AUTHORING THE TOURISM LANDSCAPE OF CLAYOQUOT SOUND

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ABSTRACT

Landscapes embody social, political, and economic values, and the process of landscape evolution reflects changed expressions of these values over time. The awareness of valued landscapes (Lowenthal 1978) emerges and accumulates through personal experiences, visual media representations, and other communicated landscape images. A tourist destination landscape may be valued because it contains unique natural landscapes in a relatively pristine state (Butler 1992; Cloke and Perkins 1998), or because it contains interesting cultural features and/or built environments. Public perceptions of landscape values also change over time, leading in some instances to conflicts between those who value the landscape for its environmental, tourism, or recreational features, and those who value the landscape for its resource productivity. Productive activities such as resource extraction or agriculture require long-term institutional arrangements to protect investments and secure tenure. These institutional arrangements typically ensure that productivity is maintained through legislative, land tenure and resource regulatory systems.

In this dissertation, the process by which tourism values emerge as central considerations in some landscape decision-making is conceptualized. Emerging societal demands for tourism and recreation introduce a consumptive use to landscapes that have previously been designated for resource productivity (Reed and Gill 1997). Tourism operators and agencies may become 'actors' in an 'arena of environmental contestation,' (Flynn and Marsden 1995) challenging the institutional arrangements which designate land uses and which control access to landscape resources. To gain support, they present versions of the landscape to tourists and to a wider public that resignifies the landscape for such purposes. To effect the transition to a landscape designated for visual consumption rather than for resource production, tourism actors also form coalitions with environmentalists, Aboriginals, and other interest groups who may share related goals.

The main focus of this thesis is the notion of 'tourism landscape authorship,' which conceptualizes the processes by which tourism landscapes are created, change and evolve. The roots of the concept are drawn from an interdisciplinary body of literature which includes work on landscape aesthetics, tourism development, and rural restructuring. These ideas are refined and integrated into a conceptual framework, which guides the empirical research on the evolution of a selected tourism landscape. This dissertation is organized around four central elements which, it is proposed, characterize the process by which new institutional arrangements gain acceptance. The first element is identification, the recognition and exploration of a landscape to discover its beauty, unique cultural and ecological attributes, and touristic opportunities. The second is the element of signification, the interpretation of landscape meaning, involving the creation of selected images of the landscape and its places by induced or organic means (Gunn 1972). The third element is evaluation, the negotiation of a hierarchy of values for landscape resources with stakeholders and government. The

fourth element is designation, the decision-making processes that empower and install a particular land and resource use regime. In this dissertation, the conceptual framework is empirically applied in a case study of Clayoquot Sound on the West Coast of Vancouver Island, British Columbia, Canada.

Within the context of changing socio-economic structures, changes in the modes of production and consumption impinge upon societal, environmental and economic values. These values find expression as issues arise regarding landscape, tourism, and the environment. Tourism actors and their allies identify landscape resources requiring protection based on their particular visions of landscape. They propose changes to the institutional arrangements governing land use. These proposed changes are contested by stakeholders with landscape visions and interests which reflect the current status quo or some other alternative vision of landscape. This contestation takes place in a wide public arena, utilizing the media and involving a variety of agencies and stakeholders. New institutional arrangements are over time implemented after debates and contests have established the degree and nature of the institutional changes. If the tourism actors and their allies are successful, the new arrangements restrict or remove economic activities that interfere with tourism, environmental, and recreation consumptive values. As socio-economic structures, modes of production and consumption, and societal values evolve and change over time, new visions of landscape arise from different authors and the process reiterates.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Landscapes embody social, political, and economic values, and the process of landscape evolution reflects changed expressions of these values over time. The awareness of valued landscapes (Lowenthal 1978) emerges and accumulates through personal experiences, visual media representations, and other communicated landscape images. A landscape may have value because it is someone's ancestral home, or because there are ancient forests, beautiful seashores, or picturesque farms and villages. Outdoor recreation opportunities in a scenic mountain area may be protected in a park or reserve for urbanites anxious for a weekend break from city life, while an old inner city landscape may be renovated to provide entertainment venues, shopping venues, and restaurants. No matter what the locale, when the desire to experience a valued landscape is the main incentive to travel, it is the landscape features that create visitor expectations.

Tourist destination landscapes provide memorable visual experiences that are important to the lives of visitors (Urry 1990; 1992). What constitutes 'visual quality' from the point of view of the tourist is likely to be based both on the specific features of a landscape which have become widely known (Echtner and Ritchie 1991) and upon more broadly based concepts of visual quality and landscape aesthetics (Lowenthal 1962; 1978). The destination may be valued because it contains unique natural landscapes in a relatively pristine state (Butler 1992; Cloke and Perkins 1998), or because it contains interesting cultural features and/or built environments. Over time, a 'destination image' (Gunn 1972) or 'place image' (Shields 1991) may develop based on these valued features, but inevitably, these landscapes and places change and evolve in response to economic, ecological, and social factors (Echtner and Ritchie 1991).

Public perceptions of landscape values also change over time, leading in some instances to conflicts between those who value the landscape for its environmental, tourism, or recreational features, and those who value the landscape for its resource productivity. Productive activities such as resource extraction or agriculture require long-term institutional arrangements to protect investments and secure tenure. These institutional arrangements governing land and resource use express societal values about modes of production and consumption, designating types and levels of resource extraction and land use that are economically productive. The institutional arrangements typically ensure that productivity is maintained through legislative, land tenure and resource regulatory systems.

In this dissertation, the process by which tourism values emerge as central considerations in some landscape decision-making is conceptualized. This conceptualization is set within the context of recent ideas on the implications of socio-economic change to rural and resource-based economies. Emerging societal demands for tourism and recreation introduce a consumptive use to landscapes that have previously been designated for resource productivity (Reed and Gill 1997). Landscapes valued for their aesthetic qualities have their own set of stakeholders with vested interests that may conflict with resource extraction and other productive activities that alter or remove landscape values. Tourism operators and agencies may become 'actors' in an 'arena of environmental contestation,' (Flynn and Marsden 1995) challenging the institutional arrangements which designate land uses and which control access to landscape resources. Contestation refers to the various processes of communication, representation, negotiation, debate, and conflict that occur when current institutional arrangements and resource production processes are challenged by an alternative vision of landscape value (Flynn and Marsden 1995). Actors, in this context, are those who engage in the processes by which valued landscapes become

designated for visually consumptive purposes. To gain support, they present versions of the landscape to tourists and to a wider public that resignifies the landscape for such purposes. To effect the transition to a landscape designated for visual consumption rather than for resource production, tourism actors also form coalitions with environmentalists, Aboriginals, and other interest groups who may share related goals.

The main focus of this thesis is the notion of 'tourism landscape authorship,' which conceptualizes the processes by which tourism landscapes are created, change and evolve. A definition of 'authorship' in Webster's New International Dictionary (1986) is "The state or act of creating or causing," with the transitive verb being 'authoring,' to create, cause, or give existence to. The roots of the concept are drawn from an interdisciplinary body of literature which includes work on landscape aesthetics, tourism development, and rural restructuring. These ideas are refined and integrated into a conceptual framework, which guides the empirical research on the evolution of a selected tourism landscape. This dissertation is organized around four central elements which, it is proposed, characterize the process by which new institutional arrangements gain acceptance. The first element is identification, the recognition and exploration of a landscape to discover its beauty, unique cultural and ecological attributes, and touristic opportunities. The second is the element of signification, the interpretation of landscape meaning, involving the creation of selected images of the landscape and its places by induced or organic means (Gunn 1972). The third element is evaluation, the negotiation of a hierarchy of values for landscape resources with stakeholders and government. The fourth element is designation, the decision-making processes that empower and install a particular land and resource use regime.

The study of tourism is relatively undertheorized (Britton 1991), thus the development of a model of tourism landscape authorship makes a conceptual contribution. While

there are proven models such as Butler's (1980) resort cycle model and Moissec's (1977) model of regional tourism development, issues regarding landscape change have received little attention. At the same time, conflicts over landscape issues are increasing as societal values change. A model of tourism landscape authorship provides a structure to organize complex, multi-dimensional processes that involve broadly based human values and beliefs. The intent of the model is not to prove or disprove the existence of 'tourism landscape authorship' per se, but to construct a conceptual framework of sufficient depth and scope to interpret and explain the evolution of tourism landscapes. This conceptual framework needs to accommodate scientific and empirical methods of enquiry as well as humanistic approaches, because the evidence of tourism landscape change emerges in so many different forms and from so many different types of initiative. The notion of authoring can identify the multiple actors that may be in contest to establish a changed meaning for landscape, and can organize the key events that occur in the arena of contestation where landscape authorship is fought out. The conceptual model gives a sense of how to organize the process of analysis, what actors are involved, and what key contestation events to look for. Tourism landscape authorship provides a structure that simplifies and organizes very complex processes, ranging from envisioning landscapes, to inventory and measurement, to the development of new institutional arrangements - the entire spectrum of events from intent to implementation.

1.1 The tourism landscape authoring idea

While the basic conceptualization of a tourism landscape emerges from the interface of landscape studies and place imagery (McHarg 1972; Lowenthal 1978; Tuan 1974; Urry 1990) with tourism literature (Echtner and Ritchie 1991; Brown 1992; Butler 1992; Cloke and Perkins 1998), the institutional process of tourism landscape evolution is

informed by recent work on rural/local restructuring (Cloke 1993; Lowe et al. 1993; Troughton 1994; Flynn and Marsden 1995; Halfacree 1995; Reed and Gill 1997). The seed of the idea of 'authors of tourism landscapes' was found in Brown (1992:59), who observed the following:

> Included amongst those playing 'integral roles' in the introduction of a new tourist destination would include the developer, who may qualify to be regarded as an author of the landscape, and the tour operator, who incorporates the destination within a vacation package. Included amongst those playing a 'tangential role' in the assignment of symbolic meaning to the destination would be the mass media, advertising agencies and various sectors of the tourism industry. Thus, many people are responsible for creating the symbol and providing it with socially significant meaning.

While in this context Brown refers to the developer as the 'author', the notion of authorship is further implied by Brown's reference to two major processes in the assignment of symbolic meaning to tourist destination landscapes. The first is the construction of the destination image as a consumer product, the second is the dissemination of that image through different media advertising channels. The creation of a symbol that has socially significant meaning is essential to attract visitors who have to choose between competing destinations for tourist experiences. Authorship in this particular context therefore has to do with the selection and construction of chosen images and texts that represent the destination to potential consumers. Additionally, these images and texts persuasively inform particular social groups about the destination to attract interest and visitation. The tourist destination itself may be a resort entirely constructed by a developer, or it may be an urban, agricultural, or largely unmodified natural landscape. The process of attracting visitors by authoring images and texts about a destination may be initiated for purposes of economic development, community renewal, or wilderness protection.

Because landscape is primarily a visual concept, any agency or process that contributes to the visual image contributes also to the construction of symbolic meaning, whether or not that visual image is connected to tourism industry initiatives (Helphand 1986; Higson 1987). For example, the selection of movie filming locations, historical preservation efforts, or well-publicized environmental conflicts can initiate or contribute to tourism landscape authoring processes by contributing to what are termed the 'organic images' of place held by individuals (Gunn 1972; Brown 1992). Such images may also be constructed through text use as opposed to visual imagery. Willems-Braun (1997) examines the separate construction of 'nature' and 'culture' in British Columbia, contrasting texts representing nature from both the forest industry and environmentalist perspectives. Willems- Braun suggests that both visions of landscape are in a contest for public legitimacy and both tend to marginalize First Nations (Aboriginal) authority over the landscape. This example illustrates that landscape authorship processes may be initiated by any stakeholder group that needs to gain public support for its particular vision, and that the vision which is presented may have been explicitly developed to gain public support for a particular stakeholder's landscape agenda.

Tourism landscape authorship is initiated by the desire to commodify a locale, by drawing public attention to landscape resources and attracting tourist business. Tourism landscape authorship is a process by which landscape resources are reassessed, revalued, and commodified for consumptive leisure behaviour (Figure 1.1). Competing productivist economic activities such as logging or agriculture are limited, amended or eliminated to accommodate tourism, recreational, and environmental priorities. The preservation of visual amenity and nature is of primary importance to the tourism and environmental actors pushing for change to existing legislative regimes. This new relationship to the landscape has been described as 'post-productivist' in recent British

literature. Post-productivist landscapes have been defined as landscapes where the symbolic meaning of the countryside has been reconstructed for urban visitation and occupation (Halfacree 1993, Flynn and Marsden 1995). The idea comes from rural studies literature and was developed to interpret socioeconomic changes in rural England. The tourism actors and their allies may be successful in gaining public acceptance of their reevaluation of landscape resources. If so, resource utilization may make a transition to a more diversified 'post-productivist' landscape characterized by tourism, environmental, and recreation values (Lowe et al.1993; Reed and Gill, 1997). Figure 1.1 is a model developed to illustrate the processes of changing landscape values and the emergence of tourism landscape authorship.
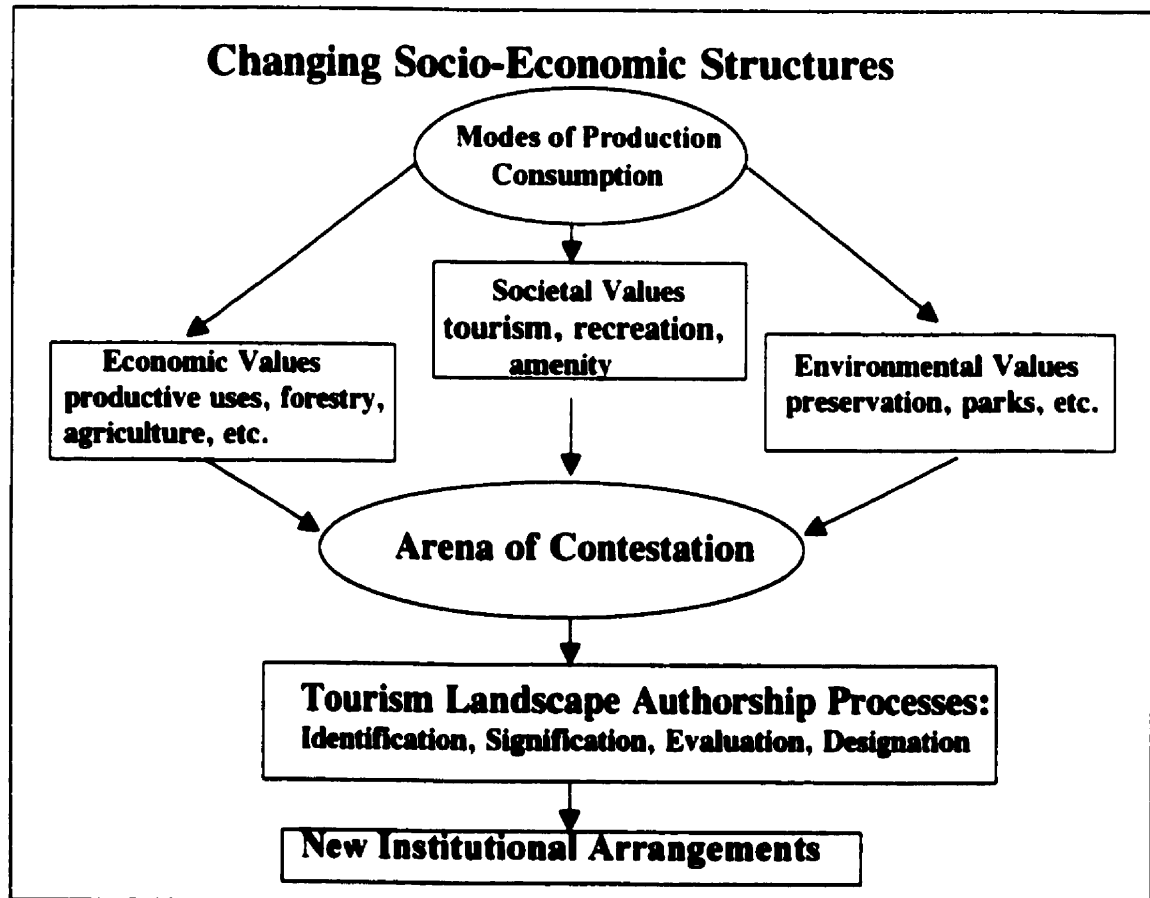
Figure 1.1   The process of changing landscape values and the emergence of tourism landscape authorship.

In Figure 1.1, within the context of changing socio-economic structures, changes in the modes of production and consumption impinge upon societal, environmental and economic values. These values find expression as issues arise regarding landscape, tourism, and the environment. Tourism actors and their allies identify landscape resources requiring protection based on their particular visions of landscape. They propose changes to the institutional arrangements governing land use. These proposed changes are contested by stakeholders with landscape visions and interests which reflect the current status quo or some other alternative vision of landscape. This contestation takes place in a wide public arena, utilizing the media and involving a variety of agencies and stakeholders. New institutional arrangements are over time implemented after debates and contests have established the degree and nature of the institutional changes. If the tourism actors and their allies are successful, the new arrangements restrict or remove economic activities that interfere with tourism, environmental, and recreation consumptive values. As socio-economic structures, modes of production and consumption, and societal values evolve and change over time, new visions of landscape arise from different authors and the process reiterates.

In this dissertation the operational definition of 'landscape authorship' is:

> Identification, description, interpretation, and explanation of landscapes, that projects the experience, values, and beliefs of the author(s) to a number of audiences in a manner which influences opinions about the significance and value of landscapes.

This operational definition describes the authoring processes that create changes in the public significance of landscape value. The landscape authorship elements of identification, signification, evaluation, and designation illustrated in Figure 1.1 are categories to help sort complex processes and events in landscape evolution. The designation of landscape resources for tourism, environmental, and recreation may

involve changes to an array of existing institutional arrangements, and can include many different stakeholders. These arrangements may involve new legislation, management structures, zoning, and permit systems, that serve to protect visual amenities. At the same time such arrangements may manage ongoing resource extraction or agriculture as well, usually at a level which does not significantly interfere with tourism and recreational activities. These new designations reflect a changed symbolic meaning of landscape that is fundamental to the concept of landscape authorship, because the designation of new institutional arrangements publicly legitimizes the vision of landscape promoted by the tourism actors and their allies.

The socio-economic transitional process towards an economy based on tourism, environmental amenity, and recreation usually involves major challenges to community beliefs and values. To complicate the process, there is the involvement of new residents, tourist operators, and 'outside' stakeholders in local resource decision-making processes (Reed and Gill 1997). The representation by tourist actors and their allies of selected landscape images and texts increases the interest of the wider public. Accessible destination areas with valued landscapes thereby become known to a wider public that collectively can exert political influence on institutional arrangements to address their particular landscape interests. These complex processes, essential to the economic and social transformation of many communities, have not yet been adequately conceptualized in the literature.

1.2 The research problem

The central research question addressed in this study is:

> 'By what processes and powers are tourism landscapes authored?'

Three key questions that arise in the understanding of these processes are: i) 'How has the landscape been represented over time?' ii) 'Whose values have been represented?' iii) 'How have the values of tourism actors been represented in the processes of landscape change?'

The use of the term 'powers' in the definition refers broadly to authority to make change, encompassing both formal, political and governmental authority, individual or group authority, and broader public authority expressed as actions to achieve changes in the institutional arrangements governing landscape. 'Processes' refers to the formal and informal mechanisms and structures established to enable change. 'Representation' means the manner in which the interests of groups or individuals have been put forward.

The conceptual framework rests on several assumptions that guide the study. It is assumed that while tourism actors may control the production and dissemination of destination images, thereby authoring a particular version (or versions) of the landscape to attract tourists, they do not usually control resource activities which result in landscape alteration. To achieve a measure of control they promulgate particular authored versions of the landscape that are intended to increase their voice in land use and resource decision making. They do this in partnership with other actors who either share their values about landscape resources or have some other compatible reason for contesting existing institutional arrangements. In so doing they introduce tourists to their authored version of the locale's significance, and through the media, increase knowledge and participation in the contest over allocation of landscape resources to a wider non-resident public. It is also assumed that tourism actors per se may be secondary to other actors in the arena of contestation. The post-productivist tourism

landscape requires re-evaluation and re-designation of landscape resources because it represents the new economic reality of a locale, once public sentiment, political decisions, and possibly resource over-exploitation have removed opportunities for making a living. The tourism landscape is created as an alternative economy compatible with public sentiments about protecting an emerging valued landscape.

1.3 The case study

The research questions are empirically examined in a case study of Clayoquot Sound, that uses the tourism landscape authorship model as a conceptual framework. A locational map is presented in Figure 1.2. This area of the West Coast of Vancouver Island in British Columbia, Canada has attracted international attention because of its rich ecosystems, scenic resources, and confrontations over forest practices. An intensive research approach (Sayer 1984) is used, in which data are derived from documents and interactive interviews, and qualitatively analyzed using historical research and content analysis methods. The case study examines the historical evolution of land and resource use in Clayoquot Sound up to the contemporary period, where the focus is on tourism actors and their interests in the landscape of Clayoquot Sound. The evidence assembled from different sources is corroborated through cross-referencing. Validity of the data is addressed by using a multiperspectivist (Ball 1977) approach, wherein differing points of view and varied sources of information are included. The events, mechanisms, and structures (Sayer 1984) which characterize the processes of landscape change in the Clayoquot Sound case study area are interpreted in terms of the four elements of the tourism landscape authorship model and key findings about tourism landscape authorship are summarized in the final chapter.

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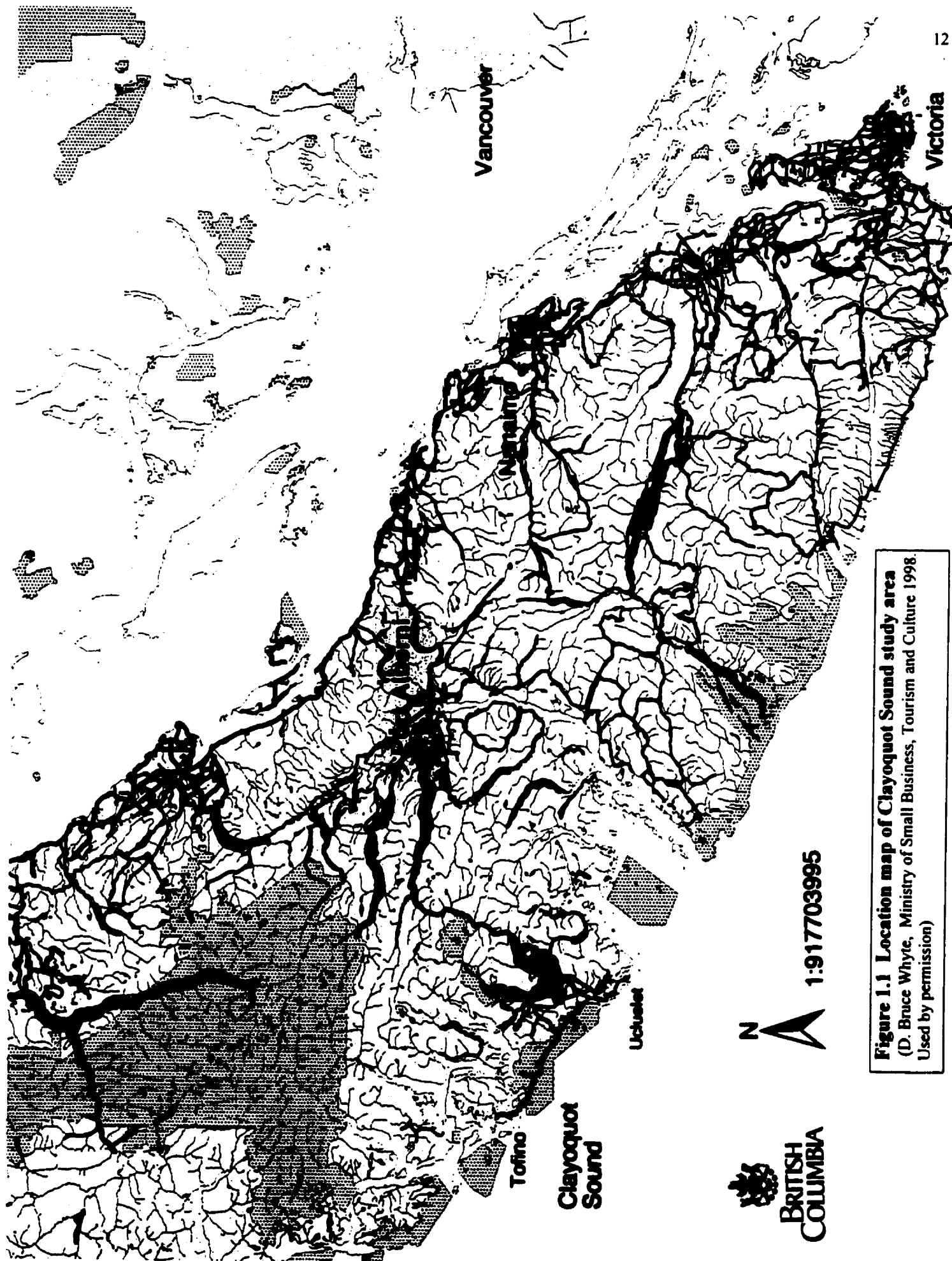
Figure 1.1 Location map of Clayoquot Sound study area
(D. Bruce Whyte, Ministry of Small Business, Tourism and Culture 1998.
Used by permission)

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N

BRITISH COLUMBIA

Clayoquot Sound

Tofino

Ucluelet

Vancouver

Nanaimo

Victoria

1.4 Thesis outline

This introductory chapter presents the process of tourism landscape creation and evolution. The processes of contested landscape transition from resource production to touristic consumption are outlined and the central concept of tourism landscape authorship is introduced. In the second chapter, a review of literature identifies key writings in landscape and tourism which underlie the conceptualization of the notion of landscape authorship. The third chapter on method starts with a conceptualization of tourism landscape authorship, in which a model of elements and processes is presented. The methodological framework, research procedures and sources necessary to elaborate upon the concept and establish causal relationships are then developed. A description of the Clayoquot Sound study area is presented. The fourth chapter outlines the landscape evolution of Clayoquot Sound through a succession of historical phases, identifying the particular landscape resource interests of residents and visitors and the effects of each phase in terms of landscape change. Each phase is identified in terms of landscape authorship processes to provide context for the most recent sequence of events, which is detailed in the subsequent four chapters on: Identification, Signification, Evaluation, and Designation.

The Identification chapter explains the process by which recognition of the contemporary tourism attributes of the Clayoquot Sound landscape emerged. The chronology of events in the 1980s and 1990s by which the landscape of Clayoquot Sound was redesignated are described. The Signification chapter deals with interpretation of landscape meaning in Clayoquot Sound, involving the creation of selected tourism images of the landscape by induced (advertising images) or organic (unsolicited reports in the media) means (Gunn 1972). The Evaluation chapter describes the inventorying of tourism landscape resources, and the establishment of different

levels of touristic attraction for various aspects of the landscape with reference to existing and planned land and resource uses. The Designation chapter documents the emerging land use policies which specifically address tourism, recreation, and amenity needs in Clayoquot Sound, and identifies enabling legislation and processes which provide a role for tourism stakeholders in ongoing landscape resource decision-making. The final chapter presents the concluding analysis of the research and key findings about tourism landscape authorship derived from the empirical application of the original conceptual model.

Chapter 2: Review of Literature

In this chapter selected ideas in landscape and tourism literature that have been used to provide a context and direction for the research are reviewed. The literature selected documents traditions, methods and conceptualizations of landscape and tourism that are pertinent to development of the tourism landscape authorship construct and the processes involved in tourism landscape evolution. The selection of ideas in the review identifies the contributors of key conceptualizations. such as the idea of 'authors of landscape.' the concept of the 'tourist landscape.' and the transitional process from 'productivist 'to 'post-productivist' landscapes. Because 'authoring the tourism landscape' is a new idea, references to writings that anchor individual elements of the idea and which guide the methodology used to develop it are presented in a manner that maps out the relationships between key concepts from the literature. These key concepts have themselves been 'authored.' and require careful identification and acknowledgement to ensure the conceptual framework of the dissertation is linked with antecedent and contemporary research and thinking. The review of literature therefore supports the methodology and the empirical research process by 'mapping' and acknowledging the origins of key components of the conceptual framework. While these origins are drawn from a wide academic palette, there are two broad thematic categories that provide definition and direction.

The chapter is divided into two main parts that embody these thematic categories. The first part is on landscape, traditions and ideas of landscape aesthetics relevant to tourism, 'sense of place,' cultural landscape ideas, and landscape management concepts. Literature dealing with the historical development of landscape values is discussed and conceptual elements useful to the research are identified in terms of their utility. The

second thematic category is the tourism literature review. which is divided into tourism

landscape concepts. institutional arrangements. and tourism planning.

2.1 Landscape concepts

2.1.1 Landscape aesthetic traditions

Conceptual traditions in landscape aesthetics provide some useful explanations of

touristic interest in particular destinations, because they rely upon the subjective values

people place on landscapes. Landscape aesthetics emerged as a defined field of study in

the mid-1960s. Five landscape aesthetic traditions are identified by Gibson (1989).

These are referred to as the Rationalist tradition. the Picturesque tradition. the Sublime

tradition. the Realist tradition. and the Surrealist tradition. These traditions emerged in

various historical periods but are presented by Gibson (1989) as coexisting in

contemporary landscape taste.

Within each of the aesthetic traditions there are specific ideals of what is beautiful and

appealing, and landscapes with particular appeal are sought out and made known to a

public. The identification and signification of landscapes with tourism interest involves

the tourism industry in the selection and use in advertising of particular scenes which

contribute to the creation of a 'destination image' (Dilley 1985; Goss 1993), or the 'place-

images' and 'place—myths' identified by Shields (1991). Cloke and Perkins (1998:186)

identify the rise of place-image in New Zealand as being "directly influenced by

practices of place promotion undertaken by commercial and state agencies."

There is also a powerful linkage to the role of television and film in 'the social reproduction of reality' (Gibson 1989; Helphand 1986). For example, the landscape images of Prince Edward Island in the Anne of Green Gables series have been influential in attracting Japanese visitors due to the popularity of the programs in Japan.

The promotion of a destination using particular landscape images creates expectations in the visitors that the landscape experienced will be very similar to the 'memorable' landscape anticipated through a particularly famous or memorable film or video (Higson 1987). The evolution of a tourism landscape therefore involves in part the selection and reproduction of the visual signs by which a locale becomes widely known, a process that acknowledges traditions of landscape taste. Landscape aesthetic concepts provide a referential context for connecting the images chosen to represent a destination to particular landscape traditions and values (Lowenthal and Prince 1965; Sancar 1985; Connell 1993; Goss 1993). In particular, the Romantic tradition and the Counter-Enlightenment movement resignified nature as an aesthetic attraction to be visited and valued.

Gibson (1989) indicates that there is a need to be cognizant of the historical change in social attitudes towards landscape and place and the evolution of ways of seeing landscape by geographical thinkers and planners. Like philosophers, novelists, landscape artists and Romantic poets, geographers have presented paradigms and interpretations that can affect the character of the lived-in world. For example, a planner might develop landscape management plans that embody the aesthetic concepts of a particular landscape authority, such as Fredrick Law Olmsted or Ian McHarg. While the author of the landscape ideas may not be well known outside academic circles, the landscape character may be affected as the planner implements some or all of the concepts. Gibson asserts that the underlying social reproduction of landscape

taste is to be found by examining landscape art history and aesthetic traditions. He states that:

> ...the proper concern for geographers who seek to understand why some scenery is more appealing than others is the rich legacy of aesthetic traditions that has evolved over the past four centuries (Gibson 1989: 25).

These aesthetic traditions have influenced landscape tastes for professional planners and the public alike and since they coexist in contempory taste, they provide referential sets of beliefs that contribute to current debates over landscape. Each tradition briefly outlined here offers elements that might appeal to particular landscape authors, and which offer context to the texts, images, choices and decisions that can result in landscape change.

The Rationalist tradition was based on Plato's scholastic realism and the Renaissance-Enlightenment idealized concept of abstract perfection (Gibson 1989). Landscape architecture and urban design features in sixteenth and seventeenth century Europe were scaled to and harmonized with landscape topography, and the avenues, parks, and vistas embodied superhuman scaled idealized geometric forms- squares, circles, and rectangles (Gibson 1989).

The emergence of the Picturesque tradition was concurrent with new modes of social reproduction in the eighteenth century, including liberalism, humanism, and capitalism. Bourgeois tastes for travel to classical landscapes, appreciation of the idealized landscape art of Lorrain and Poussin, interests in new landscape fashions and miniature forms, chinoiserie, exotic plants, alpine gardens- all reflected a preoccupation with imagination and thought (Gibson 1989, Hough 1990). The Picturesque tradition was a manifestation of the broader movement of Anti-Rationalism and the Counter-Enlightenment (Taylor 1991) which resulted in the expression of new aesthetic values

by the middle of the eighteenth century. These values included an appreciation for wild, untouched nature, naturalistic plantings, sweeping rural vistas, and landscapes featuring mixed woodlands, meadows, and waterways. The formalism of the Enlightenment gardens was cast aside, and was replaced by the picturesque and naturalistic landscapes of England that still inform our attitudes about landscape art, scenery, and beauty today (Lowenthal and Prince 1965; McHarg 1969; Lowenthal 1978; Lowenthal 1985). By the start of the nineteenth century, Romantic poets and writers evoked Counter-Enlightenment landscape imagery and sense of place, and instructed the new middle classes on the proper methods for viewing the landscape. These included the Claude Glass, which was essentially a device for presenting a landscape as if framed in a picture.

The Sublime tradition grew out of the Picturesque, addressing human responses of fear and awe when confronted by wild, non-idealized nature (Lowenthal and Prince 1965). Turner's impressionist landscape paintings, the novels of Sir Walter Scott and the Bronte sisters evoked nature untamed and mysterious. Zaring (1977) and McKenzie (1992) both address this tradition and identify the profound effect that social attitudes towards the ideal Sublime landscape had in the preservation (and creation) of both the Scottish and the Welsh countryside. Both examples could be characterized as tourism landscapes. The Sublime tradition, an outcome of the Romantic Movement in art and literature, is powerfully evident in the language, images, and symbols of the environmental movement today. This is reflected in the movement as an urban longing for connectedness with nature, and a need to know that wilderness is 'out there', unspoiled and pristine, protected, and available not only for visual consumption (Urry 1992), but for actual physical encounters (Cloke and Perkins 1998).

The Realist tradition is more difficult to encapsulate and evolved separately from the scientific reality of discoveries and changing paradigms in the social and natural sciences. Realist aesthetics were established in principle and practice by the realist artist Morris in the late nineteenth century in cooperation with the geographers Kropotkin and Reclus, incorporating concepts of regionalism, nature conservation, and authenticity in historical preservation (Gibson 1989). The Realist tradition deals with landscape preservation and protection, and with the interaction and transformation of landscapes according to particular landscape visions by the newly powerful leaders in taste, avant-garde landscape architects, planners, designers, and artists. The 'avant-garde' refers to those actively inventing new ideas and promoting change in social values and beliefs, usually within the context of the arts and politics. Prior to the nineteenth century, nascent urban middle class landscape values found few outlets and expressions in terms of actual landscape change. The rise of the Counter-Enlightenment and Romantic movements and the development of planning bureaucracies in Britain and North America found expression through this emerging group of urban professionals, who developed enough authority to politically harness popular sentiment to either preserve or transform landscapes. For example, the National Parks Services in Canada and the United States and the National Trust in the United Kingdom were built around the popular will to protect valued landscapes.

Pitt (1989) links the movements for change in the avant-garde to biologically-based theories of landscape preference, suggesting that attitudes and values favoring a 'naturalness of human existence' hypothesis developed in association with the Counter-Enlightenment of the Nineteenth century (Appleton 1975; Kaplan and Kaplan 1982). The following perspective on the value of natural settings for human life was expressed by city planner Camillio Sitte in 1889.

Our ancestors since time immemorial were forest dwellers; we are
apartment house dwellers. This alone suffices to explain the irresistible
craving for nature on the part of the residents of cities- to get out into the
open air, out of the dust-mill and crush of houses, into the greenery of
the great outdoors (quoted in Pitt 1989:356).

Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, avant-garde planners, landscape

architects, bureaucrats, politicians, artists, activists and consultants have tried to

implement naturalistic ideas in garden cities, national parks, resorts, and a plethora of

other situations. Writers, planners, and artists have promoted particular ideas about

landscape to an increasingly receptive urbanized public, who have visited valued

landscapes to see for themselves what is worth protecting. The Realist tradition

employed Counter-Enlightenment values, and emerged within an authoritative

professional urban group that was able to influence popular sentiments and political

priorities, setting aside landscapes for visual consumption by urbanites rather than for

agricultural, resource, or industrial production.

The Surrealist tradition expands the landscape arts "beyond those of beauty and awe to

include comic relief, instinct, illusions, subconscious dream experiences, the grotesque,

the absurd, and the fantastic" (Gibson 1989:33). This opposition to the Rationalist,

Modernist Tradition which started in the 1950s grew into the Postmodern movement of

the 1980s and 1990s, characterized by the distortion of reality, a pastiche of motifs, and

juxtapositions of styles. Alteration to the social reproduction of reality is a characteristic

theme in postmodern geographical writings (Goss 1993; Willems-Braun 1997). For

example, Willems-Braun (1997) explores challenges to rationalist resource management

landscape representations (e.g. 'the working forest') by environmental organizations (e.g.

'pristine wilderness') in arenas of environmental contestation. The intent is to expose the

underlying values that provide some actors with authority over landscape, such as forest

companies, and deny authority to others, such as First Nations communities.

2.1.2 Concepts of landscape art and the growth of tourism

Landscape art often reflects new tastes, materials, and techniques learned from travellers, explorers, and tourists, and concurrently reflects the changing world views of the rich and powerful. A visible expression of changing tastes and world view is the ancient European legacy of landscapes and gardens, representing in their layouts and designs the attitudes of the elite towards nature. Medieval painting presents images of the walled garden as the 'earthly paradise,' with nature as a dangerous and threatening presence outside. Inside the wall, the church controlled everything and everyone, including the signification of humans and nature. Landscape art enlarged the horizons for an emerging urban bourgeoise beyond the garden wall, to encompass an expanded and secularized world view which emerged as travel and trade expanded in the later Middle Ages (McHarg 1972).

The emergence of landscape art signified a change in the relationship between society and nature during the age of mercantilist expansion and discovery (Callicott 1992; McHarg 1972). The Renaissance vision of nature was represented in the writings of Rousseau, who presented the rediscovery of nature as being necessary for completeness as a human being. The challenge to the theological world view came from the recognition of beauty in nature, and the new inquisitiveness about the natural world and its treasures. Painting, drawing, and etching were ways to record both nature and culture, and printing reproduced these images to meet a growing public demand. New procedures for determining perspective and proportion emerged in Europe during the later 1500s and early 1600s, objectifying elements of design and form. Advances in the formal discipline of aesthetics were applied to emerging traditions of landscape art during the 1600s and 1700s, particularly for wealthy aristocratic and bourgeois patrons

(Clark 1949). Landscape painting and drawing provided a 'window on the world' for an increasingly geographically aware public, and traditions of landscape taste emerged which reflected the popular influence of particular artistic ideals.

The emergence of the 'Grand Tour' for young aristocrats was in part predicated on the assumption that good taste and refinement could be acquired through encounters with classical landscapes and art in Italy, France, and Greece (Towner 1996). So the linkage between travel, taste, and art involves the importation of ideas by young aristocrats and bougeoisie who in time gained the authority and resources to implement their particular visions of landscape, art, and architecture.

In the later 1700s and early 1800s, in Britain, landscapes thought to possess unique 'picturesque' or 'sublime' aesthetic qualities were captured by painters such as Gastineau (Zaring 1977), thereby broadly disseminating ideal landscape images through landscape paintings, etchings and lithographs. This new landscape art coincided with a period of rapid urban population growth, and the development of domestic tourism in Western Europe. Zaring (1977) describes expanded leisure travel to rural areas and resorts by the emerging urban middle classes, to view scenery, and enjoy a healthful environment away from the city. Many of the landed aristocracy transformed the landscapes they owned to reflect these new aesthetic values, in effect creating landscapes for the purpose of visual consumption (Urry 1992). Green (1990) describes how the Western construct of landscape as the "whole natural scenery" and the definition of "nature as landscape" emerged as an aesthetic tradition, linking leisure and tourism with the visual consumption of picturesque and sublime landscapes. Wilson (1992) argues that nature is contemporaneously an integral part of western culture, and that tourism is an institution that sells places using images and myths of nature mediated by, among other things, advertising and aesthetics.

The UK rural landscape of smallholdings was substantially replaced in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with a rural landscape designed or influenced by the English Landscape School. This landscape aesthetically reflected in its sweeping vistas the political and economic imperative for unoccupied, sheep and cattle-supporting rural lands, defined by the new industrial mode of production. Landowners anxious to demonstrate their good taste commissioned the design of vegetation, built structures, water, and sometimes landforms, employing famous landscape designers such as Capability Brown. The landscapes thus created effectively transformed large tracts of countryside to reflect naturalistic landscape principles. This landscape is referred to by Hough (1990:56) as the "landscape of authority", accepted over time as reflecting the "... essence of what a rural landscape should look like."

Both aesthetic and economic changes were features of the Industrial Revolution, which led to the massive depopulation of rural areas and the displacement of millions of people to urban areas and the New World. New modes of production and consumption associated with industrialization had profound impacts on landscape, and also concentrated populations in urban areas where they were away from regular contact with nature. The depopulated rural landscapes so created influenced subsequent landscape tastes, particularly in the emerging urban middle classes (McHarg 1972, Zaring 1977). Although these landscapes were anything but 'natural,' they were 'naturalistic,' incorporating the non-formal parklands and other elements of the English landscape artists.

Enforcement of the Enclosure Acts in the later 1700s and early 1800s, which transformed much of the agricultural landscape of England, Scotland, and Ireland to pastureland for sheep and cattle, was concurrent with the new naturalistic landscape

vision of sublime, unoccupied vistas. The origins of modern landscape aesthetic appreciation are derived in part from this dramatic shift in the mode of agricultural production and the growth of industrial cities. The Romantic movement in art and literature celebrated the wild beauty of the abandoned rural landscapes in books, poetry, paintings, lithographs, etchings, and prints (Zaring 1977). Tourism emerged as a response to the authority of contemporary tastemakers, and place images and place myths (Shields 1991) developed concurrently with popular tourist destinations and travel routes.

Desire to visit these Romantic landscapes began to manifest itself in the early 1800s. Leisure travel had been the privilege of the rich, but organized mass tourism became a reality by the third decade of the nineteenth century as steamer and train travel became affordable. McKenzie (1992) indicates that photography and the democratization of travel by train encouraged the visual consumption of photogenic, unpolluted landscapes in the later nineteenth and early twentieth century in the British Isles. An increasing number of the new urban middle classes established landscape aesthetic values for themselves that were associated with holidays and leisure-related travel away from home. They reflected these new values by purchasing paintings, lithographs, and prints for their homes that portrayed Romantic Scottish and West Country landscapes (Zaring 1977; McKenzie 1992). Landscapes became 'valued' for their visual appeal, and tourist accommodation and other infrastructure began to develop to provide services in popular tourist destination areas (Lowenthal 1978).

Erickson (1977) suggests that the UK connection between land ownership and landscape taste is paralleled to some degree in the United States. He identifies the linkage between the 'Ceremonial Landscapes' of the west, such as Yellowstone and Yosemite, and the American celebration of their unique wilderness heritage.

'Ownership' and 'authority' are invested in the federal National Parks and government, rather than in a landed aristocracy. Removal of Aboriginal populations preceded the transformation of these lands to protected wilderness areas symbolic of the United States. Jakle (1985) outlines how tourism based on 'nature as an attraction' and 'scenic curiosities' grew in the latter 19th century with wider awareness of destinations, and with increasingly available time and means to travel. Outstanding natural landscapes were promoted for national park status by Aldo Leopold, John Muir and the members of the Sierra Club. Many tourists to Yellowstone, Yosemite, and the Grand Canyon endorsed and supported the protection of these landscapes in national parks (Erickson 1977). Tourism operators and investors constructed the resorts, spas, and accommodations clustered around these scenic attractions, developing a built environment that either complemented or detracted from the scenic magnificence of the natural landscape. Tourism operators and investors therefore tended to occupy a landscape to service travel needs after a destination had been identified and signified as being important in some way. They may or may not have participated in the initial stage of tourism landscape identification, but they almost always were involved in the signification, evaluation and designation of landscape resources once touristic interest had been established.

The protection of national park landscapes in the United States does not imply that protectionist values were dominant in North America. Taylor (1991) and Nelson (1989) identify the influence of Rationalist/ Enlightenment thinking in environmental values and landscape management policy. In Canada these values were identified as being fundamental to the 'Doctrine of Utility' that dominated the creation of our Rocky Mountain National Parks (Nelson 1989). The related concept of 'Wise Use' still represents a powerful theme in natural resource management thinking in North America. Taylor contrasts Gifford Pinchot and the expansionist-wise management,

object-subject perspective with John Muir and Aldo Leopold preservationist-ecocentric points of view, representative of the 'Counter-Enlightenment' movement (Taylor 1991). This movement was reflected in the Romantic tradition in the arts, and in the celebration of nature and wilderness of the American Transcendentalists such as Thoreau, Emerson, and Whitman. The tradition of celebrating nature as a cultural feature in North America is rooted in the nineteenth century Counter-Enlightenment (Taylor 1991, Shields 1991; Callicot 1992).

In Canada, Banff National Park was developed to attract train tourists with little attention paid to wilderness protection.

> There was no intention of preserving a primeval landscape. Banff, in fact, evolved from a frontier condition of extreme environmental exploitation (Jakle 1985:82).

Mining, quarrying, and logging were seen as interesting elements in the landscape in keeping with the utilitarian policies and values of the day. It is during the late 1800s and early 1900s that the institutional framework of Canadian resource policy was developed, establishing in each province a legislative regime which placed the extraction of natural resources as a paramount land use in areas with low agricultural potential. These provincial legislative regimes predated by three decades the federal Canadian Parks Act of 1930, which introduced legislation for the protection of nature within parks (Nelson 1989). Royalty, tax, and license revenue from the extraction of natural resources was, and still is, an essential element in the economic policy of all Canadian provinces.

During the first three decades of the twentieth century, the growth in public sentiment for nature preservation expanded as North Americans toured the continent by automobile, staying at new park campgrounds developed for the 'rubber-tire trade' and

experiencing the natural wonders of the Rockies, the Sierras, and Yellowstone (Jakle 1985). Environmental concerns for the protection of wilderness areas also expanded as access to television sets increased after the Second World War, and the public gained knowledge of special destinations through documentaries and feature stories about particular places.

Public participation in outdoor recreation increased rapidly through the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, drawing visitors into more remote regions to gaze upon pristine unaltered landscapes beyond the end of the blacktop. Contradictions between tourist expectations and land use practices authorized under early resource extraction-oriented legislative regimes subsequently gained a higher profile in the North American mass media, as interest in conservation and preservation issues grew (Dearden 1989). For example, the establishment of Pacific Rim National Park by the Canadian federal government in the late 1960s resulted in years of negotiations to compensate forest companies who gave up tenure rights guaranteed under BC provincial legislation.

2.1.3 Landscape imagery and sense of place

The concepts of 'sense of place' and landscape imagery are presented together because each deals with socially and culturally constructed landscape meaning. The 'sense of place' literature explores the sentiment expressed towards landscape and the characteristics that make it unique (Hough 1990). The literature on landscape imagery deals with the description and analysis of the cultural landscape change process. (Relph 1976; Johnson et al.1986). Sauer (1925) identifies culture as an agent of landscape change and suggests that there are identifiable sequences in the development of cultural landscapes, which he terms 'sequent occupance.' The artifacts and land uses of a given culture leave a cumulative legacy of 'relics', more or less evident in a contemporary

landscape, which can represent important tourist 'attractions.' Sauer refers to landscape

change over time as being the result of 'human agency.' a theme further developed in the

work of Thomas (1956), and by Wagner and Mikesell (1962). Resources in the

landscape, scenic or otherwise, may be defined and valued differently at one time or

another by residents and by visitors. Some actors may play an avant garde role by

interpreting landscape resources and features in a manner that reflects changing economic

and social values about particular locales. The idea of phases of occupance which

embody particular values about landscape has been incorporated into the research

methodology through the use of historical settlement phases. The importance of past

landscape phases to tourism is described by Hough (1990:3). He comments that:

> ...in the absence of contemporary relevance or historical continuity these
> landscapes tell us little of past events or how people lived. Yet it is exactly
> this nostalgic search for natural, historic, and cultural patterns that appeals
> to visitors.

The contemporary character of a cultural landscape is theoretically the culmination of

previous phases of occupance, yet these phases may no longer be visible, acknowledged,

or valued, and may be replaced instead by place mythologies constructed by tourism

operators or other actors (Goss 1993; Cloke and Perkins 1998).

Two meanings for 'sense of place' have been identified in the literature (Johnson et

al.1986). First is the distinctive or memorable 'imageability' of a place, providing

particular meaning for many people (Lynch 1972). This definition can be assigned either

to culturally created places such as the Vatican, or to natural places such as Niagara Falls.

The creation of 'imageability' could be part of the development of a destination image of

place and landscape by tourism stakeholders, and the meanings and place myths assigned

to that image by tourists, and by commercial or government tourism agencies (Shields

1991; Goss 1993). As Hough (1990:3) points out, "Tourism has become the very life-

blood of picturesque but resource-poor or economically destitute countries."

Sense of place has also been defined as the "...consciousness that people have of places

that possess a particular significance for them, either personal or shared." (Johnson et al.

1986:425). Yi-Fu Tuan (1974:4) coined the term 'Topophilia,' love of place, to account

for this consciousness, which he defined as " the affective bond between people and place

or setting." Affection held towards a particular place can extend to landscapes that are

visited for leisure (Lowenthal 1978; Hough 1990). 'Sense of place' addresses underlying

structures of attitudes and values for both tourism stakeholders and tourists in their

interactions with places and landscapes.

Relph (1976) provides a phenomenological study of the concept of sense of place, which

he defines as "the lived world of settings and situations." He indicts tourism as a key

agent of placelessness, the eradication of distinctive places and the making of

standardized landscapes, identifying in the following quote the role of opinion- makers in

creating tourist interest in places. He comments:

> An unauthentic attitude to place is nowhere more clearly expressed than in
> tourism, for in tourism individual and authentic judgment about places is
> nearly always subsumed to expert or socially accepted opinion, or the act
> and means of tourism become more important than the places visited
> (Relph 1976:83).

The authenticity of places and landscapes is a central concern of much sense of place

literature. The authority of tourism stakeholders in both representing and transforming

places and landscapes is challenged with evidence that the processes of tourism

development result all too frequently in placelessness. The creation of tourism

landscapes devoid of any sense of place may occur because tourism stakeholders simply

want to replicate design formulas that have proved successful elsewhere. Alternatively,

landscape character and sense of place might be vigorously protected by tourism stakeholders in part because the destination's appeal is dependent on protecting these elements. In some situations Counter-Enlightenment traditions and values can be strongly expressed in the protection of sense of place, such as might be provided by a pristine wilderness viewscape. The attempt to gain authority for the representation of these values has been presented by Pitt (1989) as the role of the avant garde against the status quo. The key consideration is the values that are being expressed in the initiative to develop or to preserve a particular landscape. These values may be more towards the avant garde, i.e. promoting a changed or alternative vision of landscape values, or more status quo, that is, promoting a more conventionalized approach consistent with existing institutional arrangements.

2.1.4 Landscape management concepts

A basic construct in landscape image pertains to the representation of the visual characteristics of a locale, its scenery. Evidence of the importance of scenery to tourists in selecting a tourist destination has been previously referenced in survey work conducted by Eichtner and Ritchie (1991), and by Goss (1993) and Connell (1993) in their respective deconstructions of destination travel literature and advertising texts. Scenery is also identified as an essential resource in the transition from landscapes of production to the 'leisure landscapes' of post-productivist consumption (Urry 1992; 1996; Shaw and Williams 1994). Visual consumption of places by tourists is presented as being dependent on maintenance and/or development of visual landscape character and appeal, whether the attraction is built or natural (Urry 1992; 1996). Landscape management emerges as a process which responds to the needs of local residents, governments, tourists and tourism stakeholders by developing procedures and processes by which certain values might be maintained for landscapes appropriated for visual

consumption. Cloke and Perkins (1998:190) point out that leisure landscapes
commodified for 'wilderness' and 'adventure' go beyond simple visual consumption,
suggesting that "---the growth in adventure tourism adds place-myth meanings of
excitement, thrill, youthfulness, freshness to the social spatialization of place."

Initiatives to measure, inventory, and evaluate scenery may arise from the desire to
protect landscapes from changes which would impair scenic character (Fines 1968;
Lowenthal 1978). The constituents of scenery in landscape are described by Linton in
the following quote:

> There are two truly basic elements in the scenic resources of any area.
> One is the form of the ground- not as defined by the contours of the
> topographical surveyor, but rather by the land form categories of the
> geomorphologist. The other is the mantle of forests and moorlands,
> farms and factories, natural vegetation and human artifacts, by which the
> hard rock body of the landscape is clothed. Involved in both are the
> water surfaces, running or still, salt or fresh, natural or artificial, that
> enter into many of our most attractive landscapes (Linton 1968: 223).

Linton introduces his conception of landscape with the term 'scenic resources,' which
he describes as being landform, natural, and land use features within the landscape
which are attractions in themselves. He provides examples of scenic resources, and
ends with a reference to 'attractive landscapes,' suggesting the need for evaluation of
scenic resources as an amenity value. A more recent application of Linton's concept of
scenic resources is Blankson and Green's (1991) categorization of country landscapes in
Kent, south east England, undertaken at a time when overcapacity in agriculture began
to free land for other uses. The specific focus of their study was to develop an
approach that would be useful in designating boundaries of areas where farmers were
being "paid to farm in ways designed to maintain wildlife, access and the character of
the landscape." (Blankson and Green 1991:149) This particular study responded to the

need to create recognisable landscape groupings that can be evaluated using scenic or other criteria specifically for redesignation of rural land use.

Use of the term 'scenic resource' is important to the research at hand because it is consistent with the language of productivist, resource based industries such as forestry and mining. Elements and components of scenic resources (i.e. land form, land use, etc.) can be identified and mapped in resource inventories using the techniques, language and institutional structure of the current resource extraction regime. Recently developed Geographical Information System (GIS) tourism map layers include scenic resource polygons based on tourism stakeholder input, combined with objective landform data (British Columbia Ministry of Tourism 1993 a). There is therefore a synthesis between 'objectivist' approaches and 'subjectivist' approaches taking place in GIS-based resource inventories to accommodate tourism stakeholder interests in landscape management. For example, data on the perceived scenic attributes of a locale obtained from surveys and focus groups can be mapped over objectively defined landscape entities such as lakes, shorelines, rivers, islands, and forest cover. Integrated GIS-based mapping systems can provide publicly accessible representations of values during the processes of identification, signification, evaluation, and designation of landscape resources (Hamilton 1995). Presentations in the media by stakeholders can further inform the public in regard to preferable outcomes. It is this public accessibility that increases the number and variety of actors involved in structuring the institutional arrangements pertaining to landscape management.

Lowenthal (1978) points out that scenery is the primary concern in landscape evaluation by the public. He notes that:

The term 'landscape' itself connotes scenery rather than utility. And a landscape's scenic character, notwithstanding divergencies of taste, is its broadest appeal. Relatively few people prize any particular locale for its economic, recreational, or ecological resources, but as a beautiful or evocative scene it may matter to millions (Lowenthal 1978:377).

If these landscapes "matter to millions," then the prospect of altering the landscape to further some kind of productivist economic intent could prove to be a high profile and risky political undertaking. The processes of scenic resource inventory, evaluation, and management are essentially defined by the interests of a wider public. A variety of actors, both local and non-resident, may engage in the processes of institutional restructuring of land use decision making to protect scenic values. Rural-urban tensions can emerge as local economic interests for employment in extractive industries clash with urbanites interested in leisure landscapes which have been appropriated for visual consumption (Cloke and Godwin 1992; Urry 1992). The evaluation and mapping of scenic values is a process which is likely to foreshadow change, and is therefore frequently of widespread public interest. The available approaches used for evaluation are of interest to the current research because tourist destination image depends so much on the management of visual experiences (Echtner and Ritchie 1992). However, Hough (1990:25) points out that: "Scenic planning involves creating systems for measuring the permanent elements of a landscape. But these systems necessarily leave out the unmeasurable, ephemeral things that in reality are largely responsible for the aesthetic experience." So there is a cautionary note about the capacity of scenic resource mapping and planning to accurately represent all that matters in a valued landscape. Classification and landscape designation exists as an institutional arrangement that establishes a hierarchy of protection, but as Hough (1990:24) observes:

The preoccupation with scenery as visual enjoyment is an expression of society's disassociation from nature and the processes that shape the land and its scenic variety."

So the protection of scenic resources emerges as a social and political response to dissociation from natural processes through urbanization and industrialization. The role of the visitor or tourist emerges as a factor in the protection of scenic resources because they are likely to express landscape preference in terms of their own needs for visual enjoyment. Landscape authorship processes may therefore emerge in response to rural changes which threatens the countryside's visual appeal to weekenders and tourists (Hough 1990).

Daniel and Vining (1983) suggest that a classification of landscape evaluation methodologies is useful, and that a range of approaches are available to researchers according to the scale and intent of each particular project. These approaches range from objectivist, that is, methods based on measurable and observable entities such as landform and vegetation cover, to subjectivist, involving the analysis of collective and individual values and attitudes about attributes such as landscape aesthetics and sense of place. This typology of approaches reflects the need to evaluate subjective landscape attributes and objective landscape entities to provide a basis for changing institutional arrangements to reflect evolving landscape values.

The typology ranges from the ecological approach of Leopold (1969), Linton (1968) and Blankson and Green (1991), the formal aesthetic approach of Litton (1968) and Fines (1968), the psychological approach of Kaplan and Kaplan (1982), and the phenomenological approach of Gold and Burgess (1982). Within each approach there are ideas and concepts which can inform the construct of tourism landscape authorship. Daniel and Vining (1983) provide a methodological classification that aligns approach suitability to the circumstances of the research, the experience of the researcher, and the size and complexity of the landscape in question (Dearden 1989). The methods are

briefly described on a continuum from objectivist (ecological - formal aesthetic) to subjectivist (psychological/ cognitive - phenomenological).

Linton (1968) and Leopold (1969) initially developed ecological approaches to landscape classification. Essentially reductionist and objectivist, they are based on geologically and ecologically defined landscape units and character. However, subjective judgements were used in allocating landscape attributes. Linton measured and scored components of landscape, using aerial photographs and maps, according to their presumed scenic attractiveness. These approaches focus on identifying and mapping landscape features rather than on assessing human response to scenic values. Landscape is considered to be a particular configuration of topography, land-use, vegetation cover and settlement pattern. Ecological approaches have contributed significantly to GIS inventory mapping by providing an objectivist framework for landscape inventory mapping. The integrated landscape resource classification systems necessary for comparative analysis of landscape values also drew considerably on the ecological approach. The Canada Land Use Inventory land use capabilty maps for recreation are an example.

Formal aesthetic approaches (Litton 1968; Fines 1968) are landscape based but include some element of subjective response to visual qualities of the landscape, as in the case of the approach used by Fines (1968) in East Sussex. Landscape is a visual phenomenon- a unit of scenery. Fines established landscape appreciation scales and rankings by using photographs of scenery with a sample of respondents. These approaches lend themselves to quantification, measurement, and comparative landscape assessment methodologies, because they are based on participant survey data that can be quantified. A significant contribution to GIS inventory mapping for tourism, environmental, and recreation values has been made by using these approaches

(Hamilton 1996). The methodological and conceptual basis for many of the BC forest landscape resource inventories in the 1980s was based on work undertaken by Litton for the U.S. Forest Service. Litton (1982) deals with the practice of landscape assessment, developing the tools for resource managers and park planners, landscape architects and environmental advocates. He claims a degree of objectivity in his work, because the decision-making criteria are identified while acknowledging that objectivity in scenic analysis is not possible (Litton 1982). The description of landscape is presented as a necessary first step by Litton. The visual elements and relationships must be recorded faithfully, and professional criteria must be applied with attention to public perceptions and recognition of the historical and cultural landscape values that characterize the region under consideration.

Litton believes that appreciation of the complexity of landscape in all its tangible and intangible forms leads to the need for inventory and evaluation. He believes that scenic resources should be evaluated and classified by the use of aesthetic criteria. He identifies three: unity, variety, and vividness. These concepts, borrowed from landscape art, require interpretation to the lay public. Inventories can be used as environmental base lines to monitor change over time (Litton 1982). Alternatively, Blankson and Green (1991) describe the role played by landscape classification in Europe and England as agricultural land is taken out of production as a result of overcapacity. Landscape evaluation and land planning is based on a dendrogram classification system of land groupings and indicator species (Blankson and Green 1991).

Dearden (1979), Daniel and Vining (1983), and Zube (1982) developed psychophysical approaches, which use large public samples, and measure both landscape and response by "developing mathematical relationships between the physical characteristics of landscape and the perceptual judgments of human observers" (Daniel and Vining 1983,

quoted in Itami 1989: 212). There has been less use made of these approaches, partly because of the high cost of the research endeavor and the difficulty in developing data that is comparable to other resource information and values.

The search for human meaning associated with landscapes or landscape characteristics characterizes the psychological/cognitive approaches of Kaplan and Kaplan (1982), and Appleton (1975). "Information is received by the human observer and, in conjunction with past experience, future expectation, and sociological conditioning, lends meaning to landscape"(Itami 1989:212). This body of research is applicable because the assignment of meaning to landscape is a component of the landscape authoring process.

Phenomenological approaches (Relph 1976; Tuan 1974; Gold and Burgess 1982) use in-depth interviews with a few subjects. Interaction between humans and environment is viewed as a dynamic encounter. Emphasis is on subjectivity, expectations, and interpretations (Fishwick and Vining 1992). Phenomenological research approaches such as in-depth interviewing are especially useful when dealing with individual tourism actors who have authored particular versions of a landscape to the public. Using in-depth interviewing identifies the outcomes of key events and processes from the perspective of key players. Personal and collective visions of landscape can be identified and interpreted as the processes of tourism landscape identification, signification, evaluation, and designation unfold (Fishwick and Vining 1992).

The key elements of tourism landscape inventory discussed in this dissertation relate to the development of GIS, which is based on the ecological and formal aesthetic approaches. The formal aesthetic approach has gained some degree of preference because tourism scenic values, cultural values, and evaluation scales can be included in

inventory mapping of physiographic and morphological landscape features. New landscape actors (stakeholders) have an interest in utilizing and refining approaches that allow for comparative and systematic classification and evaluation of landscapes. This interest has been a key issue in gaining a 'seat at the table' in negotiating protection for valued tourism landscapes in a variety of settings. Because GIS systems are visually based, landscape information can be presented in ways that challenge the normative assumptions of natural resource stakeholders with new tourism, recreation, and amenity values (Hamilton 1996). Tourism GIS resource inventory processes provide for landscape authoring opportunities because landscape resources can be represented visually with an assessment of value indicated, often through coloured map polygons. The visual GIS landscape representations are easily amended in response to public and stakeholder input, providing for interactive and iterative development of tourism landscape resource values (Paul 1992).

The tourism resource inventory work undertaken by the British Columbia Ministry of Small Business, Tourism and Culture starting in 1989 was one of the first large-scale Canadian initiatives which evaluated landscape for tourism, environmental, and recreation values (Paul 1992, Hamilton 1996). Previous national efforts such as the Canada Land Inventory were based on Recreation Land Use Capability Assessment methods adapted from the US Forest Service. The resource inventory technology and methodology used by the Ministry of Small Business, Tourism and Culture was largely borrowed from the BC Ministry of Forests. Recreation Capability Assessment had been included in forest land use planning and in provincial parks in British Columbia as a result of the work of William Yeomans and others in the 1970s and 1980s (Yeomans 1983, Berris and Bekker 1989).

All these approaches except the ecological initiatives have tended to be different fundamentally from wildlife conservation evaluations with similar objectives, in that the resource being considered (i.e. landscape) is not first classified.

> It is the first step of classification of the range of variation of the wildlife resource into species and habitat-types which permits its systematic assessment based on the resource's qualities such as habitat size or extent, habitat and species diversity, rarity and other criteria (Blankson and Green 1991:150).

Blankson and Green compare a direct landscape evaluation undertaken in 1972 with landscape classifications. They suggest that landscape types identified by classification could be used as the basis for landscape evaluation in the same way that habitats are in wildlife evaluations. This approach is resonant with the current techniques being used in tourism GIS inventory and suggests that ecological approaches provide for greater comparability of landscape resources.

To summarize, each body of landscape literature provides concepts and definitions that inform the construct of tourism landscape authorship. Classification processes from the various ecological approaches provide a way of describing and categorizing landscapes so that scenery and other tourism resources may be identified in the authoring process and mapped in relationship to wildlife habitat and other landscape attributes. The formal aesthetic approach contributes to this dissertation's focus on scenic and cultural values, signified for landscape by authors who select images for distribution to the public, influencing traditions of taste and landscape preference. The psychological/cognitive and phenomenological approaches explore the role of values, beliefs, and attitudes towards landscape and the manner in which those values are expressed in public preferences. The sense of place literature explores what places mean to people, residents and tourists alike, and provides insight into the meaning given to a locale and the way in which that

meaning is shared. The cultural landscape literature explores human agency. and the way in which human endeavor changes the face of the earth or protects landscape from change, providing valuable interpretive approaches for the analysis of landscape changes over time.

2.2   Tourism Concepts

2.2.1 Tourism landscapes

The proliferation and differentiation of tourism landscapes, ranging from built attractions such as the Disney operations to pristine wilderness destinations. suggests the need for further research. As Butler (1992:2) notes,

> Tourism is a distinct and often demanding land use. Large and growing
> areas of the earth are being devoted to tourism development in its many
> forms. from conventional mass tourism to adventure wilderness tourism
> to retirement living in high amenity areas.

Some confusion in the literature centers around the utility of the landscape from the perspective of 'the tourist' on the one hand and 'the tourism industry' on the other. The term 'tourism landscape' is presented in this dissertation as an all-encompassing construct and follows Butler's (1992) definition. He suggests that:

> The prefix "tourism" is applied to those landscapes whose primary
> function can be defined as serving the tourism needs of a population.
> These needs may be both active and passive. The primary cause of the
> specific type of development (or non-development) which has taken place
> in (the) area being the tourism needs and desires of visitors to the area
> (1992:2-3).

The 'tourist landscape' is subsumed within the broader definition of tourism landscape as a particular type. In the present research the term 'tourist landscape' is used to refer

to landscapes directly controlled by tourists themselves, as is the case with second home landscapes in the Canary Islands (Coppock 1977) and cottage country in Ontario (Butler 1992).

Butler's definition of the tourism landscape refers specifically to "development and non-development." This is interpreted to mean that visitors may be attracted by landscape features (scenery, built amenities) or by environmental opportunities (sunshine, warm waters). Tourism landscapes will be modified to service visitor needs, but also will be preserved to account for these needs. Butler presents a typology of tourism landscapes, ranging from the least modified which is national parks, to cottage areas (the 'tourist landscape'), scenic areas, alpine resorts, specialized resorts, coastal resorts, to the most modified, theme parks. These landscapes are differentiated by ownership, users, and location (Butler 1992). Over time landscapes change. In areas where tourism gains economic ascendancy, the landscape is likely to be modified and also maintained in a conscious attempt to keep it attractive to tourists, sometimes to the exclusion of other land uses (Butler 1992).

Butler refers to the critical importance of landscape to tourism, particularly in regard to natural landscape-based ecotourism and adventure tourism, and to destinations possessing culturally significant relics from previous phases of human occupance (Butler 1992). He echoes Relph (1976) in his comment that, "While casinos, resorts, and theme parks are important elements in tourism, they are man-created and generally placeless"(Butler 1992:8). Butler's work contributes to understanding how protection of scenic and cultural resources figure within the processes of tourism landscape authorship, and to understanding the role of tourism as an agent of landscape change and/or protection. The construct of the 'tourism landscape' provides a conceptual

linkage to Urry's construct of 'the tourist gaze,' which describes the relationship between societal values, the tourist, and the landscapes that emerge to serve their needs.

Urry (1990, 1992, 1995) draws on the work of Foucault (1976) to develop the notion of the dominance of the visual in tourist behaviour (Urry 1992). Landscapes are visually consumed by the "all-seeing, anonymous eye and camera lens of the tourist" (Urry 1992:176-177). Tourism landscapes are developed to meet the expectations of visitors; these expectations are concerned mostly with appearance. The tourist's globe is defined by Urry as a series of tableaux set against landscape backdrops which become 'signs' and 'icons' in the tourism market. Landscape resources are inventoried within this market by touristic 'signifiers' - the picturesque, the pristine, the historical, the unique, the spiritually significant, the endangered. An element within each offers a sense of the exotic, and the tourist gaze is directed to features of landscape and townscape that separate them from everyday experience. Yet this 'normalizing gaze' (Foucault 1976) develops a recognition, a sense of knowing and familiarity. This familiarity with the exotic landscape is then witnessed, preserved and objectified in postcards, photographs, videos, and film.

Tourism, in its search for the extra-ordinary, may be understood as a secularized spiritual quest. Urry suggests that "...the tourist gaze endows the tourist experience with a striking, almost sacred, quality" (Urry 1992:173). Yet, he asserts, there is also a deeply profane aspect of the gaze that has to do with power and authority among tourism professionals, tourists, and destination populations. Urry contributes to the concept of authorship of the tourism landscape by linking a tourism semiotic of signs, icons, and signification with issues of authority over landscape and destination image and landscape change.

Urry identifies the relationship between societies and their physical context. He identifies the following four main relationships:

> ...'stewardship' to provide a better inheritance for future generations, 'exploitation of land and resources' through seeing nature as separate and available for appropriation, 'scientization' through treating the environment as the object of scientific investigation and hence of some degree of intervention, and 'visual consumption' through constructing the physical environment not primarily for production but embellished for aesthetic appropriation (Urry 1992:178).

These four categories encompass various viewpoints and underlying structures of values and beliefs encountered in landscape authorship. The category of landscapes which are 'embellished for visual consumption' is consistent with the forthcoming discussion of image and of fundamental value structures underlying authority over land use in tourism landscapes. There is a particular resonance with the description of post-productivist landscapes set aside for tourism and recreation as described by Halfacree (1993) and others.

A complementary conceptualization important to the research at hand is MacCannell's (1973) 'site sacralization'. 'Site sacralization' evolves in stages, according to MacCannell. In the 'naming phase,' the site is distinguished from similar objects as a worthy presentation. At the 'framing and elevation phase,' an official boundary is placed around the site to protect and enhance it and it is opened to visitation. 'Enshrinement' occurs when the 'frame' itself assumes attractive power. Final phrases include 'mechanical reproduction' and 'social reproduction.' In the former stage, visual images (photographs, prints, paintings) models, or effigies of the site are themselves valued and displayed. In the latter stage, social groups, cities, regions, and even nations use the site as an icon of identity (MacCannell 1973; Jakle 1985).

In any discussion of landscape in the context of tourism, the relationship between the tourist and the landscape is mediated by the 'landscape image.' Landscape image is "the tourist's preconceived construction of local life and landscape at a potential destination" (Farrell 1979:124). Dilley (1986) points out the importance of these subjective images as initiators of action by tourists in his study of tourist brochures. This term is closely related to, but is not the same as the previously mentioned 'destination image' which encompasses more than the landscape's scenic attractions by including evaluations of service quality and other destination attributes (Echtner and Ritchie 1991).

Goss (1993) identifies a series of themes in the advertised destination image of Hawaii, including the trope of 'earthly paradise.' The induced images in advertisements and brochures of Hawaii and other destinations with a well developed 'place myth' (Shields 1991) pass through phases that parallel the resort cycle described by Butler (Connell 1993). Connell (1993) also identifies the place myth of 'paradise' and 'Garden of Eden' in his study of tourism in Bali, and examines the shifts in representation and commodification that has occurred as consumer demand has fragmented towards "...whatever you want it to be" (Connell 1993:641). The marketing of the tourist destination in both these examples presents international tourism as diversifying, moving towards flexible specialization, and "...interlocking resort cycles, overlapping tourist spectacles, and intersecting and conflicting images..." (Connell 1993:659). The signification of the destination image must be re-authored constantly to respond to shifts in demographics, market demand and changing tastes. In the cases of Hawaii and Bali, tourism stakeholders largely control the advertising and marketing apparatus, and commodify the destinations according to industry expectations of improved profitability. These mature destinations are in contrast to emerging destinations, where the tourism

stakeholders may not have authority over destination representation and may not control landscape resources. These studies inform the research by identifying elements of signification in tourism landscape authorship, and by elucidating the processes by which tourist destination landscapes, places and images become known, valued, and designated for tourism.

The image of tourist destinations is categorized by Gunn (1972) as either 'organic,' being derived from non-tourist sources such as books or news reports, or 'induced,' resulting from planned advertising and publicity campaigns (Gunn 1972). Gunn's categories are useful in distinguishing the level of control or authority the tourism stakeholders hold over advertising. The organic is largely uncontrolled, the induced more controlled and authored. However, the distinction between the two categories may become blurred by authors intent on presenting particular visions of a landscape to the media. Such blurring may be more in evidence when contestation over land and resource allocations are in progress.

2.2.2 Institutional arrangements, tourism planning and policy

Tourism landscape authors help to establish a changing values context for a succession of landscape occupance by creating new social constructions of landscape. Whether or not resource extraction activities or farming have been exhausted or abandoned for some reason, landscape authors identify and signify new meanings for landscape, initiating new landscape planning processes that may challenge current landscape designations. Institutional arrangements such as legislation controlling land and resource use and zoning regulations are concrete manifestations of incumbent landscape values and are frequently the focus of interest for tourism stakeholders attempting to gain some authority over land and resource use. Rural change literature has emerged recently to interpret the

restructuring of local rural economies in the British countryside (Cloke and Goodwin 1992; Flynn and Marsden 1995; Halfacree 1993). This developing body of literature examines the new institutional arrangements which emerge as industrial production-driven agriculture is replaced by more diversified non-agricultural activities such as tourism, recreation, and amenity-based living in rural locales (Lowe et al.1993).

The transition from a productive to a consumptive landscape involves the insertion of new values along with new actors and agencies into an 'arena of contestation' (Flynn and Marsden 1995). This arena is characterized by struggles over the institutional arrangements that designate landscape resources for particular uses (Shaw and Williams 1994; Reed and Gill 1997). This process of transition from a productivist to a post-productivist landscape is facilitated by political change in which some 'stakeholders' emerge as 'actors' in the arena of contestation. Stakeholders are individuals and organizations that have a declared interest in the disposition of landscape resources. The political change process is in part based upon resignification of public values about landscape resources, both in a broad sense, and specifically in regard to particular locales (Flynn and Marsden 1995; Halfacree 1993). Resignification refers to the assignment of new meanings to landscape resources, by authors using texts and images chosen to represent particular landscape values. Change in public landscape values reflects broader societal value shifts, but is based in part on these representations. They are authored by a variety of actors in the arena of contestation, including those who visually consume the landscape as tourists (Urry 1992). The arena of contestation may exist at several scales, from local, to regional, national, and international.

In Canada many rural economies are based on primary resource extraction activities such as forestry, mining, and fishing (Troughton 1996). Tourism, environmental, and recreational values have been introduced into landscapes which have developed under

institutional arrangements emphasizing resource extraction (Reed and Gill 1997).

Differing perceptions of landscape resource use are seen as being fundamental to the

stresses and conflicts which arise between the different 'actors' in the 'arena of

contestation' (Halfacree 1993; Reed and Gill 1997). Although these stresses and

conflicts involve fundamentally differing perceptions of landscape value, the transitional

processes between a natural resource extraction-based (productivist) economy and a post-

productivist economy must inevitably utilize language and concepts from the productivist

economy. Many of the most applicable approaches to landscape management evolved to

accommodate tourism, environmental, and recreation values under productivist economic

regimes such as forestry (Reed and Gill 1997). For example, the use of the term

'landscape resources' reflects the need for consistent language in planning processes such

as inventory and evaluation (Linton 1968). The actual value of landscape resources and

access to them are being contested, as is illustrated by debates over preservation versus

logging of old growth forests, but landscape authorship is a process that gains authority

through successful representations that can be implemented through land use planning

procedures.

Planning is defined by Inskeep (1991:25) as "organizing the future to achieve certain

objectives," and by Gunn (1988:5) as "planning is predicting. Prediction requires some

estimated perception of the future." The process of tourism landscape authorship in all

its phases is bound up with planning because of tourism stakeholder interests in

protecting scenic and cultural resources against future erosion by other land uses. It is

participation in planning and policy-setting processes relating to land use that

operationalizes the tourism stakeholder's quest for landscape authority, gaining a 'seat

at the table' in resource allocation and decision-making. Tourism planning processes

deal with the evaluation and designation of landscape resources, and the presentation of

future scenarios. Planning includes concepts and models, but is substantially

procedural. It is the formal process by which different ideas about the allocation of resources are debated and land use decisions are made. However, most of the planning approaches and methods described in this dissertation are drawn from landscape and resource planning, not from tourism, reflecting the long-term dominance of a resource production regime in the case study area and also the relative under development of tourism policy and planning models.

Moissec (1977) presents a model of tourist development that shows the evolution of tourist regions in time and space. This model, described as a "...clear and most explicit conceptualization of the process of tourist development..." (Pearce 1989:16) is useful in this dissertation because it incorporates spatial and temporal dimensions fundamental to the planning process. The model identifies a sequence of 5 phases of sequential development in regional resort structure, transportation, and tourist behaviour. Each phase identifies key structural elements and interrelationships. The model relates the attitudes of decision-makers and receiving regional populations to each phase of development of the tourism region (Pearce 1989). The incorporation of policy-makers into the model is of particular interest since this is an important issue in the process of landscape authorship.

Policy perspectives regarding tourism resources and landscape are rare in the literature. Gunn (1988), Pearce (1989) and Inskeep (1991) provide useful tourism policy overviews. Inskeep offers a 'sustainable development' approach that acknowledges community and ecosystem capacity as important policy considerations. Butler and Waldbrook (1991) provide a tourism resource policy and planning construct called the 'Tourism Opportunity Spectrum' (TOS), wherein a range of activities for tourism are defined and correlated with landscape opportunities. The concept of 'tourism resources' is in itself a recent idea (Gunn 1988) that has evolved concurrently with

increased interest in protecting natural landscapes for adventure tourism and ecotourism. The use of such objectifying terminology is consistent with the language of productivist landscape regimes, where comparative resource values are inventoried and resource plans are put in place.

Pigram (1990) introduces the concept of sustainable tourism policy, and discusses the gap between policy endorsement and policy implementation which is expressed in the frequent conflicts between tourist developers, resource managers, and public groups. He identifies shortcomings in the implementation process because of conflicts between resource management agencies, tourist developers and communities (Pigram 1990). The idea of a 'sustainable tourism policy' is presented by Pigram as a negotiated, participatory process, which allows for the management, planning, and development of tourism places and landscapes in a sustainable fashion. Two difficulties with sustainable tourism policy as presented by Pigram are first, failure to sufficiently address conflict with activities and interests of other resource users and governmental agencies, and second, inadequate attention to the dynamic nature of changing social ethics and values as they are applied to landscapes (Inskeep 1991).

Pigram presents his policy description in the context of the United Kingdom. While the concept reflects many of the policy development assumptions of Friedman (1988) and Knight (1991) in terms of public participation, his conceptualization is a departure from the tourism policy constructs which have characterized most national and regional initiatives around the world. Sustainable tourism policy is pertinent to the research because sustainability was a central concern of tourism actors involved in Clayoquot Sound during the case study period.

Akehurst (1992) in his discussion of European Community tourism policy, identifies

two extremes of position in national policy formulation communities:

> At one extreme are the interventionists, who believe governments should
> intervene strategically, via state agencies, state ownership, and subsidies,
> throughout an economy at industry and operator levels, because of
> imperfections and failures in the marketplace. At the other extreme,
> there is the laissez faire (noninterventionist) approach, which suggests
> that every economic activity should be left to the private sector. This
> means a smaller public sector, deregulation, reduction, and finally
> withdrawal of industrial subsidies, enhanced competition policies, and so
> on (Akehurst 1992:217).

This entire spectrum of beliefs about tourism policy is preoccupied with economic

productivity and development. OECD member policy has been largely preoccupied

until fairly recently with growth oriented adjustments designed to improve competitive

advantage and industry efficiency.

Edgell (1987) identifies three main thematic elements in tourism policy: economic,

sociocultural, and environmental. He identifies the neglect of tourism as a policy issue

in most countries, despite its increasing economic importance. The environmental

theme is discussed in terms of the balancing of environmental impacts of tourist

development with the increased demand for protected seashores, forests, and other

scenic resources, using well-conceived policies and national, regional, and local tourism

planning. He identifies the city as a key factor, and points out the importance of local

government in the establishment of viable tourism policy, both key issues that are

addressed in the course of this research. Secondly, he looks at the state (or provincial)

level, identifying the influences that state/provincial level agencies have on tourism

sector growth, tourist facility development, service quality, public attitudes towards

tourists, and seasonality of demand (Edgell 1987).

A critical evaluation of tourism policy is provided by Butler (1990), who reviews the most serious problems for tourism policymakers. These are identified as ignorance of the dimensions, nature, and power of tourism, a lack of ability to determine the level of sustainable development, and a lack of appreciation that tourism is an industry that may have irreversible impacts. He further points out that tourism causes and responds to change, and that there is a lack of agreement over levels of development, over control methods, and over the direction tourism development should take (Butler in Smith and Eadington 1992). Jafari (1990) and Smith (1992), discuss tourism research in terms of four phases of development: advocacy in the 1960s, cautionary in the 1970s, adoptancy in the 1980s, and now, allegedly, knowledge-based, which treats tourism as a holistic body rather than just analysis of forms and consequences (Smith 1992).

Evolution in the role and profile of government tourism policy and planning is congruent with the transition from a productivist to a post- productivist economy. In the case of British Columbia, the need to protect scenic resources in particular has driven tourism policy makers to develop policy, land use plans, and legislation that gives tourism a 'seat at the table' in resource allocation. The province has for more than a decade depended on the "Super, Natural" brand name in its marketing efforts, creating tourist expectations that the natural assets of the province would reflect the advertised image (Dearden 1989; Paul 1993).

Until recently, tourism policy has been about economic growth and development in most developed (and developing) countries, including Canada, and has been judged by industry on how effectively that developmental mandate has been carried out. Also, most national tourism policy has been characterized by weakness in terms of implementation and prioritization (Ronkainen and Farano 1987; Akehurst 1992). Tourism policy has been reactive, demand-driven, and has dealt with environmental

issues by referring them to the 'appropriate authorities' rather than through direct involvement (Greenwood 1992). Tourism issues have represented a lower order of priority in most state planning endeavors. Tourism resource planning and policy issues have been dealt with under the broader rubric of resource planning within productivist landscape regimes, and in most cases are subsumed by environmental issues and issues of resource extraction. However, tourism policy and planning models are significant to the evaluation and designation phases of tourism landscape authorship, indicating methods for embedding post-productive landscape values into the structure of institutional arrangements governing land and resource allocation and use.

In summary, the tourism literature reviewed provides definition for what tourists do, what tourists need from landscape and what a tourism landscape is. Categories of tourism landscape are defined and processes of change occurring as a result of tourist visits and behaviour are described. The elevation of tourist destinations to the status of mythic or sacred places through the representations of different authors supports the notion of landscapes appropriated for visual consumption. The processes of planning and policy making necessary to evaluate and designate institutional arrangements reflecting new landscape values are contextualized by the sustainable tourism planning and policy literature. The rural change literature explains the role of economic and social change in the emergence and adoption of post-productivist landscape values.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter first presents a conceptualization of tourism landscape authorship and discusses epistemological considerations, elaborating on the idea of tourism landscape authorship presented in Chapter 1. An approach for operationalizing the conceptual framework is then presented, the case study location is described, and the research agenda and process is outlined.

3.1 The concept of tourism landscape authorship

The authorship concept has to do with a particular 'vision' of landscape. That vision may be contrary to the intent of prevailing institutional arrangements of legislation and policy governing land and resource use, and to the interests of current resource stakeholders. In some cases, attempts by tourism stakeholders to protect landscape resources from extraction makes them actors in an arena of contestation. To gain authority over land and resource use these stakeholders participate in the inventorying and evaluation of landscape resources, to inform the negotiation and reconciliation of the tourism landscape needs with conflicting land and resource use by other stakeholders. During this process, the representation of the landscape resources may be in terms of inherent ecological or cultural worth rather than touristic value, with tourism opportunities acknowledged as an outcome of preservation efforts. The contestation that emerges from newly authored landscape representations may range from a negotiated agreement between stakeholders, to highly publicized confrontations and civil disobedience campaigns. The desired outcome of this authorship process is the creation of 'authorized' land use consistent with the tourism destination image, supported by land use planning and enabling regulations and/or legislation. Figure 3.1 illustrates that there are four linked elements that are conceptualized in this research as

Arena of Contestation

Roles of tourism Actors	Processes of Tourism Landscape Authorship	Institutional responses
Landscape description	**Identification** - Exploration, traveler's reports - Documentation of resources -Tourism opportunities identified -Economic and lifestyle opportunities described -Contestation over new interpretations of landscape value ▼	Implementation of existing resource regime
Representation of landscape images	**Signification** - New landscape meaning explained - Organic/Induced images illustrating new landscape values - Images and text disseminated promoting new landscape meaning - Contestation over old and new landscape meanings ▼	Current legislated landscape representations, contestation by other resource stakeholders
Evaluation of tourism resource interests, roles	**Evaluation** - Organic/Induced representations by landscape authors linked to landscape entities and attributes - Inventory and evaluation processes reflecting post-productivist meanings and values - Contestation over new landscape resource evaluation results ▼	Resource inventory, assessment of landscape attributes
Tourism landscape features designation	**Designation** - New institutional arrangements introduced and debated - Legislative and policy instruments - Designed, debated by public and stakeholders - Adoption and installation of new land and resource regime - Development of a tourism landscape	Authorized land and resource use

Figure 3.1 Processes of landscape authorship

stages in the process of gaining a measure of authority and control over tourism landscapes for the tourism stakeholders. While the model apparently presents a single linear process, each element reiterates over time, as does the entire cyle of landcape authorship.

The first element is identification - the recognition and exploration of a landscape to discover its beauty, unique cultural and ecological attributes, and touristic opportunities. Identification of landscape characteristics is undertaken by writers, photographers and explorers, by government agents, or by residents who may have a particular perspective to share. Identification may be initiated by research into particular ecological and/or cultural characteristics that are subsequently featured in a publication or television documentary. This stage reiterates as the landscape is seen by new visitors and as landscape meaning changes culturally, politically, and economically. For example, a post-productivist rural landscape of second homes, bed and breakfasts, and hobby farms may succeed a productivist agricultural landscape as a result of agricultural policy change. The new occupants strive to preserve landscape character as an amenity landscape protected for visual consumption by residents and tourists alike, although the agricultural production that gave rise to the rural landscape in the first place has been replaced.

The second stage is the element of signification- the interpretation of landscape meaning, involving the creation of selected images of the landscape and its places. This process is initiated when new values about a place appear. What is important here is the way in which the vision of landscape is shared with the public. In the signification phase of tourism landscape authorship, the sharing of the vision of landscape is achieved through both paid advertising images and unsolicited communications promoting an emerging tourism destination. Particular landscape features become more familiar to the public as images are disseminated to promote a particular vision of

landscape. The 'signification' stage involves the explanation and interpretation of the significance and meaning of landscapes and the selection of key elements and representative features within them. This stage reflects changes in identification and interpretation of the landscape resources, and encompasses the construction of organic and induced images (Gunn 1972) of the tourism destination landscape and their dissemination to tourists and to 'the public.' For example, the pristine forest landscape that serves as a visual backdrop for a community may become highly valued as a scenic resource and tourist attraction if the primary economic activity of the community switches from commercial fishing to tourism. This same forest landscape may be signified as 'working forest' by the forest company that holds tenure and by government agencies, who may have planned logging activities as part of a productivist resource regime which has been in place for decades. The contest in signfication of the forested landscape then may be between the 'working forest' and 'pristine old growth,' between forestry production, and visual consumption.

The third element is evaluation - the negotiation of a hierarchy of values for identified landscape resources with stakeholders and government. In the evaluation phase, landscape resources are evaluated and prevailing values are contested if the incumbent institutional arrangements do not protect landscape resources for visual consumption. In the case study selected for this dissertation, the productivist regime is contested and the landscape is re-evaluated for its post-productivist values, but this particular contestation may not apply in other circumstances because other values may be involved. The 'evaluation' element involves the inventorying and evaluation of tourism, recreation and environmental resources, and the working out of different levels of value for landscape features with reference to existing and planned land and resource uses. In this phase the negotiations with government agencies and existing tenure holders begin, because touristic interests need to be inserted into existing landscape

resource designation regimes. This phase may involve a wide range of stakeholders, some of whom become actors in the arena of contestation, particularly when productive activities such as forestry are confronted by the visually consumptive interests of tourism.

The fourth element is designation - the decision-making processes that empower and install a particular land and resource use regime. New legislation, policy, land use plans, zoning, and other institutional arrangements are implemented that embody post-productivist landscape values that are consistent with the tourism destination image. New institutional arrangements designate landscape resources for tourist consumption, either restricting or removing landscape production activities which interfere with tourism, environmental, and recreation consumptive values. Protection of particular landscape resources may reflect, for example, public interests in protecting biodiversity, but concurrently the scenic landscape upon which tourism stakeholders depend and which numbers of tourists have visited retains its visual integrity.

The four elements identified in Figure 3.1 are informed by the values and beliefs of stakeholders, in this case tourism stakeholders, at all stages in the landscape authoring process. Not all tourism stakeholders in an area will be involved at any one time. A minority is likely to be actively engaged in landscape authorship activities. Also, recreational, environmental, and amenity interests may be difficult to separate from tourism interests. Consistency of opinion and tactical approach is unlikely. The use of the term 'actors' specifically identifies those stakeholders who engage in activities dedicated to advancing their landscape resource interests. Not all actors are involved in all the phases, because different actors become involved at different times according to their interests, special skills, and opportunities. Finally, the processes involved in authoring include scientific and empirical processes such as resource inventory and

humanistic/metaphysical aspects such as values and belief, and different actors are involved in different components of this spectrum. The four elements of tourism landscape authorship had to have sufficient depth to encompass the full range of endeavor by the actors and any corroborative documentary evidence available.

As indicated in Figure 3.1, there is an institutional response to the redefinition of the meaning and value of landscape resources for the public, government agencies, and resource stakeholders/actors at each of the process stages. Existing resource and land use regimes are challenged by new significations of landscape entities and attributes, leading to contested evaluation processes. The tourism actors and their allies attempt to gain recognition for the value of their landscape vision by gaining political, media, and popular support, leading to a new set of institutional arrangements authorizing land and resource use for consumptive rather than productive purposes.

An issue in the progress of tourism landscape authorship is the varying degree to which tourists, representing the interests of the national and international public, are directly involved in the construction of the bid for authority over landscape designation and in the construction of the signification of the landscape by the tourism stakeholders. The relationship between 'the public' and 'the authors' is not clear and precise. In some instances, there is a process by which landscape becomes 'valued' and 'the public,' acting as excursionists and tourists, starts asserting its interests in protecting the valued landscape directly through active lobbying and political action of one sort or another (Lowenthal 1978). Landscape authorship processes are also clearly dependent on the degree of political freedom in a country, since public demonstrations supporting institutional change may be quickly suppressed in certain political regimes. In summary, authoring the tourism landscape involves participation in the identification of landscapes of interest to tourists, the establishment of the significance and the

evaluation of those landscapes, and the designation of landscape resources in a manner that ensures tourism opportunities will not be threatened or destroyed by incompatible activities.

3.2 Operationalizing the concept of tourism landscape authorship

The central research question, identified in Chapter 1, is:

By what processes and powers are tourism landscapes authored?

Three key questions which arise in the understanding of these processes are: i.) How has the landscape been represented over time? ii.) Whose values have been represented? and iii.) How have the values of tourism actors been represented in the processes of landscape change? These questions are addressed in a case study of Clayoquot Sound on the West Coast of Vancouver Island, British Columbia, Canada, using the conceptual framework of tourism landscape authorship proposed earlier.

3.2.1 Spatial and temporal context of research

The research location includes the waterways and landforms within the watershed of Clayoquot Sound on the West Coast of Vancouver Island on the coast of British Columbia, Canada (see Figure 1.2). The principal community is Tofino, situated at the northern end of the Esowista Peninsula (Figure 3.2). The area includes the Nuu Chah Nulth (First Nations) communities of Opitsaht on Meares Island, Ahousat (Marktosis) on Flores Island, and Hot Springs Cove on the north side of the entrance to Sydney Inlet. Smaller communities include Hesquiat on the Hesquiat Peninsula, and Vargas Island. There are some homesteads on Flores Island and other locations,
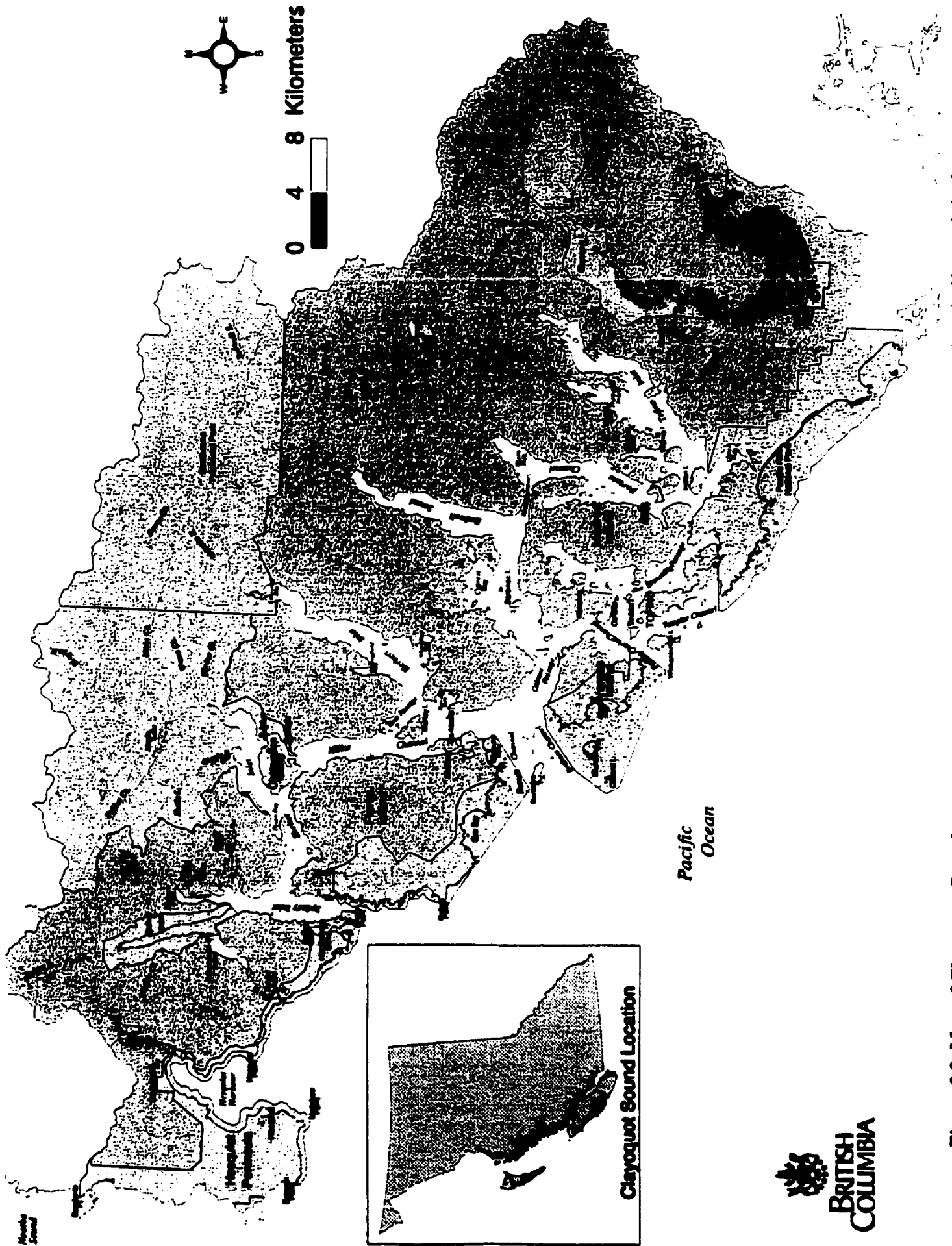
Figure 3.2 Map of Clayoquot Sound. (D. Bruce Whyte, Ministry of Small Business, Tourism and Culture 1998. Used by permission.)

and fish farms located in sheltered inlets throughout the Sound. Further south on the

Esowista Peninsula is the Long Beach unit of Pacific Rim National Park, the major

tourist destination area on the road access route from Port Alberni and the east coast of

Vancouver Island. Pacific Rim National Park is frequently mentioned in this dissertation.

The contestation processes involved in establishing the park were mostly

over by the early 1970s. The focus of most tourist visitation to the region has

subsequently focussed on Long Beach, but as is detailed in subsequent chapters,

Clayoquot Sound developed a separate national and international profile as a result of

contestation over logging and Aboriginal land claims. At the southern end of the

Esowista Peninsula is Ucluelet, a community that lies outside the Clayoquot Sound

drainage but whose residents have had a heavy involvement with land use and resource

policy throughout the area. Ucluelet is also a tourist destination. Port Alberni is a

large forest products-based town located at the head of Alberni Inlet. This community

has had an interest in Clayoquot Sound because its mills need access to the Sound's

timber resources.

A summary of key criteria for selecting Clayoquot Sound as a study area is presented in

Table 3.1. Some key considerations in the selection of the area include not only the

increasing volume of tourist visitation over the past two decades; but also the existence of

several substantial collections of data on the land use, resource planning and resource

inventory data relating to Clayoquot Sound. These include the documentation of tourism

stakeholder involvement and input (British Columbia 1993a; Clayoquot Sound

Sustainable Development Task Force Final Report 1992; British Columbia 1993d; British

Columbia 1995b; Scientific Panel on Forest Practices 1995 Reports #4 and #5) and

marketing and advertising information developed by tourism stakeholders (Alberni-

Clayoquot Regional District 1989). Further, there is a number of tourism stakeholders

who are able to provide first hand information about the processes by which they have

presented their own interests in the landscape of Clayoquot Sound. There are also

substantial volumes of literature available describing and documenting the conflicts and

debates relating to landscape decisions. This literature also defined processes and

practices for landscape resource use with reference to tourism, recreation, and scenic

values.

Table 3.1   Key criteria for selection of Clayoquot Sound

as the research location

1.   Recent development of touristic interest and rapid growth of
     tourism operations.

2.   Previously existing land and resource use governed by an
     established planning, policy, and legislative regime.

3.   Scenic and cultural attractions of landscape a major reason for the
     destination's appeal, reflected in ongoing volumes of tourist
     visitation.

4.   A documented, recent process of identification,
     inventory/evaluation, and designation of tourism resources,
     particularly scenic resources, incorporated into a land use plan.

5.   Documented induced and organic images of the destination.

6.   An established group of tourism stakeholders who have engaged in
     the processes of image creation and land use planning.

7.   An established group of other resource stakeholders with
     documented interests in land use outcomes.

8.   An accessible body of government policy, inventory, and planning
     documentation which relates specifically and generally to the
     landscape in question.

9.   Archival and other data that documents landscape change as a
     result of changing land use and resource activities.

3.3 Research approach

The research design is organized to identify, interpret, and corroborate the events, mechanisms and structures (Sayer 1984) that constitute the contemporary tourism landscape of Clayoquot Sound. The intensive research approach utilized (Sayer 1984) seeks to identify the events that effect landscape changes, the mechanisms underlying these events, and the structure of attitudes, beliefs and values which are expressed in the sequence of events defining the development of the Clayoquot Sound tourist landscape. Landscape authorship is presented as an abstract synthesizing construct that allows for empirical evidence to be introduced within four theoretical elements: Identification, Signification, Evaluation, and Designation. These elements establish the necessary relations in the processes and powers involved in tourism landscape change. The events identified in the course of empirical research are referenced to causal mechanisms contained within and between the four elements. Underlying structures of values and beliefs are identified and linked back to particular events and mechanisms, within the overall abstract theoretical construct of tourism landscape authorship. The intent is to demonstrate how the processes of tourism landscape authorship work in the particular case of Clayoquot Sound, what actually produced change, and what particular actors and agencies actually did to effect change. A case study approach is used in answering the research question. Empirical evidence is collected and corroborated, using interactive interviews, historical research, and content analysis, and although the actual results of the research may not be generalizable, it is anticipated that the tourism landscape authorship construct will find applicability when adapted to other locales and circumstances. The research approach is constructed to span the entire spectrum from intent to execution in tourism landscape evolution, and accommodate collaborative evidence sources from the empirical to the humanistic.

3.4 Research process

A multimethod research process was utilized (Ball 1978). There were three main components in the research method, as outlined in the research agenda (Table 3.2). In the first phase, a review of literature was conducted to identify conceptual and methodological foundation writings. Archival documentation was then reviewed to establish the historical, social, political, and economic context that has shaped the present day landscape. Archival data provided documentation to establish the sequent occupance of Clayoquot Sound and the process of development of the tourism landscape. Processes of landscape change and features and attractions of the tourism landscape were documented utilizing a series of libraries and document collections. These included Pacific Rim National Park Archives and Library, Ministry of Forests Archives, Ministry of Environment Library, Alberni District Museum and Archives, the collection of Randy and Dorothy Bouchard, the BC Provincial Museum, BC Provincial Archives, BC Provincial Land Registry, and the Marine Division Archives of the federal Ministry of Transport in Victoria.

Specific categories of data included land records such as coastal surveys and records of preemptions (land alienations). Also used were maps and charts, photographs, paintings and etchings, newspaper accounts, magazines, journals, books, booklets, brochures, diaries, and oral history transcripts. These were used to identify and cross-reference historical and cultural landscape features and to construct an account of the phases of land use and resource management in Clayoquot Sound. The historical signification of particular tourist attractions was attributed to particular groups of authors at different periods of history.

Table 3.2   Research Agenda

(i)   **Review of Literature:** establishment of conceptual and methodological foundations.

(ii)   **The first stage of secondary data collection:**
- (a) Identify and acquire historical/archival materials on Vancouver Island's West Coast,
- (b) Identify and acquire contemporary published materials and media coverage of Vancouver Island's West Coast,
- (c) Acquire data related to the historical, social, political, and economic context of present day tourist landscape to contextualize interviews,
- (d) Acquire recent federal and provincial government legislative, policy and land use management data to establish interview context,
- (e) Analyze the preliminary secondary data collection to establish a context for the primary data collection phase.

(iii)   **Primary data collection:**
- (a) Refine interview structure and questions after pilot interviews were held with Nootka Sound tourism operators,
- (b) Identify potential interviewees, short list prepared for contact,
- (c) Inform potential interviewees of the ethical guidelines for research, the research question, and the interview questions,
- (d) Undertake interview schedule,
- (e) Transcribe interview transcripts verbatim and returned to interviewees for their review and approval,
- (f) Enter final transcripts into a FileMaker Pro database, analyze interview results.

(iv)   **Second stage of secondary data collection:**
- (a) Locate contemporary published materials and media articles based on interviewee identification of key items,
- (b) Analyze recent government legislative, policy and management initiatives to validate and cross-reference interviewee perspectives,
- (c) Cross-reference documentary evidence to conceptual literature to further develop the conceptual model of tourism landscape authorship,
- (d) Research additional conceptual literature and reference in the introduction, review of literature, and methodology chapters as findings emerge from the research that requires revisiting earlier material.

(v)   **Conceptual model of tourism landscape authorship summarized and evaluated:**
- (a) Summarize findings for each of the four phases of tourism landscape authorship.
- (b) Evaluate the conceptualization of tourism landscape authorship and landscape evolution in the case study of Clayoquot Sound in the final chapter.

This archival phase of the research establishes the historical reasons and context for key tourism landscape attractions such as communities, cultural features, historic sites, expansive views of old growth forest and wildlife resources (whales, fish, bird life,

animals). There are particular historical events that have led to contemporary

landscape configurations of natural and cultural features. These landscape features are

utilized by tourism stakeholders operating both within and outside the communities of

Clayoquot Sound and contribute to both the induced and organic image of the

destination. Methods utilized in document research generally followed MacDonald and

Tipton (1993) who indicate the importance of corroboration of historical evidence by

utilizing a number of sources. They also point out that researchers must ensure the

validity of data through careful appraisal and assessment of source reliability. The

features which contribute to the tourism landscape of Clayoquot Sound have evolved

over time or have survived because of particular circumstances or events in the past

(old growth forest, for example). Careful historical research can point towards

underlying structures of values and attitudes about landscape at different historical

periods. The circumstances by which these attitudes and values changed, and the

legacy of landscape features and institutional arrangements that have persisted, can

provide a referential framework for contemporary landscape authorship processes. The

'long' view of change over time goes back before the contemporary legislative regime

was established, and provides early visions of landscape predating the industrial

forestry vision that has dominated in British Columbia for the past five decades. This

historical context includes elements that are of intrinsic interest in the construction of

the tourism landscape for contemporary visitors.

In the second part of the research process, the contemporary tourism landscape (1985-

1995) was explored, including interviews with tourist operators, consultants, and

government representatives. Intensive research (Sayer 1984) requires study of the

individual agents (tourism stakeholders/actors) in their causal contexts. Sayer (1984)

identifies interactive interviewing as an appropriate method of research. The interviews

that were conducted with tourism actors are central to the research. Key informants

were identified through extensive preliminary discussions with community members in Tofino, Ucluelet, and Port Alberni, provincial government employees, consultants, and tourism industry members. Consultant and government reports, magazines, newspaper articles, tourism-related advertisements, and the regional telephone directory were also reviewed to identify key actors. A preliminary list was established which included all the tourism operators in Tofino and Clayoquot Sound that could be identified from the sources available, plus those based in Vancouver who were using the area. Most of the consultants involved in tourism-related activities in Clayoquot Sound were identified, as were the government officials involved in managing research contracts related to tourism and engaged in research, policy development, and managing public input processes. Aboriginal tourism operators were contacted, plus representatives of the Nuu Chah Nulth Development Corporation because of their role in promoting tourism in Clayoquot Sound for Nuu Chah Nulth Tribal Council members.

The prospective list of interviewees was based on evidence of participation in the land use negotiation process and/or the production of written and/or graphic materials on tourism related topics in Clayoquot Sound. Twenty-eight potential interviewees were initially identified. The list was developed through preliminary inquiries in the research area, in Vancouver, and in Victoria. Collaborative evidence of participation included mention in newspaper reports and articles. Once the preliminary evidence regarding participation was compiled, it became evident that there were a relatively small number of key actors who were substantively involved in tourism-related land use activities and decision-making on Clayoquot Sound, and the preliminary list was reduced to nineteen prospects.

Clayoquot Sound issues were at a high international profile throughout most of the dissertation field research period (1993-1996). The purposive sampling approach was

used because of the relatively small group of key actors. In-depth interviews together with corroborative documentary evidence provided evidence for underlying attitudes and beliefs relating to the tourism landscape authoring process. The intention of these interviews was to identify tourism landscape authorship processes engaged in by tourism actors. This perspective had to be extracted and filtered from the publicly higher profile media themes of environmental protection and forestry policy that dominated the arena of contestation in Clayoquot Sound. Interview criteria are indicated on Table 3.3.

Table 3.3   Interview Criteria

1. Collaborative documentary evidence of personal participation in tourism- related land use planning activities and events in Clayoquot Sound related committees, research, media appearances, articles.

2. Ownership of a tourism operation that takes tourists into Clayoquot Sound.

3. Role in tourism planning/policy processes in Clayoquot Sound within local, provincial, regional, or federal government, with First Nations, or as a consultant.

4. Active involvement in tourism-related business and/or community activities in Tofino or another Clayoquot Sound community.

The purposive sampling and qualitative interviewing used in this research can elicit detailed responses from a small group of interviewees that can be cross-referenced with collaborative documentary evidence. It is not such a useful approach when dealing with large sample numbers and when generalizable survey outcomes are required. The data need careful interpretation and collaboration from documentary sources to ensure the reliability and validity of the findings. For the purposes of this research, the interest is in establishing what happened in the particular case study of Clayoquot Sound.

Tourism landscape authorship is a conceptual framework within which to establish particular thematic elements and processes occurring as the locale underwent a transformation from a productivist to a post-productivist landscape. It helps organize the mass of detail emerging from intensive research. In other locales different circumstances, actors, and values will prevail, but it is intended that the model and research process used here can be adapted and reapplied. As a case study, there are some significant limitations that relate to the availability of comparative examples and circumstances in other locales. The choice was made to proceed with a case study approach because of the long-term concentration of attention on Clayoquot Sound, which allowed for detailed and fairly continuous documentation of authoring initiatives.

Fifteen in-depth interviews were conducted from a preliminary list of nineteen. Three people contacted declined interviews, and one respondent who agreed was unavailable for the interview despite repeated attempts to reschedule. Tourism operators sympathetic to the forest industry point of view were identified and interviewed as part of the fifteen to ensure a balanced perspective. Environmental organizations were not the primary focus of this research, but there was a very clear commitment to environmental activism among some tourism operators interviewed. In certain cases interviewees were selected because of their active involvement in the environmental movement in Clayoquot Sound. Also, some operators were selected because they had participated in land use planning initiatives but had not been supportive of environmental activism. Consultants and government officials involved in tourism exhibited a range of attitudes and values, and had the task ultimately of devising the most publicly acceptible institutional arrangements for land use in Clayoquot Sound regarding tourism-related needs.

Of the fifteen in-depth interviews conducted, eight were with tourism operators currently active in Tofino and/or Clayoquot Sound. Two were with government officials, and three were with consultants who had actively participated in studies and policy development activities related to Clayoquot Sound. One interviewee was an official with the Nuu Chah Nulth administrative structure, and one was a long-term resident of Tofino with tourism-related business interests. Consultants were included in the interview sample because they were in part responsible for interpreting public input processes regarding tourism-related landscape issues, for initially developing the concept of a landscape which protected tourism values, and for establishing the landscape entities and attributes for tourism landscape resource inventory processes. The transcripts were typed up and mailed back to the interviewees for their review and agreement before they were used. The interviews lasted between thirty-five to forty-five minutes.

Three pilot interviews were undertaken with interviewees located in Nootka Sound to the north of the study area, in order to refine questions, procedure and format before commencing interviewing in the Clayoquot Sound study area. These interviews were with well-established, long-term tourism stakeholders. After an initial contact was made, questions were faxed to the pilot interviewees a week in advance. Tape-recorded interviews were then conducted on site and transcripts of the interviews were forwarded to the interviewees for review and commentary. The interview approach was then reevaluated, and the questions were expanded and prompts were included prior to starting the main Clayoquot Sound interviews. As a result of this pilot testing, questions were made more open-ended to get participants to speak freely on the topic at hand.

Tape-recorded interviews commenced with a question about personal involvement in tourism in Clayoquot Sound and biographical information (see Appendix 1). The questions were placed in an interview guide based on Fielding (1993), which was established for respondents to talk about in 'guided conversation' (Lofland and Lofland 1984). The questions were devised to gain responses explaining and interpreting the interviewee's involvement in landscape authoring processes. The qualitative interviewing approach chosen for this research is variously described as an "...unstandardized format with a predominance of open-ended questions" (Schroenberger 1991:180), and "the nonstandardized interview... also called an unstructured or focused interview" (Fielding 1993:136). McCracken (1988:12) provides an overview of technique for the 'long interview,' cautioning that: "the problem is to control the kind and amount of these data without artificially constraining or forcing their character." Schroenberger (1991:180) suggests that the open-ended corporate interview is "more sensitive than other survey methods to historical, institutional, and strategic complexity."

Transcripts of the interviews were categorized with reference to the identification of key themes established in the interview guide, which were then cross-referenced to documentary sources where possible and compared across the whole body of the transcripts. The intent of the interviews was to ascertain the perceptions of the interviewees towards the topics in the interview guide. An additional intent was to address the research questions from these perceptions by identifying the events and mechanisms by which the tourism landscape has been accounted for in land use and resource planning up to 1995. The interview guide is included as Appendix 1. Each interview transcript was analyzed to identify information that interpreted contemporary tourism-related events and processes in Clayoquot Sound. The interview questions addressed the four broad categories of tourism landscape authorship, namely

identification, signification, evaluation, and designation, so information was identified which dealt with each of these processes from each participant. Information representing different points of view on the same theme was identified, and the interviews were cross-referenced in a Filemaker Pro database by question topic. For validity checks, collaborative documentary evidence on the interviews was referenced after the interview through notations to each interview file. Interview excerpts selected for inclusion in the four chapters on identification, signification, evaluation, and designation were those that were most comprehensively supported by additional documentary evidence, and which provided the most insight into the tourism landscape authoring process because of their clarity and comprehensiveness.

Documentary research included the analysis of planning and policy materials produced between 1985 and 1995. Two main needs had to be met in the organization and content analysis of documentary sources. The first need was to identify sequences of key events relating to tourism development in Clayoquot Sound, providing context and background information for developing and conducting interviews with tourism actors. The second need was to provide post-interview data for corroboration and verification of interview results (MacDonald and Tipton 1993; Guba and Lincoln 1981). For convenience and research accessibility, documents were sorted into four broad categories and were summarized in a Filemaker Pro database.

The first category includes federal documents, such as policy and planning documents related to fisheries and oceans and federally controlled land such as Pacific Rim National Park, Indian Reserves and land claims within Clayoquot Sound such as Meares Island. The second category is provincial documents dealing with planning and policy initiatives, such as: Tourism Industry's Resource Management Needs (1993) and the 1994 Statement of Policy on Tourism by the Council of Tourism Associations of British

Columbia. The third category includes documentation relating to Vancouver Island, such as: the Commission on Resources and Environment Vancouver Island Land Use Plan (1994), and the Vancouver Island Tourism Inventory (British Columbia 1993e). The fourth category is documentation specific to Clayoquot Sound local and regional planning processes, such as the Tofino Community Tourism Action Plan (British Columbia 1990), Alberni-Clayoquot Regional District Tourism Study (1989), Clayoquot Land Use Decision (1993), and the Report of the Scientific Panel on Sustainable Forest Practices in Clayoquot Sound (1995). Media coverage of Clayoquot Sound since 1985 is referenced to provide evidence for the chapter on signification, including images of Clayoquot Sound. In other chapters, images, newspaper articles and other media sources provide corroborative support for evidence from documentary sources and interview transcripts.

In summary, landscape authorship is presented as a conceptual framework that orders complex processes of landscape change into identifiable elements. A multi-method approach is used to collect and organize data, and to establish reliability through cross-referencing and content analysis of information sources. Interview transcripts are categorized by interviewee's responses to questions on the interview guide, and cross-referenced to documentary sources. Causal events, mechanisms and structures characteristic of landscape change can thereby be identified and sequenced in terms of the four stages of landscape authorship. The approach used reflects the need to interpret empirical, scientific processes related to resource inventory and evaluation and the humanistic, qualitative evidence related to the intentionality of actors and their particular visions and actions, and to place these complex multidimentional processes into a conceptual framework that illuminates and clarifies tourism landscape evolution.

Chapter 4: Landscape Evolution of Clayoquot Sound

Clayoquot Sound has a long history of sequent occupance, with a number of transitions in resource and land use. The tourist destination appeal of Clayoquot Sound today is built on particular values and perceptions that have developed over time, depending on the representations of various authors, on consumer awareness, and on accessibility to the locale. This chapter builds the temporal context behind more recent developments in Clayoquot Sound by describing and elaborating on the authors, landscape images, landscape impacts, and institutional arrangements that characterize a sequence of distinct settlement phases. Each settlement phase is documented so that the four landscape authorship elements of identification, signification, evaluation and designation can be traced through the two centuries since Europeans and the Aboriginal inhabitants, the Nuu Cha Nulth, first made contact. The contribution of each phase of occupance to tourism landscape evolution is identified in terms of current landscape features.

The model of landscape authorship embedded in this chapter is generalized beyond tourism to encompass the full range of economic activities that have occurred since first contact. The intention is to create a rationale for the four elements of tourism landscape authorship by demonstrating their historical re-occurrence in Clayoquot Sound within a sequence of settlement phases. These preexisting settlement phases and patterns of resource utilization are presented in a table that historically contextualizes the contemporary tourism landscape, including both visible and invisible landscape features.

Preexisting settlements and patterns of resource utilization are expressed cumulatively as a 'relict landscape' (Watson 1959). 'Relict' indicates abandonment of previously occupied settlements, industrial installations, homesteads, and resource extraction activities. These relicts may be ignored, or selected and enhanced by tourist operators

and visitors. Relicts may be removed from a landscape, as has been the case in Clayoquot Sound with the disappearance of for example the Christie Indian Residential School and the Kennedy Lake cannery. Each settlement or resource extracting activity has a particular lifespan, moving from initiation, to active usage by a specific population, to a period of decline, and finally to abandonment and relegation to the relict landscape. The appearance and disappearance of a settlement or resource extraction activity may or may not have been accompanied by contestation between stakeholders, since resource exhaustion, or war, or changes in world commodity prices might have been deciding factors in the decision to terminate economic activity. In a broader perspective, Harris (1997) assesses these changes in the context of First Nations marginalization during the pioneer resettlement of British Columbia.

In parallel to the accumulation of relict features in the landscape is the accumulation of images and texts of authors who have represented the landscape and the people of the West Coast to the world. Over the past two centuries the journals, memoirs, historical accounts, oral histories, and accompanying photographs, etchings, video or movies have identified and signified the West Coast of Vancouver Island to various readerships. This complex litany of human settlement and activity seems to contradict the current touristic representation of Clayoquot Sound and the West Coast as a 'wilderness.' The wilderness representation itself, based as it is on the substantial intact tracts of old growth forest in Clayoquot Sound, is also a social construction in terms of the landscape's representation as a tourist destination (Willems-Bruhn 1997).

The journals, logs, diaries and other material left to posterity by Europeans who first visited the West Coast of Vancouver Island often identify the sites of early settlements, and the locations where events of historic importance happened. The location of abandoned settlements and previous resource extraction activities are expressed in the

present landscape. These cultural and heritage sites, large and small, obvious and hidden, cumulatively contribute to contemporary tourist opportunities in the Clayoquot Sound landscape and represent a rich resource of opportunities which require identification and signification to become 'visible' as tourism resources.

There occurred in the 1980s and early to mid 1990s a unique focusing of international attention on Clayoquot Sound because of the controversy over clear cutting of old growth forests. This controversy was closely related to the growth in environmental values and the consequential emergence of tourist interest in the largely unlogged wilderness landscape of Clayoquot Sound. Two hundred years previously, international attention had been focused on the West Coast of Vancouver Island in the 1790s during the Nootka Controversy, when Spain and Britain came close to conflict regarding sovereignty over the NorthWest Coast (Manning 1905). Control over land and resources played a role in each of these political dramas, and in both cases international attention and curiosity was aroused by the writings and visual representations of authors familiar with the landscape and people of the West Coast of Vancouver Island. So the story of Clayoquot Sound told in this chapter starts and ends with international controversy about the ownership and representation of landscape resources.

4.1 Settlement Phases in Clayoquot Sound

The impact of settlement on the regional landscape has been tentative and small-scale in some instances, and more substantial in others. The designation of the settlement phases in Table 4.1 is intended as an organizational and interpretive convenience. The various themes of natural resource usage and settlement tend to overlap considerably, with strong new themes developing as others lost their impetus. Historically, non-

Aboriginal settlement has been mostly transitory and site-specific, often with long spells of inactivity between occupational phases. In most cases settlements which are functionally unique to the area were used to identify new phases.

Table 4.1   Settlement phases in Clayoquot Sound

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1. Pre-contact Aboriginal settlement.

2. Maritime exploration and fur trade, 1770s - 1820s.

3. Imperial government strategic control and hegemony: 1820s-1880s.

4. Settlement frontier and resource speculation: 1880s-1920s.

5. Systematized resource exploitation and the growth of nucleated
    settlement, 1920s-1980s.

6. Amenity settlement and the development of the tourism landscape,
    1980s -1990s.

Table 4.2 identifies particular authors, landscape images, impacts, and institutional arrangements identified in the research process. Identification of the phases does not imply that a particular feature is well known, is currently utilized, or that it still exists. Rather, the table illustrates the complexity of a particular landscape history and the selectivity that is applied by landscape authors in featuring particular landscape resources. The phases indicate the changing institutional arrangements designating land use and resource allocation as social constructions of landscape values change over time. The table was assembled by analyzing maps, journals, memoirs, oral histories, and other historical data, by identifying and grouping thematic elements relating to landscape image, impact, and institutional arrangements, and by identifying the authors who provided the key representations of each historical sequence.

Table 4.2 Clayoquot Sound: historical phases in the developing tourism landscape

Time	To 1770s	1770s-1820s	1820s-1880s	1880s-1920s	1920s-1980s	1980s-1990s
Phase	*Traditional Pre-contact*	*Exploration Fur Trade*	*Strategic Control Trade*	*Settlement Frontier*	*Corporate Hegemony*	*Environmental Amenity*
Authors	Elders Shamans Chiefs	Explorers Naval officers Fur traders	Traders Missionaries Government agents Travelers	Land developers Government agents Travelers	Corporations Government P.R. Travel writers	Environmentalists Tourism operators Natives
Landscape Images	Mythic, totemic images	Native life Landscape resources	Frontier posts Wild coast Scenic beauty Mining	Land cleared Settlements Mining Canneries	Canneries 'Working forest' Fish farms Scenic beauty	Scenic beauty Clearcuts Wildlife
Landscape Impacts	Forest Shoreline Fishtraps Seasonal settlements	Trading posts Spars cut Sea otters extirpated	Fortified villages Missions Trading posts Fish traps destroyed	Land cleared Settlements Mining Canneries	Clearcuts Logging roads Sawmills Mines	Viewscape protection New forest practices Parks
Institutional Arrangements	Defended hereditary ownership	Contested trade hegemony defended	Timber grants Indian reserves Preemptions Mining claims	Preemptions Resource sales Transportation infrastructure	Timber licences Tree fains Integrated resource management	Landscape management Parks Ecosystem management Co-management

4.2   Pre-contact Aboriginal settlement

This first phase extends back in time to the earliest occupation of Clayoquot Sound,
documented as being at least four thousand years ago and most likely occurring many
thousands of years earlier. Contemporary tourist interest in Aboriginal culture is based
on the traditional art and traditions that evolved in the locale. The complex litany of
stories about places, heroic myths, and oral traditions about place ownership have been
preserved by elders and recorded by anthropologists. These records have been
presented in Meares Island land claims negotiations as evidence of rights to land and
resources. Traditional landscape use, including evidence from middens at occupation
sites, culturally modified trees, and the remains of fish traps, has been mapped and
varified. Together with evidence of contemporary landscape occupation and activities
and oral tradition evidence, the contemporary ownership of Clayoquot Sound is being
contested by the Tla-a-qu-at, Opitsaht, and Hesquiat Bands.

As indicated in Table 4.2, the traditional landscape authorship of Clayoquot Sound by
the elders, chiefs, and shamans, who carried on the oral histories about place meanings
and mythic traditions, is represented to tourists as an important attraction. The tourism
value and interest is primarily in traditional art and mythology, and in the visible
evidence of Nuu Chah Nulth occupation of Clayoquot Sound. A new phase in
landscape authorship awaits the settlement of land claims in Clayoquot Sound, which
will reassert Nuu Chah Nulth authority and re-designate the institutional arrangements
governing land and resource use.

The Aboriginal village sites were seasonally occupied during the period immediately
before contact, with annual migration patterns roughly following seasonal resource
extraction opportunities and necessary movements to shelter from inclement winter
weather (Drucker 1951; Bouchard and Kennedy 1990). When Indian reserves were

surveyed in Clayoquot Sound in 1874, only those sites occupied or often used were included within reserve boundaries.

By this period, catastrophic declines in population had occurred amongst the Nuu Chah Nulth (Drucker 1951; Harris 1997; Moser 1926)[1]. Therefore, a large number of summer whaling sites, winter village sites, and local lineage-house sites were not designated as reserves. Some sites subsequently became Euro-Canadian or Asian-Canadian settlements (Tofino, Clayoquot on Stubbs Island, Bamfield, etc.) while others are now under the jurisdiction of Pacific Rim National Park or B.C. Provincial Parks. Features remaining in the present relict landscape from the Pre-Contact area include hundreds of middens (refuse piles at village sites) and thousands of culturally modified trees, showing scars from cedar bark or plank removal, canoe carving, and other uses. There are the stone remains of fish traps in several locations, plus many canoe paths on beaches where rocks have been pushed aside for access. Some caves still contain cultural remains.

The landscape of Clayoquot Sound is replete with the place names which echo the mythic past of the Nuu Chah Nulth: Opitsaht, Chetarpe, Ahousaht, Yarksis, Hesquiat. In the land claims process for Meares Island there is documentation of at least four thousand years of habitation in Clayoquot Sound. The relict elements and the

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[1] Nuu Chah Nulth means approximately, 'the people who live along the mountains,' and was assigned in the early 1980s by the West Coast Aboriginal peoples themselves. They were previously called 'Nootka' or the 'Aht.' The term Aht was originally devised by G. Sproat, (Scenes and Studies of Savage Life, London, 1868), since the word was a suffix designating a settlement site, e.g. "Mouachaht," "People of the Deer." Sproat (1894) and Brabant (in Moser, 1926) both note the word "Nootka" was a misnomer resulting from linguistic misunderstanding encountered during the early contact period. Much of the literature prior to the mid 1980s refers to the West Coast Aboriginal peoples as the Nootka. In this dissertation the name Nuu Chah Nulth is used for all the bands belonging to that Tribal Council. In Clayoquot Sound, the bands include the Clayoquot, with their village of Opitisit on Meares Island, the Hesquiat, with their main village at Hot Springs Cove, and the Ahousat, with their main village at Maktosis on Flores Island.

contemporary Aboriginal communities of Clayoquot Sound now represent a powerful factor in touristic landscape signification. So does the mythic past as interpreted though Nuu Chah Nulth art. The tourist's selection of images from the landscape and the association of these images with traditional Nuu Chah Nulth ownership and activity opens the door for Aboriginal participation in the tourism industry and becomes a factor in the evaluation of landscape resources as tourism becomes more economically important.

The Nuu Chah Nulth have been described by explorers, traders, missionaries, settlers, anthropologists, and government officials. Finally, through their land claims process, through environmental activism and through tourism, they are describing themselves and concurrently signifying their territories to a national and international audience.

4.3 Maritime exploration and the fur trade, 1770s-1820s.

Credit for the European discovery of the North West Coast of North America goes to the Russian-sponsored Vitus Bering expedition to 'Bolshaya Zemblya' in 1741. The 'discovery of new lands' continues as an advertising theme in adventure tourism today. The collections of Aboriginal art made by the Russians were very extensive and have become one of the major attractions in the Hermitage, Saint Petersburg. The paintings, journals, and inventories of North West Coast resources attracted attention in Russia and elsewhere in Europe, encouraging other European courts to initiate expeditions of their own.

The Spanish fear of Russian penetration in the northern portion of their American territorial claims prompted the first Spanish expedition in June 1774. The arrival of Perez at Nootka Sound on the eighth of August, 1774, represents the beginning of the

initial contact period which culminated in the construction of Spanish, American, and British outposts on Vancouver Island's West Coast during the last two decades of the 18th century (Bartolli 1968). Captain Cook's third voyage in 1778 focused European interest on the West Coast of Vancouver Island, and initiated the sea otter trade when his crew realized huge profits in Canton from the sale of pelts acquired cheaply at Nootka. American interest in the North West Coast was sparked by publication of John Ledyard's Journals. These were compiled in 1783 in Hartford after Cook's last voyage, creating the three-way conflict of national interests that characterized the closing decade of the 18th century. Cook's own account of the month-long sojourn in and about Nootka Sound together with various journals and accounts published by the ship's officers, set the stage for the first European settlement on Vancouver Island's West Coast (Gunther 1972; Ormsby 1958).

In 1788 Captain John Meares, an ex-British naval Officer operating under the Portuguese flag arrived at Nootka Sound. He put ashore a group of Chinese carpenters and artisans at Santa Gertrudis Cove, near Yuquot Village (Friendly Cove). The Chinese built a small fort and also the sloop North-West America, the first European ship constructed in what is now British Columbia (Manning 1905; Meares, edited by Pipes 1933). The first 'European' shore base was therefore occupied by Chinese artisans. They left no known records of their experiences. This example suggests that the role of landscape author requires some means of disseminating information and some means for claiming authority for presenting a particular perspective. Also, landscape authorship occurs within particular language and culture realms, and as a result the role of particular landscape authors may not be acknowledged or given credence within the state that is currently exercising sovereignty and authority over the landscape.

The Spanish establishment at Nootka Sound was founded in 1789, when Don Esteban Jose Martinez took formal possession of the port. He arrested two of Meares' officers, then seized the *North West America*. The arrival of Captain James Colnett in the *Argonaut* with materials for constructing a permanent trading facility at Nootka (Yuquot, Friendly Cove) led to the Nootka controversy which brought Spain and England to the brink of war (Manning 1905). Martinez arrested Colnett, seized his ships, and sent them south to San Blas, Mexico. He then proceeded to build a fort and settlement at Friendly Cove, which he named Santa Cruz de Nutka. The Spanish settlement endured for five years, until the signing of the Nootka convention resulted in the evacuation of the settlement on April 2nd, 1795 (Wilson, intro. to Mozino 1972). The West Coast of Vancouver Island was very thoroughly explored by their naval officers and scientific personnel attached to the various expeditions that used the settlement as an operations base. Exploring expeditions ventured south into Clayoquot Sound and Barkley Sound charting the coastline, trading, and prospecting. They left substantial records of their explorations, some of which were printed and widely circulated (Bartrolli 1968). These records are still preserved in the Mexico City archives (Wilson, intro. to Mozino 1972). The landscape descriptions, cultural accounts, and descriptions of flora and fauna were circulated among the Spanish elite, intelligentsia, and further through contacts with other European courts. Spanish geological descriptions and maps related to gold prospecting attracted attention, also the high quality renderings of the flora of the West Coast of Vancouver Island which were reproduced and circulated through expensive, hand-painted etchings and books documenting the explorations and concurrently reinforced their claims to the territory (Mozino1972). Spanish landscape authorship presented the West Coast of Vancouver Island as an 'outpost of empire', holding great geological and timber riches, and generally portrayed the Aboriginal peoples sympathetically, within the tradition of the Spanish Enlightenment (Mozino1972; Bartolli 1969).

Concurrent with the Spanish establishment at Friendly Cove, several Americans were involved in the sea otter fur trade on the West Coast of Vancouver Island. They maintained friendly relations with the Spaniards, who saw the 'Boston-men' as non-combatants in the British- Spanish territorial struggle. Because they were traders, the exhaustive cataloguing and mapping of landscape resources that characterized the Spanish occupation at Nootka was not undertaken by the Americans, so there was less opportunity to engage in landscape description and interpretation in their writings and drawings. Also, access to the West Coast for the Boston-men involved a long and dangerous voyage around Cape Horne, with no access to naval support.

American interest in the coast was mainly related to the huge profits to be made in the sea otter pelt trade with China, and shares in trading voyages sold briskly in the late 1780s and early 1790s as a result. The Americans chose as their operational base Clayoquot Sound, 30 miles to the south from Nootka, thereby avoiding any direct competition for space with the Spanish. Captain John Kendrick and Captain Robert Gray arrived in 1788, after a brief stopover at Nootka Sound, and proceeded to construct Fort Defiance in Lemmens Inlet on Meares Island (Mozino 1972; Howay 1969). From this base, which was both sheltered and blessed with a natural wharf, the Americans had easy access to trade with the Clayoquots who inhabited Echachisaht, Opitsaht, and other villages in the Sound. They also had access to Barkley Sound to the south. American interest in maintaining Fort Defiance waned in 1793, due to declining prices for sea otter pelts at Canton, and trading restrictions imposed by the Chinese emperor. Their relations with the Nuu Chah Nulth ended tragically when Captain Gray ordered the destruction of the village of Opitsaht to preempt an anticipated attack on the Fort.

Trading ships continued to visit the coast during the latter 1790s and the first decade of the 19th century, albeit in greatly reduced numbers since the massive decline of the sea otter trade. Also, the Nuu Chah Nulth had lost their friendly reputation. Harsh treatment of Aboriginals by Captain Gray and other ship's officers culminated in two bloody massacres which caused traders to give Nootka and Clayoquot Sounds a wide berth after 1811. The first such encounter occurred in 1803, when the crew of the *Boston* was murdered near Friendly Cove, and the ship burned and sank. John Jewitt and John Thomson were spared and made captives, and were finally rescued in 1805. Jewitt's Journal, reprinted many times, is a valuable account of Nootkan (Nuu Chah Nulth) life at this time (Jewitt 1967). This account, retold, embellished and turned into a play by Jewitt, romanticized Vancouver Island's West Coast as a wild and exotic place among the emerging English urban middle class. The second disaster occurred in 1811, when the Boston ship *Tonquin* was attacked at Village Island (Echachis) Island in Clayoquot Sound. The news of these two disasters, coupled with reduced trading profits, resulted in the end of the phase of maritime exploration and the sea otter fur trade.

Data pertaining to the West Coast during the first four decades of the 19th century is rare. Roquefeuil, on his voyage round the world, spent some time in Nootka and Barkley Sounds in 1818, providing in his memoirs valuable observations on Aboriginal culture at that time, including references to ships trading on the Coast. He also makes caustic comments on the quality of the maps made by John Meares and George Vancouver. Roquefeuil points out that the Nuu Chah Nulth were more interested in obtaining trade goods (blankets, etc.) via the "grease trails" which ran to the east coast of Vancouver Island, and the Hudson's Bay Company trading sites established there (Roquefeuil 1864). For the first half of the 19th century, Vancouver Island's West Coast was well known from the extensive record published in the 'Voyages and Travels' literature, and was

visited occasionally, but slipped back into obscurity relative to its previous political and commercial importance. As Harris (1997) records, the focus of imperial British interest shifted to southern Vancouver Island and the Gulf of Georgia as fur trading, settlement, and mining began to emerge.

To summarize, there were some key landscape authorship themes that characterize these transitory European/American contacts and settlements. First, Spain established an outpost at Nootka to reassert her claim to sovereignty over the obscure northern coastal region in the face of the threat of Russian penetration from Alaska. Cook's arrival at Nootka in search of the Northwest Passage, and the subsequent rapid growth of the fur trade with China, prompted Spain to further build up her Nootka outpost, initiating the dispute with Britain which culminated in the signing of the Nootka Convention. The Nootka Convention itself signified the West Coast of Vancouver Island as a strategically important place. Secondly, the Americans constructed the aptly named Fort Defiance to use as a transitory wintering outpost, and were solely interested in trade. Finally, these two bases were utilized by some of the more enlightened ship's officers and naturalists as bases for local observations and expeditions identifying the flora and fauna, physical geography, and Aboriginal settlements of Vancouver Island's West Coast. The diaries, reports, journals, ships logs, narratives, and collections made between 1774 and 1818 on the West Coast of Vancouver Island constitute a valuable record of initial exploration and contact with Aboriginal populations by Europeans and Americans. Some of these records have been reprinted and republished many times, forming an important part of European and American maritime history, and providing landscape images and texts. The identification of the natural resources of the West Coast accompanied the signification of the strategic importance of political and military control.

The spirit of the European Enlightenment found expression in the processes of description and evaluation of new plants, birds, fish, animals, and peoples in newly discovered parts of the world. For example, Captain Vancouver upon his return to England realized huge profits from the sale of one pound of seed collected in Nootka Sound of *Ribes Sanguinium*, the Red Flowering Current. Other newly-discovered plants from the West Coast of Vancouver Island also generated great interest. Among the aristocracy of the day there was a thirst for new scientific discoveries in Nature, for the description of new landscapes and places, and for the acquisition of new rare plants for collections in country houses. So the evaluation of the natural resources of the West Coast of Vancouver Island was off to a heady start. Huge profits were realized from trade initially, leading to very optimistic evaluations of economic opportunity. That these natural resource based profits were not sustainable for more than a few years is not surprising. Subsequent exploitation has followed a similar pattern of resource over-exploitation, exhaustion, and settlement abandonment.

What is important from a touristic perspective is that the West Coast of Vancouver Island was initially identified, signified, evaluated, and designated as an important place in association with the late European Enlightenment. Maritime memoirs, journals, and accounts of the West Coast of Vancouver Island fed popular interest in distant lands and peoples. Authority and sovereignty were being contested between Spain and England and a trading hegemony was in the process of consolodation by England. Traveller's accounts of activities along the West Coast of Vancouver Island were politically significant documents because they helped to validate a national claim to occupation of the landscape. Subsequently these accounts and illustrations have contributed substantially to the historical tourism interest of the locale and to many articles that recount various aspects of this 'contact' phase.

Except for a few scattered artifacts, little survives in the relict landscape to remind us of this earliest contact period. However, the rich array of documentary material reemphasizes the remarkable significance of this period. In terms of British Columbia's development as part of the British Empire and later of Canada, the Nootka Convention established British naval supremacy over the NorthWest Coast, although Spain was permitted to continue her shaky hold on sovereignty for a few years. The shrewd Boston traders took the cream of the maritime fur trade, working mostly out of Clayoquot Sound to avoid the licenses and duties paid by British ships.

The captains, seamen, naturalists, and other authors presented images of rich landscape resources and Aboriginal culture within an arena of contested sovereignty and documented a remote part of the world as a Romantic, wild, and dangerous landscape. This information was then available to colonial authorities in the mid to latter nineteenth century who were anxious to develop more permanent settlement and resource extraction activities. The early maritime exploration literature, re-examined and re-worked over the next two centuries by academics, scientists, writers, and journalists in a variety of disciplines, has continued to focus interest on the West Coast of Vancouver Island and on Clayoquot Sound. The central images in text and print from the period present resource abundance, and a Romantic sense of remoteness, danger, and adventure. The historical depth and detail of this body of literature is unique to British Columbia. Few other locales have a body of literature that provides over 200 years of landscape description. This situation emerged because Nootka Sound and the other West Coast of Vancouver Island Sounds were safe anchorages for initial exploration and description of landscape resources and culture. Contemporary historical and environmental interests are combined in terms of landscape meaning to an international public in Clayoquot Sound. Also, the detailed early descriptions of Nuu Chah Nulth culture have been valuable in supplementing Land Claim proceedings that establish both

landscape authorship and ownership, and in reconnecting Aboriginal peoples with their earlier history (Bouchard 1993).

4.4 Imperial government strategic control and hegemony: 1820s-1880s.

In 1826, the Hudson's Bay Co. commenced land clearing operations at Fort Langley, on the Lower Fraser River. An American takeover of the Lower Columbia River was looming as a real possibility, and the Company's officers hastened to consolidate their holdings in the Gulf of Georgia region and upper coastal areas (Harris 1997; Ormsby 1971). At this time, no Europeans or Americans contemplated permanent settlement of Vancouver Island's West Coast because of the area's isolation and dangerous reputation.

In March 1843 the construction of Fort Victoria commenced (Ormsby 1971). The Oregon Boundary dispute, and the San Juan Islands dispute between Great Britain and the United States, resulted in the British Navy showing considerable interest in nearby Esquimalt harbour. In 1846, *HMS Pandora*, Lieutenant James Wood, surveyed the harbour, and reported favourably on its potential as a base, since ships of the line would experience no difficulty entering or leaving.

The base slowly evolved over the 1850s and 1860s, primarily in response to the Gold Rush and fears of American domination (Gough 1971). The growth of Victoria as a fur trading and provisioning center began to have a significant effect on the Nuu Chah Nulth in the 1840s and 1850s, when they began trading trips to trade pelagic fur seal skins and dogfish oil at the Hudson's Bay Stores. By 1855 traders had become established at a few villages along the West Coast, including Clayoquot (on Stubbs

Island) where the firm of Banfield and Frances Ltd. ran a small trading post (Moser 1926). As indicated in Table 4.2, fortified villages, frequently located on rocky headlands and promontories, were a landscape feature during this period, as the Nuu Chah Nulth were obliged to defend themselves from marauding Haidas who raided up and down the coast on their summer trading trips to Fort Victoria (Drucker 1951). These fortified villages have subsequently attracted considerable interest from archaeologists. The oral history records collected by Drucker (1951) indicate major declines in population due to warfare in the eighteen forties and fifties, and consequently the abandonment of some traditional patterns of activity. Harris (1997) indicates that the Nuu Chah Nulth seemed to have avoided earlier disasterous smallpox epidemics which swept the Gulf of Georgia and southern Vancouver Island in the latter eighteenth century.

The returns on initial investment proved to be high in the dogfish oil and Pelagic Fur Seal trades, and by the early 1860s stores had been established from Port San Juan as far north as Quatsino Sound. The stores proved to be rather transitory affairs, with some of the traders meeting violent and lonely deaths inside their "oft beleaguered blockhouse"(Nicholson 1962). Exploration of the interior of Vancouver Island was under way, with reports of mineral, agricultural, and forest riches appearing in the 'London Illustrated News' and other popular British publications. Records of Vancouver Island exploration and travels therefore contributed to the Romantic exploration and travel literature that appealed so much to the Victorian imagination. This literature fuelled the imperial interest in settling new lands recently added to the British Empire, particularly in strategically important areas like the North West Coast of North America.

Colonial interest in the resources of the West Coast of Vancouver Island increased during the 1860s partly due to the impetus of the 1858 Fraser River gold rush, and the concomitant need to establish British sovereignty in the face of a great influx of American gold seekers. The colonial government recognized the strategic necessity of making its presence felt on the West Coast, and financed several exploration parties during the decade (Nicholson 1962). Traders served as government agents, and explored areas close to their base of operation. Although most of the surviving documentation of British activities on the coast indicates government sponsorship during this period, several private entrepreneurs also found their way north from Victoria. They started, among other things, minor gold rushes on the Leech River, on the San Juan River, and on the Bedwell River in Clayoquot Sound. William Eddy Banfield (1864) indicates in his dispatches to the Colonial Secretary that prospecting activity was brisk in Barkley Sound in the 1860s.

Naval officers engaged in exploration work were interested in two main resources during the 1860s. First and foremost was mineral resource wealth, particularly gold, coal, and copper. Secondly, alluvial soils capable of supporting pioneer homesteading were sought after, since any communities founded to harvest the bountiful forests and fisheries of the West Coast would have to be self-supporting in agricultural produce for many months of the year. The newly-established Land Registries indicate that some naval officers and government agents thought highly of the area, and wasted little time in acquiring large tracts of prime land for themselves (Clayoquot Land Registry; Eyre and Spottiswoode 1864; British Admiralty Charts, various dates).

The West Coast of Vancouver Island was surveyed by Captain George H. Richards between 1859 and 1862. He also established and mapped the Indian Reserve boundaries on the coast, which was a major step in establishing control and authority over the

landscape in preparation for future settlement. Detailed, comprehensive, and accurate charts of the coast were now available for the first time. The existence of reliable charts was crucial for the development of maritime trade and for effective defense of the coast. The detailed descriptions of resource opportunities on the West Coast were circulated in colonial government reports, but substantial information was available in newspapers, gazettes, news magazines and the journals of learned societies. For example, William Torrens (1866) reports of exploration and proceedings at Clayoquot Sound were well circulated, and the London Illustrated News carried stories and etchings about William Brown's Vancouver Island Exploring Expedition in 1864.

These reports usually referenced the earlier maritime fur trade phase, which was an era of considerable interest in the United Kingdom. The West Coast of Vancouver Island was authored during this period by explorers, captains, and journalists referring back to an earlier historical period positively associated with the expansion of the British Empire, while appealing to the Romantic tradition of wild, dangerous adventure in beautiful, remote places. The West Coast of Vancouver Island had become a 'place' in the popular imagination of the day in part because the landscape descriptions could be reinterpreted and rewritten to appeal to popular sentiments for maritime adventure and exploration. Additionally, encouraging the settlement of remote places in the Empire was a strategic priority of the British government.

Surveys of the West Coast's resources convinced the Colonial Governor, James Douglas, that settlers should be encouraged to locate in and around the new community of Alberni. More traders entered the increasingly lucrative fur sealing business in the latter 1860s, and the dogfish oil trade continued to expand. The 'Gunboat Diplomacy' of the British North Pacific Squadron in policing the Nuu Chah Nulth helped allay any fears settlers might have had about taking up land, since the shelling of villages in the

early 1860s had a massively demoralizing effect on the Nuu Chah Nulth (MacFie 1865;
Gough 1971). The tribes of Clayoquot Sound with their history of resistance to
European incursions bore the brunt of the Royal Navy's "pacification" program. The
Royal Navy started policing the Coast in the early 1860s, attempting to arrest Aboriginals
who had been accused of harassing traders and other wayfaring sailors returned to
Victoria. Sometimes the "King George men," unable to locate a person or persons guilty
of committing a particular act, shelled their particular village into oblivion. For example,
G. Sproat, in Scenes and Studies of Savage Life (1894) provides an account of Admiral
Denman's punishment of the Ahousahts. An etching of the shelling of a village in
Clayoquot Sound was published in the 'London Illustrated News' in 1864.

As indicated in Table 4.2, a major landscape change was instituted by the British
Admiralty in the mid to late 1860s. It involved the wholesale destruction of the massive
wooden and piled stone fish trap complexes which covered inter-tidal areas in many
lagoons and inlets on the West Coast of Vancouver Island. No longer systematically
maintained by the Nuu Chah Nulth because of population declines, intertribal warfare,
and increasing participation in pelagic fur sealing, the fish trap complexes were destroyed
by British sailors to ensure fish were not being trapped by accident (Gough 1971).
Also, it was a clear statement of imperial authority over natural resources, and a
landscape that was being appropriated for exploitation and settlement not by the force of
law, but by military force.

In August of 1860 the armed colonial schooners, *Woodpecker* and *Meg Merrilies* entered
Alberni Inlet, under the command of Gilbert Sproat, who held an imperial warrant to
establish a community and sawmill at the head of the Inlet. Backed by several cannon,
Sproat persuaded the Seshaht tribe to move from their summer village, paying 20 pounds

worth of trade goods for the site. Sproat (1896:4), recalls the establishment of the first permanent European settlement on Vancouver Island's West Coast:

> These were the first savages that I had ever seen, and they were probably at that time less known than any Aboriginal people under British dominion.... .
> A civilized settlement was now formed in their midst, and the natives stared at the buildings, wharves, steam engines, ploughs, oxen, horses, sheep and pigs, which they had never seen before.

The link between private enterprise and government in developing settlement at Alberni was very close, since the total number of non-Aboriginals on the West Coast was extremely small. The goals in terms of bringing settlers to the region were the same for both sectors, because there was a collective recognition that settlement was an urgent necessity. The 1860s were the beginning of the end of traditional Nuu Chah Nulth culture and settlement patterns, and the beginning of permanent European settlement. Traditional authority over and authorship of the landscape by the chiefs, shamans, and elders was undermined by the British navy, miners, traders, and settlers (MacFie 1865; Moser 1926). The tragic decline in Aboriginal population on the West Coast of Vancouver Island also contributed to their rapid marginalization.

During the 1860s, the natural resources of the West Coast were identified and signified in a different fashion than during the early maritime trading era. Evaluation of West Coast resources, in the form of mineral, timber, and agricultural land surveys was well along as the Colonial Secretary in Victoria hastened to secure British sovereignty by occupying the West Coast with settlers, an important political requirement of the day. MacFie (1865) provides an example of this genre of landscape authorship. His interest was in describing lands for settlement, principally to attract settlers, and in recounting his experiences in the new colony. Logging and sawmilling was expanding around the Gulf of Georgia and southern Vancouver Island, and forest and mineral surveys were

underway on the West Coast. There was a sawmill on Alberni Inlet by 1864 (Ayre and Spottiswoode, 1864). There was an atmosphere of optimism and excitement evident in the popular press about speculative possibilities in land and resource development (MacFie 1865).

Control over resource development was now centered in Victoria. Occupation was a prerequisite before actual large-scale designation of natural resource tenure could occur (Mayne 1862; MacFie 1865). The signification of the West Coast as a rich, abundant agricultural frontier laden with natural resources was largely constructed during the early 1860s (MacFie 1865). Authorship of this landscape and its resources emerged from explorers, artists, journalists, captains, and government agents. Maps, resource descriptions, journals, reports and photographs were conveyed back to Victoria, suddenly a booming frontier outpost as a result of the 1858 Fraser River gold rush. After key information was identified and extracted, regular dispaches were sent back to England and circulated further in journals, government reports, and in the popular press. The images and texts became more varied and diverse, and included excellent quality photographs by the early 1860s. The dispersal of images and texts became more rapid during this decade due to technological advances. Public libriaries in the United Kingdom disseminated information widely, and current settlement, speculative, and resource extraction interest was contextualized by the re-publication of much of the earlier maritime exploration literature.

An example of popular landscape authorship that attracted people to the West Coast was published in London in 1862. The 468 page 'Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island' was written by R.C. Mayne, a British Naval Officer who was involved in the surveying of the West Coast. This well-illustrated book was one of several published extolling the richness of Vancouver Island's West Coast which were

written in the 1860s. Publications of this type built upon prior perceptions of the West Coast from the maritime fur trading days of a remote area of remarkable resource richness and meshed well with the imperial interest in promoting emigration to newly emerging frontiers of the British Empire.

The seventh decade of the nineteenth century was characterized by more widespread knowledge about Vancouver Island in the British Isles and an accelerating rate of settlement. The Victoria newspapers in the 1870s indicate a rapid increase in West Coast maritime traffic, including naval, trade, and immigrants, many of whom had been lured north from California by the promise of free land on Vancouver Island. The settlement of Clayoquot on Stubbs Island started to grow rapidly in the latter part of the decade, serving as a major dogfish oil and fur seal trading centre and also as a regional supply base for prospectors and miners working around the inlet.

In 1874 the Right Reverend C. J. Segers, Roman Catholic Bishop of Victoria, and Reverend A. J. Brabant, an Oblate father, established missions on the West Coast. Brabant noted in his journals that in 1874, traders had established stores at Dodger's Cove (Diana Island), Pachena River, Spring Cove (Ucluelet Inlet) at Clifton Point, on Copper (Tzartus) Island, and at Clayoquot on Stubbs Island. The first Oblate Mission was built at Hesquiat, about 20 miles south of Nootka Sound, and on the northernmost reaches of Clayoquot Sound. In 1877 a second mission was established at Namukamis, near the mouth of the Sarita River in Barkley Sound (Moser 1926). Subsequently, missions were opened at Kyuquot in Kyuquot Sound, Nootka (Friendly Cove), Nuchatlitz at the mouth of Esperanza Inlet, and at Numukamis and Dodger's Cove in Barkley Sound. Most of the major villages on the West Coast had small chapels constructed over the next decade.

Nothing remains in the present relict landscape that was constructed during the 1870s for

missionary use. The first churches built at Hesquiat, Nootka and Clayoquot were

destroyed by fire, and the missions constructed at Namukamis and Dodger's Cove have

disappeared. Only the Hesquiat Mission bell remains at Hesquiat as a relic from this

period. The missions arrived when populations had declined to a low level. The

missionaries encouraged permanent Aboriginal settlements, establishing schools,

chapels, and promoted the wearing of western style clothing (Moser 1926).

They established graveyards in each permanent village, and collected the remains of

dead tribal members from caves, headlands, and burial islets for re-burial in

consecrated ground (Moser 1926). This practice effectively hid from view some more

evidence of Nuu Chah Nulth authorship of the landscape, as had the destruction of fish

trap complexes, and the abandonment of seasonal village sites. The people were being

further marginalized and dispossessed as the signs and symbols of their ancient

occupation of the landscape started to disapear.

This phase was characterized by expansion and consolidation of imperial power, and

the representations of Clayoquot Sound were contextualized by the strong traditions of

British naval memoirs and report writing. The contestation with the Nuu Chah Nulth

over landscape authorship and the ownership of landscape resources was resolved for

the time being by expropriation without compensation, backed up by military force.

The strategic need for settlers and resource exploitation resulted in writing designed to

attract both settlers and investment, continuing the theme of exploitation of rich

resources. The establishment of a strong British naval presence and regular coastal

navigation meant more trading posts and miner's supply centers like Stubbs Island, and

Oblate Missions in permanent Aboriginal villages. Some settlers were attracted by the

promise of good agricultural land, local markets for produce, abundant fish, and excellent timber resources.

4.5   Settlement frontier and resource speculation: 1880s-1920s.

The arrival of missionaries coincided with the establishment of year-round villages and the construction of more permanent houses for the Nuu Chah Nulth. Abandonment of migratory settlement patterns and population decline, combined with increased personal wealth and missionary involvement put pressure on villagers to construct western style dwellings. Traditional fishing, hunting and gathering activities were impacted by the expanding cash economy. Men and women left their villages to work on Aleutian-bound sealing schooners, and also in the Puget Sound hop fields (Moser 1926). It was there that they contracted smallpox, and returned with the disease to their home villages. There was consequently another steep population decline due to disease in the 1870s and 1880s (Moser 1926). This decline resulted in further village abandonment and population consolidation. Contesting the expropriation of their territories became all the more difficult as they were faced with the very real possibility of disappearance as a people.

With the exception of Port Alberni, European settlement other than trading establishments and missions remained very sporadic until the later 1890s. Records of preemptions (legal, surveyed, registered occupation based on work on the site) for settlement prior to this period are very fragmentary and indicate how difficult it was to develop permanent attachments to the land along such an isolated coast without regular and reliable steamship service. In 1884, William and James Sutton opened a sawmill and a store in Ucluelet. The Suttons purchased vast tracts of timber along the Estevan coastal plain as far north as Nootka Island (Nicholson 1962). Settler families began

moving into the Ucluelet area in the latter part of the decade, and ranching and mixed farming developed on laboriously cleared lands along Ucluelet Inlet (B. Sylvester, 'Flashbacks' March 9, 1967 The Press, Ucluelet). Tofino's first settler was John Grice, who preempted land in 1893. In 1895, T. S. Gore surveyed the Ucluelet-Tofino area, and reported that:

> John Grice had a small patch of land under cultivation on his preemption at
> the northwest end of Low (Esowista) peninsula, and grew as fine potatoes,
> cabbages, peas, turnips, etc. as I have seen anywhere on the island. (Gore
> 1895: Surveyor's Notes-Tofino, B.C. Archives).

During the 1880s and 1890s timber cruisers examined and evaluated the majority of the timber stands along the West Coast of Vancouver Island. With the exception of Sutton's mill at Ucluelet, and the long-established mill at Port Alberni, the coast was still considered to be too isolated for extensive timber development. Timber licenses were purchased as speculative futures, being bought and sold repeatedly before any development took place. Small salmon salteries were developed at trading posts in Barkley and Clayoquot Sounds for the Honolulu salt fish trade (Nicholson 1962).

During the 1890s large tracts of land were purchased on the West Coast by land speculators interested in promoting settlement. The Barkley Sound Land and Improvement Company was incorporated with head offices in Victoria, with the intention of developing the new town of Barkley on Uchucklesit Inlet. The townsite was marketed as the 'proposed' terminus of a trans- island railway. Several lots were sold before the project dissolved (Scott 1972). Advertisements for cheap land all along the West Coast appeared in Victoria, and preemptions were taken up in several places. Land surveyors and timber cruisers were doing a fairly brisk business. The Clayoquot Land Register, which records land alienations (transfers to private ownership), indicates

that dozens of homesteaders arrived during the decade. The frontier farming landscape spread slowly outwards from Tofino, restricted by the great difficulty and high cost of clearing land. Steam-driven machinery made land clearing somewhat easier in the latter 1890s.

The two decades previously considered cover the period of earliest significant landscape change by Europeans. Land clearing for farms, prospecting, small-scale lumbering, the development of new settlements, missions, lighthouses, and the altered nature of Aboriginal villages, visible burial practices, fish traps, and resource use all contributed to the changing character of the landscape. Despite these changes, the rain forest was still an unbroken sweep of green interrupted only infrequently by signs of mostly coastal human activity.

The completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway to the west in 1886, and the subsequent growth of Vancouver, greatly increased ship traffic entering the Straits of Juan de Fuca. Consequently, shipwrecks increased along the dangerous West Coast of Vancouver Island, which had gained the title 'The Graveyard of the Pacific' (Scott 1970). The Department of Transport erected a lighthouse at Carmanah Point in 1891, and Lennard Island Lighthouse at the entrance to Clayoquot Sound in 1904 (Scott 1970; Rogers 1973). The lighthouses contribute an important and visually interesting historical element to the present tourism landscape, and provided a source of valuable historical records about the West Coast in the lighthouse keeper's logs. In particular, the logs provide evidence of comings and goings of traders, navel personnel, government representatives, and settlers. Visits to lighthouse keepers and their families by travellers and guests, supply vessels, the placement and servicing of navigational buoys, were all documented. The lighthouses were also symbolic landscape features. Lighthouses were an authoritative statement about who now owned the landscape, and

they guided newcomers into what had been Nuu Chah Nulth territory to exploit landscape resources.

In the early 1890s a telephone line and a rough life saving trail were constructed from Victoria to Cape Beale Lighthouse, with cabins equipped with telephones and emergency supplies located every few miles (White 1973). Local residents and lighthouse keepers serviced the line, often repairing scores of breaks after severe winter storms. (This trail was redeveloped as the West Coast Trail in Pacific Rim National Park in the early 1970s). In 1900 a line was strung to Ucluelet from Alberni, and later was extended to Tofino, Clayoquot, Ahousat, Hesquiat, and Nootka.

These early telephone lines have contributed to the contemporary tourism landscape of Clayoquot Sound, since the lines developed into trails and wagon roads subsequently re-cleared for hikers along the coast. Frequently, the trails are only in evidence over rocky headlands, since the open beaches provide for easy travel. In Clayoquot Sound, such trails exist on the western shores of Vargas Island, around the Hesquiat Peninsula (the 'Mid-Island' trail), and more recently, on Flores Island (the 'Wild Side' trail). The last mentioned trail was rebuilt as a project developed by the Ahousaht Band in cooperation with the Western Canada Wilderness Committee in the early 1990s.

Landscape authorship involves the identification and signification of the meanings of landscape features. The trails of the outside coast of Clayoquot Sound initially maintained communications links between outposts, and provided lifesaving services for shipwrecked sailors. They were later promoted by environmental organizations and the Ahousats as hiking trails, specifically to promote landscape protection and tourism as an economic alternative to forestry for the Sound's communities. The original addition of

the trails to the landscape was a function of the expansion of marine traffic, settlement, and resource extraction.

In 1902 Bamfield Inlet on Barkley Sound was selected as the Canadian terminus of the British Transpacific cable route to Australia, known as the "All-Red Route." The Bamfield Cable Station was constructed, and up until 1956 employed about 45 persons, mostly Australians and New Zealanders (Scott 1972). The village of Bamfield developed around this facility, attracting other industry in its turn. From Bamfield, the lines ran overland to Port Alberni, then on to Vancouver. This facility acted as a development anchor for the coast. The station had high servicing needs, and regular steamship scheduling was essential. Investors were more willing to put up funds for development when regular steamship services were guaranteed.

In 1899, the Catholic Diocese of Victoria received permission to construct a boarding school for Aboriginal children on the West Coast (Moser 1926). Father Brabant selected a site at Kakawis on Meares Island, in Clayoquot Sound. The Christie Indian Residential School was completed the same year. The Residential School burned down in the late 1980s and has been replaced by a visually inconspicuous Nuu Chah Nulth residential retreat facility. An architecturally dominant feature in Clayoquot Sound for eight decades, the Christie Indian Residential School building represented a very painful period in the lives of many of the Aboriginal people who were forced to attend the school. It symbolized the authority of the Catholic Church over the Nuu Chah Nulth, both spiritual and secular, and was a highly visible element in the post-colonial landscape of authority. The elimination of most of the vestiges of the previously high profile missionary presence in the contemporary landscape has been concurrent with the re-assertion of Nuu Chah Nulth landscape authorship. In Tofino, the building used as a student residence for Aboriginal students attending the Tofino high school during the

1970s and 1980s was torn down and replaced by the Tin Wis Resort Hotel, a partnership between the Nuu Chah Nulth and Best Western Hotels, in the mid 1990s.

In the late 1890s the establishment of effective, regular steamship and communication links with Victoria plus enthusiastic promotional work by real estate interests began to attract more substantial capital investment to the West Coast. Much of this investment capital was now Canadian, and Canadian settlers as well as immigrants could arrive via the new continental rail links from the east. Remoteness was still a major drawback, but energetic promotion by the C.P.R. Steamship Company for settlers in England and in Canada sparked considerable interest. The steamships, with their comfortable staterooms, at least allowed prospective settlers a chance to be tourists on the West Coast first, although sea-sickness was evidently a problem (Nicholson 1962). The induced images used in advertisements for the West Coast trips featured scenery, fishing, hunting, investment opportunities, and free land for homesteading. The increasing number of resource industry workers using the steamships added to local tourism, with hotels developing in communities and advertising for customers. The landscape was identified for its abundant and accessible resources, and signified as a settlement frontier with abundant opportunities for speculative, resource-based gain.

In 1895 the first cannery was built on the West Coast by the Clayoquot Fishing and Trading Co., at the mouth of the Kennedy River in Clayoquot Sound (Clayoquot Land Register 1898, Lyons 69). The Clayoquot cannery was followed a few years later by a sawmill, established at Mosquito Harbour on Meares Island, and in 1903 a whaling station was built at Sechart in Barkley Sound, about 15 miles from Ucluelet (Scott 1972, Nicholson 1962). In the same year, the Alberni Packing Co. Cannery was constructed on Uchucklesit Harbour in Barkley Sound. The settlement which grew up around this large cannery operation became known as Kildonan (Lyons 1969).

The establishment of these major resource processing plants, in conjunction with the Christie Indian Residential School and governmental establishments such as the Bamfield Cable Station and lighthouses had an accelerating effect on homesteading activity during the decade 1900-1910. Land prices and competition for lands open to preemption both increased rapidly, especially since surveyors had reported favourably on the agricultural potential of the Estevan Coastal plain (Nicholson 1962). In 1909 a post office and government agency was opened in Tofino to service the new community and the preemptions along the Estowista Peninsula.

By the end of the decade, sixty settlers had taken up land along Long Beach, and construction was begun on a road from Tofino to Ucluelet. Lifeboat stations were also established at Tofino and Ucluelet. The government brochure, "Land for Preemption on Ucluelet Peninsula," Department of Lands, Victoria, B.C. in the B.C. Archives collection (no date), provides a comprehensive description of local geography, plus a map of surveyed lands available in the Kennedy Lake area. The landscape is presented as having excellent soils for farming and a mild climate similar to the British Isles. The regular steamship service provided market access, and was positioned as an essential element to homesteaders.

Landscape authorship began to shift away from government reports to steamship company advertisements for settlers and tourists, travel writer's accounts, and prospectuses for development projects. The first decade of the 20th century was a boom time in British Columbia, and substantial industrial development was in place in Clayoquot Sound by the century's turn. The landscape of the West Coast of Vancouver Island was being authored as an ideal settler's frontier landscape, with well-paid jobs in logging, sawmills, canneries and mining available to help provide income for the

clearing of farm land. Speculative profits from landscape resources continued, as timberlands and settlement lands in the Sound were held and then re-sold as their value increased. The forest landscape was identified, signified and evaluated by timber cruisers as a speculative opportunity, as well as a visually attractive scenic backdrop for the tourist traffic on the S.S. Princess Maquinna.

In 1912, the West Coast Development Co purchased Lots 56, 57 and 70 south of Nitinat Narrows. These lots included an extensive beach, stretching as far south as Dare Point. The company issued a prospectus describing a major resort development planned for the area, which read, in part, as follows:

> ....the structure will be built on the most prominent promontory on the property, commanding a sweeping and gorgeous view of the ocean.... A promenade will skirt the beach for a considerable distance on either side of the hotel, and a steel-anchored pier will extend straight out to sea, affording guests and visitors a splendid and exhilarating boardwalk."
> ($10,000 For A Name. Victoria. B.C.: Monk and Co., 1913, pp. 10-11. B.C. Archives collection).

Besides a 300-room hotel, plans called for a golf course, natural mineral baths, and quarter-acre waterfront lots, upon which prospective investors would build summer cottages or bungalows. The development was dependent on a motor road, which at that time was being surveyed between Port Renfrew and Bamfield. Premier Richard McBride had promised such a road in an address on October 11, 1913. This was the first major tourist development venture on the West Coast, and it coincided with an increasing number of tourists and prospective settlers taking the popular S.S. Princess Maquinna's tour around Vancouver Island during the prosperous and optimistic prewar 'MacBride' years. Construction of the resort and the road was started, then abandoned during the First World War (Scott 1972). The landscape authorship process in this case

identified and signified the landscape for leisure, tourism, and for speculative development.

This venture was the first specifically tourism- oriented development on the West Coast of Vancouver Island. It utilized the popular seaside built forms of Edwardian England, ironically set in a hostile and unforgiving shoreline. The promotional literature also signifies the landscape as visually spectacular, the climate benign, and the opportunities for development outstanding. The evaluation phase of landscape authorship continued the theme of speculative future benefits from increased property and resource values, and designation was based on the acquisition of private property rights.

In Clayoquot Sound, there are a few remnants in the present landscape from this pre-World War 1 period of vigorous settlement growth and resource development. The Christie Indian Residential School is gone. Mosquito Harbour sawmill has long been a ruin. It was the second export sawmill on the West Coast of Vancouver Island, although small local sawmills had been established earlier and Port Alberni was by 1910 a well-established mill town. Clayoquot on Stubbs Island has been a resort for the past five decades, but persisted as a small village up until the Second World War, when the community of Japanese fishers was interned. The lighthouses at Lennard Island, and at Estevan Point on the Hesquiat Peninsula, and the Coast Guard station in Tofino are significant tourist attractions in their own right and were established in this period, as were the previously-discussed coastal hiking trail systems.

Land speculators and real estate agents, based in Victoria, played a very important role as authors of landscape during the first two decades of this century. In 1913, Nootka Sound was considered such a prime development area that the Esquimalt and Nanaimo

Railway purchased several thousand acres of land in the Gold River Valley, anticipating a port development at the head of Muchalat Arm (White 1972, Nootka Land Register). Promises of West Coast road and rail links with Victoria and the East Coast of the Island precipitated what was actually a land rush. Investors large and small attempting to jump on the bandwagon by grabbing most of the level coastal lands between Victoria and Nootka Sound, and also in certain areas of Quatsino Sound at the north end of the Island. The most important function performed by governments, land developers and transportation companies was in identifying, signifying and evaluating the West Coast of the Island in Canada, the United States, and in England, as a new and vital frontier area, the 'final frontier' on the Pacific Ocean.

The institutional arrangements made to designate landscapes involved the selling of resource rights, and the preemtion of land for settlement. The region's wild beauty and fascinating history captured the imagination of many people, and the S.S. Princess Maquinna provided a well-publicized tourist experience for thousands of visitors. A pre-war 'tourist landscape' emerged based on safe, comfortable steamer excursions, in which the Aboriginals, homesteaders, canneries, logging operations, and mining added to the excitement and interest of the voyage around Vancouver Island.

The era of speculative resource development and settlement expansion which characterized Richard McBride's administration ended abruptly for the West Coast of Vancouver Island as the First World War began to drain Canadian human resources and redirect natural resource development. Settlers who had taken up preemptions on the Estowista Peninsula between Ucluelet and Tofino and on Vargas Island in Clayoquot Sound left for war service. Some resource extraction industries boomed during the war years, as prices for timber and canned salmon improved. Japanese fishermen and their families began building houses in Clayoquot, Tofino, and Ucluelet. Many

Aboriginals and white settlers also bought or built boats at this time, creating a fairly stable employment base for West Coast settlements.

In 1917 two canneries were constructed on the West Coast to process the increased annual catch of salmon. Lummi Bay Packing Co. of Washington State, built a plant on Nitinat Lake, and a cannery was completed at Nootka (Lyons 1969, Nicholson 1962). The development of new cannery operations, coupled with expansion of existing facilities at Kildonan and Clayoquot, increased the demand for seasonal workers on the Coast, and small settlements consisting of bunkhouses for single men and cottages for families, developed along the boardwalks and wharves of the canneries. Hotels located near canning plants did a roaring trade during the salmon season, and the Princess Maquinna was kept busy packing cases of fish south to Victoria and the wartime markets.

The output of West Coast sawmills improved during the war years, although production was limited somewhat by the isolation of West Coast mills from continental domestic markets. Port Alberni's export trade continued to boom, however. Mining activity was adversely affected by the war, and the various Clayoquot Sound developments, which had been prospected around the turn of the century, and were finally becoming bona fide mines, petered out.

The First World War, therefore, had a mixed effect on the West Coast landscape and human community. The fishing and canning industry became the main economic mainstay of the region, as mining, homesteading and land speculation declined due to loss of available capitalization and labour. The Returning Soldiers Homestead Act, passed in 1919, returning to the Crown all preemptions which had not been cleared and maintained according to the provisions of the Act, in effect ending the attempt to create

an agricultural frontier region on Vancouver Island's West Coast. The stump farms and old mining claims reverted to brush and cedar as most pioneers moved to the nucleated settlements of Tofino, Ucluelet, and Bamfield or acquired jobs in the various cannery and logging operations along the coast. Often they did not return after the war. Many surviving veterans decided seek their fortunes in the rapidly growing city of Vancouver, or transferred their claims to ranching land in the Cariboo and Chilcotin country (Nicholson 1962). The landscape was no longer identified and signified as a settler's landscape. The evaluation of landscape resource value based on the expansion of future settlement and resource extraction collapsed along with the speculative bubble. The private landholdings of settlers, carved out of the dense coastal rain forest with enormous effort, reverted to the Crown.

The contemporary tourism landscape of Clayoquot Sound has some relicts from this period. The gravestones of pioneer settlers still stand on Morpheus Island, near Tofino. The remains of buildings may still be seen in the undergrowth on many coastal islands, each with their own pioneer story to tell. From the air, the outlines of settlements can be seen, and at low tide, the pilings from old docks and landings still are visible. This phase in the evolution of Clayoquot Sound is not celebrated or featured for tourists, because the themes of 'Wilderness' and 'Wildlife' and 'First Nations' tend to be more dominant significations of landscape for visitors. The history of this period has been documented, however, and awaits re- identification and signification.

4.6 Systematized resource exploitation and the growth of nucleated settlement, 1920s-1980s.

In the immediate post-war years, settlement expansion on Vancouver Island's West Coast slowed. The main reason was depressed prices for salmon on the world market

due to American dumping. A small run in 1921 placed several West Coast canneries in a difficult financial situation, and Nootka Cannery experimentally canned pilchards, a member of the herring family, to try to diversify their operations. The pilchards were too oily for North American consumers (Lyons 1969). In 1925, huge schools of pilchards appeared along the West Coast, apparently brought inshore by unusually high water temperatures which could have been a previous occurrence of the El Nino phenomenon. Nootka Cannery and Watson Brothers at Ahousaht Creek Cannery installed pilchard reduction plants in late 1925 and by 1927, 26 pilchard reduction plants had been constructed between Barkley Sound and Kyuquot, some of which were built at the sites of existing canneries. Almost all the suitable plant sites were alienated within a few months and construction crews were quickly brought in. Shipyards in Victoria and Vancouver built seinboats and scows to handle the pilchards (Nicholson 1962).

The rapid development of the pilchard industry had significant effects on West Coast communities. Many fishermen switched from salmon trolling to pilchard seining, with seasonal catches averaging 2,500 tons per boat. More hotels were developed in West Coast settlements, and the first 'Goat Ranches' (brothels) appeared in suitably secluded spots along the coast (Nicholson 1962). Rum running to Washington State during the prohibition also became a local industry in Clayoquot Sound, starting the fortunes of some of B.C's future political families (Nicholson 1962). Cannery settlements became less seasonal affairs, since the pilchard season began in the late fall after the salmon season was finished (Sharcott 1970). A small local tourism industry developed in Clayoquot Sound as disposable income became more available, with cottages, beach cabins and hotels catering to both local residents and to tourists visiting on the Princess Maquinna from Victoria (Abrams 1945, Nicholson 1962).

The fishing boom ended with the market crash of 1929. The pilchard industry disappeared at the same time. Due to changing currents and probably also due to overfishing in California, the pilchards were no longer seen in the coastal inlets (Nicholson 1962). The Great Depression quickly took its toll until only a few major canneries like Kildonan and Nootka Cannery were operating on the West Coast. Money for capital investment disappeared, and cannery workers either left, or became prospectors and trappers to survive. The remaining settlers once again began to rely on government posts and many turned to hand logging, cutting trees directly into the ocean from steep hillsides, or parbuckling the logs down into the water by hand. Only a hardy few continued to homestead. By 1940 the pioneer agricultural landscape had all but disappeared as the remaining homesteaders moved into nucleated settlements such as Tofino (Abrams 1945). The Nuu Chah Nulth were negatively affected by the decline of the fishery and also by unpleasant governmental initiatives: their potlatches ceased, due to oppressive legislation imposed under the McKenna- McBride regime (Ormsby 1971).

The present Clayoquot Sound landscape contains relicts of the fisheries boom of the 1920s. In practically every inlet, cement foundations, rotted remains of buildings, and the decaying stumps of dock pilings remain where canneries, salteries, and pilchard reduction plants once flourished. They provoke some interest, but hardly rank as major tourist attractions, despite their previous economic significance. They are relicts of the industrial past and as such do not fit the present tourism signification of Clayoquot Sound as a 'pristine wilderness' tourist destination, any more than do the faint outlines of the settler's homesteads.

The most important long-term effect from the prosperous 1920s for the future development of the tourism landscape was the identification and signification of the area's wild beauty, history, and bountiful resources by travel writers, journalists, developers, and by tourists. The West Coast furnished stories for writers because its history had been well-chronicled for one hundred and thirty years, longer than any other part of the province, and that entire chronicle is available from the Provincial Archivist in Victoria. An entire literature on maritime exploration, on colonial exploration and resource activities, land records, plus anthropological and ethnographic information awaited the eager historians, anthropologists, naturalists, and writers of the day. The temporary character of most resource extraction and settlement on the West Coast meant that many West Coasters moved to Victoria or Vancouver in their later years, after making their 'grubstake' in the fishery, in logging, or in mining, or after simply running out of money and resolve. The key transportation link for this era was the S.S. Princess Maquinna, which took thousands of passengers on the journey around Vancouver Island through the 1920s, 30s, and 40s. This vessel was the key 'tourist attraction' on the coast, with the scenery and settlements unfolding for visitors from her decks.

The mythic character of the area was embellished for children and grandchildren, as pioneering stories were told and retold. For example, Bruce Scott, an eminent and respected writer on the West Coast and one of the originators of Pacific Rim National Park, retired to Victoria after a long career at Bamfield Cable Station and subsequently as owner of Aguilar House, a small tourist resort in Bamfield. He produced several books and dozens of newspaper articles on the history of the West Coast, and also collected many oral histories from pioneers. His writings celebrate the human history of the coast and its landscape, and attracted the attention of the then Liberal government in Ottawa, which subsequently created Pacific Rim National Park. He identified and

signified the coast as a unique landscape worthy of protection and preservation. Similarly, George Nicholson retired to Victoria to write a history of the West Coast of Vancouver Island, which went through several printings and signified the coast as a place of adventure and challenge. Stories by pioneers, such as Dorothy Abrams, who wrote stories of life on Vargas Island in Clayoquot Sound, were popular in British Columbia during the 1940s and 1950s (Abrams 1945).

The outbreak of war had important consequences for West Coast settlements, and changed large areas of the region's landscape. The West Coast of Vancouver Island became strategically vulnerable after Japan attacked Pearl Harbour, and millions of dollars were allocated by the Dominion Government for the defense of beaches and the construction of military installations. Japanese-Canadian fishermen were treated as enemy aliens, despite their long residence on the coast. The Japanese fishing community at Clayoquot was dispossessed of their homes, boats, and other properties, and herded into hastily-built internment camps in the B.C. interior. Their boats and other belongings were subsequently disposed of without compensation (Nicholson 1962). Here was a second expropriation backed by military force. Both the Aboriginals and the Japanese lost their landscape resources when they became inconvenient or became a perceived threat to the colonial or post-colonial power.

Timber extraction activities received a major impetus as demands for spruce for fighter aircraft increased. The Dominion Government introduced the 'Spruce Account,' whereby logging operators could charge capital equipment expenditures against the government on a 'cost plus' basis (Nicholson 1962; White 1972). Several timber companies expanded operations under this beneficial arrangement, acquiring modern yarding machinery and logging trucks, as well as tenure over West Coast forest lands. The Gibson brothers of Ahousat in Clayoquot Sound began logging under government

contract at this time, using cutting methods that had a disastrous effect over many acres of the forest landscape. Great tracts of timber were laid waste in the rush to extract Black Spruce from the valley bottoms and Douglas Fir from the higher, well drained slopes of the Island's interior, cut down by servicemen on 'logger's leave'. Many of the timber rafts broke up on their way down the coast, depositing huge spruce and fir logs on West Coast beaches. This is a major landscape legacy of the war years. Few visitors to Clayoquot Sound today realize that the massive beach logs that are such an accepted 'natural' feature, are mostly the result of wartime logging.

Long Beach was obviously vulnerable as a potential invasion beachhead, and was implanted with mines, pilings, tank traps and other defensive installations. An all-weather road was constructed between Tofino and Ucluelet, with access provided to the beach at intervals (Nicholson 1962). Tofino airport was developed in 1943 to provide aerial defense for the entire West Coast of the Island. After Estevan lighthouse was shelled by a Japanese submarine in 1942, all lighthouses were painted in camouflage colours, and a detachment of soldiers was assigned to guard the Bamfield Cable Station (Nicholson 1962). Ucluelet became a major wartime base when a squadron of Catalina seaplanes was stationed nearby for coastal reconnaissance duties (Nicholson 1962).

In the later war years, radar installations were developed at Radar Hill on the Esowista Peninsula, and at Ferrier Point, south of Nuchatlitz Inlet on Nootka Island's West Coast. Concrete anti-aircraft bunkers were installed to defend these facilities, and also surrounded the perimeter of Tofino Harbour. The isolated and wet West Coast was not considered to be a favourable posting by most of the thousands of military personnel who spent part of their service there (Nicholson 1962). Relations with local inhabitants were usually positive, since many people had sons and daughters in the services during

the Second World War. Local residents were especially grateful for the new Tofino-Ucluelet road, and serious consideration was given to the construction of a connecting road to Alberni in the event that evacuations became necessary. A road was in fact planked out as far as Kennedy Lake to service telegraph wires to Port Alberni (Nicholson 1962).

The fishing industry was adversely affected by wartime conditions. The panic evacuation of the Japanese-Canadian fishermen and their families considerably reduced the number of boats available to harvest the good salmon runs of the early war years. Many fishermen and cannery workers enlisted in the services, leaving boats idle in the harbours, and inexperienced shore workers in the canneries (Lyons 1969).

By 1946 the coastal landscape of the West Coast of Vancouver Island had begun to assume its modern character. In what is now Phase One of Pacific Rim National Park, pilings, tank traps and other defensive devices rotted and rusted on Long Beach for a decade after the War. A considerable effort was made to remove them and by the 1960s they had disappeared. The Tofino Airport, with its concrete runways and large buildings, became a permanent landscape feature. Most of the buildings were dismantled, although their concrete infrastructures, bunkers, and anti-aircraft gun emplacements remain buried in the second growth. The seaplane base at Ucluelet, with its large hangers and other facilities were kept semi-operational by the logging industry for some years, but was eventually torn down in the early 1970s (White 1973). In Clayoquot Sound itself, the coast watch telephone system, trails, and lookout huts were abandoned on Vargas and Flores Islands, and the lighthouses on Lennard Island and Estevan Point were repainted in their traditional white. Some abandoned bunkers still stand, hidden in the undergrowth around Tofino harbour.

In summary, the main authority over the landscape became the federal government for the war years, and, under the War Measures Act, the initiative to provide coastal defence produced some landscape changes. The West Coast of Vancouver Island was identified as a shoreline vulnerable to Japanese invasion, and the institutional arrangements designating land use were overridden by the need to expropriate land for defensive purposes (Nicholson 1962; White 1973). The settlement of Japanese fishers at Clayoquot, established before the turn of the century, was removed and its members interned. Logging for Black Spruce in the valley bottoms removed substantial areas of forest cover. Coastal trails and telephone lines were developed and upgraded, and, most importantly, access roads to the West Coast were started. Thousands of military were posted to the area, and on their days off, some of them explored the coast. Many were impressed with the coast's wild beauty and decided to return. The vast majority of the military postings were from other parts of Canada other than from Vancouver Island, and despite military censorship, many thousands of Kodak 'Brownie' snapshots of Clayoquot Sound, Tofino, Ucluelet, and Long Beach found their way into photo albums across Canada (White 1973).

Identification of the scenic attributes of the locale through visitor's photos was not new, but the sheer concentration of military personnel tended to spread awareness to new populations beyond the usual coastal resource workers and tourists on the S.S. Princess Maquinna. This group of military sojourners, like the steamer-based tourists before them, were not extracting resources from the landscape, but were recording the visual characteristics of their experiences in both photos and text for family and friends, and also for home-town newspapers, journals, and magazines. The landscape authorship of this short-term occupation featured summer snapshots and stories of fishing, coastal boat trips, hikes, and explorations into a landscape entirely unfamiliar to most of the

visitors. However, during the long, wet winters, many longed to 'get to town' to escape the boredom and misery which has also always been part of the West Coast experience.

The immediate post-war years (1946-1952) were characterized by increasing logging activity along the West Coast of Vancouver Island. Logging camps were established in many inlets along the coast. Small 'Gypo' logging operators sold their logs to the mills in Port Alberni, or shipped them by barge to pulp mills in the Gulf of Georgia region. In many areas logs were yarded directly into the water by 'A - Frames' floating along the shorelines (Nicholson 1964, White 1972). This logging technique created a "scalloped" effect along the inlets and waterways as the second-growth forests regenerate, which is still a common landscape feature in many areas of Clayoquot Sound.

The late development of the West Coast of Vancouver Island's timber resource was based on the species composition of the forests. J. C. Lawrence made the following observations in 1952, regarding the history of lumbering in the Port Renfrew-Metchosin-Sooke region:

> The forests of the Southwest Coast of the island....remained relatively
> free from exploitation.... due to a unique aspect: because of the heavy
> rainfall in this area the Douglas Fir does not predominate as it does
> on the drier coast of the island; consequently the forest is of the
> climax type: a mixed forest of hemlock, cedar, balsam, spruce, pine,
> cypress, and fir. For a hundred years the Douglas Fir has been the
> most commercially desirable species of all these types. This
> preference has inevitably lead to the early exploitation of those
> forests in which it predominated (Lawrence 1952:37).

These points apply also to Clayoquot Sound, which does not possess large quantities of Douglas Fir due to the heavy coastal rainfall and cool summers. Hemlock and Balsam

Fir (Amabilis) became more valuable as Douglas Fir became scarce and expensive. Red Cedar, abundant and not considered valuable in the 1950s, did not become highly prized until the 1980s. The construction of saw mills and pulp mills further increased demand for the less desirable species in the post-war years, as foreign capital poured into British Columbia to finance expansion in the resource extraction sector.

The 1952 election of the Social Credit government under leadership of Premier W. A. C. Bennett set the stage for changes in landscape authorship in Clayoquot Sound. The hegemony of the large timber companies was consolidated along the entire West Coast, with Tree Farm Licenses granted to H.R. MacMillan and Co, Canadian Puget Sound Timber, B.C. Forest Products, Tahsis Co., and other corporate giants. The development of mobile spar trees and other expensive, sophisticated logging equipment forced small operators off the coast in many cases, since they were unable to raise enough capital to outfit a logging operation. In the space of one decade, new institutional arrangements for rationalized forestry were put in place, designating the landscape for industrial forestry, and replacing the last vestiges of the cannery, mining, and homesteading landscape of the pre-Second World War era (Scott 1972; White 1972).

The move to consolidation and the development of new industrial resource towns such as Gold River in the 1960s were part of a massive rationalization of the forest industry, which precipitated the development of main line and branch line logging road networks. These road systems allowed workers to return to large, centralized camps or communities at the end of each day. The Tree Farm License tenure system allowed forest companies to concentrate logging activity in a series of five year cutting plans, so certain areas were left alone while logging proceeded elsewhere. This rationalization process allowed Clayoquot Sound's forested landscape to remain relatively intact

because logging activities were concentrated to the south and north, leaving the old growth dominated valleys and waterways to be authored by an entirely different landscape vision in the 1990s. The forest industry rationalized resource extraction on a vast scale. The productivist landscape of clearcuts and genetically enhanced, evergreen plantations ('the working forest' of forest industry literature) plus new industrial towns and camps connected by logging road networks was the visual experience presented to visitors over much of Vancouver Island's forest lands by the later 1960s.

The development of the progressive clear cut technique in the later 1970s and early 1980s, in which the entire forest was clearcut with limited tree retention, created a very visible landscape contrast for tourists travelling to the West Coast over the highway from Port Alberni. It is unlikely that this ecologically destructive industrial strategy would have been practical unless there was assurance that sufficient forest inventory was available elsewhere. The drive for industrial efficiency in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s plus a major forest fire at the north end of Sproat Lake in the 1960s meant that tourists travelling over the highway from Port Alberni passed through extensive clearcuts and fire-scarred areas. Also, many hectares around Kennedy Lake and Long Beach were clear-cut in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s (Darling 1991).

Mining activity responded to gains in world market prices. Noranda Mining Co. developed a large open pit operation to mine magnetite at Toquart, on Barkley Sound, and began exploration near Zeballos. Some exploration was also done in Clayoquot Sound (Nicholson 1962). The fishing industry underwent significant organizational changes after World War II, as fast, refrigerated packing vessels replaced the increasingly uneconomical small coastal canneries, creating another landscape rationalization and abandonment of many settlements. Fish were canned mainly in the

Fraser River-Gulf of Georgia canneries. The Pilchard Reduction Plants were dismantled during and after the Second World War years (Nicholson 1962). The withdrawal of the S. S. Princess Maquinna from service in 1952 was the death knell for many small-scale coastal settlements, since without regular, cheap, and reliable transportation, communities became impossibly isolated, with no assured access to urban markets. The rationalization processes of efficient resource extraction quickly emptied the West Coast of permanent residents, increasing the 'permanent impermanence' of communities and concentrating remaining settlement in larger towns.

In summary, by the 1950s, clear cuts from high lead logging became a landscape feature on the West Coast. The landscape of Clayoquot Sound, however, remained relatively intact, with logging activity occurring mostly around Kennedy Lake, Bedwell River, and some A-frame operations in the Sound itself (Darling 1991). The dispersed settlement pattern, previously only nucleated around government functions, the fishing industry, or Aboriginal villages, increasingly developed urban characteristics. The forest industry established camps near Ucluelet, and at Sarita River (Nanukamis) near Bamfield. Many of the old homesteads in Clayoquot Sound were sold for summer cottages. In 1950 manual transmission ended at Bamfield Cable Station, and in June of 1959, the station was closed down completely and the main building was dismantled in 1961.

In 1959 logging road systems through the Kennedy River-Sproat Lake drainage divide were connected, providing restricted access between Alberni and the communities of Tofino and Ucluelet. Bamfield was linked to the Sarita River Logging Camp, providing West Coast access south of Barkley Sound. Construction of the West Coast road to Ucluelet and Tofino is characterized by Darling (1991:4) as follows:

The harbringer of land use conflict in Clayoquot Sound was probably the road from Port Alberni to the West Coast. The long and winding highway from the largest logging community in the province to the West Coast communities of Tofino and Ucluelet traces the path of 'progress.' Originally built to provide the forest industry with access to timber, the Pacific Rim Highway now supports a booming tourism industry largely dependent on what remains of the West Coast's wilderness.

In the 1960s Long Beach became a popular camping area for those who cared to drive 127 km. over logging roads from Port Alberni. Driving along the beach was a popular if risky activity, and a few resorts were developed, such as Peg Wittington's Singing Sands, and Robin Fell's Wickaninish Inn. Hamburger stands, trailers, and cottages appeared along the Tofino-Uclelet road, and a small Provincial Park was established at Green Point. Long weekends often became rowdy affairs, with hundreds of young people gathering to party. Visitation to the West Coast increased dramatically as magazines and travel articles described its beauty and there was a renewed interest in the history of the West Coast related to the Canadian Centenary celebrations in 1967.

The origins of Pacific Rim National Park have been documented by Bruce Scott (1972:15).

In 1967 the Federal Government, wishing to have a National Park representative of the Pacific coast topography, sent a party from the National Parks Branch to look for a site on the West Coast of Vancouver Island. By this time most of the land had been alienated and committed to other uses. There was no longer any one, large area available for park purposes.

Long Beach, between Ucluelet and Tofino, the historic Lifesaving Trail between Bamfield and Port Renfrew the Nitinat Lakes and the Broken Islands in Barkley Sound were authorized for acquisition as a national park in 1969 by the British Columbia legislature. Pacific Rim National Park was officially opened as a national park reserve in 1971. The road to Tofino and Ucluelet was paved the

same year, attracting more tourists to the area to visit the new national park.

The Long Beach section of the national park was gradually returned to a more

'pristine' condition as park regulations were enforced. Planning and

inventorying initiatives were undertaken by the park in the first interim

management plan, which focussed on returning the park to a natural state by

removing signs of human occupation and landscape alteration where possible.

The park plan focussed on interpreting the ocean and ecosystems to its visitors,

installing a management infrastructure, removing buildings and wartime

installations, and replanting logged over areas. Human history, both Aboriginal

and non-Aboriginal, was not a high priority in the first management plans for

the park. Consolidating the land base and protecting the natural landscapes of

the park took priority (White 1973).

The landscape of Pacific Rim National Park had quite definitively not qualified as a

wilderness area over the previous six decades. The entire area from Ucluelet to Tofino

had been surveyed for pre-emptions after the turn of the century and many farms had

been cleared. Much of the Long Beach area had been logged. The legislation

establishing the Pacific Rim Park Reserve froze land use, and many structures and non-

conforming uses were removed. The airport, the major feature from the war, remained

as an important asset for the emerging tourist trade. Wickaninish Inn was closed and

over a period of several years, was transformed into an interpretive facility and

restaurant. The wilderness landscape had been somewhat fragmented, but the

rainforests and bogs were largely intact and interpretive trails and boardwalks were

planned to provide access for visitors. The national park did not initially interpret the

maritime or pioneering history in any significant way, selectively identifying the

landscape as a pristine coastal wilderness (White 1973).

4.7 Amenity settlement and the development of the tourism landscape, 1980s - 1990s.

The elimination of strip development along the Ucluelet-Tofino road and the imposition of strict controls over the landscape visually changed the highway approach to Tofino and Clayoquot Sound. The Long Beach section of the national park reserve was designated as a new 'wilderness park' on the West Coast, and more and more people became aware of the national park landscape as a popular tourism destination through the widespread distribution of both induced and organic images (Dearden 1989). A wave of new tourists arrived, and some soon became new residents of Tofino as they saw the advantages of 'dropping out' of the urban rat race and living more simply in a beautiful place which had not been ruined by resource exploitation. Beachfront cabins, a campground, a bakery, arts and crafts centre, motels, and restaurants, opened in many cases by new residents, began appearing in the 1970s (Darling 1991).

In the late sixties and early 1970s, people camped and squatted at Florencia (Wreck) Bay. Long Beach and Tofino developed a reputation as the destination of choice for the counter- culture. As the park administration moved the squatters off the beach in the early 1970s, Tofino, and Clayoquot Sound's islands, inlets and bays gained a new wave of settlers with very different values and beliefs from the pre-road and pre-park residents:

> With the advent of the highway and, eventually, Pacific Rim
> Park, came a new industry, new residents, and a different
> perspective on the wilderness 'resource.' In the minds of both

'pre-road' and 'post-road' residents, the value of Clayoquot Sound took on a different meaning. A new conservation ethic began to challenge the longstanding exploitation mindset. Driven by new ecological imperatives, and in defense of their home, an increasing number of residents saw the need for change-- to become 'different from what they used to be' (Darling 1991:5)

The wave of new residents moved into Tofino and Clayoquot Sound, constructing cabins, occupying and restoring old homesteads, and working wherever they could. In the 1980s, second homes were constructed for wealthy urbanites. The tourism industry in Clayoquot Sound began to develop as whale watching and ocean kayaking emerged as popular leisure activities. Bed and Breakfasts, high-end beach resorts, and recreational air charters began to emerge in Tofino, driving property values upward as more and more tourists arrived to gaze outward from the government wharf in Tofino across the pristine scenery of Clayoquot Sound and the Pacific Ocean. Residents with a 'conservation ethic' provided new tourist services for visitors who wanted to enjoy the pristine coastal wilderness, just as the forest industry was preparing to initiate massive clear cutting throughout Clayoquot Sound.

By the mid 1980s the highway to Tofino passed through a restored national park landscape which was in stark contrast to highly visible, massive clear cuts near Ucluelet. Hundreds of thousands of tourists therefore were confronted with two very different landscape visions, and the growing awareness that the forests of Clayoquot Sound were about to endure the same fate as most of Vancouver Island (Dearden 1988; Darling 1991). So, as the confrontations and media coverage began, the arena of contestation and the actors in it was identified for the next decade in Clayoquot Sound.

Changing resource demands have led to frequent and ongoing reevaluation of Clayoquot Sound's resource attributes according to demand fluctuations for different commodities, including lumber, fish, minerals, and agricultural land. Contemporary public interest in scenery, ecosystem protection, human and natural history, First Nations and recreation has helped to foster tourism landscape interest and subsequent reevaluation and designation of landscape resources. This chapter on landscape evolution provided evidence of changing settlement patterns, resource use and institutional arrangements since the late 1700s, and identified landscape contributions from different settlement phases. Additionally, changes in the signification of landscape resources by different authors has been presented, together with an outline of the changes in institutional arrangements governing land and resource allocation. While landscape evidence of particular settlement phases may have disappeared, written records, paintings, etchings, photographs, film, tape recordings, and video provide historical data that potentially gives meaning to tourist and resident experiences of Clayoquot Sound.

The interpretation of historical data is in itself an important authoring process, creating new historical significance from contemporary landscapes. The landscape authorship process defines what is to be valued in the landscape by relating landscape resource entities and attributes to societal and economic values. Personal values and beliefs of some area residents and some visitors about the Clayoquot Sound landscape have been different from prevailing societal values, precipitating contestation over the institutional arrangements that allocate resources and land use. Chapter Five will examine the events and processes by which contemporary landscape values were identified in the context of the tourism industry in Clayoquot Sound.

Chapter 5: Identification

The 'Identification' phase in tourism landscape authorship involves the identification and description of landscapes both in terms of contemporary features and historical antecedents, of unique ecological and/or cultural attributes, and touristic and/or recreational opportunities, amenities and attractions. This chapter explains the events and processes by which recognition and description of the contemporary tourism attributes of the Clayoquot Sound landscape emerged. Key actors and agencies involved in the chronology of events in the 1980s and 1990s are identified, and the dimensions of the arena of contestation are outlined, setting the stage for the subsequent chapters on signification, evaluation, and designation.

The valued landscape is not just about tourism attributes. As discussed in earlier chapters, environmental values have dominated the initiatives to change institutional arrangements governing land and resource use. Tourism has been an important element in this shift from a productivist landscape to a post-productivist landscape, representing an emergent economic activity compatible with new post-productivist landscape values. During the early 1980s, wilderness tourism was seen as the best economic opportunity by some residents of Tofino. Protection of Clayoquot Sound's forest and marine resources was seen by them to be necessary not only for wildlife and tourism values, but also for forestry, fisheries, cultural and community values (Darling 1991).

Clayoquot Sound was being managed as a productivist landscape for timber production, with little recognition of other resource values built into logging plans. Tofino tourism operators started to build a tourism economy based on wilderness and wildlife viewing while Ucluelet and Port Alberni remained committed to timber production as their respective economic mainstays. As Darling (1991) points out, a wilderness tourism

industry protected by careful environmental stewardship was seen by some residents as the type of economic development the community needed.

A small group of individuals, mostly women, took a leadership role in tourism and focussed mostly on the natural environmental assets of Tofino. Some of these individuals lived in isolated homesteads and smaller communities in Clayoquot Sound, and had moved there for the lifestyle and isolation the Sound offered. Many of these individuals were articulate spokespersons for environmental protection. Some had exemplary skills in still photography, cinematography, writing, and public speaking. Collectively, they did not represent mainstream values but rather a committed environmental protectionist perspective which recognized tourism as a sustainable economic alternative to large-scale industrial forestry for Clayoquot Sound.

This group of key actors did not necessarily represent 'Tofino' values - there was and still is a considerable range of opinion in the community (Darling 1991). However, members of the group were able to gain key positions on the Chamber of Commerce and Village Council at a time when large-scale clear-cutting was being planned for Clayoquot Sound and when environmentally-based tourism was growing rapidly in Tofino. They developed linkages with environmental organizations internationally to further their initiatives to protect the Sound from clear-cutting. In the process of identifying the Sound as a threatened landscape, they developed considerable interest in the Sound as a tourist destination particularly among Lower Mainland residents, and tourism grew rapidly in the late 1980s and early 1990s in part because of widespread representations about environmental confrontations.

In the early 1980s, MacMillan Bloedel and Fletcher Challenge began to make plans for large scale timber harvesting in Clayoquot Sound. Because efficiencies of scale had

been gained from concentrating their cuts in other areas, Clayoquot Sound had lost logging jobs in the 1970s, but had retained large tracts of relatively intact old growth forest. It was the unique wilderness quality and accessibility of Clayoquot Sound that had attracted new residents in the 1970s and 1980s and had prompted some of them to establish wilderness-based tourism operations. Ucluelet's viewscape, on the other hand, was being clear-cut at this time. Wilderness tourism had not developed, partly because access to Barkley Sound to the south required travel across a large, open channel, and because the services in the community focussed on salmon fishing and the Long Beach unit of Pacific Rim National Park. Also, much of the logging activity creating the huge clearcuts near Kennedy Lake was headquartered in Ucluelet.

This chapter identifies a series of events which directly and indirectly influenced the development of the Clayoquot Sound tourism landscape in the 1980s and 1990s. These events are identified in Table 5.1. The table also summarizes sources of data, documents, and interviews associated with each of the four elements in tourism landscape authorship, providing an overview of the major events and outcomes described in the next four chapters. Because this chapter deals with the first element in the cycle of tourism landscape authorship, the key events relating to contemporary tourism landscape evolution in Clayoquot Sound are identified to establish historical sequence, and are elaborated upon in the subsequent chapters on signification, evaluation, and designation.

Table 5.1 Identification of a valued landscape

Key Events	Key Interviews	Evidence Key Documents, Dates	Key Outcomes
5.1 Amalgamation of TFL 21 and 22, 1984	A, B, F	Darling 91, Searle 86	Logging temporarily declines in Clayoquot Sd. Retained Clayoquot Sd. intact old growth forest Ecotourism operations grow in Tofino
5.2 Meares Island Dispute 1980-85	A, B, F	Darling 91, Searle 86, Mac.Blo vs. Mullin '85	Court decision stopped logging until Aboriginal Land Claim to Meares Is. decided Media/tourism attention- Tofino/Meares Island
5.3 Sulphur Passage Blockade 1988	F, L	Darling 91, More 91	Moratorium imposed on logging Media/tourism attention- Clayoquot Sound destination
5.7FirstSustainable Tourism Development Initiative 1988-89	J, L	Careless 88 Darling 91 Dowling 89, Steer. Cttee Tofino i&ii, WCED 88,Tofino CC 89	Tofino/Clayoquot Sd.Tourism Resource Inventory Joint environmental/tourism sustainable development initiative established. Regional community, forestry interests emerge
5.5 Sustainable Development Task Force 1989-90	E, F, G,	Community Tourism Action Plan 90, Darling 91, Sust Dev. Task Force 89	Regional 'Round Table'process established Tourism views not represented, leave process
5.6 Sustainable Development Steering Committee 1991-92	F, G,	COTA 92 CoastalTourism Resource Inventory. 93, Van.Island Tour. Inv. 93 McGregor 92 Nova 92 Prescott-Allen 92 Paul 92 Clayoquot Decision 93	Sustainable Development Strategy established Tourism gains seat, tour. res. policies emerge Tourism resources inventoried, GIS mapping
5.7 Clayoquot Land Use Decision 1993-94	B,C, F, J, D	Clayoquot Decision 93 CORE reponse 93 Gov't response to CORE 93 Sc. Panel 93, Scenic Corridors 93	Tourism landscape values identified Tourism scenic resource evaluation process Scenic Corridors designated in land use plan Media/tourism attention- Clayoquot Sound destination
5.8 Scientific Panel for Sustain. Forest Practices 1993-95	F, E, K L	Scientific Panel 93 Clayoquot Decision 93	Landscape research evidence used for decisions Landscape management plan designated Landscape signified as tourist destination
5.9 Scenic Corridors Process 1993-95	D, E, B, K, L	Scenic Corridors 93 Clayoquot Decision 93 Sc. Panel 93 Martini 95	'Forest Intactness' as a touristic value Tourism GIS mapping + public input process Tourism evaluated as primary resource value Landscape signified as tourist destination

5.1 The amalgamation of TFL 21 and TFL 22

In August, 1984, MacMillan Bloedel amalgamated Tree Farm License 21 (covering most of Clayoquot Sound) with Tree Farm License 22 (which included the Alberni Valley, the Alberni Canal and Barkley Sound) to create TFL 44 (Darling 1991). The amalgamation permitted much greater geographical choice in deciding where to concentrate its cut. Developing cutting plans for areas other than central Clayoquot Sound was an economic decision, based on accessibility, economies of scale, and profitability (Darling 1991). For Tofino, the decision meant a loss of forest jobs, while the company's action consolidated the forest industry's role as the major employer in Ucluelet and Port Alberni. B.C. Forest Products (which became Fletcher Challenge Canada) concurrently focused its cut in the Nitinat-Port Renfrew area of TFL 46. The resulting lack of logging activity in the northern portion of TFL 46 (located between Tofino and Hesquiat) made forestry employment prospects in Tofino even bleaker, forcing the community to identify alternative economic opportunities in order to survive. The forest industry's preoccupation with harvesting efficiency, propelled by corporate objectives which ignored the employment impact on Tofino, created some of the preconditions for two decades of confrontation in Clayoquot Sound. Tourism had existed in and around Clayoquot Sound for nearly a century, but now it began to emerge as a promising alternative industry and also as an attractive lifestyle option. The following interview segment with a Tofino tourism operator (interview B) provides a snapshot of mid-1980s development:

> *B. I had brought property on an island and wanted to make a permanent move here and open a business. I opened a business of sea kayaking because the only way really to explore Clayoquot Sound was to get out on the water, and that seemed an appropriate way to explore it, but I felt it was time to have that sort of facility.*

> *B.W. Approximately how many operations were in the Sound when you came?*

B. I think there would be ten, including myself, I think there were maybe five or six whale watching operators, maybe six fishing charter operators, and - what else- oh, the water taxi to Hot Springs, which most of the whale watching and fishing charters got into from time to time.

So the withdrawal of forestry created an economic hiatus which was filled in part by nature-based tourism, which depended for its successful operation on the high landscape resource values of Clayoquot Sound. The transition from a productivist landscape dominated by a drive for efficiencies of scale in industrial forestry to a landscape set aside for tourism, recreational, and environmental values therefore began because Clayoquot Sound was designated for future comprehensive forest harvesting plans. This transition occurred at a time when environmental and social values were undergoing rapid change, and when new residents and tourists espousing these values had moved into Clayoquot Sound. An arena of contestation emerged because of a condition of relative scenic intactness and accessibility of the landscape not readily available elsewhere on Vancouver Island.

5.2   The Meares Island dispute

The Meares Island dispute was an event which created global awareness of Clayoquot Sound's ancient old growth forests and raised issues of Aboriginal land claims. Comprised mostly of old growth forest, the viewscape of Meares Island is a wilderness backdrop for the town of Tofino and also provides the community with its water supply. Meares Island has been home to the Tla-o-qui-aht and Ahousaht peoples for over 4,000 years.

> Meares Island is in large part what distinguishes Tofino's economy from that
> of Ucluelet. The island creates the ambience upon which the community's
> future depends. It embodies the town's economic dependence on wilderness
> values (Darling 1991:6).

The identification of wilderness values by tourist operators in Tofino was therefore

initially based on the vista of Meares Island, clearly visible to Tofino visitors and a

short boat ride away, as illustrated in Figure 5.1. Meares Island is identified in

interviews B and F as a key element in the development of both personal and touristic

interest in Tofino and Clayoquot Sound:

*B.W. To what extent was the preservation issue involved in tourism in
the early days when you were established here?*

*B. It was very much involved, there was no question about it. The
National Park had been established about ten years ago and at that point
I had a slowly but steadily increasing number of visitors, but during the
campaign to protect Meares Island and the following few years after
that, it had national profile and some international attention, but mostly
national attention at that point, people came out specifically to Tofino
and to see Meares Island, and as a result the visitation in the park took
20% leaps, and in a very short period of time, in the first few years of
being in operation here, and I think that was strictly based on the
preservation issue because people specifically came and said 'I want to
see Meares Island. '*

and:

*B.W. What do you see as the key attractions which would attract people
like yourself and subsequently other tourists?*

*F. Well, Tofino- it was the vista from Tofino, at that point. I had no
conception of what Clayoquot Sound was, and it wasn't identified as
such, but what you looked at - you looked at Meares Island, you looked
at Catface (mountain), you looked into the distance at Flores Island's
mountains and at the near shores across this body of water, and the
combination was stunning. The combination of the forested hillsides and
water.*

In 1980, MacMillan Bloedel developed logging plans for Meares Island to commence in

the winter of 1982. The Tofino Town Council, fearing damage to its new tourism

industry and water supply area, lodged a complaint with the Ministry of Forests. The

emerging aquaculture industry, which was developing oyster leases in Lemmens Inlet on Meares Island, also expressed concerns about the logging plans. The Friends of Clayoquot Sound emerged as the central environmental organization at this time, criticizing the loss of old growth ecosystems on Meares Island. The Nuu Chah Nulth opposed logging based on their claim to Aboriginal title to the island as well as on environmental grounds (Darling 1991).

The Ministry of Forests developed an integrated resource planning team to address community concerns, but the Ombudsman ruled that the Ministry could not exclude native and environmental interests. The planning team was enlarged, including the Nuu Chah Nulth, the Friends of Clayoquot Sound, the International Woodworkers of America (IWA) and the Pacific Rim National Park (Darling 1991). After two years of debate, three options were presented by the team, which provided for either total preservation or for varying degrees of logging, together with a recommendation for further study of tourism values. MacMillan Bloedel withdrew from the planning team and developed its own plan, because the draft report did not provide a resource use plan for the whole island as required in the terms of reference for the planning team (Searle 1986). The planning team delivered its final report in June 1983. The government ignored it, and announced a cutting plan that would log the slope facing Tofino.

The Meares Island blockade in 1984, organized primarily by the Friends of Clayoquot Sound and the Nuu Chah Nulth, successfully stopped MacMillan Bloedel from logging in Windy Bay on Meares Island. A landmark decision by the B.C Court of Appeal in 1985 stopped any further logging pending settlement of Aboriginal land claims on Meares Island (MacMillan Bloedel vs Mullin et. al., Martin et. al., v R. in Right of British Columbia et. al., (1985) 3 W.W.R. 577, B.C.C.A.).

Considerable national and international press coverage of the blockade resulted in increasing tourist visitation to Tofino, and the construction of the first trails through the old growth forests of Meares Island helped to start the first ecotourism activities in the area. Also, a new development in the whale watching industry occurred. Gray whales began using the shallow and sheltered waters of Grice Bay, providing easy access for observation (Figure 5.2). Grice Bay is adjacent to the viewscape of Meares Island and its old growth forests, through which new viewing trails were being constructed. This circumstance bought thousands of visitors a year back into the forested inlets and provided an alternative to offshore whale watching in rougher waters. So tourism interest started to spread further into Clayoquot Sound at the time of the Meares Island dispute. A long term resident of Tofino (interview A) described the impact of Meares Island blockade as follows:

A. After the formation of Pacific Rim National Park, the tourism really started to develop, and the one thing that held them back was that the road here from Port Alberni was so rough, there was no paving. But it didn't deter people, they came out, and eventually they discovered that it wasn't just Long Beach, it was the whole area of Clayoquot Sound. That really took off when the controversy started ten years ago, over the forest industry.

B.W. How did that influence the perception of the landscape here, the economic realities of life, the controversy over logging?

A. Well it was quite evident almost immediately after the controversy over Meares Island and Sulphur Passage. I think people heard about old growth forest and fifteen hundred year old cedar trees, and it wasn't long before people started arriving here to look at them. People would ask: "Where is this old growth forest that everyone's talking about?" Not realizing that it's all around us. And because there were no hotel chains here, people started going into the bed and breakfast business and thats been a pretty big thing, a lot of people make at least part of their living from bed and breakfast. Not only that, but you can see it in the way they're spending money on their homes, and their yards, things are looking a lot more prosperous.

Figure 5.2 A Gray Whale in Grice Bay, Clayoquot Sound.
(Keith Thirkell and Western Canada Wilderness Committee. Used by permission)

B.W. And that was a separate phase from Long Beach?

A. Yes, I would say so. Long Beach got its own publicity, during the war, I would say. Some people were here, and saw Long Beach, and spread the word around the country, and it became famous on its own- and it should be because it's the longest beach on the coast here. But the Clayoquot Sound thing was what really started tourism here.

B.W. What was the impact of the economic shift in terms of Tofino? It seems that there's a ten-year window where things have really changed here. Like the whale watching, when did that come in?

A. It started around 1985, and I think Jamie Bray was the first one to exploit it. He had an old converted fishing boat and at the time there were a few whales up in Grice Bay, just as there are this year, and so it was fairly easy going for him, and there were a lot of people interested in doing it, and it started to take off. Within two or three years there were a couple of other companies doing it, and its just taken off. It seems that people want to get close to nature, you can't see them everywhere, so they come here. Whale watching, you know, there's other aspects to it as well, there's other wildlife, sea lions......

So the increasing numbers of visitors to Tofino stimulated growth in the tourism industry based around activities going on in Clayoquot Sound, in addition to Pacific Rim National Park visitation. After the Meares Island dispute was placed in abeyance by the Court of Appeals decision, the fight to prevent mining in Strathcona Provincial Park kept media attention on Vancouver Island. The Friends of Strathcona Park worked in concert with the Friends of Clayoquot Sound, and drew on a well of popular environmentalist sentiment to successfully oppose the Cream Silver Mine. Environmental organizations produced high-quality posters, photographs, videos, and other visuals of scenery and wildlife to promote the preservation of Vancouver Island's remaining wilderness, attracting an increasing volume of nature-oriented tourists.

The Meares Island dispute created world-wide attention and was the issue which prompted local environmental actors to organize as the Friends of Clayoquot Sound.

The arena of contestation at this point was characterized by concerns about watershed destruction and Aboriginal rights as well as old growth forest protection. Tourist interest developed rapidly as trails to view the big trees were built and operators ferried visitors back and forth to Meares Island. Identification of landscape values in Clayoquot Sound started on a site-specific basis with the Meares Island dispute, and found short-term resolution by default through the court decision. That decision protected the scenic backdrop of Tofino from logging as more tourists arrived and more environmentally-based tourism operations were developed to service the visitors, who contributed to an emerging economy based on tourism, recreation, and environmental values.

5.3 The Sulphur Passage blockade

There was a pause in the pace of environmental issues in Clayoquot Sound until 1988, when Fletcher Challenge Canada made plans to build a logging road beside Sulphur Passage and Shelter Inlet to reach planned cut blocks on the side slopes of Sulphur Passage and in the Shelter Inlet drainage (Darling 1991). The road was to be located on the east shore of Miller Channel, which was already a popular scenic corridor for recreational and tourist water traffic.

The Friends of Clayoquot Sound and the Nuu Chah Nulth recognized that the road created direct access to the wilderness areas of Shelter Inlet and the Megin River watershed which drains into the Inlet. This is one of the seven remaining undeveloped watersheds over 5000 hectares on the West Coast of Vancouver Island (Moore 1991). The Sydney River drainage also flows into Clayoquot Sound, as does the Moyeha River. In 1988, only the latter was protected (included in Strathcona Provincial Park), so the new road put three of the remaining seven intact drainages at risk. These

watersheds comprise one of the largest contiguous 'old growth' rain forests left on Vancouver Island. Their preservation was presented to the media by the Friends of Clayoquot Sound as being critical to the maintenance of the ecological integrity of Clayoquot Sound, and they were identified as having high level recreational and tourism values.

In early 1988 the Friends of Clayoquot Sound sent a telegram to the Minister of Forests and to Fletcher Challenge requesting a six month moratorium on road construction and logging to prepare a sustainable development plan for the region. The Friends at this point presented the issue as not whether the area should have logging but where and how logging should take place. They also argued that the community should participate in the forest management decision making process (Darling 1991). The industry and the logging communities of Port Alberni and Ucluelet rejected the moratorium call as a political device aimed at ending logging in Clayoquot Sound, and the proposal was rejected by the Ministry of Forests and the industry.

The Sulphur Passage road was blockaded in June 1988. The forest industry obtained an injunction which was defied by the Friends of Clayoquot and Ahousaht band members in the blockade. After a highly publicized and very angry confrontation, thirty-five people were arrested, twenty of whom went to jail. At the end of August, 1988, Fletcher Challenge halted the road development (Darling 1991). To get to Sulphur Passage, members of the media often flew by float plane over Clayoquot Sound, and provided panoramic shots for the television news of unbroken sweeps of old growth forest, pristine coastlines, and untouched wilderness inlets (Figure 5.3). For the first time, Clayoquot Sound was represented for itself, not just as a scenic backdrop for

Figure 5.3 Panoramic view of Clayoquot Sound.
(Adrien Dorst and Western Canada Wilderness Committee. Used by permission).

Tofino. A Tofino tourist operator (interview F) recounted the developing media awareness and touristic recognition accompanied the Sulphur Passage Blockade:

> F. Basically the (first) blockade (Meares Island) was '84-85, but some of the earlier press coverage was happening around the Easter festival, which was earlier, in the spring of '84, and there had been some coverage at the end of '83, so it was slowly building up. And so you'd have some occasional news story attached to some specific event, and it usually showed this panorama of beautiful mountains, that Tofino was framed against, and that was effective.

Clayoquot Sound was being identified as a beautiful place, mostly as unbroken vistas and panoramas, and the big trees were not yet featured as being central unless they were being spiked (metal spikes were driven in to the trees to prevent their being sawn up) (interview F). Native participants in the blockade were identified as a central media interest:

> F. Native images started to play as factors at this point, so drumming, fires, canoes, those images started to appear in the media at that point and were latched on to. That's what was happening there, and the media loved it.

The identification of Clayoquot Sound's scenic resources emerged because Sulphur Passage was a long way from Tofino at the northern end of Clayoquot Sound and the media had to charter planes and boats to reach the inlet. Clayoquot Sound started to be identified as a locale in its own right, in contrast to the situation in the Meares Island dispute which was closely associated with Tofino. The Ahousahts were likewise identified as stakeholders with an interest in settling their own land claims, and broader, more complex authored articles plus accompanying panoramic photographs which described the whole Clayoquot Sound landscape began to appear in the press.

> B.W. So this was the air view of Clayoquot Sound...?

> F. Exactly- it started to appear in 1988, and that's when you started to get this sense of: 'holy smokes, look at all this space, and look at those

mountains that go all the way over and that particular section of
Clayoquot Sound- this is why we were fighting for it- has that all intact
still- so it wasn't disfigured with these cut blocks here and there, so the
camera was able to take it all in.... It started to put Clayoquot Sound
into this larger context, we started to talk about Clayoquot Sound, and its
relationship to Tofino. And what that whole story was about was that
the tourism industry was based in Tofino, and went out into Clayoquot
Sound, and needed Clayoquot Sound for its survival.

So the Sulphur Passage blockade allowed for the introduction of new articles and images which identified Clayoquot Sound as a locale with exceptional scenic, ecological, and cultural values. This identification was presented in the media and by environmental organizations nationally and internationally, creating increased interest in Clayoquot Sound. The touristic interest in the Sound was identified in terms of the economic benefits derived from nature-based tourism and Tofino's dependence on the wilderness values of Clayoquot Sound (interview F). These values were being identified and publicized in the media and by environmental organizations before any tourism inventory had been made, and before almost any inventories other than forestry inventories had been made (More 1991). The representation of Clayoquot Sound as an intact wilderness was authored as a result of media access by air, identifying scenic values with issues of ecosystem intactness and community economic benefits.

Building as it did on the winter 1988 Cream Silver mine blockade in Strathcona Provincial Park, Sulphur Passage developed both touristic interest and committed support from new residents. During the period of environmental confrontations in the late 1980s, some new residents built their commitment to environmental protection through participation in protests and blockades. Tourism-related work emerged as visitor numbers increased, coincidentally supplying the necessary economic base for new operations, and contributing actors to the arena of contestation with the forest industry. The availability of summer homes was increasing in Tofino at this time,

bringing young, urban people to the area and providing them with a place to stay. Often they stayed in homes constructed by their parents or rented from absentee landlords at cheap rates. So a population of young, mostly well-educated urban people with strong environmental and lifestyle values contributed to the political base in the community for subsequent initiatives to re-evaluate the area's landscape resources, and to attempts to change the institutional arrangements which designated land and resource use in Clayoquot Sound.

5.4 The first sustainable development initiative, 1988-89

In 1987, the World Commission on Environment and Development, chaired by Gro Harlem Bruntland, produced "Our Common Future," A report that had wide and favorable reception around the world. During the Sulphur Passage blockades, the concept of a sustainable development strategy was adopted as a possible planning approach by the Friends of Clayoquot Sound. A tourism operator and member of the Friends of Clayoquot Sound described the initiative as follows:

> L. In 1988 we had the Sulphur Passage blockades. And at that time...
> the Friends of Clayoquot Sound ... appealed to the Chamber of
> Commerce. Actually, there were a lot of progressive people sitting on
> the Chamber at the time. And we had written a statement saying, asking
> for a moratorium on logging, pending a sustainable development
> strategy. A full sustainable development strategy for all of the Sound.
> And stating that we wanted an end to the valley-by-valley approach to
> decision-making. That was the Friends' statement. We gave that to the
> Chamber of Commerce and they decided to adopt a similar statement.
> And then they wanted a number of studies done.

In the fall of 1988, A consultant was retained by the Tofino-Long Beach Chamber of Commerce to prepare the Tofino Regional Tourism Study. This study set out to provide an overview of the extent, significance, and economic worth of the region's tourism

sector, the tourism natural resources of the region. He also was required to provide a prescription for further action (Careless 1988). This study included a controversial comparative review of Tofino and Ucluelet tourism development since 1981, commenting that the Tofino tourism sector was twice the size of Ucluelet and was growing much faster. The consultant commented that in 1981 the tourism business of the outer coast was shared equally. By 1988 Tofino's share had grown to at least 70%. The study provided the following explanation for the dramatic difference in tourism growth:

> Tofino's efforts to protect resources- such as the town's viewscape on Meares Island- has likely resulted in an increased tourism investor confidence (and thus the rapid growth in facilities and services) as well as heightened visitation. For whether visitor, or business operator, if the choice is between two otherwise equal communities, preference will be surely be for the one in which the quality of the tourism environment is nurtured (Careless 1988:3).

This comparison between an emerging tourism-based economy and a declining forest based economy lead to acrimonious debate when the study was presented. The statistical information was attacked by forest industry representatives and residents of Ucluelet, but for the first time Tofino had an identification of its own tourism successes, opportunities and resource needs. The study also provided some preliminary tourism resource inventory mapping, based on documented focus group input from tourism operators utilizing Clayoquot Sound, including the delineation of scenic corridors used by nature tour operators and recreational boaters, fishers, and kayakers. Scenic resources were ranked in order of importance to Tofino tourism operators. Features of touristic interest were identified, as well as the key viewscapes (Careless 1988). A pair of pictures in the study contrasted the clear-cut backdrop of Ucluelet to the forested sweep of Meares Island behind Tofino. This visual contrast proved to be particularly contentious for Ucluelet residents and forest industry representatives, because it

suggested that logging activity significantly impacted tourism development in the two communities.

By graphically portraying the obvious, this study introduced the idea that landscape itself is a key resource when communities develop a tourism service based economy. The identification of scenery as a key tourism asset and destination attraction directly challenged the arguments of forestry that clear cutting was an essential economic activity for coastal British Columbia. The study linked economic indicators from a thriving service economy in Tofino to the visual resource base using Ucluelet as a 'control' example from the dominant resource extraction economy. This study was a key element in identifying the tourism resources of Clayoquot Sound.

Concurrently, a forest inventory of Clayoquot Sound was undertaken by Herb Hammond, paid for by the Friends of Clayoquot Sound through the Chamber of Commerce. This study looked at secondary manufacturing opportunities, total forest inventories in Clayoquot Sound, and job creation potential. These two studies, undertaken in the fall and winter of 1988, gave Tofino residents some preliminary information by identifying basic tourism resource inventory and forestry capability. The Sulphur Passage blockade added urgency to the need to gather more detailed information to develop sustainable resource use and comprehensive land use planning for Clayoquot Sound.

The provincial government responded to the growing level of contestation over its natural resource policies by developing a "Regionalization Framework for Action" (1988). New regionally based approaches to resolve land use conflicts and ensure environmentally sound and sustainable economic growth were suggested. Tofino

residents saw the opportunity to develop a regional sustainable development plan for Clayoquot Sound.

In January 1989, the Tofino-Long Beach Chamber of Commerce and the District Council jointly endorsed a sustainable development strategy for Clayoquot Sound. Robert Prescott-Allen, a Victoria environmental consultant, was engaged by the Chamber of Commerce to draft a project proposal. A Steering Committee was selected, and workshops and information sessions were held in Tofino to inform residents and build support for the sustainable development initiative (Darling 1991). Belatedly, MacMillan Bloedel and Fletcher Challenge met with the Tofino Steering Committee in April 1989 to try and gain forest industry and broader regional representation on the Steering Committee. They were refused on the grounds that the mandate for the steering committee was community based. Tofino's Sustainable Development Strategy Proposal was presented to the Environment and Land Use Committee on May 11, 1989. The Brief in support of Tofino's presentation states that:

> ...the solution to the resource use conflict in Clayoquot Sound lies in the development and implementation of a community based, sustainable development strategy that incorporates multiple objectives for the use of regional resources rather than the single resource focus of the past. The overall objective of the Tofino Proposal was to strike an environmentally sensitive and sustainable balance between competing economic and cultural demands on the community's resource base. (Steering Committee of the District of Tofino and the Tofino-Long Beach Chamber of Commerce, 1989:1).

The functions of the proposed Strategy were to assemble and analyze the data necessary for the achievement of the objectives, provide sustainable development options and a forum to develop consensus, and to provide a mechanism for dialogue and reaching agreement with the other interested parties (Provincial Government, Ucluelet, Port

Alberni, industry) on the area's sustainable development (Steering Committee of the District of Tofino and the Tofino-Long Beach Chamber of Commerce, 1989:8).

On May 17th, 1989, the industry responded to the Tofino Sustainable Development Strategy Proposal with their own planning proposal, written by representatives from MacMillan Bloedel and Fletcher Challenge. (Dowling and McMullan 1989). The document suggested that a planning team be put in place, operating under the Ministry of Forests. The document proposed that the planning team would ensure that current harvesting plans within the study areas would proceed as per approved contract commitments. Existing and potential resource conflicts and areas of agreement in resource use would be reviewed and alternative courses of action proposed where no agreement could be reached. The Chairman would obtain, through the Planning Team, input from special interest groups. Tofino's interests on the proposed Planning Team would be represented by a member of their Council, and meetings would be closed to the public (Dowling and McMullan 1989).

The Steering Committee decided that it should not get involved in an alternative planning process when they had not received a response from the Environment and Land Use Committee (ELUC) to the Sustainable Development Strategy. The Steering Committee tried to hold a meeting with Fletcher Challenge and MacMillan Bloedel, but received no reply. On June 14th, the Steering Committee made a presentation and distributed its Strategy Proposal to the Alberni-Clayoquot Regional District, the City of Port Alberni, Village of Ucluelet and Local 85 of the IWA. In response to the presentation, representatives of the above organizations expressed concerns that the Tofino Steering Committee proposal did not address regional economic interests in Clayoquot Sound (Darling 1991). The Directors of the Alberni-Clayoquot Regional District endorsed the forest industry's proposal, but recommended wider representation

for Tofino than one seat on the proposed planning team. The Tofino District Council responded that it would decide whether or not to join the industry initiative after it had heard from ELUC.

The Steering Committee wrote to Bruce Strachan, Minister of Environment and Chair of ELUC, detailing the deficiencies of the industry's proposed planning process (Darling 1991). These were that the industry was proposing to determine the future of the area within the context of a single-use logging plan, there was no public input until the planning process was complete, there was no representation for the native communities in Clayoquot Sound, and no recognition that the Clayoquot Sound communities had the largest stake in the area and therefore should lead the planning process (Darling 1991). The letter to Strachan included a proposal that Clayoquot Sound be used as a demonstration project for sustainable development planning as outlined in the recently released "Report of the British Columbia Task Force on Environment and Economy" (British Columbia 1988).

5.5 The sustainable development task force, 1989-1990

Premier Vander Zalm visited Clayoquot Sound to review the situation on July 25, 1989, reacting negatively to the "Black Hole" and other clear cuts. His critical comments about logging practices were recorded by the attending media. A senior government official (interview G) recalled the visit this way:

> G. There was also an area that was logged in the 1980's, which was sort of referred to as the "Black Hole", located near to Long Beach. What was happening was that Pacific Rim National Park, and the whole awareness of the Tofino/Long Beach area had increased significantly throughout the seventies and eighties as a tourism destination, and a lot

> *of people made note of this very heavily logged area as they drove out to a pristine, rugged coastal surrounding.*
>
> *From what I understand, there was a presentation made to the premier pointing out the need to develop a balanced land use plan for this area, and that the kind of logging that had occurred in this area, referred to as the Black Hole, should never ever be allowed to take place in the pristine scenic areas and in the pristine old growth forests in Clayoquot Sound. I gather he was convinced of the significance of that argument, and agreed to set up the sustainability initiative, which would include all members of the different representative groups in the area. The objective of this process was to try and reach agreement on sustainability.*

The following week, Bruce Strachan met with the Mayors of Port Alberni, Ucluelet, Tofino and the Chair of the Alberni-Clayoquot Regional District. A Task Force model was presented and supported by all present, and the concerns of the Mayors of Port Alberni and Ucluelet about possible forestry job impacts were apparently acknowledged, although no employment security guarantees were forthcoming from the Minister. The Clayoquot Sound Sustainable Development Task Force was announced on August 4th 1989 (Darling 1991).

The Tofino Steering Committee, the Nuu Chah Nulth Bands of Clayoquot Sound, and the Friends of Clayoquot Sound were not invited to the meeting and were not consulted about the Task Force idea. The District of Tofino was designated as the representative body for Tofino, an idea that did not sit well with the Steering Committee, which asked for a delay in the first meeting of the Task Force until October 1989. The Steering Committee was primarily driven by the Tofino-Long Beach Chamber of Commerce and the Friends of Clayoquot Sound. The District Council was represented but had contributed no funding and had maintained a more passive role. The Steering Committee members found the Task Force process to be poorly conceived and unbalanced, with most of its membership drawn from forest dependent stakeholders outside of Clayoquot Sound.

Although the Tofino District Council had endorsed the Tofino initiative, and was well represented on the Steering Committee, it had contributed no funding to the development of the Tofino Sustainable Development Proposal or to the two tourism and forestry studies supporting the sustainable development process. The Mayor and most of the Council wanted to make the three appointments, because they claimed the Task Force was a very different process from the Strategy:

> Although the dispute appeared somewhat petty to outside observers, it in fact revealed an ominous split in the community. In its infancy, the sustainable development initiative was driven primarily by a core group of environmentalists and businesses dependent on wilderness tourism. ...when the initiative captured the attention of the Province and showed signs of being acted on, it became the subject of considerable controversy in Ucluelet and Port Alberni (Darling 1991:14).

Support for the sustainable development initiative fragmented in Tofino, with acrimonious debate between community leaders and a split in the town's loyalties. Not all tourism operators supported the individual actors spearheading the Tofino efforts. Some operators felt left out of the negotiating process, as indicated in interview E:

> *E. You have people who are sitting as part of the process that ostensibly are representing tourism that don't. They don't have the first clue about what a tourism operator really is, they specifically are kayakers - I have nothing against kayaking, but I am here to tell you that you that you could never make an economic model that is going to support all of Tofino on the revenue generated by kayakers. It flies in the face of reality. ...every study that we've ever had, it boils down to the same thing, its basically the people that have time to go to meetings, and I named five people that would be involved in the process and that's what turned out. I told them they didn't represent tourism, I represented it, along with Pacific Sands and Ocean Village and the bigger resorts, that we were the tourism base, because we had the whole thing, accommodations, food and beverage, different activities, and everything else, and just to run a kayak store or a bed and breakfast- they're*

partners in this scenario, the kayakers and the bed and breakfasts- they have all the time in the world.

This interviewee also indicated that some Tofino operators provided accommodation, food, and transportation services for the forest industry. Here, a key point about tourism landscape authorship can be made. The control of the process by which key tourism landscape elements were identified and publicized did not represent a consensus of the larger-scale Tofino resort operators, who had provided services to the forest industry for many years and were anticipating an improvement in business as a result of expanded logging in Clayoquot Sound. Also, some operators depended on sport fishing and were less concerned with the impact clear-cutting might have on their market. In fact, the identification of the key landscape elements by activist tourism operators made entirely different assumptions about visitor's interests and expectations. The activist tourism operators and their allies identified 'pristine wilderness,' and the recreational activities associated with this identification including ocean kayaking, nature observation, and hiking. These activities required landscape values that were quite different than those needed for sports fishers, loggers needing accommodation and food and beverage services, and hunters. Visitors who came to the area specifically for the beach experience were more compatible with the sports fishers, loggers, and hunters because they were less likely to travel into Clayoquot Sound waterways. So tourism operators were divided according to their ability to service the needs and expectations of the new wave of visitors to Tofino and increasingly to Clayoquot Sound, and their prior investment in infrastructure servicing an earlier type of clientele.

The initial Clayoquot Sound Task Force meeting was held October 11, 1989. Premier Van der Zalm and his cabinet finally agreed upon their own dispute resolution model, rather than a community-based planning process as envisaged in the Tofino Steering Committee proposal. Some Cabinet members were apparently concerned that the

Tofino proposal did not sufficiently address key issues raised by regional stakeholders (Province of British Columbia, Ministry of Environment and Ministry of Regional Development, August 4th, 1989). The forest industry proposal was rejected because it was primarily consultative in nature and would not satisfy the Steering Committee members. The Province statement of objectives was:

> ...to prepare a sustainable development strategy for Clayoquot Sound ensuring that all aspects of present and future development are addressed, including social concerns, aesthetics, and economic development opportunities and requirements of all the resource sectors including forestry, mining, tourism, fishing and aquaculture. The Task Force will produce recommendations which will promote long-term economic development in Clayoquot Sound while safeguarding the integrity of the local environment (Clayoquot Sound Sustainable Development Task Force 1989:1).

The Province determined that the Clayoquot Sound Sustainable Development Task Force would be comprised of twelve members representing the following agencies and organizations: Alberni-Clayoquot Regional District, City of Port Alberni, District of Tofino (Mayor plus two council appointees), Fletcher Challenge Canada, International Woodworkers of America (IWA), Ministry of Environment, MacMillan Bloedel Ltd., Ministry of Regional and Economic Development, Village of Ucluelet, and the Nuu-Chah-Nulth Tribal Council.

The Nu-Chah-Nuth Tribal Council (NTC) was invited to join the Task Force, although there was no consultation with them during the development of the concept. The NTC was unenthusiastic about the process, because of potential impacts on their claim to Aboriginal title throughout Clayoquot Sound. In addition to the NTC, one seat each was assigned for the Tla-o-qui-aht, Ahousaht, Hesquiat, Toquart and Ucluelet Bands. The Ministry of Forests, Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, Ministry of Tourism,

and environmental interests were not represented, neither were small forestry interests and labour unions outside of the forest industry (Darling 1991).

The Chair wanted all stakeholders to have a seat at the table, but the Task Force Terms of Reference did not specifically address the issue of adding representation. After debate, seats were established for the Ministry of Forests, the Ministry of Tourism and the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries. Apparently some members felt Tofino's three seats allowed for environmental representation. (Darling 1991) The provincial government established dispute resolution, not land and resource use planning, as the primary purpose of the Task Force. "Consensus" was defined as "the agreement of all participants", with the intent that agreement would be reached on as many issues as possible (Darling 1991). The Task Force, with $50,000 of provincial funding, was to prepare its full report within one year, and also was required to come to agreement on short-term logging locations within four months.

The October 11, 1989 Task Force Meeting in Tofino was highly confrontational, with the Mayor of Ucluelet refusing to accept the Tofino Tourism Study and other background materials presented by Tofino representatives. In successive meetings during the late fall and winter, the hostile and confrontational tone continued between Tofino representatives and members from other communities. Tourism was not recognized as as a legitimate stakeholder by a majority of the members (Darling 1991, Interview F). A Tofino tourism operator (interview F) recalls the strategy chosen to respond:

> *F. At that point the other angle that we took to increase our presence was that two people involved with the Sulphur Passage issue got themselves elected onto Council.... So Tofino had three representatives and three alternates....*

The process continued from 1989, through to early 1991. Tourism initially had no profile. Tofino's representatives were expected to cover off the full range of tourism interests, from accommodation to transportation and nature-based tourism, because they had three representatives. Tofino as a community was also expected to represent the environment because there was no specific environmental representation. So tourism, aquaculture, small business, small forestry - everything that didn't fall under major license holders or the other communities was supposed to be represented by Tofino (interview F). The expectations on the Tofino representatives became untenable, and the recognition was made specifically that tourism had a major role at the table. At this point, tourism gets a 'seat at the table' as an economic sector with a landscape interest (Darling 1991; interview F).

By early December, there was a highly tenuous agreement reached on the short term logging issue. By Christmas, the members had a timetable for an interim report, and a way of monitoring short term logging, but no agreement on objectives or process for the Task Force. While the acrimonious Task Force debates proceeded, Tofino tourism operators continued to build their own knowledge base. In April 1990, the Chamber of Commerce invited the Ministry of Tourism to facilitate the development of a Community Tourism Action Plan (CTAP) for Tofino. This initiative was specifically designed to provide input into the Task Force process, which by this time was clearly unraveling. The major planning interests of the initiative were: viewscape retention, tourism resource inventory, collection of economic data, public relations, and a comprehensive tourism development plan for Tofino and area (British Columbia 1990). The outcomes of the CTAP process included the inventorying of Tofino tourism operations and the inventorying of Clayoquot Sound landscape resources in a single, integrated planning document. A further outcome was the identification of specific

tourism landscape resource needs in terms of protection and access. The process also drew together tourism operators from a range of businesses, who developed more awareness of nature-based activities in Clayoquot Sound as an outcome of the CTAP process.

The key actors in the arena of contestation in Clayoquot Sound included bed and breakfast operators, motel operators, restaurant owners, whale watching operators, shop owners, kayak operators, and artists. The group of actors enlarged as a result of planning sessions like the CTAP exercise to become a wider cross section of the tourism industry. Some operators whose businesses were dependent on the landscape resources of Clayoquot Sound chose to avoid involvement or did not support the initiatives and plans that were being developed (interview E). The tourism actors who did come together to participate in the process were protecting their landscape resource interests from a wide range of specific business perspectives, not just nature-based tour operators. Tofino businesses realized that the scenic backdrop to the town had to be preserved, as did the scenic resources of the larger locale (interviews F, G).

The spring and summer 1990 meetings involved debates about short term logging, representation, the need for resource information, and the structure of the task force and its committees. Short term logging construction was referred back to the province. Tofino members presented a proposal regarding planning criteria, and refused to participate in the interim logging discussions, or in any further meetings until long term sustainable development issues were addressed by the Task Force.

On October 15th 1990, the Task Force held a retreat in Parksvillle. Robert Prescott-Allen, the Victoria environmental consultant who had prepared the original sustainable development proposal, outlined a sustainable development strategy for Clayoquot

Sound. The Task Force accepted the Strategy, agreeing to a broad regional scope for the Strategy, and to the Steering Committee membership. Short - term logging issues were to be outside the purview of the new Steering Committee. The Task Force submitted its final report in late November, and a transition committee was established to help set up the Sustainable Development Strategy (Darling 1991).

5.6 Sustainable development steering committee, 1991-92

The Strategy that had been envisaged by the original Tofino steering committee now seemed to move closer to actual planning and development. Unfortunately, most of the same players who had made the Task Force process so fractious and unproductive were still at the table. Prescott-Allen anticipated a better process than the Task Force, stating that:

> ...much of the first year's work (was) wasted due to an intense campaign to discredit all efforts to move toward creation of a sustainable development strategy, progress has nevertheless been made (Prescott-Allen 1992a:25).

At least tourism operators working in Tofino and Clayoquot Sound now had specific representation, plus a representative from the Ministry of Tourism. The Steering Committee was able to launch a range of studies, which unfortunately were hindered by tight timelines and difficulties in collecting usable data (Prescott-Allan 1992a).

The initial principles and purpose statement of the Clayoquot Sound Sustainable Development Strategy was:

> ...for people with a stake in the area to agree on the sustainable development of Clayoquot Sound and to put that agreement into practice, this means: i. What parts of Clayoquot Sound should be reserved for particular uses? ii. How should resource use in Clayoquot Sound be

managed? iii. How to improve the economy of Clayoquot Sound and dependent areas in ways that are ecologically sustainable? Sustainable Development is a matter of improving the quality of human life while living within our ecological means (the carrying capacity of supporting ecosystems) Prescott-Allen 1992a: 24).

In addition to forestry, the tourism, commercial and sport fishing, and aquaculture industries were specifically addressed in the Strategy. The principles of sustainable development were embedded in all three sets of terms of reference for these sector studies, which were designed to provide background information to the steering committee. Most importantly, the Strategy was a comprehensive land and resource planning initiative, not just an attempt to achieve consensus on variations of the status quo. The Strategy represents the first sign in the contestation process that contemporary institutional arrangements might actually be changed. Previously, the forestry stakeholders and the regional community representatives, always in a clear majority situation, attempted to ensure that the prevailing institutional arrangements were maintained and that accommodations for community and tourism landscape interests would be dealt with using prevailing forest recreation land use designations.

Tourism now had a "seat at the table" and a sustainable tourism backgrounder study for Clayoquot Sound was commissioned by the Steering Committee. SNC-Fenco prepared the study, building on the earlier work completed by Ric Careless (MacGregor et al. 1992). This study was never designed to be formally released to the public, but was to be input to the Steering Committee's report. The report was received negatively by forestry stakeholders on the committee, and with enthusiasm by the tourism and environmental members. Because it was a public document, it was distributed subsequently by some environmental groups and educational institutions. This report was used subsequently by the Western Canada Wilderness Committee and other environmental groups as a reference source.

Tourism's economic impact in the Alberni-Clayoquot regional economy had been studied in 1990 by Nova Corp. Consulting, providing the first set of empirically based tourism data (Nova Corp. Consulting Inc.1990). Together with a special analysis of Vancouver Island visitors run by the Ministry of Tourism and Pacific Rim National Park visitation statistics, a preliminary base of tourist visitation and economic impact information was established. The information was collected primarily from traffic counters, which did not provide accurate and detailed visitation information. (Tourism Research Group, B.C. Research, Campbell, Goodell and Associates, 1990).

The Fenco-Lavalin researchers conducted focus groups with tourism operators to establish an inventory of routeways and destination areas used in Clayoquot Sound, and to identify key viewscapes. The study looked at tourism under three landscape management options being considered for Clayoquot Sound. Option A was the Western Canada Wilderness Committee Proposal. This proposal included wilderness preserve status for Clayoquot River/Steamboat Mountain, Ursus Creek, Upper Tofino Creek, Bulson Creek/ Tranquil Headwaters, Bedwell Sound, Meares Island, Vargas Island, Flores Island, Sulphur Passage/Shelter Inlet, Megin River, Sydney Inlet,and the Hesquiat Peninsula. Sustainable timber production would be permitted in the rest of Clayoquot Sound with the exception of existing parks and ecological reserves. Under Option B, sustainable timber production was to be permitted throughout Clayoquot Sound except in parks and ecological reserves. Option C was a compromise between A and B that would enable a sustainable timber sector to operate together with other sustainable economic sectors and conservation of the region's cultural and natural diversity (Prescott-Allen 1992 b).

Clayoquot Sound was identified as: "--- a world class tourism resource, due to its unusual combination- unmatched by any other coastal area in North America- of natural beauty, wildness, and accessibility." (Prescott-Allen 1992b:31). Three actions were proposed for tourism in the first draft of the report. Action 1 was to determine the nature and value of tourism in Alberni-Clayoquot. Action 2 was to ensure that all tourism activities would be sustainable. This action included the development of interpretive facilities and improved guide services and a sustainable tourism development plan for cultural heritage. Action 3 was to protect the resource base of tourism, which included scenic resources, cultural and heritage assets, animals, birds, and plants (Prescott-Allen 1992b).

The subcommittee responsible for the tourism backgrounder included the tourism representative, and also representatives from Ucluelet, SHARE (a citizens group that supported logging), and from the forestry sector, who were hostile to the recommendations in the tourism study. After long, acrimonious debate, delays, and many revisions and drafts, Prescott-Allen produced a summary document that was finally acceptable to the Ucluelet and forest sector members at the table. It was unacceptable to the tourism and Tofino representatives as indicated by a Tofino tourism operator (interview F)

> *B. W., And the final report when it came out, to what extent were tourism's interests reflected in Prescott-Allan's final report? How would you characterize that final representation?*
>
> *F. Obviously it was there, and I think perhaps significantly it was tourism and Tofino that did not sign the report in the end, and thus blocked consensus, is significant in what happened to the sustainable development process and also was reflective of the fact that the report didn't adequately address tourism. So there's a couple of different angles on that one. Obviously there was some reflection in the report of tourism's interests, but not adequate.*

The Steering Committee met through 1992, but the Tofino, environmental, and tourism interests on the Steering Committee were far outnumbered by forestry sector and regional interests around the table. Partly because a similar majority proportion had been on the tourism subcommittee, the successful input of tourism's resource needs to the process was in doubt from the beginning. Because tourism had no tenure over landscape resources and because regional forest-related interests were so heavily represented, tourism, Tofino, and environmental interests were stonewalled and marginalized (interview F). At the end of the day, the final report was not signed off by the tourism sector and Tofino representative because tourism interests were not adequately addressed. Very few of the consultant's recommendations were accepted in the proposed final draft, but they were circulated to the tourism and Tofino representatives and to the Ministry of Tourism Sustainable Development Branch, providing some contribution to the development of evaluative and management methods for tourism landscapes (interview G).

Two other tourism-related initiatives had been started during the Sustainable Development Task Force and Steering Committee processes. The Ministry of Tourism commenced Geographical Information System (GIS) mapping of Clayoquot Sound, described here by a government official (interview G):

> G. The Clayoquot process occurred at a time that the Ministry of Tourism
> was just recognizing the need to develop an inventory of tourism
> resources, and tourism was being considered as an industry that had to
> be incorporated into land and resource use planning. To develop an
> inventory it was necessary to identify the resource attributes that were
> important to tourism and to determine the level of tourism capability and
> suitability, using a GIS mapping model.

This initiative was part of the Coastal Tourism Resource Inventory Project (CTRIP).

The B.C. coast was mapped to reflect tourism potential for a range of activities. A

subsequent project was the Vancouver Island Tourism Inventory study, which used GIS

systems to map interior and coastal tourism resource entities and attributes. Both these

processes built upon Ric Careless' earlier approach of mapping values based on actual

present recreational and tourism activities, and used focus groups of tourism operators

to devise a scale of values for tourism landscape resources (British Columbia 1993b;

British Columbia1993c).

The Council of Tourism Associations (COTA), very much aware of the Clayoquot

Sound dispute, commissioned a briefing paper for the Cabinet Committee on

Sustainable Development. This policy paper was entitled "Sustainable Tourism: A

Force for Economic, Social, and Environmental Renewal" (Council of Tourism

Associations 1992). The Ministry of Tourism was able to use this industry pressure to

lobby for a "seat at the table" in resource decision-making, expanding its role in

identification, evaluation and designation of landscape resources by adding staff in the

Sustainable Development Branch. The expansion of this branch was very important in

building the capacity to negotiate protection of the scenic resources that the emerging

nature-based tourism industry depended upon. Previously designated forest recreation

scenic protection guidelines had been little use when faced with the progressive clear-

cut strategy used by forest companies around Kennedy Lake and the Escalante River on

the Hesquiat Peninsula, for example. "scenery" was not acknowledged as a resource

and was not designated as having value comparable to other forest products. Dramatic

increases in the annual allowable cut during the 1980s, and the policy of concentrating

the cut in one area for industrial efficiency had resulted in huge and very visible clear

cuts along the road to Long Beach, underlining the need for a measure of control over

scenic resources.

In the summer of 1992, the Ministry of Tourism contracted ARA Consulting Group to prepare a study for the Ministry of Tourism Sustainable Development Branch entitled "The Tourism Industry's Resource Management Needs." This report, which went through three drafts between November 1992 and August 1993, establishing the policy framework for evaluation and designation of the tourism industry's landscape and resource needs (British Columbia 1992 f).

Substantial work on the Ministry of Tourism's resource management role had been under way since 1991, when the Ministry produced a preliminary position paper on tourism resource management approaches entitled: "Renewing the Industry/Government Partnership: Tourism and Resource Management." (British Columbia 1991b). Tourism was presented as being an industry dependent on natural resources, including scenic resources, fish, and wildlife. With the increasing economic importance of tourism, the Ministry needed some say in the disposition of these resources. To speak with authority, inventorying of the tourism resource base was necessary, so that there was some basis for changing the prevailing institutional arrangements to protect expanding tourism resource interests. The legislative regime, designed to preserve long-term forestry interests, was not able to accommodate the newly emerging need to protect increasingly scarce old growth forests and scenic viewscapes as tourist attractions when the forest resource was under the pressure of ever increasing annual allowable cuts.

The intense activity between 1991 and 1993 reflected a rapid growth in the tourism industry as a whole and particularly in Nature-based 'Adventure Tourism' and 'Ecotourism,' which were becoming major features in the marketing efforts of the Ministry of Tourism (interview C). By the early 1990s, Clayoquot Sound was very high profile internationally, and there was an emerging awareness that the 'Super,

Natural' British Columbia advertising campaign was in danger of contradiction as

international awareness of BC logging practices grew (interview C).

The Commission on Resources and Environment (CORE) was established in July 1992

(Province of British Columbia, Commissioner on Resources and Environment Act, July

13th 1992). The CORE Vancouver Island process commenced November 1992 and

ended November 1993. The CORE Vancouver Island report was produced February

1994. This major land use planning process omitted Clayoquot Sound in its

deliberations. A government official (interview G) describes the precedent set by the

Clayoquot process in future tourism resource planning as follows:

> G. When the CORE process for Vancouver Island was established, there
> was some concern because Clayoquot was already under way, and
> people were attempting to reach some kind of outcome there. It was felt
> that if it was collapsed, and folded into the CORE process that it may
> step backwards in terms of what participants were trying to achieve.
> They had wrestled in such comprehensive detail to try to identify the
> options and solutions that it in some respects these issues may have
> dominated the whole Vancouver Island planning process, or they may
> have been diluted within the Vancouver Island planning process.

> G. So the decision was made to leave the two processes separate. When
> the decision was made on Clayoquot, (the April 1993 Clayoquot Land
> Use Decision-B.W.) that caused a lot of controversy because some of the
> participants didn't agree with the decision to the point where they
> considered withdrawing from the Vancouver Island process.

More broadly, the Clayoquot process was probably one of the pioneering examples in

terms of trying to bring resource sector participants together to try and reach general

consensus on land use plan options. That model, on a much larger scale, with further

evolution based on some of the earlier understandings that were gained out of the

Clayoquot experience, was essentially what was used for the regional land use planning

processes that followed.

A primary reason for the failure to reach consensus was insufficient inclusion of the tourism operator's resource management interests in the draft final report. However, the scenic corridors, destination areas, and areas of landscape interest data assembled by Ric Careless and further developed by the SNC-Fenco consultants were available to the Ministry of Tourism as background information, and also to the Sierra Club, Friends of Clayoquot Sound, and the Western Canada Wilderness Committee. The early scenic corridor mapping was in itself not very useful as a working base for GIS based tourism mapping because the scenic corridors and identified features of tourist interest were not substantially based on field research, but rather on the input of focus groups of operators. However, these two studies helped get the process of landscape resource identification and evaluation started. The Ministry of Tourism continued to identify and evaluate tourism landscape resources in Clayoquot Sound in a rigorous, methodical manner, despite the failure to achieve consensus in the Sustainable Development Steering Committee process (Hamilton 1995).

5.7 The Clayoquot Land Use Decision, 1993-1994

The failure of the Sustainable Development Steering Committee to achieve consensus passed the responsibility for a decision back to the NDP government. Faced with pressure from the public, communities, the forest industry, forest unions, environmentalists and tourism operators, the government handed down the Clayoquot Land Use Decision in April 1993. The key policy considerations were to build on the limited agreement that was reached, with some areas designated for development and some for protection based on the extensive resource information collected by both the Task Force and the Steering Committee. Meares Island was excluded from consideration because it was under land claims negotiations. Protection of the Megin

River -Watta Creek drainages was the main reason for the Sulphur Passage blockade. It was evident that attempts to log in these drainages would meet with strong resistance. The western littoral zones of Vargas Island, Flores Island, and the Hesquiat Peninsula were likewise proposed for protection with minimal debate.

The decision also had to be consistent with policy directions in the Protected Areas Strategy and in the Forest Practices Code (released later in 1993). The decision had to reflect the emerging stricter guidelines for protecting environmental and tourism values which were emerging in the new B.C. Forest Practices Code. Timber harvesting guidelines were established to avoid extensive clearcuts and to maintain visual qualities in important areas, while ensuring stability for workers, local communities and their economies (Clayoquot Sound Land Use Decision- Background Report, April, 1993, 6-7).

The Clayoquot Land Use decision as illustrated in Figure 5.4, provided for an 18 percent increase in protected lands in Clayoquot Sound, adding to the previously protected fifteen percent for a total of 33 percent. The highlight of the Clayoquot Decision was the protection of the Megin-Talbot watersheds, Upper Shelter Inlet, and the Watta Creek Drainage, areas that were the main focus of the Sulphur Passage blockade. The Hesquiat Peninsula and the western coastal plains and shorelines of Vargas Island and Flores Island were protected, together with Clayoquot Arm and Lake, Clayoquot Plateau, and a number of individual ecologically sensitive areas, shorelines, and islets. Two thirds of Clayoquot Sound was designated for integrated

STRATHCONA PROVINCIAL PARK

Hesquiat Harbour

Hesquiat Peninsula and Trail

Hot Springs Cove

N

PACIFIC

OCEAN

MEARES ISLAND

Tofino

Kennedy Lake

Long Beach

PACIFIC RIM NATIONAL PARK RESERVE

Ucluelet

PACIFIC RIM NATIONAL PARK RESERVE

BROKEN GROUP ISLANDS

Barcla Soun

Bamfield

LEGEND

PROTECTED AREAS

- Previously Protected Areas
- New Protected Areas

GENERAL INTEGRATED MANAGEMENT

SPECIAL MANAGEMENT

- Recreation
- Wildlife
- Scenic Corridor

Not included in Decision

Major Watersheds

SCALE

Smaller Protected Areas

1. Dunlap and Morfee Islands
2. Dawley Passage and Lane Islet
3. Kennedy River Bog
4. Kennedy Lake
5. Tranquil Creek Headwaters
6. Hesquiat Lake

Figure 5.4   The Clayoquot Land Use Decision 1993.
(British Columbia. Used by permission.)

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resource management, or 'working forest'. Within this area, there were areas designated

for special management due to high recreational/tourism values or special wildlife

habitat. These included the Pretty Girl Lake area, and Ursus Creek. (British Columbia:

Clayoquot Sound Land Use Decision- Background Report, 1993)

Fifteen per cent of the land area was designated as scenic corridors (Clayoquot Sound

Land Use Decision- Background Report, April, 1993). These corridors were the

viewscapes of Clayoquot Sound visible from the land routes, waterways and shorelines

followed by tourists and recreationalists. These corridors were identified in the

sequence of studies previously described, but had been proposed as being within the

protected areas designation (Careless 1988, MacGregor et al.1992, British Columbia

1992). The landscape management plans announced in the Decision provided for

logging in what had been presented as key areas for protection:

> The government will undertake an interagency resource planning process
> to complete landscape management plans for scenic corridors. Timber
> harvesting will occur in these areas, but the management emphasis for
> those plans will be to maintain key scenic values. The target date for
> completing these plans will be the end of 1994 (British Columbia:
> Clayoquot Sound Land Use Decision- Background Report, 1993).

A Tofino tourism operator (interview F) reacted to the scenic corridors designation this

way:

> *F. O.K. What was attempted in the land use plan, I think, was to
> recognize the fact that tourism had been unable to sign on to the original
> sustainable development report because its interests weren't reflected. I
> think the land use plan attempted to try and cover that off, by designating
> scenic corridors, and hoping that that was going to do the job. Not
> adequate! Not adequately at all. But that was the attempt that was
> made, to formalize the fact that tourism as an industry should have a
> significant say in certain limited areas of the landscape. And that was an*

important step. Its the first time I think that its been formalized in that
sort of way. It's happened in other places, but this was a definite
formalization of that.

So the Clayoquot Land Use decision designated Scenic Corridors as a land use for

tourism and set up interagency processes to develop management plans. The

Backgrounder to the Clayoquot Land Use Decision specifically stated that other

"affected interests" and the public would have "the opportunity to provide input at key

stages of plan development" (British Columbia: Clayoquot Sound Land Use Decision-

Background Report, April, 1993).

Tourism's resource management interests, specifically in protecting the scenic assets of

Clayoquot Sound, had been largely negated by the forestry interests on the Steering

Committee, but the Ministry of Tourism was able to negotiate a compromise which at

least provided for tourism land use. The designations were viewed by most of the

activists in the Tofino tourism community as inadequate, compromising the scenic and

wilderness values they had fought so long to protect.

The planning processes that were to flow out of the Clayoquot Land Use Decision were

overshadowed by very negative reactions from the Western Canada Wilderness

Committee, The Sierra Club, Greenpeace, and the Friends of Clayoquot Sound. These

angry reactions were echoed internationally through the television, newspapers, and

other media. A consultant (interview J) provided this summary of the reasons for the

Kennedy River blockade, the Peace Camp and the mass arrests (outlined in Chapter 6)

which occurred in the summer of 1993 following the Clayoquot Sound Land Use

Decision:

> *J. I believe that with some lobbying we probably could have moved the*
> *package (the Clayoquot Land Use Decision) and we wouldn't have moved*

it, y'know, all the way - but we would have moved it enough.
Particularly if Flores had remained intact. ... but because the decision
seemed to be so one-sided by the environmental community, the sense of
injustice and all this stuff which had been fomenting for so long.... Also
now, bear in mind you've got a real easy place to get the media in,
you've got a national park, you've got big big trees, you go through a
moonscape - what better place to wage this campaign? And all the
resource values --- in the tourism study really have a lot to do with why
people care so much. Because of all the wildlife and the viewscapes,
everything else. It's the ideal place to have a confrontation. And on the
outside you've got an industry (forestry) now which is very dependent,
it's over-cut vastly, and they are also very concerned. So, a simmering
issue in B.C. which has been developing for twenty years comes to the
head. The media comes in because they're still in that popular stage in
the environmental movement, and they build it up. They flare it up into a
big conflict because that's what their story is.

On April 22nd, 1993, The Commissioner of the Commission on Resources and

Environonment (CORE), Stephen Owen, produced a "Public Report and

Recommendations Regarding Issues Arising from the Clayoquot Sound Land Use

Decision," which included nine recommendations regarding the implementation of the

Clayoquot Sound Land Use Decision (Commission on Resources and Environment,

1993). The first recommendation had the most specific relationship to tourism,

suggesting that details of new practices and standards for logging be clearly identified

and that public participation processes for input to management plans (including special

management areas and scenic corridors) be clearly spelled out (British Columbia:

Government of British Columbia's Response to CORE Public Report and

Recommendations Regarding Issues Arising from the Clayoquot Sound Land Use

Decision, 1993c).

The government proposed to establish a Scientific Panel to review and recommend

forestry and land use standards for Clayoquot Sound. This panel had as part of its

mandate the consideration of how much protection was needed for the scenic landscape

values important to tourism and recreation. Objectives for special planning areas were established. For Ursus Creek watershed, priority was placed on wildlife values and a public participation process to develop a local resource plan was initiated. For Pretty Girl Lake, recreation and landscape management were prioritized, with the same processes of public input to a local resource plan. Completion of both plans was set for December 1995 (British Columbia 1993c).

The Scenic Corridors were to be the focus of another study, which would involve surveys of all the scenic corridors to determine the width and extent of the corridors and necessary harvesting guidelines needed to maintain key scenic values. Public review was built in to the process (British Columbia 1993c).

The map appended to the Land Use Decision (Figure 5.4) identified broad scenic corridors which was very similar to those identified in the studies by Careless (1988); MacGregor et al. (1992) and CTRIP (1992). The map essentially identified the viewscapes of Clayoquot Sound as those views visible from the waterways of the Sound as identified in focus groups by tourism operators for each of the studies.

A government official (interview C) described the ensuing processes as follows:

> *C. We saw --- the notion that there was going to be some kind of inter agency planning process to develop a landscape management plan for this area for us, and I thought we should get involved in that. If these were established to support tourism, then we need a hand in that. And so as a result of that, John Walsh (Deputy Minister of Tourism) and Phillip Halken who was Deputy Minister of Forests at the time, agreed that Forests and Tourism should jointly do this plan, and that's when our involvement really got cemented in to what happened out there.*

A major criticism from the tourism operators right at the start of the Scenic Corridors

process was the establishment of a tourism land use designation strictly on the basis of

viewscape protection from the waterways. A Tofino tourism operator (interview B)

provided this perspective:

> B. Well, we have input now to the government. Because of a report by
> the Commissioner of Resources and the Environment, this advisory body
> was set up called the Scenic Corridors Committee with some constraints,
> and within those constraints we had to assume that logging would occur,
> for one, in these scenic corridors, and the area was evaluated strictly on
> a visual basis, and again from my own point of view in terms of the value
> of protecting Clayoquot Sound (this) is insufficient. I think that if
> tourists have a sense that they were being deceived, that they won't feel
> very satisfied with that. And also it doesn't cover all the visual views
> either, they eliminated the air view, which is ironic, because it is the air
> view that has captured the images that have gone all over the world.

The reference to the "air view" of unbroken vistas of old growth forest covering the

islands and inlet shores of Clayoquot Sound reflects the notion that tourists and

operators alike would not be satisfied with a 'scenic fringe' hiding a cut-over forest

behind, because 'intact wilderness' represents the primary tourist attraction of

Clayoquot Sound. Authoring this particular image of the landscape was accomplished

as a result of the Sulphur Passage blockade, and by the early 1990s the 'intact

wilderness' aerial views had been internationally circulating for several years.

The government's response included the provision that all forest plans would receive

public scrutiny and would be reviewed by the Nuu Chah Nulth. Provision was made

for the total resource plan, local resource plans for the Ursus and Pretty Girl Lake

areas, and the Scenic Corridors to be subject to public review and revision (British

Columbia 1993c). The existing operations within the designated Scenic Corridors were

also to be reviewed by the interagency team, and modifications to the approval established if a site was particularly "visually sensitive" (British Columbia 1993c).

The Ministries of Forests, of Environment, Lands and Parks, and of Tourism were all directed to reallocate staff priorities to help implement the land use decision. A local independent oversight committee (later named the Central Regional Board) was designated in the document to monitor planning processes and land use management in Clayoquot Sound. The CORE recommendations also suggested that the government should pursue UNESCO Biosphere Reserve status for Clayoquot Sound, and should in addition develop a Model Forest agreement with Forestry Canada to complement the Biosphere Reserve concept (British Columbia 1993c).

The CORE recommendations were set against the backdrop of widespread negative public reaction to the Clayoquot Sound Land Use Decision and threats of a 'long hot summer' of protests and blockades. The recommendations prompted the Harcourt government to provide operational details quickly, and also to demonstrate a commitment to public involvement in all the planning processes being established. A complex of processes was therefore set in motion by the Land Use Decision, with further studies being launched and reviews of all the existing resource activities in Clayoquot Sound. The Ministry of Tourism and tourism operators, despite reservations about the legitimacy of the scenic corridors concept, at least had a designated tourism land use category. The Protected Areas and Special Management Areas, plus the Scenic Corridors totaled 33 per cent of the land area. Together with previously protected areas of Clayoquot Sound, the total was now 48 percent of the land area, encompassing most of the shorelines and water viewscapes, in which scenic values were defined as being primary considerations in land use planning.

The actual dimensions of the Scenic Corridors had not been precisely mapped in earlier studies prior to the Clayoquot Land Use Decision, but were approximations based on heights of land, estimated lines of sight, and input from operators. Until the GIS mapping program initiated in the Scenic Corridors process, only the work done in the CTRIPS process in Clayoquot Sound was ground truthed and rigorous. It was of a general nature, being part of a larger coastal initiative. Since the Scenic Corridors process and the Scientific Panel both required tourism inventory analysis and public input regarding not only scenic values but also cultural and wildlife values as well, intensive work was commenced by the Ministry of Tourism to collect reliable data for the GIS mapping of tourism values. Figure 5.5 is a draft of the landscape management zones in the scenic corridors land management areas. The identification of tourism landscape values in an inventory comparable with other landscape resource values was established in a format available for both public commentary (GIS maps) and expert interpretation by the Scientific Panel. Landscape authorship opportunities thereby were expanded to include landscape visual consumptive values rather than values based on resource production, because existing boundaries for scenic corridors, degree of protection, and importance of landscape features could now be debated on the basis of the GIS identifications.

Clayoquot Sound Scenic Corridors
Landscape Management Zones

DRAFT

KEY

Scenic Corridors Land Management Areas

- Management Zone 1
- Management Zone 2
- Management Zone 3

Other Land Areas

- Pre-existing Parks
- New Protect Areas
- Integrated Resource
- Special - Recreation
- Special - Wildlife
- Excluded - IRs
- Excluded - Meares, etc.

Water Management Areas

- Unzoned Water
- Protected Area Water
- SC Zone 1 Water
- SC Zone 2 Water
- SC Zone 3 Water
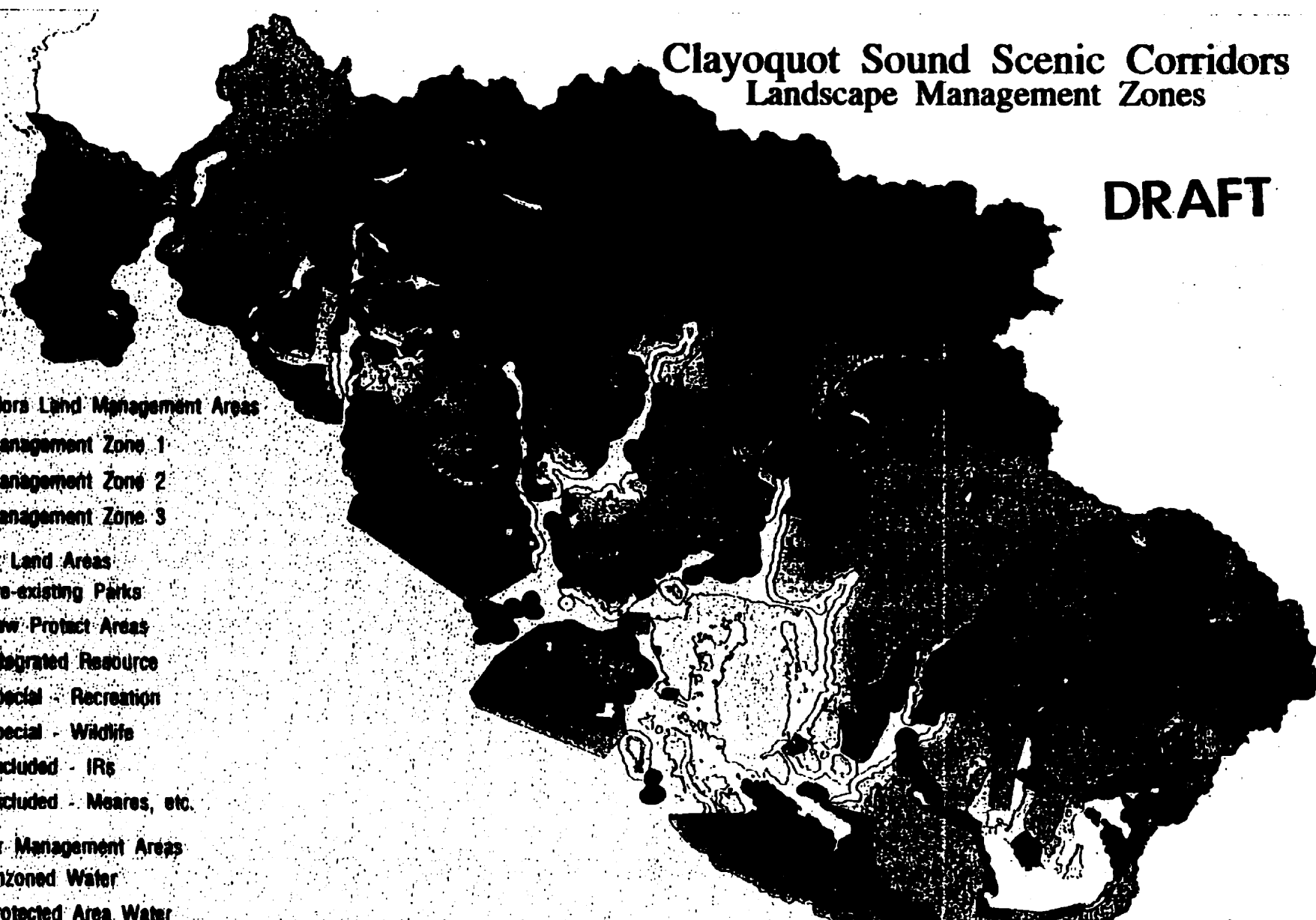
Scale 1:400,000

0 1 2 3 4 5   10   15   20   25

(km)

UTM Projection

Figure 5.5 Clayoquot Sound Scenic Corridors
(D. Bruce Whyte, Ministry of Small Business,
Tourism and Culture. Used by permission)

5.8 The Scientific Panel for Sustainable Forest Practices in Clayoquot Sound

The Scientific Panel represented the culmination of several processes, both formal and informal. Outlined as an implementation strategy in the Clayoquot Land Use Decision in light of the international attention and controversy which had developed around Clayoquot Sound, the Scientific Panel was necessary to operationalize the Clayoquot Land Use Decision. In this dissertation, the issue of tourism landscape authorship in Clayoquot Sound is particularly focussed around the Scientific Panel recommendations. Scenery and landscape values in the Sound identified in the GIS based inventory were explicitly linked to the broader context of research and academic literature. The Scientific Panel also reviewed the evidence of tourism operators about the viewscapes and vistas necessary for the successful continuation of their businesses. Tourism became not just an economic justification for landscape protection but a validation of beliefs and values about public landscape preference. Without the tourism industry to provide both witnesses and evidence of economic benefits from consumptive activities, the landscape issue becomes a debate over the extent of preservation rather than the nature of forest practices and overall management.

The Scientific Panel process was set against the backdrop of broad public concern about old growth forest and wilderness in Clayoquot Sound and enhanced by intense media coverage of the Peace Camp and mass arrests at the Kennedy River blockade in the summer of 1993. The process of analysis resulted in an authoring statement which addressed values and assumptions about landscape in Clayoquot Sound. The 'authority' in this landscape authorship process emanated as much from the pressures of popular sentiment and environmental lobbying as from a theoretical landscape perspective and from technical GIS documentation. The internal process of the Scientific Panel was

intensely 'expert' and did not involve the type of round table, stakeholder-driven contentious processes that had characterized Clayoquot Sound land use planning initiatives previously. The terms of reference for the Scientific Panel were to review and recommend changes to the existing forest management standards for Clayoquot Sound, including planning guidelines, codes of practice and standards of performance for forest harvesting, road construction, slope stability, hydrology, silviculture systems, soil conservation, second growth management, biodiversity, fish and wildlife habitat, scenic resources and cultural resources. Additionally, the Scientific Panel was to identify areas where scientific information was not definitive and a firm standard could not be set. Research priorities to improve forest management standards for Clayoquot Sound could then be made. The key ecological indicators for future monitoring of the forest were to be identified, and the Chair and selected members of the Scientific Panel would be recalled in subsequent years to provide an independent review of the effectiveness of the Panel's recommendations. (British Columbia: Scientific Panel for Sustainable Forest Practices in Clayoquot Sound, Backgrounder, 1993).

Catherine Berris, a landscape architect who had worked on the CTRIPS and Vancouver Island Tourism Resource Inventory studies, was the Scientific Panel member responsible for scenic values, tourism and recreation. Scenic values were dealt with as a separate but closely related topic, and tourism and recreation values were combined throughout all the reports, on the assumption that the resource needs were essentially the same for both user groups (Scientific Panel 1995 Report 5:43-44). Berris was able to apply research results from CTRIP to her work in Clayoquot Sound, as indicated in the following extract:

> Landscape appearance is important to Nuu Chah Nulth, other residents,
> and visitors to Clayoquot Sound, both for aesthetic reasons and as a

potential indicator of the health of the forest resource. In a study of
marine tourism opportunities and during focus groups held as part of
tourism resource inventories, most tourists and recreationalists in British
Columbia identified scenery as the resource that is most important to
their activity (Scientific Panel 1995 Report 5:40).

The document further stated that:

> Logging has had major effects on scenery in parts of Clayoquot Sound.
> ... Nuu Chah Nulth people speak often about the wounds that logging has
> inflicted upon the land. Photographs of past logging activities have been
> used effectively by environmental groups in their lobbying to change
> forest practices (Scientific Panel 1995 Report 5:40).

Additionally, landscape perception studies undertaken in other contexts were cited

which indicated a general preference for unaltered forest scenes across a range of

socioeconomic groups (Miller 1984; McCool et.al. 1986; Berris and Bekker 1989).

These studies were related to the Ministry of Forest's visual quality objectives (VQO)

A VQO defines an acceptable level of landscape alteration resulting from timber

harvesting. In the preservation VQO class, alterations are not visible. In the 'retention'

VQO, alterations are not visible to the casual visitor. 'Partial retention' VQO means

alterations are visually subordinate to the natural landscape. "Modification" VQO

alterations are dominant and out of scale, but appear natural in the background.

'Excessive modification' is not a VQO, but may be used to describe a present

unacceptable condition." (Scientific Panel 1995 Report 5:41, explanatory footnote).

The approach of the Ministry of Forests to 'acceptable' levels of landscape modification

was criticized by tourism operators during the scenic corridors process, and, as detailed

in future chapters, resulted in amendments to the plan. 'Intactness' versus 'appearance

of intactness' of old growth forests became the focus of criticism, which harks back to

the decision to allow logging in the scenic corridors in the first place (Martini 1995).

Berris pointed out that scenic values were not just a visual issue, because people obtain and interpret information about their environment based on their knowledge and experience. Therefore what people know about forest practices will affect their response to landscapes. Scenic resource management therefore must provide "...a personal and social comfort level with what is happening in the landscape." (Scientific Panel Report 5:42).

Berris presented the perspective that identification of scenery represents more than just the visual experience that emerges from the expectations of visitors who have read about or seen "framed" landscape images in the media. Berris points out the need to acknowledge and plan for scenic values as an indicator of spiritual values and forest health:

> Given the importance of scenery to resident and non-resident users of Clayoquot Sound and the existing and potential economic value of tourism to the area, it is critical that the scenic resources be appreciated, understood, and properly managed in the long term. This will provide people with a desirable environment for their activities and indicate that spiritual values and forest health also are being acknowledged in planning (Scientific Panel Report 5 1995:42).

The Scientific Panel process allowed for research and findings from landscape literature to be put forward in support of tourism's resource interests in Clayoquot Sound. It was very much an "expert" based approach. Previous study terms of reference and round table, consensus-based processes involving a large majority of forest industry stakeholders had not encouraged a landscape perspective. Also, applicable coastal and regional tourism resource studies (CTRIP) were available which could also be linked to the broader literature of landscape research. Having a landscape professional on the Scientific Panel identified tourist, recreational, and tourism industry interests in the whole landscape, not just those areas visible from travel corridors. However, the

preoccupation with visual perception dominant in the landscape perception literature was challenged by both environmentalists and by some tourism operators in the concurrent scenic corridors process (Martini 1995). The Scientific Panel process was set against a backdrop of a long blockade, mass arrests, and high levels of international media attention. These high profile events forcefully supported the idea that there was a need to address the issue of perception of landscape on a wider scale than just regional stakeholders, since the decision on management of Clayoquot Sound's landscape had been identified as a globally-important environmental struggle.

Biodiversity protection was a key theme in the Scientific Panel. This theme also reflected the campaign shift adopted by the Friends of Clayoquot Sound during 1992-94, in response to countervailing strategies from the forest industry and their allied actors. This shift paralleled growth in international ecotourism interest and the development of nature-based and cultural tourism products in Clayoquot Sound. The Witness Trail program of the Western Canada Wilderness Committee was an example of an initiative which signified 'biodiversity protection,' responding to a forest industry public relations gambit that the public did not care about logged areas once they had 'greened up'(interview L). A tourism operator (interview L) indicated the shift to identification of intact old growth with biodiversity as a scenic value:

> L. And a lot of the debate has been mired in "beauty versus not beauty" and up to a certain extent the industry has played on that, saying 'sure, clearcuts look bad, but they green up, and we had to keep up with their campaign by trying to subvert the "green dream"- that so long as it looks green it's fine. Because at first this issue- these are beautiful forests, and we must maintain the beauty of them, and as soon as they could they started saying "second growth forests are green, green is beautiful" that we had to delve further into issues of biodiversity, and finally one needs to portray more complicated issues in a fairly simple manner.

Touristic identification of Clayoquot Sound as a destination during the 1980s and 1990s was built mostly by the media and by environmentalists. The process of landscape identification was not driven by tourism per se. Rather, nature-based tourism activity in the Sound was an outcome of public interest in a high-profile arena of environmental contestation, and access to such features as the old growth forest trail on Meares Island. Evaluation of the whole landscape from a touristic perspective in the Scientific Panel process reflected observations by Lowenthal (1978) about widely - based public interests in a famous, appealing landscape. The identification of the linkage between intact old growth forest and scenic beauty built upon the existing base of landscape attractions in Clayoquot Sound. The identification and construction by landscape authors of particular scenic expectations amongst visitors directly affected the process by which levels of protection were established in the scenic corridors, as will be detailed in future chapters. Detailed landscape evaluation developed after the Clayoquot Land Use Decision had designated broad land use categories, and the scenic corridors process had begun intensive work to develop GIS maps of the tourism entities and attributes of Clayoquot Sound. The adoption of the entire Scientific Panel report and recommendations by the provincial government in 1995 identified a preliminary policy and theoretical research basis for tourism landscape evaluation and designation. Additionally, an Interim Measures Agreement between the Province of British Columbia and the Nuu Chah Nulth Hereditary Chiefs of territories within the Clayoquot Sound watershed was signed on March 19th 1994. A key feature of the Interim Agreement was the establishment of terms of reference for the Central Regional Board, Which was the management process established for resource management and land use planning for Clayoquot Sound. This management structure reflected the principles established in the Report of the BC Claims Task Force of 1991, and Protocol established in 1993 between the BC government and the First Nations Summit. (Interim Measures Agreement, p.4). A working group was established to develop

economic opportunities, which included recreation site and trail construction and tourism and recreation business development opportunities. (Interim Measures Agreement, p.13). This agreement did not specifically deal with tourism land use, but it did establish a Cooperative Forest agreement with harvest rates for Flores Island and the Clayoquot River Valley (Interim Measures Agreement, p.11-12). 1995 harvest rates of up to 10,000 cubic meters for Flores Island and 60,000 cubic meters for the Clayoquot River Valley were established in the agreement but not acted upon. The Interim Measures Agreement established the groundwork for possible future contestation over forest harvesting, particularly with regard to Flores Island.

5.9   The scenic corridors process, 1993-1995

The scenic corridors process, which like the Scientific Panel was established by the Land Use Decision, commenced work in August 1993. The scenic corridors process ran parallel to the Scientific Panel, and was intended to provide the operational details which would permit the designation of the scenic corridors for various levels of protection. The intent of the scenic corridors was to ensure that key scenic values important to tourism were not compromised. The objectives and strategies outlined in the scenic corridors management plan provided specifications and zoning restrictions for resource activities or structures which could impact on scenery, including logging and road construction, aquaculture pens, and tourism facilites such as buildings and docks (Figure 5.5). The scenic corridors planning process was completed by 1996. A coastal zone management planning process, to be carried out subsequent to the scenic corridors planning process, was intended to provide specific land and resource use direction for the foreshore and nearshore areas, consistent with zoning objectives in the landscape management plan. For forestry, total resource plans and five-year development plans also were required to incorporate the results of the scenic corridors planning process

(British Columbia: scenic corridors interagency planning team, (SCIPT) scenic corridors draft landscape management plan, 1995).

The scenic corridors process was not based on achieving consensus but was "designed for substantive consultation with all affected parties" (SCIPT 1995:1). The planning process was supported by two groups, the scenic corridors interagency planning team (SCIPT), made up of regional, provincial, and federal government representatives and co-chaired by the Ministry of Small Business, Tourism and Culture and the Ministry of Forests. The second group was the scenic corridors advisory group (SCAG), composed of industry representatives from forestry, fisheries and tourism, environmental, public, and local government groups (SCIPT 1995). A first phase in the project was to establish an inventory of the current visual resources and circumstances in the scenic corridors (SCIPT 1995). A consultant describes the process:

> H — each step of the way the stakeholders (were involved), not only just the tourism stakeholders, it was all stakeholders within the region, and that was the scenic corridor advisory committee (SCAG)----. So at each step of the way, we would confirm what we were doing. It was basically a set of building blocks; you do the inventory, you then combine certain features to get an intermediate map, and then those intermediate maps are combined to produce your scenery importance map. We did the same thing with the use: what areas of Clayoquot Sound were being used? We mapped that, and we then determined what level of importance they were, with respect to scenery, and so it was just a gradual step up. And so we looked at the scenery, and then we looked at the use, and we combined them to develop the zonation map. But clearly the advisory group and the technical group were involved at every step of the way.

Three zones (Table 5.2) were identified, with proposed management standards defined for each zone in terms of intent, design, cumulative disturbance, silvicultural systems, green-up, roads, and facility development (SCIPT 1995).

Table 5.2 Zones defining limits of acceptible landscape change

Zone 1:	Visible disturbance to be subordinate to the landscape (< 8 percent in perspective of landscape unit). A full range of silvicultural practice, plus fish farm, road, and other clustered facility development permitted.
Zone 2:	Visible disturbance may be discernible but not clearly evident (< 4% in perspective of landscape unit). Only alternative silvicultural systems (no clear cuts) to be used in visible areas, one visible single facility visible in landscape unit or small bay.
Zone 3:	Visible disturbance not discernible to the casual visitor. Only alternative silvicultural systems in seen and unseen areas, no roads introducing bare earth or tree boles into landscape unit, no visible facilities, except existing facilities.

Source: SCIPT 1995:3

Table 5.3 Three key zoning issues identified for public feedback

Issue 1:	Changes were proposed to the scenic corridors boundaries to include areas not previously included, plus some deletion of unseen areas. Two alternate options were identified: status quo, or adopt the proposed changes.
Issue 2:	Limit fish farm development in Zone 3. Visible facilities were not permitted other than floats and buoys. Three alternate options were identified, the status quo plus add new farms, leave existing farms but no new ones, and relocate farms to zones 1 and 2.
Issue 3:	Restrict mineral exploration and development. Two options were proposed. One was to allow exploration (14% of the scenic corridors area was under mineral claim), and the second to preclude exploration.

Source: SCIPT 1995:3

The zones defined parameters for the limits of acceptable change to the landscape in terms of visible disturbances. The criteria for the zones were determined by the consultants in a series of 'building blocks' (interview H) based on progressive detailing of inventory mapping which were reviewed at each stage by the stakeholders on the SCAG committee. The zonation factors mentioned in Table 5.2 relate to the specific experience of tourism stakeholders, who recognized which existing factors in the Clayoquot Sound landscape impacted on scenic values. However, there were differences of opinion among the member of the SCAG committee as to the viability of the process and the recommended zoning model. This landscape authoring process identified a draft zoning designation to define current landscape values and to limit change within certain acceptible boundaries, but still required input from the public and particularly from tourism operators who had not specifically participated in the SCAG and SCRIPT committees.

The draft plan was presented at a public open house in April 1995, strategically held at the Long Beach Golf Course Clubhouse halfway between Tofino and Ucluelet. Several tourism operators attending the open house were not satisfied with the plan, identifying deficiencies in the methodology and basic assumptions of the study. A tourism operator submitted the following comments on the Scenic Corridors Draft Plan:

> ...the model employed was inadequate. The factors incorporated in the model were drawn from the available literature on landscape perception. Unfortunately, the existing literature does not include perceptions of coastal landscapes dominated by old-growth forest cover; much of it is, in fact, based on mountain tourism.

> It was pointed out by tourism operators on numerous occasions that intactness (not "the appearance of intactness") of old growth forest cover, and of the landscape itself, is very important to the scenic value of Clayoquot Sound in the perception of the visitor/tourist. This information is based on our working experience with tens of thousands of visitors each year. The information was substantiated by all but one

tourism representative (who is not herself an active tourism operator) sitting on the advisory committee. It was also strongly reinforced by marine tourism operators *in the field.*

The factors which are included in the model do not singly, or in combination, address the issue of "forest canopy intactness over the landscape". Until this important factor is addressed and incorporated, the scenic corridors and resulting management plan cannot be said to have realistically or objectively dealt with the concerns of tourism in Clayoquot Sound (Martini 1995:1).

A government official (interview C) identified this key problem and described the assumptions which had been used in the landscape model:

> *C. People around the table including the tourism representatives, as well as the environmental representatives placed an extremely high value on stretches of unaltered old growth, stretches of old growth forest, continual stretches of old growth forest, and in the research literature, having a stretch of forest which from a real perspective is just green, that doesn't have as high a value as a forest say, in which there's a waterfall or a rock outcropping, or a highly serrated skyline, or a very serrated landscape that's very gullied for example that would be your feature, but if you have a smooth slope, you know like Flores Island, its like a heavy blanket of forest over an undulating landscape, but there is no extremes in the landscape. If you had that landscape in an ordinary foreshore area in the interior it wouldn't rate very great, O.K.?*

So the coastal landscape of Clayoquot Sound was identified in the public feedback process as being valued by tourists and by the tourism industry because it was mostly clothed with unaltered old growth forest, and that factor was finally accepted as a key element in the tourism landscape. This recognition refers back to the identification of biodiversity values previously quoted (interviews B, L), the initial authoring of these particular images during the Sulphur Passage blockade, and the international awareness of wilderness intactness as a key destination attraction of Clayoquot Sound.

During the summer of 1995, the tourism operators and the environmental representatives pressed for revisions to the landscape plan to reflect that very strong identification of Clayoquot Sound as an unaltered, pristine tourist destination. The acceptance of all of the recommendations of the Scientific Panel by the government during the summer of 1995 provided further impetus for tourism interests to be designated in Clayoquot Sound Landscape Management Plans.

In summary, the sequence of events described involved the identification and authoring of new landscape interpretations of Clayoquot Sound. These were disseminated to a wider public and to government, creating more visitation to Tofino and to Clayoquot Sound, increasing in-migration of young, urban people with strong environmental values to the area, and increasing the scope and level of contestation over the prevailing institutional arrangements designating landscape resources. Each iteration of environmental confrontation added an element of public awareness about Clayoquot Sound, as images and texts expressing landscape environmental values were selectively authored and disseminated. Each subsequent event also featured a new contribution about the valued landscape, such as the identification of the Clayoquot Sound landscape as a scarce, intact wilderness. Tourist visitation to Clayoquot Sound correspondingly increased dramatically as the environmental amenities and landscape attractions within the area became better known. Local responses to tourism needs further built the tourism industry, providing for a stronger economic case for changing institutional arrangements to reflect consumptive rather than productive landscape use.

Chapter 6: Signification

The element of signification was defined earlier as the interpretation of landscape meaning and the selection of key elements and representative features, so the signification phase in the landscape authoring process explicitly deals with the representation of images and texts. In Chapter 1 the notion of "authoring" was first presented as constituting the selection and construction of texts and images which seek legitimacy and authority for particular visions of landscape. The selection of texts and images is set within a public/media arena where the different visions of the landscape are contested. This chapter explains how this signification process has contributed to the evolution of the Clayoquot Sound tourism landscape. It focuses particularly on the selection and dissemination of images and texts for international/national media attention, and their insertion into tourism landscape authoring processes.

A tourism landscape has been defined as:"...a landscape which serves the needs of a tourist population with its scenic resources, wildlife and vegetation, cultural resources, and human artifacts" (Butler 1992:3). In the signification phase of the tourism landscape authoring process, new meanings for landscape resources are constructed within the arena of contestation over Clayoquot Sound. These meanings subsequently emerge in the evaluation and designation phases as initiatives to change the institutional arrangements governing land and resource use, specifically to protect tourism, recreation, and environmental values.

Recognition and appreciation of Clayoquot Sound scenic and environmental values was identified in the last chapter as a key factor in the migration of tourism operator informants to Tofino. This movement of people into Tofino and Clayoquot Sound because of the area's environmental amenities was previously identified as a key feature

of community demographic change over the last three decades (interview A; Darling 1991). The evidence from interviews F, L, B, and M identifies a strong interest in maintaining environmental amenities and in developing new economic opportunities from them by new residents, both full time and seasonal. Careless (1988) identified the intact coastal forest landscape of Tofino as a key element in the rapid shift to a tourism based economy, and as being the primary factor in the difference in economic performance between Tofino and Ucluelet.

6.1 The signification of 'Clayoquot Sound' and the emergence of the tourism landscape.

Willems-Braun (1997:6) argues that 'Clayoquot Sound' became an 'event' in itself as "....new international circuits of capital, commodities, and images transformed local struggles over BC forests into a global issue." The issue of protecting the temperate rain forest was linked on television to large-scale civil disobedience and the images were distributed around the world, as illustrated by Figure 6.1. The signification of 'Clayoquot Sound' as representing all struggles to protect temperate rainforests emerged from contested representations of the temperate rainforest embodying two distinct discourses- one of 'commodification,' signified by the 'managed' or 'working' forest , promulgated by the forest industry and their allied actors, and the other the discourse of 'nature,' signified by 'intact temperate rainforest ecosystems,' 'wilderness,' and 'biodiversity,' promulgated by environmentalists and their allied actors. This second discourse is linked by Willems-Braun (1997) to the detachment of newly emerging middle class values about 'nature' in Vancouver and other cities from the forest resource-dependency of the rest of British Columbia. This urban, middle class milieu produced many of the new residents, tourism operators, consultants, government officials, environmentalists and tourists who authored the images and texts of the

Figure 6.1 Demonstration at opening of British Columbia Legislature, 1993.
(John Yanyshine and Western Canada Wilderness Committee. Used by permission).

tourism landscape of Clayoquot Sound. Tourism operations grew to provide opportunities for the visual consumption of scenic resources, wildlife, and Aboriginal culture as signifiers of a vulnerable and threatened ecosystem resonant with emerging urban values about nature.

The identification process of the 'intact temperate rainforest landscape' as a primary environmental and economic asset for tourism was transformed into a signification process by the actual events in the arena of contestation. The conflict over contemporary landscape meaning was in part shaped by the need for headlines and sound bites (interview L). The media needed convenient, portable icons and communicative visuals that allow an international public to understand environmental issues. Landscape authors obliged by providing the needed images and texts (interview L). The images and texts presented by the landscape authors interpreted the key events and mechanisms occuring in Clayoquot Sound for the media and the public. The re-signification of landscape meaning is a very important factor in the transition from a productivist, industrial forestry landscape to a landscape appropriated for visual consumption of tourism, recreation, and environmental values. The manner in which these media icons (i.e.'intact temperate rainforest') influenced the process of changing institutional arrangements is dealt with in the subsequent evaluation and designation phases.

The signification process is ongoing throughout the recorded historical period as outlined in the chapter on landscape evolution. Identification of Clayoquot Sound's touristic assets, such as scenery, Aboriginal culture, historical sites, and wildlife, has been followed by signification of their meaning and value by a succession of authors. Evidence from informants indicates that tourist growth and development has been more a function of organic images of the destination than induced images (interviews C, H,

L, M). These organic images, graphic, audio, and textual, do not generally reflect on

Clayoquot Sound as a tourist destination, but rather as a unique, endangered coastal

wilderness area threatened by logging.

6.2 The authoring of images and text and their insertion into the arena of contestation

Landscape representations are authored, and then presented to the public through the

media as organic images. Induced images play a less important role in building public

awareness about Clayoquot Sound. Public landscape values and attitudes are changed by

these significations, and influence the expectations and experiences of the increasing

volume of visitors to Clayoquot Sound. Referencing Willems-Braun's (1997)

observation that the Nuu Cha Nulth were marginalized, Meares Island forests remained

intact as the land claims processes slowly unfolded, providing a natural landscape

available for visual consumption by tourists and recreationalists. However, the court

decision to stop logging on Meares Island emerged from the same arena of contestation,

as described in Chapter 5.

How have tourism actors contributed to the signification phase of tourism landscape

authorship in Clayoquot Sound? The interview transcripts indicate that promotion of

Clayoquot Sound as a tourist destination has been limited. A consultant (interview H)

describes the level of tourism promotion:

> *H. Actually I don't think there's been a lot of promotion. I think the*
> *promotion has often been around the park, and that - sort of the Long*
> *Beach experience. The promotion of Clayoquot Sound itself has been very*
> *limited until the last few years, but I think... the emphasis has been,*
> *again, that coastal experience. Often, for some of the properties that I've*
> *stayed at on the coast, in the wintertime for example, exploring the*
> *weather, and the dramatic experiences that you get out there.*

A Tofino tourism operator (interview E) described his promotional initiatives this way:

> E. I think categorically I can claim to be the world's worst marketing
> person. I've shipped off all the money and don't really know if it's
> worked or not. Although we have increased our business every year.
> Primarily, we focus on fish and fishermen. However, we also, in almost
> all of our advertising, include the Pacific Rim Park, Long Beach, nature,
> Clayoquot Sound, the area as well as what we want.... So, it's generally
> the beauty of the area, the national park, all those things, that's part and
> parcel, in our minds, of advertising - rather than being specific. You get
> them coming to Tofino, and if you do your business right, they'll use
> your product. That's basically our philosophy.

Here, ambiguities emerge between the induced image and the organic images, without clear evidence about the relative impact of one on the other. Without research, operators would have a difficult time determining whether or not the investment in advertising was worth it (interview E). It would seem that specific target markets such as sports fishers would likely be less affected by the organic images, although no specific research is available to verify this proposition.

Informant L indicated that images of Clayoquot Sound clearcuts and old growth were of primary importance in attracting global attention to Clayoquot Sound during The Friends of Clayoquot Sound's tour of Europe. Informant H identified the controversy and blockades as a key element in the growth of touristic interest, but warned about the long term profile of the destination:

> H. I think the media has had far greater impact on attracting people. I
> think it's done a few things: it's increased awareness of Clayoquot
> significantly. Let's just talk about it from a marketing perspective, then
> let's talk about the images. I think Clayoquot is the destination that it is
> because of the demonstrations and the media that they've created; that's
> why people are coming. Their marketing dollars would never have been
> able to touch what the media has done for them. And it's the same

situation in the Queen Charlottes. What worries me though, as things become calmer in that area, from a tourism perspective, that media will slowly decrease, and they're going to see people not coming as often.

Informant I, a Nuu Chah Nulth business representative, reiterates the value of the media's construction of Clayoquot Sound as an 'event':

> *I. Its been wonderful! Absolutely- now when you say Clayoquot Sound they know what you're talking about. It's been free advertising, and as a business person that's how I look at it. This is great! It didn't matter when there were protesters- there may be protesters again this year. Not to a tourism operator, I mean tourists like going there. So in the industry, you work with what's happening. It did nothing but help the First Nations tourism operators in Clayoquot Sound.*

So the Clayoquot Sound destination image was constructed primarily from its media exposure as an area of environmental dispute, not as a landscape which had historically and culturally developed touristic interest over the decades. However, detailed historical and cultural landscape knowledge has long been part of the destination experience of visitors to Clayoquot Sound, providing a reason for return visits and positive word of mouth advertising. Visitation to Clayoquot Sound was building notwithstanding the environmental battles, as an additional area of attraction to the Long Beach unit of Pacific Rim National Park, and the newly up-market, urbanizing village of Tofino (interviews A, H).

6.3 The Signification of Clayoquot Sound and the tourism resource inventory process.

There is a key linkage between the development of the Ministry of Tourism's GIS based tourism resource inventory initiatives in Clayoquot Sound and the use of induced provincial marketing images of the West Coast of Vancouver Island by environmental

organizations and subsequently the media. Images and language from the "Super,

Natural" campaign were appropriated by the Western Canada Wilderness Committee to

be used as ironic commentaries on the government's resource management priorities.

The contradiction in signification was identified in a policy analysis paper produced for

the Ministry of Tourism Sustainable Development Branch in 1993:

> Destination image is an important concept in tourism marketing, and British
> Columbia has done well over the past few years with the "Super, Natural"
> theme in its national and international advertising campaigns. This image
> has been subject to challenges.... because the provinces' forestry practices,
> sewage disposal methods, and tardiness in settling Aboriginal land claims
> have gained visibility and currency in the national and international media as
> contradictions to the proclaimed "Super, Natural" image. These
> contradictions can create a polemic between the "magic" vision of British
> Columbia presented in the advertising images, and the images of clear-cuts
> circulated in destination markets...(White 1993:15).

A government official (interview C) describes the effect on tourism policy of this

contradiction between the induced and organic image of British Columbia:

> C. ... (The Ministry of) Tourism had this poster out, which said "If you
> go out in the woods today, you're in for a big surprise", which showed
> these huge old trees with deer, right? It was a set-up shot, and there
> was criticism about that, and of course the environmentalists turned that
> around and said, yes, you sure are in for a surprise! Anyway I think that
> tourism was used by environmentalists as a way to say hey, this is ...the
> way we think you should do things. And, kind of, tourism woke up a little
> bit and said, "yes, you're right" -You know, that's realistically how I
> think it kind of happened.

These comments refer to a highly successful Western Canada Wilderness Committee

poster which used the caption "when you go out in the woods today you're in for a big

surprise" with a picture of a particularly ugly clear cut. Figure 6.2 illustrates a

variation on this theme featuring areal views of clearcutting juxtaposed with an interior

view of old growth forest. Further, some "Super, Natural B.C." posters were

criticized for being contrived and manipulated images, using incorrect non-native deer

species, fiberglass sand castles, and other suspect stage props. There was also the use

of panoramic aerial views of unaltered coastal landscapes that were frequently used as

advertising images:

> *C. Well, there were never photographs of just forest. There would be photographs of outside exposed beaches on Flores, with heavily forested mountains as a backdrop, but the feature is very much the water, the beach, that's what caught your eye and the forest was more of a background, depending on your angle. The forest was always there, it was always part of that context, whether it was a feature or not itself I would question, right now, it was more the coastline which was the feature, was the drawing card, the pounding surf, the wildlife, the rocks, that sort of thing.*

So the vista of Clayoquot Sound from the air of 'Intact Wilderness' including unbroken

stretches of 'Old Growth Forest,' and 'Outside Exposed Beaches' became an icon in the

national and international media. Figure 6.3 illustrates a Western Canada Wilderness

Committee brochure featuring an arial view of the west side of Flores Island and

captioned "Clayoquot Sound the Hawaii of British Columbia," a somewhat tongue in

cheek linkage to the "Super, Natural" wordmark. The involvement of the Ministry of

Tourism in the Clayoquot Sound tourism resource inventory process was influenced to

some degree by concerns about the contradictions to the 'Super, Natural' landscape

images which were being highlighted in Clayoquot Sound. There was also a specific

need for expertise from the Ministry of Tourism in resource evaluation processes, and

this technical input was contemporary with media coverage of the disturbing

contradictions emerging to the province's destination image. The environmentalist's

landscape authoring initiative here was one of exposing contradictions in government
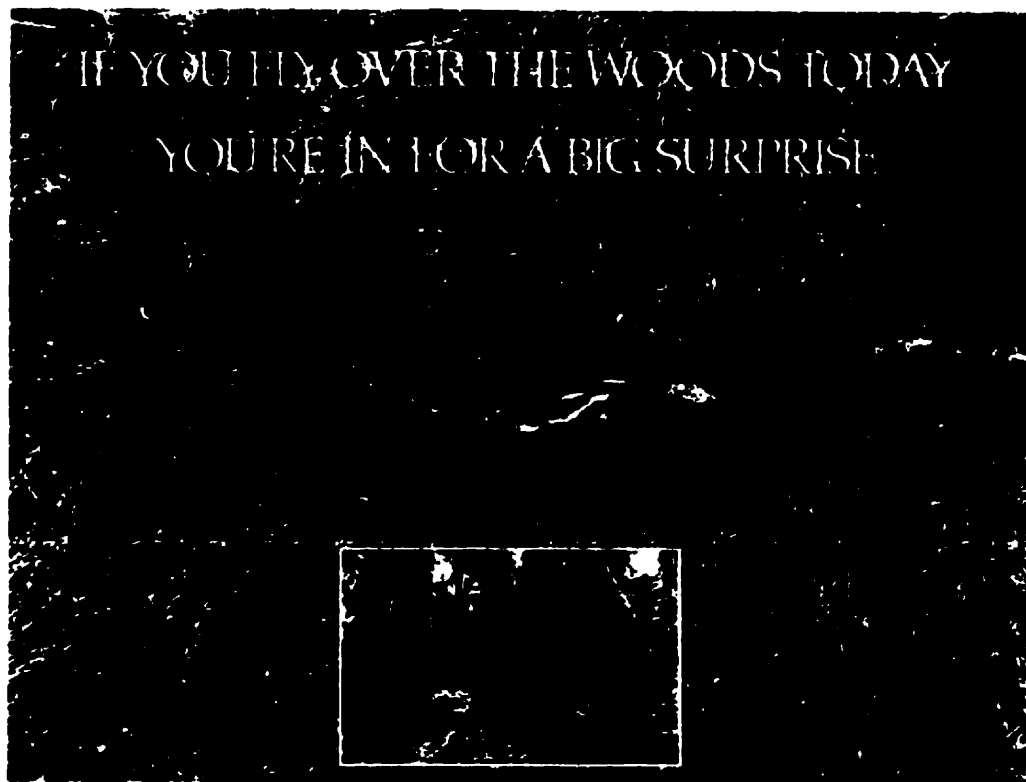
Figure 6.2 Aerial view of clearcut juxtaposed with old growth forest interior.
(Adrien Dorst, Western Canada Wilderness Committee. Used by permission).
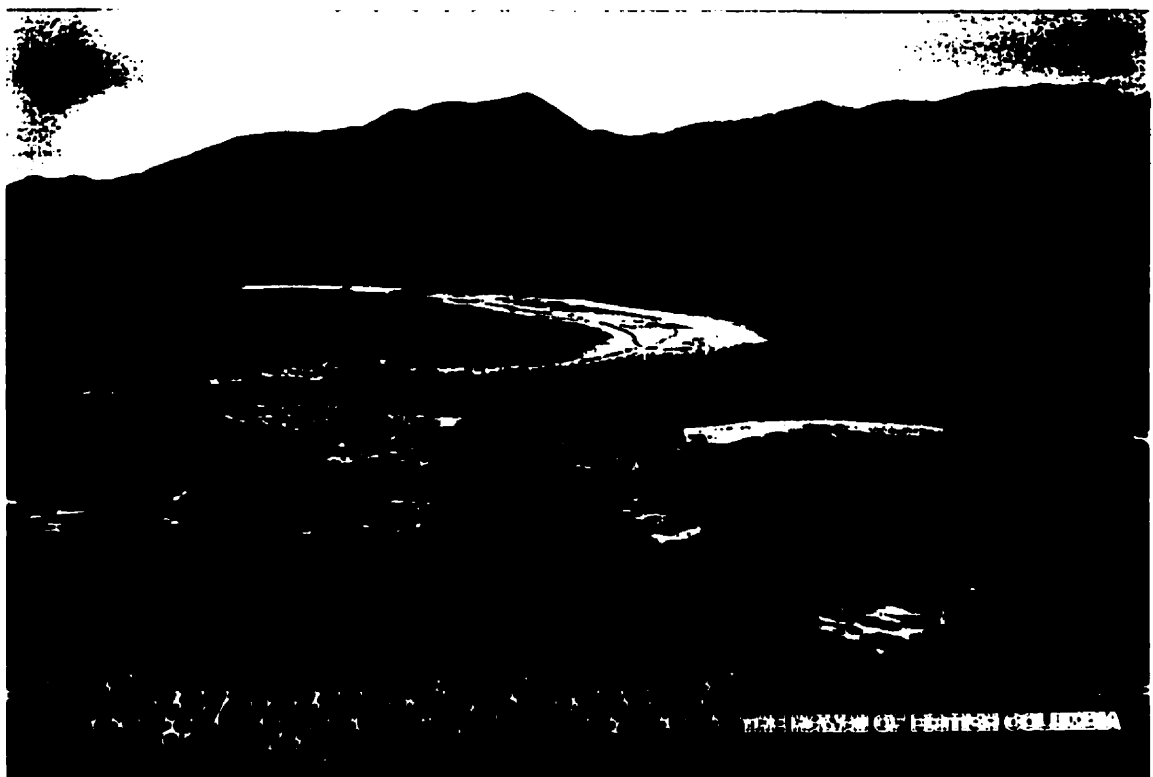
Figure 6.3 Clayoquot Sound the Hawaii of British Columbia. (Adrien Dorst, Western Canada Wilderness Committee. Used by permission).

policy, and as a result, the government Ministry of Tourism was influenced to contribute substantially to the evaluation of Clayoquot Sound's landscape resources.

The media exposure through the 1980s and early 1990s coincided with rapid growth in the tourism industry in Tofino and the Sound, particularly in whale-watching and wildlife viewing, so 'Whales' became an icon which also received attention (Figure 5.2). In the early 1990s 'Bears' gained iconographic status through the activities of ex-ecotourism operator Sherri Bondee's Bear Watch program, started to stop hunting guides from shooting bears along the shoreline of Clayoquot Sound (interviews Ki, Kii).

A Tofino tourism resort developer/operator (interview M) describes the nature-based image and product envisaged for his urban professional target market:

> M. Marketing this place to people outside of the area is ninety percent image. They see the image- yes, reading about the opportunities about what to do there are great, but its the first image and the expectation of nature and being in touch with nature at a variety of levels that makes Tofino...a unique spot.... You can go salmon fishing and flightseeing and fly up to Megin Lake and go trout fishing, fly fishing some of the great steelhead streams, walk through old growth forests and end up walking along the beach, you can do incredible bird watching, you're on the Pacific Flyway on the inlet side, on the Clayoquot side, and whale watching- a whole range of different activities.

So the induced images for Tofino and Clayoquot Sound for this particular resort developer/operator are largely ecotourism activities dependent on intact wilderness destinations. The tourists participating in fly fishing and 'flightseeing' will see the landscape of Clayquot Sound from the air as they fly in to their destination. 'Scenery' for the visitors therefore becomes the 'view from the air' rather than the vista from Tofino.

The development of the 'intact wilderness' signification in both organic and induced images of the destination were contradicted by images of clear-cuts by the environmental organizations, and by the 'working forest' induced images of the forest industry and their allies. The involvement of the Ministry of Tourism in the planning process for Clayoquot Sound emerged in part from concerns about the contradictions emerging in the signification of British Columbia's destination image.

The issue of what is seen and unseen in the landscape became a critical issue in the evolving representation of Clayoquot Sound. Two tourism operators (interviews Ki and Kii) explain the change in the signification of "Scenery" in Clayoquot Sound:

> *Ki. ... the scenery signifies the ecosystem, even though the visitor may not be aware of its details and intricacies, they are aware of a sense that the scenery they are seeing signifies an intact, functional ecosystem- to most visitors its something unique, something they haven't encountered anywhere else, something large and broad in scale and content and mass, then that's what they perceive as scenery. If they were to perceive it as, 'oh, this is a front', and what's behind it is different, it would not have the same meaning or the same attraction to them. They perceive it with the understanding or the belief that it signifies a larger intact whole...seeing an area where the "scenery" has been damaged represents broader, larger damage, to what they value within that system as well.*

This observation suggests that intactness of the scenery is a critical element in the visitor's experience of Clayoquot Sound. Intact scenery is the visual manifestation of a functional ecosystem, in essence establishing Clayoquot Sound's authenticity as an ecotourism destination.

> *B.W. To what extent has the media attention... affected that sense of intactness in terms of tourism interest in the Sound?*

Kii. I think there's an awareness among people because of the media exposure this area has had. Where at one time Disneyland and Hollywood was sufficient- they knew it wasn't real but that's what they were expecting, they were happy with that- coming to an area like Clayoquot Sound- the media has shown them what it really is about, so when they come here their experience is looking for the real thing, not something that's a facade or a contrived area. So with the media being able to give them an idea of what it looks like from the air in the areas that are pristine, and showing them what its like in areas that have been logged too, they're getting an idea of what the ecosystem is, and although they won't be able to access all parts of that ecosystem the media has given them a bird's eye view of areas they would never be able to access, and then brought it to light, the problems, because it is disappearing.

B.W. O.K. So the confrontations, the blockades, the world wide media attention, to what extent has that created the tourism demand for this area?

Kii. Its certainly increased it. I believe its put Clayoquot Sound in the travel books for the next ten years, and it will probably be longer than that. It wasn't even in the travel books before, Meares Island may have been mentioned, or Long Beach, but Clayoquot Sound as an intact unit was never in the travel books, now it is.

The media adopted the visual signification of 'intact ecosystem' from the environmentalist's need to contradict the forest industry and their allies' representations of the 'working forest,' which served to perpetuate the iconography of a productivist industrial forestry landscape. This signification represented healthy young forests growing from clear cuts. Visually, Clayoquot Sound was presented as an industrial forestry landscape that would quickly 'green up' and become visually attractive again. This point of view was aided by successful forest industry attempts to control negative media representations of clear-cut logging in the press, particularly in the *Vancouver Sun* (Goldberg 1993).

The production of forest industry-friendly language and images was managed by the Forest Alliance, which was established in April 1991 by the New York advertising firm Burson-Marsteller. This company, which had previously managed the media image of the Argentine military government, was hired by a forest industry consortium to manage the news on Clayoquot Sound and on other logging confrontations. Negative press on the forest industry quickly disappeared from the *Vancouver Sun* as delegations from the Alliance lobbied the editors, attempting to gain authority over Clayoquot Sound landscape representations. The manipulation and censorship of environmental news by the Sun became so conspicuous that the Communications department at Simon Fraser University held a symposium in May 1993 entitled: "Take Back the News: Media, the Environment, and the Public's Right to Know" (Goldberg 1993:15).

A tourism operator and member of the Friends of Clayoquot Sound (interview L) explains the strategic response to the forest industry signification of Clayoquot Sound:

> *L ....we went over to Europe with this slide show, and we toured all over, and we gave images out to newspapers, and we gave them to Vicki Husband, who takes them to the Times Colonist and to the Western Canada Wilderness Committee who takes them to the Vancouver Sun, and we were distributing images, and what we were doing was building the sense that what we have here is part of fantasy, it's people's fantasies in Europe, and when we're in Europe, what we're saying is: 'what we have in Canada is to us like your cathedrals,' so we were playing on cultural artifacts very much. In terms of tourism, Clayoquot got an incredible amount of exposure as a beautiful place.*

> *And a lot of the debate has been mired in "beauty versus not beauty" and up to a certain extent the industry has played on that, saying 'sure, clearcuts look bad, but they green up, and we had to keep up with their campaign by trying to subvert the 'Green Dream'- that so long as it looks green it's fine. Because at first this issue- these are beautiful forests, and we must maintain the beauty of them, and as soon as they could they started saying "second growth forests are green, green is beautiful" that we had to delve further into issues of biodiversity, and finally one needs to portray more complicated issues in a fairly simple manner.*

So the 'green dream' of the forest industry and their allies acted as a polemical device, moving the signification of Clayoquot Sound to 'cultural artifact' and 'intact ecosystem' and 'biodiversity.' The signification of 'intact ecosystems', represented by 'scenery,' was a shift which created a contradiction to the imagery of the 'working forest.' As previously mentioned, the 'Super, Natural, British Columbia' destination marketing images used for years by Tourism B.C. were consistent with the images and texts presented by the Friends of Clayoquot Sound and their allies. The 'dream' landscape, the wilderness ideal presented to the Germans and other Europeans, was promulgated as a spiritually and ecologically intact place, worthy of a pilgrimage. The continuing importance of this signification can be observed on any summer's day in Tofino, as tourists stand at the end of the government wharf, gazing reverentially outwards to the scenic vista of Meares Island and Clayoquot Sound (Figure 5.1). There is a resonance with MacCannells' (1973) 'site sacralization' here, a concept which was described in Chapter 2. What makes Clayoquot Sound unique is the speed with which the destination achieved international iconographic status as an ecotourism destination.

The scenic resources protection approach of the Ministry of Tourism, using land use zoning devices such as scenic corridors, evolved in the middle of a struggle for icon recognition between the forest industry and their allies on one side, and the environmental actors and allied tourism operators on the other. Evaluation of 'scenic resources' became more problematic because of the rapid shift in landscape signification. 'Scenic resources' now could require protection of the entire, intact landscape, seen or unseen, because 'scenery' now became a representation of 'intact ecosystem.' The entire scenic corridors process had to deal with this issue of 'ecological intactness' vs. the 'appearance of intactness' by designating different levels of visual landscape disturbance, and could only work within the parameters set for it by

the government. Once the nature of this change in signification of 'scenery' is understood, the necessity for redrafts and revisions in the Scenic Corridors GIS mapping becomes clear.

A tourism operator and member of the Friends of Clayoquot Sound (interview L) describes the construction and content of the key media images for Clayoquot Sound after the Steering Committee process failed and the government had to make a decision:

> *L. And what the government did was to keep saying 'we'll give an answer, we'll give an answer' and they said, 'next week', and then 'next week', and they kept on putting it off and there was a buildup of suspense over the fate of Clayoquot Sound and it just kept building and building. So the delay in a decision after the failure to reach consensus built media interest and allowed the Friends of Clayoquot Sound to develop a plan to promote the preservation of Clayoquot Sound.*

Uncertainty about the future of Clayoquot Sound allowed for the development of an international promotional campaign and a sustained media profile. The approach used by the Friends of Clayoquot Sound depended heavily on visual imagery and appeals to the imagination, as indicated by Informant L:

> *L. At that point - how did it go- (the) first trip to Europe, right around that time, and Garth Lenz became involved.... and by 1992 (we) were working out a slide show, because we were... convinced that images play the issue, and he had beautiful images, and had perhaps some of the best photo documentation of clearcuts in the province, so we put our heads together and worked out a type of slide show which we felt would catch the public imagination. That's all we were out for, was their imagination, because rationality doesn't work. If you're asking for logic, then you're asking for the wrong thing. So we were simply trying to catch the public imagination, and get the information we needed across to the people who are sticklers on information, to have it, do information, but the images would be overwhelming.*
>
> *B.W. ... to what extent did those images that you started developing there circulate in the press? You started developing a slide presentation but which images became so important?*

*L. Clearcuts. Images of clearcuts. Two things. Images of huge
clearcuts, and then mainly at that point- and I think this has changed-
images of interior forest shots, where the two things would be played off
of each other. A large landscape, clear cut, and a beautiful interior
forest shot. And I think that's changed now, I think large, beautiful
landscape shots are being used a lot more.*

So a series of images were assembled and distributed which emphasized the

contradictions between the old growth forest on one hand, and huge clear cuts on the

other, as illustrated in Figures 6.4 and 6.5. Because other West Coast preservation

campaigns were in process, (Carmanah, Tahsish-Kwois) the images were essentially

generic, working synergistically in the media. Subsequently, the issues of 'biodiversity'

and 'intactness' emerged in response to the 'green dream' promoted by the forest

industry and their allies. As the media acquired aerial views of Clayoquot Sound,

landscape panoramas became more popular (Figures 5.3 and 6.3). So the catalogue of

media images of Clayoquot Sound grew as the debate unfolded, resulting in a variety of

images which effectively captured international attention, as indicated in the following

examples: *Vancouver Sun*, February 20 1993, "Logging Clayoquot will strip province

of its natural beauty." included is a panoramic photo of Tofino and Meares Island from

the air, entitled: 'Pristine Place.' Another example is an article by Glen Bohn in the

Vancouver Sun, March 13 1993, entitled 'The Clash Over Clayoquot.' included is a

panoramic photo of the Sound, entitled: 'Clayoquot Sound: largest block of old-growth

forest on Vancouver Island.' Greenpeace produced a booklet distributed in the U.K. in

1993 entitled *'Clearcut/Clayoquot Sound: The Impact of Logging on the Environment

and Wildlife,'* featuring both detailed technical information and contrasting images of

clearcuts and pristine old growth forest landscapes, which included photographs by

Garth Lenz of the Friends of Clayoquot Sound.

Figure 6.4 Old growth Western Red Cedars. (Graham Osborne, Western Canada Wilderness Committee. Used by permission).

Figure 6.5 Clearcuts in the Escalante Watershed, Clayoquot Sound. (Garth Lenz, Western Canada Wilderness Committee. Used by permission).

The appeal to public emotions through the use of powerful iconographic images such as 'clear cut' and 'old growth forest' and 'intact wilderness,' combined with the front page reports of blockades and protests, provided new signification to the landscape and recontextualized the unfolding Scenic Corridors process. The set of assumptions about visual quality in scenic areas was substantially challenged by the newly emerging landscape iconography of 'intactness,' both seen and unseen. Since the Clayoquot Land Use Decision had decreed that there would indeed be logging in the Scenic Corridors, a new polemic was established which was particularly difficult to resolve, because any alteration to the viewscape would loose the signification of intactness upon which the emerging ecotourism product depended.

The Vancouver Sun, April 17 1993 provides an illustrative example of the B.C. Ministry of Tourism 'spin' on the Clayoquot Land Use decision. The attempt was made to present the decision as 'balanced,' with tourism's interests accounted for. Headlined "Technical Visitors expected to come to Clayoquot Sound," the Minister of Tourism of the day, Darlene Marzari, suggested that the 'modified and improved' forest practices would actually attract visitors, and that tourism interests were 'fully represented' in the Clayoquot Land Use Decision. She was quoted in the article as saying, "I hope we can increase wilderness tourism because of the decision we made" and: "There may actually be a huge tourism market for protest, who knows?" and: "Tourism supports the economic case for conservation. It presents the value of conservation in financial terms." Response to her comments by environmentalists and tourism actors was generally critical. This type of reporting may have reflected the Forest Alliance's influence over the *Vancouver Sun* at this time (Goldberg 1993).

Discomfort with the idea of scenic corridors was not new among both tourism operators and environmentalists. Planning assumptions that managing viewscapes along the

waterways of Clayoquot Sound would be adequate for tourism had met with serious criticisms all along (interviews B, F, Kii). The unaltered quality of the old forest landscape combined with the beauty of the waterways came through as a key interest in the scenic corridors process. The emergence of this linkage of scenic intactness of the viewscapes and travel corridors as an authentic representation of the entire ecosystem is resonant with the media signification of the dramatic contrasts between pristine forests and clear cuts. The basic planning assumptions made about acceptable levels of landscape modification were challenged in the public input process, as indicated in the following two interview segments by a government official (interview C):

> C. One thing I do have to add here, because we took an approach - we
> built a landscape model that made a lot of sense to us as landscape
> experts.... That model would have worked quite well in the interior, as it
> was, but when we did the first runs of that model out there in Clayoquot
> Sound, the one thing it did not pick up was the high value people put on
> unaltered, solidly forested slopes. And our model, which was based on
> research findings, a solid forest canopy without any interruptions in it,
> you know without any rock outcroppings or other features in it, is not
> seen as a feature, it is just a context, So in our model those areas tended
> to become moderate, at best. And when that map hit the pavement there
> was gnashing of teeth!

> C.... you see water was always present in these landscapes. Now if you
> move this modeling into the interior, water becomes an exception, O.K.?
> In the interior, whenever you have a lake, for example, if you have water
> in your landscape, the landscape value goes up. If you compare similar
> landscapes, and one has water, and one doesn't, the one with water has
> much higher values. Well, all the landscapes in Clayoquot Sound are
> water oriented, or there's water in there. So the whole thing was
> elevated to start with. So we started at a higher level, and now we had
> to deal with things, O.K.? So now maybe a moderate on the coast
> would be a high in the interior, right? That kind of thing. But its the
> same with forestry values. A moderate on the coast is off the scale in the
> interior.

The landscape's re-signification by environmentalists put into question the basis for landscape evaluation in the scenic corridors process, because 'unbroken stretches of old growth forest' had been constructed with a different meaning in Clayoquot Sound than had been assumed by the consultants and government planners who initially developed the GIS landscape model. Tourism operators (interviews B, Ki, Kii, Martini 1995) had by 1993 constructed their destination products on the basis that the scenery was an authentic representation of an intact ecosystem, not just a scenic fringe. The emerging tourism landscape became valued because much of it was substantially unaltered, i.e., 'authentic.' For many of the tourists attracted to Clayoquot Sound, this representation developed a high level of symbolic meaning associated with their values about nature (interview Ki, Kii).

Brown (1992) identified product symbolism in tourism destinations as a means of defining 'social reality,' and status, and defined tourism as a form of consumptive behavior which provides a sense of 'appropriation' towards destinations. The definition of 'social reality' in Clayoquot Sound had to do with the knowledge that a pristine, unlogged wilderness continued to exist (interview L). The 'appropriation' of the destination by tourists developed because Clayoquot Sound had become a high-profile media issue resonant with emerging urban middle class values about nature protection. The construction of the Clayoquot Sound destination image was based on the visual consumption of scenic resources, wildlife, and Aboriginal culture as signifiers of a vulnerable and threatened ecosystem. Visual consumption occurred through global media images more than through tourism, but tourism provided many of the witnesses necessary to sustain the political fight and to author texts and images about Clayoquot Sound. The tourism industry grew rapidly in all sectors as a result of this massive dissemination of images. As a result of the blockade, the Peace Camp, and mass arrests in the summer of 1993, Clayoquot Sound became an international symbol, its

iconographic status created as a result of the powerful images circulated in the mass media (Willems-Braun 1997). Newspapers in 1993 began to refer to environmental struggles elsewhere in the country as 'Clayoquots.' The headlines from 1993 in Table 9, selected from several hundred articles, photo essays, and editorials, illustrate the transformative effect the Clayoquot Sound blockade in the summer of 1993 and the subsequent trials of the protesters had on Canadian awareness of environmental issues:

Table 6.1   1993 newspaper headlines on Clayoquot Sound

Article Title	Publication	Date
No room for compromise.	Vancouver Sun	April 15
There is no future if forests are destroyed.	Vancouver Sun	June 29
A clear-cut battle - Clayoquot Sound.	Montreal Gazette	July 3
New Clayoquot wars start at old battleground.	Vancouver Sun	July 6
Svend takes a stand.(Clayoquot)	Vancouver Province	July 5
Europe tunes in to issue. (Clayoquot)	Vancouver Province	July 6
Robinson a 'loose cannon' on logging.	Vancouver Sun	July 7
Looking through the lens at Clayoquot.	Vancouver Sun	July 10
Activist Rockers halt Clayoquot loggers.	Globe and Mail	July 16
Jailed grandmother symbol of community's division.	Vancouver Sun	July 29
Kennedy, natives to join hands.	Vancouver Province	Aug. 1
Forest falls to profits.(Clayoquot)	Vancouver Province	Aug. 6
Mass Arrests in logging protest.	Globe and Mail	Aug. 10
Logjam: Women, kids lead away.	Vancouver Province	Aug. 10
Eco-feminists run 'Peace Camp' at Clayoquot Sound.	Vancouver Sun	Aug. 19
Clayoquot giving Feds 'outlaw' image internationally-diplomat.	Calgary Herald	Aug. 22
Sounding off about Clayoquot Logging.	Vancouver Province	Aug. 30
Trees are renewable, the forest is not: It's about values.	MacLeans vol. 106(33)	
Wild and beautiful Clayoquot Sound.	Explore no. 62	Aug.
Brazil of the north? (Clayoquot)	Canada & the World	59, Sept.
Academics shatter protester stereotype.	Vancouver Courier	Dec. 5

The massive media attention in Canada created 'Clayoquot' as a media icon. The arrests of over eight hundred protesters in the summer of 1993, the largest mass arrests in Canadian history, provided not only publicity, but also a new signification for the landscape. This was a place for which ordinary people were prepared to go to jail. It was also giving Canada a bad reputation internationally, ('Brazil of the North'), leading to forest product boycotts and international condemnation. This process ironically references then Minister of Tourism Darlene Mazari's remarks that there may be a market for protest tourism. In fact, the hundreds of articles about the protest substantially increased destination recognition and visitation, as indicated in interviews H, I, and Kii. Clayoquot Sound as an ecologically significant destination was therefore authored in part by hundreds of ordinary people who showed up to protest against clear cut logging, and by the media "spin" put on the coverage of the protest events (Goldberg 1993).

6.4 Signification and landscape authorship

The Signification phase is most important in the consideration of landscape authorship because it is in the move from identification to signification that personal beliefs and values about landscape are identified and acted upon. There are few references to such a process in the literature on tourism landscapes. Brown (1992:62) provides a symbolic interactionist perspective:

> Included amongst those playing 'integral roles' in the introduction of a
> new tourist destination would include the developer, who may qualify to
> be regarded as an author of the landscape (Samuels 1979), and the tour
> operator, who incorporates the destination within a vacation package.
> Included amongst those playing a 'tangental role' in the assignment of
> symbolic meaning to the destination would be the mass media,
> advertising agencies and various sectors of the tourism industry. Thus,
> many people are responsible for creating the symbol and providing it
> with socially significant meaning.

Landscape authorship is defined here as in part belonging to the developer(s), but symbolic meaning includes both media (organic images) and advertising agencies (induced images). Not mentioned are the tourists themselves, who, with their 'tourist gaze' (Urry 1992) contribute not only to the 'enshrining' (MacCannell 1992) of the destination attractions, but disseminate their perspectives and landscape expectations to other potential tourists by word of mouth, photographs, videos, and on the Internet. In the case study of Clayoquot Sound, environmentalist actors used powerful visual images and texts to author landscape visions dedicated to protection and preservation, and internationalized the debate of Clayoquot Sound's future by extending the protection issue into the forest industry's national, European and American marketplaces.

Brown (1992) argues that social changes have led to a greater role for tourism in the formation of what has been called 'place identity' (Proshansky 1978). "Increased mobility has been accompanied by a reduction in identification with specific place-based community as more individualistic life-styles find expression in a dispersed pattern of socio-spatial activities"(Brown 1992:63). Tuan (1980) has suggested that rootedness is probably not attainable for the majority of people in a highly mobile, rapidly changing society. Tourism may be characteristic of what Seimon (1979) has referred to as an 'encounter:' an "interaction with the environment in a state of heightened consciousness" (Brown 1992:63).

Tourism destinations become increasingly more important as people attempt to establish some identity and meaningful connectedness between themselves, their values, and places. Tourist destinations, therefore, become psychologically more meaningful. The places and landscapes encountered in the touristic experience acts as a referential space for comparison with other spatial encounters, enabling the ordering and ranking of spaces in terms of their contribution to self-worth and personal sense of purpose. "The

spatial ideomatic has become less related to place of residence than to the question: 'have you been there?' " (Brown 1992: 63). The beauty of the locale, the drama and excitement of the protests, the uncertainty about future logging plans, and the high media profile all contributed to the development of strong place identity among visitors, and as Willems-Braun (1997) has commented, 'Clayoquot' became a generalized icon for all environmental confrontations, and thereby became internationally important.

Other tourist destination landscapes have developed around internationally important icons, which may be shrines within a national historical narrative (Red Square, American Civil War Battlegrounds), or symbolically important natural landscapes (Yosemite, Niagara), or religious/cultural icons (Lourdes, Chartres Cathedral). More recently, old growth rain forests have achieved iconic status: Besides 'Clayoquot,' the 'Amazon' and 'Costa Rica' have become symbols of self-identity and values about nature for the educated and environmentally aware, as Bali became a 'collectable' cultural destination for the American elite in the 1930s (Brown 1992, Connell 1993).

The authorship process of the Clayoquot Sound tourism landscape gains definition from the interraction of the activist tourism operator's interest in protecting their valued landscape (Lowenthal 1978) from logging, and from the tourist interest in visiting and protecting a place which had emerged as having particular significance in their lives. A tourist's pilgrimage to Clayoquot Sound reiterates the experience of those visitors who first were overwhelmed by the panorama from Tofino, who became residents, then tourism operators, and became involved in the fight to save the Sound from logging (interview B). Landscape authorship is the process of sharing a vision of landscape with others. Tourism landscape authorship is about sharing a vision and also the experience of landscape with others, in this case with the goal of protecting the landscape as well as making a living. The whole landscape thereby becomes

symbolically important to a broader public (Lowenthal 1978), the landscape images circulating in the media build widespread awareness and recognition, and the destination gains status.

The induced image of "Super, Natural British Columbia" coincided with the organic image of Clayoquot Sound promulgated by the environmentalists and activist tourism operators, creating a common basis for action with government tourism policy makers, planners, and consultants. This need for action was driven to some extent by the 'Brazil of the North' and 'Environmental Outlaw' image of British Columbia and Canada projected by environmentalists. The icons of 'old growth forest 'intact wilderness,' 'outside exposed beaches,' 'whales,' and 'bears,' were joined by 'Clayoquot' as an icon of confrontation over landscape and ecosystem protection, creating an increasingly complex tourist destination image. Clayoquot Sound moved into travel guides (interview Kii) as a destination landscape as international recognition prompted tourism inbound operators to develop packages to the newly-famous destination. The authoring process thereby has moved from the organic media images to the induced images of the brochures and internet home pages of ecotourism operators in Germany, Holland, the British Isles, France, the United States, and Canada, adding to the already serious problems of tourist overuse and crowding in Clayoquot Sound. Clayoquot Sound, by the mid 1990s, had been "enshrined" (MacCannell 1992) as a tourism destination landscape, and the scenery of Clayoquot Sound had been signified as pristine, intact, endangered nature.

Chapter 7: Evaluation

As presented in the model of tourism landscape authorship outlined in Chapter 3, the evaluation element involves the negotiation of a hierarchy of values for identified landscape resources with stakeholders and government. Landscape resources are evaluated for their post-productivist values. Prevailing productivist values may be contested when existing institutional arrangements do not protect landscape resources for visual consumption. The 'evaluation' element involves the processes of inventorying and assessment of tourism, recreation and environmental resources, and the working out of different levels of value for landscape features with reference to existing and planned land and resource uses.

The evaluation phase of tourism landscape authorship in Clayoquot Sound involves the insertion of the newly signified values about nature detailed in Chapter 6 into the process of inventorying landscape resources. Evaluation becomes in part a contest over the reapportioning of landscape resources between consumptive uses and productive uses. Evaluation of the landscape resources of a locale may lead to its total protection as a park. Alternatively, scenery may become relatively more important than resource extraction, leading to a reduction and/or redirection in resource extraction activities. In this chapter, evidence introduced in previous chapters will be augmented and cross-referenced with interview extracts and excerpts from government documents that explain how landscape evaluation procedures evolved. Figures will be used to illustrate the processes used to inventory the landscape resources of Clayoquot Sound and to illustrate the complex legislative regime governing resource and land use decision making in the case study area.

Lowenthal (1978) identifies scenery as a particular concern in the landscapes which tourists value and visit. The term 'scenic resource' was identified in Chapter 2 as having high utility because it is consistent with the language of other natural resource using industries such as forestry and mining, allowing tourism stakeholders and researchers access to the discourse of land use planning and resource management policy. Revised resource inventory procedures, driven in part by the signification processes outlined in the previous chapter, defined scenic resources in Clayoquot Sound in a manner which was more complex and politicized than in previous provincial resource inventories (interview C). Recreation resources had been previously designated in B.C. as an element in forest inventories, but mostly on a site-specific basis within harvesting plans. The introduction of the 'unseen' portion of the landscape as being represented by the 'seen' portions visible from travel corridors, and the tourist expectation of 'intactness' in the Clayoquot Sound forest landscape made landscape resource evaluation a highly contested process. This evaluation process contributed very substantially to a transition in the institutional arrangements governing the landscape. Table 7.1 summarizes events, interviews, and documentary evidence, and indicates the key outcomes of the landscape evaluation process in terms of scenic resource protection.

It is important to recognize that the landscape authorship efforts of government agencies were constrained by the policy directives from the provincial cabinet. While they had the authority and technical expertise to complete complex tourism Geographical Information System inventories and scenic corridors zoning for Clayoquot Sound, the fundamental assumption that logging would be permitted in the scenic corridors undermined their ability to form a strong consensus with tourism and environmental actors.

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Table 7.1   Evaluating the tourism resources of Clayoquot Sound

Key Events	Key Interviews	Key Documents	Key Outcomes
1. Tofino Tourism Study, 1988, and Tofino Community Tourism Action Plan 1990	B, J, F	Careless 88, CTAPS 1990	Identification and evaluation of nature-based tourism potential in Clayoquot Sound.
2. Development of tourism resource policy, 1989-93	C, D, H, G, J.	Renewing the Industry Partnership 91. Tourism and Resource Mgt 91. Tourism Industry Resource Mgt. Needs 93. Recreation.. Tourism.. Cultural overlap 92. Draft CORE policy review 93	Tourism gains 'seat at the table' in resource identification/evaluation/designation. Tourism GIS inventory collaboration between ministries, tourism resource inventories included in BC land use planning
3. Coastal tourism resource inventory project, 1991-1992.	C,D,H,G	Coastal Tourism Resource Inventory Project 92	GIS-based tourism inventory undertaken for Clayoquot Sound coastal areas.
4. Vancouver Island Tourism Resource Project 1991-1992.	C,D, H, G.	Vancouver Island Tourism Resource Inventory Project 92	Inland tourism landscape resources inventoried for Clayoquot Sound.
5. Clayoquot Sound tourism studies, 1991-1992.	B, C, F, D, G, H, Ki,. Kii.	MacGregor 92.	Identification and evaluation of tourism potential in Clayoquot Sound.
6. Clayoquot Sound Land Use Decision, 1993-1994.	B, C, F, D, G, H, J, Ki, Kii	Clayoquot Sound Land Use Decision 93, CORE response 93, Gov't respons to CORE 93, Scientific Panel 93-95, Scenic Corridors 93.	Detailed evaluation of tourism landscape resources, terms of reference established, land use plan designated.
7. Scenic Corridors process, 1993-1995	B, C, F, D, G, H, J, Ki, Kii,	Scenic Corridors 93, Clayoquot Land Use Decision 93, Scientific Panel 95, Scenic Corridors 93.	Detailed GIS analysis of tourism landscape values undertaken with public/stakeholder feedback and revisions. Landscape 'intactness' emerges as central issue.
8. Scientific Panel for Sustainable Forest Practices 1993-1995.	F, E, Ki, Kii, L	Scientific Panel 93, Clayoquot Land Use Decision 93.	Clayoquot Sound landscape designated and managed for scenic resource protection.

7.1 The evaluation of tourism as a landscape resource in B.C.

The evaluation of landscape resources specifically as 'tourism' resources provided a new economic argument for the protection of wilderness, concurrent with the rapid evolution of Geographical Information System technology (GIS), which allowed massive amounts of detailed spatial data to be digitally represented and made available for public viewing. The rapid evolution of tourism resource mapping and inventory technology in the 1980s is described by a consultant (interview J):

> J. ... it became very clear to me in the early mid eighties that we were using economic recreation values to try and justify wilderness, and it became clear to me that that those are small dollars compared to tourism. So ... I did some very initial mapping of what the tourism resources of B.C. could look like.

> It was the first tourist resource mapping ever done. What became clear to me very fast was that the tourism industry saw itself as a service sector, it didn't see itself as a natural resource based sector. Particularly with "Super, Natural B.C. "... it occurred to me that we could use exactly the same techniques that we used doing forestry or wildlife planning, overlay mapping, identifying values geographically, being able to impart quantified values to geographical locations. Then this allows you to develop spatial plans, and it allows you to do conflict analysis and integration with other resources. Up until now because tourism has never done that, it wasn't possible.

So the tourism industry of the mid 1980s is presented in interview J as being historically a service sector with little interest in and knowledge of natural resource planning. The resource mapping and inventory techniques were however evolving in forestry, wildlife management, and in parks planning, and migrated to the Ministry of Tourism with the transfer of technical specialists and consultants from other ministries. The need for the technical capability in the Ministry of Tourism reflected government policy changes that identified tourism as a stakeholder in land use planning and decision-making (Ministry of Tourism 1992f).

Expo 86 had provided a powerful push to the emerging tourism industry in B.C., and the development of a satellite account for tourism in the early 1990s provided impressive provincial revenue figures. The satellite accounting system separated out revenues from several sectors of the tourism industry to establish the industry's net worth to the provincial economy. While the satellite account mostly focussed on service revenues in tourism, the evidence of dramatic growth in overall tourism economic activity was one more factor that supported tourism's 'seat at the table' in resource decision making.

By the early 1990s, in the CTRIP (Coastal Tourism Resource Inventory Program) study, tourism subject headings, entities and attributes had been created by the Ministry of Tourism's Sustainable Development Branch. 'Tourism resource entities' are "independent and distinct tourism resources that have conceptual or objective reality." 'Tourism resource attributes' are "the characteristics, qualities, and properties of tourism entities." 'Tourism resource subject areas' are "broad categories of tourism resources" (British Columbia 1993a). These were used to create detailed landscape map layers of southern coastal British Columbia. The map layers were based on modeling by landscape experts and on input from tourism operators and other stakeholders. These map layers included scenic resource polygons (geographical areas with common features), which ranked scenic values. So the expertise and technology for tourism resource evaluation was in place for Clayoquot Sound, needing only a policy and planning framework and funding to proceed with detailed inventory work and GIS mapping.

Before the CTRIP project was launched, Ric Careless of Ethos Consulting had prepared a study, 'Natural Resource Based Tourism in Northwestern British Columbia' (Careless 1991) for Industry, Science and Technology Canada, which provided a

resource description, economic profile, product description, and resource methodology. Careless mapped recreational, visual, and cultural values using the Canada Land Inventory land use maps which had been prepared in the 1960s, Ministry of Forests Visual Resources Inventory, and the Heritage Conservation Branch Cultural and Heritage Resources data (Careless 1991). The resource inventory mapping processes he used did not have very detailed comparative analysis capability. It was however a valuable initiative because some of the framework for future tourism resource analysis was developed in this study. Data from early resource inventory mapping was being digitized in the 1980s and put into databases. The Ministry of Forests and the Crown Lands Branch created GIS map layers for much of the province in the 1980s, and also accessed LANDSAT satellite imagery for use in land and resource planning. This data was not consistent in the way resources were described and interpreted, and tourism resource planners who wanted to develop a useful evaluative tool in GIS mapping had to negotiate a policy framework to ensure cooperation with those natural resource ministries which possessed key information (British Columbia 1992d, 1992f, 1993a).

A strong vision statement for tourism and substantial documentation of tourism's growing importance to the economic wellbeing of the province was crucial to support the shift in the Ministry of Tourism focus, and both were under consideration by 1991 (British Columbia 1992b). Since the Ministry of Tourism lacked a legislative mandate to engage in resource management and land use planning processes, alternative strategies for policy formulation emerged. These processes involved research, information services, and animation of interagency planning initiatives.

The Tourism Act was finally passed in the summer of 1995, identifying tourism's position as a resource-based industry. This Act eventually encompassed much of the resource policy thinking developed between 1989 and 1993. The development of

tourism resource inventory and management capabilities in the Ministry of Tourism occurred as Clayoquot Sound unfolded on the world stage, providing at very least some sharpening of policy focus and an opportunity to fast-track development of new mapping and inventory techniques.

From the perspective of tourism landscape authorship, the development of the GIS-based tourism inventory systems developed in the early 1990s contributed substantially to the capability of stakeholders to define and evaluate landscape resources for tourism. The new systems quickly provided maps of landscape tourism values, to be debated and revised by stakeholders and the public. GIS- based maps were also used by the Sierra Club and other environmental organizations to present their perspectives on Clayoquot Sound. The GIS computer files were circulated fairly freely between government, post secondary institutions, and environmental organizations because the information was publicly owned.

So the GIS- based tourism inventory maps were developed for Clayoquot Sound within a broader initiative for conducting tourism resource inventories throughout the province. Paralleling this inventory work was a series of key policy documents. These papers outlined different options for the Ministry of Tourism in terms of a role in tourism resource management. They were 'Renewing the Industry Partnership: Tourism and Resource Management,' Ministry of Development, Trade, and Tourism, 1991, and 'Tourism and Resource Management: A Consultation Program with Industry and Other Government Ministries in Accountability Mechanisms,' 1991. Subsequently in 1992, ARA Consulting Group was hired to produce a policy needs assessment piece for the Sustainable Development Branch entitled: 'Tourism Industry's Resource Management Needs.' This document went through many drafts (British Columbia 1992f) and the final report was produced in August 1993 (British Columbia 1993a).

Options to account for tourism's resource management needs were modeled in 1991 by

the Sustainable Development Branch (Table 7.2). The Ministry of Tourism acted as an

information/education gatekeeper as its role in land use planning was negotiated,

developing the inventory data essential to the identification, evaluation and designation

of valuable tourism landscape resources and coordinating the process by which tourist

resources gained profile and in some cases priority in resource management

designation. This process unfolded through the early 1990s, as described in Chapter 5.

In 1991, the following statement of needs was prepared by the Sustainable Development

Branch (British Columbia 1991c).

Table 7.2 Tourism industry's resource management needs

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1. Resource use decisions that affect the tourism industry need to be accountable
to the industry's interest. Of particular concern in this regard to industry are
tourism resource planning and resource tenure mechanisms.

2. The tourism development approval process should be rationalized
within a tourism resource planning context to simplify the process and
ensure that development initiatives are supported by appropriate resource
management.

3. Mechanisms should be established to support conflict resolution within
the industry.

The Clayoquot Sound process was so contentious that it provided some urgency for the

Tourism Ministry to develop its capacity to deal with land use issues, although direct,

causal linkages are hard to specifically identify. Justification for tourism's 'seat at the

table' in resource decision-making was developed through a complex negotiation and

consultation process involving Ministry of Tourism officials, consultants, the tourism

industry, community-based tourism representation, and inter-ministry consultations

about policy needs and tourism resource inventory. The Clayoquot Sound situation

provided a 'cautionary tale' for other areas of the province with similar problems, and

exposed what might have been lower- profile debates and negotiations to the scrutiny of

international attention.

The process of defining commonly agreed-upon GIS subject headings, resource entities

and attributes between Tourism, Culture, and Recreation Forestry established a

mutually acceptable way of identifying tourism resources as a precursor to the

identification and selection of policy tools:

> Recognizing that there was little information available on important
> tourism resources throughout the province, the Branch embarked on a
> provincial tourism resource inventory program to identify high value
> tourism resources that are important to the continued success of the
> tourism industry. The preparation of the inventory involves consultation
> with the tourism industry, input from other ministries, and the design of
> a rigorous methodology to identify and document the resource attributes
> (e.g. viewscapes, natural features, heritage resources, etc.) which are
> important in providing the basis for the product experience which the
> tourism industry sells. ('Tourism and Resource Management.'
> Unpublished working paper, Ministry of Tourism, Sustainable
> Development Branch, 1991:1)

The approach used by the Ministry of Tourism's Sustainable Development Branch in

developing the methodology for identifying tourism resources reevaluated the landscape

with a visual identity based on a new signification of landscape values, as described in

Chapter 6. These landscape values were based on both empirically defined and

evaluative criteria. They were incorporated into tourism GIS map layers in an iterative

process involving many alterations and revisions. These layers could now be overlaid

and compared with GIS layers from other resource users, forming a complex, multi-

layered image of landscape subjects, entities and attributes.

7.2   Tourism landscape resource evaluation methods

The resolution of resource conflicts can be facilitated by possession of specific sets of tourism landscape values data. The maps were available to stakeholders just like the satellite images and photographs of the area which have played such a powerful role in the publicizing by environmental organizations of forestry practices on Vancouver Island's West Coast. These tourism GIS maps of Clayoquot Sound were powerful landscape authoring documents in themselves. They represented proposed landscape scenic and other tourism values by their distribution of coloured polygons, based on resource inventory data. Although the GIS map drafts were not widely distributed, they were presented at open houses for critical review of the values and boundaries assigned to different tourism scenic landscape polygons.

Tourism stakeholders were involved in redrafts and revisions to the maps. The legitimacy of the process by which the GIS mapping for tourism resources was established was therefore of great importance in policy deliberations. The broader the level of agreement between ministries established in the preliminary phases of the process, the more validity and meaning was likely to be ascribed to the inventory data. The more validity ascribed to the inventory data, the more likely the evaluation of scenic values and other tourism resource values would be credible (British Columbia 1993a). The inclusion of scenic resources provided for a ranked evaluation system based on tourism operator input, combined with visual assessment by landscape experts. Tourism landscape authorship was built up as the map layers were revised through each successive draft because there was a clear statement about landscape values related to specific representation of tourism resource subject areas, as indicated in Table 7.3.

Table 7.3 Tourism Resource Subject Areas: GIS Map Layers used in Clayoquot Sound (British Columbia 1992f)

1. Physical Resources	2. Water Resources	3. Vegetation Resources
4. Fish Resources	5. Bird Resources	6. Mammal Resources
7. Scenic Resources	8. Heritage Resources	9. Land Status

10.Tourism Infrastructure 11. Eurasio-Canadian Heritage Resources

These map layers identify the specific resource entities that attract tourists to the Clayoquot Sound landscape. Not all layers identify specific tourism attributes. The attributes that were established actually evaluated the tourism resource, but were not exclusive to tourism interests alone. For example, wildlife habitat was not primarily identified for tourism purposes. The assignment of a particular resource value was an iterative process, which was marked by contestation, as illustrated by the issue of unmodified old growth forest discussed in Chapter 6.

Adoption of the images and language of tourism resource management by other ministries anxious to further their own reevaluation of resources also played an informal but important role in policy formulations. The establishment of common subject categories, entities, and attributes transcended the specific interests of tourism in protecting its asset base, because the assemblage of categories was built largely from earlier inventories derived from recreation, forestry, and other resource users.

Table 7.4 represents an early scenic resources draft from the Vancouver Island Tourism Resource Inventory Project.

Table 7.4   The Scenic Resources subject heading: Landscape

Entities and Attributes   (British Columbia 1992e.)

Subject Heading- Scenic Resources

Entity 1)   Landscape Units:
In the Vancouver Island Tourism Resource Inventory, the land area has been divided into unique polygons identified by a landscape unit number. Whenever there was a significant change in any of the attributes being mapped, (other than features,) a new landscape unit was defined. In addition, separate units were identified where there were obvious features, e.g. a range of mountains would be separated from adjacent ranges.

Entity 2)   Scenic Corridor:
A type of landscape unit representing the viewshed of a land or water travel route.

Attributes:

degree of alteration	1) intensively developed,
	2) highly altered non- urban,
	3) moderately altered non- urban,
	4) small structure alteration/natural setting,
	5) natural- appearing, unaltered.
type of alteration	1. logging/industry, 2. agricultural, 3.urban/residential
water influence	1. low, 2. moderate, 3. high
water type	1. river/stream, 2. lake 3. ocean
variety in land cover	1. low, 2.moderate, 3. high
terrain heights	1. low, 2. moderate, 3.high.
variety in topography	1. low, 2. moderate, 3. high
views	1. limited 2. moderate, 3. Excellent

Tourism resource mapping in the early 1990s built upon layers of previous resource mapping, synthesizing the information, and establishing value scales which reflected the landscape resource values of other ministries. These value judgments altered over time in Clayoquot Sound as a result of input from tourism, environmental, and other actors in the scenic corridors process. An example is the revisions regarding the tourism value of unbroken stretches of old growth forests. The synthesizing process

between ministries built alliances as common resource interests emerged, particularly around essential and modifying features in the landscape. The Ministry of Tourism identified two levels of dependency on the resource base for tourism activities (Table 7.5). The level of dependency allowed for the development of hierarchies of value for tourism landscape features to be used in negotiations between stakeholders.

Table 7.5   Essential and Modifying Features (British Columbia 1993a)

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i) Essential Features: in this case the tourism resource is essential to the success of the tourism activity. These resources must be present in order for the tourism activity to occur, therefore these resources determine whether the activity will take place. For example, nature observation has a primary degree of dependence on wildlife populations. The location of the high concentrations of specific wildlife species is where the activity will take place.

ii) Modifying Features: in this case the tourism resource is important as a feature to the success of the activity. The tourism resource is one of many resources which complement the resources which have a primary degree of dependence. The tourism resource is not required on its own, but a combination of the tourism resources which are rated as having a secondary degree of dependence is required.

Figure 7.1 (British Columbia 1992e) illustrates the way GIS modeling was used to create tourism capability map layers, which indicated product potential in particular landscapes based on the combination of tourism resource map layers and analysis of existing use. Implicit in the recognition of varying degrees of dependence on resources, both as single features and in combination, is the idea of a hierarchy of tourism landscape values, requiring different management and policy regimes. For example, ecotourism destination areas of pristine wilderness are dependent on high level protection of the landscape, while a second growth recreational landscape may require facilities, trails, and zoning to separate incompatible user groups. The landscape management regime that tends to

emerge over time is based on some degree of consensus of the value and relative fragility of the landscape resources.

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│  ┌─────────────────────────┐      ┌─────────────────────────┐   │
│  │ Tourism Resource        │      │  Existing Use           │   │
│  │ Map Layers              │      │                         │   │
│  │                         │      │                         │   │
│  │ features                │      │ accommodation           │   │
│  │ fish resources          │      │ tourism facilities/     │   │
│  │ birds                   │      │   services              │   │
│  │ mammals                 │      │ sport fishing           │   │
│  │ vegetation              │      │ communities             │   │
│  │ scenic resources        │      │ parks                   │   │
│  │ heritage                │      │ ecological reserves     │   │
│  │ Eurasio-Canadian        │      │ highway traffic counts  │   │
│  │   heritage              │      │ ferry counts            │   │
│  │ land status             │      │                         │   │
│  └─────────────────────────┘      └─────────────────────────┘   │
│                   ╲                      ╱                       │
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│                   (  using GIS modeling    )                    │
│                   (  techniques to generate:)                   │
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│                              │                                  │
│       ┌───────────────────────────────────────────┐            │
│       │ Tourism Capability Map Layers              │            │
│       │                                            │            │
│       │ bus touring- general                       │            │
│       │ bus touring- heritage theme                │            │
│       │ bike touring- paved road                   │            │
│       │ bike touring- gravel road                  │            │
│       │ multiday hiking                            │            │
│       │ resort                                      │            │
│       │ multiday natural history                   │            │
│       │ multiday coastal tourism-land based        │            │
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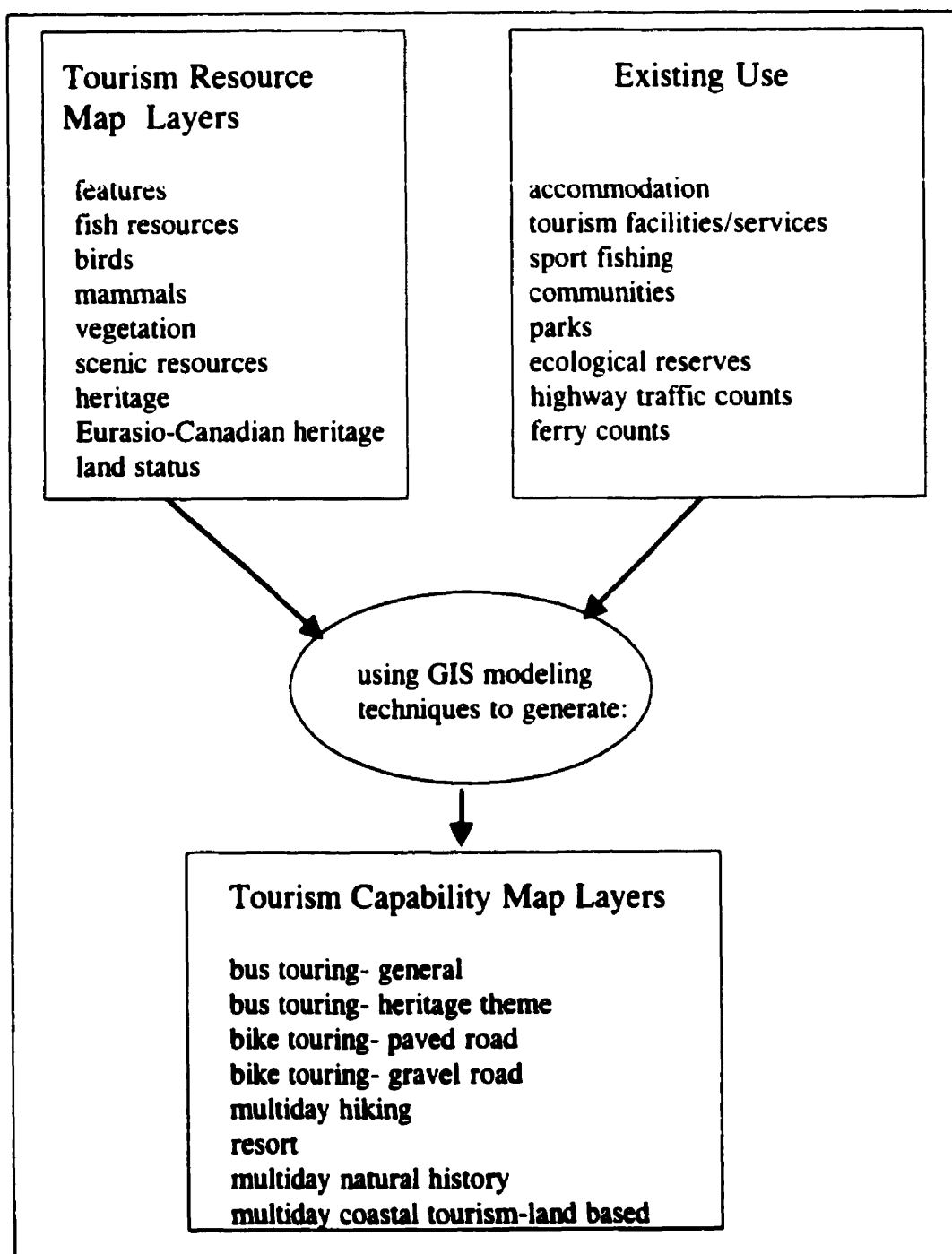
Figure 7.1   Structure of the Vancouver Island Tourism Resource Inventory
(British Columbia 1991d)

7.3   The British Columbia Resource Legislative Regime

The issue of policy tools to establish participation by the Ministry of Tourism in resource allocation and management was addressed provincially by:

i) identifying the tourism resources, evaluating their relative importance, and designating the level of management and protection required, ii) documenting the federal and provincial legislative regime which directly or indirectly plays a role in protection and management of tourism resources, iii) establishing where management and protection gaps exist in current legislative regimes, iv) addressing the gaps through legislation, management, and planning of tourism resources (British Columbia 1992e, British Columbia 1992f, British Columbia 1992g). The actual sequence in which these processes happened was not quite so well organized as may be inferred from above. Some processes were concurrent, some were sequential, and some were discontinuous. The evaluation process defined the resource needs for different types of tourism activity based on essential and modifying landscape features.

The creation of tourism resource capability maps for Clayoquot Sound presented visually evaluations of relative landscape worth for tourism as interpreted by landscape experts. Negotiation and debate over landscape evaluation between different actors in the arena of contestation was based on the level of landscape protection from industrial resource activities, predominantly logging and fish farming. The use of travel corridors to protect the visual quality of the landscape for tourists was a zoning device commonly utilized in forest landscape planning, but the concept that any level of landscape modification by logging were acceptable for the nature-based tourism developed in Clayoquot Sound was contested, as indicated in Chapter 6. The complex of demands for natural resource access in British Columbia is illustrated in Figure 7.2. As discussed in Chapter 4, the legislative regime in Canada was developed both

provincially and federally to maximize natural resource revenues to government. The primary resource extractive regime, developed for the most part over 80 years ago, did not account for consumptive landscape use.

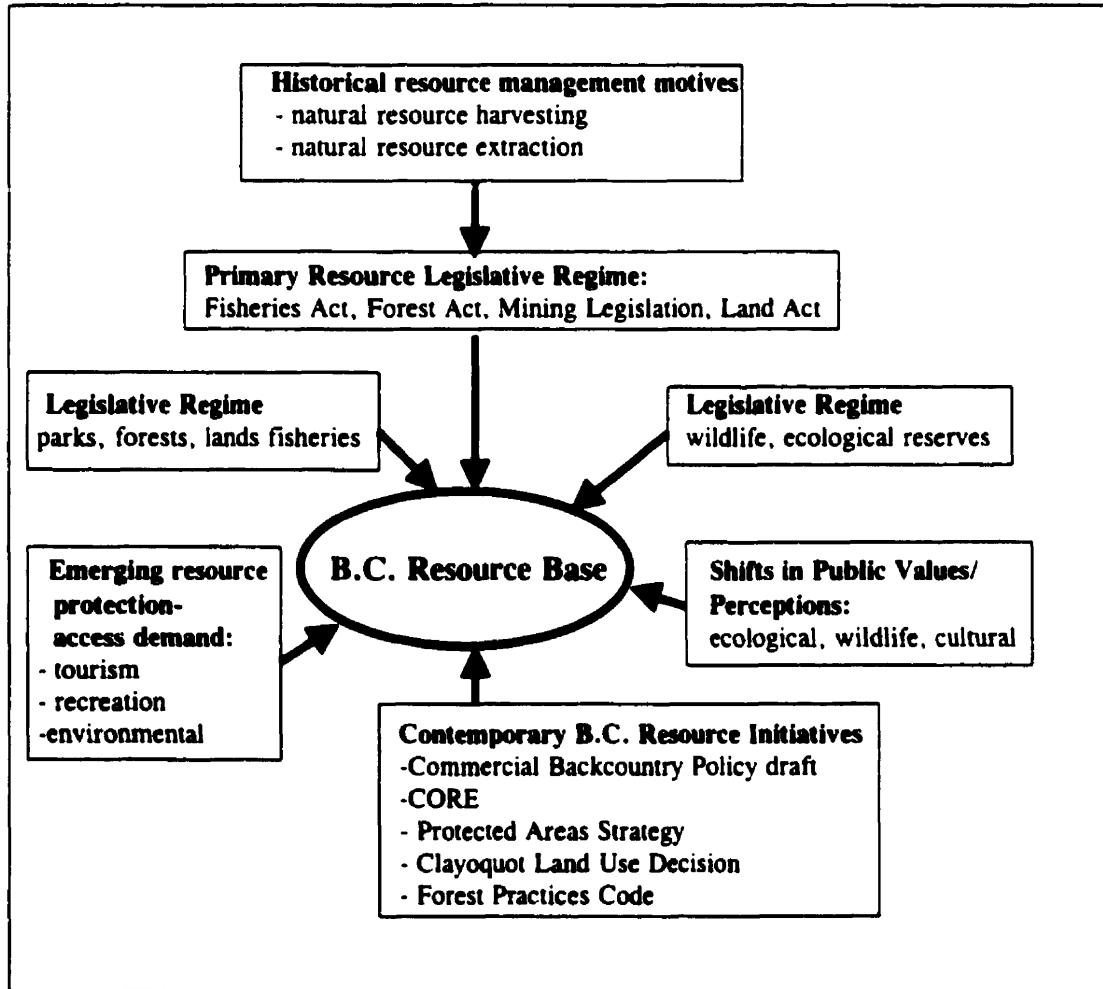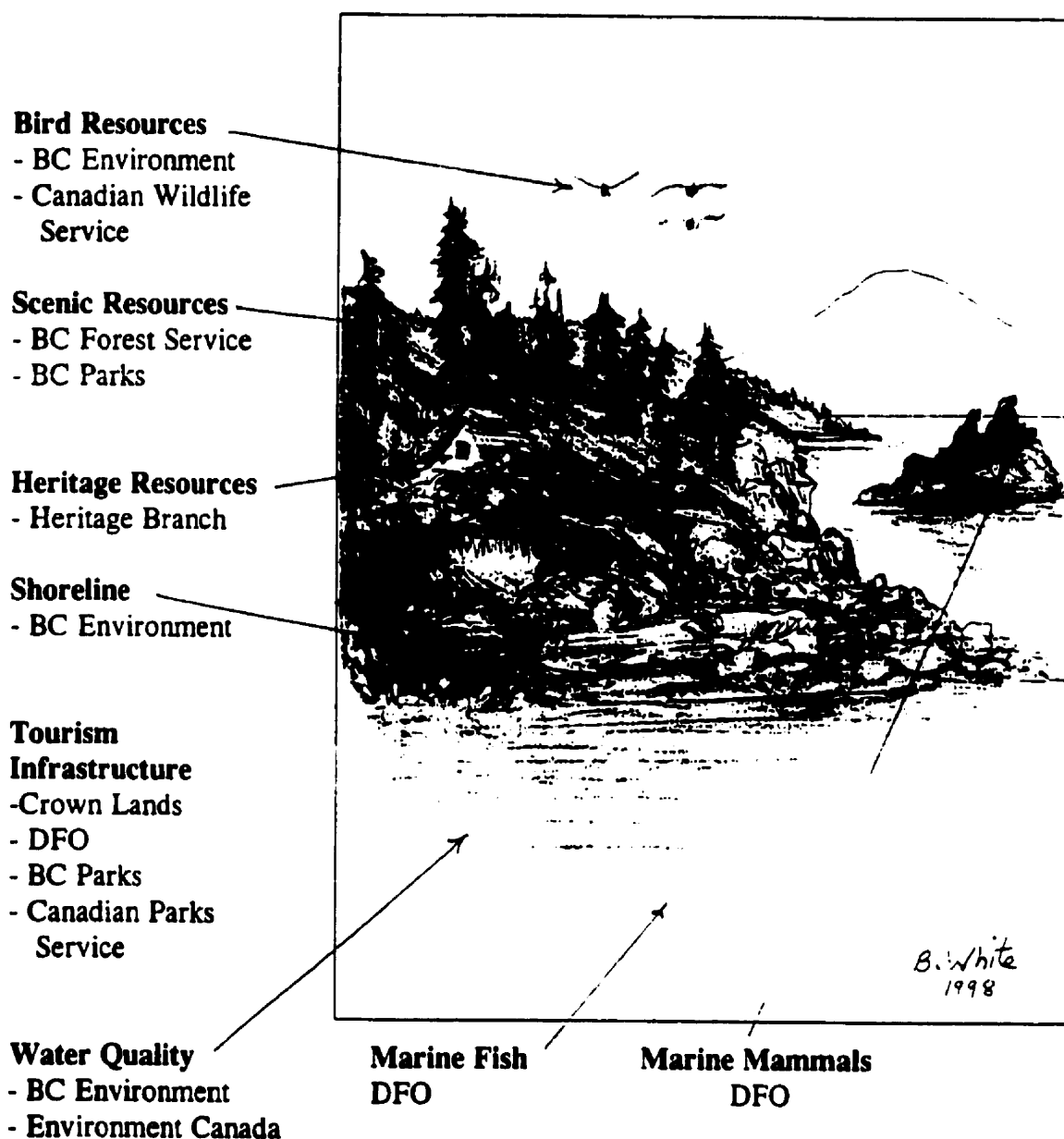**Figure 7.2 The British Columbia resource legislative regime** (British Columbia 1992e)

B.C. resource management initiatives of the 1980s and early 1990s, including the Commission on Resources and Environment, the Protected Areas Strategy, the Commercial Backcountry Policy process (not implemented during the period of this study), the Forest Practices Code and the Clayoquot Land Use Decision, all designated

accountability and protection mechanisms which modified the earlier resource legislative regimes. As illustrated in Figure 7.2, these legislative reform initiatives were land use planning strategies which attempted to account for emerging resource protection demands for tourism, recreation, and environment, and concurrently for the shifts in public values related to the protection of nature, which were described in Chapters 4, 5, and 6.

The tourism, recreation, and environmental values driving the different resource legislative reform initiatives included 'biodiversity' and 'forest landscape intactness' values as indicated in Chapter 6. Attempts were made to retrofit tourism and recreation needs into existing productivist legislative regimes, where institutional arrangements were constructed to maximize resource extraction. These initiatives were heavily contested at all stages of the landscape authoring process. This was in part because of increasing resource scarcity due to years of exceeding the annual allowable cut, but also to fundamental philosophical disagreements about resource priorities.

Evaluation of landscapes leading to the designation of a blend of resource extraction and tourism land use were challenged by tourism and environmental actors in the Clayoquot Sound arena of contestation because ecosystems and representative scenery were seen to require high levels of protection from logging throughout the Sound (interviews B, C, Ki and Kii, L). The legislative regime accounting for the institutional arrangements governing tourism landscape resources in Clayoquot Sound is illustrated in Figure 7.3.

Bird Resources
- BC Environment
- Canadian Wildlife
  Service

Scenic Resources
- BC Forest Service
- BC Parks

Heritage Resources
- Heritage Branch

Shoreline
- BC Environment

Tourism Infrastructure
-Crown Lands
- DFO
- BC Parks
- Canadian Parks
  Service

Water Quality
- BC Environment
- Environment Canada

Marine Fish
DFO

Marine Mammals
DFO

B. White
1998

Figure 7.3   Clayoquot Sound tourism landscape resources-

legislative regime (Redrawn from British Columbia 1992f)

The management and protection gaps which emerged from the analysis of the tourism landscape resource legislative regime can be summarized as follows. For land resources, the Ministry of Tourism played an advisory role only to B.C. Lands.

Only water resources within parks were managed with tourism in mind. Vegetation resources outside of provincial parks were not managed with a tourism perspective. Fish resources were managed by the federal Department of Fisheries, which dealt with commercial, native, and sports fisheries. For birds and mammals, management of habitat was not included in B.C. Ministry of Environment legislation. Scenic Resources were not managed for tourism values outside of B.C. Parks. Heritage sites and resources were protected, but only a limited number of sites were actively managed. Finally, the Ministry of Tourism only played an advisory role to B.C. Lands in the management of tourism infrastructure (British Columbia 1993a). So the evidence indicates that the provincial and federal legislative regime for resource management had structural elements which were exclusionary and which mitigated against the inclusion of tourism landscape resource interests.

> The management of the scenic resource and access to the chosen recreational touristic activity is not managed systematically, and is not identifiable in the current legislative regime as a recognizable theme. The segmentation of management on a resource-by resource basis means that security and control of the landscape-based tourist experience or product is fragile and uncertain. (British Columbia 1993a:13).

The subsequent 1995 scenic corridors report, based on very detailed landscape analysis, expert input, and ongoing debate, negotiation, and revision with a range of stakeholders, was put on hold by the provincial cabinet, who were mindful of the negative publicity which could result if the report was released prior to an expected leadership change and subsequent election.

The report pointed out that the Ministry of Tourism did not have the authority to account for tourism resources in land use and management decisions. The existing acts which addressed resource management and protection were administered by other

agencies and did not account for tourism's resource needs. The designation of Crown Land for various uses, including tourism use, was administered and managed by the Ministry of Environment, Lands, and Parks and the Ministry of Tourism was only involved at the review stage of land use proposals (British Columbia 1993a). The Wildlife Act did not provide the Ministry of Environment, Lands, and Parks with the ability to manage the wildlife habitat critical to the survival of wildlife species, some of which provided the basis for tourism products.

The problem that the Ministry of Tourism encountered was that there was no provision for control and designation (from a tourism perspective) of the natural setting in which tourist activities take place. For example, a Clayoquot Sound wilderness kayaking experience could be compromised by the introduction of a resource road for forestry or mineral extraction. From the perspective of the tourism operator, this would reduce the quality of the product and would have severe implications for international, national, and regional competitiveness in the marketplace. It could affect financing and ultimately it could place the tourism business in jeopardy (Careless 1988, British Columbia 1991c, British Columbia 1993e). In Clayoquot Sound the problem was made more extreme by the dominance of water travel and the visibility of resource extraction activities from travel routes (interview C).

The policy development difficulty encountered by tourism in addressing the resource management issue was historically grounded in the stages of provincial policy growth. Adventure tourism and ecotourism, and ski resorts and tour bus routes were not evident when the earliest layers of resource management legislation and policy were established for British Columbia. The policy literature dealing with tourism rarely mentioned resource management, leaving the Ministry of Tourism to develop its precedent-setting landscape management interests with few points of reference in the existing policy

regime. This process of creating new policy was an evaluative process, which of necessity utilized the language of the existing productivist legislative regime to initiate new evaluative processes for tourism landscape resources and to address the management and protections gaps in the legislative regime. Through the early 1990s, the Clayoquot Sound events and processes outlined in Chapter 5 were set into a larger arena of policy debate about reevaluation of the whole province's resource base to account for tourism, recreation, and environmental values. The high national and international visibility of Clayoquot Sound created a 'laboratory' effect, whereby the arena of contestation added urgency and ongoing public and media attention to the evaluation of landscape resources and the construction of a new set of institutional arrangements for designation.

Provincial policy in Canada developed in focus from an early preoccupation with defence and internal order, to resource development and exploitation, to the delivery of social services and benefits (Chandler and Chandler 1979). Tourism, traditionally associated with business and community development, has had only recent linkages with social policy in the context of community economic development. It was only in the 1980s and 1990s that the tourism industry had to confront a resource management legislative regime that was established before the turn of the century. While the linkages between provincial social and resource policy have been made through the expansion of provincial regional economic development policy, tourism was largely left outside of economic development until the early 1980s. This was in part because the tourism industry was not large enough to be seen in redistributive terms, as were education and health and welfare (Pearce 1989). After the recession of the early 1980s, attitudes towards tourism changed markedly as resource extraction and associated processing, both long-term features of the British Columbia economy, failed to restore the previously enjoyed level of wealth and employment. Concurrently, the social and

ecological costs of resource extraction also became apparent, leading to increasing

levels of conflict and public, industry, and governmental debate over resource policy as

new values about nature began to emerge.

This goal statement intended for the CORE policy review process illustrates the policy

shifts which lead to new landscape evaluation strategies within the Ministry of Tourism:

> The prosperity of the tourism industry is, in part, due to British
> Columbia's reputation as a "Super Natural" destination offering quality
> tourism experiences based on its outstanding natural and cultural
> features. It is important therefore, that resource management and land
> use planning continue to address tourism interests from wilderness and
> old growth forests, to marine and fresh water environments, to fish and
> wildlife habitats....
> Goal: In cooperation with the industry, communities, regions, Aboriginal
> peoples, other government agencies and the federal government, the
> Ministry's goal is to develop a prosperous and sustainable tourism
> industry that will provide quality career opportunities for residents and a
> superior vacation experience for visitors.
> (CORE Policy Review, 1993, Ministry of Tourism and Ministry
> Responsible for Culture:1)

This draft policy acknowledged the existing institutional arrangements governing land

and resource use and the need to work with other ministries. Language similar to the

above was included in the final CORE report. In the case of Clayoquot Sound

processes, fundamental issues of landscape intactness called into question the

cooperative intent of the Ministry of Tourism, and the very conceptualization of

'sustainability.' Clayoquot Sound landscapes had been preserved intact because of the

earlier drive for industrial efficiency by the forest companies and the Ministry of

Forests, as detailed in Chapter 5. The application of 'sustainable tourism' policies and

the evaluation of tourism landscape resources as part of a range of 'sustainable'

landscape values in Clayoquot Sound was contradicted by the 'scarcity' of the Sound's

landscape, since all the other large Vancouver Island watersheds had been substantially

modified by clear cut logging. The existence of the intact old growth forest landscape of Clayoquot Sound was a productivist strategy that backfired because values changed, and because clear cutting had eliminated accessible alternative areas on Vancouver Island and had thereby increased the uniqueness and scarcity value of Clayoquot Sound.

The authoring processes within the provincial government were driven by interests in working within the existing legislative regime, filling in legislative gaps, and cooperating with the various government departments responsible for tourism landscape resources. Clayoquot Sound was very much part of this larger provincial agenda, but had a separate dynamic in terms of the evaluation phase of landscape authorship, driven by specific and very high profile values about ecological intactness and scarcity. Partnerships between government ministries based on common recreation, tourism, and environmental interests emerged as overlaps of resource interests were identified and mapped in the emerging Clayoquot Sound inventory and evaluation processes. These partnerships were enhanced by the availability of budgets to outsource development work to consultants and to share both the expense and the results between provincial government agencies.

Tourism resource policy development needed comparative economic values to other resource values for landscapes proposed for protection or preservation. This issue, driven in part by the Clayoquot Sound arena of contestation, accelerated the development of tourism landscape evaluation methodology in the early 1990s. Tourism industry focus groups reflected this advice when the resource management needs assessment process was under way. The following policy recommendations were developed from focus group recommendations:

1. More important than pursuing separate tourism resource legislation at this time is the need to clearly specify tourism's interests in the form of a comprehensive and clear mandate statement.

2. Tourism must effectively communicate its interest to other agencies and to industry as well as the highest levels of government to continue to build support for tourism resource management concerns.

3. Tourism should not create new initiatives but rather participate as effectively as possible in current initiatives related to resource management planning and legislation/regulation review.

4. Regional support for tourism participation is a major issue and innovative means should be sought to provide effective tourism participation (British Columbia 1993a:1-2).

The policy recommendations to the Ministry of Tourism were: to avoid tourism resource legislation for the time being; strengthen the business plan; encourage the examination of the need for legislation; work to adjust impacting legislation from other ministries; and continue participation in CORE, the Protected Areas Strategy, and other areas where tourism resource interests were involved. Further recommendations included the rationalization of tourism's resource development review role, a tourism resource policy statement, and:

> ....special attention to the role of landscapes in tourism products which the province offers. This may include the creation of a new initiative to consider inter-agency landscape management policies (British Columbia 1993 a:6-2).

7.4 The Clayoquot Land Use Decision and subsequent landscape resource evaluation processes.

The Clayoquot Land Use Decision in the Spring of 1993 occurred just as the final draft of the ARA Tourism's Resource Management Needs study (British Columbia 1993a)

was completed for the Sustainable Development Branch of the Ministry of Tourism. Experience in GIS based landscape evaluation and inventory work had been gained with the CTRIPS study and the Vancouver Island Tourism Resource Inventory. Additionally, overlap analysis of subject headings, entities and attributes had been mostly completed with the Ministry of Forests Recreation Division, Heritage and Culture, and Tourism (British Columbia 1992d). So interagency cooperation on creating consistent landscape resource inventory subject headings, entities, and attributes for GIS was in place, together with the tools and procedures for stakeholder input and the beginnings of a policy framework on sustainable tourism. The Scenic Corridors process launched out of the Clayoquot Land Use Decision was an opportunity to test out tourism landscape resource evaluation processes developed in previous studies.

A government official (interview G) explains the thinking behind the Scenic Corridors concept in the case of Clayoquot Sound as identifying key travel nodes, corridors and destination areas according to visual quality expectations of particular user groups, such as ocean kayakers. The activity of ocean kayaking was seen as being dependent on a high quality scenic resource based on the water travel corridors and nodes of Clayoquot Sound. Mapping of scenic amenities to be protected was based on assessments of the 'visual horizon' and 'importance' to the kayaking experience. The mapping and evaluation of the scenic corridors of Clayoquot Sound was to encompass other non-tourism interests as well:

> G. Tourism actually spans the range of interests very well. On the one hand many of the amenities and attributes identified as being important to tourism corresponded to the amenities and attributes that for example the conservation sector thought were important. Examples might include an old growth forest, or a pristine vista that was important to tourism, that was also considered important to the conservation sector. On the other hand, tourism is an industry, and there is an economic interest that

> *tourism operators are pursuing. ...This gives tourism representatives the ability to span that range from conservation to the need for finding opportunities for economic growth and development.*

The policy and technical assessment tools were in place to proceed with detailed inventory/evaluation work in Clayoquot Sound, and the two processes, scenic corridors and the Scientific Panel, were able to draw on a basic set of mapping data and also on some new, sophisticated computer equipment acquired by the Ministry of Tourism to assist in scenic evaluation. A government official (interview C) describes the process of resource inventory and evaluation in Clayoquot Sound:

> *C. ... we used the GIS in Clayoquot Sound to do a number of things. We supported the whole scenic corridors mapping process, all of the mapping - we did a ton of mapping in there, we had a person who really pushed us along on that.... we worked with the Forest Service and Environment... to start plotting these maps of Clayoquot Sound and start to show what had been logged, we could take the logging history and put that on the map, and all our recent approvals on the map, and just keep a record every month of what was being approved and disapproved for everybody to see.*

The GIS mapping was a technical tool to keep track of the rate and circumstance of landscape change as well as an evaluative mechanism for landscape resources. The stakeholders, the public and the media could see the rate and nature of landscape change on the latest iteration of GIS maps, and could respond according to their assessment of the situation. The GIS mapping in Clayoquot Sound provided for public and stakeholder input and adjustment, and in theory combined an 'expert' perception with a 'public/stakeholder' perception. New landscape evaluation techniques allowed for very detailed scenic analysis of viewscapes, and allowed stakeholders and the public to respond to successive revised landscape resource evaluations.

However, there was considerable debate and criticism of the actual designation of values in the landscape resource mapping process, and because of the scenic corridors terms of reference, certain evaluation processes remained contentious, were ignored, or fell outside the terms of reference. A tourism operator (interview F) provided the following critique of the scenic corridors process:

> *F. So the (scenic corridors) report has been written by the Ministry of Tourism basically.... Because there's no continuities attached to the scenic corridors- its a line, its visual, it has nothing to do with wildlife at all, or wilderness, so from my point of view it doesn't adequately address it at all, but to a certain degree, it wasn't meant to. It wasn't meant to deal with that issue.*

> *There was an attempt made early on in the process to identify the fact that one of the tourism products in Clayoquot Sound is wildlife. Whales being the obvious one, but land mammals being another one, and birds, so there was an attempt to say that if we were going to map landscape features in Clayoquot Sound, and things that were important for the tourism industry, then seal haul outs, wildlife trees, whale feeding grounds, obviously, known bear foraging locations, would be things that should be specifically marked on a map, and then accounted for in the planning process. There was a reluctance on the committee's part to do that....*

Informant F indicated that wildlife sites were identified but not valued, while scenic features were categorized as being waterfalls, cliffs, sandy beaches, and were ranked. Wildlife sites, such as the eagle nesting trees which are major attractions throughout the Sound, bear shoreline feeding areas, and whale feeding areas, were mapped but were not valued and were not added in to the zonation which was attached to the scenic corridor designations.

> *F. ... some of the whale watching boats... said the water - everything in Clayoquot Sound has the potential and is important to us, and as it is reduced, of course some areas become more and more important, because there's less and less opportunity.*

F. I think personally there should have been an across the board high designation, in all of the scenic corridors, given that they only comprise 17% of the landscape the whole of the area should have been designated as high protection with minimal non-visible activity available in them, and gone from there. Instead what we've ended up with are three different zones in the scenic corridors only one of which offers that high protection, no visible activity.

F. So, we've fragmented the 17%, again, and we're not protecting the tourism resource by doing so. And given how Clayoquot Sound has been seen, how it's presented in some of the more famous visual shots of Clayoquot Sound, that are posters or postcards, and almost all of the media coverage of Clayoquot Sound is aerial, that's one of Clayoquot Sounds amazing beauties, and there was no attempt in fact, it was deliberately excluded, vistas from an airplane were determined to be impossible to deal with. All we could look at were vistas from specific points, on roads, or on the water.

So the critique of the GIS mapping as an evaluative methodology from this operator's point of view was that wildlife habitat and features were inadequately mapped and valued, there was insufficient recognition of the touristic need for intactness in the landscape, particularly in terms of aerial views, and because only the wildest, most scenic areas were designated for the highest level of protection, there would be a tendency to concentrate tourism activities in those areas and not protect areas with a lower designation. These critiques, and many other similar comments, were fed back into the GIS mapping process, and new drafts were prepared. Because the terms of reference specified that the viewscapes in the scenic corridors would have to accommodate logging, the scenic corridors process was by definition working within some highly contentious parameters, and the reclassification of corridors to a higher level of protection was met with objections from the forest industry.

The issue of intactness of forest canopy in the scenic corridors was addressed but in the absence of any final scenic corridors report being released, it was evaluated in later

drafts of the model but not dealt with in a substantial, public manner from the

perspective of this tourism operator (interview Kii):

> *Kii. I'm going half a step backwards, where those designations and*
> *decisions come from, background work; one of the most recent and*
> *relevant, supposedly, processes to tourism as scenic corridors process,*
> *was in a specific session that was held for tourism here in town, apart*
> *from the regular meetings. And numerous times after that it was stressed*
> *that something critical was missing. The perception and inclusion in the*
> *model of an intact forest canopy landscape -- this was very important to*
> *tourism. And although it was brought up several times, it was initially*
> *not addressed, and then somewhat addressed, and then sort of picked up*
> *and said: "See, we did this on this iteration of the model" and set aside*
> *before any further planning and development of the model went on. So it*
> *was not even allowed to be incorporated; apparently it was not within the*
> *mandate to do so. And that was pointed out as being a very important*
> *aspect for tourism planning, the use of landscape.*

The evidence indicates that the Ministry of Tourism was largely responsible for

developing and coordinating the tourism landscape resource evaluation process in

Clayoquot Sound. Partnerships developed with other ministries with similar resource

interests resulted in greater authority for tourism because protection and preservation

interests tended to overlap. The resource inventory process, even though it was viewed

by some tourism operators as being seriously flawed, helped to evolve the language and

visuals necessary to define landscape values for tourism in the broader sense, although

this has proved to be little comfort to the tourism operators who invested so much effort

into the various Clayoquot Sound land use planning processes. The resource evaluation

process created such a complex web of restrictions and stakeholder review processes

that ongoing timber extraction became an unfeasible, uneconomic enterprise because it

took so long to get approval to proceed with any actual logging. Forest harvesting in

Clayoquot Sound was constrained by reevaluation of scarce tourism, recreation, and

environmental resources by emerging coalitions of interests within government, aided by new technologies and methodologies for resource evaluation.

In summary, tourism landscape authorship in this evaluation phase in Clayoquot Sound involved a highly complex and contested dialectic between actors both within and outside government, with successive drafts of tourism resource maps moving the evaluation of landscape resources towards post-productivist values. The landscape authorship efforts of environmentalist and tourism actors were frequently contrary to the scenic corridors process because the terms of reference provided for different zones of protection and allowed landscape modification along the waterways of Clayoquot Sound. All the technical GIS wizardry in the world could not overcome this fundamental problem, because the Ministry of Tourism had to abide by the terms of reference which had been set for them by the provincial cabinet. The environmental and tourism actors, on the other hand, saw the scenic corridors zoning as a way of undermining their landscape authorship efforts which were directed towards the protection of an intact old growth forest landscape.

The final Scenic Corridors report was revised in late 1995, and was submitted to the provincial cabinet for approval. The revisions in the final draft included changes to the Scenic Corridors zoning which reflected the need for intactness, and identification and evaluation of some of the key wildlife features. The final draft was not publicly released, and was not formally accepted by cabinet. The fundamental dispute with the environmental and tourism actors over the need for unbroken stretches of old growth forest could not be reconciled with the Scenic Corridor study's terms of reference, and in the confrontational atmosphere of the day, the government wished to avoid further criticism and attention. The final report was forwarded to the Scientific Panel for consideration in its recommendations.

The release of the Scientific Panel Report in the summer of 1995 reflected many elements of the scenic corridors recommendations, and since it was accepted and implemented in its entirety by the provincial government, it effectively provides together with the Clayoquot Land Use Decision the basis for the next chapter on landscape designation.

Chapter 8: Designation

The tourism landscape designation phase was defined in Chapter 3 as "the creation and implementation of authorized land uses that are consistent with the tourism image, supported by a land use plan and enabling legislation and policy." Tourism, recreation, and environmental values were identified, signified, and evaluated for Clayoquot Sound as landscape resources in a series of iterations and drafts throughout the events identified in Chapter 5. These iterations were non-linear, overlapping, and discontinuous. These iterations were viewed and contested by the different actors. Some areas were designated for protection in the Clayoquot Land Use Decision, representing a change in the institutional arrangements governing land use from a productivist to a post-productivist landscape regime. Other areas were designated for the protection of tourism, recreation, and environmental values with 'controlled' levels of logging activity permitted. Integrated resource management strategies utilizing forestry 'visual quality objectives' to account for tourism, recreation, and environmental values were zoned. Finally, an Interim Measures Agreement established a Central Region Board as a management structure for Clayoquot Sound. The Interim Measures Agreement and the Board were established to ensure that First Nations future access to resources would not be compromised prior to treaty settlement. (Interim Measures Agreement 1994 p.6).

Clayoquot Sound's substantially intact landscape had been designated for future resource extraction as a result of earlier forest industry decisions outlined in Chapters 4 and 5. From the tourism operator's point of view, landscape values would be lost by land use designations involving logging (interviews F, B, Ki, Kii). The debates over landscape 'intactness' and 'biodiversity' permitted little room for compromise between environmental and tourism actors on one side, and the forest industry and their allies on

the other side. The 'expert' consultants and government actors responsible for the designation phase of the tourism landscape authorship cycle therefore needed strategies which facilitated the transition to the post-productivist landscape designation, while fulfilling the requirements for ongoing forestry activity mandated in the Clayoquot Land Use Decision.

8.1 Implementation processes

Implementation processes identified in the Scientific Panel report involving logging became so complex, participatory and politicized that protection of the key tourism asset of 'landscape intactness' was thereby partially achieved through an institutionalized process that slowed down and impeded the rate of landscape change rather than through comprehensive, legislated landscape protection. The upgrading of protection status in the scenic corridors process moved the most intact, accessible scenic corridors into a substantially protected status, but increased pressure for resource extraction elsewhere in the Sound. So the 'designation' phase involved 'process mechanisms' for decision making as well as legislative and regulatory policy devices.

The land claims process for Meares Island could also be considered a 'process mechanism,' consistent with the history of contestation over landscape resources documented in Chapters 4 and 5. The Interim Measures Agreement, implemented through the Central Region Board, prevented the preemption of treaty settlements through moratoriums on resource extraction. The complex and time consuming review process mechanisms contributed substantially to the temporary protection of the tourism landscape of Clayoquot Sound. However, the Agreement also allowed for substantial future Aboriginal forest extraction, a cause of concern for environmentalists and tourism operators.

The intent of this chapter is to document the land use policy and process mechanisms which specifically have addressed tourism needs in Clayoquot Sound, and to identify the enabling legislation and process mechanisms which provided a role for tourism in landscape resource decision making. The policy documents are indicated in Table 8.1.

**Table 8.1 Legislation and policy designating tourism
landscape interests in Clayoquot Sound**

The Clayoquot Land Use Decision 1993.

The Report of the Scientific Panel on Sustainable Forest Practices in Clayoquot Sound, 1995 (incorporating scenic corridors).

British Columbia Tourism Act, 1996.

While Chapters 5 and 7 discuss other policy and planning documents which have a bearing on landscape decision making in Clayoquot Sound these three pieces specifically designate the tourism industry's landscape interests, and all three received BC Legislative approval. The first two provide a definitive policy framework for Clayoquot Sound, and the BC Tourism Act provides a general mandate for tourism's seat at the table in provincial resource deliberations. The Tourism Act is presented more as contextual information than as a substantial contributor to the designation process.

'Designation' in the case of Clayoquot Sound has been a complex, contested series of events, involving policy decisions and implementation processes which have unfolding while under intense scrutiny from national and international public interests and local stakeholder interests. The ever-increasing number of tourists to the area has

contributed to awareness of Clayoquot Sound's amenities and the growth of the service economy for Tofino. Tourists, who may have considerable political influence once they return home, may gain a personal stake in the future of the area and interact with the tourism operators who act as their guides and landscape interpreters. While 'the tourists' are not synonymous with 'the public,' they represent an informed group that has 'been there' and that has likely developed opinions about the relative value of the landscape (Lowenthal 1978). No definitive research has been conducted to prove this point in the case of Clayoquot Sound, although ample evidence exists in travel writer's accounts and newspaper reports (Matas 1995).

The ' iconographic' status of Clayoquot Sound as an internationally significant environmental battleground continued since the Scientific Panel's report was accepted by the Harcourt government in 1995. The return visit of Robert Kennedy Jr. and such Hollywood stars as Ed Begley Jr. in July 1995, and the Greenpeace protests of June 1996 continued to raise the spectre of international boycotts of British Columbia forest products if clear cut logging continued in Clayoquot Sound (Matas 1995). The analysis of documents designating land and resource use is contextualized by intense international monitoring of activities, and by ongoing exposures and criticisms of logging practices in Clayoquot Sound (Hamilton 1996b).

Nuu Chah Nulth initiatives to regain control of their traditional territories in 1996 also should be introduced as a very significant element in the designation process. In June 1996 Francis Frank, co-chief of the Nuu Chah Nulth central region, and Clifford Atleo, Ahousaht chief land claims negotiator, said that government, industry, and environmental representatives would have to apply for permission to access traditional lands (Hamilton 1996a). De facto designation of control has not been generally extended to include restrictions on tourists and recreationalists, but reserve lands

require band permission for access and other areas, particularly Meares Island, have been closed to public access on occasion. Permission is also required for recreational access to the Hesquiat Peninsula land claim area, although many ignore this band council resolution requirement.

Substantial interim recognition of the Nuu Chah Nulth claims to their traditional territories was incorporated into the Scientific Panel Report, although this recognition does not constitute formal recognition of the land claim. An important document respecting this recognition is the 1994 Interim Measures Agreement between British Columbia and the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations, the Ahousaht First Nation, the Hesquiaht First Nation, and the Ucluelet First Nation. The designation of First Nations landscape resource rights to traditional territories in Clayoquot Sound beyond 'cultural heritage sites' (which included sacred, historic, and current use areas), provides for broadly based landscape designation which is frequently preservation oriented, providing substantial resonance with tourism stakeholder interests (Scientific Panel 1995 No.5). As has been seen previously, tourism interests are frequently consistent with other key stakeholders where landscape resource protection is concerned. However, it is worth noting that the Nuu Chah Nulth also signed co-management agreements with MacMillan Bloedel and have an active interest in acquiring revenue and employment from forest products. Future choices by the Nuu Chah Nulth might therefore involve logging activity and a trend towards productivist landscape values. So the 'Designation' process involves implementation of complex, formalized land and resource review processes, new land and resource use restrictions, and also includes the unilateral implementation of new designation processes by the Nuu Chah Nulth as they attempt to regain control of their traditional territories.

The major events and processes of land use designation for forestry were reviewed in preceding chapters, and provided the necessary historical background to the current process of designation. Evidence which outlines designation processes will be drawn from provincial policy and planning documents, government press releases, and from interview transcripts. The relationship of designation processes to signification and evaluation processes will be examined in the sequence of events following the Clayoquot Land Use Decision. There are three closely related landscape resource topics present in the Clayoquot Decision, the Scientific Panel, and the Scenic Corridors documentation. These are: scenic values, tourism, and recreation. These three topics are linked by common landscape resource interests, although there may be differences in perspective and interpretation.

8.2 The Clayoquot Land Use Decision and the Scientific Panel linkage

An outline of the Clayoquot Land Use Decision was provided in Chapter 5. The Decision specifically addressed tourism's landscape concerns, establishing mechanisms such as the Scientific Panel and the incomplete scenic corridors processes to further develop the planning processes, management guidelines, and policies for landscape management and protection of scenic, tourism, and recreation values.

The provincial government press release which accompanied the launch of the Clayoquot Land Use Decision suggests that tourism was a priority in the decision, despite skepticism from some tourism operators:

> Tofino- Four of Clayoquot Sound's major unlogged forests- including the
> largest untouched watershed on Vancouver Island- will be permanently
> protected under a land-use decision announced today by Premier Mike
> Harcourt. "This decision balances the need to protect environmental

values in Clayoquot Sound, with the need for families to make a living and communities to have a stable economy" said Harcourt.

Harcourt said a priority of the government in making today's decision was protecting the interests of local tourism. He said new scenic corridors will reduce the visual impact of logging by providing a substantial buffer between harvesting areas and tourism routes. Logging in the corridors will emphasize single tree or group selection methods, in order to ensure that key viewscape values are not compromised.

"This is a prime water recreation area for British Columbians and tourists, and we want to keep it that way" said Harcourt. We will ensure that where logging is allowed, it will not significantly affect these values"(Premier's office, Press Release, April 13, 1993).

The debate over landscape intactness has been detailed in Chapter 7 in terms of the scenic corridors process. The Clayoquot Land Use Decision recognized the importance of scenic values in tourism landscapes, but ensured timber production would still remain a priority. Also, the initial designation of the scenic corridors boundaries was rather arbitrary and was not based on detailed field analysis, so some flexibility had to be allowed for in the terms of reference for the scenic corridors process. The actual designation of the tourism landscape in the Clayoquot Land Use Decision specified that planning processes would continue to unfold. This provided ample opportunity for re-signification by the Nuu Chah Nulth, environmental actors, the forest industry and their allies, and tourism actors, specifying that the broad framework for landscape resource designation would be encompassed in the series of Scientific Panel reports.

The major confrontation of the Clayoquot blockade unfolded during the Scientific Panel's early phases, creating international attention and intense pressure on the provincial government for alterations to the Clayoquot Land Use Decision (interview J, Hamilton 1996a). The scenic corridors process and the Scientific Panel provided a fairly flexible avenue for response to this pressure in terms of management approaches,

allowing for redrafted boundaries and redefined levels of protection for areas significant for tourism. Tourism was approached as a set of interests embedded amongst others in the Scientific Panel process, reflecting stakeholder interests which mostly focussed on protection and preservation of intact landscapes. The role of the tourists themselves was far less clear, being embedded in a range of inputs and responses, from 'the public,' to 'customers of tourism operators,' to people joining or supporting the Friends of Clayoquot Sound and other environmental groups. Research on public preferences for scenic resources in Clayoquot Sound was conducted in 1994-95 by Hamilton (1996) in conjunction with the scenic corridors process.

The 'expert' approach involved close working relationships within the Scientific Panel team with little or no focus on consensus building with stakeholders. The process relied on evidence collected to date, and provided an opportunity to develop and build authorship of the tourism landscape by defining parameters for landscape change and building them into the management recommendations. The acceptance of the Scientific Panel report in its entirety made the recommendations for scenic resources, tourism, and recreation resources prescriptive. The Scientific Panel provided for intense, site-by-site participation in forestry practices by a local regional board, and for expression of interest of touristic and other stakeholder interests. The report did not account for the amount of time and energy required to participate at such a detailed level in a voluntary fashion to protect non-forestry stakeholder interests. The tourism landscape outside the protected corridor zones had to be defended on a cut-block by cut-block basis, with the environmental actors and tourism operators trying to prevent significant alteration to the landscape upon which their businesses depended.

8.3 Designation of scenic, recreation, and tourism values by the Scientific Panel

The Scientific Panel report set a new approach to visual landscape management and defined the following procedural objectives: i) to be as objective as possible, given that there will always be some level of interpretation in documenting scenic values; ii) to undertake planning for scenic resources over large areas; iii) to provide opportunities for meaningful public involvement; and iv) to be integrated into the forest planning process (Scientific Panel No.5:142). It is noted in the sidebar to the recommendations that: "Many of the Panel's suggestions have already been implemented in the Clayoquot Sound scenic corridors planning process"(Scientific Panel No. 5:143). The ambiguity as to which is the designative process is underlined here, since the scenic corridors process remained in governmental limbo months after the Scientific Panel had been accepted. What the Scientific Panel actually created here was a default mechanism, which could revert actual land use designation back to the Clayoquot Land Use Decision if the scenic corridors proposal was not acted upon. The scenic values recommendations are summarized (Scientific Panel No. 5) in Table 8.2.

Table 8.2 Scientific Panel Scenic Values Recommendations

R6.1   Involve the provincial government, First Nations, regional and local governments, recreation groups, industry, and other public interest groups in the inventory, analysis, and planning of scenic resources. Provide opportunities for meaningful involvement by the public at large.

R6.2   Develop an inventory system for scenic resources with the following characteristics:

> i. Map scenic resources for all of Clayoquot Sound at a scale of 1:250,000 which considers overall landscape patterns and the role of the landscape in relation to existing and potential use.

Table 8.2 (continued) Scientific Panel Scenic Values Recommendations

ii Develop a new inventory system for visual landscape units which would be used during sub-regional and watershed planning.

iii. Develop a new scale to describe visual quality objectives which: is easier for the public to understand.... and accounts for uses other than forestry....

iv. Clearly summarize the landscape inventory information on maps (e.g. landscape characteristics, degree of alteration/development) so that participants in the planning process can understand and provide input to the inventory....

R6.3 Use the information from the landscape inventory... to analyze scenic resources. Determine the patterns in the landscape, levels of scenic quality, and opportunities and constraints for use related to future scenic resources...

R6.4 Based on the analysis in R6.3, develop a long-term management plan.... for scenic resources.... include a description of the essential characteristics of the scenery, existing and potential resource and human values, (and) the relative values of scenic resources in the unit,

....(develop) visual landscape management objectives, including the desired character of the area, the proposed level of alteration or development, needs and methods of rehabilitation, acceptable land and water uses, and any specific measures that may be required to protect scenic values.

R6.5 Integrate the recommendations of the visual landscape management plan into all other forest plans during sub-regional-level, watershed-level, and site-level planning.

R6.6 Use landscape design principles in the detailed silviculture plans and development plans for other uses. ....Require visual impact assessment and subsequent refinement of proposed alterations to meet visual landscape objectives on all the most important scenic areas......

R6.7 Continue the development of visual landscape guidelines in consultation with interdisciplinary teams....

According to the policy recommendations listed in Table 8.2, landscape management objectives are to be established and scenic values are to be protected. The level of required consultation with stakeholders in this part of the Scientific Panel Report is high, but tourism interests are not specifically identified in terms of scenery. Tourism stakeholders, however, identified a particular interest in this area, which has been extended to include watershed protection and the unseen landscape. The public is identified as having a key role in the management of scenic resources. The consultative processes were well-defined but inevitably, the negotiations, revisions, arguments involved through the local region committee structure had the effect of substantially slowing down the implementation of logging plans, leading to what was called "lurch logging" in some newspaper reports- long periods of negotiation followed by brief flurries of logging activity (Hamilton 1996a). Scenic values per se were downplayed, and biodiversity and watershed integrity became more significant issues, reflecting the perspectives presented in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 that 'intactness' came to be represented by scenic values in travel corridors. The recommendations regarding recreational and tourism values are summarized in Table 8.3 (Scientific Panel No.5,1995).

Table 8.3 Recreational and Tourism Values

R6.8   Integrate planning for recreational and tourism resources. Because of their strong interrelationships, plan recreation and tourism in concert with planning for scenic resources.

R6.9   Ensure that First Nations, provincial, regional, and local governments, and recreation and tourism groups are the principles involved in inventory, analysis, and planning of tourism and recreational resources. Create opportunities for meaningful involvement by other public and industry groups.

R6.10   Ensure that recreation inventories are conducted at sub-regional scales (e.g. 1:250,000) and watershed scales (e.g. 1:50,000 or 1:20,000).

R6.11 Analyze recreational and tourism opportunities, and develop plans for
recreation and tourism at the sub-regional, watershed, and site levels.
At the sub-regional level, these plans should include Recreation Opportunity
Spectrum (ROS) scenic, and other management objectives for all areas,
including identification of acceptable activities and uses. ...Management
objectives should include the level of protection required, from complete
protection to protection of key features.

R6.12 Ensure that forest planning includes maintaining the
recreational and tourism capability of resources.

The requirements for recreational and tourism planning were very similar to those

outlined for scenic resources, with similar groups involved in the process. The mandate

outlined in Table 8.3 includes the capacity to delimit the level of protection required for

recreation and tourism in the ongoing planning process. Tables 8.2 and 8.3 show that

the Scientific Panel specified that the landscape is to be designated for the protection of

scenic resources, tourism and recreational values within the parameters set by the

Clayoquot Land Use Decision. The provision of extensive consultation and review

processes set within the Decision has been further developed and specified as to the

level of detail required in forestry consultations. The consultative mechanisms put in

place to protect landscape resources became a deterrent to landscape change by their

very complexity.

To provide a legislated mandate for tourism resource interests the NDP government

passed Bill 14-1995, the Tourism Act, which specifies that tourism must have a 'seat at

the table' in ensuring tourism interests are taken into account in natural resource

planning processes (Bill 14-1995, 1:1 d). The Tourism Act was supposed to provide

supporting legislation. Unfortunately, the Tourism Act lacked any real substantive value

because it was not supported by a body of regulations, and was more of a political

showpiece than effective legislation. As discussed in Chapter 7, tourism legislation per se was not seen by most tourism stakeholders as a necessary priority, considering the complexity of the existing resource legislative regime. Ensuring involvement in planning and designation processes was valuable to the extent that tourism interests could be represented. The Ministry of Small Business, Tourism and Culture provided technical expertise for the Scientific Panel process, in theory to ensure that high quality, detailed information on resources of interest to tourism was available to tourism operators and other stakeholders. The scenic corridors process was a key research initiative in providing this information base. The construction of the information base for designation of the landscape was therefore a central element in the way in which implementation processes unfolded. A consultant (interview D) describes the Scientific Panel perspective on the scenic corridors process as follows:

> *D. ... the scenic corridors had been determined through - I never did find out entirely how, it was a very quick exercise, that drew lines on a map, and it became a very political line, so the line that outlined the scenic corridors didn't necessarily correspond to the areas that are most important for scenery. Now the analysis showed up some of that, and in the report they subsequently recommended that certain areas be added to the scenic corridors... I think ideally there would not have been any designation of scenic corridors before any analysis took place. The analysis should have then resulted in scenic corridors.*

> *B.W. Now the Scientific Panel report is on the table and has been accepted, to what extent was the scenery, the scenic values, represented in terms of the management recommendations from the Scientific Panel?*

> *D. Well very much so, because everything the Scientific Panel did integrated in with the disciplines of all the people on it. The scenic recommendations were integrated right into the rest of the package.*

The scenic corridors process resulted in landscape evaluative data that could be used in designating land and resource use practices, establishing a new set of

institutional arrangements that embedded many elements of the scenic corridors process:

> D. The scenic corridors was a planning process, and the Scientific Panel was a process having to do with practices, and making recommendations on practices. So they're very complementary. And because I had had some involvement with the scenic corridors thing, I was ensuring they were complementary as the thing evolved.

The values represented in the designation of new institutional arrangements for the landscape of Clayoquot Sound were contributed by a wide range of different actors, and there was coordination of the scenic corridors process with the Scientific Panel process to ensure that practices were defined. There was substantial discretion on the Scientific Panel regarding the direction taken in defining landscape practice:

> D. Well, the recommendations on protection- there are two levels to that. One is the general recommendations that are in the Scientific Panel report, which- whose are those? Those are my understanding of the recommendations of all the people I worked with over time who had concerns about Clayoquot Sound. So they're hopefully coming from a very broad base, but as interpreted by me, and also, then by the whole panel. To look at the planning designations, you have to look at the Scenic Corridors, and that would be out of SCIPT and SCAG, the two committees that ran that plus whatever they got from the public meetings.

So the Scientific Panel's recommendations on scenic values, tourism, and recreation are presented in Interview D as a summary of recommendations. These are from tourism stakeholders, environmentalists, consultants, the public, and other interested parties as interpreted by the landscape expert and others on the Scientific Panel within the terms of reference established by the Clayoquot Land Use Decision. The Panel's recommendations had to do with practices, the Scenic Corridors Study with planning processes. The Scientific Panel recommendations created the template for tourism landscape management within the context of the need to establish sustainable forest

practices, and in so doing created landscape designations, consultative processes and systems of accountability which helped to slow down the rate of landscape change in Clayoquot Sound.

The decision to accept the Panel's recommendations in their entirety meant that the particular landscape perspective of the Scientific Panel was also accepted by the provincial government. Higher levels of protection for key wilderness corridors and pristine viewscapes were ensured by more restrictive zoning designations in the scenic corridors process, but special management areas, recreation areas, and lower zoned corridor areas which had already experienced logging had only Forest Service visual quality objectives to plan around. The problem of 'pristine' and 'not pristine', of 'intact' and 'modified' still remained. A tourism operator criticized the designation of landscape this way:

> F. I think the two key directions- and unfortunately it means a lot more
> work for a lot more people- is that as the scenic corridors process
> winds up and gets formalized, its going to mean extreme diligence to
> make sure those recommendations are followed, and then fighting as
> hard as possible, every time a cut block comes up in one of the lower
> zoned areas in the scenic corridor comes up, to fight for as much
> protection as possible- and equally, it means taking the issue to
> forestry integrated management areas of Clayoquot Sound in which
> there are more visible areas than there are in the scenic corridors.

The issue of intactness of the forest canopy as a key value for tourism in Clayoquot Sound was not resolved by the Clayoquot Land Use Decision, but the institutional mechanisms put in place by the Scientific Panel provided a default mechanism that impeded landscape modification by logging.

> F. So obviously if we'd ended up with complete protection in the Scenic
> Corridors we would still have massive visual disruption, given the
> amount of integrated resource management areas that could be logged
> without any concern for visual quality. So, there's now the larger
> planning process they've put in place for Clayoquot Sound: the total

resource plans, the special management area plans, for Ursus Creek and Pretty Girl Cove, because its values are recreational which is very much visual.

F. So in those processes obviously there is going to have to be someone sitting there fighting awfully hard for tourism interests and its going to come down continually to a cut block by cut block basis, making sure, and attempting to push that envelope. But it's hard work. Because the forest industry terminology which is used as far as visual quality objectives is completely inadequate to address the issue from a tourism point of view, especially from a water- based tourism, which is much slower, you have to look at a landscape for a lot longer when you're sitting in a kayak than if you're rushing by in a car, and they haven't got their process designed to deal with that. They have started to revise that, they went through and did a first cut at visual objectives, a bench study- anyway, we keep pushing!

So the designation processes put in place by the Clayoquot Land Use Decision can be seen from this operator's perspective as a fundamentally inadequate level of protection for the scenic resources upon which tourism depends. However, the mechanisms for intervention have been formalized, and more sophisticated measurement and assessment tools were being developed to support the process of forestry decision making in integrated management areas. Increasingly detailed information on visitor perceptions of the area will provide for greater bargaining power for the operators. For example, a major perception study of Clayoquot Sound was completed in late 1995 by the Ministry of Small Business, Tourism, and Culture. Together with the very detailed GIS resource inventory materials, these provide a previously unavailable legislative and informational platform for stakeholders to protect key tourism landscape assets (Hamilton 1995).

Two tourism operators (Ki and Kii) presented these perspectives on future scenarios:

B.W. So how would you characterize the process up to now, in terms of how this thing is unfolding ....?

> *Kii. You're looking at the best case scenario, for tourism here. If you allow development to proceed here without some sort of guidance.... small towns are notoriously slow at understanding what can happen to a small town without development guidelines. Recently within the townsite you've seen buildings being put up on dominant points, dominant viewscapes, from the beach. If you take that into the Sound a little further, you can get ..... How many resorts? How many fishing lodges? How long does it take to lose the quality of a wilderness experience? If Tofino is 'front country', how long does it take for the back country area to be 'front,' access-wise?*

The sustainability of wilderness tourism is increasingly in question as landscape resource designation makes investments in resorts and other tourism businesses more attractive. This issue coincides with the emergence of the tourism landscape, with logging receding into the background as a central concern. Planning becomes a critical process to protect the quality of visitor experience:

> *Ki. Its the image of wilderness thats important to bringing visitors to the area, of wildlife and the landscape and the seascape, that's the habitat of that wildlife, in addition the cultural heritage of this area is now becoming more well known, the heritages are becoming more well known, and that will also be an important aspect of drawing the types of visitors that we've had to this point. It may be that it veers off into another direction if we look at those sort of worst case scenarios that ---- (were) presented but there is also the opportunity to develop it on those two bases in quite a sound way....*

The rediscovery of Clayoquot Sound's rich and complex history and cultural traditions is identified as an opportunity in the previous interview segment. In the emerging tourism landscape, development of heritage and cultural themes provide diversification and could diversify the attractions base of the locale. This rediscovery of history presages continued landscape authoring efforts by tourism operators and other actors. The emergence of post-productivist landscape interests such as heritage and cultural traditions presents a new way of looking at the extractive industries such as logging and mining as they become resignified as part of BC's history.

*Kii. Things change.... Our history within British Columbia has been
based on forestry, resource extraction, mining- all the way through.
We're finding with all our resources now, they're beginning to run out.
That goes right into the marine environment with the salmon, all the way
through. Things change, and this is where the industries that are relying
on the land base for giving have found out for themselves now that you
do run out of resources.... I mean if we think about it, if we were to
take Clayoquot Sound out of Vancouver Island that would put the forest
industries say twenty years ago at the point we're at now. We have this
one piece of original rain forest left on Vancouver Island of this sort of
size. If it wasn't accessible for some reason, let's say it never existed,
the forest industry would be in much greater dire straits.*

The uniqueness of the landscape to tourism is mirrored in the value to a rapidly
declining forest industry, which largely created the conditions for eventual
redesignation of much of Clayoquot Sound as a post-productivist landscape by large
scale rationalization of resource extraction as described in Chapter 5.

*Kii. We still have Clayoquot Sound, but if they continue to come through
and remove trees then everyone's going to lose between the tourism
sector, the salmon, the wildlife, there's so many other values that need
an area like Clayoquot Sound. So the forest sector's going to wind
down.... There's something that's here at the moment, but in twenty
years it will be gone, possibly less than that.*

*Ki. I think the public's tolerance for seeing major resource extraction
corporations in locations like this that are as powerful to them, I think
the public's tolerance is going to run short.*

The vision of the tourism landscape as 'pristine wilderness,' and 'intact old growth
forest' goes well beyond the management of visual resources and is fundamentally at
odds with the interests of forestry stakeholders. These two operators present a shift in
landscape resource priority towards tourism and away from forestry. The shift is to the
post - productivist landscape designated for visual consumption of landscape resources,
expressed across a spectrum of allied and complementary landscape values. The tourism

landscape emerges because landscape resources are appropriated for visitors and for the operators who provide services for them. Institutional arrangements are altered to protect consumer interests in landscape, with protection arrangements reflecting higher values for intact, accessible natural areas. The historical development of Clayoquot Sound with its litany of cultural and heritage landscape artifacts emerges (interview Ki) as a key element in drawing visitors and as a strong complementary theme to nature based tourism.

The tourism landscape authoring process in its designation phase has inserted 'expert' interpretations of the tourism, recreation, and environmental actor's interests into new institutional arrangements governing land and resource use. The interests of 'the public' and of tourists are inserted either indirectly through interpretation by tourism and other actors, or directly through representations to governments and through the media. The new set of institutional arrangements has included mechanisms for negotiation of landscape use priorities which provide intervention opportunities into the previous resource extraction regime, redefining landscape resource values while slowing down resource extraction to an uneconomic rate. Landscape authorship of tourism, recreation, and environmental values evolves as an alliance of persons with a similar values set and a definitive focus on protection of Clayoquot Sound in as intact a state as possible.

Tourism has gained profile as a politically powerful element in environmental issues, labour force issues, community development, and First Nations claims. Because tourists are a part of 'the public', they become the eyes and ears of the world, reflecting their values back to governments, communities, and companies through a variety of communications channels. Because the experience and the places visited are special and memorable, they are also worth defending either directly or via the organizations and

individuals that advocate and defend the tourist's individual values about the place. By extension, the same principle applies to vicarious experiences of Clayoquot Sound from slide shows, video, film, and print media, and the advocates of landscape protection quite naturally present landscape images which are designed to signify the values they personally hold dear.

Designation of the tourism landscape into various levels of protection from logging activities was expanded to reflect biodiversity concerns and intactness issues for the seen and unseen landscape. Designation, therefore, has continued to involve ongoing, intense debate in the allocation of areas for logging and a consequent slowing in the rate of landscape change in these areas. Ongoing, high-profile involvement in the designation process of Greenpeace, the Sierra Club, the Natural Resources Defence Council, the Friends of Clayoquot Sound, and the Western Canada Wilderness Committee ensures a continued high international profile for Clayoquot Sound. This attention is complemented by continued substantial tourism visitation, which in itself is likely to present problems in terms of tourism crowding and sustainability of tourism landscape resources.

Control over the iconography of 'Clayoquot Sound' has remained with environmental organizations and their tourism operator allies because the vision of an intact, ancient rainforest wilderness has remained in the public domain: a visible, controversial, and politically volatile sacred landscape. Clayoquot Sound retains its iconographic status because of the authoring activities of environmental organizations, the constant stream of visitors, the transformation of the Tofino economy, the arrival of new residents with an interest in protecting environmental amenities, and the accessibility of a pristine landscape. The tourism landscape of Clayoquot Sound has emerged and will continue to evolve in response to new landscape authoring activities.

Chapter 9: Conclusions

Introduction

Tourism landscapes are emerging all over the world. They are remarkably varied in character, scale, and degree of landscape modification, ranging from new destination resorts and revitalized city districts, to protected ecotourism reserves valued for their natural landscape qualities. The most valued qualities of these places may be unique ecosystems, agricultural landscapes or heritage buildings. Initiatives for landscape protection may be authored by activist operators and their allies and be shared with tourists, who are part of a broader 'public' with economic and political powers that can change institutional arrangements to reflect their values.

Public sentiment is particularly likely to be aroused by the possibility of lost special places. The signification of that sense of landscape value by tourism actors and their allies builds the visions that can transform public sentiment into initiatives for political control, and it is this political process that inserts the 'authority' into 'authorship.'

This chapter reprises the goals and objectives of the research, and presents the main findings pertinent to the research question. The key contributions of the tourism landscape authorship model are then presented, and the research findings are related back to key ideas in the foundational literature. Finally, the tourism landscape authorship model is critiqued in terms of its applicability to the case study and as a template for other locales.

9.1 Research Findings

9.1.1 The central research question

The central research question is: " By what processes and powers are tourism landscapes authored?" The processes of tourism landscape authorship are initiatives to convince the

public, stakeholders, and political authorities of the legitimacy of particular landscape visions, reflecting either the desire to prevent unwanted changes, or to encourage redevelopment or development.

The four landscape elements of identification, signification, evaluation, and designation each build information and knowledge that encourages participation from residents and non-residents. Particular values are associated with the vision, but these values evolve themselves over time as the landscape becomes widely known. Land use changes and developmental initiatives that threaten the economic interests and landscape values of tourism stakeholders are challenged in a public arena of contestation as media interest is aroused. Landscape authoring initiatives expand as opinion and sentiment is expressed, leading over time to political decisions that change institutional arrangements to reflect emerging values. The power of tourism actors and their allies combined with the media and the wider public builds incrementally through the four stages.

In the case study, the tourism actors included local tourism operators, community members, environmental and First Nations actors, government officials, and consultants. As the story unfolds, there is a shift from government and corporate sentiment to public sentiment about the Clayoquot Sound landscape. This shift occurred as a result of bottom-up public participation in planning exercises that were initiated locally to protect landscape resources. The preliminary focus of landscape authorship had to do with protection of watersheds and intact ecosystems, with tourism interest being less important. As vistas of Clayoquot Sound were photographed and distributed, recognition of the high scenic value of the locale became widely known. Public power was asserted through the media and directly to government, resulting in a dramatic increase in tourism visitation. Public sentiment in favour of protection increased as images circulated and visitors influenced circles of acquaintances about the valued landscape. Recognition of the scarcity value of Clayoquot Sound to an urbanized society emerged as nature based tourism became popular. Expert participation in the evaluation and designation phases asserted the emerging economic and political power of tourism through new tourism inventory subject headings, entities and attributes.

The new institutional arrangements in the Clayoquot Land Use Decision were disputed as being inadequate by environmental and tourism actors and by members of the public, because the recently emerging underlying value of 'landscape intactness' was not adequately reflected in the new institutional arrangements. The process mechanisms instituted by the Scientific Panel subsequently slowed the rate of landscape change until logging became uneconomic, reflecting their own expert power and the power of local environmental and tourism actors to mobilize public sentiment to protect landscape resources. Further landscape change through logging was placed in abeyance, although the possibility of future logging was accounted for in the Interim Measures Agreement. As visitation and tourism infrastructure increases, incompatible land use proposals encounter powerful local resistance. First Nations landscape authorship in the meantime is partially in abeyance, awaiting power in the form of land claims settlements.

Although it is not possible to generalize from the case study of Clayoquot Sound, it is suggested that the tourism landscape authorship process has the following general characteristics. It is first and formost an iterative process, recurring and recycling through time. Secondly, tourism landscape authorship follows a defined sequence of events. There is a spatial diffusion of landscape values, and more actors become involved over time, reflecting the sentiments of a wider and more diverse public engagement. As movement towards a post-productivist landscape occurs, authority over landscape resources is removed from resource and local stakeholders and appropriated by an urbanized public.

As the process unfolds through the different stages, there is a change in the nature and form of power. Authors are initially one or a small number of voices, rising to multiple landscape authorship as knowledge and awareness of key issues diffuses. The public takes on authority and power, mediated by the media which plays a central interpretive role. The 'spin' in the media appears to be substantially constructed from key landscape authors. Their power lies in the creative capacity to capture media attention with images and texts that appeal to the sentiments of the public, signifying the landscape in a manner that embodies the urban desire for connectedness with nature.

There is a lag effect in the emergence of new, post-productivist institutional arrangements, reflecting changed public landscape values. Tourism and environmental actors, media representatives, and the members of the wider public in varying degrees assume an avant garde role in promoting new institutional arrangements. These are different in character from the institutional arrangments typically found in resource extraction regimes, involving public consultation, process mechanisms, and land use designations protecting environmetal, tourism, and recreation values.

As government officials become involved in the process of changing land use designations, the nature of governmental power changes. New interagency coalitions and teams emerge within government to establish consistent resource evaluation, inventory, and planning strategies. These strategies are in themselves iterative, often being reviewed by stakeholders and redrafted to reflect successive stages of public input. So a legislative regime designed to maximize resource productivity is overwriten by new institutional arrangements that tend to be reflective of public sentiment about valued landscapes rather than corporate or government sentiment.

9.1.2   How has the landscape been represented over time?

Landscape authorship defines what is to be valued in the landscape by relating landscape resource values to contemporary or emerging societal and economic values. Before the decline in Nuu Chah Nulth population and the takeover of their lands, the hereditary rights to landscape resources of the chiefly families and mythic and totemic representations gave meaning and definition to landscape. Since contact, commodity prices and resource availability have significantly affected landscape representation of the West Coast of Vancouver Island. Representation of resource abundance was used to attract capital and settlement, and, together with the recognition of the coast's strategic importance, prompted efforts to establish sovereignty by the Spanish and British. Mining, agriculture, fish processing, and logging supported the creation of settlements and transportation systems, so early landscape authoring efforts painted glowing pictures of the opportunities available to make money and own land and resources.

Initiatives to settle the area as an agricultural frontier were notable in the latter 19th and early 20th centuries, and Romantic images of the 'Wild West Coast' attracted travelers, colonial officials, explorers, and pioneers who wrote about their experiences. Together with the earlier accounts that documented the maritime exploration of the coast, Clayoquot Sound and the West Coast of Vancouver Island was presented over time as a resource-rich, wild, and historically significant landscape. However, the cycles of settlement development and abandonment that followed the boom and bust cycles of resource extraction created a relict landscape of abandoned settlements and industrial plants by the 1930s.

During World War II, military personnel became aware of the beauty of Long Beach and of Clayoquot Sound - attracting post war visitation. Some residents published books and articles that romanticized their experiences as settlers in the area, and up until 1952, thousands of visitors visited the area on the SS Princess Macquinna. So there was representation of the West Coast of Vancouver Island as a tourist destination for the first half of the 20th century, that set the stage for later tourist oriented development in the 1980s and 1990s around Long Beach and Tofino.

The industrial forest landscape of resource extraction that emerged in the 1950s developed as a result of long term institutional arrangements established by the forest companies and the provincial government. Clear-cut logging techniques, mechanization, networks of industrial roads, and export markets for cut lumber prompted the forest industry's landscape representation of the 'working forest.' The landscape was represented as being 'made productive' by 'wise' forest management. The representations of this corporately controlled landscape were of 'forests managed for continuous production'. Clayoquot Sound was represented as an essential element in a large scale, rationalized forestry plan, reserved for future timber harvesting while clear-cutting focussed on the Kennedy Lake area.

The representation of a protected wilderness landscape designated for nature tourism promoted by environmental and tourism actors emerged during the 1980s. 'Intactness' of

'pristine, old growth forest,' 'biodiversity,' and 'wilderness,'were developed as representations to combat the forest industry images of the locale. Tourism representations of Clayoquot Sound as a nature-oriented destination emerged concurrently, and included promotion of wildlife values (whales, bears) and the scenic beauty of the coastal landscape. Clayoquot Sound was represented as a nature-based tourism destination after considerable public awareness of Pacific Rim National Park had been developed, and following the battle to save Meares Island, which established Tofino as a tourism destination.

9.1.3 Whose values have been represented?

Tourism actors were invited to the table to participate in the Clayoquot Sound tourism task force. Tourism values were initially mapped for Clayoquot Sound in the Tofino-Long Beach Chamber of Commerce study, and subsequently were incorporated into the GIS based tourism resource inventories that were included in the Clayoquot Land Use Decision and the Scientific Panel recommendations. The values of tourism and environmental actors were mitigated to meet the agendas of forestry stakeholders, government, and Nuu Chah Nulth agendas. Tourism actors values changed as the process unfolded, in response to the identification of additional landscape resources, and in response to new approaches by environmental allies countering forest stakeholders attempts to capture public opinion as to the future management of Clayoquot Sound. Tourism landscape authors identified and signified a rare, endangered wilderness landscape to the public and, by providing public access to the landscape presented by their environmental activist colleagues, assisted in the reclamation of a valued landscape from forest corporations and forestry stakeholders.

9.1.4 How have the values of tourism actors been represented in the processes of landscape change?

Tourism values were not always pushed forward. In fact other values were paramount, in particular values to protect biodiversity and landscape intactness, with scenic values

positioned to represent biodiversity. Tourism operators provided the public with a means of verification that the landscape values expressed in the media were authentic.

Tourism actors needed to form alliances that promoted common interests, because tourism values alone were not sufficient to change institutional arrangements in government and did not attract sufficient media attention. The tourism actors involved in the areana of contestation also changed as government officials and consultants developed inventory methodology to assess tourism values, and as more participation in land and resource planning emerged. Tourism emerged as a significant element because economic value could be joined with ecological values, using tourism and recreation designations. The evaluation and designation of the tourism landscape of Clayoquot Sound reclaimed an unexploited portion of the designated industrial forest landscape of Vancouver Island. Public authority was re-asserted over corporate authority, as an outcome of the identification, signification, evaluation and designation processes of landscape authorship.

9.1.5 Methodological issues

The case study approach taken in this dissertation has advantages and disadvantages as an application of the idea of tourism landscape authorship. The advantages include the following points. By focussing on a single locale, more detail can be gained through field and documentary research than in a comparative study. There is no need to get equivalent data from two different locales, which would be extremely difficult given the case history of Clayoquot Sound. A substantial historical element is possible in a single case study to provide temporal context to current cultural landscape features. In terms of the application of the landscape authorship model, reliability can be enhanced by a strong focus on process, content analysis, and on the triangulation of data from a variety of sources.

Shortcomings of the case study method include the issue of a balanced approach to the data, which might be more easily obtained in a comparative study. The small interview sample size might be considered to be inadequate to provide

objectivity in the findings. Findings from content analysis of a small interview sample size can be corroborated by documentary evidence, but unless rigorous measures are taken to ensure reliability of data, results can be skewed. The case study methodology must be adapted to meet the circumstances encountered in other locales; the methodology as constituted requires amendment if it is to be scaled up or down. Also, there were difficulties in establishing causal relationships using the case study approach, particularly given the complex mass of data assembled. This study suffers from the lack of reliable visitation data available for Clayoquot Sound, which would have provided an empirical data set to help corroborate key events in the story. The case study can be criticized for being descriptive, but the intention was to construct and test in a particular locale a conceptual framework that elucidates the processes and powers that lead to the evolution of a tourism landscape.

9.2 Advancement of the Literature

There are several key conceptualizations discussed in the Review of Literature that contributed to the study. Not all the elements in this foundational literature have been advanced, but there are some new theoretical and methodological elements. One important contribution is that tourism landscape authoring can serve as an overall framework for the different foundational concepts. Methodologically speaking, landscape authorship can link the foundational landscape and tourism literature together, accommodating a wide range of perspectives in analyzing tourism landscape evolution. With the increasing complexity of public and governmental processes involved in land and resource use, a broad range of perspectives and a wide palette of foundational concepts can support investigation across different disciplines and across widely varying data. The multi-perspectivist approach (Ball 1977) used in this study demonstrates that specific findings can be extracted from diverse, complex data using a relatively simple but comprehensive conceptual framework. Tourism landscape authorship advances the overall set of foundational literature by operationalizing key ideas, ranging from subjective to objective in character and in method.

9.2.1 Landscape concepts

In terms of landscape aesthetic traditions, the study documents the emergence of 'scenery' as 'biodiversity,' advancing concepts of the Sublime (Gibson 1989) into contemporary ecotourism landscapes. The avant garde movement in landscape taste is in this case study driven by the environmental movement rather than by artists. Scenic value in the study is explicitly linked to beliefs about intactness of the seen and unseen landscape. The 'authentic' natural landscape is really based on the view from the air, not just the viewscape protected in travel corridors.

Landscape authorship contributes a process model that incorporates the way in which public sentiment is influenced about landscape value and taste, and how media contributes to the process of building public landscape values. Similarly, the landscape authorship model identifies the elements that create a 'sense of place' for tourists, by presenting the essentially intact scenery of Clayoquot Sound as scarce, endangered, and significant both ecologically and culturally (Relph 1976). Sense of place was constructed through media images and text that created an interest in visiting the locale. Meaning was pre-assigned by different authors through debate in the arena of contestation, and information on the destination accumulated with each confrontation. Also, expectations regarding protection of the entirety of Clayoquot Sound developed as the story unfolded, and tourism emerged as a primary economic force in Tofino and the Sound.

The idea of landscape resources is advanced by the identification and evaluation of resources previously not considered significant in landscape evaluation and zoning (Linton 1968). In Clayoquot Sound tourism resource inventory subject headings, entities, and attributes were developed utilizing GIS technology (Williams et al. 1996). Successive drafts and feedback from stakeholders and the public led to further refinement of the approach. This process is conceptually framed within the four stages of tourism landscape authorship, which provides context and sequence to the manner in which sense of place emerges in an evolving tourism landscape.

The contribution of historical context and detailing of the sequent occupance of the Clayoquot Sound landscape adds a new element to British Columbia historical landscape studies. In particular, there are insights offered into the way in which meaning is given to landscapes by authors over time, and specifically in the struggle to preserve the unique natural and cultural qualities of Clayoquot Sound.

While nothing specific is added to the various landscape typologies, the evolution of tourism resource inventory processes is linked to the formal aesthetic and ecological approaches in the study. A specific development process is illustrated, from theoretical modeling to tourism resource inventory and the resulting landscape zonation (Dearden 1989, Blankson and Green 1991). In particular, the study illustrates the way in which 'subjective' and 'objective' data can be blended in landscape evaluation and designation.

9.2.2 Tourism concepts

The study draws heavily on the construct of the tourism landscape (Butler 1992) and contributes to the development of this concept by detailing the evolutionary process by which one particular nature based tourism landscape came to be. The four stages of tourism landscape authorship outlined in the study enrich the tourism landscape construct methodologically, by delineating a series of key events and their consequences. The particular tourism-related themes were unraveled through triangulation from varied data sources. The underlying values and beliefs about scenery and biodiversity emerged over time, and the preservational goals of tourism actors became more generalized as public knowledge and support grew. The landscape authorship model provides a linkage between tourism landscape and the tourist gaze, (Urry 1992) because the gaze comes from a broader public that develops particular values and expectations about landscape.

Authority for re-designation of the Clayoquot Sound landscape comes from the enshrinement of the destination as rare, endangered nature, which is a stage in the process of site sacralization (MacCannell 1973). So institutional arrangements were changed in the case study because public knowledge and sentiment derived from landscape authors made Clayoquot Sound an international icon of environmental struggle, and concurrently a nature- based tourism destination. A contribution of this study to the tourism literature is in the modeling and documentation of elements of all three of the constructs within the four stages of tourism landscape authorship: the tourism landscape, the tourist gaze, and the concept of site sacralization.

Rural change literature contributed key foundational constructs, particularly the ideas of: productivist and post-productivist landscapes, institutional arrangements, and the concept of the arena of contestation (Lowe et al.1993, Flynn and Marsden 1995). These ideas figure as central elements in the tourism landscape authorship model, which advances this literature by showing how the concepts become operational in a landscape appropriated for natural resource extraction rather than for rural amenity living. The transition to a post-productivist landscape appropriated for environmental, tourism, and recreation use in the British Columbia context is described by Reed and Gill (1997) in their study of Squamish, BC. The transition in their study is from a resource extraction economy rather than from rural agriculture. This dissertation contributes an additional study of this transitional process in an area away from major population centres, where a tourism landscape has emerged focusing on nature and culture experiences.

The idea of the valued landscape (Lowenthal 1978) is integrated into the model to link with the tourism landscape construct, because the scenic value of Clayoquot Sound is what drove public sentiment to change the institutional arrangements towards a post-productivist form. So these foundational

constructs become heuristic elements in the landscape authoring model, and, it is hoped, collectively provide sufficient interpretive depth to be useful in the development of more refined landscape authorship models.

The key contribution of the study to the tourism planning and policy literature lies in the integration of landscape concepts with tourism concepts. The construct of tourism landscape authorship tends to draw more from tourism literature for the identification and signification elements. For the evaluation and designation elements, the landscape resource evaluation and planning literature tends to provide a more substantial contribution. The integration of the whole provides procedural structure and direction, and the four elements of tourism landscape authorship trace the planning and policy instruments, such as zoning and public review processes that are embedded in new institutional arrangements from their origins through to implementation. Tourism resource inventory is linked with the signification of landscape by tourism actors and their allies, and with the application of community initiated sustainable tourism planning and policy (Pigram 1990, Butler and Waldbrook 1991). So the case study contributes to the planning and policy literature an historical overview of planning and policy formulation, that documents one particular transition from a productivist landscape legislative regime to a substantially post-productivist landscape legislative regime.

9.3 Critique of the tourism landscape authoring model in the case study of Clayoquot Sound.

Tourism landscape authorship was developed as a conceptual framework that helps unravel events and processes in the evolution of tourism landscapes. The notion emerged from tourism literature and was developed to encompass the actors, events, processes and mechanisms involved in tourism landscape evolution. The empirical application of the model in the case study of Clayoquot Sound raises questions

and issues beyond the original idea, both in terms of the scope and depth of the concept, and of method and approach. When highly complex events and processes encompassing a range of evidence from empirical/scientific to humanistic/metaphysical are contemplated, some basic assumptions about the framing of information need to be made. 'Authoring the tourism landscape' embodies an essential assumption- that landscapes are envisioned as embodying some 'ideal' characteristics in a past, a contemporary, or future state, and that some of those actors assuming the mantle of intentionality implicit in tourism landscape authorship will actively seek to implement their visions. Without this assumption, the framework of the four elements of tourism landscape authorship- identification, signification, evaluation, and designation- is implausible because visions for the landscape that are alternative to the status quo are not publicly articulated as alternatives. Without articulated alternative visions, the concept of the 'arena of contestation' also becomes problematic, because it is from the debate and conflict over disposition of landscape resources that the processes of landscape evaluation and designation are engaged, with new institutional arrangements emerging as an outcome. So the inherently metaphysical notion of 'authoring' is an essential point of departure for the whole conceptual framework and methodology.

Landscape authorship is an idea developed to make operational key ideas drawn from tourism and landscape literature about tourism landscape evolution, and is structured to provide a sufficiently broad basis to encompass a wide range of ideas and evidence. Although tourism landscape authorship cannot be 'proven' per se, the acceptance of the notion at the start of the empirical research allowed for explication of key processes and the analysis of complex events and structures within a 'known' frame. The initial definition of authoring as 'the state or act of creating or causing' provided a distinction from literary authoring by accepting the broader dictionary meaning for the transitive verb. Tourism landscape authorship as conceptualized is about the creation of new

authority over landscape in the form of changed institutional arrangements that are the outcome of contestation between actors over ownership, access, and landscape vision. But the case study of Clayoquot Sound also demonstrates that new authority over landscape may emerge in the power vacuum that results from declining resource availability, depopulation, or diminished market access or demand. This is an issue that deserves further consideration.

Tourism landscape authorship was not sufficiently developed in the initial conceptualization to account for the withdrawal of authorship from a landscape, in essence, 'de-authoring' or 'decommissioning' landscape. For example, the departure of logging camps and the infrastructure of industrial forestry could be considered to be de-authoring. Another example is the conversion of fishing villages to tourism destinations after the fish resource is depleted, or the local processing industry is marginalized by technological change. A third example is the development of heritage themed mining towns after mineral extraction closes down. De-authoring withdraws current landscape meaning and provides opportunities for other landscape authors to promote alternative visions, frequently depending upon the relicts of earlier landscape activities to provide authentic landscape elements for new land and resource uses. It is within these circumstances that heritage tourism emerges as an alternative use of relict landscapes, depending on the re-signification of both built and natural landscape features to provide an economy for communities deprived of their resource-based, agricultural, or industrial economies.

As was demonstrated in the Clayoquot Sound case study, amenity migration of urbanites introduces new landscape authors that may preempt future resource extraction and redirect economic activity. Decline in economic activity does not necessarily remove current owners of land, and contemporary land and resource tenure itself may be a

significant relict feature, inducing contestation by new stakeholders with a different landscape vision. This circumstance introduces another underdeveloped issue in the tourism landscape authorship conceptual framework. The 'authors' of tourism landscapes do not necessarily gain recognition and personal authority for their individual and collective efforts. Achieving changes in the institutional arrangements governing land and resource allocation may involve different authors for the four different stages, and a wide range of actual influence and authority may be exhibited throughout the four stages of identification, signification, evaluation and designation. If multiple landscape authorship is such a frequent circumstance, how is the relative contribution and authority of each author identified or measured? Also, how does the researcher distinguish between individual and collective authoring efforts? How important to understanding the processes of tourism landscape evolution is the identification of relative levels of individual authority over landscape envisioning and change?

The underdeveloped issue of multiple authorship invites further investigation using new study areas. It is suggested that the Clayoquot Sound case study, besides providing an enriching empirical application that builds the central authorship notion, also leads to the idea that future comparative studies between authors might extract more details about the nature of evolving and changing authority over landscape resources. Comparative historical geography research to identify recurring landscape authorship themes would broaden the notion beyond tourism and develop methodological variations. Additional research might consider the political geography of landscape authorship, as emerging authority over landscape change might generate new forms of political organization that challenge contemporary concepts of government. The theme of community sustainability could be linked to landscape authorship through analysis of community decision making structures that revolve around contestations over landscape related issues.

Tourism in the Clayoquot Sound case study has been essentially a means to an end, that end being landscape protection, and it is an incomplete and often ambiguous means. Tourism encompasses such a great range of interests, values, and beliefs that tourism landscape authorship could mean the destruction of natural landscapes and their replacement with casinos, theme parks, resorts, and hotels- in fact such scenarios play themselves out around the world regularly. So the underlying values of tourism landscape authors is what really matters. The elements described in this research can be appropriated to gain authority over landscape by any number of actors and do not need to be focussed on tourism. In fact in this case study tourism has been often marginalized to 'side show' status as the larger conflicts between environmentalists and the forest industry played out. There is no moral imperative that tourism is necessarily 'good' or 'bad.' Rather, change in landscape designation or the prevention of change is purposive, and follows particular authored visions and processes that can be duplicated and adapted.

The research approach used strategies that unraveled details about processes that moved towards a particular post-productivist landscape designation, and was particularly concerned with the role of tourism actors and their values in that process. It was felt that expanding the study would have diluted the focus and utility of the research findings. Also, there is a particular interest in the portability of the findings and the adaptation of the model to other settings and circumstances. Modeling the entire process of tourism landscape authorship provides a template for actors with an interest in landscapes elsewhere, because tourism is revealed as having great utility as a landscape resource concept that can be used to re-designate landscapes, encompassing both human and natural values.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview Guide
Phase 1: Identification

- What are the tourist attractions of Clayoquot Sound, and how have they evolved as the tourism industry has grown?
- How have these attractions been identified and utilized by tourism stakeholders?

interview questions: Why and how interviewee got started in Clayoquot Sound; Landscape attractions of Clayoquot Sound; Experiences of landscape changes in Clayoquot Sound.

Phase 2: Signification

- How and why have the induced landscape images of Clayoquot Sound produced by tourism stakeholders changed?
- How have organic images of Clayoquot Sound contributed to change in the tourism landscape?

interview questions Your activities in promoting Clayoquot Sound; Landscape images of Clayoquot Sound in print and visuals; Media, public responses to Clayoquot Sound representations.

Phase 3: Evaluation

- What landscape changes have occurred in Clayoquot Sound which reflect the involvement of tourism stakeholders?

interview questions Involvement in land use planning processes, individual and collective; Nature of landscape evaluation changes which reflect tourism interests.

Phase 4: Designation

- How have planning processes for Clayoquot Sound designated tourism industry needs in land use plans?
- How do tourism stakeholders perceive their relationship to other stakeholder groups with respect to the control of the tourism landscape?

Interview questions Nature of landscape designation which meet tourism needs , relations with other stakeholders over land use.

Appendix 2: Operational definitions

Actors: Stakeholders who actively participate in landscape authoring processes as players in an arena of contestation over land and resource policy and use.

Arena of Contestation: The informational environment in and around a disputed landscape.

Control: the capacity to ensure that a preferred course of events takes place in land and resource use by influencing land use plans, policy, and legislation, measurable in policy and planning statements and legislation.

Destination area: A locale identified in tourism literature as an area with particular attractions, landscape, and tourist infrastructure.

Land use: human activities based on and utilizing natural resources in a landscape, measurable in subject headings, entities and attributes of GIS and other inventory methods

Landscape entitities: Elements of a locale having objective or conceptual reality.

Landscape attributes: Qualities or characteristics of a landscape.

Landscape subject areas: Broad categories of landscape entities.

Landscape polygons: Landscape areas having common characteristics and elements.

Landscape image: tourist's expected image of a destination landscape's scenic resources, wildlife and vegetation, cultural resources, and human artifacts, and population, constructed from organic and induced images.

Induced image: representations in advertisements and other forms of publication about a tourism locale resulting from planned advertising and publicity by tourism stakeholders.

organic image: representations about a tourism locale contained in non-tourist sources such as books , films, or news reports.

Tourism landscape: landscape which serves the needs of a tourist population with its scenic resources, wildlife and vegetation, cultural resources, and human artifacts.