning of a formal artist community. Before the 1990s, a large artist community lived on Salt Spring, but it remained informal and most art was sold at the market, or out of people's homes. In 1993 Jill Louise Campbell opened a gallery in the heart of Ganges (web.mac.com/duartcampbell/JLC_Gallery_Home/Home.html, January, 22nd, 2009). By 1997 galleries in Ganges included, Thunderbird Gallery, Stone Walrus Gallery, Stone Fish Sculptures Studio, Tufted Puffin Gallery, Vortex Gallery, Naikai Gallery and Salt Spring Gems and Gallery (BC Business Directory, 1997). In 1999, a large community building to facilitate the arts

opened, called Artspring. This is the Island’s arts centre, which hosts concerts, galleries, and theater performances. Its construction was financed from donations provided by private citizens and businesses, as well as funding granted by the public sector. Twice a year this venue hosts a large craft sale, where local artists and designers display their products. According to staff at Artspring, the majority of patrons are locals (80 percent), but special events do attract tourists who travel to Salt Spring just for this occasion (Sipos, G, November 12th, 2008).

Since the new millennium, Salt Spring’s entrepreneurs have increased gradually. One of the most significant changes is the number of galleries that have opened. In 2002, there were ten galleries in Ganges. The number of galleries outside of Ganges has also increased. Currently, there are presently more than 35 (Salt Spring Island Chamber of Commerce, December 2008) on Salt Spring Island, and eight in Ganges. Also, the number of stores in Ganges continues to increase; currently there are 185 stores, with 27 being tourism-based businesses.

Table 4.1: Tourism-Based Businesses in Ganges

Business Name	Business Type
1. Fables Cottage	Accommodation
2. Garden Faire Gallery Nursery	Accommodation
3. Seabreeze Inn	Accommodation
4. Wisteria Guest House	Accommodation
5. J Mitchell Gallery	Art Gallery
6. Jim Campbell Art Gallery	Art Gallery
7. Pegasus Gallery-Canadian Art	Art Gallery
8. Steffich Fine Art	Art Gallery
9. Stone Fish Sculpture Studios	Art Gallery
10. Stone Walrus Gallery	Art Gallery
11. Upstairs Bears Ltd	Art Gallery
12. Waterfront Gallery Society	Art Gallery
13. Glad’s Ice Cream & Sweet Shop	Eating Place
14. Ganges Tea Co	Food Stores
15. Harlan’s Chocolates	Food Stores
16. Aroma Crystal Therapy	Misc Retail Stores
17. Ganges Stationary	Misc Retail Stores
18. Heko Art Glass	Misc Retail Stores
19. Houseboat	Misc Retail Stores

20. Love my Kitchen Shop	Misc Retail Stores
21. Salt Spring Books	Misc Retail Stores
22. Salt Spring Soapworks Ltd	Misc Retail Stores
23. Sea Otter Kayaking	Misc Retail Stores
24. Sunfire Creations	Misc Retail Stores
25. West of the Moon	Misc Retail Stores
26. Windflower Moon	Misc Retail Stores
27. Flow Day Spa	Personal Services

(Reference USA, 2008)

These stores are accessible to locals, but depend on the summer months to sustain their businesses (Personal Communications, 2008). The other 158 businesses in town cater more to residents, but may still be used by tourists. These include food stores, restaurants, medical services, including holistic medicine, not-for-profit offices and real estate offices (Reference USA, 2008). Thus, in the new millennium, businesses on Salt Spring Island have diversified to provide more services for tourists and residents and Ganges infrastructure has continued to grow.

The past fifty years has been a time of considerable growth for businesses on Salt Spring and, in particular, the town of Ganges. In 1960, Ganges had 24 businesses and currently there are 185. Until the 1990s, Ganges had few businesses that catered to tourism, but from that time period onwards tourism infrastructure has continued to develop. During this time businesses that sell Salt Spring's natural amenities also have emerged. These changes beg the question, has the growth in galleries, restaurants and gift shops led to an increase in visitor numbers or to a change in the types of tourists who choose to visit? The answer to this question is presented in the following section.

4.3 Visitor Numbers and Type of Visitor

Visitor numbers prior to 1998 were not available from BC Ferries Corporation. In lieu of this, *The Driftwood* newspaper was consulted to provide an estimate of how many visitors traveled to the Island. This information is collected by the Tourist Information Center, which

provides the newspaper with data on numbers of people visiting the centre in late September or early October. Since this time period pre-dates widespread Internet use, it is assumed that people would need to consult the information center to find out about tourism activities and accommodation on Salt Spring. Most importantly, these numbers give an estimate of how many people traveled to the Island, and allow the researcher to track changes over a 40-year period.

The first year the visitor center kept track of visitor numbers was in 1967 when a total of 700 visitors came through the center (Anonymous, 1968: 1). Before this, *The Driftwood* would note certain travelers who came to Salt Spring for reasons such as honeymoons, or weddings, or when people had an exceptionally positive trip (Hamilton, 1961). From the late 1960s to the late 1980s tourism increased by 13, 653 visitors (Anonymous, 1990a: A3). It was not, however, a consistent increase; rather, there were large fluctuations between the years, which leads the researcher to believe that world events, the weather, and the social circumstances of the time period, affected tourist numbers. For instance, during Expo 86, which took place in Vancouver, the Island expected large tourism numbers, but it fell short, and the Ganges Marina business was down 20 percent (Anonymous, 1986: 17). In the next ten years, the number of visitors to the tourist center increased by 19, 057 tourists (Lennox, 1994: A1). Thus, from the late 1960s to the late 1990s, except for some year to year changes, tourism increased dramatically.

From 1998 onwards, tourism numbers were collected in two ways, as described in the methods chapter. During this ten-year period, most years are consistent, with the exception of a large increase during the 2004 fiscal year (Table 4.2). This was due to fewer people coming in the winter and an increase in the number of people coming via the Crofton ferry to Salt Spring in the summer time (BC Ferries, 2008). This is most likely caused by additional ferries being run on the Crofton route first during the summer, allowing a greater number of Vancouver Islanders

easy access to Salt Spring. Since the ferry was busy during the summer, BC Ferries kept the extra ferries in place for the winter months. This allowed Salt Spring to be easily accessible to residents in Duncan, Ladysmith and Nanaimo, three cities on the eastern coast of Vancouver Island. As in the pre-1998 period, the numbers fluctuate yearly. However, there is no steady increase of visitor numbers; instead visitor number remained relatively constant between 1998 and 2008.

Table 4.2: Visitor Numbers

Year	Estimated Number	VIC Numbers
1967	NA	700
1968	NA	2700
1969	NA	1460
1978	NA	4009
1980	NA	9373
1989	NA	14 353
1998	113 447	NA
1999	115 935	33 410
2000	114 087	41 631
2001	113 351	43 270
2002	113 850	44 657
2003	112 759	43 281
2004	123 477	41 075
2005	113 671	41 140
2006	110 724	43 391
2007	126 425	37 447
2008	114 822	38 767

Source: (BC Ferries, 2008) and (Visitor Center Network Statistic Program, 2008)

4.3.1 Visitor Type

One of the two questionnaire surveys was designed to determine the type of person who travels to the Island. Results of this survey show that the majority of visitors to Salt Spring came from Vancouver Island (55%), Vancouver (26 %), Canada, not including BC (10 %), USA (5 %), England (3 %), and New Zealand (1 %). The average length of stay was 2.6 days, with only 4 percent staying one week or longer. The most common form of accommodation was

camping (32 %), followed by staying with friends (28%), in a rented cottage (16%), in a B&B (14%), hotel (5%), trailer (3%), or boat (2%).

Of the 88 people surveyed, 22 (25 %) were first-timers to Salt Spring and 64 (75 %) had visited previously. For those who had been to Salt Spring before, the most common reason for visiting was to see friends and family, while the natural environment came second, followed by shopping and engaging in outdoor activities. For first-timers, the most common reason for visiting Salt Spring was the natural environment, then shopping and thirdly for a vacation (which the respondents added in the other category). When asked if they were going to return, 18 of the 22 newcomers (82 %) said yes and mentioned the natural environment, relaxing holiday opportunities and unique shops as reasons why. Of the 64 returning visitors, 63 (98%) said that they plan on returning and their reasons were to see friends/family, and to enjoy the great Island vibe and the natural environment.

In response to the question, “did you buy anything while on Salt Spring?” 18 (82 %), of newcomers said yes and listed food, artisan products, and clothing as the items of purchase. For return visitors, 57 (89 %) said yes, stating the same purchases as the newcomers: food, artisan products, and clothes. The most startling difference between the two groups was when they were asked, “what other shops, services, or events would you like to see introduced?” Of the newcomers, the most common response was ‘improved transportation’ at 37 percent, but for the repeat visitors the most common response was ‘keep it as it is’ at 58 percent (Table 4. 3). Of the 88 people who participated, only 2 percent wanted chain stores such as Tim Horton’s or Dairy Queen to open on Salt Spring. These findings demonstrate that the people who travel to Salt Spring want a local nature/heritage experience. They do not want an overbuilt town, full of

commercial venues, but, rather, they want to enjoy their natural surroundings in a relaxed and authentic environment.

Table 4.3: Comparison of Repeat Visitors Versus Newcomers on Amenities They Would Like to See on SSI (% reporting)

Additional amenities added to SSI	Repeat Visitors	Newcomers
Keep it as it is	58	11
More unique stores	16	0
Improved Transportation	11	37
Better public facilities/services	7	10
Cheaper Accommodation	5	0
Chain Stores	3	0
More cultural entertainment	0	32
All- inclusive vacations	0	10

It seems this may have been the case in the past, as the researcher found a 1962 letter to the editor that was written by a tourist about Salt Spring, “Whatever the secret of your success, please guard it carefully. There are few places where the city-slicker can spend such a hilariously exhausting and relaxed holiday” (Anonymous, 1962: 3). Similar to those surveyed in 2008, those who traveled to Salt Spring in the 1960s also wanted to preserve the Island’s heritage.

4.4 Resident Attitudes

Although the present attitudes of residents were obtained from the researcher’s 2008 survey, to gather an understanding of past attitudes the local newspaper was used, and special attention was given to the editorial section. A number of letters to the editor suggest that some had issue with visitors to the Island. On September 28th, 1961, for example, an anonymous Islander wrote a letter stating that the Island is first purely a residential spot, a place to escape, and that, “The tourist trade is fine for a few weeks-no more-during summer months” (Anonymous, 1961: 4). This suggests that from the onset of tourism, some dissension did exist

in the community; residents did not mind sharing the Island, but for only a few weeks a year. In 1963, another resident's letter to the editor appeared, this time directed to the ferry company. In this letter, the author suggested what type of tourists should be allowed on board: i.e., individuals who love nature in its natural state: "Don't let those on board who want to put up signboards-who want to roar over the roads in high power cars sweeping all before them-who want to litter our beaches and campsites with garbage" (Anonymous, 1963b: 4). A third article emerged in 1969, when an editor made a point of mentioning how tourists are catered to, but year round residents are given no consideration, and that housing is reserved for rich tourists (Hyde, 1969:4).

Throughout the 1970s, little is mentioned about tourism. In some years, it was noted that the season was busy, while in other years comments reveal that the tourist season was slow, typically due to weather conditions (Anonymous, 1972: 4, Anonymous, 1976: 17, Anonymous, 1978: 1). In 1980, an article about the Islands Trust appeared, which declared that hotels and motels had no place in the Gulf Islands, and that bed and breakfast services were the way to develop the tourism trade (Sober, 1980). Two years later, Louise Conlisk wrote a poem for poet's corner about tourists and their place on Salt Spring (1982:6).

The Tourists

The whole scene changes on weekends in Ganges.
It's so easy to spot the tourists.
They arrive in droves and park in our coves.
And try to mix in with our purists.
Their clean white runners, synthetic suits
Just part of the reason we know,
They'll lap up our "heaven" a few short days
Then love us and leave us and go.

In 1988, another resident expressed the feeling that tourists took away from the Island celebration of May Day, which was supposed to be a celebration of community, but instead

celebrated tourists. He went on to say, “ tourism means land buyers falling in love with the Island and what is left of its peacefulness” (Stewart, 1988: A11). In 1990, even though the Chamber of Commerce had reported tourism numbers down at the beginning of the summer, the crowds still caused people to write in about tourism. “One can tell summer is here on Salt Spring Island when the congestion of cars, bikes and pedestrians make it almost impossible to get where you are going” (Anonymous, 1990b: A5). Each comment that appeared in *The Driftwood* points to the negative attitudes held by some residents about tourists. Residents were less inclined to write to the newspaper with positive experiences and more likely to write in when they are angry or upset. Nevertheless, considering that over a thirty-year period there were only seven negative letters and editorials, one can conclude that only a small percentage of the community were weary of tourism.

The next source of information used to determine residents’ attitudes on Salt Spring is a survey completed by Dr. Rollins from Vancouver Island University in 2004. The study was completed by a population that was 56 percent female and 44 percent male, with the average age group of respondents between 25-34 (47.9 %). According to the 2001 BC Stats Census Profile of Salt Spring, the Islands population was 53 percent female and 47 percent male. Additionally, the majority of residents were between the ages of 45-65 (34 %), with the next largest age group being 20-44 (24%), and 21 percent of residents being over the age of 65 (BC Stats, 2001). The study found much support for tourism, with 83.4 percent of respondents indicating they were “somewhat” or “strongly” supportive. They were in support because it provides employment (93.9 % agree), provides recognition and marketing opportunities for local artists and craftspeople (91.2 % agree), results in more shops and restaurants on Salt Spring (83.7 % agree) and it contributes directly and indirectly to the healthy economy of the community (83.2 %

agree). Although the community viewed tourism as favourable, concerns were noted. These included: creates problems with car traffic (93.1 % agree), creates problems with crowding in town (75.2 % agree), contributes to environmental problems (74.1 % agree) and results in more litter and garbage (61.2 % agree).

The questionnaire that the researcher distributed in 2008 was completed by both females (66%) and males (34%) with the average age group being 65 and above (58 %) and only 10 % being 45 or younger. This signifies that the majority of respondents are well above the median age of Salt Spring, which was 40.8 (BC Stats, 2006). Table 4.4 outlines the census profile demographics for Salt Spring compared to the demographics of the respondents.²

Table 4.4: Questionnaire Demographic Data compared to Census Data

Age	Questionnaire (%)	Salt Spring Census Data (%)
18-25	0	7.8
26-45	10.0	20.6
46-64	32.0	45.0
65 and above	58.0	26.6
Sex		
Male	34.0	47.0
Female	66.0	53.0

Table 4.4 shows that the average age of respondents is higher than the census data, as well as indicating that a higher proportion of females than males completed the survey. This can be explained because the questionnaires were handed out in a buffer zone around the main town, Ganges. Many retired people have moved closer to town to easily access amenities such as the hospital, food stores, and other necessities. Thus, an older population is more affected by tourists

² The Salt Spring census data represents the entire population, ages zero to eighty-five and above. Since the questionnaire was only completed by those 18 and over, the census data were used from age 18 and above. This did not equal a percent of 100, which was required to compare the two data sets. Thus, the totals in the census data of those who were 18 and above were added together, equaling a percent of 84.1; then each section was divided by 84.1 and then multiplied by 100 in order to gain a percent out of one hundred.

because of their proximity to Ganges. Corresponding with the age of respondents, the majority of respondents are retired (Table 4.5). The second to last demographic question concerns education levels, and the level of education of respondents is higher than the average Canadian, with 81 percent of respondents having some form of post-secondary education (Table 4.6). It is common for mail-back questionnaires to be more educated than the general public (Babbie, 1979).

Table 4.5: Respondents Occupations

Occupation	Percent (%)
Retired	64
Employed on the Island	29
Employed off the Island	6
Unemployed	1

Table 4.6: Respondents Education Levels

Level of Education	Percent (%)
Doctoral Degree	6
Master's Degree	14
Bachelor Degree	29
Some College or University Education	32
High School Diploma	15
Some Elementary Education	4

The final demographic questions pertained to length of residency on Salt Spring Island. Fifty percent of respondents have lived on Salt Spring for more than sixteen-years; thus, the respondents are comprised mainly of long-term residents (Table 4.7).

Table 4.7: Respondents Length of Residency

Length of Residency on Salt Spring Island	Percent (%)
Over 25 Years	31
16-24 Years	19
11-15 Years	12
6-10 Years	22
Less than 5 Years	6
Live Part-Time on Salt Spring	5

Respondents were asked a range of questions pertaining to their attitudes towards tourism. Some questions showed largely positive attitudes. For instance, 68 percent of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that they enjoy talking to tourists. When asked if their contact with tourists is mostly positive, 69 percent agreed or strongly agreed, 25 percent were neutral and 6 percent disagreed or strongly disagreed (Figure 4.1). When asked if tourists interfere with their enjoyment of the community, 50 percent disagreed or strongly disagreed, 29 percent were neutral and 21 percent agreed or strongly agreed. Similarly, 41 percent disagreed or strongly disagreed that tourism had made their life more difficult, 29 percent were neutral and 30 percent agreed or strongly agreed. When asked if they would move away from Salt Spring if tourism numbers increased dramatically, 53.5 percent disagreed or strongly disagreed, 29.3 percent were neutral and 17.1 percent agreed or strongly agreed (Figure 4.2). Also, when asked if tourism has led to more jobs on the Island, 77.3 percent agreed or strongly agreed, 16.5 percent were neutral and 6.2 percent disagreed or strongly disagreed.

Figure 4.1: Positive Attitudes Towards Tourism

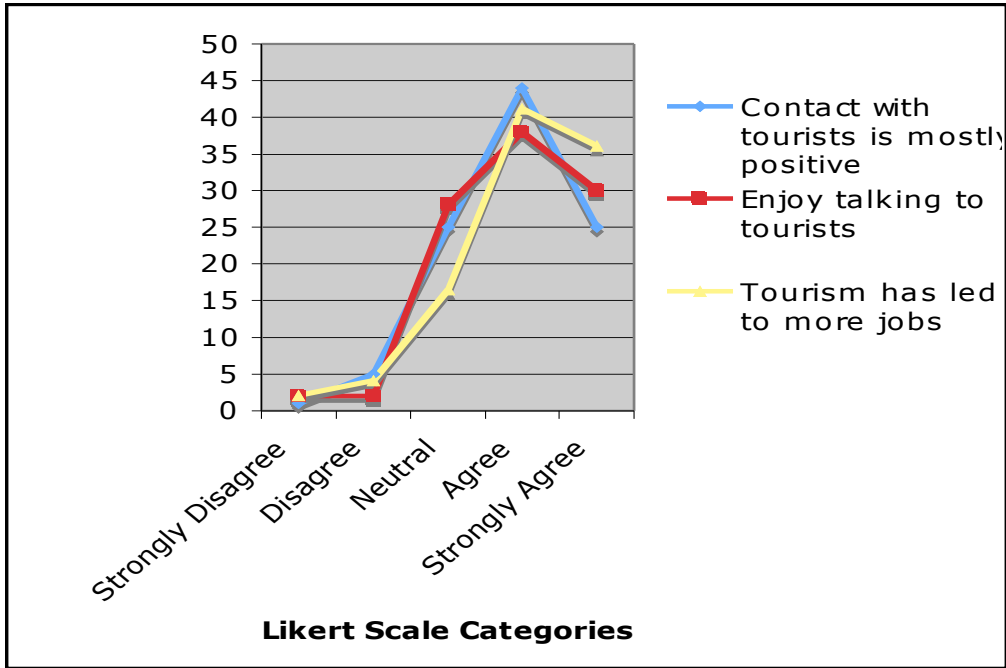
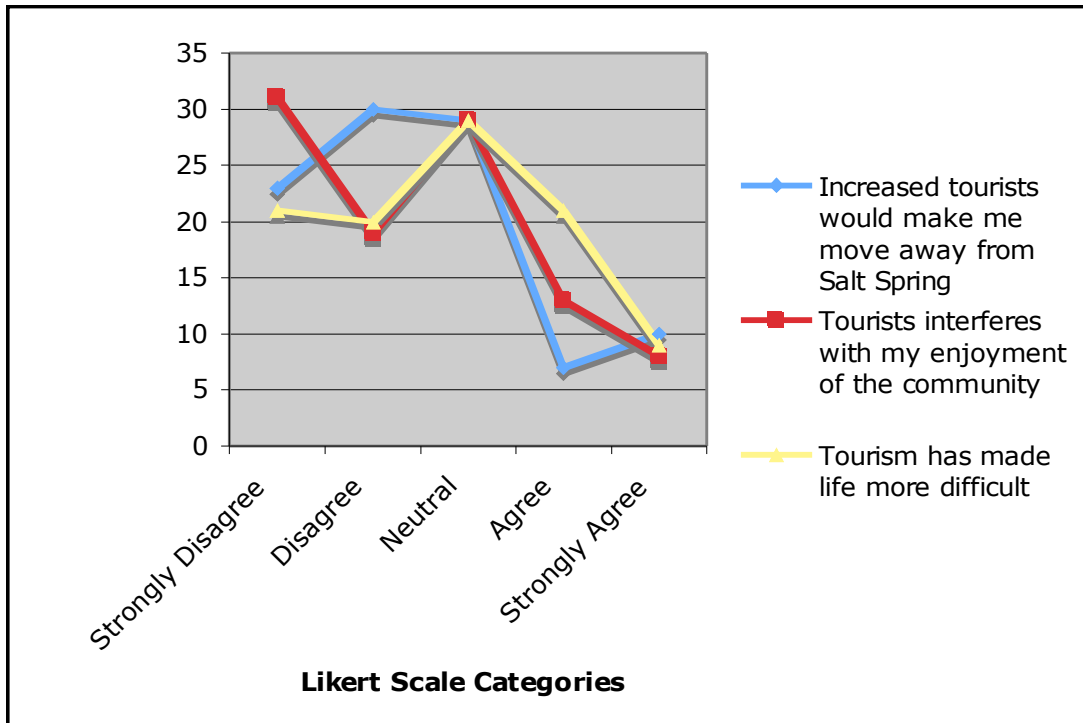
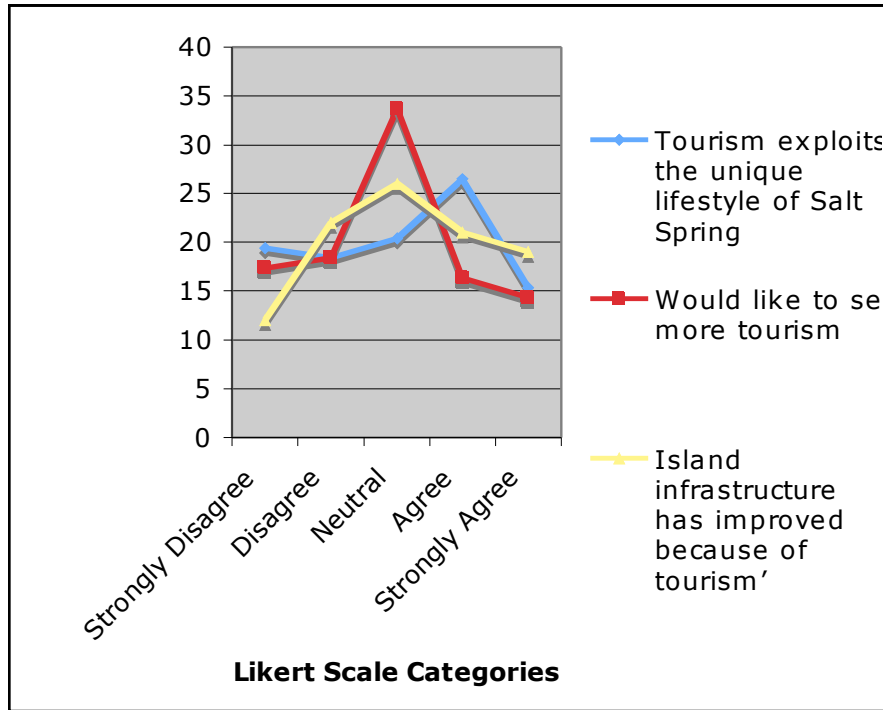


Figure 4.2: Positive Attitudes Towards Tourism



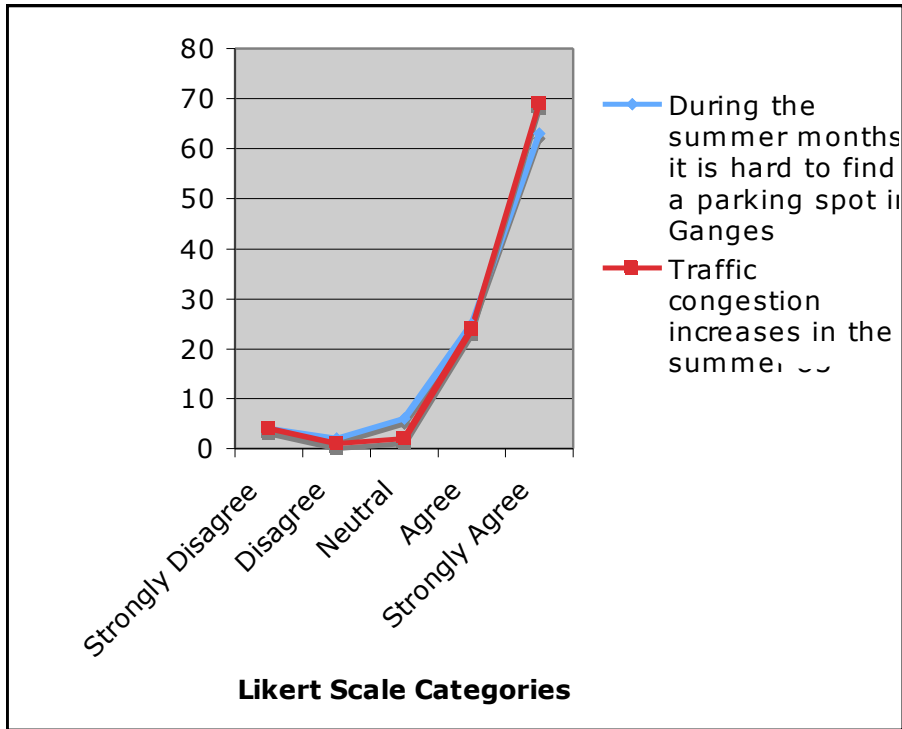
Some questions raised partially positive and partially negative responses from the respondents. For example, 41.6 percent agreed or strongly agreed that tourism exploits the unique lifestyle of Salt Spring, 20.4 percent were neutral, and 37.8 percent disagreed or strongly disagreed. Another question that revealed a similar response distribution was that which asked respondents if they would like to see more tourism. Here, 35.7 percent disagreed or strongly disagreed, 33.7 percent were neutral and 30.6 percent agreed or strongly agreed. A final question with a similar distribution is 'the Island infrastructure has improved because of tourism', 35 percent disagreed or strongly disagreed, 26 percent were neutral and 40 percent agreed or strongly agreed (Figure 4.3). The distribution of these responses shows that there are many different opinions on tourism within the community, as well as many community members who have not yet formed an opinion (neutral response). It also indicates that a substantial percentage of respondents are somewhat wary of tourism and the impacts they feel that tourism has on the community.

Figure 4.3: Positive and Negative Attitudes Towards Tourism



Some questions caused more concern amongst respondents, and showed negative attitudes to some of the impacts of tourism. For instance, when asked ‘during the summer months it is hard to find a parking spot in Ganges’, an overwhelming 88 percent of respondents agreed or strongly agreed with this statement, 6 percent were neutral and 6 percent disagreed or strongly disagreed. Correspondingly, when asked if traffic congestion increases in the summer 83 percent of respondents agreed or strongly agreed, 7 percent were neutral and 9 percent disagreed or strongly disagreed (Figure 4.4).

Figure 4.4: Negative Attitudes Towards Tourism



Important to note is how few respondents were economically involved in the tourism industry. When asked if they were economically involved, only 13 percent agreed or strongly agreed, 34 percent were neutral, and 53 percent disagreed or strongly disagreed. Therefore, even though most respondents are not profiting from tourism, as in the 2004 survey, the majority view tourism as positive for the community.

Correlations were done to see if those who have lived on Salt Spring longer were more or less likely to leave if tourism should dramatically increase. Results showed no statistically significant difference (Table 4.9). Another correlation was done to determine if those economically involved in the tourism industry were less likely to have negative attitudes towards tourism. Again, this had no statistical significance, with 40 percent of people who are economically dependent on tourism agreeing that it exploits the lifestyle of Salt Spring Island, with 44 percent disagreeing, and 14 percent offering a neutral response.

Table 4.8: Length of Residency Correlated to Leaving if Tourism Increased Drastically

Years on SS1	Move away if tourism drastically increased		
	Disagree and Strongly Disagree (%)	Neutral (%)	Agree and Strongly Agree (%)
Live only part of the year	3	1	1
Less than 5	3	2	1
6-10 years	11	6	5
11-15 years	8	3	1
16-24 years	10	6	3
More than 25 years	16	10	4
All my life	1	0	2
Total	52	28	17

In conclusion, even though residents on Salt Spring are aware of obvious tourism impacts, such as congestion and lack of parking, overall, they put the importance of tourists' dollars (75 percent of residents agree or strongly agree that tourism leads to more Island jobs) above such inconveniences and still view tourism favourably. These findings are similar to those found by Dr. Rollins in 2004, even though his demographics were slightly different, with the overall opinion of tourism being positive and the major complaint being increased traffic problems.

4.5 Salt Spring's Stage in the Model of Creative Destruction

From the data presented above, Salt Spring entered early commodification prior to the 1960s. At this time, a small number of accommodation facilities had been put in place on the Island to cater to a visiting clientele. There were also arts and crafts shows where visitors could purchase authentic Island crafts. Although some residents seemed to be weary of tourism at this time, the overall attitude seems to have been mostly positive, as reflected in the small number of complaints that were expressed in *The Driftwood*.

In the late 1990s, key changes were noted in Ganges, including the opening of several businesses that provided locally-crafted products. These included the, Salt Spring Cheese Company, the Wineries, and the Saltspring Soapworks. Although none of these businesses alone were as large or attracted the same numbers of visitors as key firms in Elora (Mitchell & Coghill, 2000) or Creemore (Vanderwerf, 2008), together, their combined drawing power and off Island marketing brought an increasing number of visitors to Salt Spring (Personal Communications, 2008). These new investments moved Salt Spring into the advanced stage of commodification. Since the late 1990s, visitor numbers have stopped increasing, and have remained steady. At the same time, although there is certainly some discontentment over the presence of tourists, resident attitudes are still largely positive. One reason for the positive attitudes is that the majority of tourists are repeat visitors who stay with family and friends. Thus, residents may have little animosity due to family ties and feelings connected to those visiting Salt Spring. Furthermore, given that the new investments are still in keeping with local culture (e.g. art galleries), suggests that Salt Spring has not progressed past the stage of advanced commodification; a state that it has been in now for about ten years. The next chapter will consider how the motivations of the public sector and residents have affected the development of Salt Spring Island.

Chapter 5

Findings Part Two

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the data obtained to fulfill the second objective of this thesis: to assess the role of the public sector in contributing to tourism development on Salt Spring. This chapter is divided into six sections, the local governing bodies of Salt Spring Island are presented in section 5.1. Next section 5.2 describes past initiatives that the public sector has initiated that concern tourism development. Thirdly, section 5.3 presents the Salt Spring's Official Community Plan, and in particular the portion that deals with tourism. Fourthly, section 5.4 explains the motivations of the provincial government and their vision for tourism development. Section 5.5 discusses the role of the government in maintaining Salt Spring Island in the stage of advanced commodification. Lastly, in section 5.6 a summary of findings is presented.

5.2 Local Governing Bodies

Salt Spring governance is unique because two elected councils run the Island. First is the Islands Trust, which is in charge of land-use planning and land-use authority. Second is the Capital Regional District (CRD), which is in charge of most public service deliveries such as sewage treatment, water treatment, building inspection, public transit, etc. Essentially, by separating land use functions from service delivery functions, the Islands Trust does not need to rely on growth to provide services, and thus can make land use decisions based on their own merit. Also, the Trust is guided by their mandate to preserve and protect the Gulf Islands, and so the preservation of the environment takes precedence over most things, including tourism (Salt Spring Island Official Community Plan, 2008).

The Islands Trusts is comprised of 13 Gulf Islands, and each Island elects two council members every three years. The local trustees are responsible for land use decisions in their local Trust's area and their decisions must be guided by the mandate to preserve and protect.

They (the provincial government) created the Islands Trust and called us Trustees, very deliberately I think, and it is something we take really seriously, and gave us a special provincial mandate to preserve and protect in the short form, to preserve and protect the unique amenities of this area... We recognize that the preservation of the environment, the watersheds, those things, take precedent over tourism as important as tourism is to us (Personal Communications, 2008).

This allows land use decisions to be made by locally- elected people who are members of the Island community. According to this thesis, preservationist are motivated to maintain the authenticity of the Island by either restricting development that is not in line with the Island's heritage or promoting preservation of existing heritage. Since the Islands Trusts places the value of the natural environment above all economic means, the Islands Trusts is motivated by preservation.

The mission of the CRD is to provide local governance for the elected areas and services, and to undertake initiatives best addressed at the regional level (Strategic Plan for the Capital Regional District, 2007). The CRD is responsible for 13 municipalities and three electoral areas located on or near the southern tip of Vancouver Island. Salt Spring is one of the three electoral areas, and, as such, elects one local regional director every three years. Since Salt Spring is an electoral area, residents pay a rural tax to the provincial government, and the government has jurisdiction on items such as roads maintenance, policing, and parks (Strategic Plan for the Capital Regional District, 2007). The CRD is still in charge of by-law creation and enforcement, and, in doing so, strives to encourage a livable and vibrant community, through stewardship of the environment and support of a prosperous and sustainable economy (Strategic

Plan for the Capital Regional District, 2007). Therefore, even though the official mandate is not to preserve the unique environment, it is still a top priority for the CRD. The vision plan for the CRD is also resident-centric, trying to appease the residents' rather than large investors, or tourists. Even in promoting a prosperous economy, the plan stipulates the need to develop "enterprises sensitive to the state of the natural environment, existing development, and quality of life in the region" (Strategic Plan for the Capital Regional District, 2007). Within the vision plan of the CRD, six critical areas have been identified: organizational performances, environmental protection, growth management, regional transportation, liquid waste/sewage, and emergency and disaster response. The only one that may concern tourism is growth management, and there is nothing specific in their plan relating to tourism. The one notable strategy is to strengthen public participation, and the facilitation of public discussion (Strategic Plan for the Capital Regional District, 2007). This may increase community action and community involvement that, in turn, will help to encourage the community to remain resident-centric in accordance with their Official Community Plan.

Although there are two main governing bodies on Salt Spring, both the Islands Trust and the CRD put residents first, and the community's quality of life as top priorities. For this region, a top priority is the natural environment and to preserve the landscape as much as possible, even if this results in drawbacks to the economy. Thus, the governing bodies of Salt Spring manage growth and the economy from a preservationist perspective.

5.3 Past Initiatives

The content analysis of local newspapers provided information concerning public policy as it related to tourism development. The first article that mentioned tourism development was in 1961. This article described a speech given by an employee of the BC Toll Ferry Authority

where the author noted that the Gulf Islands are enjoyed by relatively few people because of the lack of quality accommodation. He suggested that Islanders develop the area to make Salt Spring a real attraction (Westwood, 1961). His recognition of the importance of local initiative was an important one. It appears to have guided initiatives that followed in the next decades. In 1980, the Islands Trust decided that development on Salt Spring should occur around small-scale community-based tourism (Sober, 1980). The Islands trustees felt that the Gulf Islands were not the place for hotels and motels, but “bed and breakfast is what the Islands Trust sees as a way of retaining the rural atmosphere while at the same time allowing more people than before a chance to vacation here” (Sober, 1980: 24). In 1988, the first official meetings were set up by the public sector to discuss tourism strategies. These meetings were initiated by the chair of the Chamber of Commerce, who believed that “Salt Spring lags behind in its tourism related initiatives” (Anonymous, 1988: 2); an activity that was being encouraged by the provincial Ministry of Tourism (Anonymous, 1988: 2). Although these meetings advocated the growth of tourism, it was recognized that the type of tourism promoted should be compatible with Salt Spring’s resources. The Chair of the Chamber of Commerce expressed his hope that all sectors of the community would be represented at the meetings because tourism affects everyone on the Island (Anonymous, 1988: 2). The number one issue discussed at these meetings was Salt Spring’s tourist-related resources, and the number two issue was to whom tourism should be marketed (Anonymous, 1988:12). Although no official policy emerged from these meetings, they provided a starting point for getting people together to discuss tourism.

In 1992, the first community tourism plan was undertaken. Extensive community workshops were conducted in preparation for the development of the plan. These workshops concluded that rural lifestyle-tourism was the key to a viable industry, one that would reflect its

authentic rural lifestyle and natural environment, in keeping with the Islands Trust Policy and the official community plan (Anonymous, 1992: A15). Such a focus would also support low impact infrastructures and ensure the Island community as a whole was benefiting from tourism (Anonymous, 1992: A15). Although these ideas were put forward, no official plans emerged from these meetings.

In 1994, the workshops resumed, once again, with the goal of empowering residents to guide the development of tourism. During these workshops the residents prioritized tourism development. In order, their priorities were: have year round visitors, preserve character of Island, fit tourism to the community instead of adapting the community to tourism, provide bus service to connect with ferries and encourage fewer visitors who take longer vacations (Lennox, 1994). Once again, however, nothing official resulted from this meeting and no published documents on tourism development and planning were written.

The first formal tourism document emerged in June 2006 (Kelly, 2006). The author, Michael Kelly, clearly stated in this publication that strategic planning of tourism development was needed in the Islands Trust Area. This document, entitled, “An Initial Tourism Planning Strategy for the Islands Trust Area,” presented a situation analysis of the current tourism economy of the local Trust area. This was combined with results of a day-long public workshop that involved residents and the application of best practice principles in tourism management and development. This paper was commissioned by the Islands Trust, but was also used by the CRD when they began their tourism profile in 2008.

At the time of the present research, the CRD had just completed a study of tourism on Salt Spring and the other Southern Gulf Islands that documents the current status of tourism, and both positive and negative impacts. The study is comprised of three parts: tourism profile,

strategic analysis, and opportunity outline; visitor education; and awareness campaign.

Originally the project was to include community consultation, but, according to Gary Holeman,

When we got into it, we realized that we didn't have the resources or the time to undertake that, it became a research project more or less; so it documented the status and the benefits and cost of tourism and also identified some strategies to maximize benefits and minimize cost (Personal Communications, 2008).

Instead the CRD opted for a steering committee that was comprised of members of the Chamber of Commerce from Salt Spring and the Southern Gulf Islands, the two elected officials of the CRD (one from Salt Spring, and one from the Southern Gulf Islands), and certain members of the Islands Trusts from the area.

Part one of the document records the status of the industry to identify impacts and market trends. It also determines that tourism is a principal industry and a local economic driver. It suggests that the next step is to mitigate the negative (excessive water usage, pollution) and increase the positive impacts (economic).

Part two concerns steps to improve the management of the visitor industry designated by the steering committee. These steps include the creation of a strategic tourism plan, a visitor bureau, a visitor code of conduct, an additional hotel room tax, a social marketing campaign, coordinated marketing, a buy local campaign, off-season events, and a water conservation program.

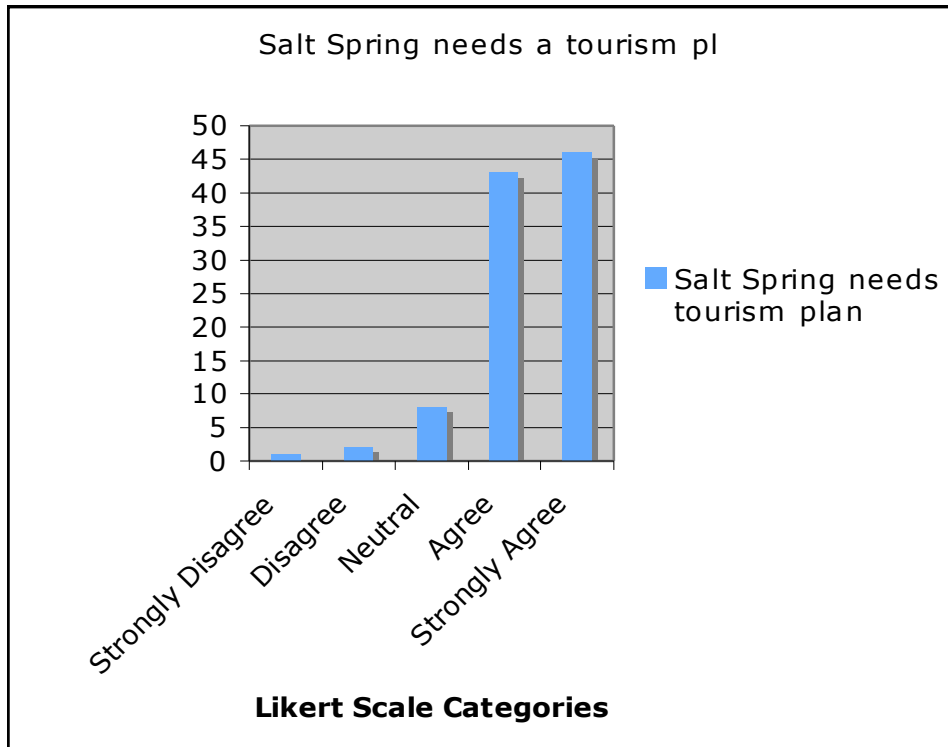
Part three combines the suggestions from the steering committee (visitor code of conduct, social marketing campaign and coordinated marketing) into the visitor awareness and education campaign. Also included in this section is the rationale behind the need for this vision and an action plan for its implementation. Although a tourism plan was number one on the list drawn up by the steering committee, there is no mention of how to create one within part three.

Coincidentally, at the same time, the Chamber of Commerce decided that there was a need for a tourism plan. They have already had two meetings, with the last meeting being in February 2009, where a mediator was present. The plan will involve 24 different aspects of Salt Spring from farming to retail, harbor authority, airplane service, etc. Once developed, the tourism plan will complement all aspects of the Island (Personal Communications, 2008). In an interview, the president of the Chamber of Commerce reiterated the fact that the plan was not to increase development, but to manage all the different groups and interests under one policy, “We don’t have big tourism, nobody here really wants to turn into a . . . a Whistler, people here would like to maintain the rural aspect, in doing so we still have to manage tourism as it comes through” (Personal Communications, 2008).

These public sector initiatives reflect the wants of the community, as identified in the resident survey. For instance, when the researcher asked whether “Salt Spring needs a long-term vision plan for tourism development,” 46 percent strongly agreed, 43 percent agreed, 8 percent were neutral, 2 percent disagreed, and 1 percent strongly disagreed (Figure 5.1). For an Island that self-proclaims that nobody agrees on anything (Personal Communications, 2008), there is an overwhelming majority that agrees that there is a need to plan any type of future tourism development. Although there is a majority who want a tourism plan, few people appear to be willing to spend their time going to meetings and becoming involved in the tourism planning process. When the researcher asked a key informant how many people were at the first meeting to discuss the tourism plan, the answer was “about 30”. For an Island of about 10, 000 where tourism is one of the main sectors of the economy, this represents only a small fraction of the population. When asked on the questionnaire if the respondent attended public meetings concerning tourism, only 7.1 percent responded to the affirmative. Therefore, even though

residents know that it is important to have a plan, few appear to be involved directly in its development. This may well be the case because the tourism industry is still seen as mostly positive and not yet a cause for concern for most local residents.

Figure 5.1: Respondents View on Tourism Plan



Over the years, various workshops and meetings have attempted to gather residents’ input into the tourism industry. The first published document on the tourism industry appeared in 2006, and was partially the result of public workshops. Since then, the community has regressed in terms of public participation and the latest document was a top-down planning approach done by ‘experts’ in the field. On the other hand, the tourism plan that is currently being created has the potential to be more inclusive, because the underlying premise is to connect all the different parts of Salt Spring’s tourism industry in one document. Thus, in order to do this, all tourism sectors must be included.

5.4 Salt Spring Official Community Plan, 2008

The Official Community Plan (OCP) is completed by the Islands Trusts, whose official mandate is “to preserve and protect the Trust area and its unique amenities and environment for the benefit of the residents of the Trust area and of British Columbia” (Salt Spring Island Official Community Plan, 2008). Thus, the vision of the OCP is “based on the commitment to honour the natural integrity of the Island, while striving to meet the basic needs of its inhabitants... we also look to secure the future of our community, to ensure that it remains rural and resident-centered, with economic opportunities to support a broad range of people” (Salt Spring Island Official Community Plan, 2008). The general objectives all recognize the fragility of the Island’s natural environment and the need to keep it protected while using such measures as the precautionary principle. On page 4 of the OCP, tourism is mentioned for the first time under

A.4.4. Our Sense of Community.

A.4.4.1 To ensure that our community continues to function as an authentic, resident-centered community in the face of internal and external pressures to change and grow; to ensure that growth, including the growth of tourism, is managed in a way that does not displace or detract from our community’s importance function as a home for its residents.

This objective, which is so vital to the OCP, encompasses the preservation motivations of the community, even when tourism is involved.

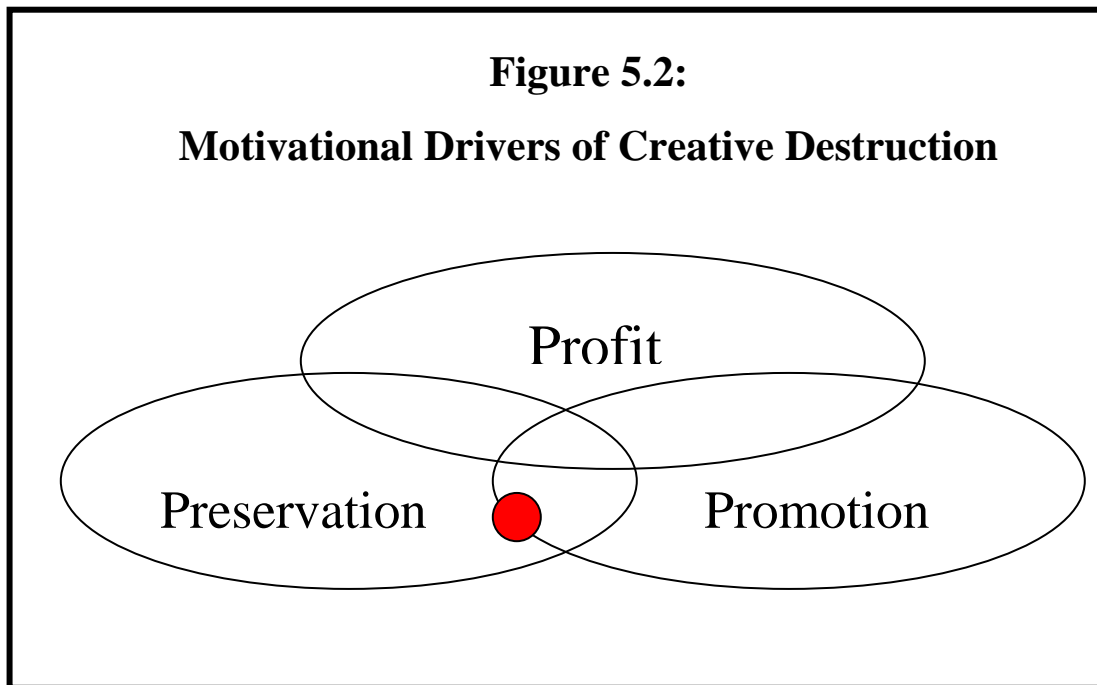
The section of the OCP that pertains directly to tourism is B.3 “Non-village commercial and industrial land use objectives and policies”, most specifically, B.3.1 “Tourism-Accommodation and Facilities.” Out of the 6 objectives, 4.5 are preservationist driven, 1 is profit driven and 0.5 is growth driven. The one that is half preservation and half growth is B.3.1.1.3. “To make land use decisions that would encourage tourism in the shoulder and off-seasons and discourage any significant increase in the peak period”. During certain times of year, the public


sector would like to increase tourism to promote economic activity, but during the summer months it would like tourism to remain constant. The profit- driven objective is to maximize the economic benefits of tourism within the community and not leach monetary profit off-Island. The remaining objectives all envision a tourism industry that is authentic, resident-based and fits with the rural, peaceful nature of Salt Spring (Please refer to Appendix E for the complete section of the OCP).

The next section explains the tourism policies of the OCP. The policies concerning tourism development are in favour of local growth that will market local products, but are against large-scale development that has the potential to turn Salt Spring into a tourist-catered town, rather than a resident-centric town. In this section, the OCP allows development for low-impact small-scale tourism where the profits would remain on the Island. In fact, B.3.1.2.5 says that the Local Trust Committee should consider rezoning applications from property owners wishing to develop small, low impact campgrounds on larger properties in the following designations: rural neighbourhoods, agriculture, forestry, and uplands. This would change the landscape into one based on tourism, thus contradicting an exclusively preservationist motivation. However, its focus on the role of local property owners reinforces the goal of keeping profits of tourism local. The OCP is more preservationist- driven when dealing with large-scale tourism development. For example in B.3.1.2.9, the Local Trust Committee will not consider rezoning applications that would allow the development of large new destination resorts, large convention centres, water slides, theme parks, casinos and mini-golf courses. Therefore, because tourism is one of the largest economic industries on Salt Spring (Ecoplan International Inc, 2008a), there are aspects of the OCP that encourages growth and development in order for residents to make a living.

Even so, the strongest motivational driver is preservation, because as stated above, that is the force that drives decisions made by the Islands Trusts, and thus the main force behind the OCP.

The OCP was plotted on a venn diagram drawn from the 2009 paper on creative destruction, to visualize what motivates the actions of council: profit, preservation or promotion. Since the OCP encourages small-scale tourism development that keeps revenues on the Island, it is not solely a preservationist document. Therefore, the OCP is placed with a section in the promotion circle, because promotion motivations play a part in decision-making processes (Figure 5.2).



SSI Official Community Plan 

5.5 The Provincial Tourism Plan

In 2003, Premier Gordon Campbell publicly challenged the British Columbia tourism sector to double tourism revenues from \$ 9 billion to \$18 billion by the year 2015 (Province of British Columbia, 2007a). To fulfill this challenge, the Ministry of Tourism, Sport and the Arts

created a tourism action plan with the goal “to enable the British Columbia tourism industry to grow from ‘good’ to ‘great’ and double total annual tourism revenues to \$18 billion by 2015’ (Province of British Columbia, 2007a). The guiding principles include: take a visitor/tourist-centric approach, and develop destination management strategies guided by the government to promote the entire province as a destination for visitors and investors. This action plan focuses on four key areas: development and investment, access and infrastructure development, tourism workforce, and marketing and promotion. The plan mentions nothing about creating a sustainable tourism market, or about the diverse communities that comprise British Columbia. Instead of exploring real impacts on rural areas the Tourism Action Plan states that ‘tourists drawn to B.C.’s rural areas contribute to vibrant and economically sustainable communities’ (Tourism Action Plan, 2007a).

This action plan is not compatible with Salt Spring’s OCP, nor with the mandate of the Islands Trusts. Premier Campbell’s challenge is not what the Salt Spring community wants for their Island (Personal Communications, 2008), and this may pose a problem if the premier continues to push development. When the researcher asked the elected CRD official why they were now funding a tourism study, the key informant stated

I guess you could point to the provincial government as really driving tourism in the province... I think in part it goes back to the provincial government setting the stage. Now the thing is doubling tourism on Salt Spring I mean, we do not want to go there. It is not our objective. Our objective is to have a healthy tourism economy, but to manage tourism, not to promote it (Personal Communications, 2008).

It appears, therefore, that Salt Spring has the potential of becoming a contested landscape. On one hand, the provincial government is pushing for huge increases in revenues; on the other hand, Islanders want to maintain the rural landscape. This conflict arising from powerful stakeholders has the possibility for development to occur outside of the control of the

community. Thus, it is important that the community is aware of this issue and becomes engaged in discussions about future tourism development.

5.6 Role of Governance in Maintaining Salt Spring in the Advanced Commodification Phase

Tourism planning on Salt Spring Island has helped maintain the Island in the advanced commodification phase, but it is also in that phase because of preservation-minded community members. It is community members who elect representatives that care about the preservation of the Island and make that a priority. Furthermore, the tourism economy on Salt Spring has developed according to the majority of community needs and wishes because of the strict by-laws in the OCP. Although locals do not really participate in the planning process, they are willing to react to development. For example, in 1999, Texada Land Corporation bought up 10 percent of the Island from a German Prince who owned the land, including watersheds, forests and farmland, with the intention of logging the area. The community first asked for a sustainable method of logging, but Texada refused. This led to much community outrage and activism, prompted by a desire to buy the land back. To gain media attention, the women of Salt Spring made a tasteful nude calendar and became known as “eco warriors”. On August 17th, 2000 the case was picked up by the Globe and Mail and the calendar girls were interviewed, including Phil Collins’ ex-wife, who was one of the participants. Andrea Collins stated, “ I’m doing it because I’m very concerned, I will do just about anything, including posing naked, to save this Island.” (Lunman, 2000: A3). With the help of the Capital Regional District (CRD) Parks, Islands Trust, The Nature Trust of British Columbia, Forest Renewal BC, The Land Conservancy of BC, North Salt Spring Water District and continuous community pressure to keep fundraising, the Islanders were able to buy back the land and turn it into a public park (Dale et al, 2006).

This type of community-centric preservationist attitude is not common, but because of the positive community vision, community cooperation with larger organizations and the support of government and non-government organizations, this case became a model for community-led initiatives (Dale et al, 2006). Although this case has nothing directly to do with tourism, it does show that if an entrepreneur were to try to build a large or inappropriate attraction on Salt Spring, it is likely that the community would respond in a similar way, given their history of community activism. Furthermore, the mechanisms are already in place to halt over-development of the rural landscape. This, along with the by-laws outlined in the OCP concerning tourism development, means that Salt Spring is well on its way to maintaining the phase of advanced commodification, according to the creative destruction model. The next step would be to find ways of engaging the community in proactive tourism planning, so that action can be taken before development gets out of local control.

5.7 Summary

As outlined above, Salt Spring, according to the Official Community Plan (2008), is a community driven by preservationists. This does not mean that all residents agree that preserving the landscape is always the right decisions, or that all public office decisions are guided by the mandate to preserve, but of the three motivational drivers, preservation is the strongest. Even though Salt Spring is labeled as preservationist, this does not mean that public participation occurs. These are two separate entities, and as described above, tourism planning that is meant to encourage sustainable tourism occurred without the input of the community. Finally, policies from the provincial government have the potential to push Salt Spring towards increased tourism development, even though this may not be what the community wants, thus potentially creating a contested landscape.

Chapter 6

Discussion

6.1 Introduction

This study is the first that has applied the model of creative destruction to Salt Spring Island. This application was undertaken because Salt Spring meets the three criteria necessary for conversion into a heritage shopping centre; an amenity environment, accessible to an affluent population and the presence of entrepreneurs. The situation on Salt Spring has many similarities to other towns where the model of creative destruction has been applied, but there are also some key differences. In the following sections, these differences and similarities are discussed. Next, a comparison is made of the process of commodification that is occurring on Salt Spring Island with other places identified in the literature. The second part of this study, which investigates the motivations of the public sector, is then related to the literature on participatory tourism planning. This will help determine what Salt Spring is doing right in terms of including all local groups in planning, and what they could improve upon. Finally, the implications of this study for both policy makers and the community as a whole are presented, as well as the implications of this study for academia.

6.2 Similarities to the Model of Creative Destruction

6.2.1 Types of Tourists who are Attracted in the Early Stages of Creative Destruction

The most notable similarity with other studies is that Salt Spring did progress according to the model. Specifically, the model predicts that people go to rural places in search of authentic culture. Salt Spring Island initially attracted visitors because of 'its unspoiled beauty, its tranquility, [and the fact that] there are modern accommodations for the most discriminating

tourist” (Anonymous, 1963a: 2). Thus, visitors came who were attempting to escape city life, to spend time in nature, or to get back to the land, but they did so while enjoying new accommodations that allowed for comfort and luxury. As early as the 1960s, Islanders were profiting by hosting arts and crafts shows that were patronized by visitors (Kahn, 1998). Thus, while visitors were absorbed in nature, they could also buy watercolours of the landscapes, or homemade pottery that connected them to the rural Island culture. Although visitors may travel for a variety of reasons, this case study has confirmed that early visitors are attracted to experience authentic culture, (Mitchell *et al*, 2001), including natural heritage, as found in Salt Spring. This similarity supports the validity of the model in a cross-Canada context.

The literature on commodification of rural areas discusses how the myth of rural simplicity allows visitors to see the countryside as a wholesome place for the city dweller to heal and connect to the landscape (Bunce, 1994, Kneafsey, 2001, and Park & Copack, 2004). This research found similar notions in the reasons why visitors were traveling to Salt Spring. In the 2008 questionnaire distributed to visitors to Salt Spring Island, respondents listed some of their reasons for coming to Salt Spring, and these included ‘getting away’, ‘to relax’, ‘enjoy the natural environment’, and ‘to escape the city’. Respondents also did not want the Island to change. As mentioned in the findings, when participants were asked what additional amenities they would like to see, the majority of participants said ‘keep it how it is’. Thus, surveyed visitors want Salt Spring to remain a rural haven, so that they can continue to have somewhere to escape to and connect to a landscape where time seems to stand still.

6.2.2 Commodification Sustaining a Way of Life

As discussed in chapter two of this thesis, commodification is most often perceived as negative because it interrupts a local way of life and creates a new pathway of development that

is no longer under the control of the local population (Greenwood, 1989, George & Reid, 2005, and Watson & Kopachevsky, 1994). This is also what may occur in later stages of the model of creative destruction. Findings of this study suggest that commodification on the Island is occurring through the efforts of local entrepreneurs. To date, this activity has not disrupted the way of life for the community. This finding supports the model's contention that many local residents will welcome visitors during the early stages of tourism development. In fact, in this particular case, it appears that tourism helps sustain the way of life for many of the Island's artists.

Among the most significant of tourism-supported jobs are in the accommodations, food service and cultural sectors. The latter is a huge part of the unique cultural mosaic of the Island. The artists, the craftspeople and the musicians have contributed towards the building of an international reputation for high-caliber artistic creativity. And most of them are able to live here because of tourists (Anonymous, 2003: A22).

In fact, what threatens both the creative class and the agricultural community more than tourism, is the real estate market (Personal Communication, 2008). Even during the 2009 economic crisis, an RV lot on Salt Spring is on the market for over 100, 000 dollars and waterfront houses are priced at over six million dollars (www.gulfislandrealestate.com, accessed on January 24th, 2009). The community has realized that the creative culture of Salt Spring is under threat, and even local policy makers are concerned. In the words of a member of the Islands Trust:

When you look at the average price of housing on the Island today, which is roughly \$650, 000 to \$700, 000 for a house, well in my opinion an artist, painter, weaver, somebody comes along and buys that house. You cannot sell enough watercolours to pay off that house. I mean, you can work like crazy, and there is not enough market for you to sell enough watercolours or enough pottery to pay off a house that you paid that much money for. And so, that is why I think that segment of the community is under threat (Personal Communication, 2008).

Therefore, it seems clear that tourism on Salt Spring is not the enemy; rather, it has given these artists a livelihood. It is the real estate market and the desire of a growing wealthy populace to buy a home on Salt Spring that has become the problem. The impact of population growth was incorporated into the 2009 update of creative destruction. The demands of new residents (e.g. for larger-scale commercial infrastructure), could impact the rate of commodification and the community's progression through the stages of the model (Mitchell & de Wall, 2009). However, it is also likely that the actions of new residents may be motivated by a preservationist discourse. In this case, they may well fight to maintain the authenticity of the rural landscape. At present, it is not yet known what the motivations are of these wealthy newcomers to Salt Spring Island.

6.2.3 The Role of Different Stakeholders

The other important similarity between the different case studies on creative destruction is the existence of different opinions among community members concerning tourism development. Oftentimes, conflict emerged between those who are pro growth and development and those who desire to preserve. As Mitchell and de Waal (2009) suggest, the outcome of conflict typically favours those with the loudest voice and greatest influence (Mitchell & Waal, 2009). This was demonstrated by Tonts and Greive (2002) in their study of Bridgetown, Western Australia. In this research it was found that during the stage of early destruction, when the town councilors wanted to transform rural farmland into residential developments, those with a commercial interest were in favour because of the possibility of more customers. On the other hand, hobby farmers, environmental lobbyists and newcomers to the area opposed the development. The developments were approved, and the deciding vote came from the Shire President who was also a local real estate agent (Tonts & Greive, 2002). Mitchell *et al* (2001), found similar dichotomies in their study, "The Creative Destruction of Niagara-on-the-Lake".

During the stage of early destruction in the late 1990s, vocal organizations such as the Niagara-on-the-Lake Conservancy opposed new development, while trying to preserve historical buildings and the authentic streetscape. Simultaneously, the pro-development council, along with wealthy entrepreneurs, supported any proposal that brought tourists to the area (Mitchell *et al*, 2001). Although Salt Spring has not progressed into the state of early destruction, it was found that there is already opposition concerning tourism development.

There are different opinions about tourism, and the different forms that it could or might take. There are people who believe that tourism should be quite restricted on the Island and that tourists have a huge impact and in many cases negative, and there are a number of reasonable sections of the Island that would encourage more tourism for a variety of different means (Personal Communication, 2008).

Clearly, differences in communities do exist, and the views on both sides need to be acknowledged. Unfortunately, it is most often those with the most power who influence the decision-makers (Mitchell & Coghill, 2000). To change the balance of power, mechanisms should be in place to create dialogue, mutual understanding, and mutual goals that allow for a middle ground to be established (Reid *et al*, 2004).

6.3 Deviations from the Model of Creative Destruction

6.3.1 Types of Investments

Certain aspects of Salt Spring have slightly deviated from other case studies of creative destruction; nevertheless, the evolution of Salt Spring still fits the model. A difference that was found on Salt Spring, when compared to the other case studies, is the relative lack of large-scale tourism investments on Salt Spring, compared to other towns. For example, in 1975 the historic grist mill in St. Jacobs was converted into a furniture store that sold replicas of antique pine furniture (Mitchell, 1998). In the case of Creemore, Ontario, the opening of Creemore Springs

Brewery in 1987 brought an entrepreneurial spirit to the town and, with that, tourists (Vanderwerf, 2008). Once the Brewery was established, visitor-related businesses increased, which included antique shops and bed and breakfasts (Vanderwerf, 2008). A final example is Elora, Ontario, where the Drimmie Grist Mill was converted into the Elora Mill, offering accommodation and dining in an historic setting (Mitchell & Coghill, 2000). The development of the Mill was the first step in the establishment of a tourist district in Elora (Mitchell & Coghill, 2000). All of these entrepreneurial investments initiated tourism; for Salt Spring, however, the process unfolded somewhat differently.

Although some commodification did occur in Ganges, as reflected in the production and consumption of local artisan goods, there was little refurbishing of buildings. This may be explained by the fact that Salt Spring is an Island, whose residents have historically survived by engaging in small-scale subsistence agriculture. Consequently, no large buildings (e.g a mill) were constructed, leaving the Island with no opportunities for large-scale restoration. Moreover, it is important to note that British Columbia (mid 1800s) was settled almost a hundred years later than Ontario (mid 1700s). Furthermore, since Salt Spring is an Island, it was isolated for a relatively long period, even after the British had settled in present day British Columbia. White settlers did not arrive to Salt Spring until 1859 and, even then, there were only 117 residents (Kahn, 1998). After constructing homes, the first buildings to be built were Churches, with St. Paul's Catholic Church completed in 1880 (Kahn, 1998) (Figure 6.1). Development continued at a slow pace, since the population of the Island did not reach 1000 till the 1930s; therefore, there was little manpower to build impressive structures. A small population, a location that is difficult to get to without ferries, and a fairly recent settlement date, has translated into few

heritage buildings on Salt Spring. Consequently, very few structures are available for conversion to tourist attractions.

Figure 6.1: St Paul's Church



Source: Salt Spring Archives, 2009

Instead, commodification on Salt Spring grew gradually from the work of many entrepreneurs, over a prolonged period of time. Although there are no large tourism facilities on Salt Spring, many small businesses and home-based firms, including galleries and pottery shops, give visitors the opportunity to buy the culture of Salt Spring.

Another difference is that the first type of investment on Salt Spring was accommodation because, prior to the establishment of a regular ferry schedule, it would have been very difficult to travel to and from the mainland in one day. The model predicts that accommodation will come later, after the community has attracted day-trippers (Mitchell, 1998). The appearance of accommodation on Salt Spring is unique because of its Island location.

6.3.2 Length of Time in Each Stage

Another difference that was found on Salt Spring is the length of time that a community remains in the early commodification phase. Mitchell (1998) suggests that heritage-shopping

villages, such as Ganges, are a post-1970 creation because of their connection with the emerging post-modern era. However, later studies showed that early commodification has occurred as far back as 1950, which is what happened in the case of Niagara-on-the-Lake (Mitchell *et al*, 2001). No matter when early commodification occurred, no other case study remained in the stage for longer than twenty years, with the shortest time frame being three years (Table 6.1). By contrast, Salt Spring Island remained in the stage of early commodification from prior to the 1960s, until the late 1990s.

Table 6.1: Creative Destruction Case Studies Length of Time in the Stage of Early Commodification

Author (s)	Location	Dates During the Stage of Early Commodification	Number of Years
Bei Huang <i>et al</i> (2007)	Zhu Jia Jiao, China	1997-2000	3
Mitchell (1998)	St. Jacobs, Ont.	1975-1978	3
Mitchell & Coghill (2000)	Elora, Ont.	1970-1975	5
Vanderwerf (2008)	Creemore, Ont.	1981-1987	6
Tonts & Grieves (2002)	Bridgetown, Australia	1970-1980	10
Fan <i>et al</i> (2008)	Luzhi, China	1980-1985	15
Mitchell <i>et al</i> (2001)	Old Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ont.	1950-1970	20
Halpern (2009)	Salt Spring Island, BC	Prior to 1960- late 1990s	Over 30 years

6.3.3 Summary

In summary, the findings of this thesis support the model of creative destruction in several ways. First, it supports conclusions drawn in the rural commodification literature concerning the reasons why visitors travel to rural landscapes and the role visitors play in sustaining local artisans. Second, it corroborates existing literature that suggests heritage centres are comprised of communities with many voices and many different opinions. On the other

hand, the results of this thesis diverge somewhat from other studies that have examined the process of creative destruction. In particular, Ganges has deviated somewhat in terms of the types of tourism investments that are made (with accommodation coming first), and the length of time spent in the stage of early commodification (with Salt Spring remaining in this state for a relatively long time). Even though Salt Spring's evolution has been somewhat different from other communities, the path it has taken still fits the model. This is because the model of creative destruction is versatile enough to accommodate unique situations that occur in different rural settings.

6.4 Participatory Tourism Planning on Salt Spring Island

From interviewing key informants, and reading government documents on local tourism initiatives, it has been revealed that no participatory tourism planning has taken place on Salt Spring Island. The most recently completed planning document is the three-part study on tourism profile, strategic analysis, and an opportunity outline. This publication was paid for by the CRD and outsourced to the Ecoplan International Inc, a planning company based in Vancouver, British Columbia. The original plan was to consult the public, but because of time and financial constraint, no planned consultations took place. The result is a "top-down" document, with no new or innovative ideas.

If the public had been involved, as originally planned, it would have taken the form of tokenism as outlined by Arnstein (1969). If consultation is the only form of participation it "is still a sham since it offers no assurance that citizen concerns and ideas will be taken into account" (Arnstein, 1969: 219). For Salt Spring, even this degree of tokenism was taken from them and they were left with no participatory options. By not including the public, a top-down approach was chosen that distributes an uneven amount of power to a stakeholder who is not part

of the community (Ecoplan International Inc). This firm devised the easiest solution to managing the tourism industry, by coming up with non-innovative ideas, such as signage on ferries concerning a visitor code of conduct (Ecoplan International Inc, 2008c). The ferry ride to Salt Spring offers a magnificent view of British Columbia's lush landscape, giving travelers the opportunity to be on the ocean, while viewing mountains in the background. Personal observation (from a lifetime of riding BC Ferries) suggests that visitors spend their time outside taking pictures, enjoying the view and relaxing, not reading signs posted inside the ferries (Figure 6.2). If residents had been given the opportunity to participate in this three-part tourism profile, the planning firm may have been forced to follow more useful paths such as suggesting a strategic plan, an additional hotel room tax or a water conservation program (all management options listed in part two of the profile).

Figure 6.2: Visitor Enjoying the View



Source: Halpern, 2008

The second tourism planning initiative currently occurring on Salt Spring is the creation of a tourism plan. During the 2008 fieldwork, the plan was in the very early stages where efforts were being made to gather together representatives of the tourism industry to discuss ways to complement each other and better the industry for both residents and tourists. The findings of this study demonstrate that most respondents agree that there needs to be a plan. To date, however, few residents have been willing to give up their free time to attend meetings or to become involved with the tourism plan committee. This lack of involvement was also found by Reid, Mair and George (2004). Communities in the early stages of growth, that have few tensions concerning tourism, sometimes have difficulties visualizing how unplanned tourism industries may affect daily life, and not just the occasional missed parking space (Reid *et al*, 2004). Thus, when tourism is perceived as positive, it is hard to motivate residents to see that there may be negative issues in the future that need to be dealt with in the present.

This first step of community dialogue is often missed in articles concerning participatory tourism planning. For instance, in Jamal and Getz (1994) “Collaboration Theory and Community Tourism Planning”, their first step is:

Proposition 1: Collaboration for community-based tourism planning will require recognition of a high degree of interdependence in planning and managing the domain. Perceptions of interdependence may be enhanced by emphasizing the following aspects of interdependence in community tourism domains: sharing limited community amenities and resources (environmental, infra- and superstructure, recreational facilities, hospitality etc)

Here they are emphasizing interdependence between stakeholders, but are forgetting that if the stakeholders do not see how participatory planning can positively impact them, then it will be very difficult to motivate them to spend their time discussing tourism. Reed (1997) in *Power Relations and Community-Based Tourism Planning*, examines power relation dichotomies

without mentioning how to get the community engaged in dialogue. This paper commences with community meetings, with no mention on how to engage residents so that they will come to the meetings. Reed (1997) may have begun at this stage, because of unique circumstances surrounding Squamish, BC. Squamish is the neighbouring municipality to Whistler, BC and thus residents are able to see first hand the negative social and environmental impacts that may arise if a community is ruled by tourism. Reed (1997) documented that 100 of the town's 13, 000 residents, participated in workshops. This is three times the number of participants who attended the community plan workshop on Salt Spring Island. Researchers often miss stating the importance of community dialogue because they are documenting communities where negative impacts of tourism are already apparent. This thesis adds to a small body of literature on creating community dialogue concerning tourism, when the majority of impacts are positive.

To begin dialogue, according to Reid, Mair, and George (2004), a self-administered questionnaire can be given to residents to get them thinking about the formation of tourism and the decision-making processes concerning tourism that affect the community. Although, the 2008 residents' questionnaire distributed in this research was not self-administered, it still brought about dialogue in the community. Once the questionnaire was distributed, a number of emails were received that indicated dialogue was occurring. As one individual wrote, "We have just finished your survey on Tourism Development on Salt Spring. Your questions fostered great discussion in our house- many thanks for this opportunity" (Personal Communications, 2008). Community dialogue also reached *The Driftwood*. During the survey process, the researcher was contacted by a reporter who subsequently published an article on the study in this local newspaper.

Community members also reached out by placing additional comments on their questionnaire. These comments show the many different opinions concerning tourism development and the different issues that worry residents. It appears that when an opportunity for dialogue is presented, that, Islanders have quite a bit to say. For example:

- It seems to me that any attempt to regulate rampant development (of land or pocketbooks) is an anathema to tourism- the majority of Islanders (see results of last Islands Trusts Elections) do NOT want Salt Spring to become another Whistler! (Questionnaire 21)
- You will find a large percent of this Island is probably against tourism- nevertheless it has grown because of our tourist center (Questionnaire 23)
- Most of our merchants need the added revenue brought by tourists-so they are beneficial to the community. Parking must be increased somehow-especially in the area near the central grocery store (Questionnaire 35)
- The Islands Trust is a unique form of government. Some would want a municipality but then we lose the right to preserve and protect the special nature of the Gulf Islands. Unlimited growth will eventually destroy the natural beauty and organization of the Islands. Some Island planners want unlimited growth. The Trust OCP is a better way (Questionnaire 36)
- Salt Spring infrastructure cannot handle the number of tourists. Everyone gets tired, burnt out and grumpy. One of the saddest realities is the roadways on our Island. You can't even see the lines on the road to see how the roads work. Island life is disappearing on Salt Spring. In 10 years there is a certain demographic of people that just won't be able to live here. Money is winning this battle, not community (Questionnaire 50)
- Tourism is the engine that drives the business community and through them, the many community services that rely on the financial generosity of these businesses. Tourism has caused some increased traffic for sure but the benefits are much greater than most people realize (Questionnaire 88)

This study gave residents a chance to think about the tourism industry, how it impacts them as individuals and the community as a whole. Unfortunately, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to now engage in community meetings to bring this dialogue to the next step of creating mutual understandings and visions for the future (Reid *et al*, 2004). On a positive note, however, there are currently meetings and workshops being held by the Chamber of Commerce regarding the

tourism plan, in which community members can get involved and thus help determine the future of tourism development.

In summary, from the response of the Salt Spring community towards this research, it is apparent that there is much interest in tourism development and what that means for residents. The questionnaire became a tool that allowed respondents to become self-aware about how they felt about tourism and tourism planning. Coincidentally, the current tourism plan workshops can allow for that second step of education and community vision to occur, because now more community members have become interested in their role in future tourism development on Salt Spring Island.

6.5 Implications for Policy Makers

The next step for policy makers is to ensure that they include the public. Salt Spring does have a history of activism, but residents tend to get involved only once there is a problem. Community engagement involving tourism needs to occur prior to residents' recognition of tourism's negative impacts. This study has investigated the impact of commodification on Salt Spring and determined that it is in the early stages of advanced commodification. If the community, including policy makers, wants to remain in this stage, future community tourism profile should include a strong degree of participation. Although this may be a daunting task, because, according to many, nobody on Salt Spring agrees on anything (Personal Communication, 2008), it is vital to gather public opinion, since the community is part of the product that the tourism industry is selling (Murphy, 1985).

This study has shown the evolution and impacts of commodification on Salt Spring. This is useful for policy makers because it allows them to become educated on what happens to communities that base their development on commodification. Now that the community's state

in the model has been uncovered, policy makers can now move to prevent future impacts, thus allowing the community to remain resident-centric, as stated in their 2008 Official Community Plan. This research on commodification and tourism has also brought to light the need for social planning. “The contention that the work of planners has traditionally been anchored more to ‘things’ than to ‘people’ is thereby underscored (Milroy & Wallace, 2001). Planning cannot solely relate to land use but needs to discuss social issues. This is especially true for Salt Spring, where their economy depends on tourism, and central to tourism is the local community.

The recommended tool to reduce impacts is to create a tourism plan. Since Salt Spring has already begun this process it appears to be well on its way to mitigating negative impacts. The inclusion of all stakeholders, and a professional mediator, suggests that residents’ ideas will emerge, thus ensuring that all voices will be heard in the planning process. To guarantee that the tourism plan is well researched, Salt Spring should consider connecting researchers with planners. As the Uquelet, BC example demonstrated, a partnership between a university and the planning director can be very beneficial to a community. Researchers help “not only collect and analyze data to solve problems and generate knowledge, but to increase research capacity, empower participants in other aspects of their lives, and enhance community cohesion” (Morford *et al.*, 2002: 40). With public officials and researchers working together to empower citizens, the tourism plan can be an inclusive public document.

Results of the tourists’ questionnaire should also be beneficial to local decision-makers. It was revealed that visitors who travel to Salt Spring come to experience an authentic rural landscape (peaceful environment, get away, relax, escape, market, etc). Therefore, if policy makers want to ensure that visitors keep arriving on Salt Spring, they need to preserve the aspects of the Island that people find most attractive.

6.6 Implications for the Community

This thesis has important implications for the community. The first, which was mentioned above, is that it has brought about some much-needed dialogue. It has allowed residents to think critically about their tourism industry, what they may like about it and what they may not. Also, the executive summary of this thesis is a comprehensive document that has recorded tourism impacts. This will allow the community to better understand the tourism industry. Once there is a greater understanding, community members can use their new found knowledge to get involved to help ensure that future developments are positive and sustainable.

6.7 Implications for Academia

To date, there is little research relating the creative destruction model to tourism planning. Two theses have explored this topic: Hetzler (2000) applied the model of creative destruction to sustainable tourism development and Vanderwerf (2008) examined the role of tourism planning in the model of creative destruction. Neither, however, discusses participatory tourism research as a resource for communities attempting to control their tourism industry and how it helps community members get involved. Thus, this research fills this gap in the literature.

Also, few studies have used the creative destruction model in western Canada (Hetzler, 2000 was the only study completed in British Columbia). The present study helps bridge the gap between Ontario, where the model was created, and the rest of Canada. Moreover, this thesis is the first known study on creative destruction to be completed on an Island. It verifies that the model is valid on rural Islands, as well as on the mainland. Thus, this thesis has broadened the scope of the model of creative destruction to include new destinations.

This research also has implication for participatory tourism planning. Very few tourism researchers identify in published research that the first step in this process should be the

motivation of residents; to encourage them to think critically about future tourism developments before participation can occur. This thesis indicates how a questionnaire from a Master's thesis can evoke responses within the community that generates discussion from a broad range of stakeholders. If this were a planning committee, the next step would be to organize workshops where residents could discuss different opinions in the hope of coming to a consensus with the help of a professional mediator. Therefore, this research shows the importance of building community dialogue and discussion prior to participation occurring.

6.8 Summary

This section has explained this case study's relationship to the literature on creative destruction and participatory tourism planning. In particular, it has outlined the similarities and the differences between the case study and the literature. Finally, it has discussed the implications for policy makers and academia. This section has also shown the versatility of the model of creative destruction; that although there may be variation amongst the case studies, the model is still applicable. This thesis has also concluded that commodification does not have to be seen as inherently negative, but can help support a way of life for artists. Lastly, this discussion has shown that a questionnaire can generate dialogue in a community that can further be utilized to begin participatory tourism planning.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

This chapter will first summarize this thesis, and then provide recommendations, based on the findings. The recommendations will begin by suggesting improvements to the tourism industry on Salt Spring, and then general recommendations to other rural communities. Finally, this chapter will outline future research that is needed in this field, and will conclude with a few final comments.

7.2 Summary of Thesis

This thesis has met its goal of determining if participatory tourism planning has played a role in the creative destruction process on Salt Spring Island. It is concluded that the evolution of the Island has occurred in the absence of participatory tourism planning. In fact, it has been shown that little tourism planning of any type has occurred. It appears that the evolutionary path taken by this community has been organic and ad hoc, in that its development has not been guided by an overall tourism plan. It is suggested that although planning has not been undertaken to date, for tourism to be run efficiently in the future, a plan must be created that includes the participation of local community members.

These conclusions were drawn in three stages. First, the evolution of tourism was tracked to determine Salt Spring's stage in the model of creative destruction. Through detailed data collection from three main sources (tourism numbers and types of tourists, business investments, and residents attitudes) it was determined that Salt Spring was in the stage of advanced commodification.

The next step was to determine the extent to which public policy, based on the input from local residents, has influenced the evolution of tourism development on the Island. This analysis

found that preservation is the key driver behind decisions made by the public sector on Salt Spring Island. On the other hand, there is a strong push coming from the Provincial Government to promote economic growth through tourism by doubling provincial revenues by 2012. This mandate could potentially turn Salt Spring into a contested landscape in the future.

The study also has shown that the municipality has opted for a top-down planning approach, instead of undertaking participatory tourism planning. It is the hope that the tourism plan, which is currently in the works, will be a more inclusive form of planning that considers all the voices impacted by tourism, and not only those of the most powerful. Even though the community has not been engaged in planning, they have responded very actively to development that does not represent an authentic rural community.

7.3 Recommendations for Salt Spring Island

The tourism industry on Salt Spring is currently benefiting the community economically, without resident's attitudes being overly negative and without excessive tourism development. To date, tourism development has managed to remain authentic to the culture of the Island. Salt Spring is fortunate that their tourism industry has developed this way, considering that tourism industry, to date, has not been planned. In the future, Salt Spring cannot rely on good fortune or luck, but must partake in tourism planning. This should be proactive and inclusive of all community members, since in the rural tourism industry, the community is part of the product. Tourism planning should include a plan to map out the future of tourism development. This plan will assist the community, planners and local government in future tourism development and planning (Elahi, 2008).

For tourism planning to occur, many factors need to be discussed to allow for full citizen engagement (Table 7.1). These factors were developed by Grybovych (2008) in her

comparative study of three North American communities undergoing participatory tourism planning. The intent of this list is to facilitate reflection and discussion in a community about what is critical to the community's tourism industry (Grybovych, 2008). This discussion will allow Salt Spring, through a participatory planning process, to determine what is important to them in order to fulfill their tourism objectives. Once the objectives have been created, a tourism plan can be constructed and implemented by the community, the planners and local government representatives all working together.

Table 7.1. Contextual Factors/Variables for Community Tourism Planning

<u>Theme</u>	<u>Definition</u>
Political economy	Distribution and access to resources
Stage of economic development	Diversification of the local economy
Power dynamics	Role and Influence of the main stakeholders
Community Values	Of the different community groups and community leaders
Community and cultural fabric	Cohesiveness, homogeneity, identity
Social Capital	Social Networks, and reciprocity in a community
Shared Vision	A vision that can include all.
Collaboration, cooperation and partnerships	The inclusion of citizens should occur from the beginning
Role and Impact of Tourism Development	The need to assess residents' attitudes towards tourism and the impacts of tourism development.

Source: (Grybovych, 2008)

7.4 Recommendations for Other Rural Communities

A lesson for all rural communities that have a tourism industry is to be proactive with planning. Since tourism development falls under many different jurisdictions of local governance (parks, roads, building infrastructure, etc.), planning for tourism often falls between

the cracks. This needs to be changed, and communities need to take planning of the tourism industry into their hands.

The first step to a proactive tourism industry is to document impacts. This should be done in a way that engages citizens. Thus, the model of creative destruction can aid in documenting key aspects of the tourism industry: visitor numbers, business investments, and resident attitudes. Citizen engagement can be initiated through a questionnaire that allows residents to critically examine their thoughts on local tourism development.

Since all rural communities are unique and have different concerns and development goals, there is not only one path to participatory tourism planning. Rather, it should be based on what the community deems important amongst the key variables listed in Table 7.1. What is universal is that tourism affects the entire community, and thus all voices are important and need to be part of tourism planning.

7.5 Future Research

Since a Master's thesis is constrained by time, money and experience, there are many new questions that arise that the research is unable to answer. For instance, the model of creative destruction is a tool that enables rural communities to document their tourism industry. Once the community has recorded the impacts of tourism, it becomes easier to mitigate the negative and increase the positive. Thus, one pathway of future research is to advocate for the model to be more accessible to communities for practical use. Articles need to be continually published in the media, making the results of these studies accessible to the public. More research can lead to a step-by-step guide for communities that will allow them to undertake their own study of creative destruction. The creative destruction model has only been applied to one Island community; therefore other Islands should be researched. Once more research has been

completed, then a comparison of these studies can be undertaken to understand the similarities and differences between these different locales. This could lead to communities that have successful and sustainable tourism industries being examples for communities that may be struggling with over-development, or development that is against the wishes of local residents. Additional research should also be conducted on the steps that a community should take once the model of creative destruction has been applied. What solutions can be implemented for communities that are on the brink of destruction? How can the model of creative destruction help communities build the tourism industry that they want? How can the model of creative destruction be used in community planning to help mitigate tourism impacts? These are questions that can be addressed in future research.

The field of participatory tourism planning is small, and there has been modest work published that can help communities engage local residents. Therefore, there is urgent need for more research that contributes to all aspects of this area. Furthermore, although the principals of participatory planning are sound in theory, implementation does not often occur. In many cases, those with the loudest voice and most influence often succeed, thus negating the input provide by local residents. Thus, research needs to focus on realistic solutions that bring theory to practice.

7.6 Final Comments

This thesis has been prepared to inform the community of Salt Spring about the impacts of tourism development. It has shown what community policy makers have done in terms of planning for tourism. It has also provided recommendations to Salt Spring's tourism industry that should be implemented to create a sustainable tourism industry. It is hoped that the findings of this study will allow tourism on Salt Spring to continue supporting artists, farmers, and local

entrepreneurs, while preserving the ideal of residents first, tourists second. In the words of one key informant:

I cannot think of what I don't like [about Salt Spring], if I could think of somewhere better where I would prefer to live, I would try and move there. But, I love it. I absolutely love it. We have beautiful big trees, I have a great big yard, I have dogs and cats, I go down the street and buy my corn from the farm, we go to the farmers market in the town where they have all the vegetables, in case yours do not do well, we make arrangements with my neighbours that I would grow beans if they would grow zucchinis, and it is a community. The people that I know here, and they are wonderful people. Everybody is sharing that I know. And, we exchange goods and services. We try and support the local farmers, we have the best corn in the world here, and it is great. It is great (Personal Communication, 2008).

Salt Spring has been fortunate to develop organically into an authentic tourist destination.

However, without conscious tourism planning there is always the risk of the detrimental types of tourism development taking over. If this occurs, positive perceptions, like the above example, will disappear. It is only with proactive participatory community-based tourism planning that the residents of Salt Spring can continue to have this sense of pride and fulfillment from their Island community.

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Appendix A

Visitor Questionnaire

1. What was the first year that you came to Salt Spring?

2. How many times have you come to Salt Spring since then?

3. How did you hear about Salt Spring Island?

4. What were your reasons for coming to Salt Spring Is.?
 - I. Visiting family and/or friends
 - II. For business
 - III. To shop
 - IV. The natural environment
 - V. Other. Please list. _____

5. If you answered more than once to question 2, have you noticed any changes on Salt Spring Is.?
 1. Yes 2. No
 - I. If yes, can you please describe these changes?

6. Do you plan to visit again sometime in the future? 1. Yes 2. No
 - I. Please explain your answer

7. Did you make any purchases while on the Island? 1. Yes 2. No
 - I. Please describe what type of products, or services you purchased while on the Island.

8. What types of activities did you participate in while on the Island?

9. Were you happy with your experiences on the Island? 1. Yes 2. No
I. Please describe your answer

10. What other shops, services, or events would you like to see introduced?

11. During your stay, did you interact with local residents on the Island, not including shop keepers
1. Yes 2. No

12. If yes, would you describe the experience as positive or negative?

- I. Can you please describe why.

13. How long were you on the Island?

14. If you stayed for longer than a day, what type of accommodation did you use?

15. Which city and country are you visiting from?

Please feel free to add any additional comments. Thank you for participating!

Shopping Behaviour

1. Please indicate what percentage of your weekly shopping is conducted on Salt Spring?

2. What types of products/services do you purchase on Salt Spring?

For the rest of the survey, please circle the number that best describes your level of agreement or disagreement with each statement.

Question	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Most of my weekly retail shopping is conducted on Salt Spring.	-2	-1	0	1	2
2. I would like to see more retail stores providing everyday goods and services on Salt Spring.	-2	-1	0	1	2
3. I would like to see more chain stores on Salt Spring Island (for example, Zellers or Canadian Tire)	-2	-1	0	1	2
4. Retail store prices increase during the tourism season.	-2	-1	0	1	2

Attitudes Towards Tourism

Question	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. I enjoy talking to tourists.	-2	-1	0	1	2
2. I am economically involved in the tourism industry on Salt Spring.	-2	-1	0	1	2
3. I would like to be					

involved (or more involved) in the tourism industry on Salt Spring	-2	-1	0	1	2
4. I enjoy the atmosphere of Salt Spring more in summer.	-2	-1	0	1	2
5. Tourism has led to more job opportunities on the Island.	-2	-1	0	1	2
6. The Island infrastructure has improved because of tourism development.	-2	-1	0	1	2
7. I would like to see more tourism on Salt Spring.	-2	-1	0	1	2
8. Tourism has made my daily life more difficult.	-2	-1	0	1	2
9. Tourists interfere with my enjoyment of this community	-2	-1	0	1	2
10. Tourism exploits the unique lifestyle of Salt Spring.	-2	-1	0	1	2
11. The positive impacts of tourism outweigh the negative impacts of tourism.	-2	-1	0	1	2
12. I would move away from Salt Spring if tourism numbers increased dramatically.	-2	-1	0	1	2
13. During the summer it is hard to find a parking spot in Ganges.	-2	-1	0	1	2
14. I notice an increase in traffic congestion during the summer months.	-2	-1	0	1	2
15. During the summer months I have frequent contact with tourists.	-2	-1	0	1	2
16. The contact with tourists is mostly positive.	-2	-1	0	1	2

Involvement in planning

Question	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. I attend public town meetings regarding tourism.	-2	-1	0	1	2
2. Community leaders hear my opinions regarding tourism.	-2	-1	0	1	2
3. Tourism development on Salt Spring reflects the type of development I envision.	-2	-1	0	1	2
4. Tourism development on Salt Spring reflects the opinions of the community.	-2	-1	0	1	2
5. Tourism on Salt Spring has been properly planned.	-2	-1	0	1	2
6. Residents have been adequately consulted in the tourism planning process	-2	-1	0	1	2
7. Island planners work hard at protecting important community values.	-2	-1	0	1	2
8. Salt Spring needs a long-term vision plan for tourism development.	-2	-1	0	1	2

Please feel free to add any additional comments.

If you would like a summary of the findings, please email cehalper@uwaterloo.ca

Thank you for your participation!

Appendix C

Interviews

Interview 1: Islands Trust Representative for Salt Spring Island- 15 August 2008

Interview 2: Islands Trust Representative for Salt Spring Island- 18 August 2008

Interview 3: CRD Elective Representative for Salt Spring Island- 22 August 2008

Interview 4: Islands Trust Regional Planning Manager- 14 August 2008

Interview 5: President of Salt Spring Island Chamber of Commerce- 20 August 2008

Interview 6: Tourism Entrepreneur- 29 August 2008

Interview 7: Tourism Entrepreneur- 5 November 2008

Interview 8: Resident involved in the Tourism Industry-6 October 2008

Interview 9: Resident involved in the Tourism Industry- 28 August 2008

Appendix D

Interview Questions

Questions for Island Trust Council Members

- How does the Islands Trust differ from other forms of governance?
- Does the Islands Trust encourage tourism development?
- Are there any areas of the Islands where tourism is more or less encouraged?
- Do you feel that the voice of the Islands Trusts concerning tourism development represents all Islanders? What voices may be missing?
- Are there community values that need protecting? Can you describe them
- How do tourists impact Salt Spring?
- What are the main sources of tourism investments?

Questions for Salt Spring Island Planners

- Can you describe your roll in tourism development
- Does Salt Spring have a long-term plan concerning tourism development?
- What type of development would you like to see on Salt Spring in the next five years?
- What are the main sources of tourism investments?
- How do tourists impact Salt Spring?
- How much does tourism impact the local economy?

Questions for Local Tourism Entrepreneurs

- Can you briefly describe your business?
- What were your reasons for opening your business?
- How long have you been in business?
- Would you like to expand your business? Is there policy in place that encourages or discourages this?
- Do you feel that the local governance represents your views on tourism development?
- Was it easy for you to start up your business?
 - o If any, what were the challenges?
- Do locals use your business?
- What type of tourism development would you like to see on Salt Spring in the next five years?
- Can you recommend any other entrepreneurs that may be interested in being interviewed?

Chamber of commerce

- Can you describe the role of the chamber of commerce
- Current initiatives?
 - o Is there interest in the community members not involved in tourism?
- Is there a long term plan concerning tourism development?
- What type of development would you like to see on salt spring in the next five years

- How do tourists impact salt spring?
- Is there areas of the Island where tourism is more or less encourage?

Questions for Community Members Involved in Tourism

- How long have you lived on Salt Spring?
- Have you noticed many changes?
- What do you think may be the causes of those changes?
- What do you like/do not like about living on Salt Spring?
- Do you feel that the Islands Trusts and Crd represents your views on tourism development?
- Is the community aware of the many issues of tourism development?
- What are some of the community values that need protecting?
- How do tourists impact Salt Spring?
- How much does tourism impact the local economy?

CRD Director

- Can you describe the role of the crd
- How long have you held this job?
- How long have you lived on Salt Spring?
 - o
- What are the current tourism initiatives?
 - o Is there interest from the community?
- How/Why did these initiatives come about?
- What has been past initiatives of the crd concerning tourism?
- What (if any) type of tourism development would you like to see on Salt Spring in the next five years?
- Visitor Numbers

Appendix E

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B.3 NON-VILLAGE COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL LAND USE OBJECTIVES AND POLICIES

B.3.1 Tourism - Accommodation and Facilities

B.3.1.1 OBJECTIVES

B.3.1.1.1 To recognize and welcome the economic value to our community of tourism that is compatible with preserving and protecting the island's natural environment, authentic resident-based sense of community, and the aesthetic values that attract visitors.

B.3.1.1.2 To allow visitor accommodation to develop in a way that will best retain and distribute the resulting economic benefits and reduce any negative impacts; to avoid concentrating benefits and impacts in only a few locations.

B.3.1.1.3 To retain and maximize the economic benefits of tourism to the community.

B.3.1.1.4 To make land use decisions that would encourage tourism in the shoulder and off-seasons and discourage any significant increase in the peak period.

B.3.1.1.5 To encourage tourism that blends well with the community and complements the rural, peaceful nature of the island, and to avoid the development of tourist attractions that are unrelated to the island's natural environment, social base or cultural heritage.

B.3.1.1.6 To provide for facilities necessary to mitigate the impacts of tourism on the island's natural or social environment. Examples are: sani-dump facilities for boats or recreational vehicles, and tour bus parking areas outside Ganges Village Core.

B.3.1.2 POLICIES

Note: Where land is located within the North Salt Spring Waterworks District, any rezoning proposals that are expected to result in a net increase in water demand must also take into account the severe restraints on the District's available water supply. Policies in Section C.3.2.2 must also be considered.

B.3.1.2.1 The Local Trust Committee will support the development of informational materials and programs that encourage low-impact tourism on Salt Spring Island.

B.3.1.2.2 Bed and Breakfast operations will continue to be allowed as home based businesses in residential areas.

B.3.1.2.3 The Local Trust Committee will not support the operation of transient accommodation units in residential zones unless they are operated as home based businesses.

B.3.1.2.4 The Local Trust Committee could consider applications to rezone properties for Guest House use, where operations larger than a permitted bed and breakfast are proposed. In considering such applications, the Committee will evaluate the impacts of the proposal on the local neighbourhood and the accommodations industry.

B.3.1.2.5 Campgrounds are permitted by zoning in some Agriculture-zoned locations. The Local Trust Committee should consider rezoning applications from property owners wishing to develop small, low impact campgrounds on larger properties in the following Designations:

Rural Neighbourhoods

Agriculture (subject to approval of the Agricultural Land Commission)

Forestry

Uplands

Applications for such a zoning change should demonstrate an adequate water supply, appropriate sewage disposal capability, and a site plan that would be uncrowded and well buffered by natural vegetation from neighbouring properties. If the Local Trust Committee considers such rezoning applications, preference should be given to those where services can be easily reached by walking, bicycle or public transit. Rezoning applications for the development of campgrounds meant primarily for large Recreational Vehicles should not be considered.

B.3.1.2.6 The Local Trust Committee should consider an application within the Rural Neighbourhood Designation to allow hostel accommodation.

B.3.1.2.7 No additional properties on Salt Spring Island should be zoned for resorts, hotels or motels until the percentage of built units has reached at least 80 per cent of the current (2008) development potential. Future levels of development around lakes and streams should be restricted if there would be negative impacts on the supply or quality of freshwater resources.

B.3.1.2.8 To manage the impact of commercial tourist accommodation zones located in residential areas, the Local Trust Committee could consider retaining zoning to:

- a. limit the maximum number of tourist accommodation units in any one operation to 50 units.
- b. establish an appropriate total floor area for tourist operations and for the accessory uses currently allowed in commercial tourism accommodation zones.
- c. establish standards for vegetation screening next to residential property.
- d. establish density and standards for campgrounds.

B.3.1.2.9 The Local Trust Committee will not consider rezoning applications that would allow the development of large new destination resorts, large convention centres, water slides, theme parks, casinos, and mini golf courses.

B.3.1.2.10 The development of time-shared resorts will not be supported.

B.3.1.2.11 The Local Trust Committee should not approve applications to strata-title existing resorts if the level of neighbourhood impacts is expected to be greater than that of an owner-managed resort.

B.3.1.2.12 The Local Trust Committee should consider changing zoning to allow for mobile marketing on or near the Long Harbour ferry terminal.

B.3.1.2.13 The Local Trust Committee should consider changing zoning that would assist in the marketing of local products, whether in public markets or commercial outlets.

Others are encouraged to help achieve the objectives of this Section as follows:

B.3.1.2.14 Other levels of government which secure parkland on Salt Spring Island are encouraged to manage public parkland, particularly campgrounds, in a way that is compatible with the objectives of this Section.

B.3.1.2.15 The Local Trust Committee should support efforts to create informational material