Managing Change: Considering the Relevance of Place Identity for Planning in British Columbia's Communities in Transition

An Applied Research Case Study of Three Vancouver Island Communities

by

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

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ABSTRACT

Beginning in 1980, large forestry corporations in British Columbia began to rapidly downsize and restructure their operations. The combination of volatile international market conditions, increasing demands for environmental conservation, First Nation's land claims, higher stumpage rates, American protectionism, a declining timber supply, and introduction of labor saving technologies, made it no longer profitable for these companies to employ large numbers of workers under a Fordist organizational structure. The tremendous job losses seriously compromised the sustainability of forestry dependent communities throughout the province.

The responses from forestry based communities in B.C. have been diverse. Some have chosen to take a more passive approach and have become bedroom communities to larger urban centers or retirement destinations. Others have actively pursued economic diversification through increased entrepreneurial activities. No matter which alternative individual communities have chosen to pursue, it is evident that they are all undergoing a significant transformation.

This exploratory study examines how the identity (or image) of these places has evolved, and investigates the impact this has had on local residents. The three Vancouver Island communities of Chemainus, Sooke, and Port Alberni have been selected as case studies. A variety of quantitative and qualitative research methods are employed including a resident survey, personal interviews, and review of real estate guides and promotional materials.

Overall the findings suggest that the identity associated with each case study community has both positively and negatively perceived elements. With a greater appreciation for these elements, it was possible for the researcher to make a variety of justifiable recommendations to improve current planning policies and processes, in each of the case studies, which will help them build a stronger, more positive image, and therefore become healthier, more viable, and sustainable communities. By emphasizing the significance of identity for community planning, and by outlining the participatory methods necessary to conduct an in depth identity investigation, this study also paves the way for future investigations on other British Columbia

communities in transition and for the widespread use of the principle of identity as a contributory decision-making strategy in the planning profession.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

By the mid-1970's a combination of circumstances, such as the decline of timber availability, volatile international market conditions, and increasing public awareness of, and demands for, environmental protection, was putting tremendous financial pressure on British Columbia's forestry corporations (Hayter et al., 1994; Reed, 1999). In the early 1980s, these large multinational companies responded by rapidly downsizing and restructuring their operations. This involved substantial layoffs in all three segments of the industry. Between 1980 and 1995, 5700 jobs were lost in logging, 6700 jobs were lost in sawmilling and planing, and 3600 jobs were lost in pulp and paper (Marchak, 1999). The reality of permanent job losses created an immediate crisis situation in several small forestry dependant places across the Province. Escalating unemployment rates, in association with out-migration, seriously jeopardized the viability of a single industry economy. The response in several of these places has been to pursue the process of economic diversification. This has involved investigating and facilitating new development initiatives in the tourism and hospitality industry, as well as in value-added manufacturing and small entrepreneurial business. The exact nature and scale of these initiatives has varied from place to place depending on the combination of opportunities and constraints associated with each locale, and also on the degree of creativity, dedication, and entrepreneurialism shown by residents and community leaders. Despite the relative success of some of these initiatives, the majority of these communities continue to search for innovative projects to supplement the downsized resources sector. A considerable amount of time, intellectual capacity, and financial resources continue to be dedicated towards this cause.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Literature in the field of environmental psychology suggests that people and places are inextricably linked and that the identity of a place has a profound impact on human behavior and emotions. A place's identity, which is simply defined as a combination of its features which provide for its distinction from other places, can have both positively and negatively perceived elements. When the negatively perceived aspects of a place outweigh the positives, people tend to avoid that place because they know that they will be uncomfortable or have a negative

experience. On the other hand, people are drawn to locales with positively perceived elements. Most people choose to live in, or visit, a particular place because they recognize it as offering a positive experience that can not be found anywhere else. The viability of a place is therefore directly related to its perceived identity. Correspondingly, people can often become strongly attached to a particular place because they relate to the identity of that place. A place can provide people with comfort, memories, and a sense of having roots from which to anchor their lives. Changes to the identity of such places can therefore sometimes be regarded as being a threat to people's overall well-being and alleged quality of life; this is why members of the public can sometimes become very emotional towards proposed new development. As a result, impacts on identity are an important factor to consider when managing change in any particular place.

Prior to the events of the early 1980s, the identities associated with forestry-based communities in British Columbia were transparent and relatively homogeneous. The predominant role of the forestry industry in building and shaping these places encouraged uniformity. Since then however, these identities have become increasingly varied and less straightforward to define. The declining role of the forestry industry and the introduction of a more diverse economy, in conjunction with associated demographic, social, and cultural changes, have significantly impacted the nature of these places. In a 1998 publication prepared for Canada Fisheries and Oceans, Battle et al. described BC's forestry based communities as being 'in transition'. The issue raised in this research project is the potential impact that this 'transitioning' identity may be having on the perceptions of local residents towards their community. Similarly, with few empirical studies to emphasize the significance of a place's identity, and little in the planning literature that discusses how to effectively manage that identity, it is uncertain whether or not planners in these places have really considered the issue.

1.3 Purpose

By combining a detailed review of the literature on place identity with an empirical investigation of three case study communities, this research explores the potential implications associated with the evolving identity of British Columbia's transitioning forestry based communities. The purpose of this research is to educate planners in these places and to help enhance their planning processes and policies so that they have the tools necessary to manage change in a way that

preserves and/or enhances the positively perceived elements of their community's identity and that diminishes any negatively perceived aspects.

1.4 Research Question

Given the context described above, the research question for this thesis project is: *How has place identity evolved in British Columbia's small forestry communities in transition, what impacts has this evolving identity had on local residents, and how can a better understanding of this identity be used to enhance the planning policies and processes developed for these places?*

1.5 Objectives

In order to address the above research question the following three key objectives will have to be achieved:

1. *To extrapolate from the literature a framework for place identity which can be used for investigation and evaluation purposes.*

There is an abundance of literature in environmental psychology which deals with the concept of place identity. This literature suggests that identity is extremely complex with multidimensional and interrelated elements. It is therefore necessary to condense identity into a basic framework that is simplistic enough to allow it to be investigated in an empirical setting.

2. *To conduct a thorough investigation of the identity of the three case study communities as perceived by local residents.*

Resident perceived identity will be investigated in the three Vancouver Island based case study communities of Chemainus, Sooke, and Port Alberni. This investigation will require a combination of both quantitative and qualitative data gathering techniques. These will include a resident survey, personal interviews, collection and review of tourism brochures and other promotional materials, and collection and review of real-estate guides.

3. *To evaluate the current planning policies and processes in each of the case studies and make recommendations on how they can be improved.*

Planning policy statements for all three of the case study communities will need to be evaluated and specific recommendations made based on the findings of the identity investigation. The documents to be evaluated will include the 2001 *'Chemainus Planning Chemainus Report'*, the

2001 *'District of Sooke Official Community Plan'*, and the 1993 *'City of Port Alberni Official Community Plan'*. Once it has been established that legitimate recommendations can in fact be made for each of the case studies, the research can then move on to make more general recommendations that can be utilized in other British Columbia based communities in transition.

1.6 Significance of this Research

The Canadian Institute of Planners states that to serve the interests of the public, planners must make use of "theories and techniques of planning that inform and structure debate, facilitate communication, and foster understanding" (Canadian Institute of Planners, 1994). This thesis research is significant because it expands upon planners' knowledge of place identity, and its potential to inform planning processes and development decisions. A place identity investigation could be another avenue through which planners can involve the public, and accumulate a diverse wealth of knowledge from which to draw upon. This research will provide insights not only for planners in British Columbia's small communities in transition but also for planners in other jurisdictions across Canada, interested in the implications of place identity.

1.7 Organization of the Thesis

The next chapter, Chapter 2, introduces the concept of place identity and the theoretical framework is established. In addition, an abundance of literature will be summarized which highlights the importance of place identity as well as its relevance to planning. Chapter 3 summarizes the history of the British Columbia forestry industry since the 1950's, focusing on the factors that have contributed to downsizing and restructuring since the mid 1970's. This chapter will also highlight the impacts that this downsizing and restructuring has had on British Columbia's forestry dependant communities, and will conclude with a brief summary of the various types of academic research that has already been done on these places. Chapter 4 describes in detail the various research methods used in the field by the researcher. A justification for the use of each of these methods is provided, along with a description of how the data was analyzed. Chapter 5 introduces each of the three case study communities, highlighting the various historical events that have contributed to their current state of affairs. Chapter 6 describes and summarizes findings from the data collection as they relate to the theoretical

framework of place identity as established in Chapter 2. Chapter 7 analyzes and discusses the findings and some recommendations are made. In the final chapter, Chapter 8, conclusions are made which highlight the contributions of this study to the planning profession. Directions for future research are also discussed.

CHAPTER 2: CONSIDERING PLACE IDENTITY

"Environmental activists urge us to think globally and act locally, but what scientists are learning about the relationships between places and behavior suggest that thinking locally isn't a bad idea either. If we could learn to approach large increments of territory as we do our homes, our lives would be in better shape, and so would the planet. Because we know our psychological and physical well being is at stake we make sure our homes are happy, healthful, beautiful places. We pay attention to their climate and atmosphere, and we are wary about incorporating technology that may endanger us and our families. We invite them into that "something in the air", often borrowed from nature that makes places sacred. In the end, we become addicted to our homes not just because of their physical features but because they support our social bonds, buffer us from commotion, and help us find meaning and express our identity. Whether they are in the city, the country, or increasingly, somewhere in between, each of these sophisticated versions of the mammalian nest is a small piece of our global village. Once we realize that just about anything that is true of our relationships with our homes is true concerning our neighborhoods, then thinking locally means acting globally and that means saving the world" (Gallagher, 1993, p.228).

"One thing is clear – whether the world we live in has a placeless geography, or a geography of significant places, the responsibility for it is ours alone" (Relph, 1976, p. 147).

"Conscious noticing of what we're experiencing once we get back the hang of it, can be a common denominator, a language of connectedness between social, environmental, and economic concerns" (Hiss, 1990, p. xx)

2.1 Introduction

Much of the recent literature regarding place identity comes from the field of environmental psychology, which is commonly defined as the study of the relationship between environments and human behavior. The field of environmental psychology is multidisciplinary, including contributions from scholars with backgrounds in architecture, geography, anthropology, sociology, psychology, social ecology, and planning. In this chapter, this literature is summarized in an attempt to develop a basic theoretical framework for place identity that can be used to guide empirical research. This chapter will also include a discussion of 1) the types of factors that impact identity; 2) the importance of identity to individuals and communities; 3) contemporary threats to identity; 4) the relevance of identity to planning practice; 5) criticisms of traditional planning approaches to the identity of places; 6) recommendations for how to measure and evaluate place identity; and 7) the links between identity and various planning theories.

2.2 What is a place?

A natural starting point for any discussion on place identity is to first establish what is meant by the term 'place'. 'Place' has been used in the English language since the 1200's. It is derived from French, Latin, and Greek roots that mean a spot, broad street or courtyard (Smith, 1996). The earliest uses of the word 'place' were predominantly scientific in nature. St. Thomas Aquinas, for instance, used the expression 'rational place' to describe a "position at a certain distance from the earth's immovable centre in the direction of some point on the immovable empyrean sphere" (Duhen, 1985 cited in Smith, 1996 p. 191). In this sense, numerous 'rational places' were isolated using a fixed system of coordinates (Smith, 1996). Sir Isaac Newton referred to the same phenomenon as 'absolute place'; an immovable position in absolute space (Kayre, 1957 cited in Smith, 1996, p. 191). Another similar type of usage was the expression 'material place', which Aristotle coined to refer to the "surface of a containing body, in contact with a contained body" (Smith, 1996, p. 191). This usage presents material place as a sort of cavity in which a body is lodged and is therefore similar to the term 'environment' (Smith, 1996). Since these early beginnings, 'place' has been used in several different senses. Steele (1981) suggests that 'place' may be one of the most "frequently used" (and most "commonly misunderstood") words in the English language (p. 8). She describes as follows:

> "[Place] is used variously as a physical location (what places did you visit?), a psychological state (I'm not in a very good place right now), social status (people should know their place), the location of something in ones' mind (I can't quite place it), a standard of evaluation (there's a time and a place for everything), and on and on. The meanings of the word have been as varied (and often as confused) as the ingenious human mind can make them" (p. 5).

Contemporary theories of place have done little to clarify the situation as they themselves demonstrate a lack of consensus over the precise meaning of the term (Smith, 1996). It is, however, quite possible to identify from the literature some generally agreed upon elements which constitute a place. A summary of these elements has been provided by Lukerman (1964):

1. *Location* – "The idea of location, especially location as it relates to other things and places, is absolutely fundamental. Location can be described in terms of internal characteristics (site) and external connectivity to other locations (situation); thus places have spatial extension and an inside and outside" (Lukerman, 1964, cited in Relph, 1976, p.3).

2. *Uniqueness* – "Place involves an integration of elements of nature and culture; each place has its own order, its special ensemble, which distinguishes it from the next place. This clearly implies that every place is a unique entity" (Lukerman, 1964, cited in Relph, 1976, p.3).

3. *Connectivity*. *"*Although every place is unique, they are interconnected by a system of spatial interactions and transfers; they are part of a framework of circulation" (Lukerman, 1964, cited in Relph, 1976, p.3).

4. *Time*. Places are "emerging or becoming; with historical and cultural change new elements are added and old elements disappear" (Lukerman, 1964 cited in Relph, 1976, p.3). As Pred (1983) notes, places should not be conceptualized as "frozen scenes of human activity"; it is not only what is "fleetingly seen as place", it is also what takes place "ceaselessly over time" (p. 337).

5. *Locality* – "Places are localized - they are part of larger areas and are focuses in a system of localization" (Lukerman, 1964 cited in Relph, 1976, p.3).

6. *Meaning* – "Places have meaning: they are characterized by the beliefs of man" (Lukerman, 1964, cited in Relph, 1976, p.3). This element is emphasized by new humanistic geographers who see place as an object for a subject, as a centre of individually felt values and meanings, or as a locality of emotional attachment and felt significance (Pred, 1985; Tuan, 1977; Relph, 1976; Entrikin 1991; Godkin 1980; Hough, 1990, Buttimer, 1980).

There are two keys concepts to draw from these elements of place. First, a place is "not just the where of something; it is the location plus everything that occupies that location seen as an integrated and meaningful phenomenon" (Relph, 1976, p.3). Place always represents a human product (Pred, 1985); what begins as undifferentiated space, becomes a place as we get to know it better and endow it with value (Tuan, 1977). The process by which human beings transform spaces into meaningful places is referred to as 'Placemaking' (Schneekloth & Shibley, 1995). Evidence of this is noticeable when we transform our physical environment into our homes, our neighborhoods, and our places of work and play (Schneekloth & Shibley, 1995). The second key concept to draw from Lukerman's (1964) elements of place is that every place is distinct. Each place; whether it is a country, region, city, town, village, or specific site; has its own unique combination of characteristics, which is another way of saying that each place has its own recognizable identity

2.3 The components of place identity

A place's 'identity', which could also be called a place's 'individuality', can therefore be understood as a combination of characteristics which serves as the basis for that places' recognition as a separable entity and its' distinction from other places (Lynch, 1960). According to Relph (1976) this identity is made up of the following four components.

1. The physical setting
2. The activities and functions
3. The meanings (or significance)
4. The spirit of place.

The 'physical setting' includes both the built and natural features of a place. Built features such as libraries, theatres, galleries, museums, pubs, and cinemas, all contribute to defining particular places. (Worpole, 1992). Urban designers and architects often pride themselves on creating a built environment that is vivid, unique, or that has a particular character of its own (Lynch, 1981). According to Lynch (1960), this is achieved through manipulation of the following five key features of a built setting.

- *Paths* – channels along which the observer customarily and occasionally or potentially moves (roads, walkways, canals, transit lines)
- *Edges* – linear elements not used or considered paths by the observer (boundaries, walls, shores, barriers)
- *Districts* – medium to large sections which are identifiable
- *Nodes* – strategic spots/ intensive foci into which an observer can enter
- *Landmarks* – recognizable and highly visible objects that are used for orientation (p. 47).

An example of how these features can combine in a place is provided by Greenbie (1981) in his description of Central Park in New York City:

> [Central Park]'s beautifully orchestrated series of intimate and open nodes, varied and meaningful landmarks, and softly or strongly defined activity districts are linked by a series of dendritic path systems and follow grassy or rocky landforms (p. 258).

Greenbie (1981) suggests that the designers of Central Park, by creatively manipulating Lynch's five key elements of the built environment, have created a piece of 'urban art' that is clearly distinguishable in the urban landscape (p.258). Natural features such as the ecosystem, wildlife,

scenery and viewpoints, also contribute to the identity of a place. Hough (1990) points out that the mix of natural features has a powerful influence on the overall ambiance experienced in any particular place.

'Activities and functions' refer to all of the various activities that transpire in a particular place as well as the institutional framework under which those activities are conducted. Generaux (1983) argues that activities that occur in a place are typically greater contributors to identity than any physical feature. The explanation for this is that when people recall a place, that recollection is usually linked to their reason for being in that place (Generaux, 1983). For example, if a person were asked if they had ever heard of a particular city or town they may respond by saying, "Oh yes, that is the place where [blank] occurred" or, "Oh yes, that is the place where I [activity]". Lynch (1981) makes a point of highlighting the particular significance of special celebrations, ceremonies and rituals to place identity. Lynch (1981) suggests that major celebrations can be quite vivid and coherent creating what he calls an identifiable 'sense of occasion', which tends to have a lasting impact on people's memory of places (p. 132). Other examples of the types of activities that could occur in a place include: social interactions and communications, economic or business endeavors, and recreational activities. All of these activities take place under an organizational structure of institutions that is established through government policies.

The 'meaning of place' may be rooted in the physical setting and activities, but it is not a property of them; rather it is a property of human intentions (Relph, 1976). As previously mentioned, places have a specific meaning to particular individuals and groups. Places become meaningful when they serve some particular purpose such as being a person's home, place of work, place of relaxation, or place of worship. A particular place may have several different meanings to a diverse range of individuals and groups.

The final component of identity is less tangible than the three previously described components but serves to link and embrace them (Relph, 1976). This is the attribute of identity that has been variously termed 'spirit of place', or 'genius loci', both of which are terms that refer to character or personality (Relph 1976; Larkham, 1996; Garnham, 1985; Conzen, 1996; Steele 1981; Norberg-Schulz, 1979). In the "course of time, places, whether they are large regions like a

country or small localities like a market town, acquire their specific genius loci, their culture and history conditioned character which commonly reflect not only the work and aspirations of the society at present in occupancy but also that of its precursors in the area" (Conzen, 1996 p. 23). The spirit of place is sometimes "subtle and nebulous, and not easily analyzed in formal and conceptual terms", yet at the same time, "it is naively obvious in our experiences of places for it constitutes the very individuality and uniqueness of places" (Relph, 1976, p. 48). Places such as "the South of France, the English Cotswolds, the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, the Texas Hill Country, Paris, Istanbul, Positano, Santa Fe, New Mexico, Taxco, the Greek Islands, and Hanalei, are regions, cities, and towns that we recognize as possessing a recognizable spirit of place" (Garnham, 1985, p.1). These places have worldwide acclaim because people recognize this character, but character is not a quality that only these highly regarded places have, as Garnham (1985) notes, "all places contain some special attributes which produce a spirit of place" (p.1).

According to Relph, (1976), these four components of identity, are interrelated in a place, and it is their "fusion that constitutes the identity of place" (p.48). Physical appearance, activities, meanings, and the spirit of place, are the raw materials of the identity of places, and the "dialectical links between them are the elementary structural relations of that identity" (Relph, 1976, p.48). Since there is an "infinite range of content within each of these components" and "numberless ways that they can combine", there is no "discernable limit to the diversity of identities of places" (Relph, 1976, p. 61). Although it is possible to gain considerable knowledge about the nature of the identity of a place by considering its main components, it is nonetheless apparent that identity is not a product of such components alone, but is also socially structured (Relph, 1976; Proshanksy et al., 1983; Lalli, 1992; Low & Zuniga, 2003). In other words, the identity of a place is also perceptual and can vary depending on who the person or group is interpreting it. All human beings, by virtue of possessing similar organs, have the ability to absorb information about the environment (Tuan, 1974). Our ability to utilize all of our senses simultaneously allows us to consciously or subconsciously always be well aware of our surroundings (Relph, 1976; Steele, 1981; Hiss, 1990; Tuan, 1977; Hough, 1990). This ability is referred to by Hiss (1990) as 'simultaneous perception" which he describes as follows:

> Simultaneous perception - seems to operate continuously, at least during waking hours, even when our concentration seems altogether engrossed in something else entirely. While normal walking consciousness works to simplify perception, allowing us to act quickly and flexibly by helping us remain seemingly oblivious to almost everything except the task in front of us, simultaneous perception is more like an extra or a sixth sense. It broadens and diffuses the beam of attention evenhandedly across all the senses so we can take it whatever is around us (p. xii)

Hiss (1990) points to German research on human behavior which found that "when we approach or move through a street, or a park, or a railroad station, we are alert for information that has to do with our immediate physical safety and with a general sense of how welcoming these surroundings will be". The research suggests that "we let the layout of a place give us an advanced reading on such things as whether we can linger there or need to move one, how relaxed we will be if we stay, and whether or not we will feel comfortable about talking to people already there" (Hiss, 1990, p.25). As this research suggests, we are constantly monitoring our surroundings, and we are immediately aware when we are exposed to new places. Our awareness of different places and different identities of place is commonly known as our 'sense of place' (Relph, 1976; Jackson, 1994; Eyles, 1985; Steele, 1981; McGuigan, 1994).

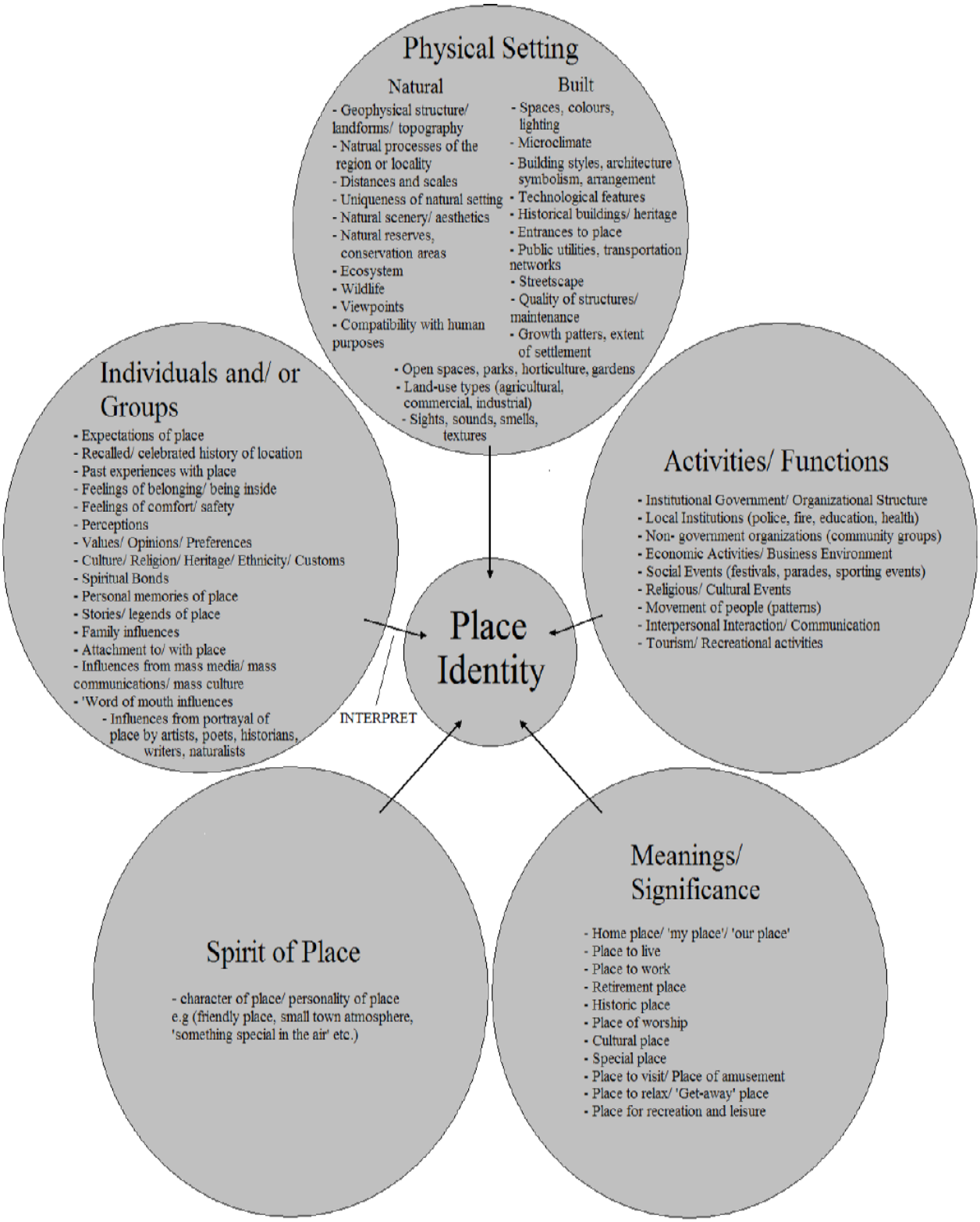
As Steele (1981) points out, when people come to a setting "they do not arrive empty-handed, open to whatever turns up there" (p. 33). They almost always bring a good deal of 'baggage' with them that influences how they perceive, use, and feel about the setting (Steele, 1981, p. 33). People bring with them past experiences, expectations, knowledge, moods, predilections, and preferences (Steele 1981; Honikman 1980; Lowenthal, 1972; Greenbie, 1981). They also carry their own mix of personality, values, culture, memories, emotions, and intentions, which color their image of that place (Relph, 1976; Lynch, 1981). As Rowles (1983) notes, the characteristics of a place that one person finds negative may have a positive impact on someone else simply because they are searching for different qualities in the built environment. An example could be a heritage district; buildings that appear dilapidated to one observer may trigger positive memories of past experiences for another. All of this 'baggage' impacts the way identity is interpreted. As a result, identity is in the "experience, eye, mind and intention of the beholder" as much as in the characteristics of the place itself (Relph, 1976, p.45). In this sense, identity can be likened to an image or a mental picture in a person's mind that reminds him or her about the

characteristics of any particular place (Relph, 1976). Within a population, the mixing of individual experiences, emotions, memories, imaginations, present situations, and intentions can be so variable that it could appear practically impossible to try and capture in any coherent way what the identity of a place is (Relph, 1976). However, as Relph (1976) and Lynch (1981) point out, while each individual may self-consciously or unselfconsciously have their own interpretation of the identity of any particular place, these identities are nevertheless combined inter-subjectively to form a common identity among people who habitually use any particular place. This probably occurs because of the common biological basis of our perception and cognition, certain common experiences of the real world, and because we have been taught to look for certain qualities of place emphasized by our cultural groups (Relph, 1976; Lynch, 1981). As a result, identity is something that can be "deeply personal", yet also "shared" (Relph, 1976, p.57).

Figure 1 provides a summarized structural framework for place identity as extrapolated from the literature. In this figure, the four main components of place identity (physical setting, activities and functions, meanings and symbols, and the spirit of place) are represented using a series of circles. The fusion of these components, which generates place identity, is portrayed using arrows. An additional circle entitled 'Individuals and/or Groups' represents the attributes of those people experiencing the place who interpret place identity. This theoretical framework will serve as the foundation for this research project[1].

[1] The framework for place identity as portrayed in Figure 1 is a simplification. The examples of features provided under each component of place identity do not constitute an exhaustive list. There are countless other features that could have been incorporated.

Figure 1: The Place Identity Framework



2.4 Positively and negatively perceived place identities

As Relph (1976) notes, even-though every place has its own identity, those identities are not always positively perceived. The characteristics of a particular place that comprise the elements of its identity can be either positive or negative depending on the quality of those features and also on the way that they are perceived by different individuals or groups. As a result, the identity of a place is either positively or negatively perceived depending on the overall magnitude and balance of its supposed 'good' and 'bad' characteristics. As Lynch (1981) suggests, most people have had the experience of being in a good place. The "play of light", the "feel and smell of the wind, touches, sounds, colors, and forms", all combine to create a positive place experience (Lynch, 1981, p. 132). For Lynch (1976, 1981), a good place has characteristics that "are accessible to all the senses, make visible the current of the air and engage the perception of its inhabitants" (p. 132). A place that has a positive identity has features, which evoke feelings such as comfort, pride, joy, health, and vitality (Tuan, 1974, p. 247). Alternatively, a place with a negative identity has features that result in negative experiences, ones that evoke feelings such as fear, distaste, discomfort, and disorientation (Hiss, 1990). To illustrate the types of elements that contribute to a negative place experiences, Hiss (1990) recalls a visit he made to New York's Time Square (before its revitalization). He describes the streets and sidewalks as being "dirty", with fences and trash baskets that were "dented and mangled" (Hiss, 1990, p.85). He remembered the broken or boarded up windows, peeling paint, and an "overwhelming smell of urine" (Hiss, 1990, p.85). He recalled thinking that the place had been deliberately neglected and considered the use of the word "eyesore" (Hiss, 1990, p.85). Hiss's unpleasant experience with New York's Time Square has caused him to develop a negative interpretation of the identity of that place.

2.5 Public versus mass identities of place

As previously mentioned, places develop a common identity that is shared among many different people. According to Relph (1976) this communal identity can come in one of two forms: public identity, or mass identity. Public identity is the true identity of a place; it is authentic and genuine. It develops out of the free opinion of groups of people who have had direct experiences, and who have developed enduring, meaningful relationships, with a particular place (Relph,

1976). Mass identities are inauthentic and superficial, they are assigned by opinion makers, provided ready made for the public, and are disseminated through the mass media (Relph, 1976). Mass identities are based on "glib" and "contrived stereotypes created arbitrarily and even synthetically" (Relph, 1976, p. 58). As Hummon (1990) observes, the mass media is continually "saturating the individual with images of places, as sitcoms, advertisements, and popular songs communicate their messages through the symbolism of community settings" (p.7). Films and television programs often play a profound role on people's interpretation of a place. For example, 'Beachcombers', a popular television program in the 1970's and 1980's provided its audience with picturesque images of British Columbia's rugged west coast and its inherent lifestyle. Local institutions, "such as newspapers, real estate agents, and chambers of commerce, make it their business to teach about the nature of communities" (Hummon, 1990, p.7). The works of poets, painters, writers and photographers also inundate the public with images of various settings (Hough, 1990). Mass images of place are often distorted to accommodate a particular agenda and are designed to draw the attention of a public with assumingly universal values (commonly referred to as a mass culture or the global village) (Nozick, 1992). Despite the fact that these mass identities are not based on real experiences with places, they influence the definition of those places, and the expectations people have of those places. Martin (2000) for example, conducted a study of an inner-city neighborhood in St. Paul Minnesota and found that the popular media played a dominant role in defining the general public's interpretation of the neighborhood, but that the popular characterization did not correspond with locally based opinions about the actual identity of the place.

2.6 Identity and the impacts of change

The relationship between the identity of a places and changes to its characteristics is a complex one. On one hand, there can be a persistence of the identity of a place. As Dubos (1972) argues, "just as the distinctiveness of the appearance of any one person endures from childhood to old age, so too can the identity of a particular place persist through many external changes" (cited in Relph, 1976, p.31). Dubos (1972) suggests that the ability of a place to persevere through change is directly related to the strength of its spirit, which can act like "an inner, hidden force – a god within" (cited in Relph, 1976, p.31). On the other hand, even very subtle changes to the characteristics of a place can have an impact on its identity. Hiss (1990) provides the example of

"a curving road in front of an old suburban house which gets straightened and widened and suddenly a favorite grove of oaks or pines that the winds whistled through is chopped down and paved over" (p. xiii). The reality is that the impacts of change on identity are highly variable and depend on both the nature of the change, and the identity itself. The key consideration is that identity is never static and unchangeable but can vary as circumstances change (Relph, 1976). Identity can be enhanced, by implementing appropriate, positive elements, enhancing special character, building active centers, creating and highlighting landmarks, exploiting and intensifying natural features, conserving or enhancing existing urban character, and by recognizing the importance of architectural styles, patterns, textures, circulation, open space, and organization (Lynch, 1981). Identity can also be diminished if well-liked components are taken away and "weakened, contaminated, or even poisoned, by the addition of inappropriate elements". (Hiss, 1990, p.82). It is important to also realize that potential impacts on identity are not restricted solely to modifications of the built or natural environment, but extend to changes to all elements of identity, including the values and attitudes of percipients (Relph, 1976).

2.7 Identity and Place Attachment

Many people utilize the identity of a particular place for orientation purposes. A considerable amount of research in environmental psychology has been devoted to the study of the way in which people create these mental representations of a place's spatial structure which they later use to orient themselves when they revisit that place (Garling, 1989). This mental picture is variously referred to as a cognitive representation, cognitive map, or mental map (Garling, 1989). The level of awareness of identity can, however, extend far beyond this most basic level, to varying degrees of association and disassociation with place identity. A negatively perceived identity can often lead to a strong disassociation with that place which Relph (1976) refers to as 'Outsideness'. Outsideness refers to a "dispassionate attitude towards place, a self-conscious and reflective un-involvement, an alienation from place, and a sense of not belonging" (Relph, 1976). 'Outsideness', describes a situation where people choose to distance themselves from a place. In this case, these places become "little more than the background or setting for required activities, and are quite incidental to those activities" (Relph, 1976, p. 52). Alternatively, a positively perceived identity can lead to varying levels of attachment to that place, as Tuan (1974) explains:

> Ties [to a place and its' attributes] differ greatly in intensity, subtlety and mode of expression. The response [to a place] may be primarily aesthetic: it may then vary from the fleeting pleasure one gets from a view, to the equally fleeting bur far more intense sense of beauty that is suddenly revealed. The response may be tactile, a delight in the feel of air, water, earth. More permanent and less easy to express, are feelings that one has toward place because it is home, the locus of memories and a means of gaining a livelihood (p. 93).

The highest level of attachment to a place and its identity is a profound relationship with that place; an intense familiarity, that usually "involves not just a detailed knowledge, but also a sense of deep care and concern for that place" (Relph, 1976, p.37). As Relph (1976) suggests, "the places to which we are most attached are literally 'fields of care', settings in which we have had a multiplicity of experiences and which call forth an entire complex of affections and responses" (p.38). To care for a place in such a profound way involves a sense of "real responsibility and respect for that place, both for itself, and for what it is to [oneself] and to others" (Relph, 1976, p. 38). Relph, (1976) refers to this intense association with place as "Insideness"; which he describes as an "emotional and empathetic involvement" with place (p.54). According to Relph (1976), to be "inside a place, is to belong to it, and to identify with it, and the more profoundly inside you are the stronger is this identity with place" (p.49). This affective bond between people and places is also referred to by Tuan (1974) as 'Topophilia' and by Altman & Low (1992) as 'Place attachment'. People's attachment to places and their identities is "apparent in the actions of individuals and groups protecting their places against forces of destruction, or is known to anyone who has experienced homesickness and nostalgia for particular places" (Relph, 1976, p.1).

Profound associations between people and places do not develop overnight and there is usually a direct link between the degree of place attachment and length of residence. Longer residence allows people to engage in a multitude of place experiences and to really get to know a place intimately (Taylor and Townsend, 1976; Lalli, 1992; Mesch & Manor, 1998; Tuan, 1977). Correspondingly, higher levels of place attachment are predominantly found in the places that have a recognizable history, and that exhibit a strong sense of continuity over time (Hough, 1990; Nozick, 1992). Places themselves are the present expression of past experiences and events, and visions for the future (Relph, 1976; Hough, 1990; Lowenthal, 1972; Eyles, 1985;

Lynch, 1972). The places that evoke elevated levels of attachment are the ones whose identities contain elements that represent each of these three time dimensions. Directly "linked to attachment is the feeling that a place has endured, and will persist as a distinctive entity even though the world around may change" (Relph, 1976, p.31). Similarly, places with a recognizable past attain higher significance because they become the "storehouses to [peoples'] personal memories (where [they] have come from and where [they] have dwelt) and the collective social memories interconnected with the histories of [their] families, neighbors, fellow workers, and ethnic communities" (Hayden, 1995, p. 9). As a result, it generally takes several years for newly developed places to acquire the same level of significance as those that have existed for a long period of time.

2.8 The Importance of Place Identity

Literature in the field of environmental psychology suggests a number of reasons for why place identity is important to both individuals and communities. The first and most obvious reason is that place identity provides for diversity in the world, and presents people with a number of different place experiences. People rarely reflect on how fortunate they are to live in a world full of distinctive places. As Nozick (1992) suggests, "diversity is the essential ingredient to all life" (p.70). A diverse environment makes life interesting and more fulfilling (Lynch, 1981). The events that structure people's lives acquire their flavor from the various settings in which they take place. A homogeneous world would result in limited possibilities and monotonous life experiences. Hough (1990) suggests that diversity and health are linked. Diverse experiences foster feelings of personal satisfaction, which in turn has a positive impact on both mental and physical health and well being (Hiss, 1990).

In addition to the benefits associated with creating a diverse environment, the identity of different places also has a significant impact on the disposition of various individuals. It is suggested that there is a profound association between the nature of people and the attributes of the places in which they spend their time. Hiss (1990) articulates this relationship:

> We all react, consciously and unconsciously to the places where we live and work, in ways we scarcely notice or that are only now becoming known to us. Ever-accelerating changes in most people's day to day circumstances are helping us and prodding us sometimes forcing us to learn that our ordinary surroundings, built and natural alike, have

> an immediate and a continuing effect on the way we feel and act, and on our health and intelligence. These places have an impact on our sense of self, our sense of safety, the kind of work we get done, the ways we interact with other people even our ability to function as citizens in democracy. In short, the places where we spend our time affect the people we are and can become. (p. xi)

Hiss (1990) suggests that "our relationship with the places we know and meet up with – where you are right now; and where you've been earlier today; and wherever you'll be in another few hours – is a close bond, intricate in nature, and not abstract, not remote at all: It's enveloping, almost a continuum with all we are and think" (p. xi). According to Gallagher (1993), the fact that there is such a relationship between people and places should not be surprising, she explains:

> Like those of other living things, our structure, development, and behavior rise from a genetic foundation sunk in an environmental context. Yet while we readily accept that a healthy seed can't grow into a plant without the right soil, light, and water, and that a feral dog won't behave like a pet, we resist recognizing the importance of environment in our own lives (p.16).

Gallagher (1993) contends that our mood, performance, behavior, thoughts, decisions, emotions, and productivity are all linked to the quality of the environments in which we dwell. As a result, as the places around us change, we all undergo changes inside (Hiss, 1990). This means that "whatever [changes] we experience in a place [are not only] a serious environmental issue [but also] a deeply personal one" (Hiss, 1990, p. xi).

The identity of a place also has a significant influence on the various ways in which people define themselves. We are always 'in place', and as such our relationships with places helps define who we are (Entrkin, 1991; Hunter, 1987). In other words, there is a connection between place identity and personal identity (Relph, 1976; Entrikin, 1991; Hummon, 1990; Hunter, 1987; Fitchen, 1991; Lynch, 1981; Rivlin, 1987; Sarbin, 1983; Saarinen, 1982; Korpela, 1989; Godkin 1980, cited in Buttimer, 1980). Entrikin (1991) explains this connection:

> Place presents itself to us as a condition of human experience. As agents in the world we are always in place much as we are always in culture. For this reason, our relations to place and culture become elements in the construction of our individual and collective identities. (p.1)

People often identify themselves as being of a certain type, quality or value. These perceptions of self, are often based on the qualities of the communities (or places) that people feel they are a

part of (Hummon, 1990). Hummon (1990) suggests that personal identity "answers the question 'who am I' but does so by countering 'where am I' or more fundamentally, 'where in the landscape of community forms do I belong'" (p.143). It identifies the individual "as a type of person by appropriating community (or place) imagery for self-imagery" (Hummon, 1990, p.143). Identification with the small town for instance involves both "a sense of being in place in the town, and a favorable conception of self as particularly friendly, neighborly and family oriented; a self conception is drawn from the imagery of small town ideology" (Hummon, 1990, p.143). An illustration of this phenomenon is provided by Fitchen (1991) in his study of several rural communities in the United States. Fitchen (1991) found that rural people commonly associate themselves with the rural lifestyle, which they describe as peaceful, pristine, natural, and unspoiled. When these features of place started to breakdown, with new development and increasing population, the resident's image of themselves as 'rural folk' became less clear. Fitchen (1991) found that this caused tremendous anxiety, and made people very leery of further change. Similarly, Twigger-Ross and Uzzel (1996) conducted a study of residents from Rotherhithe, in the London Docklands, and found that the attributes of place were used to create, symbolize and establish self-identity.

Deep attachment between people and the identity of places can have tremendous psychological implications. Relph (1976) and Harper (1987) suggest that people's relationships with places can be as necessary, varied, and significant as their relationships with other people. Relph (1976) contends, "without such relationships human existence, while possible, is bereft of much of its significance" (p. 41). People develop the strongest relationship with the places that they call home (Nozick, 1992). Home is not just the house you happen to live in; it is an irreplaceable centre of significance. People's home places are "the point of departure from which they orient themselves" (Relph, 1976). They are "foundations of man's existence, providing not only the context for human activity, but also security for individuals and groups" (Relph, 1976, p. 41). Indeed, "to be human is to have and to know your place" (Relph, 1976, p.1) Kunstler (1993) suggests that having a home place is vitally important to individual well being, he explains:

> There is a reason that human beings long for a sense of permanence. This longing is not limited to children, for it touches the profoundest aspects of our existence: that life is short, fraught with uncertainty, and sometimes tragic. We know not where we come

> from, still less where we are going, and to keep from going crazy while we are here, we want to feel that we truly belong to a specific part of the world. (p. 275).

Home places provide a person with roots, a stable "point from which to look out on to the world" (Relph, 1976, p. 38). Relph (1976) agues that the need for roots is at least equivalent to the need for order, liberty, responsibility, equality, and security" (p.38). Similarly, Fromm (1963) states that "sanity and mental health depend upon satisfaction of those needs which are specifically human and which stem from the conditions of the human situation: the need for relatedness, rootedness, the need for a sense of identity and the need for a frame of orientation and devotion" (cited in Plant, 1974, p.74). Changes to the characteristics of people's home places can have a detrimental emotional impact. Kunstler (1993) suggests that it is a tremendous sacrifice to lose a sense of place: the "idea that things exist in some sort of continuity, that we belong to the world physically and chronologically, and that we know where we are". (p. 118). The loss of recognizable place attributes causes considerable stress and grief especially among older people who feel that part of their own lives and identities is being taken away or destroyed" (Worpole, 1992; Godkin, 1980).

There is a direct link between having a strong, positive identity and being a healthy, sustainable place. Sustainability implies stability or permanence over an indefinite period of time (Nuryanti, 1999). It requires human activity and technological systems that contribute to the long-term health of the environments and natural systems from which they draw benefit (Hough, 1990; Chamberland, 1994). Places with a strong identity are aesthetically pleasing and visually stimulating and therefore have enduring value (Beatly & Brower; 1993; Nozick, 1992). A positive identity provides residents with feelings of greater physical, intellectual, and emotional well being which in turn invokes a sense of pride (Hiss, 1990; Garnham, 1985; Theodori, 2001). The relationship between identity and sustainability is quite straightforward; high levels of resident satisfaction associated with a strong, positive identity evoke sustainable behaviors (Pol, 2002). A positive identity fosters social and political involvement in the preservation of the physical and social features that characterize a neighborhood (Mesch & Manor, 1998). In fact, a number of studies have shown that the higher the neighborhood attachment, the more likely are individuals to develop a set of norms and to exert effective formal and informal social control and reduce crime (Mesch & Manor, 1998). Various other studies conducted in Latin America

and Europe confirm that as level of identity and attachment to place increased, so too did the propensity for sustainable behavior (Pol & Castrechini, 2002; Uzzel et al., 2002; Valera and Guardia, 2002; Uzzel & Pol, 2002; Pol et al. 2002; Aguilar, 2002). People were generally much more willing to spend time and money on various community initiatives (Colussi, 2000; Paradis, 1996).

Place identity also has implications for community building. The term 'community' is defined in several different ways. It has been referred to as a spatial unit, a cluster of people living within a specific area or territory (Poplin, 1979). It has also been defined as a unit of social interaction with recognizable patterns of social organization (Poplin, 1979). Increasingly, community has been defined as a group of people sharing values, and common traditions, ties and bonds (Poplin, 1979; Thorns, 1976; Marsh, 1970; Hassinger & Pinkerton, 1986; Fitchen, 1991; Nozick, 1992; Capozza & Brown, 2000; Plant, 1974; Fuller et al., 1990; Dal Brodhead, 1990). A strong, positive identity benefits communities by strengthening these bonds. As Relph (1976) suggests, "the relationship between community and place is a very powerful one in which each reinforces the identity of the other, and in which landscape is very much an expression of communally held beliefs and values and of interpersonal involvements" (p.33). Similarly, Blythe (1969) contends that "commonly experienced messages and symbols of the landscape serve to maintain a collectively conditioned place consciousness, and this gives the people from a place essentially the same identity that the place itself has and vice versa" (cited in Relph, 1976, p. 34). People "are their place and a place is its people" (Relph, 1976, p.34). All the "elements of place, buildings, streets, parades, soccer teams, all serve to not only unite communities but also to make them explicit" (Relph, 1976, p.33). As a result, place identity helps foster a community identity. A community identity creates a sense of solidarity and promotes adherence to a common focus (Campion & Fine, 1998). In sharing a symbol, community members experience a link with other members and feel themselves distinct from outsiders (Campion & Fine, 1998). While members "may not necessarily interact with each other, through face to face interaction, they recognize a common history and destiny, as well as common symbols, legends, names, and events about which 'outsiders' cannot be assumed to know or to care" (Campion & Fine, 1998 p. 94). Nozick (1992) refers to this 'community identity' as a 'community culture', which she suggests is the heart of the community and the glue that holds it together. Nozick (1992) suggests that the

success of communities does not rely solely on material wealth but also on the identity that binds them together and guides them towards a common destiny. In times of crisis these strong communities bond together for mutual aid (Nozick, 1992). A psychological sense of community also provides members with feelings of comfort and belongingness (Jason, 1997; Hummon, 1990). The absence of this sense of community is one of the "most destructive forces in our society, leading to alienation and anonymity" (Jason, 1997 p.72).

A strong identity also has economic benefits. Images of historic buildings are used to reinforce messages about cultural experiences, quality of life, safety, comfort, prestige, status, innovation, stability, credibility, trust, and fashion (Farrow, 1997, 1998). These images are used by many different types of organizations or product marketers to boost a wide range of industries such as tourism. (Farrow, 1997, 1998). Places with a positive identity are more appealing for investment, which in turn leads to economic opportunities (Farrow, 1997, 1998).

2.9 Challenges to Place Identity

Despite the significance of place identity for both individuals and communities, several academics suggest that the identities of places are breaking down (Relph, 1976; Norberg-Schulz, 1969; Langdon, 1994; Worpole, 1992; McGuigan, 1994; Hiss, 1990; Nozick, 1992, Farrow, 1997, 1998; Hummon, 1990; Hough, 1990; Jackson, 1994; Buttimer, 1980, Garnham, 1985; Pred, 1983,1985; Mishan, 1993**).** Relph (1976) has coined the word 'placelessness' to refer to the "casual eradication of distinctive places and the remaking of standardized landscapes that [has resulted] from an insensitivity to the significance of place" (p. II). Placelessness is a "weakening of the identity of places to the point where they not only look alike but feel alike and offer the same bland possibilities for experience" (Relph, 1976, p.90). Norberg-Schulz (1969) describes a placeless landscape as a "flatscape, lacking intentional depth" and providing possibilities for only "mediocre experiences" (cited in Relph, 1976, p.79). Under placelessness, life becomes "a series of isolated events, nodes of activity between home, shopping, recreation and work made accessible by a no-mans land environment" (Hough, 1990, p.93). Relph (1976) identifies 6 elements of contemporary society that are contributing to placelessness in the world, these include:

- Mass communication – (transportation, newspapers, journals, radio, and television) - appears to result in growing uniformity of landscape and a lessening diversity of places by encouraging and transmitting general and standardized tastes and fashions.

- Mass culture – linked to the mass movement of people and ideas is the creation of a culture of mass values.

- Big business - Dictates uniform tastes and fashions. Encourages standardization of products to ensure economic survival. Product recognition and efficiency are important. Places merit little concern, whether in the production, management, or retailing of products. Corporations try to identify certain common characteristics, instincts and preferences of people and then mass-produce that on a large scale.

- Central authority/ government – have considerable control over economic expansion and physical planning and thus their capacity for place making is immense. They encourage uniformity of places in the interests of efficiency. (e.g. standardized models for public housing, road bridges and log cabins in National parks).

- Economic system – embraces all of the above. Primary goals are efficient operation, profit maximization, corporate growth and survival.

Historically (i.e. prior to the industrial revolution), the nature and character of places was shaped by necessity (Hough, 1990), There was "no alternative but to accept limitations imposed by nature, culture and technology" (Hough, 1990, p.85). The "differences between one place and another, the sense of belonging, of being rooted to a particular location have traditionally been achieved because there were few alternative options available" (Hough, 1990, p.85). The "overall form of vernacular settlements was determined by the constraints of the land and climate, by building materials and by the social and historic forces that were unique to each place and time" (Hough, 1990, p.85). The lack of choices "forced recognition of regional imperatives" (Hough, 1990, p.85). Since the industrial revolution, technological changes have virtually eliminated these inherent constraints on development and the result has been an apparent shift from what is distinctive to what is similar (Farrow, 1990). Economic growth and development has become "very competitive as various towns compete to attract new industries or other developments" (Worpole, 1992, p. 99). The associated changes, although perhaps economically positive, have often happened to the detriment of the original character of the places in which they have occurred (Garnham, 1985). In the drive for efficiency, uniqueness and differences of people and of places "instead of being nurtured and developed, are rejected for the singe look" (Nozick, 1992, p.182). As Nozick (1992) suggests, "home, today, has come to mean the world at

large, a ‘global home’, which is both everywhere and nowhere” (p.3). This “global home we come to identify by the corporate images sold to us by mass media and repeated with regular sameness from city to city – suburbs of spaghetti design, shopping malls with glass peaks, McDonald’s, Holiday Inns, domed stadiums” (Nozick, 1992, p.3). The “shift from understanding home as a special place of origin – a community where we live, work, belong, and feel a sense of social responsibility – to the perception of home as a world class city such as New York or Los Angeles is a result of complex global forces promoting uniformity” (Nozick, 1990, p.3). As Hiss (1990) notes, the fading and discoloration of places has been going on for generations. The danger, as we are now beginning to see, is that we are our shortchanging ourselves, “cutting ourselves off from some of the sights, sounds, the shapes or textures, or other information from a place that have helped mold our understanding and are now necessary for us to thrive” (Hiss, 1990, p.xii). Homogenizing forces are weakening the authentic identity of places, and it is becoming more and more difficult to have a deeply felt sense of place (Relph, 1976; Jackson, 1994). Correspondingly, the values of community, attachment, belongingness, commitment, mutual support, self-reliance, and self-direction are disappearing (Nozick, 1992; Mishan, 1990, Poplin, 1979).

2.10 The Dilemma of Tourism

From the perspective of place identity tourism presents itself as somewhat of a paradox (Gunn, 1991; Hough, 1990). Tourism itself is founded on places having a recognizable identity. Central to tourist consumption is “to look individually or collectively upon aspects of the landscape or townscape that are distinctive, and which signify an experience that contrasts with everyday experiences” (Urry, 1995, p.23). In other words, the search for what is distinctive and different is what tourism is all about (Hiss, 1990; Hough, 1990; Kaplan & Kaplan, 1992; Orbasli, 2000; AlSayaad, 2001; Britton, 1990). “Rocky mountain scenery, rural settlement, subtropical coastlines and vegetation, these all have irresistible attractions as places to visit; few tourists purposefully visit the suburbs and industrial areas of large cities” (Hough, 1990, p.3). The search for unique place experiences is commonly referred to in the literature as the ‘tourist gaze’ (Urry, 1995; Bell & Lyall, 2002). Every place, as a result of possessing unique features, has an eye to capitalizing on its own specialty for tourist entertainment and dollars (Hough, 1990). As a result, places around the world find themselves in a fierce competition to draw the attention of potential

visitors (Gunn, 1994; AlSayaad, 2001; Marsden, 1993; Worpole, 1992; Urry, 1995). Tourism is developed for various reasons. A main purpose is "to generate economic benefits of foreign exchange earnings (for international tourism), income, employment and government revenues, to serve as a catalyst for development of other economic sectors such as agriculture, fisheries, forestry and manufacturing, and to help pay for and justify conservation for which resources otherwise might not be available" (Inskeep, 1991, p.15). Tourism can be quite beneficial to a community, as Worple (1992) describes:

> As with economic development tourism strategies have the potential to not only create jobs but also to enhance the quality of life for a town's residents as well as visitors. All tourism strategies start with the question of self-image, and that is as much an indicator of local concern to residents as it is to outsiders. In many towns we found that tourism policies – and initiatives – had been as beneficial to local residents as to visitors. Even local people sometimes need maps, guides, and planned entertainment activities" (p. 99).

Tourism in its best forms "provides recreational, cultural and commercial facilities and services for use both by tourists and also by residents that may not have been developed without tourism" (Inskeep, 1991, p. 15). It also provides "opportunity for education of people about other cultures and environments as well as their own national heritage" (Inskeep, 1991 p. 15). One of the direct benefits of tourism is building conservation through the reuse of old buildings for tourist functions (Orbasli, 2000). This ensures that historic buildings are restored by providing living functions for those buildings (Orbasli, 2000). Tourism helps decrease the number of empty properties and provides a safer, more desirable environment by reducing the crime and violence associated with empty city centers (Orbasli, 2000). It also helps communities avoid the environmental impact of locating the same functions in new buildings (Orbasli, 2000). The dilemma of tourism is that without proper management it can destroy the very identity upon which it is based (Hough, 1990; Mathieson, 1982). Tourism has been called the 'unstoppable juggernaut', erasing all that is local and particular (AlSayaad, 2000, p.2). Such anxieties "have caused talk about the end of history, the end of geography, and the end of tradition" (AlSayaad, 2001, p.2). In some places entire landscapes are remade and reinvented, artificially and synthetically to create an image which will enhance tourist appeal (Robinson, 2001; Relph, 1976). This image often suggests nothing of the people living and working there and usually borrows styles from the most popular places in the world" (Relph, 1976). Niagara Falls, Ontario, is an excellent example of a place that has created an artificial built environment, based on a

'Hollywood' theme, in order to have an additional attraction to augment the falls themselves. Other places focus on highlighting a distant, idealized past in order to create historical attractions (Park & Coppack, 1994). Lynch (1972) suggests that this focus on the classic past "moves people only momentarily, to a point remote from their own vital concerns and is impersonal as well as ancient" (Lynch, 1972, p. 61). Similarly Hough (1990) suggests that:

> Although the events of early settlement days were real and the place our fore-fathers made were direct responses to the environment and conditions with which they had to cope, there is nothing in the fossilized relics that have been painfully reconstructed, often at public expense, to indicate either continuity with the past or a connection to the place (p.155).

Of course historical preservation is important to maintaining links to the past, but this preservation needs to be undertaken in a thoughtful and appropriate manner. Communities should seek to preserve the past with which people have real ties (Lynch, 1972).

In all places, there is a tendency in tourism to over-commodify the elements of place (Britton, 1991; Relph, 1976; Mitchell; 1993, 1998, 2001; Hough, 1990). The architecture of tourism is deliberately manipulated and directed towards outsiders, spectators, passers-by and above all consumers. The built environment is also impacted by various small businesses which pop-up in association with tourist attractions. Landscapes themselves can not be sold (Bell & Lyall, 2002). As a result, souvenir shops, restaurants, and a variety of other services are constructed and aimed at capturing tourist dollars. Relph (1976) refers to the objects sold as souvenirs and gifts as 'Kitsch', a term which describes mediocre, sweetly sentimental, meretricious objects that are artificial and inauthentic (p.82). Tourism can create several conflicts in a place including clashes between modernization and preservation, meeting the needs of the host residents and those of the tourists, maintaining the quality of the environment in the face of the quantity of tourists, and the irritation of tourists with residents because of privacy, affordability, traffic, and noise (Orbasli, 2000). For the tourist, "the essence of tourism is being away from home; for the tourist operator; the traveler is a visitor who spends money. It can be argued, therefore, that tourism engenders a lack of commitment to the place" (Hough, 1990, p.153). As a form of recreation "it feeds off the natural and cultural environment without returning any environmental or cultural enrichment" (Hough, 1990, p.153). According to Rasmussen (1964) tourists "hardly notice the character of the surroundings; they simply check off the starred numbers in their guide books and hasten on

to the next one; they do not experience the place, this is inauthenticity at its most explicit" (cited in Relph, 1976, p. 85). It seems that "for many people the purpose of travel is less to experience unique and different places than to collect these places especially on film" (Relph, 1976, p.85). Mitchell (1993, 1998, 2001) applies they theory of 'creative destruction' to describe the gradual destruction of the traditional character of places as a result of commodification. She suggests that communities progress through five levels of destruction: early commodification, advanced commodification; early destruction; advanced destruction; and post destruction (Mitchell, 1993, 1998, 2001). As these commodification levels evolve through these stages, the nature of the community which was originally the source of the tourism demand is eroded. To illustrate her point, Mitchell (1998) points to heritage shopping centers in rural communities. The essence of what is being sold is the rural values and traditions commonly referred to as the rural idyll or countryside ideal (Mitchell,1998; Reid,1995; Bunce,1994; Bryant,1989; Mingay,1989,1989 (b)). The selling and marketing of rural traditions entices consumers in search of a nostalgic return to their rural roots (Mitchell, 1998). Commodification involves the sale of products associated with rural life such as quilts, arts and crafts (Mitchell, 1998). While the resulting consumption of rural traditions provides entrepreneurs with profit: the creation of a commodified landscape ultimately results in the destruction of the old, the very attraction that provided the original source of the tourism (Mitchell, 1998). As an example, Mitchell (2001) finds the Niagara-on-the-Lake region of Ontario to be in the early stages of advanced destruction, characterized by major investment, large numbers of visitors and partial destruction of the rural idyll.

According to Orbasli (2000), too many unique and special places have succumbed to becoming products with standard features, as local distinctiveness has given way to predictable tourist environments. Local distinctiveness "is not a typical Suffolk village; it is the dynamism of the moment, the ever-changing qualities that make a place a place" (Orbasli, 2000, p.189). Traditional approaches to tourism must be readdressed. Unique places should not be seen purely as visitor attractions. Instead, they should be seen as places where people live and undergo their various activities, and in that sense, they may be attractive to visitors (Orbasli, 2000). Tourism needs to be controlled, planned and managed; the problem is that this usually comes at the expense of profits (Mitchell 1998, 2001; Reid, 1995; Walle, 1998; Gunn, 1991; Orbasli, 2000).

2.11 Identity and Planning

Place identity demands proper management, a task that rests heavily upon the shoulders of planners. Planning policies and processes, which are designed to regulate land-uses and guide new development, have a tremendous impact on the nature of places. As Relph (1976) describes, the planner's task is "variously understood as 'the possession of places' (citing Lyndon, 1972), as the 'creation of place' (citing Gauldie, 1969), or as the development of 'a system of meaningful places that give form and structure to our experiences of the world' (citing Norberg-Schulz, 1969)" (p.1). Lynch (1972) suggests that the process of planning all comes down to the management of change. Lynch (1972) recognizes that, "the world around us, so much of it our own creation, shifts continually and often bewilders us" (p.1). On one hand, "the citizens must endure these changes, and we see their efforts to preserve, create or destroy the past, to make sense out of a rapid transition, or to build a secure sense of the future"(Lynch 1972, p.3). On the other, "the initiators and regulators of change – the developers, planners, entrepreneurs, house builders, managers, and public officials – struggle with these transformations in another way, straining to comprehend and control them"(Lynch, 1972, p.3). Baum (1998) sees planning as a sacrifice between past traditions and hopes for the future; he explains:

> People live in a community of memory. Members define the community and the common identity they derive from it in terms of past traditions, which they enunciate in shared narratives. The community of memory and the community of hope are in tension. Planning means giving up all or part of the identity that gave life meaning and value; no one does so easily (Baum, 1998).

Correspondingly, Gallagher (1993) sees planning as a balancing act, as planners attempt to balance the hard, standardized and cost efficient with the natural, personal and healthful, in a rapidly changing world. No matter how you define the planning profession it is clear that planning decisions impact the identity of places.

Many academics have openly criticized the ways in which planning policies and processes have traditionally dealt with place identity (Relph, 1976; Worpole, 1992; Nozick, 1992; Tuan, 1977; Hough, 1990; Altman, 1987; Altman & Low, 1992; Jacobs, 1961; Greenbie, 1981; Schneekloth & Shibley, 1995). Relph (1976) for example, suggests that planners have shown a disturbingly clear lack of interest in the importance of place. He argues that "much physical and social

planning is founded on an implicit assumption that space is uniform and objects and activities can be manipulated and freely located within it; differentiation by significance is of little importance and places are reduced to simple locations with their greatest quality being development potential" (Relph, 1976, p. 87). Correspondingly, according to Worpole (1992) "the relationship between people and places, between citizenship and public place, the values of cultural diversity and cosmopolitanism, the very essence of what living in towns and cities is all about, has been lost in a preoccupation with land use planning and race to the finish local economic and social growth" (p. 6). Nozick (1992) suggests that unique place attributes, such as historical features, "instead of being nurtured and integrated into future development, have been disregarded in favor of short term commercial gain and efficiency planning" (p.187). In addition, Altman & Low (1992) propose that planners simply have not been able to effectively address what makes places meaningful. Tuan (1977) contends that professional planners, with their urgent need to act, have tended to move too quickly to models and inventories and forget about experiential considerations. Similarly, Relph (1976) argues that planners, "using a battery of techniques and principles, proceed to create places in a way that is divorced from direct experience" (p.89). Hough (1990) contends that "attitudes and perceptions of the environment expressed in town planning have been more concerned with utopian ideals and design doctrine than with the natural processes as a basis of form" (p.2). He suggests that "predetermined visions of how [places] should work have had enormous influence on the contemporary landscape, yet it can be argued that utopian ideals work directly against natural and cultural diversity" (Hough, 1990, p.2).

Based on these criticisms, several scholars offer recommendations for how to improve planning practices in order to properly address issues related to place identity. Largely these recommendations revolve around various ways for planners to take into account the personal experiences of people with places (Lynch, 1976, 1981; Hiss, 1990; Nozick, 1992; Lawhead, 1995; Hough, 1990; Tuan, 1974; Relph, 1976, Worpole, 1992). As Lynch (1981) articulates:

> Our ally is our built in ability to experience places directly, an ability that makes it possible for people to know personally, through their own senses about many of the ways our surroundings work within us. Paying careful attention to our experiences of places, we can use our own responses, thoughts and feelings to help us replenish the places we love" (p. xii).

Similarly, as Hiss (1990) suggests, "Using the things we know or sense about places but seldom put into words, we can bring all of our minds to bear on the problems of how our communities, regions and landscapes should change" (p. xx) (Relph, 1976; Entrikin, 1991; Eyles, 1985).

The literature suggests that planners take time to investigate the nature of place identity as perceived by those who are most familiar with the place - the local residents. Interactive approaches, such as surveys and interviews are recommended. Lynch (1981) suggests that identity can be easily analyzed and crudely measured using simple tests of recognition, recall and description, which are now reasonably well developed. A variety of questions can be incorporated which require residents to recognize and evaluate various attributes of the place verbally or graphically (Lynch, 1981). The significance of these various attributes to the identity of the place can be quantified roughly based on the intensity of recognition and recall observed (Lynch, 1981). The rationale for recognition can be qualitatively evaluated based on more detailed verbal or written comments. These tests should be complemented by field descriptions, which describe in detail the nature of the various attributes identified by the respondents, and also highlights the historical events that may or may not have contributed to the perceived identity of the place. The key of course is to not rely on field description alone. To do so, would be to neglect the interaction between people and places that is vital to understanding identity. It would be "a substitution of the analysts' perceptions for those of the people who actually live there" (Lynch, 1981, p.131). It is "equally incorrect, of course, to rely solely on how people respond, without studying the locale which is the subject of their response" (Lynch, 1981, p.132). By undergoing such an investigation, planners can obtain a better understanding of the nature of the identity of the place as commonly perceived by residents. Both the positive and negative attributes of that identity can be revealed. This information can be used to draft policies which help preserve and enhance the positive elements and eliminate the negative elements. In some cases, the best policy direction may be one that prescribes minimal interference, as Hough (1990) articulates:

> Doing as little as possible, or economy of means, involves the idea that from minimum resources and energy, maximum environmental and social benefits are available. The greatest diversity and identity in a place whether a regenerating field or urban wetland, or a cohesive neighborhood community often comes from minimum not maximum interference (p. 191).

In other instances, it may be necessary to develop specific strategies to deal with a particular feature or attribute. With a better understanding of the nature of identity and a deeper appreciation for the impact of that identity on residents, planners are better equipped to assist their communities reap the benefits of a strong, positive identity, and create a world of significant places.

The methods prescribed by academics in the field of environmental psychology are not contrary to the theories of planning. Even going back as far as the early 1950s, Sir Patrick Geddes, often referred to as the "Father of Town Planning", suggested the importance of planners possessing a clear understanding of the communities for which they plan; he describes:

> "On pain of economic waste, of practical failure no less than of artistic futility, and even worse, each true design, each valid scheme should and must embody the full utilization of local and regional conditions, and be the expression of local and of regional personality. 'Local character' is thus no mere accidental old-world quaintness, as its mimics think and say. It is attained only in course of adequate grasp and treatment of the whole environment, and in active sympathy with the essential and characteristic life of the place concerned" (Geddes, 1950, p.157).

Similarly he suggests that,

> "Each place has a true personality; and with this shows some unique elements – a personality too much asleep it may be but which it is the task of the planner, as master-artist, to awaken. And only he can do this who is in love and at home with his subject-truly in love and fully at home – the love in which high intuition supplements knowledge and arouses his own fullest intensity of expression, to call forth the latent but no less vital possibilities before him. Hence our plea for a full and thorough survey of country and town, village and city, as preparatory to all town planning and city design" (Geddes, 1950, p. 157).

The interactive approaches suggested for understanding place identity are also in keeping with a movement that has been going on in the planning profession since the 1960's from a comprehensive approach based on scientific rationalism to a more participatory process. Planners are beginning to recognize their profession as an "interactive and interpretive process focusing on the multidimensionality of "lifeworlds" or "practical sense" rather than a single formalized dimension" (Healey, 1996, p.247). It is more widely accepted that planning should be based on "communicative action which searches for mutual understanding while still being

aware of that which isn't understood" (Healey, 1996, p.247). Planning should be "enriched by discussion of moral dilemmas and aesthetic experience, using a wide range of presentational forms, from telling stories to aesthetic illustrations" (Healey, 1996, p.247). All "ways of knowing, understanding, appreciating, experiencing and judging must be brought into play; nothing is inadmissible" (Healey, 1996, p.247). Through inter-subjective communication, communities are able to recognize each others concerns and negotiate possible actions (Healey, 1996).

Even-though contemporary theories of planning seem to be emphasizing an approach that is favorable from an identity perspective, the concept of place identity itself is mysteriously absent from the literature. There is certainly a need to introduce the concept to the profession. Unfortunately, there are few empirical studies that actually test the approaches recommended by academics for managing place identity in a real-world setting. There are few examples that prove that identity can in fact be investigated and evaluated, and that any legitimate findings can be derived for planning. Svirplys (1999) conducted a place identity investigation in Elora, Ontario in an attempt to evaluate the implications of local government restructuring on sense of place, and Roberts (2003) conducted a study of Cambridge, Ontario to investigate the implications of sense of place for downtown revitalization, but these types of studies are extremely limited. Certainly, there have been no studies that investigate the implications of identity in transitioning resource based communities. As a result, this thesis project is of particular significance.

2.12 Chapter Summary

This chapter has summarized the literature on the concept of place identity. A framework for the identity of a place was identified as consisting of four components: the physical setting, the activities and functions, the meanings (or significance), and the spirit of place. It was emphasized that these four components are interrelated in a place but identity is not a product of such components alone, it is also socially structured. Place identity varies depending on who the person or group is interpreting it. Even-though place identity can be quite personal, there is also a common identity to a place that is shared among different individuals and groups of people. Place identity can be either positive or negative; it can also be either authentic or inauthentic.

The identity of a place is not static but varies as the nature of places, and the values of the people experiencing those places evolve. Identity can be improved and enhanced by implementing appropriate, positive elements. It can also be weakened or destroyed by implementing negative or inappropriate elements. Identity is extremely important. It provides for diversity in the world and offers people a variety of place experiences. It also affects the health, behavior and disposition of individuals. People can become profoundly attached to the identity of places as those places help them define their own personal identity and provide them with a foundation from which to base their lives. There is a direct link between having a strong, positive identity and being a healthy, sustainable place. Place identity also has implications for community building by providing community members with a common bond. Identity is increasingly being threatened by the forces of contemporary society which promote uniformity. Mass communications, mass culture, big business, central authorities, and the economic system are combining to create a placeless landscape. Tourism presents a particular dilemma as it can offer several benefits to a community but at the same time, if not properly managed, can quickly destroy the character of places. Identity requires proper management, a task that should be understood as a significant consideration for community planning. Planners need to understand the identity of the places for which they plan so that they can develop policies that effectively manage that identity. This requires an interactive approach between planners and residents. Methods for investigating identity are suggested but unfortunately have rarely been tested in a real-world setting. Even-though this thesis deals specifically with one particular ‘type’ of community, the procedural findings are of benefit to the planning profession as a whole.

CHAPTER 3: RESTRUCTURING IN THE BRITISH COLUMBIA FORESTRY INDUSTRY AND THE RESULTANT COMMUNITY IMPACTS

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, it was emphasized that the identity of a place can be significantly impacted by change. In this chapter, the forces of change that have impacted the nature of British Columbia's forestry-based communities are identified. The chapter will begin with a brief description of the BC forestry industry since the 1950's. The focus will then turn to the various factors that contributed to employment downsizing and restructuring in the BC forestry industry since the early 1970's. This will be followed by a description of the impact this downsizing has had on the nature, character, and function of the BC forestry-based community. The chapter will conclude with a discussion on the types of academic research that have already been conducted on BC's forestry communities and the types of suggestions that have already been made for their future development.

3.2. The B.C. forestry industry since the 1950's

3.2.1 The 'booming' 1950's and 1960's

The 1950's and 1960's was a boom period in the British Columbia forestry industry. The long established lumber industry grew at an average of 4.4% between 1950 and 1970, and newsprint, softwood-plywood, and most notably Kraft pulp grew even more rapidly (Hayter, 2000). The British Columbia forest economy became principally "a commodity industry and Kraft pulp was its lead industry" (Hayter, 2000, p.52). Products were predominantly produced for export. The US was the dominant market with Europe, especially the UK being an important secondary market.

The industry in the 1950's and 1960's was dominated by large multinational corporations who had head offices in British Columbia (MacMillan Bloedel and Canadian Forest Products), in the United States (Crown Zellerbach Canada), and elsewhere in Canada (British Columbia Forest Products) (Hayter, 2000; Marchak, 1983). These corporations were not only large, but also

integrated across all forest-product commodities (Hayter, 2000). By 1975, the four largest firms accounted for 22% of lumber production, 75% of plywood, 52% of pulp, and 94% of newsprint (Schwindt, 1979, cited in Hayter, 2000, p.55). Forestry corporations were structured based on the Fordist[2] system of production. The mills "were the biggest that could be designed using the latest proven technology and the production philosophy rested on the economics of mass production" (Hayter, 2000, p. 55). Stimulated by "substantial capital investment in specialized, indivisible machinery, as well as increasing labor costs, factories in these industries emphasized cost minimization by maximizing 'throughput', in which speed and volume were the common sense keys to increased productivity" (Hayter, 2000, p. 55).

The 1950's and 1960's witnessed considerable expansion of forestry-based employment. Direct jobs increased from over 30,000 in 1945 to over 90,000 in 1970 (Hayter, 2000). Workers in the industry belonged to one of two unions, the International Woodworkers of America (IWA) or the Canadian Paperworkers Union (CPU) (Barnes et al., 1999). Management and labor agreed that labor markets should be structured around the principles of seniority, job demarcation, and job grievances procedures (Hayter, 2000). Workers achieved improved wages and non-wage benefits to become among the highest paid workers in North America (Hayter, 2000).

The City of Vancouver took on a different role in the early 1950's. It had always been the manufacturing and distribution centre of the industry, but with the development of large corporations it became the location of the majority of head offices (Hayter, 2000). For a time, forest product firms built and occupied the tallest high-rise office towers in downtown Vancouver (Hayter, 2000). Vancouver became the decision-making centre, or 'core', of the industry and external forest communities became the highly specialized and dependent periphery (Hayter, 2000; Hutton, 1997; Barnes et al., 1999).

[2] Fordism features the mass production of standardized goods on assembly lines or in continuous-flow processes that emphasize cost minimization, and the full exploitation of economies of scale and size. Labor is organized according to the structures of Taylorism; that is, limited as much as possible to highly specialized, operating tasks (Hayter, 2000, p.10).

3.2.2 Volatility in the 1970's, 1980's and 1990's

Beginning in the 1970's, and extending right through the 1980's and 1990's was a period of tremendous volatility in the British Columbia forestry industry. In 1979, the forest product industries generated profits of $500 million, but in 1981 the loss was similarly $500 million (Hayter, 2000). The deep recessionary conditions of the early 1980's was followed by a sharp boom between 1987-89 in which profits amounted to over $3 billion, and harvest levels reached a record high (Hayter, 2000). Fortunes fell again in 1994-95 with losses of around $1.3 billion being recorded, followed by further losses associated with the Asian crisis totaling $412 million in 1996-97 and a startling $1.1 billion in 1998 (Hayter, 2000). The sharp booms and busts have been the result of fluctuations in global supply and demand (and prices) for wood products (Hayter et al., 1994; Holmes & Hayter, 1993; Hayter & Holmes, 1993; Hayter & Holmes, 1994; Marchak, 1990; Robson, 1995; Freshwater et al., 1991; Bruce & Whitla, 1993).

3.2.3 The environmental movement and aboriginal land claims

The 1970's saw the birth of an environmental movement that often focused on BC forests (Drushka, 1999; Detomais & Gartrell, 1984). The movement was initiated by concerns regarding the 'fall-down effect'[3] and growing acceptance of the concept of biodiversity[4]. In addition, many more people were engaged in the recreational use of the forests. Those "who came of age in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s were less likely to head for the golf course than to don hiking boots and a backpack, launch a canoe, or otherwise get themselves into the back country" (Drushka, 1999, p. 83). They arrived to find "an expanding logging industry moving into remote, pristine forests; the conflict was inevitable" (Drushka, 1999, p.83). As confrontations over the BC forests intensified, numerous organizations with various recreational and environmental interests sprang up quickly and gained support (Drushka, 1999). Examples included the Sierra Club, Greenpeace, and the Western Canada Wilderness Committee (Drushka, 1999). By 1991, the industry and the environmentalists were squared off in a series of running battles over an increasing portion of the

[3] The "fall down effect occurs when the massive harvests available from old-growth timber start to decline and second growth supplies at best offer lower volume alternatives" (Hayter, 2000; Hayter et al., 1994; Barnes & Hayter, 1992; Reed, 1999).

[4] Biodiversity "rejects the harvesting of old growth forests on the basis of the argument that the complex and interdependent diversity of such forests cannot be replaced once harvested, even if reforestation is practiced" (Hayter, 2000, p. 325).

forest land base (Hayter, 2000). At the same time, the reemergence of Aboriginal land claims was creating further tensions in the woods (Hayter, 2000; Gunton, 1997; Harris, 1997).

3.2.4 The introduction of a high stumpage regime and CORE

By the early 1990's, sharp booms and busts, environmentalism, and aboriginalism, combined with American protectionism against BC lumber producers which had begun during the 1980's recession, had resulted in a troubled BC forestry industry which demanded new policy initiatives (Hayter, 2000). In 1991 the NDP government established the Peel Commission to recommend a new policy of 'enhanced stewardship' designed to secure environmental as well as economic values from provincial forests and to settle land claims (Hayter, 2000). A significant component of this policy was higher stumpage, which was implemented in 1992 (Table 1, illustrates the increase in stumpage between 1988 and 1997). The higher stumpage regime assumed that with a smaller supply of higher priced timber, the industry would be forced to create higher values (Hayter, 2000). Higher value resources would "imply more intensive forms of forestry on lands available to industry leaving more lands for parks, and aboriginal land claims" (Hayter, 2000, p.94). The high stumpage regime would also counter the argument from American producers that low stumpage in British Columbia was a subsidy, thus eliminating the need for protectionism (Hayter, 2000; Drushka, 1999; Gunton, 1997).

In addition to higher stumpage, the Commission of Resources and Environment (CORE) was established in 1992 to develop regionally based comprehensive land use plans for the entire province and to create new parks and protected areas (Hayter, 2000; Barnes & Hayter, 1997; Hutton, 1997). Table 2 illustrates the tremendous jump in the amount of protected areas in BC between 1990 and 1995.

Table 1: Average log costs ($/m^3) on Crown lands, 1988, 1992 and 1997

	Province			Coast	Interior
	1988	1992	1997	1997	1997
Total costs	$42	$46	$88	$107	$79
Stumpage	$8	$8	$27	$23	$29

Source: Hayter, 2000 p. 92

Table 2: Protected areas in British Columbia

Year	Hectares	Provincial Land Base (%)	Increase From Previous Years (%)
1975	4,569,401	5.0	
1980	4,592,256	5.0	1
1985	4,750,070	5.0	3
1990	6,139,070	6.5	29
1995	8,669,500	9.2	41

Source: Gunton, 1997, p. 67

3.2.5 The movement from Fordism to Flexibility

The 1980's recession that devastated industrial structures across North America and Europe sparked a general rethinking of the ways in which goods are produced (Hayter, 2000; Barnes et al., 1999; Bradbury, 1985). Fordist production systems were gradually replaced by more flexible methods[5] made possible by new technologies associated with the information and communications age (Hayter, 2000; Barnes et al., 1999; Stanton, 1989; Hayter & Barnes, 1997; Barnes & Hayter, 1997; Barnes & Hayter, 1994; Barnes & Hayter, 1992; Hayter et al., 1994; Reed, 1999; Hayter & Holmes, 1994). Machines became much smarter and more efficient, in some cases replacing and deskilling labor, and in other cases preserving and creating jobs while requiring entirely different skills (Hayter, 2000). These new technologies allowed producers tremendous variety in differentiating outputs, and consumers infinite variety in their demands (Hayter, 2000). As a result firms began to more effectively use their assets and capabilities to serve higher value, and more varied markets. Fordist production systems became too rigid and inefficient and it was clear that greater flexibility offered competitive advantages (Hayter, 2000).

3.2.6 The BC forestry industry forced to adapt

[5] Flexible production is highly efficient in the use of materials, space, and workers but it gives priority to value maximization and product differentiation. Based on economies of scope, flexible production may occur as batches in small factories or as flexible mass production in large factories. Flexible production utilizes for fewer workers but these workers are highly skilled and able to perform different function as part of teamwork. They are responsible for decision-making and committed to further developing their own skills as needed. Job categories are far fewer and broadly described (Hayter, 2000, p.12).

Evolving conditions in the British Columbia forestry industry has demanded that firms adapt to the age of flexibility in order to remain profitable. British Columbia is no longer among the low cost producers in the world. Developing countries such as Brazil, Chile, and South Africa, and European countries such as Portugal, Spain, and New Zealand have developed low-cost forest plantations (Hayter, 2000; Hayter et al., 1994; Marchak, 1993, 1997). The quality of these plantation based wood products is improving as well (Hayter, 2000; Hayter et al., 1994; Marchak, 1993). New technology has permitted the use of fast growing southern hardwoods to make quality products, traditionally exclusively provided by northern coniferous regions such as BC (Hayter et al., 1994; Barnes & Hayter, 1994; Marchak, 1993). The American south, such as Alabama, has also emerged as a large-scale, low cost producer of forest products, and growth of the pulp-and-paper industry and lumber in Alberta constitutes further competition (Hayter, 2000; Marchak, 1993). British Columbia is actually now one of the highest cost producers in the world. High production costs are associated with the relatively higher costs of labor and technology, increased regulations governing air and water emissions, problems in accessing American markets which producers in the American south don't face, and the higher stumpage rates and regulatory costs of harvesting in BC since the 1990's (Hayter, 2000; Marchak, 1990). The BC forest industry also "no longer enjoys the cost leadership that was provided by nature's bounty of high quality, large logs" (Hayter, 2000, p.75). Much of the old growth timber has already been cut, is protected in parks and conservation areas, or has been turned over to First Nations through treaty negotiations; quality and accessibility has become an issue (Hutton, 1997; Hayter, 2000; Barnes & Hayter, 1997; Gunton, 1997; Marchak 1993; Nixon, 1993; Robson, 1995). BC must now compete with regions that already have established second growth forest management and who can produce at lower cost. Correspondingly, the demand for standard wood products is declining. The "age of ranch style housing in North American suburbs is passing as fuel costs increase and land becomes scarcer" (Marchak, 1993, p.83). An "increasing share of accommodation consists of multi-family buildings, and these are not made of wood" (Marchak, 1993, p.83). The single-family dwellings that are being constructed are using more non-wood building materials such as brick, stone, concrete, and vinyl.

3.3 Employment Downsizing

Since the 1980's recession, there has been an absolute decline in employment in all three sectors of the BC forestry industry. In 1980 there were 24,300 jobs in logging and by 1995 only 18,600 jobs (Marchak, 1999). In sawmilling and planing there were 35,800 jobs in 1980 and by 1995 that number had been reduced to 29,100 (Marchak, 1999). There was also a total decline of 3,600 jobs in pulp and paper between 1980 and 1994 (Marchak, 1999). Some of this employment loss has been associated with permanent shutdown of operations. The changing climate of the industry caused several large mills, including sawmills, plywood mills, and Kraft pulp mills, deemed too costly to upgrade, to be permanently shutdown. Additional job losses have been associated with the reconfiguration of operations and the introduction of modern, high-performance, less labor intensive machinery, in an attempt to achieve flexibility (Hayter, 2000; Barnes & Hayter, 1992; Barnes et al., 1997; Hayter et al., 1994; Holmes & Hayter, 1993; Hayter & Holmes, 1993; Hayter & Holmes, 1994). This new machinery can accommodate different qualities of timber and supports a more differentiated, higher value product mix, to serve a variety of different market demands, most notably in Japan (Hayter, 2000; Barnes & Hayter, 1992; Hayter et al., 1994; Barnes et al., 1999; Marchak, 1997). Products are produced much more efficiently and generate far less waste. The workers required to operate this machinery are highly skilled and able to perform a variety of different functions.

3.4 The impact of downsizing on the BC forestry based community

In the 1950's, 1960's and early 1970's, the Fordist arrangement offered prosperity and relative stability for forestry-based communities in British Columbia. The mills offered secure, well paying jobs with the only condition being that entry was limited to the lowest level positions (Hayter, 2000). Little in the way of education or training was necessary. As Marshall and Tucker (1992) describe, "workers with no more than an eighth grade education and little in the way of technical skills could end up drawing paychecks that enabled them to have two cars, a vacation cottage, as well as a principal residence, and maybe a boat for fishing and waterskiing; the system worked for everyone" (cited in Hayter, 2000, p. 294 & Barnes et al., 1999, p.783). The mill also looked after the youth, either by promising full-time jobs for those who wished to stay in the community, by providing funds for education elsewhere, and by offering part-time and

seasonal employment (Hayter, 2000). Local development was equated with the strategies of the dominant employers headquartered elsewhere and promotion of industrial development was a non-issue (Hayter, 2000; Barnes et al., 1999). Forest companies often invested in infrastructure, services, and community oriented programs to accommodate and attract workers (Hayter, 2000; Robson, 1986; Himelfarb, 1982). The role of the local government was primarily to provide basic community services (Hayter, 2000). Populations in these communities grew steadily as people arrived in search of the readily available employment and high wages (Roberts, 1984).

The restructuring and continual downsizing of forestry operations since the recession of the early 1980's has demonstrated the inherent vulnerability of a single industry economy (Hayter, 2000; Robson, 1989; Roberge, 1985). Job losses created an immediate social crisis situation in BC's forestry dependant communities and a longer-term problem of economic development. In 1982, British Columbia's overall unemployment rate rose as high as 17 percent, with rates as high as 40 percent in some forestry dependant towns (Marchak, 1990). Unemployment put an extreme financial burden on individuals as well as their families and created feelings of anxiety, uncertainty and stress (Hayter, 2000; Bradbury, 1984; Marchak, 1990; Carrol & Lee, 1990). The emotional impacts were overwhelming. Losing their jobs was a tremendous blow to a worker's self esteem and also was an indication of their lack of control. Feelings of helplessness often led to depression, trauma and other social problems such as alcoholism (Hayter, 2000; Storey & Shrimpton, 1993). Out-migration, especially of the younger more mobile residents became a serious issue (Bradbury, 1979, 1984, 1984(b); Weeks, 1990; Freshwater et al., 1991; Young, 1990; Hayter, 2000; Gill & Smith, 1985). The communities also were faced with a declining tax base, fewer spin-offs for local businesses, fewer goodwill contributions, minimal capital, and limited potential for outside investment (Hayter, 2000; Barnes et al., 1999).

The troubles facing British Columbia's forestry based communities have sparked a variety of different responses and outcomes. Differences in strategies relate to the community's abilities and preferences, as well as by opportunities and constraints associated with geographic location. Some communities have opted for a passive approach and as a result have either become ghost towns or, because of their advantageous location, have become bedroom communities for commuters and retirement destinations. Others have actively pursued economic diversification,

opting for different approaches and enjoying varying degrees of success. Many of the communities who have chosen the latter approach have had to overcome considerable barriers to diversification. The provincial and federal government have offered some financial support programs such as the federal 'Community Futures Program' which offers a variety of mechanisms for economic development for communities that demonstrate potential for permanent growth and development (Robson, 1990). These range in scope from the Self Employment Incentive Grant, to the Community Initiative Fund, to the Relocation and Exploratory Assistance Program (Robson, 1990). These support programs are limited, however; and communities find themselves in fierce competition for funding even if their ideas differ (Hayter et al., 1994; Hayter, 2000; Battle et al., 1998). Other barriers to diversification include: feelings of anger, loss and frustration that keep residents from moving forward; resident addiction to resource dependence, and feelings that downsizing is temporary and that they simply need to 'ride it out'; community fragmentation and polarization of views; geographic isolation; no local leaders for economic development organization; limited access to capital and technical support for business; limited entrepreneurial spirit and commitment to new ideas; minimal workforce skills; lack of education and training programs; lower quality services; and lack of infrastructure (Battle et al., 1998; Hayter, 2000; Storey & Shrimpton, 1993; Pharand, 1998; Bradbury, 1979; Gill & Smith, 1985; Marchak, 1990; Weeks, 1990; Carrol & Lee, 1990; Freshwater et al., 1991; Penfold, 1998; Young, 1990; Himelfarb, 1982). Overcoming these obstacles has required perseverance, skill, innovation and sometimes a little bit of luck (Barnes & Hayter, 1994; Battle et al. 1998)

No matter how successful individual communities have been in overcoming these barriers to development, it is evident that forest towns are becoming very different places (Hayter, 2000). No longer are development decisions made solely by outside decision makers in the provincial government and corporate head offices. Local or community based economic development decision-making structures have become the norm. These 'bottom-up' systems have put greater emphasis on entrepreneurial activity and a heavier burden on local governments to help facilitate new locally-based development initiatives (Hayter, 2000; Barnes & Hayter, 1992). New initiatives have included the development of a number of small forestry spin-off companies, but

the focus has shifted considerably towards other types of development, most notably in the tourism, recreation and leisure sectors (Hayter, 2000; Wilkinson, 1991; Gill, 1997).

During the Fordist era of the 1950's and 1960's, the built characteristics of forestry dependant communities were shaped by powerful forces promoting standardization. The dominant role of the forestry corporations in building and shaping these communities, and influences of an urban planning philosophy based on scientific rationalism (which was generally accepted at the time), resulted in design repetition in order to achieve the goals of compactness and efficiency (Hayter, 2000; Stelter & Artibise, 1982; Saarinen, 1986; Lucas, 1971). As a result, many of the forestry dependant communities across the Province had a similar physical structure. Similarly, Fordism promoted homogeny in terms of work-based culture, values, and social arrangements. Forestry dependant communities were characterized by a male dominated workforce (Marchak, 1990; Stelter & Artibise, 1982). These men worked the same types of hours, under the same conditions, were subject to the same principles of specialization and job demarcation, and were represented by the same unions (Hayter, 2000). As a result, many forestry based communities developed strong traditions and cultures which were usually carried through several generations of the family (Holmes & Hayter, 1993; Carrol & Lee, 1990; Lucas, 1971). The role and function of these communities under Fordism was also easily identified and characterized. They were the peripheral suppliers of low value commodities to distant markets under the command and control of head offices located in the Cit of Vancouver (Hayter, 2000).

These forces of standardization that determined the nature of British Columbia's forestry based communities prior to the 1980's have been replaced by forces of differentiation since the 1980's (Hayter, 2000). In the communities actively pursuing economic diversification, the introduction of new locally based initiatives has resulted in a more diverse and exclusive built environment. New population dynamics, even in communities taking a more passive approach to diversification, has resulted in a more diverse combination of people with differing values and preferences. With the departure of many large Multinational corporations, the Vancouver metro is no longer the control centre of the industry. As a result, the core-periphery relationship between these hinterland communities and Vancouver has broken down. Forestry-based communities are now much more independent and increasingly diverse places. The nature of

these communities has been changing so much that Battle et al. (1998) and Reed (1989) refer to them as 'communities in transition'. The challenge in these communities is to pursue a direction that will ensure their long-term vitality.

3.5 Previous academic research on BC's forestry based communities

The issue of how to ensure the viability and sustainability of British Columbia's forestry based communities has sparked growing interest among academics (Beckley, 1999(a); Pharand, 1988). The problem has generated a multitude of responses and as Beckley (1999(a)) observes, researchers are 'all over the map' when it comes to presenting solutions (p 745). A number of scholars have focused on the forestry industry itself, suggesting an overhaul, of its current ownership and decision making structure, and a rethinking of the seemingly 'inefficient' way in which the forests are managed (Reed, 1993; Luckert, 1999; Young, 1990; Drushka, 1993, 1999; Nixon, 1993; Travers, 1993). These authors contend that a healthy, sustainable forestry industry would ensure the longevity of the forestry-based community. Other scholars identify the ability of the communities to effectively diversify their economic base, to implement new educational and training programs, and to develop the necessary infrastructure and services necessary to draw in new investment, as being requirements for success (Roberge, 1985; Hayter et al., 1994; Beckley, 1999; Hayter, 2000; Marchak, 1990; Carrol & Lee, 1990; Penfold, 1998). Still others focus on the relationship between forestry companies and forestry communities suggesting that forestry companies need to take a more proactive approach and use some of their resources to support community economic growth and development (Beckley, 1999).

Recent scholars have criticized some academics for focusing too heavily on economic considerations ignoring the other necessary characteristics of a successful community. Reed (1999) argues that focusing solely on jobs and economic growth and development, as many scholars tend to do, is not an effective method of promoting sustainability and well being in single industry forestry communities. She argues that this focus is far too narrow and that several other social indicators should also be considered. Reed (1999) explains that it is possible for communities to have adequate levels of employment but still have tremendous social problems. She identifies a need to renew participation and citizenship among citizens and promote self-awareness in the communities (Reed, 1999). She argues that success demands direct attention to

retaining and weaving in the strands that make up the fabric of social life (Reed, 1999). Reed's (1999) arguments are reiterated by Nadeau et al. (1999) who argue that community well being is complex and requires consideration of many different aspects of a community. They conclude that there is a lack of framework for assessing these aspects and a tremendous demand for scholarly research in this area (Nadeau et al., 1999). Paving the way for this thesis project is the work done by Stedman (1999), which suggests that "sense of place" and the attachment that community members have towards their community is a potentially useful and somewhat neglected indicator of community sustainability and well-being. Unfortunately, Stedman (1999) offers very limited information on how to actually conduct a "sense of place" investigation, and does not offer any empirical evidence that investigating sense of place can actually result in useful recommendations for the future planning of resource based communities.

3.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter has provided a brief look at how the British Columbia forestry industry has evolved since the 1950's. The purpose was to provide a description of the forces that have shaped the current characteristics of the BC forestry based community. The chapter emphasized that over the past 25 years, the forestry industry has been marked by tremendous volatility. Increased environmental concerns, First Nations land claims, declining timber supply, higher stumpage rates, labor saving technological change, growing competition from outside suppliers, consumer boycotts, trade restrictions, and lower wood prices have demanded that forestry corporations downsize their workforces and implement more flexible systems of production. As a result, the relative stability that forestry based communities enjoyed prior to the 1980's has been shattered. The economic and social problems associated with high unemployment and out-migration has threatened the survivability of many of these dependant communities. The response has been a transformation of these communities from standardized low value commodity producers, to more economically, socially, culturally and physically diverse places. The future of many of these communities remains uncertain and their development has drawn the attention of a number of scholars. Some of these academics are beginning to realize that the success of these communities goes far beyond their ability to provide stable employment and garner increased tax revenues. A proper development strategy requires knowledge of all elements that make a place viable; this opens the door for an investigation on identity.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

In order to validate the various methods used in this thesis project it is important to justify them in relation to the original research question. *How has place identity evolved in British Columbia's small forestry communities in transition, what impacts has this evolving identity had on local residents, and how can a better understanding of this identity be used to enhance the planning policies and processes developed for these places?*

Although the concept of place identity has gained extensive theoretical interest in the literature, there have been few empirical studies on the relevance and implications of identity for planning in practice. Similarly, no studies could be found that investigate identity in British Columbia's communities in transition. For these reasons, this study is of an exploratory nature. The purpose is to bring a theoretical concept into the day-to-day decision making of a community. Three case study communities were chosen to investigate the phenomenon of place identity and its implications. Within each case study community, a variety of data collection methods were utilized. Given the tremendous complexity of place identity, and the large number of inter-related factors that contribute to the identity of a place, it was necessary to employ a variety of research methods. The use of multiple methods was also beneficial in minimizing potential biases associated with using a single method of data collection. It is important to note that the two primary methods employed in this thesis project required public involvement. The very nature of place identity requires that investigation involve inquiry into the personal experiences and perceptions of the citizens. Results obtained through the various research methods were interpreted based on the definition of place identity and the theoretical framework established in Chapter 2.

This chapter is divided into several sections. First, the criteria for case study selection will be outlined and rationale for those chosen criteria will be provided. Second, will be a description of the various data collection methods employed in each case study community. A detailed description as to why the researcher chose these methods will also be provided. Third will be a brief description of the techniques used when analyzing the data and organizing the findings.

The chapter will conclude with a discussion of the ethical considerations and limitations of the chosen methodology.

4.2 Criteria for Case Study Selection

The researcher selected communities based on the following criteria:

- Geographic location
- Population size
- Proximity to major urban centers
- Presence of a predominantly forestry based economy in the past
- Recent exposure to economic and social changes.

The purpose of choosing three case study communities was to allow for comparing, contrasting and validating of results across communities. Three communities was a substantial enough number for comparison purposes, but did not exceed the limitations of this researcher.

4.2.1 Geographic Location

All three of the case study communities are located on British Columbia's Vancouver Island, for several reasons. First, there are a number of communities on Vancouver Island that have traditionally relied on natural resources to drive their economies. Similarly, a number of these communities have subsequently experienced economic diversification into a variety of activities. Second, many Vancouver Island communities have been exposed to a number of societal changes, such as a growing retirement and commuter population, which has impacted demographic and social conditions. Third, the fact that the three communities are isolated to Vancouver Island ensures a relatively similar climate, environmental attributes, and accessibility, which create similar development opportunities and constraints. The ability to find three communities with similar characteristics was essential to allow appropriate comparisons to be made. The final reason for choosing Vancouver Island communities is that the locations were convenient for the researcher, given their close proximity to the researcher's accommodations in Parksville, which is on the east coast of Vancouver Island.

4.2.2 Population Size

Communities with populations of less than 25,000 were chosen to ensure that only relatively small communities were considered. Small, rather than large, communities in transition were deemed more appropriate for this research project for a number of reasons. First, because of their narrower economic base, the economic and social effects of forest industry decline have been more intense in smaller communities compared to larger, more diverse, centers. Similarly, any development project conducted in a smaller community ultimately has a more widespread and recognizable impact than a similar project in a larger area. It is therefore possible to speculate that the impact of change on identity in smaller communities would be of greater intensity than in larger places. Second, the effects of economic and social change on place identity are easier to evaluate in smaller places. It is important to note that larger centers on Vancouver Island have been influenced by the forestry industry. They have also experienced tremendous economic and social changes throughout their history. However, due to their size and complexity, any inquiry into their identity would require investigation into a multitude of areas or regions with potentially very different characteristics. This type of study was beyond the scope of this researcher. Third, it was possible for this researcher to obtain a more representative sample of residents for the survey research. The relatively small number of surveys that the researcher was capable of delivering in the limited amount of time available captured a greater proportion of residents in the small communities than they would have in larger centers.

4.2.3 Proximity to major urban centers

Each case study community is no more than 85 kilometers, and no less than 30 kilometers, away from at least one large urban area (defined in this study as a City or District Municipality with population greater than 70,000). The distance restriction was intended to limit the study to communities that are close enough to major centers to be influenced by the social and economic implications of commuter and daily tourist activity, but far enough away such that they are separate entities and thus have developed their own distinct characteristics. Along with the requirement that the communities be a certain distance from major centers they must also be accessible, therefore it is required that the communities be serviced by major transportation routes.

4.2.4 Presence of a Predominantly Forestry Based Economy in the Past

This research project focuses on communities in transition, which in this study refers to communities that historically relied almost entirely on the forestry industry to drive their economy, but in recent years have diversified into other sectors. To determine whether or not a community was historically dependant on the forestry industry, historical work force data was analyzed. If between the periods of 1970 – 1975, a community housed a forest industry company employing more than 300 workers; that community was considered for this research.

4.2.5 Recent Exposure to Economic and Social Changes

To follow the definition of a community in transition, the selected communities must have experienced all of the following three economic or social events. First, the community must have experienced a significant decline in its forestry-based economy. This may have occurred in the form of downsizing, or permanent closure, of forestry based operations. Although no specific numerical standards of total job loss were used in this study, it will become evident when the case study communities are described in Chapter 4, that they have all experienced substantial loss in forestry industry employment and are therefore appropriate choices for this research. Second, the community must have seen a diversification of its economy into other non-forestry related activities such as tourism, entrepreneurial business, services etc. Third, the case studies chosen must be currently experiencing social pressures such as an increasing retirement population and/or increased commuter activity.

4.3 Introduction to the Case Study Communities

The communities chosen for this study were the Vancouver Island communities of Chemainus, Sooke and Port Alberni. It is important to note that several Vancouver Island communities met the above-mentioned selection criteria. Final selection was therefore based on a certain instinct that the researcher had about the three chosen case study communities. Having visited them at an earlier date, the researcher felt that these three communities, in addition to meeting all the necessary selection requirements, had certain characteristics that might lead to an interesting spectrum of responses. Figure 2 points out the location of each of these case study communities and their proximity to large urban centers. All three communities are located within close proximity of Highway Number 1 (Island Highway), the major transportation route on Vancouver

Island. The characteristics of each of the case study communities as well as their history will be described in Chapter 5. A brief description of Vancouver Island will be provided here.

Figure 2: Vancouver Island Map

Adapted from Tourism Victoria "Island Neighbors" map (http://www.tourismvictoria.com)

4.3.1 Vancouver Island description

Vancouver Island is located in the far southwest corner of British Columbia. It is separated from the City of Vancouver and the rest of mainland BC by the Strait of Georgia to the east. It is also separated from Washington State, USA, by the Strait of Juan de Fuca to the south and southeast. Vancouver Island is 33,650 square kilometers in size and has a total population of 664,451 people[6]. The two major urban centers are Victoria (population 311,902)[7], and Nanaimo (population 85,664)[8]. Vancouver Island is accessible both by air and by ferry. Victoria International Airport services daily flights from both Vancouver and Seattle. Other island

[6] Based on BC Stats 2001 Census Profile for Vancouver Island (Special Region)
[7] Population data is for Census Agglomeration based on 2001 Statistics Canada census population counts
[8] Population data is for Census Metropolitan Area based on 2001 Statistics Canada census population counts

communities with airports served by major airlines are Courtenay/Comox, Campbell River and Port Hardy. There are also a number of regional airlines that provide scheduled and charter flights by float plane, helijet and helicopter to various Vancouver Island locations. Ferry services to Vancouver Island are offered from several mainland British Columbia and Washington State departure points. Service is also provided between Vancouver Island and the Gulf Islands. The British Columbia Ferry Corporation (BC Ferries) provides the majority of ferry service to and from British Columbia based locations. BC Ferry service from Vancouver, to both Victoria and Nanaimo is extensive, with vehicle and pedestrian service being provided seven days a week with multiple daily sailings. A BC ferry route map is provided in Figure 3. Vancouver Island has a strong history in the forestry and fishing industries but currently its top two industries are retail trade and health care. In 2002, forestry, fishing, mining, oil and gas combined, accounted for only 3.4% of the total employment for the Vancouver Island and Coast region; manufacturing accounted for 7.1 percent[9]. For a list of Vancouver Islands' top eight industries and occupations please refer to Figure 4. The Island has also become a tremendously popular area for tourism. The Vancouver Island region captured 32% of the 30.6 million people that visited British Columbia in 1995/96. This put the region second highest in the Province, just behind the Vancouver Coast and Mountains region (refer to Table 3). The Vancouver Island region also captured 30% of the total tourism revenue throughout BC (refer to Figure 5)[10]. Most of the visitors to the Island come from North America as can be seen in Table 4. The Island's mild climate and natural beauty, its' scenic attributes and extensive outdoor recreation and ecotourism opportunities, and its' unique cultural and historic features, have made it an attractive place to live and visit. The population of the Island has been steadily increasing since 1991 (refer to Figure 6) with the greatest increases occurring in the 45-64 age group (refer to Figure 7). Vancouver Island has become a popular destination for retirement living which has contributed to a significant increase in the over 65 population (refer to Figure 8).

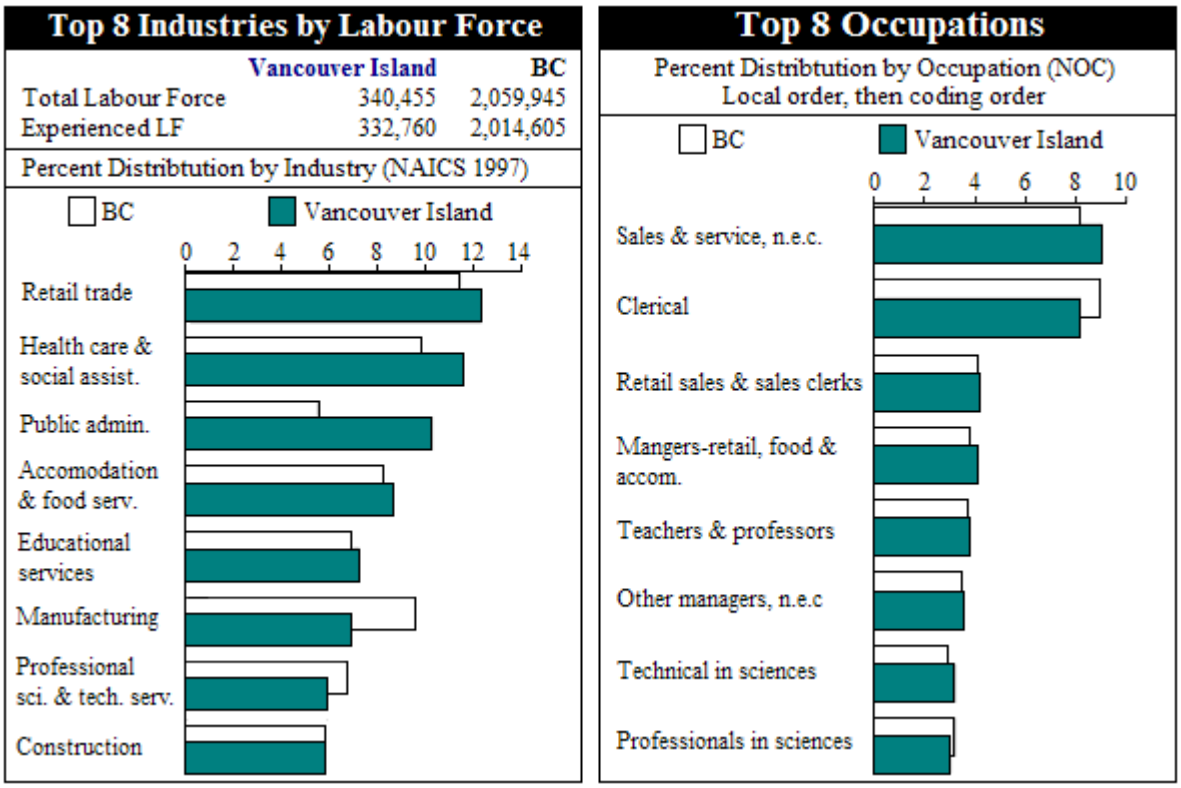
In summary, Vancouver Island is a dynamic region that is growing steadily while experiencing both economic and social changes. This makes it an appropriate setting for this thesis research.

[9] Employment data is for the Vancouver Island and Coast development region, which includes part of the Powell River/ Sunshine Coast area on mainland British Columbia and is provided by Statistics Canada.
[10] All tourism data is based on the 1995/96 Tourism British Columbia Report on Visitors to Vancouver Island Tourism Region. Note that the Vancouver Island region includes part of the Powell River/ Sunshine Coast area on mainland British Columbia.

Figure 3: British Columbia Ferries Route Map

Source: BC Ferries Website: (http://www.bcferries.com)

Figure 4: Vancouver Island, British Columbia's Top 8 Industries and Occupations



Source: BC Stats 2001 Census Profile (http://www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca)

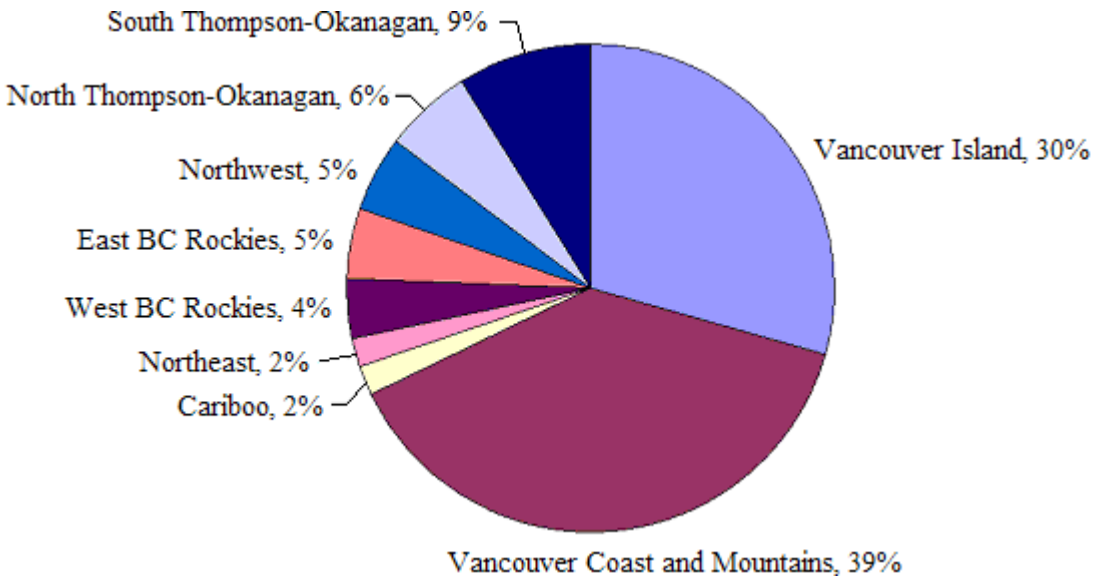
Table 3: British Columbia Tourism Volume and Value of the Market by Region (1995/96)

REGION	VISITORS[1]						REVENUE[2]					
	Non-Resident Total		B.C. Resident Total		All Visitors Combined		Non-Resident Total		B.C. Resident Total		All Revenues Combined	
	000s	%	000s	%	000s	%	$million	%	$million	%	$million	%
Vancouver Island	4,485	38	5,413	29	9,898	32	1,791	31	770	27	2,561	30
Victoria[3]	3,355	28	2,166	12	5,521	18	1,236	21	285	10	1,521	18
Vancouver Coast & Mountains	8,845	74	6,406	34	15,251	50	2,512	43	898	31	3,410	39
Vancouver (GVRD)[3]	6,124	51	3,383	18	9,507	31	2,085	35	593	21	2,678	31
Whistler[3]	1,106	9	921	5	2,027	7	352	6	171	6	523	6
Thompson-Okanagan												
South	2,261	19	2,565	14	4,826	16	417	7	325	11	742	9
North	2,968	25	1,992	11	4,960	16	277	5	215	8	493	6
Cariboo	684	6	1,040	6	1,724	6	65	1	133	5	198	2
BC Rockies												
West	1,563	13	929	5	2,492	8	184	3	121	4	305	4
East	3,049	26	549	3	3,598	12	344	6	57	2	401	5
North												
Northeast	301	3	393	2	694	2	90	2	46	2	136	2
Northwest	593	5	1,606	9	2,199	7	139	2	286	10	425	5
Total[4]	11,946		18,656		30,602		5,818	100	2,852	100	8,670	100
Overnight	10,090	84	10,762	58	20,852	68	5,718	98	2,198	77	7,916	91

1. Sum of non-resident volume for individual regions exceeds 11.946 million visitors as 83% of non-resident visitors went to more than one region. Sum of B.C. resident volume for individual regions exceeds 18.656 million as 10% of B.C. residents traveled to more than one region. Sum of percentages will exceed 100% as visitors went to more than one region.
2. Total revenue includes all revenue generated by day and overnight and resident visitors. This does not include B.C. resident pre-trip expenditures that totaled $452 million. Non-resident estimates do not include any expenditure for airline tickets on Canadian based airlines to travel in B.C.
3. Revenue and volume estimates for each of Vancouver, Whistler and Victoria are based on data collected in the BC Visitor Study and the Canadian International Travel Surveys.
4. Total includes day and overnight non-resident and resident visitors to tourism regions.

Source: Tourism British Columbia 1995/96 Report on Visitors to Vancouver Island Tourism Region

Figure 5: Regional Shares of Expenditures by Tourists to British Columbia



Source: Tourism British Columbia 1995/96 Report on Visitors to Vancouver Island Tourism Region

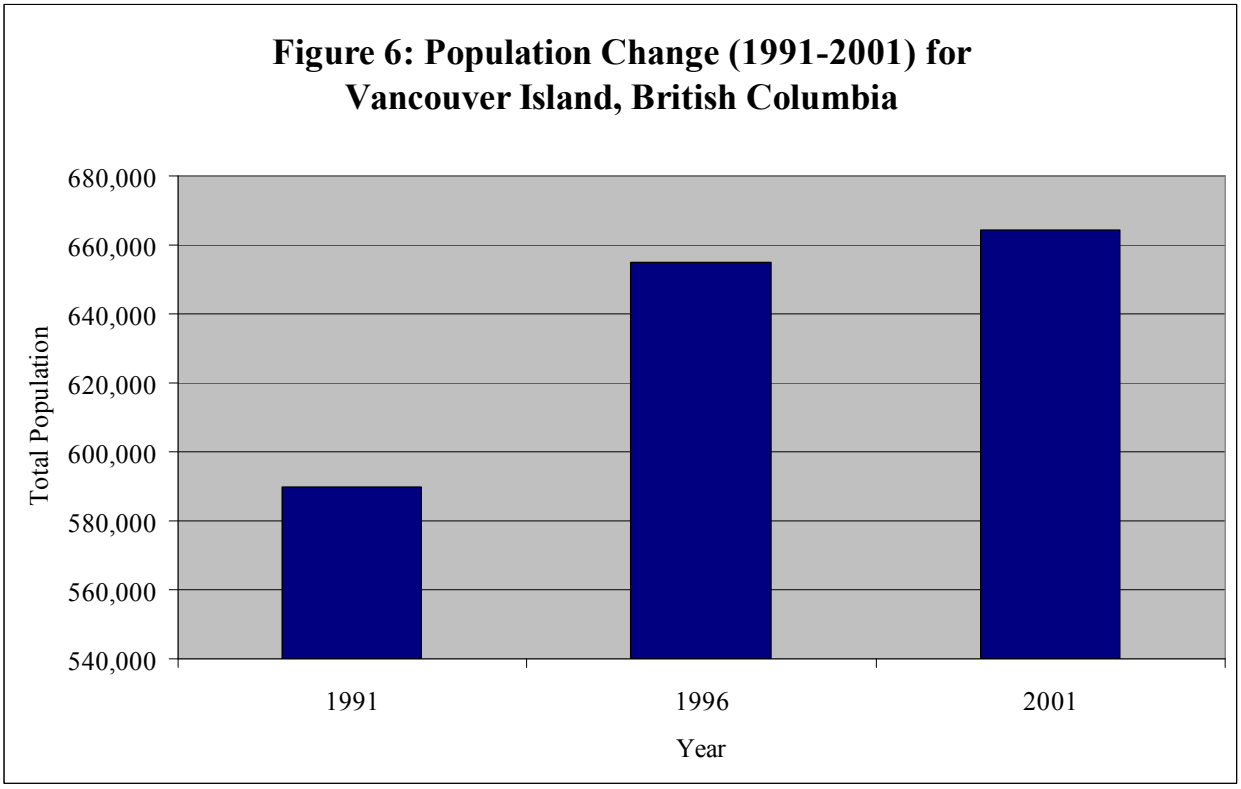
Table 4: Origin of Visitors to Vancouver Island, BC (1995/96)

NON-RESIDENT VISITOR ORIGIN	Overnight Visitors Non-Resident %	B.C. RESIDENT VISITOR ORIGIN	Overnight Visitors B.C. Resident %
Regional Canada	28	Greater Vancouver Regional District	33
Regional US	16	Vancouver Island	52
Long Haul Canada	18	North	3
Long Haul US	22	South	13
Asia/ Pacific	8		
Europe	8		
Other Overseas	1		

Note: The numbers presented in the above table are based on overnight visitors to BC who visited the region.

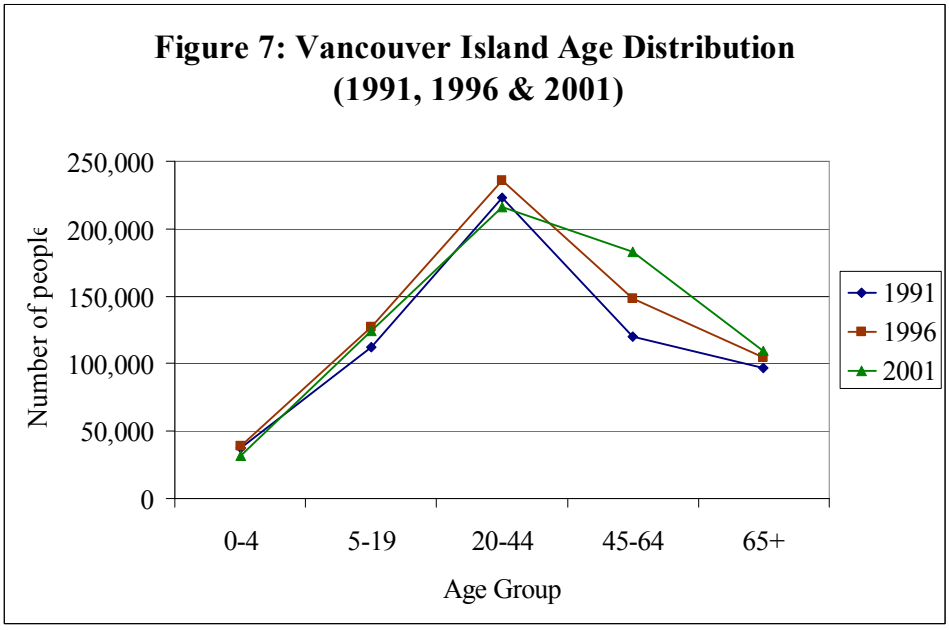
Source: Tourism British Columbia 1995/96 Report on Visitors to Vancouver Island Tourism Region

Figure 6: Population Change (1991-2001) for Vancouver Island, British Columbia



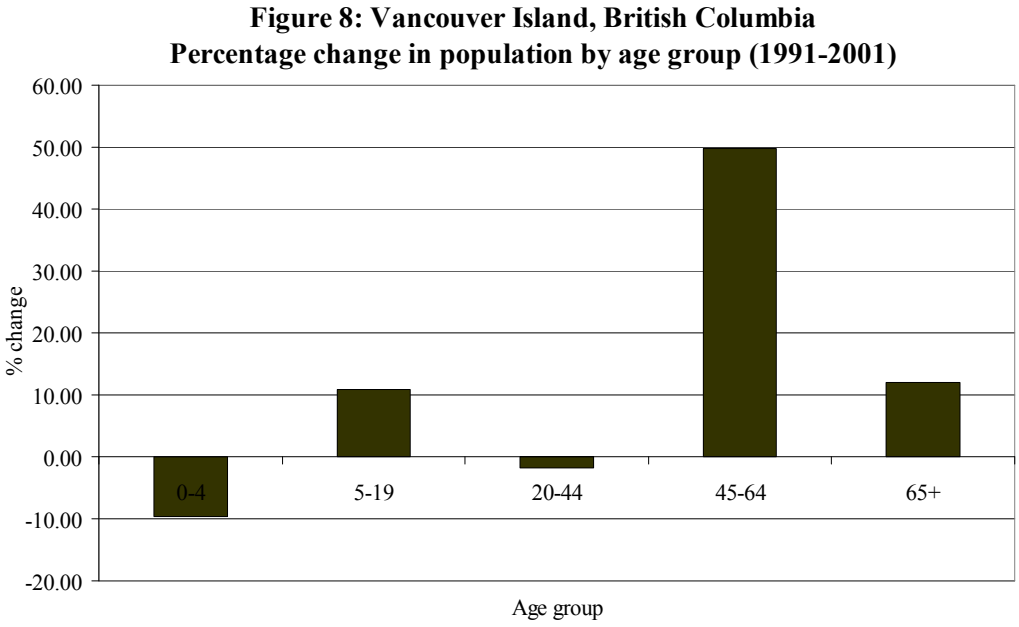
Note: For 1991 & 1996, total populations were derived from census profiles for Provincial Electoral Districts within Vancouver Island's physical boundaries. For 2001, total population counts are based on the Vancouver Island 'Special Region'.

Source: BC Stats 1991-2001 Census Profiles (http://www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca)



Note: For 1991& 1996, demographic data was derived from census profiles for Provincial Electoral Districts within Vancouver Island's physical boundaries. For 2001, demographic data is based on the Vancouver Island 'Special Region'.

Source: BC Stats 1991-2001 Census Profiles (http://www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca)



Note: For 1991& 1996, demographic data was derived from census profiles for Provincial Electoral Districts within Vancouver Island's physical boundaries. For 2001, demographic data is based on the Vancouver Island 'Special Region'.

Source: BC Stats 1991-2001 Census Profiles (http://www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca)

4.4 Data Collection

This research study employed a mixed methods approach to data collection. Specifically, this research follows a form of concurrent triangulation. In this approach, both quantitative and qualitative methods were used "to confirm, cross-validate, and/or corroborate findings within a single study" (Creswell, 2003, p. 217). Quantitative and qualitative methods were used concurrently, "as a means to offset the weaknesses inherent within one method with the strengths of the other method" (Creswell, 2003, p. 217). According to Creswell (2003), "this traditional mixed methods model is advantageous because it is familiar with most researchers and can result in well-validated and substantiated findings" (p. 217). Similarly, Berg (2001) argues, "by combining research methods, researchers obtain a better, more substantive picture of reality"(p.4).

Data collection for this thesis project took place primarily over a five-month period (April 2003 – September 2003). Methods of data collection included:

- A resident survey
- Interviews with community representatives
- Collection of tourism brochures and other promotional materials
- Collection of real-estate guides
- Review of Official Community Plans

Each of these data sources will be described below; a rationale for their selection will be provided.

4.4.1 Resident Surveys

The most substantial data source used in this thesis project was a resident survey used to investigate resident's feelings and attitudes towards their community, as well as to identify features that have special or significant meaning. The benefit of using a survey is that it allows the researcher to hear from respondents directly (Palys, 2003). It is an 'interactive' technique, where a participant can openly convey his/her thoughts, rather than the researcher guessing, or speculating about what the response might be (Palys, 2003).

The survey was undertaken in June of 2003, and ultimately involved a total of 502 participant households divided among the three case study communities[11]. A copy of the surveys for each community can be found in Appendices A, B & C.

4.4.1.1 Survey Distribution Strategy

Prior to delivery, it was established that 225 was an adequate number of surveys to deliver to each case study community. Two hundred and twenty (220) of these surveys were delivered door-to-door. This resulted in 14.7% percent of Chemainus' households[12], 6.5% percent of Sooke's households, and 3.0% of Port Alberni's households receiving a survey (refer to Table 11). The door-to-door surveys were delivered in-person by the researcher over a period of nine days, beginning on June 14th, 2003. Each case study community was therefore entitled three days of delivery. To ensure that respondents received an adequate explanation of the survey, and to stimulate a higher response rate, surveys were only given to respondents who were at home and agreed to participate. Working from 9:00 am until 8:00 pm, it was possible in both Chemainus and Sooke, to visit every address[13] on all of the residential streets visible on the road map for each community. Due to the size of Port Alberni, only a selection of residential streets was chosen. This was done by dividing the main residential areas into three (3) equal regions and then selecting random street names/ numbers from each region. This simple random sample approach ensured that all residential streets had a chance of being included in the study. A total of 45 Port Alberni streets were chosen; 15 in each region. Once a residential street was chosen, every address on that street was visited. Ultimately, the process was effective as there was representation in each residential region. A map, as well as a list, of the residential streets where

[11] It is important to note that this study did not incorporate First Nations households. The First Nations people were involved in the forests long before the first European settlers arrived in British Columbia. Their unique interpretation and perspectives regarding the identity of British Columbia's transitioning forestry based communities would be an interesting and significant addition to this work in a future study.

[12] Chemainus is a part of the District of North Cowichan (and not its' own municipality). Statistics Canada therefore does not have data on the total number of households for Chemainus. A total number of 1,550 households was estimated for the community by dividing the District of North Cowichan's 2001 population estimate of Chemainus (4,185) by the average number of persons per household for North Cowichan for that year (2.7) as provided by Statistics Canada.

[13] Apartment buildings and some monitored townhouse complexes were not included in this study due to accessibility issues. Seasonal/recreational dwellings and mobile homes were also not included in this study due to their seasonal nature.

surveys were completed and returned in each community can be found in Appendices D, E and F.

Of the 5 surveys in each case study not delivered door-to-door, three (3) were dropped off at the community's City/Municipal hall and two (2) were delivered to the community's tourism information office. The purpose of this was to ensure that the unique opinion of those with extensive knowledge of the community was included. Each case study community was given two pickup dates which were approximately seven (7) to nine (9) days after the surveys were first delivered. This was considered an appropriate amount of time to give participants to contemplate their answers. If participants were not going to be home on those days, they were instructed to leave their completed survey in the mailbox. The delivery and pickup dates for each case study community can be found in Table 5. The door-to-door delivery and follow-up method was tremendously successful considering the survey generated an average 74.4% response rate over the three case study communities. A breakdown of response rates by community can be found in Table 6.

Table 5: Resident Survey Delivery and Pick-up Dates

	Delivery Date:	*Pick-up Dates:*
Chemainus	June 14th – 16th, 2003	June 23rd and 24th, 2003
Sooke	June 17th – 19th, 2003	June 25th and 26th, 2003
Port Alberni	June 20th – 22nd, 2003	June 27th and 28th, 2003

Table 6: Place Identity Survey Distribution

	Surveyed	*Total # of Households*	*Surveyed %*	*Returned*	*Response Rate*
Chemainus	225	1,550	14.5%	177	78.7%
Sooke	225	3,460	6.5%	169	75.1%
Port Alberni	225	7,560	3.0%	156	69.3%
Total	**675**	**12,570**	**5.4%**	**502**	**74.4%**

4.4.1.2 Survey Structure and Questions

The place identity survey utilized a mixture of question types. Combining multiple question styles proved to be a useful strategy as it eliminated the disadvantages related to using a single question type. Closed-ended questions provided structure, allowing for easier quantification, categorization and comparison of results (Palys, 2003). Open-ended questions allowed respondents to point out other factors not considered or anticipated by the researcher (Del Balso & Lewis, 2001). They also allowed respondents to expand upon their answers (in their own words), and provide necessary details and/or clarification. The use of open-ended questions is particularly useful in an exploratory research study such as this one (Palys, 2003). The survey was divided into four parts.

Part A contained both open-ended and closed-ended questions which asked respondents to state their opinions about their community and its attributes. Questions in Part A revolved primarily around the following topics:

- Community ratings in several areas
- Rationale for choosing to live in the community
- Level of attachment between residents and the community
- Special, unique and/or significant features and attributes of the community
- Identifiable changes witnessed/ experienced in the community over time
- Prospects for the future
- Importance of various industries and general economic and social features of the community
- Potential impact of development projects

Part B of the survey asked respondents to identify features on a map of their community. The map served two purposes. First, it reinforced responses from Part A by asking respondents to again identify special and/or significant places. Second, the map asked residents to identify where they lived and worked which was useful for statistical purposes.

Part C of the survey consisted of a photo recognition study loosely based on Nelessen's Visual Preference Survey (VPS) ^{TM}. Nelessen (1994) describes his survey:

> The Visual Preference Survey (VPS) is a research and visioning technique consisting of photographic images, evaluation forms, optional questionnaires, and evaluation/ analysis techniques to understand and present results. The purpose of the VPS is to articulate the residents' impression of the present community image and to build consensus for its future character. The conclusion of the process is called a Vision Plan (p. 83).

The Visual Preference Survey (VPS) "involves the participation of community residents who are asked to numerically rate images of their town or other places as either acceptable or unacceptable" (Nelessen, 1994, p.83). This is done on a scale of acceptability from +10 (most acceptable) to -10 (most unacceptable). The "common vision (consensus on positive and negative images)" achieved by this process, "enables the planning process to work more efficiently by providing agreement concerning the community and the desired design of future development" (Nelessen, 1994, p. 83). Along with the opportunity to rate images of various places, spaces and land uses, respondents are also sometimes provided with "an optional questionnaire giving them a forum for providing demographics and marketing information as well as written comments, ideas, opinions and suggestions regarding past development, the quality of existing zoning, and preferred future directions" (Nelessen, 1994, p.83).

Much like Nelessen's Visual Preference Survey, respondents were asked in this study to consider a series of photos; however, unlike Nelessen's VPS, respondents were not asked to numerically rate the images. Instead they were asked to either identify, which photo from the series was of a feature located in their community, or to choose which photo from the series they preferred. The modifications made to Nelessen's Visual Preference Survey were a deliberate attempt to more accurately address components of place identity. Questions, which asked respondents to identify features, were used to evaluate how well respondents knew their community. Participants were asked to identify tourism attractions, heritage features, historical landmarks, and significant structures. Questions, which asked respondents to choose their preferred image, were used to identify types of built features, which have, or could have, a positive impact on the identity of the community. Participants were shown images of main street styles, subdivision types, housing types, housing styles, and restaurant styles.

Part D of the survey consisted of close-ended questions that addressed demographic information of respondents. This information was useful for determining the individual characteristics of participants.

Ultimately, the place identity survey contained a unique combination of question-types, consciously designed to address several dimensions of place identity. The information gathered provided key information about resident's perceptions towards their community and its' various attributes.

4.4.2 Interviews with Community Representatives

A second interactive approach conducted in this research project was personal interviews with community representatives. The benefit of using personal interviews is similar to that of a survey in that it allows the researcher to hear directly from respondents. The personal interview, however; also "has the advantage of allowing the researcher to clarify [any] ambiguities or misunderstandings and monitor the conditions of completion" (Palys, 2003, p. 150). By providing proper clarification and monitoring, the researcher was able to generate more complete and accurate responses.

Potential interview candidates were chosen based on (a) their level of knowledge of the community, and (b) their association with decision making bodies within the community. Interviewees may have included members of Council, municipal employees, economic development representatives and/or delegates from the forestry industry. The purpose of the interviews was to allow the researcher to note the attitudes and values of these knowledgeable and important individuals, as well as to hear their perspectives on various features of the community, and various issues that impact place identity. Findings from the personal interviews were also compared with findings from the resident survey. The researcher noted any discrepancies between the sentiments of residents and those of 'decision-makers'[14].

[14] The term decision maker is used loosely in this context. Some of the municipal government representatives interviewed have a direct role in making decisions that impact the community. Other interviewees, such as the forestry industry representatives have less say (as individuals) in decisions making. All of the representatives are, however, directly associated with large decision making bodies within the community.

Interview participants in each case study community were identified by the researcher primarily through Internet sources. By visiting community related websites, the researcher was able to acquire the e-mail addresses of potential interviewees. Once a list of potential candidates was established, a preliminary e-mail was sent out which included information about the project, as well as an invitation to become a participant. If the candidate agreed to participate, an interview date and time was established. Sometimes candidates would also provide the name of another colleague who may be interested participating in the study. If this was the case, and that person was deemed to be an adequate candidate, their name was added to the list and they were contacted. In this way, the researcher followed a "snowball sampling" approach (Del Balso & Lewis, 2001) for identifying further interviewees. In total there were fifteen (15) interviewees involved in this study. Due to the unequal male to female ratio among potential interview candidates, equal gender representation did not occur in this study. In total, fourteen (14) participants were male and only one (1) was female. Due to the nature of the questions, gender differences were not considered to be a determining factor when choosing interview participants

Primarily, interviews were conducted face-to-face at a location convenient for the interviewee. Some interviews, however, had to be conducted over the telephone, or by e-mail, as a result of scheduling conflicts[15]. Most of the interviews took place in July of 2003; some were conducted at later dates.

Table 7 shows a list of interviewees in each of the case study communities. In order to maintain anonymity, each interviewee is only identified as either a public or private sector representative. Note that each respondent has been provided a respondent number. Interviewees will be identified only by this number throughout the thesis. The type of interview and the interview date are also provided.

[15] If an e-mail interview was requested, the researcher e-mailed the questions along with a letter of consent directly to the interviewee. The interviewee could then fill out the questions at his/her discretion. Although the researcher was not present while questions were being answered, interviewees were advised to e-mail the researcher if they had any questions or required clarification.

Table 7: Interviews with Community Representatives: Position, Interview Type, Interview Date

Community	*Respondent #*	*Position*	*Interview Type*	*Interview Date*
Chemainus	1	Public Sector Representative	face-to-face	July 17, 2003
	2	Public Sector Representative	face-to-face	July 17, 2003
	3	Private Sector Representative	face-to-face	July 17, 2003
	4	Public Sector Representative	face-to-face	July 21, 2003
Sooke	5	Public Sector Representative	face-to-face	July 18, 2003
	6	Public Sector Representative	face-to-face	July 21, 2003
	7	Public Sector Representative	e-mail	March 26, 2004
	8	Public Sector Representative	e-mail	April 1, 2004
Port Alberni	9	Public Sector Representative	face-to-face	July 15, 2003
	10	Public Sector Representative	face-to-face	July 15, 2003
	11	Public Sector Representative	face-to-face	July 16, 2003
	12	Public Sector Representative	face-to-face	July 16, 2003
	13	Private Sector Representative	face-to-face	July 18, 2003

Prior to beginning the interview, a consent letter was provided which ensured the respondents willingness to participate. Once a signature was obtained, the researcher began the questioning process. The interviews were kept fairly casual, and questions were somewhat tailored to the individual. There were, however, twenty (20) fundamental questions that each interviewee was asked. The following is a list of these questions and the reasoning behind them:

1. *How long have you worked in this position?*

This question was used to determine the respondents experience in his/her current position.

2. *How long have you lived in [community name]?*

This was asked to gauge the extent of knowledge the respondent has about the community.

3. *What is [community name] like as a place to live? Work? Visit? Conduct Business?*

This question was asked to explore the respondents' general sentiments towards the community in a variety of areas.

4. *How would you describe [community name] to someone who knows nothing about it?*

This was used to identify general qualities about the community that the respondent believes are worthy of expressing to someone who knows nothing about the place.

5. *What makes [community name] unique from other Vancouver Island Communities?*

This question was used to identify features of the community that are considered exclusive and therefore set the community apart from others.

6. *What are [community name]s' greatest strengths? Weaknesses?*

This was asked simply to identify areas in which the respondent believes the community is strong and areas where the community may be lacking.

7. *How has [community name] changed since you have been associated with it?*

This question was used to evaluate the respondents' perceptions about the evolution of the community. Primarily the researcher was looking for very general changes in trends or ideas.

8. *Are you aware of any major events that have affected [community name] as a place? If so, what were those events and how did they affect [community name]?*

This was used to identify significant events that have impacted the community and to identify how these events have made an impact.

9. *What have been [community name]s' biggest successes? What have been [community name]s' biggest failures?*

This question was asked to uncover various occurrences recognized by respondents as having been either beneficial or detrimental to the community.

10. *What do you think are [community name]s' most important landmarks? Special places?*

This question was used in conjunction with question eleven (11) to identify features of the community that are significant (and thus potentially have an impact on place identity)

11. *What features (built & natural) do you think [community name] should preserve?*

This was asked in conjunction with question ten (10) to identify important features. This question, however, took the concept one step further by asking for features significant enough to be preserved.

12. *What role does the forestry industry play in [community name]?*

The goal of this question was to establish the current importance of the forestry industry from both an economic and social perspective.

13. *What changes have you witnessed in the forestry industry? How have they impacted [community name]?*

This question was used to acquire an understanding of the changing relationship between the forestry industry and the community.

14. What kind of economic development initiatives/projects has [community name] pursued?

This was asked to identify the types of projects deemed suitable for the community.

15. Were there any economic development initiatives/projects proposed for [community name] but ultimately turned down? Why were they turned down?

This question was asked to identify projects that were ultimately deemed unsuitable for the community. Specifically, the researcher looked for a pattern in the types of projects deemed unsuitable as this could be an indicator of the nature of the community.

16. What kind of developments do you see as a threat to the character of [community name]?

This was used in conjunction with question fifteen (15) to identify types of projects deemed threatening to the nature of the community. This allowed the researcher to speculate about whether or not these projects are identity threatening.

17. What types of development projects would you like to see pursued in [community name]?

This question was asked to ascertain types of projects that the interviewees see as having the potential to have a positive future impact on the community.

18. What direction do you think [community name] is going in the future? Which ways do you think [community name] should go?

The goal of this question was to gauge residents' perceptions about the future nature of the community. From this, projections about the future identity of the community (as interviewees see it) could be made.

19. From your perspective, how is land-use planning done in [community name]? How are development decisions made? Who is involved in that decision-making? Do you feel this process is appropriate? Adequate? Why or why not?

Since the purpose of this thesis is to enhance planning processes by providing knowledge about the relevance of place identity, it was important to know how the current system operates. This question allowed respondents to provide their perspective on the planning and decision making systems within their community.

20. What type of festivals/cultural events does [community name] have? Are they well attended?

This question was asked to address the cultural aspect of place identity. In other words, it addressed the perceived importance of culture in the case study communities.

Much like the questions asked in the resident survey, each question asked in the personal interviews was designed specifically to address various components of place identity. The face-to-face and telephone interviews usually lasted about one-hour in duration. For the e-mail interviews, once participants received the above twenty (20) core questions, they had about one week to complete them.

4.4.3 Collection of Tourism Brochures and other Promotional Materials

Tourism brochures and other promotional materials were collected and analyzed to identify how the case study communities portray themselves to the outside world. The ways in which a place is advertised, have an impact on the ways in which outsiders identify with that place. Community promotion is therefore an important element to consider in any study of place identity. Information gathered by reviewing promotional materials also provided another method for the researcher to determine the general qualities and/or specific features of the community which are deemed to be significant, and thus worthy of promoting. Promotional materials were collected throughout the fieldwork period (April 2003 - September 2003) and were obtained primarily by visiting tourist information centers. Some materials were also collected from the BC Ferries visitor information shelf. The materials reviewed are listed in Table 8.

Table 8: Promotional Materials: Source and Date Collected

Promotional Material	*Source*	*Date Collected*
"Chemainus World Famous Murals" Official Attractions & Accommodations Guide	BC Ferries visitor information shelf	July 14, 2003
"Chemainus World Famous Murals" Official Mural Map	BC Ferries visitor information shelf	July 14, 2003
Chemainus Theatre, 2003	Chemainus Tourist Information Centre	July 17,2003
Free Maps, "Sooke to Port Renfrew – The Undiscovered West Coast"	BC Ferries visitor information shelf	July 14, 2003
Island Visitor, 2003 Guide to Vancouver Island	BC Ferries visitor information shelf	July 14, 2003
Cowichan Valley, Visitors Choice	BC Ferries visitor information shelf	July 14, 2003
Port Alberni "Historical Walking Tour"	BC Ferries visitor information shelf	July 14, 2003
Alberni Valley Heritage, "Ride the Rails for Steam-Powered Adventure"	Port Alberni Tourist Information Centre	July 18,2003
Alberni Valley Heritage, "Explore Our Heritage, and	Port Alberni Tourist	July 18,2003

discover what makes Port Alberni tick"	Information Centre	
Alberni Valley, 2003 Visitors Guide	BC Ferries visitor information shelf	July 14, 2003
"Pacific Rim – Port Alberni, Tofino & Ucluelet" Visitor's Choice guide	BC Ferries visitor information shelf	July 14, 2003
British Columbia Automobile Association (BCAA) Tour Book for United States and Canada	British Columbia Automobile Association office (Surrey, BC)	July 22, 2003

Along with collecting published materials, various promotional websites were visited. These websites were found simply by running an Internet search on the individual community names. The websites visited are listed in Table 9: Both the published materials and the websites included descriptions of the communities and their attractions. Some also had advertisements for various restaurants, shops and accommodations.

Table 9: Websites Visited

Community	*Website*	*Title*
Chemainus	http://www.chemainus.com	Chemainus, British Columbia, Canada
	http://www.chemainustheatrefestival.ca/	Chemainus Festival Theatre
	http://www.northcowichan.bc.ca/murals.htm	Chemainus Murals (The Municipality of North Cowichan)
	http://www.chemainus.bc.ca	Chemainus – World Famous Murals (Chemainus & District Chamber of Commerce)
	http://www.muraltown.com	Chemainus Festival of Murals Society
	http://www.visit-vancouverisland.com/chemainus.html	Chemainus, British Columbia (visit-vancouverisland.com)
	http://www.chemainusbc.com	Chemainus, British Columbia (VancouverIsland.com)
Port Alberni	http://www.city.port-alberni.bc.ca	City of Port Alberni, British Columbia
	http://www.avcoc.com	Alberni Valley Chamber of Commerce
	http://www.bcadventure.com/adventure/explore/island/cities/ptalberni.htm	Port Alberni (bcadventure.com)
	http://www.alberniheritage.com/	Alberni Valley Heritage network
	http://www.visit-vancouverisland.com/portalberni.html	Port Alberni, British Columbia (visit-vancouverisland.com)

	http://www.britishcolumbia.com/regions/towns/?townID=27	Port Alberni (BritishColumbia.com)
	http://www.alberni-region.com	The Economic Development Commission of Port Alberni
Sooke	http://www.sooke.org	Community of Sooke District
	http://www.sookenet.com/sooke.shtml	Sooke Community Website
	http://www.district.sooke.bc.ca/	The District of Sooke
	http://www.sookeharbourchamber.com/	Sooke Harbor Chamber of Commerce
	http://sooke.museum.bc.ca/	The Sooke region museum
	http://www.sookeharbour.com/	Sooke Travel Guide
	http://www.sookebc.com/	Sooke, British Columbia (VancouverIsland.com)

4.4.4 Collection of Real-estate Guides

In-order to evaluate the built-environment element of place identity, the researcher tried to find information sources that would identify how residents perceive various built features found in the community. Several questions in both the survey and personal interviews addressed the built environment, but the researcher chose to incorporate another method for comparison and validation purposes. Real-estate guides were reviewed because they describe the features and or/characteristics of residential developments deemed to be attractive and therefore marketable. While reviewing real-estate guides from each community, the researcher focused primarily on word choice. These words were then analyzed to look for general trends in the language. If trends were found, the researcher investigated whether or not any sort of common perception towards residential developments in the community could be derived. The researcher did take into consideration that residential features comprise only one component of the built environment when analyzing the results. Information obtained through real-estate guide review was therefore used only to substantiate findings from other data sources that offered a more complete analysis of the built environment. Real-estate guides were found by visiting a real-estate agency in each of the case study communities. All of the real-estate guides were for July 2003.

4.4.5 Review of Official Community Plans

The Official Community Plan (OCP) for each case study community was collected and then analyzed to investigate any connections and/or disconnections between Official Plan policies and vision statements, and the information gathered from the surveys and interviews. The purpose of this research is to provide knowledge, which can be used to assist planners, and other decision makers, in making choices that preserve or enhance a positive place identity. It is therefore necessary to test, how well current policy documentation corresponds to sentiments held by residents, and then provide any recommendations needed to enhance current policy areas that may be lacking. Official Plan documentation was acquired simply by visiting the Planning Department responsible for each case study community[16].

4.5 Data Analysis Techniques and Organization of Findings

In analyzing the data, the researcher focused on addressing each of the theoretical components of place identity, or themes, as described in Chapter 2. Raw quantitative data was organized, condensed and then summarized in tables and graphs. SPSS analysis was undertaken and qui-square tests were run to determine whether or not there were any significant differences in responses related to demographics. Qualitative data was broken up and then sorted into common or related responses. All of this quantitative and qualitative data was then categorized into the appropriate element of place identity. Through this process, the researcher was able to address the research question by making observations about various aspects of identity. The researcher was also able to isolate and then investigate various occurrences that have impacted that identity. Findings are presented in Chapter 6, with each case study community being designated its' own results section. At the end of that chapter the findings from all three case study communities are compared and contrasted.

[16] OCP documentation included the Sooke Official Community Plan 2001, the Port Alberni Official Community Plan 1993, and the "Chemainus Planning Chemainus" special report 1999. Chemainus, being a part of the District of North Cowichan (and not its own municipality), does not have its own Official Community Plan. The "Chemainus Planning Chemainus" special report was produced through a planning process conducted in 1999 in which residents of Chemainus described their vision for the community and discussed various development issues and policies.

4.6 Ethics Considerations

The main ethics considerations of this study revolved around the resident surveys and personal interviews. In both of these research methods, there was a need to ensure that recruitment of participants would be done in a responsible and appropriate manner. It was also necessary to protect the confidentiality of participant's responses. Both the resident survey and the interview questions received full ethics clearance from the University of Waterloo Office of Research Ethics on March 27th, 2003.

4.7 Limitations

Before discussing the limitations associated with this research, it is important to remind the reader that the aim of this exploratory study is to provide general knowledge about the implications of place identity for planning practice. Even-though findings in this study are directed at planners and other policy makers in a variety of jurisdictions, specific development recommendations are intended solely for use in the three case study communities from which the information originates. The general knowledge derived from this study could be used to guide decision making in other outside communities (specifically those traditionally based on a dominant resource economy) but only after a thorough evaluation of that community's own unique characteristics and profile has been conducted.

Even-though the use of a mixed methods approach to data collection is beneficial in minimizing the limitations associated with employing only a single research method, there are limitations in this study that the researcher was unable to eliminate. Largely these limitations are linked to potential misinterpretation by respondents and researcher bias.

It is possible, that through vocabulary and/or word choice questions in the place identity survey may have been misinterpreted. Palys (1997) suggests that a fundamental disadvantage of a door-to-door resident survey, in which the researcher is not available to provide clarification, is that "misunderstood questions and/or non-responses are not caught until it is too late" (153). Similarly, a primary disadvantage of the personal interviews is the potential for misguided

responses if the researcher unintentionally influences an interviewee through appearance or tone of voice (Del Balso & Lewis, 2001).

A potential source of bias in this research project comes as a direct result of the methods by which surveys were delivered. Even-though every household in both Chemainus and Sooke was visited, all of those households were not given an equal chance of participating. Similarly, the simple random approach of selecting residential streets in Port Alberni did not guarantee a representative sample. Each household's potential to be involved in the study was based entirely on whether or not they happened to be home when the researcher visited. Since demographic data acquired from the survey shows a mixed group of respondent types, and because respondent distribution within the communities are so widely spread the researcher is confident that the responses that came out of the survey are indicative of those of the populations as a whole. There are however, no guarantees, and it is possible that some viewpoints were overlooked. To eliminate this potential bias, future studies can employ a larger sample of residents, such as choosing every 2nd residential unit within the community.

Another potential source of bias may have arisen during the data analysis portion of this research project. Creswell (1994) states that a researcher's own individual biases and values can impact the way that data is analyzed and therefore may potentially cause a reliability issue. The fact that the researcher has been a British Columbia resident, and was familiar with the case study communities prior to beginning this study, may mean that preliminary assumptions impacted the analysis of the results. However, the researcher was advised of this issue prior to analyzing the data, and took great care to ensure there were no inaccuracies in the results.

4.8 Chapter Summary

This chapter has outlined the methodology that was employed to gather data for use in the examination of the evolution of place identity in three small British Columbia communities in transition. The exploratory nature of this study provided enough flexibility to allow the researcher to employ a variety of methods. As will be observed in subsequent chapters, this multi-faceted approach proved effective in addressing the research question for this thesis project.

CHAPTER 5: THE CASE STUDY COMMUNITIES

5.1 Introduction

As emphasized in the previous chapters, the British Columbia forestry industry has undergone a significant restructuring. Several large corporations have downsized their operations in an attempt to remain viable under volatile conditions. This has had a tremendous impact on several British Columbia forestry based communities. As a result of diversification attempts, in conjunction with social and demographic change, the forestry community is now a 'community in transition' (Battle et al., 1998; Reed, 1999). In this chapter, we look at this transition as it has occurred in our three case study communities. As this information is presented, it should become quite obvious that although all of these communities have faced the same crisis in terms of job losses, their responses have been quite diverse.

5.2 Chemainus, British Columbia

Chemainus is located on the east coast of Vancouver Island, 70 kilometers north of Victoria and 41 kilometers south of Nanaimo. It is part of the District Municipality of North Cowichan. Throughout much of its history, Chemainus was a quintessential forestry based community. The lone saw mill provided the dominant source of employment and the community grew up around it. Growth in population, services and infrastructure, were linked directly to the needs generated by the mill. Prior to 1983, Chemainus had been the site of "continuous sawmill operations longer than any other place on the Pacific Coast" (Olsen, 1963, p.34). In August, 1983, this all came to an abrupt stop, the mill closed down for 2 years and when it was finally rebuilt and re-opened in 1985 it employed less than a quarter the number of workers. Chemainus' response to this job loss predicament has been energetic, stimulated by the creativity of local entrepreneurs. The initiatives pursued have been very successful, so successful in fact that the community refers to itself as "the little town that did" (Barnes & Hayter, 1992; Chemainus Festival of Murals Society, 1987). The overall result has been a 'new look' to Chemainus. The following pages will provide a more detailed look at the evolution of the community.

Figure 9: the location of Chemainus

Source: www.tourismvictoria.com

5.2.1 The history of sawmilling in Chemainus

It is uncertain who actually initiated the construction of the first sawmill in Chemainus, although the records show that it was operated by Adam George Elliot in 1862 (Olsen, 1963). In 1864 Elliot sold the mill to George Askew, for around $700 (Olsen, 1963). At that time the mill was very small and driven by a wooden over-shot water wheel. Total output was between one and two thousand board feet of lumber in one $11^{1/2}$ - hour day (Olsen, 1963). The old mill was demolished and replaced by a water turbine mill in 1879. It was later converted to steam power in 1883 under the new ownership of Henry Croft & Henry Severne. In 1884 Henry Severne sold his interests in the mill to William Angus for a mere $9000 (Olsen, 1963). In 1889, the Croft & Angus mill was again sold to Robert Dunsmuir who in the same year resold the mill to the Victoria Lumber & Manufacturing Company Limited (Olsen, 1963). The company immediately began construction of the third new mill on the same site. The planned output of the new mill

was 500,000 board feet per day; five times the capability of the older plant, and sufficient to supply 20 sailing vessels loading simultaneously (Olsen, 1963). This new mill was operational by April 1891. Early in the 1950's the Victoria Lumber Company Limited became the Victoria Lumber Division of H.R. MacMillan Export Co., and re-named H.R. MacMillan Export Co. Ltd., Chemainus Division in the same year (Olsen 1963).

5.2.2 Growth and stability under Fordism

The Fordist production techniques introduced in the saw mill in the 1940's, and preserved under the ownership of MacMillan Export Co. Ltd (later Macmillan Bloedel), consisted of production line work utilizing unskilled or semi-skilled workers. Barnes & Hayter (1992) describe the process:

> First, logs were sorted and graded on a moving conveyor belt, called the 'green chain'. Following typical Fordist labor relations, work on the chain was based on a strict order of seniority, where the last employee hired was the first sorter and grader, and the most senior was responsible for final sorting and grading. After grading, the logs were sawn and planed using dedicated machinery set to standardized dimensions. Sawyers were skilled workers requiring the ability to 'read' the wood to maximize the proportion of finished lumber from each log, but a large number of unskilled workers were required to pull lumber off the two planing chains. Finally, the lumber was stacked to await shipment to markets, mainly for the Canadian and also the US housing industry (p. 657).

Utilizing these Fordist production methods, the Chemainus sawmill flourished in the 1950's, 60's and early 1970's. Olsen (1963) describes the period beginning shortly after World War 2 as one of 'pride and prosperity' for Chemainus (p. 146). This prosperous period continued right through to the early 1970's especially under the ownership of Macmillan Bloedel. The ability of the mill to mass produce high volumes of commodity products to healthy markets meant profitability. The mill provided stable, high-paying, unionized work and the community expanded.

5.2.3 The crisis of the mill closure

By the late 1970's, the Chemainus sawmill was consistently losing money. It employed 650 people to produce 167 million board feet of low value timber products and generated considerable waste (Hayter, 2000). As Hayter (2000) describes, it was a 'coastal dinosaur' (p.

131). The decline of traditional markets required MacMillan Bloedel to search out new markets on the Pacific Rim, especially Japan. The Japanese required different dimensions of wood, different qualities of lumber and even different species of trees, all products that the Chemainus sawmill could not provide (Hayter, 2000). In 1982, under the pressure of recessionary conditions, and a string of losses totaling $16 million (Canada Employment and Immigration Advisory Council, 1987), the mill was closed, and all 650 jobs were lost.

Shortly after the closure of the old mill, Macmillan Bloedel decided to construct a brand new $22 million state of the art mill on the same site. Their decision was largely encouraged by the mills location, "which offers tidewater access to high quality resources and markets, skilled labor, and infrastructure" (Hayter, 2000, p.131). Modernization of the Chemainus sawmill was designed to "renew a mature product by shifting to principles of flexible mass production in which high volumes combine with product variety, teamwork, and commitment to value maximization" (Hayter, 2000, p. 131). By not opening for two years after the closure of the old mill, Macmillan Bloedel had no obligation to hire back its former workers on the basis of seniority (Hayter, 2000). When the new mill opened in 1985 it received 2,500 job applications for 125 positions (Hayter, 2000). Only about 60 of the original 650 workers were rehired (Barnes & Hayter, 1992). Macmillan Bloedel decided to stay with the union (IWA-80) as long as the "union agreed to accept more flexible work conditions notably the principle of teamwork" (Hayter, 2000 p. 131). Employment at the new mill, which is now owned by Weyerhaeuser, is based on a five-day, three-shift working week (Hayter, 2000). The management group is much smaller, but has more marketing and production autonomy (Hayter, 2000 p.132). Ongoing training is the basis for teamwork; the worker incentives for which are "an hourly wage rate that depends on the number of skill levels passed (regardless of which task the worker is performing at a particular time) and relief from boredom" (Hayter, 2000, p. 132).The plant maintains an apprenticeship program for trades people and has a small group of on-call temporary workers who also have to pass entry level tests (Hayter, 2000). A gain-sharing system has been introduced whereby employees are awarded a year-end bonus based on a share of production value (Hayter, 2000 p.133). To promote versatility in the mill trades people have agreed to spend two weeks a year learning the other workers jobs. Production at the new sawmill is smaller than the old one but it can still be classified as a large volume producer (Hayter, 2000). Logs are cut to order and are packaged and

computer coded on site for specific customers (Hayter, 2000). The new mill has shifted the focus of sawmilling in Chemainus from a low value commodity producer serving US markets, to a high value producer serving markets based in Japan, other Pacific Rim locations, and Europe (Hayter, 2000), refer to Table 10. Just 10% of the new mill's production goes to the US while over half is destined for the Asian markets, primarily Japan. (Hayter et al., 1994). The new saw mill is quality conscious and far less wasteful (Hayter, 2000, p. 132). There is an ongoing search to improve value recovery and efficiency through new technology. Before turning its interest over to Weyerhaeuser, Macmillan Bloedel even experimented with X-ray technology to assess the inside of logs, and in 1996, a computerized system was introduced to monitor and reduce saw-blade vibration reducing waste and maintaining accuracy (Hayter, 2000). The new sawmill is extremely profitable (Hayter, 2000).

Table 10: MacMillan Bloedel's Chemainus sawmill, selected characteristics for selected years, 1980-1996

			Sales to		
	Employment	Production (million board feet)	North America	Japan	Other
1980	650	167	45%	40%	15%
1981	550	135			
1983	0	0			
1985	125	69	30%	35%	35%
1989	140	101	15%	49%	36%
1996	150	97	12%	55%	33%

Source: Hayter, 2000, p. 133

Even though the new sawmill is successful, it still only employs about 150 workers (Battle et al., 1998). Correspondingly, when the original mill closed there was no indication that a new mill was going to be reopened. As a result, since receiving news of the mill closure, the community of Chemainus has been actively searching for alternative economic opportunities.

5.2.4 The community's response

5.2.4.1 Downtown Revitalization

In 1979, when rumors of a possible mill closure in Chemainus began to surface, Mayor Graham Bruce of the District of North Cowichan, introduced a Downtown Revitalization Project for Chemainus, and allocated $260,000 to the cause (Canada Employment and Immigration Advisory Council, 1987). The coordinator of the project was local resident and businessman Karl Schutz. The funding was used to construct new sidewalks and "generally improve the main thoroughfare" (Canada Employment and Immigration Advisory Council, 1987, p.59). The business community spent another $200,000 and the three block long main street was "decked out with new cedar siding on store fronts, canopies, flower beds and carved wood signs" (Canada Employment and Immigration Advisory Council, 1987, p. 59). Not all of downtown Chemainus was revitalized, a large section closer to the marina remained relatively untouched and came to be known as "Old Town". The goal of the revitalization project was to make the area more attractive to visitors. In the eyes of Schutz, the revitalization project, though beneficial, would not be the answer; he thought Chemainus needed something unique.

Plate 1: Redeveloped downtown Chemainus

5.2.4.2 The Murals

While holidaying in Romania, Karl Schutz visited three monasteries in Moldovita, Sucevita and Voronet. He was deeply impressed with the frescoes that had been painted on the outer walls which were over 400 years old, and told the history of each area (Chemainus Festival of Murals Society, 1987). From these frescoes, Schutz developed a vision for Chemainus. He pictured several large outdoor murals which would capture and celebrate Chemainus' history. After

overcoming opposition and skepticism to the idea, a local artist from Victoria was hired in 1982 to paint the first mural. By the end of that year, five murals had been painted (Hayter, 2000). In 1983, the town organized the first Festival of Mural Painting, which attracted many artists and 20,000 tourists (Canada Employment and Immigration Advisory Council, 1987). By 1991 about thirty murals had been painted (Hayter, 2000). These murals were based on the book by W. H. Olsen entitled, *Water Over the Wheel*, a history of Chemainus. The murals project combined with the revitalization efforts stimulated new tourism-related businesses including a dinner-and-live theatre facility opened by two entrepreneurs, specializing in plays for senior citizens. By 1993 Chemainus was attracting 350,000 – 450,0000 tourists a year (Beyer, 1998)

Plate 2: Examples of Chemainus Murals

5.2.5 Chemainus today

Present day Chemainus has a population of about 4,185 people; a significant increase from the 1981 number of 2,069[17]. The increase in population is due in part to the success of the revitalization and mural projects in attracting new residents, but also because of Chemainus' location. Being a seaside community, within close proximity to both Victoria and Nanaimo, Chemainus has become a popular place for retirement. Although specific numbers were not available for Chemainus, it is evident that like much of Vancouver Island, the community has seen an increase in its seniors population. Statistics Canada estimates the over 65 population of North Cowichan to be approximately 16.5 percent, nearly three percentage points higher than provincial averages (Figure 9); it is possible to speculate that Chemainus' numbers are even higher. Chemainus has also become a popular place to commute from, with easy access to the main highway. Chemainus's unemployment situation has improved dramatically since the 1982 mill closure. The unemployment rate for North Cowichan in 2001 was 9.4 percent which is close to the provincial average of 8.5 percent, and much lower than can be found in other places on the Island such as Port Alberni.

Figure 10: District of North Cowichan Age Distribution

North Cowichan
District Municipality

Age and Gender - 2001 Census

	N Cowichan		% Distribution	
	Male	Female	N Cowichan	BC
All ages	12,565	13,580	100.0	100.0
0 - 14	2,515	2,480	19.1	18.1
15 - 24	1,615	1,680	12.6	13.2
25 - 44	3,005	3,440	24.7	30.1
45 - 64	3,435	3,650	27.1	25.1
65 +	1,985	2,325	16.5	13.6

Source: Statistics Canada 2001 Census

[17] Based on District of North Cowichan estimates

The Weyerhaeuser sawmill continues to be the industrial focal point of the community although there have been some spin-off companies. Paulcan, for example, is small company located in the Chemainus Industrial Park. Established by an entrepreneur as a planing mill in 1982, the company grew considerably in the late 1980's at one time employing 100 non-union workers paid union wage rates (Hayter, 2000). The firm added dry kilns and was a subcontractor to MacMillan Bloedel. The 1990s was volatile period for Paulcan with employment fluctuating between 20 and 50 workers in its planing mill (Hayter, 2000). The company was facing growing competition from other re-manufacturers in the area and its major corporate customers were investing in their own kiln drying and planing facilities (Hayter, 2000). In response Paulcan built a hardwood sawmill in the same industrial park which by 1997 employed twenty people and used alder and maple (Hayter, 2000). Paulcan uses "second hand equipment purchased though auctions; it is prepared to travel as far west as Manitoba and as far south as California to save on equipment costs" (Hayter, 2000 p. 197).

Plate 3: Chemainus sawmill operations (Weyerhaeuser)

The mural project continues to generate bus loads of tourists, and has encouraged the establishment of several other businesses and services including a museum, antique dealers, art galleries, "knick-knack" stores, restaurants, cafes, ice-cream parlors, and companies that offer horse and carriage/ buggy rides. Yellow footprints have been painted on the sidewalks so that tourists can find their way to each of the murals. Chemainus has won a 1994 British Airways "Tourism for Tomorrow" award and was a first-place winner in the New York-based "Downtown Revitalization" awards. The well-known problem with the tourism industry however, is that the tourists' length of stay is limited (usually about 3 hours) (Hayter, 2000). Karl

Schutz initial response to this issue was an idea for an Artisan Village. Shutz's concept called for a hotel, restaurant, cafes, gift shops, studios, galleries and most importantly a complex of open workshops for artists and craftspeople. Originally budgeted at $50 million, this project has yet to materialize (Hayter, 2000).

Plate 4: Chemainus horse and buggy rides

For visitors that do wish to stay more than a few hours, Chemainus has seen rapid expansion of its' Bed & Breakfast industry. Many of these Bed & Breakfasts offer a unique experience for visitors with their elaborate decorations and unique 'themes'. The Chemainus dinner and live theatre has been tremendously successful with audience numbers currently at 70,000 per year. The company has plans for an $8.5-million expansion which would include a luxurious $7.5-million hotel (Festival Inn) and a $1.5-million production facility (Chamberlain, 2003). The hope is that the expansion will "transform the town into an international theatre destination like the Shaw or Stratford festivals in Ontario" (Chamberlain, 2003). The hotel itself would include a conference room, swimming pool, fitness and massage facilities and a hot tub, the hope is that the hotel will significantly increase visitors length of stay (Chamberlain, 2003). With the exception of the theatre project, "more recent opportunities for entrepreneurialism have been limited due to a difficulty in acquiring additional government funding" (Hayter et al. 1994, p. 307). A municipal initiative that is currently being considered in Chemainus is a renovation and expansion of its' public marina, a project aimed at improving the waterfront area for both visitors and residents.

Plate 5: Chemainus dinner and live theatre

5.3 Sooke, British Columbia

Sooke is the newest municipality in British Columbia; it was incorporated on December 7, 1999. It is also the Province's most southern municipality, occupying a southern portion of Vancouver Island thirty-seven kilometers southwest of Victoria. Authors from the Sooke Region museum (1999) suggest that even though the distance separation between Sooke and Victoria is not considerable, it was sufficient enough to allow Sooke to develop it own unique "personality" (p.2). The community of Sooke is located on the Sooke Harbour, which is protected from the Strait of Juan de Fuca by a long natural spit known as Whiffin Spit. The Sooke River drains into the Sooke Harbour forming another natural spit called Billings Spit, which divides the harbor into an outer harbor, and a larger inner harbor known as the Sooke Basin. The foundation of Sooke's economy prior to the 1980's was the forest products industry, although it did have a substantial 'fish-trap' industry in the early to mid 1900's. The vast rainforest consisting of Douglas fir, red cedar, Sitka spruce, hemlock, fir and pine provided the basis for a successful logging and lumbering industry that has existed since the occupation of the area by white settlers in the early 1850's. By the 1970's the Lamford Forest Products mill, which was established by a local entrepreneur in the early 1940s, had become Sooke's largest employer, employing 400 workers in three shifts (Sooke Region Museum, 1999). Sooke also had a number of smaller scale operations. By the 1980's however, volatile market conditions were having their impact on Sooke's forestry companies. Similarly, a decline in timber availability was forcing logging crews to drive farther and farther into the watersheds to harvest logs. The closure of the Lamford Forest Products Mill by 1990 was a symbol of the "waning days of the mighty forestry industry" (Sooke

Region Museum, 1999, p.355). Sooke's response to job loss in the forestry sector has been fairly passive in comparison to other municipalities on the Island. There have been few large-scale economic development initiatives and the community has largely relied on its proximity to Victoria and eco-tourism opportunities associated with its natural features to keep the community viable. The following sections provide an in depth look at the development of Sooke.

Figure 11: the location of Sooke

Source: www.tourismvictoria.com

5.3.1 The history of the forestry industry in Sooke

The history of the forest products industry in Sooke begins in 1849 when Captain Walter C. Grant, the areas first white settler, built a small, water powered sawmill at the mouth of the Veitch Creek, which empties into the Sooke Basin (Lawrence, 1959; Sooke Region Museum, 1999). Grant's mill was "the second lumber mill to be built on Vancouver Island, the first having been erected at Millstream in Esquimalt in the previous year" (Lawrence, 1959, p.58). The

timber products produced at this mill were sold primarily to San Francisco and the Sandwich Islands. It was in Sooke that the piles were cut for the first wharf in San Francisco (Lawrence, 1959). Grant, who was a native of Scotland, had arrived to the Sooke area as a surveyor for the Hudson's Bay Company (Acreman et al., 1971). Grant quickly became disillusioned with the isolated country life and the poor returns he was getting on his wood products, and in 1853 he returned to Europe (Lawrence, 1959; Sooke Region Museum, 1999). Grant sold his land and interests in the mill to the John Muir Family; Muir was also an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company. The Muirs operated the water-powered sawmill for only a short period of time. In 1855, they managed to obtain boilers from a wrecked steamer and established a new steam-powered sawmill at a location near the entrance to Sooke Harbour (Lawrence, 1959). While not the first to be built, this sawmill is generally credited with being the first steam-powered sawmill successfully operated in British Columbia (Sooke Region Museum, 1999). The Muir's sawmill was predominantly used to produce ship spars for export.

The Muirs established their operation at a particularly fortunate time (Lawrence, 1999). Until the 1850's the world's supplies of ship spars were derived almost solely from the Baltic. In the fifties however the Baltic forests were becoming rapidly exhausted of trees large enough to mast large vessels (Lawrence, 1959). This historic change was a fortunate factor in the success of the Muir undertaking. The Muirs also benefited from the rapid development of San Francisco during the 1850's. At times the shipping in Sooke Harbour exceeded that of Victoria (Lawrence, 1959). Spars and lumber were shipped to London, Shanghai, Hawaii, and San Francisco (Lawrence, 1959). The Muirs used teams of sweating, heavy oxen as the power source for their logging operations (Sooke Region Museum, 1999). These logging operations took place primarily from a small camp only a few miles from the Muirs Sooke home (Sooke Region Museum, 1999). The logs were floated to the mill to be sawn. The finished spars and lumber were then loaded on scows and towed out to the ships that lay in deeper water along Whiffin Spit (Sooke Region Museum, 1999). The loaded vessels were then towed around the narrow water passage at the end of Whiffin Spit that forms a natural breakwater to Sooke Harbour (Lawrence, 1959). Many of Sooke's early pioneers worked for the Muirs falling logs (Sooke Region Museum, 1999). Other early settlers had small entrepreneurial logging operations throughout the Sooke area (Sooke Region Museum, 1999).

In 1968 the Muir mill was enlarged to meet a substantial increase in export demand for timber (Lawrence, 1959). All was going well until June 17th, 1875 when a brush fire set the mill ablaze (Lawrence, 1959). The mill and its contents were leveled to the ground. The mill was quickly rebuilt and equipped with both steam and water power machinery. In 1878-1879 the whole operation was again moved and rebuilt to a site near the government wharf on Sooke Harbour (Lawrence, 1959).

Between 1870 and 1892 the lumbering industry in Sooke grew progressively less profitable (Lawrence, 1959). Sooke operations could not compete with the vast mills established at Alberni, Puget Sound and Burrard Inlet, which had an advantage in respect to timber supply, transportation, and labor (Lawrence, 1959). Correspondingly, the market for spars was fast disappearing in an age of iron and steam, and average wages in the lumbering industry were increasing (Lawrence, 1959). The Muirs turned to shingles, staves and boxes in an attempt to stay afloat but the sawmill eventually closed in 1892 (Lawrence, 1959). For the next several years, the forests around Sooke saw no local exploitation.

In 1902 the federal government allowed applications for fish trap sites in area waters, and by 1904, a Sooke fish trap industry was well underway (Sooke Region Museum, 1999). Originally there were about two-dozen outfits in Sooke, with traps dotted along the coastline. The field was eventually narrowed down to just one company, J.H. Todd and Sons, who amalgamated with a Port Townsend Group, and became Sooke Harbour Fishing and Packing Company in 1922 (Sooke Region Museum, 1999). The fish traps industry under the Sooke Harbour Fishing and Packing Company became "the mainstay of Sooke's economy for almost fifty years" (Sooke Region Museum, 1999, p.152).

By the early 1900s logging interests in nearby Jordan River were beginning to awaken. The "fertile side hills of the Jordan watershed produced the statuesque trees that attracted businessmen looking for investment followed by workers looking for jobs" (Sooke Region Museum, 1999, p.186). Several camps started to spring up to house the crews that would carry out the future logging operations. In 1907 logging officially began and "within a year, pick and

shovel work had built one and one half miles of standard gauge railway grade; a Climax locomotive had been shipped in, and 50,000 board feet was being cut each day" (Sooke Region Museum, 1999, p.161). By 1909 it was the Michigan Pacific Lumber Company that controlled the camps and seven miles of logging road (Sooke Region Museum, 1999). The cut was mainly Douglas fir, with some cedar and spruce. Logs were hauled by rail to seaboard, formed into booms and towed to mills in Victoria or other ports for production of lumber (Sooke Region Museum, 1999). The Michigan Pacific Lumber Company logging operations were significant, eventually covering much of the area between Sooke and Jordan River (Sooke Region Museum, 1999).

The Port Renfrew developments inspired some limited interest in Sooke. In 1910, William Charters and W.F. Fraser erected a small sawmill on Sooke Inlet. There were also a number of small logging outfits employing a handful of men. In 1935 Ed Elder developed a much more significant forest enterprise near Muir Creek. Elder logging company was in the forefront of the Sooke industry throughout the 1930s, 1940's and 1950's falling and shipping out Douglas fir for construction requirements in every field (Sooke Region Museum, 1999). Many Sooke district men earned their livelihood working for Elder logging at that time (Sooke Region Museum, 1999).

The forestry industry in Sooke really began to take off after World War II. The most significant development was initiated by local entrepreneur Harry Helgesen who returned from the war to start Sooke Sawmills on a piece of family property near Helgesen Road (Sooke Region Museum, 1999). Before long his enterprise took off; he took in a partner, Bill Grunow, and the two stared what would become a "flourishing sawmill empire" (Sooke Region Museum, 1999, p.281). Another example of a successful forest products company established during this period was Butler Brothers. The three brothers got stated logging on their own timber sale property supplying Douglas fir pilings for the fish traps (Sooke Region Museum, 1999). The Butlers, and their successors who took over from them, gradually expanded to employ over one hundred workers harvesting Douglas fir, red and yellow cedar, spruce, balsam, hemlock, and white pine (Sooke Region Museum, 1999). The company worked in the Leech River area, the upper Jordan River area, the Valentine Mountain area, and part of the upper San Juan (Sooke Region Museum, 1999). The Butler logs were delivered by truck and log boom to Sooke Sawmills and to Victoria

mills, such as Victoria Plywood (Sooke Region Museum, 1999). In later years, with amalgamations and outright purchases, the Butler's enterprise became Pacific Logging Company, then CIP Incorporated, and then Canadian Pacific Forest Products Sooke division. (Sooke Region Museum, 1990, 1999).

Beginning in the 1950's and extending right through the 1970's the forestry industry established itself as the dominant industry in Sooke. It is estimated that by 1971, two – thirds of Sooke's employment was in the forestry sector (Acreman, et al., 1971). The fish trap industry gradually wound down in the 1950's and in 1958 the Sooke Harbour Fishing and Packing Company was shutdown. For many Sooke residents this marked the end of one era and the beginning of a new one (Sooke Region Museum, 1999). In 1951, Harry Helgesen and Bill Grunow moved Sooke Sawmills to a new location on the Goodridge Peninsula. Shortly after, Herschel Smith bought out Harry Helgesen and changed the name of the company to Sooke Forest Products (Sooke Region Museum, 1999). By the 1970's Sooke Forest Products was employing 400 workers, not including a number of locals who worked as tugboat men towing logs for the mill (Sooke Region Museum, 1999). The number of small operations all grew substantially in number during this period. The success of the forest industry meant prosperity in Sooke. The community saw the establishment of new infrastructure, new services, and new recreational facilities; and the population grew steadily (Acreman et al., 1971).

5.3.2 The Decline of the Industry since 1980

By the 1980's, concerns began to develop over the future of the forestry industry in Sooke. Logging crews were spending up to two hours morning and evening to reach their worksites (Sooke Region Museum, 1999). Correspondingly, the recession of the early 1980's, and resultant collapse of the lumber market, meant serious financial problems for Sooke's forestry companies. By 1980, Sooke Forest Products mill was carrying a debt load of nearly $50 million, some of which was assumed earlier to pay for a major modernization program which made the mill one of the most efficient in North America (Canada Employment and Immigration Advisory Council, 1987). In 1984, the company was unable to meet its debt obligations. The bank withdrew its support and the mill was forced to close. An interim agreement was reached with the bank to allow the mill to reopen just long enough to permit the processing and sale of its existing

inventory (Canada Employment and Immigration Advisory Council, 1987). This was completed in 1984 and the company was placed in receivership (Canada Employment and Immigration Advisory Council, 1987). For several months, the bank attempted to sell the mill but no suitable buyers were found. The lack of a buyer, and no signs that assistance would ever come from the federal government to prevent the mill from permanently shutting down, caused the International Woodworkers of America (IWA) union to take surprising action. The union took 100% ownership of the operation and the company, which was renamed to Lamford Forest Products, became totally owned by its employees (Canada Employment and Immigration Advisory Council, 1987). A plan was drawn up which required workers to obtain a $12, 500 share in the new company. Payment for the shares came from a 25 per cent withholding from wages and salaries until the target amount was reached (Canada Employment and Immigration Advisory Council, 1987). After a pause of 15 months, the mill resumed production and all but 45 of the former workers were reemployed (Canada Employment and Immigration Advisory Council, 1987). The mill operated quite efficiently for the next few years but even with its innovative ownership arrangement was unable to draw a profitable return. By 1990, the mill was permanently closed down and all 400 jobs lost.

By the early 1990's the forestry industry had come to a virtual standstill within the Sooke region as writers from the Sooke region museum (1990) describe:

> "No longer does the grinding rumble of the mechanized loader echo through the Sooke hills, no longer do the trucks carry their heavy loads of logs to be processed, no longer do the crummies leave the company yards in the morning, transporting men with lunch buckets ready for the day's work. No longer in fact, does Sooke's largest sawmill, Lamford Forest Products, continue to operate. Dismantling of the mill, its burner, planer and other buildings is almost complete. Canadian Pacific Forest Products, Sooke division, now drastically reduced, is slated to close its local operations at the end of 1990. Western Forest Products, at Jordan River, still logging, has cut back its operations. Small mills and some contract logging operations continue, only a shadow of the mighty forest industry of days gone by. Familiar faces, people who walked among us only recently, have left for work in other places – northern Vancouver Island, or the mainland coast" (p.213).

5.3.3 The community's response

Large scale economic development initiatives to respond to forestry industry jobs losses have not been necessary in Sooke. While employment in the industry declined in the 1980's and early 1990's, the population in Sooke continued to skyrocket. In 1971 Sooke's had an estimated population of 3,600 (Acreman et al., 1971). By 1991 the population had grown to over 8,000[18]. The continual growth of the community during this period was directly associated with Sooke's relatively close proximity to Victoria and attractive oceanfront location. Gradual improvements to the roads and highways connecting Sooke to Victoria made the thirty-seven kilometer commute an acceptable option for many people, especially young families. Similarly, BC transit bus service was extended to Sooke in the 1990's and was offering a number of daily runs (Sooke Region Museum, 1999). As a bedroom community to Victoria, Sooke was able to absorb the shocks associated with declining forestry employment.

5.3.4 Sooke today

The community of Sooke has continued to expand since the 1990's; the present population is approximately 9,305 people[19]. The majority of the community's workforce is employed in the public administration (17.3%), retail trade (12.8%), and health care (12.2%) sectors; only 1.8% of the workforce is employed in the logging and forest products industries[20]. Sooke's current unemployment rate of 7.0% is considerably less the provincial average of 8.5%[21]. Many Sooke residents continue to commute to their jobs in the Victoria area, but there has been growth in the number of home-based businesses. The population in Sooke is relatively young in comparison to many other Vancouver Island communities including both of the other case studies involved in this research project. The over 65 population in Sooke makes up approximately 12.7% of residents which is slightly less than the provincial average of 13.6% (Figure 12).

[18] Based on BC Stats estimates
[19] Based on BC Stats Estimates
[20] Based on BC Stats Estimates
[21] Based on BC Stats Estimates

Figure 12: Sooke Age Distributions

Sooke (District Municipality) Age and Gender - 2001 Census				
	Sooke		% Distribution	
	Male	Female	Sooke	BC
All ages	4,270	4,465	100.0	100.0
0 - 14	945	855	20.5	18.1
15 - 24	490	515	11.6	13.2
25 - 44	1,250	1,380	30.1	30.1
45 - 64	1,080	1,115	25.1	25.1
65 +	510	600	12.7	13.6

Source: Statistics Canada 2001 Census

Sooke's location on the southwest coast of Vancouver Island has recently attracted a number of visitors searching for ecotourism opportunities. Sooke is the gateway to popular outdoor destinations such as the West Coast Trail, the Juan de Fuca Marine Trail, and the Galloping Goose Trail. Sooke also has a number of its own popular parks and beaches including, the Sooke Potholes Provincial Park, the Sooke River Flats, Whiffin Spit Park, East Sooke Park, French Beach, and China Beach. A number of local businesses have developed in Sooke which offer visitors a variety of outdoor recreation possibilities such as charter fishing, crabbing, whale watching, hiking, mountain biking, and sea kayaking. Sooke is considered by many local residents to be the bed and breakfast capital of British Columbia; it is estimated that there are approximately 70 bed and breakfast establishments in the Sooke region. All of these bed and breakfasts are unique, ranging in their décor and atmosphere. Other types of accommodations included campgrounds, RV parks, rental cottages, motels, and resort inns

Plate 6: Whiffin Spit Park and Beach area

Sooke has limited heritage or historic attractions with the only notable one being the Sooke Region Museum. The Sooke Region Museum, which is also a visitor information centre, has both indoor and outdoor exhibits which capture the development of Sooke from the first aboriginal people right though to the present day, including many artifacts which depict Sooke's history in the farming, fishing and forestry industries. The Sooke Region Museum is also the home of the Moss Cottage which is an old pioneer home originally constructed in 1870.

Plate 7: Sooke Region Museum

Sooke has a growing number of artisans, artists, and craftspeople who have their own workshops and studios, and whose work is displayed in local gift shops located in the commercial core. Every year, during the first week in August, Sooke hosts a Fine Arts show, where local art can is displayed and purchased. During the spring and summer, join in the fun at the Sooke. There is

also a small community theatre which puts on a variety of musicals, plays, and other local performances.

A noteworthy incident that recently transpired in Sooke was the official cancellation of 'All Sooke Day' in 2003. This traditional event had been hosted annually in the community for over 70 years. The first All Sooke Day was billed as a "Celebration of the Progress of Sooke" in 1934. It was held to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the discovery of gold in the region and the 1864 origin of metal mining (Wark, 2002). The format at the time was "like a community picnic with events such as egg and spoon races and greased pole climbing" (Wark, 2002). By 1936, about 6,000 people were attending the event, which "served up a ton of barbecued spring salmon at the Sooke Flats" (Wark, 2002). The All Sooke Day name was adopted in 1940. During the war years the day was not held but in order to keep the date open dances were held in the community hall, which opened in 1937 (Wark, 2002). The event held the first Canadian championship for logging sports in 1966 which was a reflection of the significance of the forestry industry at the time (Wark, 2002). Since that time logging sports became a highly anticipated and popular part of the festivities. In 2002, about 5,100 people turned out for the event; this was an increase of about 1,000 people from 2001. The organizing committee decided to cancel the event in 2003 arguing it had "become outdated, cumbersome and financially inefficient to operate" (Wark, 2002). The future of the event is uncertain.

Further growth and development of the Sooke area has been hindered by the fact that the community is still on a septic system. In April 2004, Sooke Council approved a partnership with the company EPCOR, to manage the design and construction of a 26 km sewage collection system and a 3000m^3/day secondary wastewater treatment plant to service the Sooke core area. Council also approved an initial 3-year agreement with EPCOR to operate the system.

5.4 Port Alberni, British Columbia

Port Alberni is located in the Alberni Valley at the head of the Alberni Inlet in the heart of Vancouver Island (Peterson, 1994). It is 195 kilometers north-west of Victoria and 84 kilometers north-west of Nanaimo. The largest of the three case study communities, the City of Port Alberni is the product of two 'Twin Cities', Alberni and Port Alberni, which amalgamated on October

28, 1957 (Peterson, 1994). Alberni was historically a rural farming community which served the outlying areas of Cherry Creek, Beaver Creek and Sproat Lake (Peterson, 1994). Its neighbor Port Alberni, which fronted the Alberni Inlet, "had the industrial tax base, with a busy deep sea port" serving both fishing and forestry needs, and "several sawmills scattered along the waterfront" (Peterson, 1994, p 13). In the 1950's through the 1970's, Port Alberni evolved as a classic forestry dependant company town. Macmillan Bloedel was its' dominant employer with a pulp and paper mill, a plywood mill, and multiple sawmills (Marchak, 1999). By the 1970's, around 50 percent of Port Alberni's employment base was tied directly to the forest sector (Hayter, 2000). Port Alberni grew impressively under Fordism in the 1960's and 1970's to become one of the highest income communities in Canada (Hayter, 2000). This period of success ended quickly when the 1980s recession hit. Macmillan Bloedel significantly downsized its operations. Between 1980 and 1990 approximately 2200 permanent jobs were lost in Port Alberni (Hayter, 2000; Hayter et al., 1994). The recession in 1991 again provided the context for losses of over 500 jobs (Hayter, 2000). Further job losses were seen in the late 1990s (Hayter et al., 1994). Port Alberni's response can be divided primarily into two main strategies; the establishment of a number of organizations, and the promotion of small business activity in tourism and retailing (Hayter, 2000). The following sections look more closely at the Port Alberni case.

Figure 13: the location of Port Alberni

Source: www.tourismvictoria.com

5.4.1 The history of the forestry industry in the Alberni Valley

The Alberni Valley's long history in forestry begins in 1859 when an English shipmaster, Captain Edward Stamp, started a campaign to "establish a first-class sawmill in the Colony of Vancouver Island" (Peterson, 1992, p.27). Stamp had been to the Pacific Coast four years earlier and had seen several mills in the Puget Sound area prospering from the California gold rush (Peterson, 1992). Eventually he was able to convince two London based shipping companies, Thomas Bilbe & Company and James Thomson & Company, to support him in construction of the project. Both of these companies agreed to the endeavor "partly because they also built ships and feared the impending civil war in the USA would cut off their supplies of southern pine" (Peterson, 1992, p. 27). Beginning on June 29, 1860, workmen and machinery arrived in the Alberni Inlet to start construction of the mill. With them was Gilbert Malcolm Sproat; a representative for James Thomson & Company. Stamp and Sproat purchased 2,000 acres for the

purpose of settlement and 15,000 acres of timber limits in exchange for about twenty pounds in goods (Peterson, 1992). The sawmill was named after the Anderson family, who owned James Thomas & Company. The mill was capable of cutting about 18,000 feet of lumber daily and employed about seventy workers (Peterson, 1992). The Anderson mill had some advantages over similar mills in the Puget Sound. Alberni's location on the "outside coast of the island allowed navigators to avoid the delay in journeying in and of the Strait of Juan de Fuca and Admiralty Inlet" (Peterson, 1992, p. 31). Despite these advantages, the Anderson sawmill was short lived. By 1863-64 all suitable trees on the timber reserve had been harvested. The lack of mechanization in the industry made all the timber not adjacent to bodies of water inaccessible for commercial purposes (Peterson, 1992). Unable to access enough timber to remain profitable the mill finally closed in April, 1864 (Barnes et al., 1999).

In 1891, "when the population of Alberni was 191 or about sixty five farm families, a second industrial venture came to the Alberni Valley" (Peterson, 1992 p. 76). Herbert Carmichael, a resident of Victoria and founder of British Columbia Manufacturing Co. Ltd., set out to build British Columbia's first paper mill on the banks of Alberni's Somass River (Peterson, 1992). The paper machine, which was driven by a twenty-five horsepower turbine, produced its first finished paper on July 24, 1894 (Peterson, 1992). At that time paper was made by cutting rags, old clothing, and ropes into short lengths and then cooking them to form a globular mass which was then bleached and run thorough heavy rollers to drying cylinders. (Peterson, 1992). The Alberni paper mill continually suffered from an inability to acquire an adequate supply of rags. As an alternative, the operators tried everything including ferns, manilla rope and wood. The first wood pulp was actually made on October 1, 1894, but it was not sufficiently enough quality to become a saleable product (Peterson, 1992). Production at the mill was limited to wrapping paper and in 1896 was forced to shut-down.

Over the next few years a number of small sawmill operators earned a living supplying lumber to "build the first houses, stores, mines and farms in the Alberni Valley" (Peterson, 1992, p.114). Technology was limited during these early days and much of the work was done by manpower, oxen and horses. After the "fallers cut the tree downs, a two-man team using a crosscut saw bucked them into lengths and then chained the lengths together" (Peterson, 1992, p.30). The logs

were hooked up to oxen and driven to the mill site along 'corduroy roads' or 'skid roads' (Peterson, 1992). These roads were "built by laying logs across the roads, much in the same manner as ties laid for railroads" (Peterson, 1992, p.114). A man carrying a bucket of fish oil would walk ahead splashing the skid logs with grease (Peterson, 1992).

In 1904, the Barclay Sound cedar company was established at the future site of the Alberni Pacific Division of Macmillan Bloedel. Daily production of lumber and shingles began in 1905 with a crew of ten men (Peterson, 1992). It pumped out 25,000 board feet of lumber per day, enough for two average sized homes (Peterson, 1992). The mill sold its products primarily to Vancouver and Victoria. In 1908, after three prosperous years of operation, the Barclay Sound Cedar Company sold their interests in the mill to Carlin, Meredith and Gibson.

In September 1910 the Barclay Sound Cedar Company of Port Alberni merged with three other companies to form the Canadian Pacific Lumber Company and had its head office in Vancouver. The new company announced that it would build a large export mill at Port Alberni. The new mill would handle a large amount of the oriental and Pacific trade in addition to shipping direct to the northwest and eastern Canada (Peterson, 1992). The first shipment from the new sawmill was made June 22, 1912 (Peterson, 1992). Peterson (1992) describes this moments as a "red-letter day for Port Alberni, as it marked the dawn of the forest industry" (p. 224). Within a year of operation, an unexpected opportunity came to the Canadian Pacific Lumber Company. Immigrants "were arriving in Canada in the thousands, and many were heading for Canada's wheat belt" (Peterson, 1992, p.224). The increased demand for building materials on the prairies created a tremendous demand for BC lumber. That same year, in anticipation of increased export business, the Canadian Pacific Lumber Company announced that a new wharf would be built at Port Alberni to handle large ocean vessels (Peterson, 1992).

For a time, it looked as though the forestry industry was about to take off, especially considering the Panama Canal was scheduled to open in August 1914, and orders were "already being placed for BC lumber to be shipped via the canal to Toronto for a large harbor project underway in that city" (Peterson, 1992, p.225). On August 4, 1914, however, war was declared, and the Canadian Pacific Lumber mill was shut down. The outbreak of war disrupted shipping and closed export

markets, the collapse of the prairie market further reduced demand for BC lumber (Peterson, 1992).

The closure of the mill was only temporary. On February 25, 1916, the Canadian Pacific Lumber Company was leased by a Seattle syndicate. Howard Dent and A.W. Mylroie, both from Seattle, announced they had taken over the property and promised to reopen the mill (Peterson, 1992). The mill, now renamed the Alberni Pacific Lumber Company (APL), was running at full capacity on March 10, 1916 (Peterson, 1992). The Wiest logging company, a family owned operation, began the logging operation that would supply the mill with logs (Peterson, 1992).

Within two years, three other significant forestry operations had been established in Port Alberni. In 1916, Howard Dent purchased the Port Alberni Lumber Company mill (which had opened as a small operation in the spring of 1913) and converted it into a shingle mill (Dent Shingle Company). The mill which produced about 100,000 shingles per day was later sold to Harris and Squires from Vancouver in 1919 (Peterson, 1992). In 1917, the George Bird sawmill, which had been idle for five years was leased by D. Burgess of South Vancouver who overhauled the mill to meet requirements of a four line shingle plant; he also added a dry kiln. The mill became know as the Acme Shingle Co (Peterson, 1992). In 1918, the city of Port Alberni leased a portion of the Coal Creek ravine to R.L. Fraser of Alberni for another sawmill with a capacity of forty thousand feet per day, called the Coal Creek Lumber Company. This operation employed about twenty five workers in the mill and another forty in the logging camp. (Peterson, 1992).

The waterfront in Port Alberni was a very busy place in the summer of 1918. Stretched out “like an industrial ribbon along the Alberni Inlet were the Alberni Pacific Lumber Company sawmill, Dent’s shingle mill, the Acme Shingle Company, plus Fraser’s’ new sawmill, the Coal Creek Lumber Company. On the surrounding hillsides, and along the Inlet, were various logging camps cutting deep into the forest to feed the mills” (Peterson, 1992, p.269). Besides rapidly expanding, the forest industry had also undergone some major changes. No longer were oxen used to get the logs out of the woods; steam engines now did the work (Peterson, 1992).

In March, 1918, The Bainbridge Lumber Co., began sawmill operations in at Bainbridge station, about six miles from Port Alberni. The mill was considered modern in every way. It cut the finest grade of big timber suitable for ship building and was equipped to handle very large logs. Bainbridge mill originally employed around eighty-men and could cut from 75,000 to 80,000 feet a day (Peterson, 1992). 20 percent went to Victoria for shipbuilding other orders went to eastern and American markets (Peterson, 1992).

Beginning in 1925 three new sawmills were established in the Alberni Valley. These included the Great Lake sawmill, the R.B. McLean sawmill and the Sproat Lake sawmill. This was a time of growth in the forest industry and "great tracts of timber saw the loggers axe for the first time" (Peterson, 1994, p. 54). The Great Central Lake sawmill was built by Bloedel, Stewart and Welsh, well-known contractors in the area in association with the King-Farris Lumber Company which operated a mill in Vancouver (Peterson, 1994). In operation by 1925, The Great Central Lake sawmill employed 160 men and cut a capacity of 40,000 and 50,000 feet per eight hour shift (Peterson, 1994). Around the same time as the Great Central Lake sawmill, Cloverdale lumberman Robert Bartlet Mclean constructed a sawmill in the Beaver Creek district. The McLean mill which had a cutting capacity of around 25,000 feet per day included a log pond which was produced by diverting the waters of Kitsuksis creek (Peterson, 1994). The Sproat Lake sawmill was built in 1927 by Collins and Greene of New Westminster, at the present site of the Flying Tankers, at Kleecot. The small camp around the mill consisted of "an office for single men, bunkhouses, a cookhouse, a store, and houses for married men" (Peterson, 1994, p.60).

The 1930's was a difficult period for the Alberni Valley forestry industry. The depression, in addition to strikes in the logging camps, created turmoil in the industry. The situation culminated in 1934 when striking loggers "walked from Parksville to the Great Central Lake sawmill calling for increased wages, establishment of unions, and the improvement in working conditions in the logging camps"; this event was later known as the 'Great Trek' (Peterson, 1994, p.133). Fortunately, the strikes did not last long. Shortly after the 'Great Trek, the workers agreed to a minimum wage set out by the Minimum Wage Board of $3.20 a day and went back at work (Peterson, 1994).

In 1933, Bloedel, Stewart and Welch announced they would construct a new sawmill in Port Alberni. The Somass sawmill, which began operations in 1935, was judged to be the most modern and up-to-date sawmill of its kind on the Pacific Coast (Peterson, 1994). With the establishment of the Somass mill, Port Alberni became second only to Vancouver as the main lumber exporter in British Columbia (Peterson, 1994).

In 1936, the Alberni Pacific Lumber mill was purchased by H.R. Macmillan Export Company for four million dollars (Peterson, 1994). The Albernis had "never seen such an economic boom" (Peterson, 1994, p.153). The "Somass sawmill , the take over of Alberni Pacific Lumber Co. by Macmillan, Great Central Lake, Sproat Lake and the R.D. MacLean sawmill, as well as the related logging activity, provided a much needed shot in the arm for the two towns suffering from the Great depression" (Peterson, 1994, p.153).

The Second World War brought its own form of prosperity to the forest industry. Mills in Port Alberni "broke all production records with lumber shipped to Great Britain through the Panama Canal and by rail east to the Atlantic Ports "(Peterson, 1994, p.184). In 1941, British Columbia Plywoods, a Vancouver based company owned by H.R. Macmillan exports Co., began construction of a plywood mill in Port Alberni. British Columbia Plywoods could not keep up with their demand for plywood with only a Vancouver location (Peterson, 1994). The new Port Alberni mill was located just to the south of the Alberni Pacific Lumber Co. sawmill and cost ½ million dollars (Peterson, 1994). The "huge wooden plant building stretched out across the waterfront" and in 1942 hired 100 men and 100 women. (Peterson, 1994, p.185). With the two plants, "British Columbia Plywoods became one of the largest producers of plywood in the British Empire" (Peterson, 1994, p.185).

In 1945, Bloedel, Stewart and Welch began construction on a $5-million pulp mill on a large low peninsula called Lupsi Cupsi in Port Alberni (Peterson, 1994). The mill was "unique in Western Canada as it depended for raw materials entirely on the by-product of lumber manufactured from the Somass sawmill" (Peterson, 1994, p.206). The company "had realized early the tremendous amount of wood waste resulting from the sawmill operation" (Peterson, 1994, p.206). The first pulp manufactured in Port Alberni was shipped to Britain in 1947. The pulp mill created an

unpleasant smell throughout the Alberni Valley which residents often referred to as the 'smell of money' (Peterson, 1994, p.207). Paper machines were introduced at the mill in 1957.
In the late forties and early fifties the forestry industry produced like never before. Port Alberni "could now boast having two of BC largest and up to date sawmills, a plywood plant second to none in the province, and a pulp mill" (Peterson, 1994, p.208). Logging operations "cut higher in the mountains to feed the mils that sat on the waterfront waiting to devour ever-precious logs" (Peterson, 1994, p. 269). In 1951 the H.R. Macmillan Export Company merged with Bloedel, Stewart and Welch. The new company Macmillan & Bloedel Limited became the second largest lumber and pulp producer in the world, surpassed only by the giant Weyerhaeuser in the USA (the company would later merge with the Powell River Company Limited in 1959) (Peterson, 1994).The first expansion of the new company favored the plywood plant, creating 100 new jobs. A further expansion created another 450 new jobs (Peterson, 1994). The Great Central Lake sawmill closed, its 248 workers merged into the expanding Somass Division (Peterson, 1994). Macmillan & Bloedel Limited also changed the nature of operations in the early 50's by shifting from railroad logging to truck logging (Peterson, 1994).

Through the 1950-1970s, Port Alberni consistently ranked among the top ten Canadian communities in terms of per capita income (Hayter, 2000; Marchak, 1999). The tremendous wealth was directly related to forestry. Macmillan Bloedel's extensive operations provided an abundance of high paying, unionized employment for several Port Alberni residents.

5.4.2 The crisis of job loss since 1980

Since the recession in the 1980's, Port Alberni's "stability has been threatened by relentless downsizing of Macmillan Bloedel's operations" (Hayter, 2000, p. 299). Job losses occurred primarily in the 1980s, again in the early 1990's and once more in early 1998 (Hayter, 2000). By 1997, Macmillan Bloedel had laid off about 2,600 workers or about 50 percent of its 1980 workforce in the Port Alberni region (Hayter, 2000). All of the workers were unionized; the layoffs were organized by seniority. The job losses have occurred in all phases of Macmillan Bloedel's operations in Port Alberni, as seen in Table 11.

Table 11: Macmillan Bloedel's Port Alberni forest-product complex: Employment levels, 1980, 1986, 1991, 1996, 1998

	1980	1986	1991	1996	1998
Woodlands	1,700	1,090	1,060	835	
Somass sawmill	1,064	588	509	450	341
Alberni Pacific Division sawmill	650	533	476	541	397
Plywood Mill	450	377	0	0	0
Pulp and Paper	1,522	1,316	1,340	958	868

Note: In 1998, the pulp-and-paper operations were controlled by Pacifica

Source: Hayter, 2000 p. 300

The Plywood mill

Even before the recession of the 1980s, the viability of plywood manufacture in Port Alberni was being threatened by competition from cheaper particleboard (Barnes & Hayter, 1994). To offset losses, Macmillan Bloedel implemented cost-cutting measures especially with respect to labor and some new technology. In spite of these measures the facility was eventually sold to employees (Barnes & Hayter, 1994). The operation finally failed in 1991 with the loss of 370 jobs (Barnes & Hayter, 1994).

The Somass sawmill

The Somass cedar mill when it was originally built in 1935, cut fir, pine and yellow and red cedar, for Commonwealth markets (Hayter, 2000). By the 1980s the Somass division, which had grown to include a shingle mill and two sawmills, was unprofitable. In 1981, the 1,130 employees were reduced to 320; the shingle mill was closed and employment in the sawmills was reduced to one shift per day (Hayter, 2000). Since then, the division has specialized in western red cedar, which serves a wider range of markets and emphasizes value maximization (Hayter, 2000). About $37 million has been invested to accommodate the shift in focus (Hayter et al., 1994). The Somass Division can potentially produce 300 different red cedar products (Hayter, 2000). Production emphasizes “high-priced moldings, beveled sidings and paneling, and the full use of wood fiber, including making low-priced products such as sawdust bricks” (Hayter, 2000 p. 134). By 1996, “about 50 percent of the division’s workforce was part of job rotation schemes in an effort to enhance the goal of job flexibility” (Hayter, 2000, p.134).

The Pulp and Paper mill

By the 1970's, the Port Alberni pulp and paper mill was producing vast tonnages of standardized newsprint, smaller amounts of market pulp, and had a paperboard line. The newsprint was almost exclusively sold to the United States; the paperboard supplied Macmillan Bloedel plants in the United Kingdom and the United States (Hayter, 2000). Restructuring since the 1980's has involved a shift from commodity production to the flexible production of specialty papers (Hayter, 2000). Both the paperboard line and the related Kraft pulp supply line have been shut down. The use of Kraft pulp as an input to papermaking has been replaced by the higher yielding more environmentally friendly chemi-thermo-mechanical pulp (CTMP) which requires significantly less labor to produce. Ownership of the mill has changed hands twice, first from Macmillan Bloedel to Pacifica Papers Inc. in 1998, and then to NorskeCanada in 2001. The current mill operates two paper machines to produce telephone directory paper and one paper machine to produce lightweight coated paper for magazines, catalogues, flyers, and airline schedules. The reconfiguration in the pulp and paper mill has resulted in the loss of over 600 jobs since 1980.

Alberni Pacific Division sawmill

In 1998, Macmillan Bloedel "invested $10 million in the Alberni Pacific Division sawmill to achieve higher value recovery from its fiber base, principally hemlock (80% of the total) and Douglas fir" (Barnes & Hayter, 1994, p.301). The market focus has shifted primarily towards Japan; by 1980 about 80% of exports went to Japan (Barnes & Hayter, 1994). Labor has been reduced significantly from over 600 workers in 1980 to less than 400 by 1998.

The Woodlands

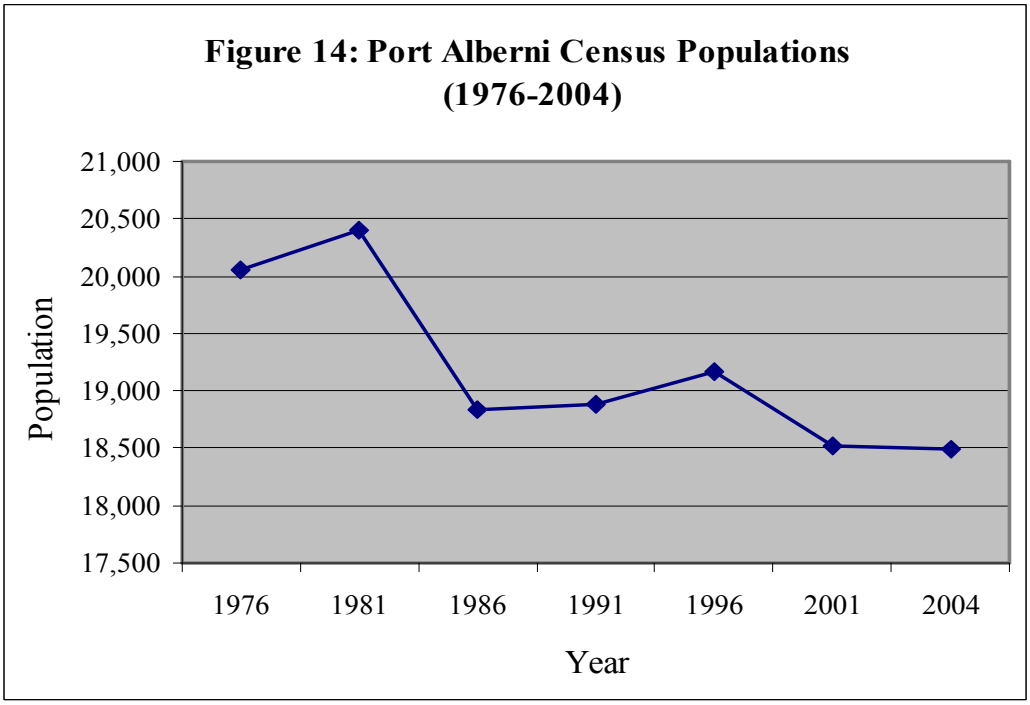
Downsizing in the mills in Port Alberni has been accompanied by a significant reduction in logging operations. Job losses out in the woods have been associated with the decline of available mature timber in the region, as well as increased mechanization (Marchak, 1999). Over 600 jobs were lost in Macmillan Bloedel's Alberni Valley logging operations between 1980 and 1998.

The downsizing of Macmillan Bloedel's operations beginning in the 1980's left Port Alberni with an immediate crisis. The community faced unemployment rates much higher than Provincial averages (Table 12). Those who did find jobs outside the forestry sector most certainly earned lower wages (Hayter, 2000). Several residents left Port Alberni in search of alternative employment sources; between 1981 and 1986 the population dropped by over 1500 people (Figure 14). The period of relative stability that the community had faced in the 1960's and 1970's had clearly come to an end, and alternative sources of employment needed to be found.

Table 12: Unemployment and labor force participation rates, BC and Port Alberni, 1981, 1986, 1991 and 1996

	1981		1986		1991		1996	
	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males
Unemployment rates								
Port Alberni	13.7	7.3	21.5	14.8	15.6	13.5	14.1	13.7
BC	7.7	5.6	13.4	12.9	10.5	10.1	8.7	9
Participation rates								
Port Alberni	47.8	83.3	41.5	74.2	50.4	74.5	49.8	67.2
BC	52.7	78.3	55.5	76.2	59.9	75.6	58.6	72.6

Source: Hayter, 2000, p. 300



Source: BC Stats census profiles

5.4.3 The community's response

Port Alberni's response to the job loss crisis beginning in the 1980s has come primarily in two forms. First, has been the establishment of a number of organizations. These organizations, which are summarized in Table 13, have varied in terms of mandate and funding. Some of the organizations were established to search out and coordinate new economic initiatives; others were set up to provide a support network for laid off workers and their families. Funding has come from various sources including the Federal, Provincial, and Municipal government; there has also been private funding and some organizations were established on a volunteer basis.

Table 13: Community initiatives in support of diversification in Port Alberni

Organization	Mandate and funding
Economic Development Commission, 1978	Promote and coordinate economic development; initially funded jointly by federal and provincial governments, later largely municipally funded (80 percent)

Community Futures Committee, 1987	Federally funded, its seven-year term was renewed in 1998; develop economic programs and strategies
Alberni-Clayoquot Development Society, 1987	Operating arm of Community Futures; loans and grants help businesses startup
Alberni Valley Cottage Industry Society, 1986	A voluntary society to help those on social assistance and unemployment insurance get temporary job experience
Port Alberni Adjustment Committee, 1991	Began as a joint venture between IWA union and Macmillan Bloedel; received funding from MB and then from federal government under the Industry and Labor Adjustment Program (ILAP) to train and provide assistance to laid off workers
Port Alberni Strong Community Program, 1990-91	A voluntary group established to prepare a vision statement for the community
Port Alberni Commercial Enhancement Society, 1991	Develop and implement plans to renovate commercial areas of the city; funding of a part time director from a local merchant tax and Province

Source: Hay, 1993, cited in Hayter, 2000, p. 310

The second form of response in Port Alberni has been the pursuit of a variety of projects aimed at capturing the 600,000 visitors that pass Port Alberni on their way to the west coast of Vancouver Island every year (Hayter, 2000). Tremendous effort has gone into emphasizing Port Alberni's sport fishing industry. The City of Port Alberni has always attracted salmon fishing enthusiasts; rivaling Campbell River as British Columbia's "chief sports salmon centre" (Hayter, 2000, p.312). Recent advertising efforts have gone into promoting Port Alberni as the "Salmon Capital of the World". Every year the community hosts a 3-day "Salmon Festival" on Labor Day weekend which includes a salmon derby with prize money available. There have also been attempts to extend this activity by establishing a secluded resort hotel at the mouth of Alberni Inlet and promoting fresh-water fishing (Hayter, 2000).

Another project initiated in Port Alberni has been the redevelopment of the Harbor Quay area. Located at the end of Argyle Street and fronting the Alberni Inlet, the Harbor Quay is a much improved area for tourists. The site provides excellent views of the inlet and of the commercial fishing fleet, large shipping vessels, and pleasure craft that occupy the surrounding marina. The

area also includes a large clock tower, a water park for kids, restaurants, catering services, and an open air mall for gifts, souvenirs, and local arts and crafts.

Plate 8: Harbor Quay

Port Alberni's signature project has been the development of the McLean Mill National Historic site. The McLean Mill, which is located eleven kilometers from the town centre, was closed down in 1965. The property sat idle until the early 1980s when some interest emerged among local residents to renovate it and create a tourist attraction. In 1991, David Lowe, a long time volunteer and a founding member of the Western Vancouver Island Industrial Heritage Society, joined the staff of the McLean Mill project (Hayter, 2000). Expertise within the community was utilized to reconstruct old structures as originally designed and to make the steam-powered sawmill operational (Hayter, 2000). Several structures surrounding the mill including the mill pond, residences, offices, and services buildings, along with a variety of equipment including logging trucks, graders, and lumber carriers, have also been restored. As it is the only steam-powered sawmill in operation in Canada, the McLean was designated as a national historic site in

1994. While visiting the McLean Mill tourists are given the opportunity to watch the steam-powered sawmill cut wood for demonstration and sale. There is also a theatre group that puts on short skits reflecting the traditional way-of-life of workers at the sawmill. In terms of job creation, the McLean Mill is a small development. At any given time, there are no more than about 20 employees, some of which are full-time, but also part-time and seasonal (Hayter, 2000). The long-term viability of the project remains uncertain but "symbolizes the extent of local efforts, ingenuity, and growing community participation in local development" (Hayter, 2000, p. 313).

Plate 9: McLean Mill

In association with the McLean Mill project, a steam train ride has also been developed. A 1929 Baldwin ex-logging locomotive has been completely restored and now carries passengers to and from the McLean Mill in the summer months. The track begins at a restored Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) station near the Harbor Quay. The track winds through the City of Port Alberni and also through some of the surrounding forests; the duration of the trip is about 35 minutes.

Plate 10: Restored CPR station and steam train ride

Photo source: Alberni Valley Heritage Network

In addition to the McLean mill and steam train projects, there have been other heritage based tourism initiatives developed in Port Alberni. The Alberni Valley museum contains a variety of artifacts and historic photographs which capture Port Alberni's roots in the logging, fishing, and farming industries. There is also an extensive collection of West Coast native art and folk art. The Maritime Discovery Centre is a unique maritime museum, situated on the waterfront in Harbor Quay. Constructed from a coastal lighthouse, the museum is dedicated to exhibiting and interpreting the Alberni Valley's cultural, environmental and industrial maritime history. Port Alberni has also developed its own small mural project. There are roughly 18 murals scattered around town in different locations. The murals were painted by artists Brad Piatka and Walter Collins and capture some of the history and natural features of Port Alberni. Another venue that has been developed for the display of local and regional art is the Rollin Art Centre. The Rollin Art Centre houses a fine arts gallery, a gift shop, classroom, office, and storage facilities. The facility is surrounded by extensive gardens including a traditional Japanese garden which was a gift from Port Alberni's sister city Abashiri.

Other initiatives that have been pursued in Port Alberni have been associated with sports and outdoor recreation. Port Alberni has hosted four British Columbia Games venues; the 1995 BC Disability Games, the 1992 BC Summer Games, the 1998 BC Seniors Games, and the 2004 BC Winter Games. There is an ongoing plan to develop nearby Mount Arrowsmith as a ski resort. This project has yet to fully materialize.

5.4.4 Port Alberni today

Present day Port Alberni has a population of 18,490 people; a slight decrease from the 2001 number of 18,530[22]. Similar to circumstances in Chemainus, the population in Port Alberni is aging with a large over 65 population (Figure 15). The community continues to battle a high unemployment rate. In 2001, Port Alberni had an unemployment rate of 15.1% which is 6.6% higher than the British Columbia average[23]. The dominant employers continue to be the Alberni Pacific Division and the Somass Division which are now both owned by Weyerhaeuser, as well as the NorskeCanada paper mill.

Figure 15: Port Alberni Age Distributions

Port Alberni (City) Age and Gender - 2001 Census				
	Port Alberni		% Distribution	
	Male	Female	Port Alberni	BC
All ages	8,820	8,920	100.0	100.0
0 - 14	1,715	1,605	18.7	18.1
15 - 24	1,165	1,070	12.6	13.2
25 - 44	2,190	2,295	25.3	30.1
45 - 64	2,390	2,365	26.8	25.1
65 +	1,350	1,590	16.6	13.6

Source: Statistics Canada 2001 Census

[22] Based on BC Stats population estimates
[23] Based on BC Stats estimates

Plate 11: Weyerhaeuser Somass Division and NorskeCanada in Port Alberni

Port Alberni has seen the development of some successful forestry spin-off businesses. An example is Sarita Furniture, which was established in the 1980s by a husband and wife team. This small business actually started out in nearby Bamfield and focused on producing quality cedar garden furniture as its market niche (Hayter, 2000). In 1989 the businesses relocated from Bamfield to Port Alberni because it offered a nearby wood supply. By the early 1990's Sarita Furniture was primarily serving the European market (Hayter, 2000). In 1997-98 the Asian crisis significantly reduced the price of Asian furniture thereby reducing European demand. To increase sales, Sarita diversified its range of cedar products to around twenty five and in 1997 it began a new line of interior furniture products incorporating Native carvings (Hayter, 2000). The idea of the owners was to create a unique 'signature' in Sarita's products that could not be copied and would be in demand (Hayter, 2000). Sales now target specialty stores in the United States that sell medium and high priced furniture. The company has experimented with species diversification including some hemlock-based furniture (Hayter, 2000).

The Coulson Group of Companies provides another example of a forestry spin off business that has been successful. Coulson Forest Products, the parent company, was incorporated in 1960 and acquired its first forest license in 1978. In 1984, the company purchased a second forest license and created Hecate Logging Company, a joint venture with the Ehattesaht First Nations (EFN). In 1987 Coulson purchased its first Sikorsky S-61 helicopter, and established Coulson Aircrane Ltd., a company which focuses on heli-logging, fire fighting, and hydro tower construction. Coulson Aircrane Ltd. now has a fleet of 5 Sikorsky S-61's and has operated throughout the Pacific Northwest, as far north as Alaska, as far south as Southern California, east to Quebec,

and southeast to Colorado. On July 18, 1989, Coulson Aircrane Ltd. designed a revolutionary heli-grappling system to complement its conventional heli-logging program. The grapple has provided greater safety features and has enabled the company to enter dangerous areas that were previously inaccessible. To complement the Coulson Aircrane Ltd. operations, Coulson Aero Technologies was established. Coulson Aero Technologies which focuses on helicopter maintenance and repairs has recently expanded to accommodate commercial and military operators around the world.

Port Alberni continues to search for new tourism based ideas but they have had difficulty attracting investment (Hayter, 2000). Without a large cash injection of public money, as initially happened in Chemainus, development has been slow (Hayter, 2000).

5.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter has provided an in depth look at the transformation of the three case study communities chosen for this research project. The responses to forestry industry downsizing and restructuring from these communities has been diverse and so too has been the range of outcomes. This chapter is the starting point for an in depth investigation into the resultant identity of these places.

CHAPTER 6: RESULTS

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter provided an in depth look at the three case study communities involved in this research study. It was emphasized that historically all three of these communities were highly dependant on the forestry industry. Since the 1980s however, this level of dependency has diminished. The degree to which the forestry industry still impacts these communities varies considerably. In Chemainus, the Weyerhaeuser mill is still a significant employment generator, although its impact is overshadowed by the growing tourism industry which has been stimulated by the mural and dinner theatre projects. In Sooke, the forestry industry has all but disappeared. There are still some small-scale operations but the majority of the residents' are either retired, have home based businesses, or commute to their various jobs in the Victoria area. In Port Alberni, the forestry industry is still the dominant sector, led by Weyerhaeuser's Alberni Pacific Division and Somass Division, as well as the Norske-Canada paper mill, but employment downsizing has been substantial, and as a result the community has begun diversifying its economy into other activities primarily in the tourism and outdoor recreation sectors. In conjunction with economic transition, all three case study communities have witnessed demographic and social change associated with an increased number of retirees and other new residents attracted by the natural beauty and small-town lifestyle of these places as well their proximity to major centers. As a result of all of these changes, the look and feel of these communities, as well as the role that they serve, has been transformed. The purpose of this chapter is to investigate the impact that these changes have had on the identity of these places, and correspondingly, what has been the impact on resident's perceptions of these places. The majority of information presented in this chapter will be based on resident surveys. This survey information will be augmented by the results of personal interviews and review of real-estate guides and advertising media. The results generated in this chapter will form the basis for evaluating the official plan vision statements and policies established for each of the case study communities. This evaluation will take place in Chapter 7.

In this chapter, each case study community will be allocated its own results section. This will allow readers with particular interest in one community to find the information they require

quickly and easily. The investigation will be based on the framework of place identity as established in Chapter 2. Each case study's results section will begin with a brief description of the characteristics of survey respondents. This will be followed by an investigation of resident's satisfaction and level of attachment towards their community. The characteristics which form the identity of the place will then be evaluated based on three of the five components of identity; Physical Setting, Activities and Functions, and the Spirit of Place. As mentioned in Chapter 2, identity can have personal elements and a complete understanding of identity would require the researcher to know the values, perceptions and preferences of each individual. However, this investigation focuses on the common identity or group identity as perceived by residents, and as such, the characteristics of "Individuals and Groups" will be omitted. Since this study deals primarily with resident perceptions of identity and no outsiders were directly involved in the study it is safe to assume the "Meaning" of place (its value), the final component of identity, is predominantly that it is home or in some cases a place of work. No further investigation into the meaning of place will be provided. Each case study's section will conclude with a brief summary of findings. At the end of the Chapter the findings from all three communities will be compared and contrasted.

6.2 Chemainus Results

6.2.1 Chemainus Survey Respondents Characteristics

The Chemainus Place Identity survey generated a slightly disproportionate ratio of female to male participants. Of the 177 total respondents, 111 of them (62.7%) were female. This slight over-representation of females is not of tremendous concern to this study because fifty-six (56) male completed surveys is still a substantial enough number to ensure male viewpoints were adequately represented. Similarly, the survey was distributed to the household, and since 76.2% of the respondents were married, it is likely that several of the female completed surveys may have included input from their husbands. The Chemainus survey generated a very healthy distribution of both long term and short term residents. Long term residents were represented by the sixty-two (62) respondents (35.0%) who had lived in the community for over 20 years. Short term residents were represented by the 77 participants (43.5%) who had lived in Chemainus for less than 10 years. Of the 77 short-term residents, eleven (11) of them (6.2%) had lived in the

community for less than 1 year. The survey included input from residents with a long family history in Chemainus. Twenty-four (24) respondents (13.6%) had parents who lived in the community, 14 respondents (7.9%) had grandparents who lived in the community, and 11 respondents (6.2%) had great grandparents who lived in the community. The majority of the respondents were in the 41-60 age groups (80 respondents). Only 11 participants (6.2%) were under the age of 30, and 60 participants were over the age of 61. This age distribution is appropriate considering that the population in Chemainus is aging, and has a number of retirees, as described in Chapter 5. A significant number of the participants involved in this study (34.5%) were retired, although the majority (59.9%) worked. Only twenty (20) respondents (11.3%) worked in the resources and manufacturing industries; the majority of participants worked in either the services industry (19.2%) or had entrepreneurial businesses (13.0%). Fifty-six (56) respondents (31.6%) actually worked in Chemainus, and 45 respondents (25.4%) commuted. The top two commuter locations were Duncan (33.3% of commuters) and Nanaimo (26.7 % of commuters). Most of the respondents were married with children (65.5%) and had at least a high-school education (82.2%). Some of the respondents had post-secondary education including technical school graduation (5.1%), college diploma (14.1%), university degree (11.9%), or university graduate degree (7.3%). The Chemainus survey respondents were fairly evenly distributed across income brackets, although the highest number of respondents was in the $70,000 (before taxes) and greater bracket; they accounted for 13.0%.of the participants. The average income of respondent households (before taxes) fell within the $50,001 to $60,000 range. This is comparable to the median family income in the North Cowichan area which is $52,762 after taxes[24]. It should be noted that a number of respondents (36.2%) did not answer the income question. The characteristics of the Chemainus survey respondents are summarized in greater detail in Table 14.

Table 14: Characteristics of Chemainus Survey Respondents (N=177)

Duration of residence	N	%	**Work in Chemainus?**	N	%
> 20 years	62	35.0%	Yes	56	31.6%
11-20 years	34	19.2%	No	111	62.7%
6-10 years	32	18.1%	**Commute to work?**		
1/5 years	34	19.2%	Yes	45	25.4%

[24] Based on Statistics Canada 2000 income estimates

< 1 year	11	6.2%	No	65	36.7%
Generations of family in Chemainus			**Employment Category**		
Great Grandparents	11	6.2%	Entrepreneurial Business	23	13.0%
Grandparents	14	7.9%	Services	34	19.2%
Parents	24	13.6%	Resources Industry	17	9.6%
I moved here from somewhere else	120	67.8%	Manufacturing	3	1.7%
Only temporarily living here	1	0.6%	Student	3	1.7%
Gender			Institutional	11	6.2%
Male	62	35.0%	Home Maker	9	5.1%
Female	111	62.7%	Retired	61	34.5%
Age			Unemployed	2	1.1%
19-25	6	3.4%	Other	6	3.4%
26-30	5	2.8%	**Employed in forestry?**		
31-40	23	13.0%	Yes	22	12.4%
41-50	41	23.2%	No	146	82.5%
51-60	39	22.0%	**Ever employed in forestry?**		
61-70	26	14.7%	Yes	36	20.3%
71-80	30	16.9%	No	107	60.5%
Over 80	4	2.3%	**Income (before taxes)**		
Marital Status			Less than $10,000	6	3.4%
Single	18	10.2%	$10,000-$20,000	9	5.1%
Married without children	19	10.7%	$20,001- $30,000	15	8.5%
Married with children	116	65.5%	$30,001- $40,000	15	8.5%
Divorced	14	7.9%	$40,001- $50,000	10	5.6%
Educational Background			$50,001- $60,000	19	10.7%
Some High School	18	10.2%	$60,001- $70,000	16	9.0%
High School Graduate	78	44.1%	More than $70,000	23	13.0%
College Diploma	25	14.1%			
Technical School Graduate	9	5.1%	**TOTAL SURVEYS DELIVERED**		**225**
University Degree	21	11.9%	**TOTAL # OF RESPONSES**		**177**
University Graduate Degree	13	7.3%	**RESPONSE RATE**		**78.7%**
Other	7	4.0%			

6.2.2 Satisfaction with place and attachment to place

The majority of survey respondents in Chemainus demonstrated satisfaction with their community both as a place to live and as a place for others to visit. Out of the 177 completed surveys, 165 participants (93.2%) rated Chemainus as being either a ‘Good’ (50.8%) or ‘Excellent’ (42.4%) place to live, and 156 residents (88.1%) rated Chemainus as also being

either a 'Good' (48.0%) or 'Excellent' (40.1%) place to visit. As a place to work and conduct business residents opinions were somewhat inconsistent. On one hand, sixteen (16) residents (9.0%) rated Chemainus as an 'Excellent' place to work, but on the other, 30 residents (16.9%) rated work in Chemainus as being 'Poor'. Similarly, as a place to conduct business, only 6 residents (3.4%) rated Chemainus as 'Excellent', as compared to the 33 residents (18.6%) who rated the community as being 'Poor'. Despite the fact that the majority of residents rated Chemainus as being in the 'Good' to 'Average' range, both as a place to work and to conduct business, the significant number of negative responses suggests that there is concern in the community over the economy. As one survey participant noted:

> *"It is too bad people think they can move here and make a million. It is a nice community, there are small businesses - but if you really want to work it's a 20 minute drive into the city" (CSR 66).*

Similarly, Interview respondent #4 stated that:

> *"Some work is [in Chemainus] but it is limited, and commuter activity is common."*

A high degree of variability in responses was also found in residents perceptions of Chemainus as a place for recreation and leisure, with 30 participants (16.9%) rating the community as 'Excellent' compared to the 21 residents (11.9%) who rated it as 'Poor'. This finding suggests that some residents feel there is still room for improvement in terms of providing opportunities for recreation. Table 15, provides complete data results for the survey questions relating to residents level of satisfaction with their community. The fact that the mean scores are consistently above the 'Adequate' level demonstrates enthusiasm among residents towards their place.

Table 15: Chemainus respondent's Level of Satisfaction with their community (N=177)

Place to Live								
	Excellent (5)	Good (4)	Adequate (3)	Poor (2)	Very Poor (1)	Don't Know	Didn't Answer	Mean Score
N	75	90	11	0	0	0	1	4.36
%	42.40%	50.80%	6.20%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.60%	
Place to Work								
	Excellent (5)	Good (4)	Adequate (3)	Poor (2)	Very Poor	Don't Know	Didn't Answer	Mean Score

					(1)			
N	16	39	39	30	9	34	10	3.17
%	9.00%	22.00%	22.00%	16.90%	5.10%	19.20%	5.60%	
Place to Visit								
	Excellent (5)	Good (4)	Adequate (3)	Poor (2)	Very Poor (1)	Don't Know	Didn't Answer	Mean Score
N	71	85	18	1	0	2	0	4.29
%	40.10%	48.00%	10.20%	0.60%	0.00%	1.10%	0.00%	
Place to Do Business								
	Excellent (5)	Good (4)	Adequate (3)	Poor (2)	Very Poor (1)	Don't Know	Didn't Answer	Mean Score
N	6	53	60	33	3	17	5	3.17
%	3.40%	29.90%	33.90%	18.60%	1.70%	9.60%	2.80%	
Place for Recreation & Leisure								
	Excellent (5)	Good (4)	Adequate (3)	Poor (2)	Very Poor (1)	Don't Know	Didn't Answer	Mean Score
N	30	70	54	21	1	0	1	3.61
%	16.90%	39.50%	30.50%	11.90%	0.60%	0.00%	0.60%	

A number of participants demonstrated that they are optimistic that Chemainus is heading in the right direction. Sixty-three (63) of the respondents (35.6%) stated that Chemainus had 'Improved a Lot' during their lifetime and an additional 53 participants (29.9%) felt that the community had 'Improved a Little'. Twenty-three (23) respondents (13.0%) felt Chemainus had 'Stayed the Same' and only 16 (9.0%) felt that Chemainus had 'Become Worse (7.9%) or had 'Become a Lot Worse' (1.1%) (refer to Survey Part A: Question 11).

As interview respondent #1 noted:

> *"The closure of the mill and the fact that the new mill employed so many fewer people had a big impact on the people of Chemainus, but the community has responded well."*

Correspondingly, the majority of respondents (41.8%) felt that Chemainus was going to 'Improve a Lot' in the future and an additional 37.9% thought Chemainus was going to 'Improve A Little'. Nine percent (9%) felt Chemainus was going to 'Stay the Same' and only 6.8% felt the community was going to 'Become Worse' (6.2%) or 'Become a Lot Worse' (0.6%) (refer to Survey Part A: Question 12). Residents felt that the greatest improvements were going to occur in the appearance of the community and in recreational opportunities. The area that the most

number of residents thought might 'Become Worse' was in the area of crime. One survey participant suggested that crime is already becoming an issue commenting that:

> *"Some people are afraid to walk downtown at night. There is a local drug dealer who sometimes comes through town. Kids gather in Waterwheel Park and the grocery store area, there is lots of crime after" (CSR 21).*

Table 16 specifies what residents felt was going to happen in Chemainus in the future in several areas.

Table 16: Residents perceptions of what will happen to Chemainus in the future (N=177)

		Improve A Lot (5)	Improve A Little (4)	Stay the Same (3)	Become Worse (2)	Become a Lot Worse (1)	Don't Know	Didn't Answer	Mean Score
Employment/ Income	N	21	64	49	24	5	8	6	3.44
	%	11.90%	36.20%	27.70%	13.60%	2.80%	4.50%	3.40%	
Services	N	27	66	51	23	3	3	4	3.54
	%	15.30%	37.30%	28.80%	13.00%	1.70%	1.70%	2.30%	
Recreational Opportunities	N	45	70	50	5	3	1	3	3.86
	%	25.40%	39.50%	28.20%	2.80%	1.70%	0.60%	1.70%	
Appearance	N	47	89	33	2	2	0	4	4.02
	%	26.60%	50.30%	18.60%	1.10%	1.10%	0.00%	2.30%	
Friendliness	N	17	32	115	6	3	1	3	3.31
	%	9.60%	18.10%	65.00%	3.40%	1.70%	0.60%	1.70%	
Sense of Community	N	22	43	94	8	4	0	6	3.42
	%	12.40%	24.30%	53.10%	4.50%	2.30%	0.00%	3.40%	
Crime	N	7	24	75	49	8	10	4	2.83
	%	4.00%	13.60%	42.40%	27.70%	4.50%	5.60%	2.30%	

A high level of attachment to place was displayed in the Chemainus survey results. When asked how big a pay increase an employer would have to pay them to get them to leave Chemainus, 27.7% of respondents said it 'Didn't matter how much a pay increase they were offered, they would never leave'. An additional 27.7% of respondents said they would require more than a $20,000 pay increase and another 7.9% required a $10,001 to $20,000 pay increase. Only 3.4% of participants said they wanted to leave Chemainus anyways and didn't require a pay increase. A number of respondents did not answer this question (29.4%), some of which chose instead to

add a brief note stating that their decision to live in Chemainus was not based on financial reasons. In addition, of the 52 respondents who did not answer the question, 27 were retired and therefore pay increases weren't really applicable to them (refer to Survery Part A: Question 9).

Survey respondents from Chemainus exhibited a detailed knowledge of their community. In Part C of the survey, participants were asked to identify from a series of photos which photographed feature was from their community. Photos from Chemainus included the historic train station, a historic house, the District of North Cowichan Municipal Hall, a mural, the Artisans Village, and a church. The two most easily recognized features, with over 90% of respondents being able to pick them out, were the historic train station and the mural. Over 80% of respondents were able to identify a church in Chemainus and over 70% were able to recognize the Artisans Village (75.1%), the historic house (72.9%), and the District of North Cowichan Municipal Hall (71.8%)[25]. Table 17 summarizes respondent's degree of familiarity with the various features of their community.

Table 17: Chemainus respondent's ability to identify features in their community (N=177)

Question #	*Feature::*	*Correctly identified*		*Incorrectly identified*		*Did not answer*	
		N	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*
1	Chemainus historic train station	166	93.8%	3	1.7%	8	4.5%
6	Chemainus historic house	129	72.9%	8	4.6%	40	22.6%
7	District of North Cowichan Municipal Hall	127	71.8%	14	7.9%	36	20.3%
9 (2 correct answers)	Chemainus Mural	173	97.7%	3	1.7%	4	2.3%
	Chemainus Artisans Village	133	75.1%	3	1.7%	4	2.3%
10	Chemainus church	155	87.6%	10	5.6%	12	6.8%

6.2.3 The Physical Setting of Chemainus

Chemainus has witnessed a significant transformation of its built environment since the 1980s with the completion of the downtown revitalization project (and the associated shops and boutiques), the implementation of the murals, and the construction of the dinner theatre. The

[25] The District of North Cowichan Municipal Hall is not actually in the town of Chemainus but is an important built feature associated with the community.

contents of the tourism brochures and promotional websites reviewed for this study suggest that these features have become critical elements of the image that Chemainus is trying to promote. Although other features of the community are identified in these promotional materials, Chemainus's marketing strategy clearly revolves around highlighting these key attractions. Some example excerpts from tourism brochures that illustrate this point include the following:

> *"One of the most visited towns on Vancouver Island; Chemainus is world renowned for the 34 professionally painted murals that beautifully depict the history and culture of the area. A delightful place to browse, Chemainus has dozens of little shops, galleries, and restaurants. The Chemainus theatre is another of the town's star attractions and offers live theatre year-round with special family productions in the summer." (Island Visitor, 2003)*
>
> *"Chemainus brims with artistic spirit - It is the world's largest outdoor gallery." (Chemainus, World Famous Murals Official Attractions & Accommodations Guide)*
>
> *"Gift shops and art galleries abound, offering some of the Island's best pottery and native and local artworks. Peruse the antique malls and collectibles. Take a break from your browsing in one of the numerous cappuccino bars and restaurants – but be sure to save room for a trip to one of the many inviting ice cream parlors." (Chemainus, World Famous Murals Official Attractions & Accommodations Guide)*
>
> *"Its giant, world famous murals are tasteful, professional works of arts. Adorned with hanging baskets, its streets are full of art galleries, ice cream parlors, excellent restaurants and wonderful gift shops." (Cowichan Valley, Visitors Choice)*

Additional examples from promotional websites include the following:

> *"Chemainus, a seaside jewel, nostalgic and delightful. Stroll by our world-famous outdoor gallery of murals and sculptures revealing the history of our culturally-rich area. Artistic treasures in boutiques and antique shops await your discovery. Savor our dining, and experience superb live theatre." (**http://www.chemainus.com**)*
>
> *"When the lands' natural resources failed to provide all the necessities of life, a new vision for the future evolved with the inventive people of Chemainus. That vision was to encompass the idea of giant outdoor wall murals in a revitalization strategy. This vision has earned Chemainus worldwide fame as a memorable tourist venue. Such is the incredible story of "The Little Town That Did"©, and the "magic" it has created for all who come here." (**http://www.chemainus.com**).*
>
> *"The Festival of Murals" which has transformed Chemainus into Canada's largest permanent outdoor gallery." (http://www.chemainus.bc.ca)*

*"The Little Town That Did" earned its nickname after Chemainus residents decided to expand their forest industry past into a vibrant tourism-driven future. Through the dreams, imagination and energy of the community, the little town of Chemainus found a new life by putting on a new face. The town transformed itself - capturing and expressing its history, its people and its future. Artists from around the globe were invited to paint huge heritage murals on the sides of buildings, transforming a small coastal mill town into the world's largest outdoor art gallery." (**http://www.chemainusbc.com**)*

*"Thirty-six larger-than-life historic paintings in this open air gallery and many statues now greet the gaze of hundreds of thousands of visitors each year." (**http://www.muraltown.com**)*

"This quaint coastal community is famous for its 34 large, colorful murals and 12 sculptures that depict the history of the valley. Follow the footprints for a self-guided tour or view the artwork via horse-drawn carriage. There are also dozens of boutiques, unique bistros, ice cream parlors, and galleries offering folk art, Native art and sculpture, pottery, and glass art produced by local artisans."

The revitalized downtown area, the murals, and the dinner theatre have become the core components of Chemainus's tourism product. In addition, as this study finds, these built features have also had a positive impact on local residents. When asked to identify the most significant changes that have occurred in Chemainus during their lifetime, the top two responses were the construction of the dinner theatre (38.4%), and the launch of the mural project (35.0%). Both of these responses ranked higher than the closure and reopening of the sawmill, and the associated job losses (34.5%) (refer to Survey Part A: Question 10). This is a profound result considering the tremendous emotional impact that forestry industry downsizing has had on the residents of Chemainus.

Survey respondents also clearly perceive the new downtown, the murals, and the dinner theatre as being extraordinary and important elements of their community. When given the opportunity to identify Chemainus' most important landmarks and special places, the kind of place they would take an out-of- town visitor, 60.5% of participants chose the Chemainus dinner theatre, and 57.6% chose the murals; these were the two most popular responses. Similarly, when respondents were asked to circle the location of Chemainus' most important landmarks and special places on a map, the most commonly identified location was the revitalized downtown area (23.7% of respondents). The dinner theatre was the second most popular choice (14.1%).

Support for the dinner theatre was reiterated when respondents were asked to name up to 5 economic development projects currently being pursued in Chemainus, and to state how they felt about them. A substantial 104 respondents (58.8%) identified the theatre expansion/ festival inn project as a project that they supported (this was the most popular response). Only 7 respondents (4.0%) identified the theatre expansion/ festival inn project as being a project that they were opposed to (refer to Survey Part A: Question 21). Positive sentiments towards the new downtown area were reiterated when 75.1% of respondents selected the new downtown as their preferred style of mainstreet over the ones photographed from 'Old Town' Chemainus as well as from Port Alberni and Sooke (refer to Survey Part C).

It is evident that local residents think of the murals, dinner theatre and new downtown as being symbols of their community and features that give Chemainus a sense of individuality. When asked what respondents would put on a post-card to capture the essence of Chemainus, the majority (57.1%) of residents chose the murals over all other features. The dinner theatre and the new downtown were also in the top five (refer to Survey Part A: Question 15). Similarly when asked what makes Chemainus different from other Vancouver Island communities, the murals and the dinner theatre were the top two responses (refer Survey Part A: Question 16). The results shown in Table 18 clearly illustrate the dominant role that the murals, dinner theatre and new downtown play in resident's perceptions of Chemainus's built setting.

Table 18: Chemainus respondent's perceived significance of the murals, dinner theatre, and revitalized downtown to their community (N=177)

Survey Part A, Question 14: Name 3-5 places in Chemainus that are special or important to you, the types of places you'd bring an out-of-town visitor. Top 5 Responses (N =177)				Survey Part A, Question 15: If you were to send an out-of-town friend a postcard that captured the essence of Chemainus, what would be on that post-card? Top 5 Responses (N=177)			
Rank	Response	N	%	Rank	Response	%	N
1	**Chemainus dinner theatre**	**107**	**60.5%**	**1**	**The Murals**	**101**	**57.1%**
2	**Murals/sculptures/ mural tours**	**102**	**57.6%**	2	The ocean view/ waterfront	21	11.9%
3	Kin Beach Park	48	27.1%	**3**	**Chemainus dinner theatre**	**20**	**11.3%**

4	Shops, Shopping, Boutiques	41	23.2%	**4**	**Willow Street/ New downtown Chemainus**	**14**	**7.9%**
5	Beaches/ waterfront (general)	33	18.6%	5	The Natural Beauty/ Landscape/ Greenery	9	5.1%

Survey Part A, Question 16: What 3-5 features make Chemainus different from other Vancouver Island communities? Top 5 Responses (N=177)				Survey Part B, Question 1(b): Please circle on the map provided, the location of Chemainus's most important landmarks and special places. Top 5 Responses (N=177)			
Rank	Response	N	%	Rank	Location	N	%
1	**The Murals**	**108**	**61.0%**	**1**	**New downtown Chemainus**	**42**	**23.7%**
2	**The Chemainus dinner theatre**	**62**	**35.0%**	2	Kin Beach Park	36	20.3%
3	Friendliness of people/ hospitality	24	13.6%	**3**	**Chemainus dinner theatre**	**26**	**14.7%**
4	The number of tourists/ tourism focus	20	11.3%	4	Old Town Chemainus	25	14.1%
5	It is located off the highway	18	10.2%	5	Fuller Lake	18	10.2%

The importance of the murals, and the dinner theatre to the identity of Chemainus both as perceived by residents and as portrayed to outsiders was reiterated by the responses of interviewees. When asked what makes Chemainus unique from other Vancouver Island communities, all 4 interview respondents said the murals and 2 of the respondents also said the theatre. When asked how they would describe Chemainus to someone who knows nothing about it, one respondent said that, *"Chemainus has a strong identity which is directly linked to the mural program [and that] you really feel like you are a part of something in Chemainus" (Interview respondent #1).* Similarly, when asked how Chemainus has changed since they have been associated with it, Interview respondent #2 said that, *"the mural project has really brought new energy to the town."*

Interview respondent # 3 also noted that:

> *"When the mill shutdown, many people thought the 'pictures on the walls' was a stupid idea. Now the tour buses are coming in and the mural project has lots of supporters. The community takes pride in the murals; there is no vandalism. The theatre project has been a successful addition to the community."*

All 4 of the Interview respondents consider the mural program and theatre project as being tremendous successes for the community.

Heritage and historic attributes of Chemainus were also recognized as being of particular significance. In Part A, Question 23 of the place identity survey, respondents were asked to state the level of importance they put on several aspects of their community. These aspects included: employment, services, recreational opportunities, heritage, historical features, cultural features, natural features, and sense of belonging. Of the 177 total respondents, 46 (26.0%) rated heritage as being 'Absolutely Essential' to their community, 49 rated heritage as being 'Extremely Important', and 43 (24.3%) rated it as being 'Very Important'. Nineteen (19) participants (10.7%) rated heritage as 'Somewhat Important, and only 4 (2.3%) rated it as 'Not Important at all'. A similar level of importance was granted to historical features, with 39 respondents (22.0%) rating them as being 'Absolutely Essential', 46 (26.0%) rating them as being 'Extremely Important', and 43 (24.3%) rating them as being 'Very Important'. Twenty-five (25) participants (14.1%) rated historical features as being 'Somewhat Important' and only 5 (2.8%) rated them as 'Not Important at all'.

Participants in this study identified several important heritage and historic features worthy of preservation. As one survey respondent noted, *"If we want to keep Chemainus a special place, we need to protect all of the old historic buildings and as many of the heritage homes as we possibly can" (CSR 16).* These built heritage features are summarized in Table 19. Of particular importance are the old heritage houses and character homes of Chemainus. As Interview respondent #2 emphasized:

> *"The combination of the historic houses and buildings, in conjunction with the murals and the theatre, create a unique character which should be preserved."*

Table 19: Built heritage and historic features that survey participants feel should be preserved in Chemainus

Response	N	%
Old heritage houses/ character homes	22	12.4%
Old churches (general)	19	10.7%
Heritage sites/ Historic buildings (general)	18	10.2%
St. Michael's & All Angels Anglican Church	15	8.5%

Old town Chemainus	9	5.1%
Horseshoe Bay Inn	8	4.5%
Old mill houses on Chemainus Road	6	3.4%
Hospital	4	2.3%
Old fire hall	3	1.7%
Congregational church	3	1.7%
Lewisville hotel/pub	3	1.7%
New downtown Chemainus/ Main street	3	1.7%
Weyerhaeuser mill	3	1.7%
Historic train station	3	1.7%

Based on Survey Part A: Question 24

Chemainus' traditional style houses are recognized as an important part of its overall charm and appeal. In Part C of the survey, participants were provided with the opportunity to select through photographs, the housing and subdivision types that they prefer. In terms of housing type, the traditional, small, single-family homes were far preferred (75.1% of respondents) over the other choices which included apartment complexes, large ocean-view homes, and townhouses. In terms of subdivision types, the traditional subdivision with smaller heritage style houses was clearly favored (60.5% of respondents) over the modern subdivision with larger homes, the modern subdivision with large ocean-view homes, and townhouses. Finally, in terms of house style, the majority of survey respondents (57.1%) preferred the traditional small single family dwelling over the large modern home with two-car garage, the historic house, and the large modern home on an ocean-view property. Written comments from the survey reiterate the importance of preserving the traditional built housing form in Chemainus, one respondent said:

> *"[Chemainus] needs to encourage residential development that fits with the existing architectural style and character of the traditional homes." (CSR 90).*

Another participant argued that:

> *"[Chemainus] needs to preserve all of the old gingerbread styles houses, with their beautiful gardens, because they are what give this community its charm." (CSR 53).*

The character homes in Chemainus are described in a very positive light in real-estate guides; utilizing words such as quaint, charming, comfortable, pretty, and delightful. It is interesting that

these are the same types of words used by residents to describe some of the qualities they enjoy about Chemainus.

The survey demonstrated that respondents are generally in favor of new development in the community but they want it to be sympathetic with the existing character. When respondents were asked to list current economic development projects in Chemainus that they supported, a total of 275 responses were accumulated. Alternatively, when participants were asked to identify current projects they opposed, only 21 responses were accrued. Types of new developments identified as potentially threatening to Chemainus' character included fast food outlets and chain restaurants (9.0% of respondents), shopping malls and strip malls (8.5%), apartments and condominiums (7.4%), and big box stores (7.3%) (refer to Survey Part A: Question 25). Interview respondents noted:

> *"The people in Chemainus are quite pro-development, they want to see more jobs created for their family, but there is also a strong NIMBY (Not in my backyard) attitude. The people want to see new projects but not at the expense of the quality of life that they already enjoy." (Interview respondent #1)*
>
> *"I think that most people in Chemainus are pro-development but it needs to be done in a responsible fashion."(Interview respondent #3)*
>
> *"Many of the elderly people in Chemainus have an entrepreneurial attitude and like small business. They want to have something to do and have lots of energy to give. They are largely pro-development but don't want to lose the quaintness which they enjoy."*

Interview respondents also had their own opinions on inappropriate types of development for Chemainus stating:

> *"Chain outlets that don't reflect Chemainus' unique Victorian architecture would threaten the character of Chemainus" (Interview respondent #1).*
>
> *"Lower end accommodations such as 'Super 8' motels would make Chemainus the same as every other community in British Columbia. I would hate to see that happen" (Interview respondent #4).*

The natural environment was seen as vitally important to the overall attractiveness of Chemainus. One interview respondent suggested that *"The natural features really make Chemainus a special place" (Interview respondent #2).* Another argued that *"the natural environment is vitally important [and that] Chemainus needs to continue to provide*

opportunities for people to connect with the outdoors" (Interview respondent #4). In Survey Part A, Question 23, natural features had the second highest mean score in terms of relative importance to the community, just behind employment. They were considered by the majority of respondents to be either 'Absolutely Essential' (35.0%) or 'Extremely Important (33.3%). Natural features were also the three most highly recognized features that respondents felt were worthy of preservation in Chemainus. These included Askew Creek Park (24.9% of respondents), the Hermit Trails (19.2%), and Kin Beach Park (13.6%) (refer to Survey Part A: Question 24). Kin Beach Park was also the third most popular response in terms of places respondents felt were special, the types of places they'd bring an out of town visitor (refer to Survey Part A: Question 14). Respondents also identified Kin Beach Park on the map of Chemainus as being an important landmark and leisure time location (refer to Survey Part B).

6.2.4 Chemainus Activities/ Functions

Respondents clearly appreciate the economic shift that has been occurring in Chemainus with the downsizing in the forestry industry and the implementation of entrepreneurial tourism-related initiatives. Responses to the survey questions that asked respondents to rate the community's most important industries in the past, present and future time periods showed a clear pattern; a declining role of forestry and an increasing role of tourism (refer to Table 20).

Table 20: Chemainus respondent's perceived importance of Forestry and Tourism in the past, present, and future (N=177)

		Essential to the towns' survival (5)	Extremely Important (4)	Important (3)	Somewhat Important (2)	Not Important at all (1)	Don't Know	Didn't Answer	Mean Score
Forestry (Past)	N	115	44	5	2	0	4	7	4.64
	%	65.00%	24.90%	2.80%	1.10%	0.00%	2.30%	4.00%	
Forestry (Present)	N	65	70	27	5	2	2	6	4.13
	%	36.70%	39.50%	15.30%	2.80%	1.10%	1.10%	3.40%	
Forestry (Future)	N	52	46	43	14	5	8	9	3.79
	%	29.40%	26.00%	24.30%	7.90%	2.80%	4.50%	5.10%	
Tourism (Past)	N	64	29	19	18	31	7	9	3.48
	%	36.20%	16.40%	10.70%	10.20%	17.50%	4.00%	5.10%	

Tourism (Present)	N	106	46	12	4	1	0	8	4.49
	%	59.90%	26.00%	6.80%	2.30%	0.60%	0.00%	4.50%	
Tourism (Future)	N	108	34	17	5	1	3	9	4.47
	%	61.00%	19.20%	9.60%	2.80%	0.60%	1.70%	5.10%	

Interview respondent #2 articulated the Chemainus transition:

> *Chemainus used to be a non-entity. It had basic services but it was just a sleepy town with a vibrant forestry based economy. In the early 1980's MacMillan Bloedel announced closure of the mill and all 650 jobs were lost. The residents came together to save the town. It was 18 months before MacMillan Bloedel said they were bringing the mill back, and by that time the town had changed its focus to tourism led by the mural project."*

Although some tourist based initiatives such as the murals, theatre and downtown revitalization projects are perceived as having been beneficial in creating a unique sense of place in Chemainus, a number of respondents commented that over-emphasis on tourism has made it difficult for residents to purchase basic goods and services locally, comments in this regard included:

> *"The character of Chemainus is already gone because every new project has been aimed towards tourists rather than residents" (CSR 114).*
>
> *"Chemainus should become more of a family town rather than one catering to visitors. Ladysmith is an excellent example of a small, well run, family town" (CSR 78)*
>
> *"We need to get rid of these small tourist-oriented stores. Get back to the basics, who needs 5 ice-cream stores? Tourism doesn't provide anything for the local residents" (CSR 42).*
>
> *"I wish we could replace some of the "Knick Knack" stores in this town, for ones that serve the residents of Chemainus. I would like to spend my money here, but at this point, I have to travel out of town" (CSR 78).*
>
> *"Chemainus needs more practical stores, forget the ice-cream and put in a store where I can buy a spool of thread" (CSR 97).*
>
> *"There needs to be more shopping for residents – Currently, there is no men's wear, no children's wear, no home building supplies. People do live here, we're not all tourists" (CSR 117).*

Despite this issue, residents did state that Chemainus should continue to focus on its uniqueness and distinctiveness to foster future economic opportunities. One respondent stated that,

"Chemainus needs things that enhances its uniqueness - like theatre expansion/ eco-tourism/ waterfront walkways" (CSR 46). Other participants argued that, "*Chemainus needs more tourism ideas to bring people into the town for longer periods of time so the good stores will stay open" (CSR 17)* and that *"a project is needed that makes Chemainus a destination, not just a place where visitors flutter in and out" (CSR 23).*

Even with the rapid development of tourism, it is evident that the forestry industry still plays a prominent role in the community. In Question 22 of the survey, respondents were asked to rate the importance of the forestry industry to the identity of their community. Fifty-four respondents (30.5%) suggested that the forestry industry is an 'Absolutely Essential' part of their community's identity. In addition, 64 participants (36.2%) stated it was an 'Extremely Important' part, and 29 respondents (16.4%) stated in was a 'Very Important' part. Twenty (20) respondents (11.3%) said it was only 'Somewhat important' and a mere 1 respondent (0.6%) said that it was "Not important at all".

The continuing importance of the forestry industry was also emphasized by interview respondents who stated the following:

> *"Chemainus is a well-defined community with a rich history in the forestry industry. There is a real sense of identity in Chemainus. The people who live there show pride in being from Chemainus and not North Cowichan; they are real 'Chemaniacs'" (Interview respondent #2).*
>
> *"The forestry industry still provides a strong foundation for the community" (Interview respondent #2).*
>
> *"The roots of the community are still in forestry" (Interview respondent #2)*
>
> *"The forestry industry is the core, or the foundation upon which the community is built; kind of like the foundation of a house. Many people still rely on the forestry industry for employment" (Interview respondent #4).*

Interview respondents also suggested that there is a harmonious relationship between forestry and tourism in Chemainus, when they said:

> *"The mural identity and the blue collared mill town identity co-exist in Chemainus" (Interview respondent #1).*

"I think that tourism and industry will continue to share a peaceful coexistence in Chemainus but the arts community may start to outpace industry"(Interview respondent #1).

"The Weyerhaeuser mill tour has been successful. It is a good way to incorporate the industrial part of Chemainus into the tourism product. People have come from all over (Japan, Russia, and Sweden). Sometimes when people come to Chemainus they don't even know there is a mill and it becomes an interesting addition to their visit" (Interview respondent #3).

"Proper planning is critical to the development of Chemainus. To maintain the unique look and feel of Chemainus, planners need to have an understanding of the coexistence of industry and tourism. So far I think they have done a good job" (Interview respondent #1).

6.2.5 The Spirit of Chemainus

Survey and Interview respondents articulated through a variety of responses that the spirit of Chemainus lies in its small town character, sense of community, and friendliness of local residents. When respondents were asked what there motivations were when they first decided to move to Chemainus, small town atmosphere was the second most popular response (32 respondents) after 'employment opportunities' (54 respondents) (Survey Part A, Question #7). Similarly, in Part A, Question #8 of the survey, respondents recognized the 'friendliness of local people' and the 'small town atmosphere' as being two of the most important qualities about Chemainus. One survey participant made a general comment that:

"What makes Chemainus a really great place to be is it's small town feeling. Everyone knows everyone else and the people are really great. It is a tight knit community. It is so calm and peaceful here; I really don't miss all the hustle and bustle of the city. The traffic, and noise, I don't miss that at all" (CSR 85).

Interview respondents seem to share the resident's opinion that Chemainus benefits from its small town feel and sense of community, mentioning that:

"Chemainus' greatest strength is its sense of community. There are a number of active volunteers here" (Interview respondent # 1)

"Chemainus is a perfect place to live. It is a small town where everyone knows everyone else. You can easily walk to all required services; a car is not required. It is off the highway so there is little to no traffic. (Interview respondent #1)

"Chemainus' greatest strength is its sense of community. There are a number of active volunteers here". (Interview respondent #1)

"Chemainus is a very close knit community." (Interview respondent #3)

"I don't want to see Chemainus get too big, its size is part of its charm." (Interview respondent #3)

"The identity of Chemainus lies in its quaintness and charm. It is a friendly little place with a lot of active residents who like to get involved in their community." (Interview respondent #4)

6.2.6 Chemainus Results Summary

The results from the investigation on place identity yielded the following key findings. First, respondents demonstrated that they are generally quite satisfied with Chemainus both as a place to live and as a place for others to visit. However, there is demand in the community for improved employment and recreational opportunities. Second, the murals, dinner theatre, and revitalized downtown area were recognized as special features that give the community a sense of individuality and pride. A unique and special atmosphere has been created in Chemainus, which is not only marketable but also seems to represent a common bond, that community members share. Third, respondents demonstrated an appreciation for their community's built heritage including some historic structures but especially the small character homes. Fourth, the natural features in Chemainus such as the waterfront as well as the various parks and natural areas are considered by respondents to be important elements in making the community an attractive place to live. Fifth, the participants recognize, and generally support the growing importance of the tourism industry but demonstrate distaste for the way in which tourism has impacted on the provision of basic goods and services. Sixth, the 'small town atmosphere' is a quality that many respondents value as well as the lack of large scale commercial outlets, fast food restaurants, and franchise businesses. Finally, it is evident from the findings that the forestry industry is still an important component of the overall image of Chemainus.

6.3 Sooke Results

6.3.1 Sooke Survey Respondents Characteristics

Similar to the results in Chemainus, the Sooke place identity survey generated a greater number of female participants than male participants. Of the 169 total respondents, 104 of them (61.5%) were female. As mentioned in the Chemainus results section, this over-representation of females is not of great concern because sixty-one (61) male completed surveys is still a substantial enough number to ensure that male viewpoints were adequately represented and 78.1% of the respondents were married, creating a strong likelihood that female completed surveys had input from their husbands. The Sooke survey involved a mix of both long term and short term residents. Long term residents were represented by the 63 respondents (37.3%) who had lived in the community for over 10 years. Short term residents were represented by the 104 participants (61.5%) who had lived in Sooke for less than 10 years. Of the 89 short-term residents, fifteen (15) of them (8.9%) had lived in the community for less than 1 year. The majority of respondents (86.4%) had move to Sooke from somewhere else but there were some participants with family history in the community. Seven (7) respondents (4.1%) had parents who lived in Sooke, six (6) respondents (3.6%) had grandparents who lived in the community, and 5 respondents (3.0%) had great grandparents who lived in the community. The majority of the respondents were between the ages of 31 and 60 (127 respondents). Only 16 participants (9.4%) were under the age of 30, and only 21 participants were over the age of 61. This age distribution is appropriate considering that the majority of the population in Sooke is middle aged (refer to Chapter 5). A few of the participants involved in this study (13.6%) were retired, but the vast majority (85.8%) was in the workforce. Only three (3) respondents (1.8%) worked in the resources and manufacturing industries; the bulk of participants worked either in services (23.7%) or institutional occupations (18.3%). Fifty-two (52) respondents (30.8%) worked directly in Sooke and 78 respondents (46.2%) commuted. The top two commuter locations were Victoria (46.2% of commuters) and Esquimalt (14.1% of commuters). Most of the respondents were married with children (68.0%) and had at least a high-school education (85.2%). Some of the respondents had post-secondary education including technical school graduation (10.7%), college diploma (21.3%), university degree (14.2%), or university graduate degree (9.5%). The Sooke survey respondents were skewed towards the higher income brackets; the average income of respondents (before taxes)

was in the $60,001 to $70,000 range. This is comparable however, to the median household income in Sooke which is $50,096 after taxes[26]. A number of respondents (23.7%) did not answer the income question. The characteristics of the Sooke survey respondents are summarized in greater detail in Table 21.

Table 21: Characteristics of Sooke Survey Respondents (N=169)

Duration of residence			**Work in Sooke?**		
> 20 years	25	14.8%	Yes	52	30.8%
11-20 years	38	22.5%	No	115	68.0%
6-10 years	42	24.9%	**Commute to work?**		
1/5 years	47	27.8%	Yes	78	46.2%
< 1 year	15	8.9%	No	36	21.3%
Generations of family in Sooke			**Employment Category**		
Great Grandparents	5	3.0%	Entrepreneurial Business	18	10.7%
Grandparents	6	3.6%	Services	40	23.7%
Parents	7	4.1%	Resources Industry	2	1.2%
I moved here from somewhere else	146	86.4%	Manufacturing	1	0.6%
Only temporarily living here	3	1.8%	Student	4	2.4%
Gender			Institutional	31	18.3%
Male	61	36.1%	Home Maker	12	7.1%
Female	104	61.5%	Retired	23	13.6%
Age			Unemployed	1	0.6%
19-25	7	4.1%	Other	32	18.9%
26-30	9	5.3%	**Employed in forestry?**		
31-40	45	26.6%	Yes	1	0.6%
41-50	49	29.0%	No	166	98.2%
51-60	33	19.5%	**Ever employed in forestry?**		
61-70	13	7.7%	Yes	14	8.3%
71-80	8	4.7%	No	147	87.0%
Over 80	0	0.0%	**Income (before taxes)**		
Marital Status			Less than $10,000	2	1.2%
Single	15	8.9%	$10,000-$20,000	10	5.9%
Married without children	17	10.1%	$20,001- $30,000	11	6.5%
Married with children	115	68.0%	$30,001- $40,000	10	5.9%
Divorced	15	8.9%	$40,001- $50,000	12	7.1%
Educational Background			$50,001- $60,000	20	11.8%
Some High School	17	10.1%	$60,001- $70,000	18	10.7%

[26] Based on Statistics Canada 2000 income statistics

High School Graduate	50	29.6%	More than $70,000	46	27.2%
College Diploma	36	21.3%			
Technical School Graduate	18	10.7%	**TOTAL SURVEYS DELIVERED**		**225**
University Degree	24	14.2%	**TOTAL # OF RESPONSES**		**169**
University Graduate Degree	16	9.5%	**RESPONSE RATE**		**75.1%**
Other	1	0.6%			

6.3.2 Satisfaction with place and attachment to place

The majority of Sooke survey respondents demonstrated a strong satisfaction with their community as a place to live, place for others to visit, and as a place for recreation and leisure. Out of the 169 completed surveys, 152 participants (91.0%) rated Sooke as being either a 'Good' (58.6%) or 'Excellent' (31.4%) place to live, and 139 respondents (82.2%) rated Sooke as being either a 'Good' (48.0%) or 'Excellent' (40.1%) place to visit. Similarly, 127 respondents (75.1%) rated Sooke as either a 'Good' (34.3%) or 'Excellent' (40.8%) place for recreation and leisure (Refer to Table 27).

Survey responses demonstrated that there are concerns in the community over the economy. While there were 30 participants (17.8%) who rated Sooke as a 'Good' (14.2%) or even an 'Excellent' (3.6%) place to work, there were 50 respondents (29.6%) who rated work in Sooke as 'Poor' (23.7%) or 'Very Poor' (5.9%). Correspondingly, although there were 42 respondents (24.9%) who rated Sooke as a 'Good' (21.9%) or 'Excellent' (3.0%) place to conduct business, there were 29 respondents (17.2%) who rated Sooke's business climate as 'Poor' (14.8%) or 'Very Poor' (2.4%) (Refer to Table 22). Other general comments made by survey respondents related to work and business conditions in Sooke included:

> *"There haven't really been all that many viable work opportunities created in Sooke since the collapse of the forestry industry. It has largely become a bedroom community to Victoria. Most of the people around here commute, although there are some home based businesses" (SSR 121).*

> *"It is hard to really comment on work in Sooke. If you take into consideration that it isn't a bad commute to Victoria then I would say employment options are pretty good. If you look at Sooke from an isolated perspective though, then there aren't that many opportunities for full time, high paying employment" (SSR 15).*

"Sooke needs more of its own work opportunities, it would be great if the community could become more self-sufficient" (SSR 98).

Interview respondents also commented on Sooke being a bedroom community and lacking its own work options.

"In many ways Sooke is a bedroom community for Victoria, people live here and commute into work" (Interview respondent # 5).

"Sooke used to be a lot more isolated. The road entering Sooke used to be single lane, now it is a lot better. People used to never make the trip back and forth from Victoria. Everyone who lived here also worked here. They were fishers, or loggers, the mill employed 400 people" Nowadays, the people here are either retired, work from home, or work in Victoria or Colwood. They are here for the affordability" (Interview respondent # 6).

"Sooke has almost an entirely residential tax base. There is some small commercial and a little bit of industrial but it is very limited"(Interview respondent #6).

Table 22: Sooke respondents level of satisfaction with their community (N=169)

Place to Live								
	Excellent (5)	Good (4)	Adequate (3)	Poor (2)	Very Poor (1)	Don't Know	Didn't Answer	Mean Score
N	53	99	13	3	0	0	1	4.2
%	31.40%	58.60%	7.70%	1.80%	0.00%	0.00%	0.60%	
Place to Work								
	Excellent (5)	Good (4)	Adequate (3)	Poor (2)	Very Poor (1)	Don't Know	Didn't Answer	Mean Score
N	6	24	25	40	10	58	6	2.77
%	3.60%	14.20%	14.80%	23.70%	5.90%	34.30%	3.60%	
Place to Visit								
	Excellent (5)	Good (4)	Adequate (3)	Poor (2)	Very Poor (1)	Don't Know	Didn't Answer	Mean Score
N	68	71	17	8	1	3	1	4.19
%	40.20%	42.00%	10.10%	4.70%	0.60%	1.80%	0.60%	
Place to Do Business								
	Excellent (5)	Good (4)	Adequate (3)	Poor (2)	Very Poor (1)	Don't Know	Didn't Answer	Mean Score
N	5	37	63	25	4	31	4	4.19
%	3.00%	21.90%	37.30%	14.80%	2.40%	18.30%	2.40%	
Place for Recreation & Leisure								

	Excellent (5)	Good (4)	Adequate (3)	Poor (2)	Very Poor (1)	Don't Know	Didn't Answer	Mean Score
N	69	58	30	8	2	1	1	3.1
%	40.80%	34.30%	17.80%	4.70%	1.20%	0.60%	0.60%	

Participants in the Sooke survey demonstrated enthusiasm that their community is heading in the right direction. Fifty-three (53) of the respondents (31.4%) stated that Sooke had 'Improved a Lot' during their lifetime and an additional 78 participants (46.2%) felt that the community had 'Improved a Little'. Thirteen (13) respondents (7.7%) felt that Sooke had 'Stayed the Same' and only 7 (4.1%) felt that Sooke had 'Become Worse (7.9%). None of the respondents thought Sooke had 'Become a Lot Worse' (refer to Survey Part A: Question 11).

Correspondingly, the majority of respondents (53.8%) felt that Sooke was going to 'Improve a Lot' in the future and an additional 33.1% thought Sooke was going to 'Improve A Little'. Only 5.3% felt Sooke was going to 'Stay the Same' and a minimal 3.6% felt the community was going to 'Become Worse'. None of the respondents felt Sooke was going to 'Become a Lot Worse' in the future (refer to Survey Part A: Question 12). Interview respondent #5 reiterated the enthusiasm towards Sooke's future development stating that *"Sooke is a community that is going to take-off over the next 10 years, especially if [they] get sewers.* The majority of survey respondents felt that the greatest improvements were going to occur in the level of services available in the community and in the overall appearance of Sooke. The area that the most number of residents thought might 'Become Worse' was in the area of crime. This fear of crime was articulated by a respondent who stated:

> *"I worry that if Sooke grows too big too fast that crime might become a problem. Our policing services probably wouldn't be sufficient (SSR 24).*

Table 23 specifies what residents felt was going to happen in Sooke in the future in several areas.

Table 23: Respondents perceptions of what will happen to Sooke in the future (N=169)

		Improve A Lot (5)	Improve A Little (4)	Stay the Same (3)	Become Worse (2)	Become a Lot Worse (1)	Don't Know	Didn't Answer	Mean Score

Employment/ Income	N	21	92	40	6	0	6	4	3.81
	%	12.40%	54.40%	23.70%	3.60%	0.00%	3.60%	2.40%	
Services	N	55	89	19	2	0	2	2	4.19
	%	32.50%	52.70%	11.20%	1.20%	0.00%	1.20%	1.20%	
Recreational Opportunities	N	35	87	37	2	1	4	3	3.94
	%	20.70%	51.50%	21.90%	1.20%	0.60%	2.40%	1.80%	
Appearance	N	44	90	18	10	1	2	4	4.02
	%	26.00%	53.30%	10.70%	5.90%	0.60%	1.20%	2.40%	
Friendliness	N	7	35	102	17	1	3	4	3.19
	%	4.10%	20.70%	60.40%	10.10%	0.60%	1.80%	2.40%	
Sense of Community	N	13	36	85	24	1	6	4	3.23
	%	7.70%	21.30%	50.30%	14.20%	0.60%	3.60%	2.40%	
Crime	N	1	25	50	64	15	10	4	2.57
	%	0.60%	14.80%	29.60%	37.90%	8.90%	5.90%	2.40%	

A number of respondents demonstrated that they have an attachment to Sooke. When asked how big a pay increase an employer would have to pay them to get them to leave Sooke, 17.2% of respondents said it 'Didn't matter how much a pay increase they were offered, they would never leave'. An additional 28.4% of respondents said they would require more than a $20,000 pay increase and another 17.8% required a $10,001 to $20,000 pay increase. It is notable that 15 respondents (8.9%) stated that they 'wanted to leave Sooke anyways and didn't require a pay increase'. Twelve (12) of these 15 respondents were also the ones who suggested that work in Sooke is 'Poor'. This suggests that their disassociation with place is potentially based on the economic conditions in Sooke. Similar to the results in Chemainus, a number of respondents did not answer this question (21.3%). Many of them too, chose instead to add a brief note stating that their decision to live in Sooke was not based on financial reasons. In addition, of the 36 respondents who did not answer the question, 15 were retired and therefore pay increases weren't really applicable to them (refer to Survey Part A: Question 9).

Survey respondents from Sooke exhibited a decent knowledge of their community. The photos from Sooke which were included in Part C of the survey included the Sooke Museum, Whiffin Spit Park, the District of Sooke Municipal Hall, a historic house, and a heritage church. The two most easily recognized features, with over 80% of respondents being able to pick them out, were Whiffin Spit Park (88.8%) and the District of Sooke Municipal Hall (81.7%). Respondents had

more difficulty identifying the two photos of the Sooke Museum, the photo of the historic Sooke house, and the photo of the heritage church. The difficulty respondents had in recognizing these historic and heritage structures reflects the lack of emphasis that has traditionally been placed on these types of features. Table 24 summarizes respondent's degree of familiarity with the various features of their community.

Table 24: Sooke respondent's ability to identify features in their community (N=169)

Question #	*Photo of:*	*Correctly identified*		*Incorrectly Identified*		*Did not answer*	
		N	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*
1	Sooke Museum	75	44.4%	62	41.4%	34	20.1%
6	Sooke historic house	35	20.7%	80	47.4%	54	32.0%
7	District of Sooke Municipal Hall	138	81.7%	20	11.9%	11	6.5%
9 (2 features)	Whiffin Spit Park	150	88.8%	12	7.1%	12	7.1%
	Sooke Museum and visitor info. Centre	81	47.9%				
10	Sooke church	81	47.9%	68	40.2%	20	11.8%

6.3.3 The Physical Setting of Sooke

Sooke's tourist product is largely based on the quality of its natural features and diverse ecotourism opportunities. As interview respondent #5 stated *"Sooke is blessed with a beautiful natural setting [and] is the gateway to many ecotourism opportunities."* Promotional materials and websites reviewed for Sooke clearly emphasize this focus on natural features. Some example excerpts from tourism brochures include:

> *"Sooke is the gateway to miles of unspoiled beaches meandering rainforest trails, and breathtaking views" (Sooke to Port Renfrew – The Undiscovered West Coast).*
>
> *"The Sooke region offers something for everyone –whether it is a leisurely stroll to enjoy views, a fishing adventure starting at various docks in the region or a hick at East Sooke Park" (Island Visitor, 2003 Guide to Vancouver Island).*
>
> *"Some of us in the Sooke area like to call our region the salmon capital of the world" (Island Visitor, 2003 Guide to Vancouver Island).*

Additional examples from promotional websites include the following:

> *"Sooke – where the rainforest meets the sea" (http://www.sooke.org).*

"On the wind-swept and secluded west coast of Vancouver Island lies one of the Pacific Northwest's best kept secrets: Sooke, British Columbia" (http://www.sookeharbour.com).

*"Mother Nature's Playground: Sooke's coastal surroundings give those with moxie and energy a challenging backdrop for outdoor activities" (http://www.sookeharbour.com). "Sooke Harbour contains a wealth of coves and bays that happily lend themselves to exploration by kayak or sail. But make your way into open waters, and you can see why for some fishing is a highlight of any visit here" (**http://www.sookeharbour.com**).*

"Sooke's unspoiled beaches, meandering rainforest trails and breathtaking vistas of Washington State's Olympic Mountains attract visitors from around the world, eager to catch a glimpse of Vancouver Island's rugged west coast"(http://www.sookebc.com).

In addition to being an important component of Sooke's marketing strategy, and the image the community is trying to sell to outsiders, natural features were also seen as being vitally important to the overall appeal of Sooke by survey respondents. When asked what their motivations were when first deciding to move to Sooke, scenic beauty/natural features was the 3rd most popular response (refer to Survey Part A: Question 7). Similarly 70 respondents (41.4%) identified natural features/ scenery as being one of the five qualities most important to them about Sooke (refer to Survey Part A: Question 8). As illustrated in Table 25, a number of respondents rated 'natural features' as being more important than any other element in their community, including both employment and recreational opportunities.

Table 25: Sooke respondent ratings of overall importance of various community elements (N=169)

		Absolutely Essential	Extremely Important	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important at all	Don't Know	Didn't Answer	Mean Score
Employment	N	52	37	48	18	4	0	10	3.72
	%	30.80%	21.90%	28.40%	10.70%	2.40%	0.00%	5.90%	
Services	N	44	49	49	16	1	2	8	3.75
	%	26.00%	29.00%	29.00%	9.50%	0.60%	1.20%	4.70%	
Recreational Opportunities	N	55	63	38	7	0	1	5	4.02
	%	32.50%	37.30%	22.50%	4.10%	0.00%	0.60%	3.00%	
Heritage	N	23	52	41	40	3	4	6	3.33
	%	13.60%	30.80%	24.30%	23.70%	1.80%	2.40%	3.60%	
Historical Features	N	18	41	41	50	6	4	9	3.10
	%	10.70%	24.30%	24.30%	29.60%	3.60%	2.40%	5.30%	
Cultural Features	N	26	47	50	36	3	1	6	3.35
	%	15.40%	27.80%	29.60%	21.30%	1.80%	0.60%	3.60%	
Natural	N	81	49	22	10	0	2	5	4.24

Features	%	47.90%	29.00%	13.00%	5.90%	0.00%	1.20%	3.00%	
Sense of Belonging	N	49	47	45	13	4	5	6	3.78
	%	29.00%	27.80%	26.60%	7.70%	2.40%	3.00%	3.60%	

(Based on responses to Question 23 of Survey Part A)

When asked to identify 3-5 places in Sooke that were special or important, the types of places they would bring an out of town visitor, respondents identified a number of natural features in the community; these are summarized in Table 26. Similarly, a number of natural features were identified on the map of Sooke, in Part B of the survey, as being important landmarks and special places, and also as popular leisure time locations. Most notable were Whiffin Spit and the Sooke Potholes. In addition, survey respondents highlighted a number of natural features which they felt captured the essence of Sooke, these are displayed in Table 27.

Table 26: Natural features identified by Sooke respondents as being special and/or important (N=169)

Response	N	%
Whiffin Spit	132	78.10%
Sooke pot-holes / provincial park	111	65.70%
Galloping Goose trail	34	20.10%
French beach	33	19.50%
beaches (general)	20	11.80%
China beach	15	8.90%
East Sooke Park	15	8.90%
Fishing (general)	13	7.70%
Ed Macgregor park (formerly Harbour park)	9	5.30%
Ocean (general)	7	4.10%
Point-no-Point	7	4.10%
parks (general)	6	3.60%
hiking/ hiking trails	5	3.00%
Sooke Harbor	5	3.00%

Based on results to Question 14 of Survey Part A

Table 27: Natural features that respondents felt captured the essence of Sooke (N=169)

Response	N	%
The ocean/ ocean views	43	25.40%
Whiffin Spit	42	24.90%

Natural beauty/ scenery (mountains, trees, lakes)	31	18.30%
The beaches/ waterfront/ coastline	25	14.80%
Sooke Harbor / Inlet	21	12.40%
Sooke basin	16	9.50%
Whales/ whale watching	11	6.50%
Sooke potholes	8	4.70%
Sooke hills	5	3.00%
wildlife (general)	5	3.00%
sunrise/sunsets	4	2.40%
Sooke river	3	1.80%

Based on the results to Question 15 of Survey Part A

Sooke's natural beauty was also recognized by 15 survey respondents (8.9%) as being a feature that sets Sooke apart from other Vancouver Island communities (refer to survey Part A: Question 16). Not surprisingly, survey respondents placed a lot of emphasis to preserving natural features in Sooke. Three prevalent natural features that were identified by the most number of respondents as being worthy of preservation included Whiffin Spit Park (31.4% of respondents), Sooke Potholes (21.3%), and the Sooke Harbour (11%) (refer to Survey Part A: Question 24). In relation to the preservation of natural features one survey respondent stated:

> *"It is absolutely imperative that Sooke preserve its natural setting. The ability to walk out your door and have endless opportunities to connect with nature is a big part of what makes Sooke such a special place to live" (SSR 5).*

Comments from interview respondents re-emphasize the significance of natural features in Sooke and also the importance of their preservation, some example comments included:

> *"Sooke's greatest strength is its natural environment. There is a big focus on outdoor recreation here" (Interview respondent #5).*
>
> *"The Sooke Potholes and Whiffin Spit Park are the two most recognizable special places in Sooke. I would say though that all of the open spaces are special. Hiking up in the hills is a great experience"(Interview respondent #5).*
>
> *The Sooke river, harbor and basin are the key features; they represent Sooke. These features have to be preserved; we can't afford to lose them" (Interview respondent #6).*

Despite the lack of emphasis that the community of Sooke has put on its historic and heritage features, these types of attributes were recognized by survey respondents as being of

significance. When asked to rank the relative importance of heritage feature, 18 participants (13.6%) rated heritage as being 'Absolutely Essential' to their community, 52 (30.8%) rated heritage as being 'Extremely Important', and 41 (24.3%) rated it as being 'Very Important'. Forty (40) participants (23.7%) rated heritage as 'Somewhat Important, and only 3 (1.8 %) rated it as 'Not Important at all'. A similar level of importance was granted to historical features, with 18 respondents (10.7%) rating them as being 'Absolutely Essential', 41 (24.3%) rating them as being 'Extremely Important', and 41 (24.3%) rating them as being 'Very Important'. Fifty (50) participants (29.6%) rated historical features as being 'Somewhat Important' and only 6 (3.6%) rated them as 'Not Important at all' (refer to survey Part A: Question 23). Although not rated as highly as other elements, such as natural features, recreational opportunities, employment, and services, the results do show that heritage and historic features are important to respondents in terms of community building. The Sooke Region Museum/ moss cottage was considered by multiple respondents (32.5%) as being a specific landmark worthy of preservation (refer to survey Part A; Question 24) The Sooke Region Museum was also highlighted in Part B of the survey as being one of Sooke's most important landmarks by 17.2% of participants. Also notable, were the heritage houses and old homesteads in Sooke which were recognized by 8.3% of participants as being worthy of preservation. A written comment, that one survey respondent provided, that seems to summarize the lack of, and demand for historic and heritage preservation, in Sooke was:

> *"Sooke has many heritage and historic possibilities. The community has a long history in the forestry industry which has really been underemphasized. The museum is an excellent place but more needs to be done to capture the unique history of the area. The old homesteads in Sooke are also a great opportunity for preservation." (SSR 77).*

The significance of heritage features, with specific emphasis on the Sooke Region Museum, was reiterated by interview respondents who commented:

> *"Developing a heritage site and building policy may be of some use – if done correctly. Very little in terms of heritage still remains. Any improvement to non-vehicle infrastructure would be fantastic" (Interview respondent #8)*

> *"The Sooke museum is an important landmark. There is a lot you can learn about Sooke's history by visiting that museum. Sooke is starting to preserve some of its historic features. The Maple Road cemetery is an example. The old mill site on Goodridge Peninsula is a former industrial site that has been remediated. The old water tower is the only feature remaining though". (Interview respondent #5)*

"*The Sooke museum is highly undervalued by the community. There are lots of opportunities there" (Interview respondent #6).*

The survey demonstrated that respondents are generally in favor of new development in the community. When respondents were asked to list current economic development projects in Sooke that they supported, a total of 231 responses were accumulated. Alternatively, when participants were asked to identify current projects they opposed, only 35 responses were accrued (refer to survey Part A: Question 21). However, it is clear that there are certain features of Sooke's built environment that respondents do not want to see threatened. Specifically it appears that many respondents appreciate Sooke's lack of fast food outlets, and big box retail, which were both recognized a being potential threats to the character of the community (refer to survey Part A: Question 25). In Part B of the survey, respondents vastly preferred the traditional small family owned restaurant in Sooke (39.1% of respondents) and the historic restaurant in Sooke (46.2% of respondents) over the existing franchised restaurant (refer to survey Part B: Question 8).

Interview respondent's commented that:

"Sooke is still somewhat pro-development but not as much as a year ago. Not every door is open. We don't want big box commercial or large industrial projects. We want to focus on niche markets. This is attractive for residents. We want to create a lifestyle in Sooke" (Interview respondent #5).

"Developments like more large retail malls / Big Box commercial, may threaten Sooke's character, but those developments are unlikely and unviable in our community" (Interview respondent #8).

The Sooke survey generated a real mixing of preferences in terms of housing and neighborhood types and styles. In terms of house types, 79 participants (46.7%) preferred the large modern home with 2 car garage but another 50 respondents (29.6%) preferred the traditional, small, single-family homes. Correspondingly, in terms of housing type, there were 61 participants (36.1%) who preferred traditional single family homes while there were also 61 respondents (36.1%) who preferred townhouses. Similar variation was seen in terms of subdivision preference with 50 participants preferred large 'ocean-view' homes, 48 respondents who preferred modern large subdivisions with large homes, and 40 who preferred townhouses; only 14 participants (8.3%) preferred the traditional subdivision with heritage type houses. Real-estate

guides reiterate the variability in terms of available, and preferred, housing types in Sooke. A number of homes are advertised for those looking for accommodations that are 'modern', 'contemporary' and which have 'lots of space' and 'wonderful views'. Similarly other homes are advertised for those looking for places that have 'character' are 'warm', 'cozy', 'friendly', and 'timeless' The variability in housing preference demonstrated in Sooke suggests a need to balance the demands for future residential growth while at the same time making an effort to preserve the existing residential character.

Respondents of the survey suggested a desire to improve the downtown core in Sooke. When asked to choose the mainstreet that they preferred, more participants (34.9%) chose the 'new town' in Chemainus over the downtown in their own community (27.2%) (refer to survey Part C: Question 2).Similarly, 'improve/beautify the town core' was identified by 16 survey respondents as something that Sooke should pursue (refer to survey Part A: Question 26). Some comments in regards to Sooke's town centre included:

> *"Sooke needs to really work on its downtown core, it desperately needs a facelift. Everything is so spread out and it is not pedestrian friendly. Even a general clean-up of the downtown would be beneficial" (SSR 43).*
>
> *"Sooke needs a better designed town centre" (SSR 82).*
>
> *"I wish the town centre had a 'waterfront feel' to it" (SSR 16).*

Interview respondents also emphasized a need to improve Sooke's downtown core:

> *"The, blue collared, resource based history of Sooke is reflected in the orientation of its buildings. The layout of the buildings in Sooke is functional but not very aesthetically pleasing. I would like to see this changed; I would like to open the town up towards the harbor. This would really improve the look and feel of Sooke" (Interview respondent #5)*
>
> *"I'd like to see a more concentrated downtown core, with mixed uses, commercial below, residential above. There should be less focus on the highway and more focus on the harbor. There should be more pedestrian activity, tourists and residents" (Interview respondent #5).*
>
> *"Sooke should further develop the image of a seaside community. Sooke needs a more developed downtown core, a mixed use downtown core, a cleaned-up downtown core. There should be more access to the harbor and basin; maybe incorporate some boardwalks" (Interview respondent # 6).*

"Sooke needs a more lively downtown, currently it is completely dead after 8:00 pm. Maybe a pub overlooking the water. Sooke just can't seem to put that type of project together" (Interview respondent #6.)

6.3.4 Sooke Activities/ Functions

It is clear from the responses of the survey that respondents recognize the economic shift that has been occurring in Sooke with the downsizing in the forestry industry, Responses to the survey questions that asked respondents to rate the community's most important industries in the past, present and future time periods showed a clear pattern; a substantially reduced role of the forestry industry and an increasing function of other sectors such as tourism, services and retail (refer to Table 28). Interview respondents articulate this transition:

"The mill in Sooke used to employ around 400 people but it closed; the bottom has really fallen out of the industry. Nowadays the loggers that are still around fly into camps in northern British Columbia. They are gone 3 weeks and are back for one. You can't go to work in the morning and come back at night in that industry any more" (Interview respondent #6).

"Sooke used to be a blue-collared working town, it is still somewhat blue collared but that is rapidly changing. There is still some commercial fishing and some loggers around town, but these industries now have a minimal impact. Recreational fishing is pretty big" (Interview respondent #5).

"Most of the people who live in Sooke now work in the high tech or commercial sector, or have a home based business; that is where the growth is. There are a lot of people arriving here who are in the computer software business; there are also some University of Victoria professors who live here" (Interview respondent #5)

"There are some small forestry operations in Sooke but they have minimal impact. The market is mainly niche products, custom value added. There is one small mill and one proposed new mill in the vacant gravel pit area. Sooke could generate more activity for niche products" (Interview respondent #5).

"Tourism is starting to be successful in Sooke. There are several bed and breakfasts that are doing quite well. Sooke wants a hotel but that type of development is being held back because of the lack of sewers" (Interview respondent #5).

"Sooke has grown and moved from a resource based economy to a tourism based economy" (Interview respondent #7).

Table 28: Sooke respondent's perceived importance of various industries in the past, present, and future (N=169)

		Essential to the towns' survival (5)	Extremely Important (4)	Important (3)	Somewhat Important (2)	Not Important at all (1)	Don't Know	Didn't Answer	Mean Score
Forestry (Past)	N	54	58	22	15	3	12	5	3.95
	%	32.00%	34.30%	13.00%	8.90%	1.80%	7.10%	3.00%	
Forestry (Present)	N	8	34	34	51	20	16	6	2.72
	%	4.70%	20.10%	20.10%	30.20%	11.80%	9.50%	3.60%	
Forestry (Future)	N	8	28	30	43	31	22	7	2.56
	%	4.70%	16.60%	17.80%	25.40%	18.30%	13.00%	4.10%	
Tourism (Past)	N	41	41	26	31	13	10	7	3.43
	%	24.30%	24.30%	15.40%	18.30%	7.70%	5.90%	4.10%	
Tourism (Present)	N	62	66	29	3	0	4	5	4.17
	%	36.70%	39.10%	17.20%	1.80%	0.00%	2.40%	3.00%	
Tourism (Future)	N	83	58	14	3	0	5	6	4.40
	%	49.10%	34.30%	8.30%	1.80%	0.00%	3.00%	3.60%	
Services (Past)	N	23	35	42	37	10	14	8	3.16
	%	13.60%	20.70%	24.90%	21.90%	5.90%	8.30%	4.70%	
Services (Present)	N	35	51	55	15	2	5	6	3.65
	%	20.70%	30.20%	32.50%	8.90%	1.20%	3.00%	3.60%	
Services (Future)	N	53	54	43	3	2	5	9	3.99
	%	31.40%	32.00%	25.40%	1.80%	1.20%	3.00%	5.30%	
Retail (Past)	N	17	27	45	49	10	14	7	2.95
	%	10.10%	16.00%	26.60%	29.00%	5.90%	8.30%	4.10%	
Retail (Present)	N	26	43	58	27	5	6	4	3.36
	%	15.40%	25.40%	34.30%	16.00%	3.00%	3.60%	2.40%	
Retail (Future)	N	46	52	49	6	3	6	7	3.85
	%	27.20%	30.80%	29.00%	3.60%	1.80%	3.60%	4.10%	

Residents in Sooke appear to support the promotion of further tourism opportunities and recommend the community to focus on its uniqueness and distinctiveness. Comments in this regard were:

"Sooke should pursue more tourism opportunities which focus on the unique natural features and historic attributes in the area." (SRR 34).

"Sooke is a great place, with great ecotourism opportunities. Some innovative ideas in terms of festivities and various types of arts and culture attractions would help create an even better tourist product" (SSR 51).

Interview respondents #5 described the growing importance of tourism among residents stating that:

"People are realizing the importance of promoting themselves to the rest of the world; they want to show the best that Sooke has to offer. There is a changing attitude towards tourism and other new developments. This is largely linked to all of the new types of people moving into Sooke" (Interview respondent #5)

and that;

"Sooke is a town in transition; it is trying to redefine itself" (Interview respondent #5).

Despite its substantially reduced role in Sooke, it is evident that the forestry industry still has a role to play in Sooke's image. In Question 22 of the survey, respondents were asked to rate the importance of the forestry industry to the identity of their community. Eleven respondents (6.5%) suggested that the forestry industry is an 'Absolutely Essential' part of their community's identity. In addition, 38 participants (22.5%) stated it was an 'Extremely Important' part, and 42 respondents (24.9%) stated in was a 'Very Important' part. Thirty-nine (39) respondents (23.1%) said it was only 'Somewhat important' and only 15 respondents (8.9%) said that it was "Not important at all". As one respondent noted:

"Although the forest industry is not as important economically anymore it is still a big part of Sooke's history. Its roots in the forestry industry are part of Sooke's identity. The 'logger sports' at 'All Sooke Day' was always a nice reminder of that" (SSR 23).

6.3.5 The Spirit of Sooke

Survey and Interview respondents articulated, through a variety of responses, that the character of Sooke lies in its small town atmosphere, sense of community, and friendliness of local residents. When respondents were asked what their motivations were when they first decided to move to Sooke, small town atmosphere was the second most popular response (40 respondents) after 'real-estate prices/affordability (96 respondents). An additional 22 respondents (13.0%) said

that the peacefulness and quietness in Sooke was an important consideration (Survey Part A, Question #7). Similarly, in Part A, Question #8 of the survey, respondents recognized the 'small town atmosphere' (or the 'country living') in Sooke as well as the 'friendliness and hospitality of residents 'as being two of the most important qualities about Sooke. Relating to the strength of community in Sooke, interview respondent #5 commented that *"another strength that Sooke is fortunate enough to have is a strong sense of volunteerism [and] unfortunately, there is not a lot of funding to support those active volunteers"*.

In regards to Sooke's small town feel, one survey participant made the following comment:

> *"The thing I really love about Sooke is its small town feel. Everyone is friendly; it is peaceful, quiet and relaxing. Sooke needs to be careful not to overdevelop and thus destroy this important quality." (SSR 6).*

The findings suggest a legitimate need and evident desire to create an atmosphere in Sooke which allows the community to distinguish itself as a separate entity from Victoria. When respondents were asked to name 3-5 features that make Sooke different from other Vancouver Island communities, the majority (14.8%) said merely it's proximity to Victoria. The relatively low number of responses in this question suggests a lack of features to really set the community apart. Correspondingly, one survey respondent noted that:

> *"The way things are going, Sooke is just going to become a distant suburb of Victoria. I don't think we should let that happen. We should try to create a unique atmosphere in Sooke, something that represents the aspirations of residents but also features that are already great about Sooke like its natural features, the waterfront, and its history." (SSR 99).*

Interview respondents also highlighted the importance of creating a distinct image in Sooke:

> *"[Sooke needs] projects related to revitalization, recreation, arts and cultural development, anything to make Sooke less of a bedroom community to Victoria" (Interview respondent #5).*

> *"Sooke needs to reshape and clearly define its image" (Interview respondent #5).*

6.3.6 Sooke Results Summary

The results from the investigation on place identity yielded the following key findings from Sooke. First, respondents demonstrated that they are generally quite satisfied with Sooke as a place to live, for others to visit, and for recreational opportunities, but there are concerns over the

economy. Second, there is a need for Sooke to establish its individuality from the City of Victoria and develop its own sense of place. Third, There are few heritage and historic buildings and features in Sooke, and the strong support demonstrated for the museum suggests that further emphasis on Sooke's historic roots may be appropriate. Fourth, there is a real mixing in terms of preference for modern versus traditional residential development. Fifth, the natural features in Sooke including the various parks, beaches, and natural areas are considered by residents to be important elements in making the community an attractive place to live. Residents also enjoy the vast opportunities for outdoor recreation. Sixth, the people in Sooke recognize and generally support a shifting focus towards the tourism industry. Seventh, the 'small town atmosphere' is a quality that many Sooke residents value and appreciate. Eighth, the residents of Sooke see big box retail, and fast food restaurants as a potential threat to the character of Sooke. Finally, despite the fact that the forestry industry has largely disappeared from Sooke, respondents still consider it an important part of their community's identity.

6.4 Port Alberni Results

6.4.1 Port Alberni Survey Respondents

The Port Alberni Place Identity survey resulted in a very even proportion of male to female respondents. Males accounted for exactly 50.0% of participants and females accounted for 48.7%. Two (2) respondents (1.3%) did not specify their gender. The Port Alberni survey also generated a large number of long term residents, with 118 participants (75.6%) having lived in the community for over 20 years. Despite this high turn-out of long standing residents, there was still some representation by more recent residents. Twenty-three (23) respondents (14.8%) had lived in Port Alberni for less than 10 years of which two (2) (1.3%) had lived in the community for less than 1 year. Just over half (57.7%) of the respondents had moved to Port Alberni from somewhere else. Thirty-eight (38) participants (24.4%) had parents who lived in Port Alberni, nineteen (19) participants (12.2%) had grandparents who lived in the community, and 6 participants (3.8%) had great-grandparents who lived in community. The Port Alberni survey results accurately reflected the demographics of the community. As would be expected, Port Alberni had the fewest number of commuters of the three case studies (refer to Chapter 5). Ninety-five (95) respondents (60.9%) worked in Port Alberni; only 6 respondents (3.8%)

commuted to their job from Port Alberni. Commute locations specified included Nanaimo, Victoria and Coombs. Twenty-five (25) respondents (16.1%) worked in the resources (10.3%) and manufacturing industries (5.8%); this was the highest number in all three of the case study communities. The services industry incorporated the highest number of Port Alberni respondents with 17.9%, followed closely by institutional which accounted for 14.1%. The majority of Port Alberni respondents were married with children (75.6%) and there was a whole range of educational backgrounds. The Port Alberni survey had a fairly equal representation of respondents in all the age groups between 31 and 70. There were very few respondents younger than 31 (only 5.1%). This is quite representative of the overall age structure in Port Alberni which sees the bulk of residents in the 45-64 age bracket, as specified in Chapter 5. Quite a large number of participants were retired (29.5%) but the majority (67.3% were employed. The income distribution for Port Alberni was skewed towards the higher income brackets. Forty- one (41) respondents (26.3%) had an annual household income of more the $70,000 (before taxes) and the average income was in the $50,0001 to $60,000 range (before taxes). This is however, comparable to the median household income of Port Alberni which is $48,748 (after taxes)[27]. The characteristics of the Port Alberni survey respondents are summarized in greater detail in Table 29.

Table 29: Characteristics of Port Alberni Survey Respondents (N=156)

Duration of residence			**Work in Port Alberni?**		
> 20 years	118	75.6%	Yes	95	60.9%
11-20 years	13	8.3%	No	53	34.0%
6-10 years	10	6.4%	**Commute to work?**		
1/5 years	11	7.1%	Yes	6	3.8%
< 1 year	2	1.3%	No	50	32.1%
Generations of family in Port Alberni			**Employment Category**		
Great Grandparents	6	3.8%	Entrepreneurial Business	8	5.1%
Grandparents	19	12.2%	Services	28	17.9%
Parents	38	24.4%	Resources Industry	16	10.3%
I moved here from somewhere else	90	57.7%	Manufacturing	9	5.8%
Only temporarily living here	0	0.0%	Student	1	0.6%
Gender			Institutional	22	14.1%
Male	78	50.0%	Home Maker	9	5.8%
Female	76	48.7%	Retired	46	29.5%

[27] Based on Statistics Canada 2000 Income estimates.

Age		
19-25	3	1.9%
26-30	5	3.2%
31-40	25	16.0%
41-50	38	24.4%
51-60	38	24.4%
61-70	32	20.5%
71-80	13	8.3%
Over 80	0	0.0%
Marital Status		
Single	9	5.8%
Married without children	11	7.1%
Married with children	118	75.6%
Divorced	14	9.0%
Educational Background		
Some High School	26	16.7%
High School Graduate	49	31.4%
College Diploma	17	10.9%
Technical School Graduate	19	12.2%
University Degree	27	17.3%
University Graduate Degree	8	5.1%
Other	6	3.8%
Unemployed	3	1.9%
Other	12	7.7%
Employed in forestry?		
Yes	26	16.7%
No	125	80.1%
Ever employed in forestry?		
Yes	45	28.8%
No	79	50.6%
Income (before taxes)		
Less than $10,000	2	1.3%
$10,000-$20,000	7	4.5%
$20,001- $30,000	14	9.0%
$30,001- $40,000	11	7.1%
$40,001- $50,000	12	7.7%
$50,001- $60,000	17	10.9%
$60,001- $70,000	15	9.6%
More than $70,000	41	26.3%
TOTAL SURVEYS DELIVERED		**225**
TOTAL # OF RESPONSES		**156**
RESPONSE RATE		**69.3%**

6.4.2 Satisfaction with place and attachment to place

The majority of survey respondents in Port Alberni demonstrated satisfaction with their community as a place to live, as a place for others to visit, and especially as a place for recreation and leisure. Out of the 156 completed surveys, 138 participants (88.5%) rated Port Alberni as being either a 'Good' (59.0%) or 'Excellent' (29.5%) place to live, and 121 residents (77.6%) rated Port Alberni as also being either a 'Good' (51.3%) or 'Excellent' (26.3%) place to visit. A profound level of satisfaction was demonstrated by respondents toward recreation and leisure in Port Alberni. One-hundred and eight (108) participants (69.2%) rated Port Alberni as an excellent place for recreation and leisure and an additional 39 respondents (25.0%) rated recreation and leisure as 'Good'. No respondents rated recreation and leisure in Port Alberni as 'Poor' or 'Very Poor'. As a place to work and conduct business residents opinions were inconsistent. On one hand, sixteen (13) residents (8.3%) rated Port Alberni as an 'Excellent'

place to work, but on the other, 25 respondents (16.0%) rated work in Port Alberni as being 'Poor'. Similarly, as a place to conduct business, only 3 respondents (1.9%) rated Port Alberni as 'Excellent', as compared to the 42 residents (26.9%) who rated the community as being 'Poor'. Despite the fact that the majority of residents rated Port Alberni as being in the 'Good' to 'Average' range, both as a place to work and to conduct business, the number of negative responses suggests that there is concern in the community over the economy. Table 30, provides complete data results for the survey questions relating to respondents level of satisfaction with Port Alberni.

Table 30: Port Alberni respondents level of satisfaction with their community (N=156)

Place to Live								
	Excellent (5)	Good (4)	Adequate (3)	Poor (2)	Very Poor (1)	Don't Know	Didn't Answer	Mean Score
N	46	92	15	2	0	0	1	4.2
%	29.50%	59.00%	9.60%	1.30%	0.00%	0.00%	0.60%	
Place to Work								
	Excellent (5)	Good (4)	Adequate (3)	Poor (2)	Very Poor (1)	Don't Know	Didn't Answer	Mean Score
N	13	69	33	25	6	4	6	3.4
%	8.30%	44.20%	21.20%	16.00%	3.80%	2.60%	3.80%	
Place to Visit								
	Excellent (5)	Good (4)	Adequate (3)	Poor (2)	Very Poor (1)	Don't Know	Didn't Answer	Mean Score
N	41	80	26	5	1	1	2	4.01
%	26.30%	51.30%	16.70%	3.20%	0.60%	0.60%	1.30%	
Place to Do Business								
	Excellent (5)	Good (4)	Adequate (3)	Poor (2)	Very Poor (1)	Don't Know	Didn't Answer	Mean Score
N	3	33	61	42	7	9	1	2.88
%	1.90%	21.20%	39.10%	26.90%	4.50%	5.80%	0.60%	
Place for Recreation & Leisure								
	Excellent (5)	Good (4)	Adequate (3)	Poor (2)	Very Poor (1)	Don't Know	Didn't Answer	Mean Score
N	108	39	8	0	0	0	1	4.65
%	69.20%	25.00%	5.10%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.60%	

Concerns over the economy in Port Alberni were re-emphasized by the survey participant's responses to the question which asked them to identify things they wished they could change

about Port Alberni. The most common response was that they wished they could improve the employment situation by providing better employment opportunities with higher wages (16.7% of respondents) (refer to survey Part A: Question 27). Interview respondents 9 & 10 articulated the economic situation in Port Alberni stating that:

> *"Port Alberni faces a difficult economy because of the forestry industry. There is a lot of underemployment. I guess you could say Port-Alberni is a great place to live if you have a good full-time job."*

There was a real mix of both optimism and pessimism when survey respondents were asked to reflect on how Port Alberni has evolved during their lifetime. While there were 29 respondents (18.6%) who stated that Port Alberni had 'Improved a Lot' during their lifetime and an additional 42 participants (26.9%)who felt that the community had 'Improved a Little', there were 49 participants (31.4%) who felt Port Alberni had 'Become Worse' and 11 respondents (7.1%) who felt it had become a lot worse. The same degree of variability was also displayed when respondents were asked to consider Port Alberni's future prospects. While there were 27 respondents (17.3%) who felt Port Alberni will "Improve a Lot" in the future and 62 participants who felt the place will "Improve a Little" there were 21 participants who felt it will "Become Worse" and 4 respondents who felt it will "Become A Lot Worse. An additional 21.8% of participants though Port Alberni will 'Stay the Same'. The majority of survey respondents felt that the greatest improvements were going to occur in recreational opportunities and appearance. The area that the most number of residents thought might 'Become Worse' was in the area of crime. Table 31 specifies what residents felt was going to happen in Port Alberni in the future in several areas.

Table 31: Respondents perceptions of what will happen to Port Alberni in the future (N=156)

		Improve A Lot (5)	Improve A Little (4)	Stay the Same (3)	Become Worse (2)	Become a Lot Worse (1)	Don't Know	Didn't Answer	Mean Score
Employment/ Income	N	8	43	43	44	9	7	2	2.98
	%	5.10%	27.60%	27.60%	28.20%	5.80%	4.50%	1.30%	
Services	N	12	50	53	29	4	3	5	3.25
	%	7.70%	32.10%	34.00%	18.60%	2.60%	1.90%	3.20%	

Recreational Opportunities	N	26	68	53	3	0	4	2	3.78
	%	16.70%	43.60%	34.00%	1.90%	0.00%	2.60%	1.30%	
Appearance	N	16	81	33	18	2	3	3	3.61
	%	10.30%	51.90%	21.20%	11.50%	1.30%	1.90%	1.90%	
Friendliness	N	12	45	89	4	2	2	2	3.4
	%	7.70%	28.80%	57.10%	2.60%	1.30%	1.30%	1.30%	
Sense of Community	N	14	51	73	10	1	3	4	3.45
	%	9.00%	32.70%	46.80%	6.40%	0.60%	1.90%	2.60%	
Crime	N	2	25	52	56	10	9	2	2.68
	%	1.30%	16.00%	33.30%	35.90%	6.40%	5.80%	1.30%	

Despite some pessimism about the direction that Port Alberni is heading, a number of respondents demonstrated an attachment to place. When asked how big a pay increase an employer would have to pay them to get them to leave Port Alberni, 25.0% of respondents said it 'Didn't matter how much a pay increase they were offered, they would never leave'. An additional 28.8% of respondents said they would require more than a $20,000 pay increase and another 10.3% required a $10,001 to $20,000 pay increase. There were 12 respondents who wanted to leave Port Alberni anyway, even without a pay increase but they are a significant minority. All of the people who stated they wanted to leave also said that work in Port Alberni was 'Poor' or 'Very Poor' and 3 of them were unemployed. This may suggest that their disassociation with place is based on their inability to find suitable employment opportunities (refer to Survey Part A: Question 9).

Port Alberni respondents exhibited a quite reasonable knowledge of their community. The photos from Port Alberni which were included in Part C of the survey included the historic train station, a historic house, the marina, Mclean Mill, and a church. The most easily recognized feature, with over 90% of respondents being able to pick it out, was the Port Alberni City hall. More than 80% of respondents were also able to identify the historic train station (88.8%) and the marina (81.7%). Respondents had more difficulty identifying the historic house, the Mclean mill and the church. Considering the overall size of Port Alberni, it is not surprising that some respondents couldn't pick out a church or historic house. The significant amount of people who were able to correctly identify them is actually quite impressive. More surprising is the inability of a number of respondents to identify the Mclean mill. As will be discussed later in this section,

the Mclean mill is a significant landmark. This researcher believes the distance, or angle, from where the picture was taken , may have played a role in the confusion. Table 32 summarizes respondent's degree of familiarity with the various features of their community.

Table 32: Port Alberni respondent's ability to identify features in their community (N=156)

Question #	*Photo of:*	*Correctly identified*		*Incorrectly Identified*		*Did not answer*	
		N	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*
1	Port Alberni historic train station	134	85.9%	13	8.3%	9	5.8%
6	Port Alberni historic house	41	26.3%	74	47.5%	41	26.3%
7	Port Alberni City Hall	147	94.2%	5	3.2%	4	2.6%
9 (2 features)	Port Alberni Marina	138	88.5%	18	11.5%	10	6.4%
	Port Alberni McLean Mill	57	36.5%				
10	Port Alberni church	97	62.2%	35	22.4%	24	15.4%

6.4.3 The Physical Setting of Port Alberni

Port Alberni has witnessed some significant new additions to its built environment since the 1980s. Of particular significance was the completion of the McLean Mill national historic site and its associated steam train ride, as well as the redevelopment of the Harbour Quay area. Port Alberni's tourism marketing strategy revolves around these highlighting its heritage (with specific focus on these two new elements) as well as the areas natural features and outdoor recreation opportunities. Examples, from the tourism brochures collected, that illustrate this focus, include the following:

> *"Come and discover for yourself the pleasure of exploring the heritage of the Alberni Valley" (Visitors Choice, 2003).*
>
> *"Sense the raw adventure, tales of heroism and moments of mystique, grandeur and romance that tells the story of our coast"(Maritime Discovery Centre).*
>
> *"Ride the rails for steam-powered adventure" (Alberni Pacific Railway).*
>
> *"Located in one of the most picturesque areas of the world the Alberni Valley and the surrounding region offers a quality of life that is second to none" (Alberni Valley at a Glance).*

"Port Alberni is the hub of the spectacular Pacific Rim, nestled in a valley of rivers, lakes, streams, ocean inlet waterfront, mountains ant forests" (Alberni Valley 2003, Visitors Guide).

"This community, in the heart of Vancouver Island – with its lush greenery and gorgeous surroundings – radiates peace and tranquility, But there is excitement here too!" (Alberni Valley 2003, Visitors Choice Guide).

Additional examples from promotional websites include the following:

"Kids and adults alike will enjoy the view of the Alberni Inlet from the top of the Clocktower located in the Harbour Quay. Take a stroll around the harbour, browse the shops, or sample one of the many restaurants. The kids will love the play park, especially in the summer when the park's spray pool is running" (http://www.city.port-alberni.bc.ca).

"Located on 13 hectares of beautiful forested land in the scenic Alberni Valley on Vancouver Island's West Coast, the McLean Mill National Historic Site offers a unique look into the past with this 1926 steam sawmill. See the rustic beginnings of today's forest industry and experience the excitement as the Mill steams up and takes you through a close-up look at each step of the milling process, performed with original steam technology. Take a walk through the original camp where the loggers and Mill employees lived and worked in the rugged landscape of the Alberni Valley. There are more than 30 buildings and structures that preserve and interpret the heritage of British Columbia's forest industry" (http://www.city.port-alberni.bc.ca).

"Port Alberni is also a forestry community and its long and interesting logging history is best depicted at the McLean Mill Heritage Sawmill, a National Historic Site accessible by car, on foot or bicycle along the Log Train Trail or on board the 1929 steam train from the restored Railway Station at the foot of Argyle Street near Alberni Harbour Quay" (htp://www.avcoc.com).

"Port Alberni and the pastoral Alberni Valley, have become gateways to the West Coast. With the increased popularity of Pacific Rim National Park, Barkley and Clayoquot Sounds, and the incredible sports fishing available, more and more visitors are using their vacations in Port Alberni take day trips to a variety of West Coast locations. The ocean provides a great many recreational opportunities. Harbour cruises are one of the popular pastimes in the city as is sightseeing and browsing through gift shops and galleries. Known as the 'Salmon Capital of the World' Port Alberni hosts the annual 'Salmon Festival' which is extremely popular as is year round fishing" (http://www.bcadventure.com).

"Steam trains, steam sawmill, Maritime Heritage, First Nations culture and art, the beautiful Alberni Valley on Vancouver Island in British Columbia, Canada is the home of

a host of Heritage Tourism attractions that are educational and fun for the whole family" (http://www.alberniheritage.com).

"Port Alberni is truly the Salmon Capital of the World - adjacent waters boast all five species of Pacific salmon. Port Alberni's harbour district is thick with tackle shops, boat rentals, and fishing charters. This is definitely one of the major hubs for angling on Vancouver Island and is the best resource centre for information on fishing locally in both saltwater and freshwater" (http://www.britishcolumbia.com).

Port Alberni's advertising media creates a comprehensive image of Port Alberni that is based on its heritage, natural features, and outdoor recreation opportunities. The marketing strategy is intended to try and incorporate these heritage features, physical features and outdoor activities into the mental picture that outsiders develop for the community. Several interview respondents suggested that this effort to promote Port Alberni in a positive way is vitally important considering the strong negative outside image that has been traditionally associated with the community as a result of its industrial history, they suggested:

"The external image of Port Alberni is a major weakness. A consultant was hired to investigate the image of Port Alberni among outsiders. People were interviewed from both Vancouver and Victoria and the majority of the respondents had a very negative image of Port Alberni" (Interview respondent # 11).

"People are generally very pleasantly surprised when they get to Port Alberni and they see how nice it is. The image that people living outside of the valley have is that Port Alberni is a stinky, smoky mill town. This used to be true years ago but it is no longer the case" (Interview respondents #9 & #10).

"There are a lot of people who still think of Port Alberni as a smelly mill town, that is no longer the case. The rotting egg smell that used to overwhelm Port Alberni, often called the 'smell of money', is gone." (Interview respondent #13).

The results of this study demonstrate that the same built and natural features being used to market Port Alberni are also positive contributors to the identity that residents associate with the community.

Natural features were demonstrated as being of tremendous significance to the survey respondents through a number of the questions. Forty-eight of the 156 total respondents (48) in Port Alberni, identified natural features/scenic beauty as being one of Port Alberni's 5 most important qualities (refer to survey Part A: Question 8). Correspondingly, when asked to rate the

importance of natural features directly, 69.7% of respondents rated them as either 'Absolutely Essential' (24.4%), or 'Extremely Important' (35.3%) (refer to survey Part A: Question 23). When asked to name 3-5 places that they considered special or important, the types of places they would bring an out of town visitor, natural features were two of the top four responses. These included both Sproat Lake (53.8% of respondents) and Stamp Falls Provincial Park (32.7%) (refer to survey Part A: Question 14). In addition, Mount Arrowsmith was the feature that the most respondents felt best captured the essence of Port Alberni; something worthy of being put on a post-card. Other notable natural features identified in this question included the Alberni Inlet/ Canal (14.1% of respondents), and Sproat Lake (10.9%) (refer to survey Part A: Question 15). In Part B of the survey, a number of natural features were identified on the map as being significant landmarks and special places, as well as important leisure time locations in Port Alberni. These features are summarized in Table 33.

Table 33: Special Places/ Important Landmark and Leisure Time Locations identified by respondents on the map of Port Alberni (Part B of survey – N=156)

Special Place/ Important Landmark	N	%	Leisure Time Location	N	%
Victoria Quay Park	18	11.50%	Sproat Lake	22	14.10%
Sproat Lake	17	10.90%	Alberni Inlet	22	14.10%
Alberni Inlet	7	4.50%	China Creek	3	1.90%
Stamp Falls / park	5	3.20%	Blair Park	3	1.90%
Mount Arrowsmith	4	2.60%	Victoria Quay Park	3	1.90%
Somass River	3	1.90%	Stamp Falls Park	1	0.60%
Rogers Creek Park	2	1.30%	Mount Arrowsmith	1	0.60%
Blair Park	2	1.30%			
Cathedral Grove	1	0.60%			
Clutesi Marina	1	0.60%			
China Creek	1	0.60%			

Responses from the survey demonstrated that a number of residents in Port Alberni feel that the development of the Harbour Quay and the Mclean mill, has created two special, and important landmarks in the community. In Part A of the survey, question 7, the Harbour Quay was

recognized as a special place (the type of place to bring an out of town guest) by 67.9% of respondents (it was the most popular response and the Mclean mill was recognized as a special feature by 41.0% of respondents. Correspondingly, the Harbour Quay and the Mclean Mill National Historic site were the two most commonly identified important landmarks and special places on the map provided to respondents for Port Alberni (refer to survey Part B) One respondent commented on the Mclean Mill as being a feature that helps the community remember its roots, he stated:

> *"The McLean mill was a really great addition to the community. I don't really think it is going to create all that many jobs but it reminds the community of its deep roots in the forestry industry. It is a project that not only has tourist appeal but also is an accurate reflection of what this community is all about." (PASR 15).*

Interview respondents reiterated the importance of both natural features and built heritage features such as McLean mill:

> *"Natural features such as Sproat Lake and Alberni Inlet are very important features. Built elements such as the forestry and maritime heritage buildings and structures are also important to the character of Port Alberni." (Interview respondent #13).*
>
> *"Port Alberni's greatest strength is its natural features, including Sproat Lake, the Alberni Inlet, and Cathedral Grove" (Interview respondent # 12)*
>
> *"The McLean Mill National Historic Site is an important landmark that represents not only the community's history but also the efforts of many local residents who helped bring the project to life. Natural features such as Sproat Lake, the Alberni Inlet, and Mount Arrowsmith really make Port Alberni an attractive and special place to live and visit" (Interview respondent #13).*
>
> *"The McLean mill is an important landmark which reflects the history of the forestry industry in the Valley." (Respondent #12).*

In general terms, respondents did not find heritage and historic features to be of tremendous importance to their community. Employment, services, recreational opportunities, natural features and sense of belonging were all rated as being more important than heritage attributes and historic features (refer to survey Part A: Question 23). There were however some heritage features identified by respondents as being worthy of preservation. In addition to the Mclean mill and steam train, and the Harbor Quay, respondents also felt the old post office of Johnston Road

(19.2% of respondents), the heritage houses of Port Alberni (7.1%), and the historic railway station (5.8%) were worthy of preservation. Interview respondents #9 & #10 suggested that Port Alberni has a lot of heritage possibilities, they said that *"Port Alberni has a lot of industrial heritage. There is a great collection of antique logging equipment. These features should be preserved."* The general lack of enthusiasm that respondents displayed towards heritage and historic features in Port Alberni may have a lot to do with the dismal state that a number of these structures are in, as emphasized by respondents who stated:

> *"It would be easier to have an appreciation for heritage buildings in Port Alberni if any of them were in any good condition. Most of them are filthy, dilapidated and real eye-sores. It is tough to see any value in that"(PASR 22).*
>
> *"Most of the heritage buildings in Port Alberni are in a state of disrepair." (PASR 51).*
>
> *"Many of the heritage buildings need a lot of improvements they always look so grubby" (PASR 74).*
>
> *"There is some heritage character in Port Alberni but everything is so run down it is hard to really appreciate its value." (PASR 102).*

The survey demonstrated that respondents are generally in favor of new development in the community. When respondents were asked to list current economic development projects in Port Alberni that they supported, a total of 258 responses were accumulated. Alternatively, when participants were asked to identify current projects they opposed, only 24 responses were accrued (refer to survey Part A: Question 21). Specifically, respondents would like to see more quality commercial development in the downtown core. Some comments in this regard included:

> *"The downtown needs to be revitalized. When I was growing up it was the hub of the city and now it is totally dead. The city should investigate how to get new development into the downtown. Specifically some good stores that serve the basic needs of the community so we don't have to go to Nanaimo" (PASR 7).*
>
> *"There are too many empty stores in the City Centre. It looks so rundown and bare." (PASR 35.)*
>
> *"Port Alberni needs to reestablish a distinct uptown area, not just small isolated shopping centers all over town." (PASR 84).*

Commercial development in general was recognized by respondents as being desirable. Respondents commented that:

> *"There seem to be too many convenience outlets, gas stations, and retail outlets and not enough good quality stores. We seem to have become the bargain basement centre of the world. Regrettably we are now forced to go to Nanaimo for some of our shopping need. The community needs more quality commercial developments" (PASR 43).*
>
> *"More stores with competitive prices would keep people from traveling to Nanaimo, keeping more money in the local community" (PASR 15).*
>
> *"Port Alberni needs to be able to provide a wider range of shopping needs" (PASR 17).*

The importance of providing better quality shopping facilities was emphasized by interview respondents who stated:

> *"A big problem in Port Alberni right now is that since it is so close to Nanaimo a lot of people don't shop locally. Most people drive to the big box stores in Woodgrove. This makes it tough on the commercial businesses in Port Alberni. We need to get the products and services that people want here. We need to get local dollars back into the community. This involves the development of a new well thought-out commercial project."(Interview respondents #9 & # 10).*
>
> *"People in Port Alberni need the opportunity to shop locally. Macmillan Bloedel used to have many local mom and pop suppliers which put a lot of disposable cash into the community. This isn't the case with Weyerhaeuser but that doesn't mean there is no money around. The problem is that people can find better deals elsewhere such as in Parksville, or Nanaimo which has a Costco and a Home Depot" (Interview respondent #12).*
>
> *"Port Alberni needs a major shopping centre project which will stop people from heading out of town for their shopping needs" (Interview respondent #11).*
>
> *"In the 1960's and 1970's Port Alberni was self-sufficient. People shopped locally because they had to. The road out of Port Alberni wasn't very good. Today you can be in Nanaimo in about 1 hour; it used to take 4" (Interview respondent #12).*
>
> *"A lot of business has gone to Nanaimo. When Woodwards, which used to be the retail hub of Port Alberni, went out of business it really killed the downtown." (Interview respondent #12).*

The Port Alberni survey generated a substantial degree of variability it terms of preferences for various housing and neighborhood types and styles. In regards to house types, 72 participants (46.2%) preferred the large approximately 20 year old home, another 58 respondents (37.2%) preferred the renovated heritage house, and 19 respondents (12.2%) preferred the large new home with a 2 car garage. Correspondingly, in terms of housing type, there were 76 participants (48..7%) who preferred the small heritage style homes, while there were also 34 respondents (21.8%) who preferred condominiums and 28 participants (17.9%) who preferred duplexes. A similar mixture of preferences was seen in terms of subdivision choice with 46 participants (29.5%) preferring the 15-20 year old subdivision with single family homes, 25 respondents (16.0%) preferring the historic subdivision with heritage type homes, 57 participants (36.5%) choosing the older subdivision with small single family homes, and 20 respondents (12.8%) preferring the new subdivision with large new homes. Similar to the Sooke case, real-estate guides collected for Port Alberni reiterate the variability in terms of available, and preferred, housing types in the community. A number of homes are advertised for those looking for accommodations that are 'modern', or 'contemporary'. Similarly other homes are advertised for those looking for places that have 'character' are 'homey',' friendly', 'cozy', 'pleasant', and 'timeless'. The variability in housing preference demonstrated in Port Alberni suggests demand for a variety of housing options, and to need to affectively manage the demands for contemporary residential development with the desire to preserve existing heritage character.

6.4.4 Port Alberni Activities/ Functions

It is clear from the responses of the survey that respondents see a continuing role of the forestry industry as a dominant sector but also accept the growing significance of tourism. This was evident from the responses to the survey questions that asked respondents to rate the community's most important industries in the past, present and future time periods As presented in Table 34, the results to this question show only a modest decrease in the importance of the forestry industry, and a substantial increase in the importance of tourism.

Table 34: Port Alberni respondent's perceived importance of various industries in the past, present, and future (N=156)

		Essential to the towns' survival (5)	Extremely Important (4)	Important (3)	Somewhat Important (2)	Not Important at all (1)	Don't Know	Didn't Answer	Mean Score
Forestry (Past)	N	121	28	3	1	0	1	2	4.76
	%	77.60%	17.90%	1.90%	0.60%	0.00%	0.60%	1.30%	
Forestry (Present)	N	96	45	9	2	0	0	4	4.55
	%	61.50%	28.80%	5.80%	1.30%	0.00%	0.00%	2.60%	
Forestry (Future)	N	77	44	19	5	0	5	6	4.33
	%	49.40%	28.20%	12.20%	3.20%	0.00%	3.20%	3.80%	
Tourism (Past)	N	23	45	47	25	12	2	2	3.28
	%	14.70%	28.80%	30.10%	16.00%	7.70%	1.30%	1.30%	
Tourism (Present)	N	35	74	36	6	1	1	3	3.89
	%	22.40%	47.40%	23.10%	3.80%	0.60%	0.60%	1.90%	
Tourism (Future)	N	52	71	19	4	0	3	7	4.17
	%	33.30%	45.50%	12.20%	2.60%	0.00%	1.90%	4.50%	

Interview respondents #9 and #10 highlight the growing emphasis on tourism:

> *"Tourism has become a big focus in Port Alberni. This has included heritage tourism (for example the Maritime Discovery Center, McLean Mill, and steam train), sport tourism (for example the BC Games, and Multiplex), and outdoor recreation including sports fishing, mountain biking, kayaking, and others."*

Responses of the survey suggest that there is strong resident support for further tourism development. Thirty-one (31) respondents (19.9%) suggested that tourism (in general) was something that they thought Port Alberni should pursue. A number of survey participants also offered suggestions for future tourism opportunities, some of these included:

> *"People flock to places with natural attractiveness, which is something that we have. We need to accentuate and make natural features more accessible for tourists" (PASR 104)*

> *"Port Alberni should further develop the Harbour Quay for greater tourism opportunities. Maybe by adding a fancy restaurant or marine pub" (PASR 151).*

> *"I think Port Alberni should really focus on bringing cruise ships in" (PASR 16).*

> *"We should develop our waterfront for tourism and link it to the train and McLean mill. Look at Nanaimo's waterfront, which has nice walking and tourist area" (PASR 22).*

"Port Alberni should develop the harbour area with a seawall, waterfront hotel and restaurants. I also think there could be a lot of opportunities for First Nations tourism" (PASR 47).

"How about a music festival? Port Alberni could develop a couple of blocks for pedestrian only access. The area could be fixed up with cobblestones, patio areas, benches, street entertainment, music and food" (PASR 61).

Despite growing support for tourism, it is clear that residents in Port Alberni still see industry as being the key to success in their community. As one respondent commented, *"tourism only provides seasonal, minimum wage jobs, this community's future is in industry"* (PASR 23).This industrial focus extends beyond just forestry. When asked to identify 5 economic development projects in Port Alberni that they supported, the two most common answers were the Eagle rock quarry project and the aluminum smelter project (refer to survey Part A: Question 21). Comments from personal interviews emphasize this continual support and focus towards industry.

"The economy is diversifying but forestry still plays a huge role in Port Alberni. The focus has shifted to more value added and high-tech operations. Norske Canada, the Coulson Group of Companies, Weyerhaeuser, and Hayes Forest Services Ltd, are all major employers" (Interview respondents #9 & #10).

"Port Alberni is still a labor town. The resource based jobs are still there and forestry is still a vital part of the community"(Interview respondent #12).

"The identity of Port Alberni is still very industrial. This is likely to remain the case but other types of initiatives will supplement that industrial base" (Interview respondents #9 & #10).

"I think Port Alberni still has an industrial future" (Interview respondent #11).

Interview respondents also suggested that industry and tourism cohabitate quite well in Port Alberni:

"The ability of Port Alberni to mix the forestry industry with tourism has been somewhat successful. The two industries are fairly complementary" (Interview respondents #9 & #10).

"Industrial tourism is a potential opportunity for Port Alberni; lots of tourists enjoy learning about industry" (Interview respondent #11).

Not surprisingly, the forestry industry is considered by a majority of respondents (77.6%) as being either 'Absolutely essential' (45.5%) or 'Extremely important' (32.1%) to the identity of Port Alberni (refer to survey Part A: Question 22).

Residents in Port Alberni seem to be open to a variety of new types of industrial activity as long as it is not environmentally threatening. Eleven (11) survey respondents (7.1%) suggested that anything environmentally threatening would be a detriment to the character of Port Alberni (refer to survey Part A: Question 25). Interview respondents articulated this sentiment:

> *"Port Alberni is a strong labor/ union town; they don't want to see low paying service type jobs, they want well paying employment. Port Alberni has an industrial reputation. At the same time, the people of Port Alberni want development that is going to be environmentally friendly. They don't want development that is going to have a negative impact on the natural features and qualities they enjoy. Location is very important in Port Alberni; will you be able to see it? What will be the negative impacts on the community? These are important question." (Interview respondents #9 & #10).*

> *"Port Alberni is still an industry town, and a labor town, it should be actively pursuing development as long as it is well-thought out, properly planned, and is environmentally sound" (Interview respondent #12).*

Interview respondents #9 & #10 also suggested their own concern for the natural environment:

> *"I don't want to see big clouds of smoke hovering above Port Alberni. Anything that would bring back the unpleasant smells and the smoke is no longer appropriate for this community." The people of Port Alberni want to see employment, but not at the expense of the natural environment that they enjoy" (Interview respondents #9 & #10).*

The existence of a multitude of available indoor and outdoor recreational activities is a key characteristic of Port Alberni that a number of residents value. Interview respondents commented on these recreational attributes:

> *"Port Alberni provides excellent recreational opportunities. The recreational facilities really set Port Alberni apart" (Interview respondent #11).*

> *"Port Alberni has excellent recreational opportunities, both built and natural. These features should be preserved" (Interview respondent #12).*

> *"Port Alberni has tremendous recreational opportunities. That comes from being a company town. When Macmillan Bloedel was doing well they helped build facilities to attract workers. The community has taken advantage of that. Port Alberni has hosted every single BC Games venue" (Interview respondent #13).*

Fifty percent (50%) of survey respondents acknowledged Port Alberni's recreation and leisure opportunities, (including facilities, programs, and sports) as being one of the 5 most important qualities about the community (refer to survey Part A: Question 8). In addition, when asked specifically to rank the importance of recreational opportunities, the majority of respondents (67.3%) stated that they were either 'Absolutely Essential' to the community (25.0%) or 'Extremely Important' (42.3%) (refer to survey Part A: Question 23). Fishing and boating was the most common answer from participants when they were asked to identify 3-5 features that make Port Alberni unique from other Vancouver Island communities. This suggests that the quality of fishing and boating in the area is considered quite exceptional. Correspondingly, completion of the new multiplex recreational centre (arena), was considered a major change that has occurred in the community by more respondents than forestry industry decline and downsizing (refer to survey Part A: Question 10). This is quite a significant indicator of the value of this facility considering the life-altering impact that job losses in the forestry industry have had on many Port Alberni families.

6.4.5 The Spirit of Port Alberni

Despite the fact that Port Alberni has a population of over 18,000 people, the results of the survey indicate that the spirit of Port Alberni lies in its small town character, sense of community, and friendliness of local residents. Small town atmosphere was identified by 30 survey respondents (19.2%) as being one of the most important qualities of Port Alberni (refer to survey Part A: Question 8). An additional, fifty-six (56) respondents (35.9%) stated that the friendly and caring nature of people was one of Port Alberni's most valuable aspects. Seventeen (17) participants (10.9%) suggested that sense of community, community spirit, and volunteerism, were qualities of Port Alberni that were important (refer to survey Part A: Question 8). Similarly, when asked what makes Port Alberni different from other Vancouver Island communities, 21 respondents (13.5%) stated the friendly, caring people, and 20 respondents (12.8%) stated Port Alberni's strong community spirit (a city with a heart) (refer to survey Part A: Question 16). Interview respondents 9 & 10 also commented on the cohesiveness of the community stating that "*the people in Port Alberni have a strong sense of community. When people leave Port Alberni they always seem to want to come back."*

6.4.6 Port Alberni Results Summary

The results from the investigation on place identity yielded the following key findings from Port Alberni. First, respondents demonstrated that they are generally satisfied with Port Alberni as a place to live, for others to visit, and especially for recreational opportunities, but there are concerns over the economy. Second, a number of respondents recognized Port Alberni's indoor and outdoor recreation & leisure opportunities as its most important quality. Third, support for the McLean Mill and steam train project demonstrates that there is some appreciation for heritage and historic buildings and features among the people of Port Alberni, however many respondents have pointed out that that a number of potentially valuable heritage and historic structures are in poor condition. Fourth, there is a real mixing in terms of preference for modern versus traditional residential development. Fifth, the natural features in Port Alberni including the waterfront, parks, lakes, and natural areas are considered by respondents to be important elements in making the community an attractive place to live. Sixth, the people in Port Alberni recognize and generally support the growing importance of the tourism industry but feel the community must have a sufficient supply of higher paying industrial jobs. Seventh, respondents emphasized that they would like to see Port Alberni's downtown areas revitalized and greater opportunities to shop locally. Seventh, despite Port Alberni's 18,000+ population, respondents suggested that they value the community's cohesiveness and 'small town atmosphere'. Finally, the forestry industry is clearly an essential part of Port Alberni's identity.

6.5 Chapter Summary

It was in this chapter that the investigation of place identity in the three case study British Columbia communities in transition was actually conducted. The approach was to focus predominantly on the quality of the various elements of identity as perceived by local residents. It was found that although residents did vary, based on their own individual values, preferences, and experiences with their communities, there were recognizable commonly held perceptions. An interesting finding that emerged in all three of the case study communities is that attitudes and perceptions regarding place identity did not seem to differ based on the demographic characteristics of the respondents. Chi-square tests were run on the quantitative survey questions and no substantive relationships were found. Responses seemed to vary person-to-person as

opposed to by age, gender, occupation, or length of stay in the community. It is uncertain whether this finding is unique to this study or whether similar results would be found in other cases. This may be something that could be investigated in a future study. Other methods such as personal interviews and review of marketing materials and real-estate guides were used in this study to substantiate results, but also to search for discrepancies. Essentially, promotional materials seemed to highlight (with a little embellishment) the elements of the communities that residents too, found to be exceptional features, rather than producing a purely artificial image. It was also found that for the most part, interview respondents, who are in decision making roles in these communities, seem to have an adequate grasp of the values, perceptions, and opinions of local residents, and interview comments largely reinforced findings from the survey. The three case study communities involved in this research share some commonly recognized elements such as a 'small town atmosphere', natural beauty, but also economic concerns. In addition, they also have their own unique positive and negative features. In the next chapter, with a better appreciation for these shared and/or unique characteristics, recommendations are made for planning policies that will preserve and enhance positive qualities while also mitigating negative ones and as such build stronger communities for the future.

CHAPTER 7: RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

Residents in all three of the case studies showed no strong dissatisfaction with the characteristics and features of their communities and many residents demonstrated a quite profound connection to place. This suggests that there is support for these communities and represents an excellent opportunity for community building. The methods employed in this study allowed the researcher to identify a number of elements of the community that are important to residents and which are fostering attachment to place. The researcher was also able to identify negative elements that are detracting from the overall satisfaction that residents are deriving from these places. In Chapter 2, it was emphasized that building a stronger identity (or image), which residents can associate with and relate to, has quality of life benefits. Based on this understanding, the next step is to utilize the knowledge on resident perceived identity to develop effective planning policies and strategies that preserve and enhance the existing positively perceived elements, and mitigate the negative ones.

In this chapter, existing policy statements for each case study community will be reviewed and then evaluated based on the findings from Chapter 6. Recommendations on how to build upon, or improve, these existing policies will be provided where appropriate. These case study specific recommendations will then be followed by a set of more general recommendations, which are relevant to all of British Columbia's transitioning forestry communities and designed to help them too, build a stronger, more positive image.

7.2 Chemainus Planning Policy Recommendations

Planning policy recommendations for the community of Chemainus are based on the following eight key findings from the research on place identity:

1. *The murals, dinner theatre, and revitalized downtown area are special features which give the community a sense of individuality and pride.*

2. *The people of Chemainus appreciate their community's built heritage including some historic structures but especially the small character homes.*

3. *The natural features in Chemainus such as the waterfront as well as the various parks and natural areas are considered by residents to be important elements in making the community an attractive place to live.*

4. *The people in Chemainus recognize and generally support a shifting focus towards the tourism industry but demonstrate distaste for the way in which tourism has impacted on the provision of basic goods and services.*

5. *The 'small town atmosphere' is a quality that many Chemainus residents value and appreciate.*

6. *The lack of large scale commercial outlets, fast food restaurants, and franchise businesses help preserve Chemainus' charm and character.*

7. *There is demand in the community for increased employment and recreational opportunities.*

8. *The forestry industry is still an important element of the overall image of Chemainus.*

The town of Chemainus is under the jurisdiction of the District of North Cowichan Planning Department. As such, the District of North Cowichan Official Community Plan (OCP) is an applicable policy document. However, in the spring of 1999, as part of an exercise for the District of North Cowichan OCP, a policy document entitled the 'Chemainus Planning Chemainus Report" was developed. This report represented the results of a series of workshops, questionnaires and other events which were designed to allow the residents of Chemainus an opportunity to help determine the future of their community. In total over 350 people participated in the three half day workshops and one evening meeting that were held. Since the 'Chemainus Planning Chemainus Report' is specifically tailored to the community of Chemainus, it was considered by the researcher to be a more suitable document for review purposes. The 'Chemainus Planning Chemainus Report' outlines a vision statement for the community, goals for managing change, and a number of basic development objectives.
The vision statement developed for Chemainus is:

> *"A friendly community proud of its history and small town character; where people of all ages and backgrounds are respected. Residents enjoy outdoor recreational opportunities while having careful regard for the environment, and value a variety of employment opportunities."*

Goals for managing change include:

- *Maintain 'small town' qualities.*
- *Provide opportunities for a wider range of services (public and private) to residents – not just tourists.*
- *Ensure we remain proud of our attractive community.*
- *Protect and enhance the environment.*
- *Allow for economic diversity. Avoid reliance on single industry.*
- *As growth occurs, ensure we have proper access to the Highway and other communities.*
- *Remove government barriers to reasonable development.*
- *When decisions are made, political leaders should have the support of a well-informed public.*

Basic development objectives include:

- *Do not aggressively control growth. Rather, monitor and adjust as necessary any pressures on infrastructure.*
- *Provide for a compact community with a variety of housing choices, but with a trend to a higher overall density that currently exists. However, keep the community to a human scale by restricting building size and bulk.*
- *Develop integrated mixed use neighborhoods allowing for walking access to a variety of services (parks, schools, local stores, etc.)*
- *Ensure a growing respect and stewardship ethic for the environment.*
- *Provide for access to and along the waterfront.*
- *Provide for access to and along the waterfront. Make provisions to acquire key parcels of land that may be a resource for future residents and visitors.*
- *Develop a linked network of trails and paths throughout the community.*
- *Encouraging people to use other means of transportation than simple reliance on the automobile.*
- *Allow for industry and business to expand by providing convenient access to major transportation corridors (highways, ports).*

These current policies demonstrate that the District of North Cowichan planning department has considered some of the elements deemed important by the residents. This includes the small town atmosphere, natural environment, employment opportunities and provision of services. However, it is still possible to make significant recommendations based on the findings of the place identity study. First, it is surprising that none of these policy statements take into consideration the significance of the murals, dinner theatre, or new downtown area. These are focal points and special features of the community and as such their maintenance and preservation should be ensured and a policy should be established which safeguards them from

unsympathetic development. Second, although the maintenance of 'small town' qualities is already an established goal, the nature of these qualities should be more clearly defined and an effective growth management plan put in place. Third, planners need to make a concerted effort to balance the demands of tourism with the need to provide basic goods and services to the residents.. This could be achieved through policies, that facilitate the development of more neighborhood scale commercial land uses, and that control over development of tourism oriented businesses. Finally, specific design guidelines should be developed to ensure that newly constructed structures are sympathetic to the existing historic buildings and heritage style homes in Chemainus as well as features that remind residents of their community's roots in the forest industry.

7.3 Sooke Planning Policy Recommendations

Planning policy recommendations for the community of Sooke are based on the following eight key findings from the research on place identity:

1. *There is a need for Sooke to establish its individuality from the City of Victoria and develop its own sense of place.*

2. *There are few heritage and historic buildings and features in Sooke, and the strong support demonstrated for the museum suggests that further emphasis on Sooke's historic roots may be appropriate.*

3. *The natural features in Sooke including the various parks, beaches, and natural areas are considered by residents to be important elements in making the community an attractive place to live. Residents also enjoy the vast opportunities for outdoor recreation.*

4. *The people in Sooke recognize and generally support a shifting focus towards the tourism industry.*

5. *The 'small town atmosphere' is a quality that many Sooke residents value and appreciate.*

6. *The residents of Sooke see big box retail, fast food restaurants, and franchise businesses as a potential threat to the character of Sooke.*

7. *There is demand in the community for increased employment opportunities.*

8. *Despite the fact that the forestry industry has largely disappeared from Sooke, residents still consider it an important part of their community's identity.*

The District of Sooke, through its 2001 Official Community Plan, has created a comprehensive vision for the community to be achieved by the year 2026. They have also developed a number of general development strategies necessary to achieve this vision. Highlights of the community vision for 2026 include:

- *The Downtown Core is a vibrant, attractive destination for residents and visitors. The implementation of design guidelines has established a village ambiance with quality development and vistas of the harbor/basin and the Sooke Hills. The mixed residential/retail/commercial development is on a human scale. There is a variety of community gathering places and small parks where people come together for festivals, community celebrations or to simply interact and relax. Galleries and artisan workshops are clustered in heritage style buildings, attracting tourists. Streets are narrower with boulevards, flowers and shade trees. Pedestrians and cyclists move easily, and there are even a few equestrians; cars are in the minority. From the Downtown there are views of the harbor basin and access to the water and its activities. Access to Downtown is pleasant and easy along the system of trails linking District neighborhoods.*
- *A seawalk extends along the waterfront, a favorite setting for local residents to stroll watching the activity on the water and marine life. The seawalk is also a destination for tourists, particularly attracted by a quay where fresh fish, produces, Sooke specialties and crafts can be purchased.*
- *Part of the Districts attraction is the identification and preservation of forest, plant, wildlife and marine habitats through the preparation inventories. The protection of these areas has resulted in them being the focus of special tours by bicycle or kayak, with particular appeal to the global tourist.*
- *A network of linear green spaces provides safe trails for pedestrians, cyclists and horseback riders, free of vehicular traffic. The trails link the waterfront parks and upland parks to the District's public and private facilities.*
- *Implementation of an economic development strategy has created a thriving community and generated a variety of jobs for young people in Sooke, allowing those interested in remaining to do so. Tourism is a prime driver of the economy because of the arts (performing and visual) and adventure vacationing. The community offers accommodations and activities for a range of visitors. Marine and waterfront businesses support tourism, but also commercial and industrial activity such as marine manufacturing and manufacture of value-added wood products. Industrial parks and sites accommodate a wide range of light, medium and heavy industrial developments, including continuing gravel processing. Work live developments provide affordable and flexible accommodation for artisans and small technology/professional businesses*
- *The District of Sooke is a socially sustainable and inclusive community with housing options and supportive services for residents of all ages, including the elderly. The service infrastructure for the core area is well developed, supporting and attracting residents and businesses.*

General development strategies identified for Sooke include:

- *Develop a growth management strategy which includes:*
    - *The identification of where growth should go and determination of long-term growth boundaries), following as much as possible geographic and strong built features*
    - *The identification of "greenway" areas for conservation and enhancement of environmental and recreational resources, the preservation of agricultural lands and the containment of urban development*
    - *The identification of areas suitable for urban development/redevelopment and densities based on the desired development pattern and the most efficient use of community infrastructure and community services.*
    - *The identification of physical and social infrastructure capacity (e.g. water, drainage, sewers, road systems, schools, and recreation facilities) and required improvements based on the future land use plan, as well as capital works priorities.*

- *Encourage diversification of the economic base through:*
    - *Business promotion and marketing with a focus on financial and regulatory initiatives to attract industry.*
    - *Improving transportation and access to the District*
    - *Reviewing partnership opportunities and mechanisms*
    - *Improving infrastructure/community services*
    - *Establishing and attract training facilities*
    - *Pursuing the 1996 Downtown Revitalization Strategy*
    - *Promoting the development of a tourist commercial area emphasizing public access to the waterfront and the highest architectural design standards.*
    - *Promoting the development of light industry, including biological/ agricultural industries, emphasizing specialized, high value production and employment opportunities*
    - *Encouraging the diversification of wood processing and products to gain value added return.*
    - *Attracting information-based industries which are less dependant on central locations an more concerned with offering the highest quality of life for their employees (engineering, environmental consultants and research firms).*

- *Create a community that:*
    - *Is inclusive – by accommodating and respecting diversity and needs of all residents*
    - *Is safe – both in the home and in the community*
    - *Enhances a sense of belonging – by providing opportunities for participation and interaction in community decisions though public consultation, and the "strong volunteer component" in the community.*
    - *Creates a sense of spirit*

- *Is accessible – a pedestrian friendly community easily accessible by foot, wheelchair/stroller, transit, bicycle or even horse riding though a trail network linked to the Galloping Goose Trail;*
- *Is affordable*
- *Provides opportunities and choices for residents*
- *Appreciates its past – residents value their sense of history, roots and special identity within the region and want to see it proudly preserved and reflected in the future of the community.*

• *Develop a social development strategy:*

- *Promoting a more balances population structure by improving economic and employment opportunities for young adults and families*
- *Ensuring the provision of adequate services (e.g. health, recreation, and social) for seniors, youth, and children*
- *Planning for the development of a wide variety and mix of housing types*
- *Ensuring arts, sports and recreational opportunities – recognizing leisure activity as an integral component of social wellness and interaction.*
- *Ensuring that residents can move easily throughout the community.*
- *Creating a safe and secure community that incorporates safety into design principles.*
- *Designing a community that is physically accessible.*
- *Encouraging and supporting volunteering*
- *Maintaining and enhancing the opportunity for public input in community decision making*
- *Developing pride in the community by improving the social and physical environment.*

The planning department in Sooke has created, through public information meetings and open houses associated with the OCP development process, a comprehensive and picturesque vision which encompasses their interpretation of resident's aspirations for the future of Sooke. They have also developed a number of strategies to help achieve this vision which would see Sooke as a distinct entity apart from Greater Victoria. The information gathered from the place identity survey offers little information to improve upon this elaborate plan but results do reinforce the appropriateness of the strategies developed for the preservation of Sooke's natural environment and small town atmosphere, as well as promoting new employment opportunities and placing a stronger focus on creating a viable tourism product. One recommendation that can be made for planners in Sooke is to research the remaining heritage and historic structures in the community and investigate the potential value of their preservation. Similarly, planners should investigate ways of incorporating Sooke's aboriginal, pioneer, and fishing and forestry history into their

overall plan for the community to reinforce links to the past. Assistance from the Sooke Region Museum may be beneficial in this regard.

7.4 Port Alberni Planning Policy Recommendations

Planning policy recommendations for the community of Port Alberni are based on the following eight key findings from the research on place identity:

1. *A number of residents see Port Alberni's recreations & leisure opportunities as its most important quality.*

2. *Support for the McLean Mill and steam train project demonstrates the importance of heritage and historic buildings and features to the people of Port Alberni, however many residents have pointed out that that a number of potentially valuable heritage and historic structures are in a state of disrepair.*

3. *The natural features in Port Alberni including the waterfront, parks, lakes, and natural areas are considered by residents to be important elements in making the community an attractive place to live.*

4. *The people in Port Alberni recognize and generally support the growing importance of the tourism industry but feel the community must have a sufficient supply of higher paying industrial jobs.*

5. *The people in Port Alberni would like to see their downtown areas revitalized and more opportunities to shop locally.*

6. *Despite Port Alberni's 18,000+ population, residents contend that it still has a 'small town atmosphere', which they value.*

7. *Increased employment opportunities are generally of vital importance to the residents of Port Alberni.*

8. *The forestry industry is considered by a number of residents to be an essential part of Port Alberni's identity.*

The City of Port Alberni, though it's 1993 Official Community Plan, has articulated an overall goal for the community and a number of distinct policy thrusts or themes. It should be noted that Port Alberni is currently in the process of developing a new OCP for 2005.

The goal articulated for Port Alberni in the 1993 OCP is:

> *"To achieve a sustainable community and maximum physical, social, cultural, economic and environmental well being for the citizens of Port Alberni, with respect to the development and or management of land and related resources."*

Development themes for Port Alberni from the 1993 OCP include:

a) *Economic growth, development and diversification:*
   - *A significant objective of the City of Port Alberni is to develop policies which promote employment opportunities and economic growth, or at least not inhibit such growth. The City and the surrounding region have been, to a large extent, dependent on the forestry industry, which has been undergoing significant downsizing. A major challenge for the City and the region will be to find alternative industries to produce general wealth and employment. There is also a need to ensure the physical and social environment are protected from adverse conditions that may arise from an approach where development is pursued at any cost.*

b) *Waterfront enhancement & strategy to improve tourism:*
   - *The tourism industry is valuable to Port Alberni's economy. Many tourism opportunities have developed and some are not fully promoted or organized. The waterfront plays a significant role in enhancing the community and its image. Waterfront lands periodically come available and this provides an opportunity to put into place the Port Alberni Shoreline Master Plan which will achieve greater public access to the waterfront and perhaps increase tourism opportunities.*

c) *Downtown revitalization*
   - *Both the Northport and Southport downtown core areas have served as major centers of community service in the City. Over the past few years, these areas have shown signs of physical and economic decline, particularly in the commercial/retail sector. Steps have been taken to revitalize the downtown cores, improve commercial marketing through appropriate local business organizations and to improve storefront improvement grants. Because the downtown areas are facing difficulties, this issue represents one of the most significant future planning challenges for the City of Port Alberni.*

d) *Environmental Management and Tsunami Preparedness*
   - *The 1964 tsunami which hit Port Alberni caused significant damage to property and posed the threat of danger to human life. Many developed properties currently exist within areas of potential tsunami inundation. The threat of an earthquake, the protection of sensitive lands, and creation of a better environment in our cities are all issues to be addressed if we are to ensure a good quality of life in our city.*

e) *A Rational Basis for The Segregation or Mixing of Land Uses*
   - *The nature of certain land uses render them incompatible with each other (eg. heavy industrial versus residential) and therefore they should not be situated at adjacent or proximal locations. On the other hand, some uses tend to be complementary, and in certain instances they should be encouraged to mix (eg. high density residential in the downtown core).*

f) A More Compact and Efficiently Developed Urban Form in Terms of Energy Efficiency and Economical Servicing

- *The City of Port Alberni, and the Alberni Valley in general, are spread out at a relatively low density. Buildings generally do not exceed more than a few stories in height. Because limited land is available for future development, more compact development patterns, energy efficient development and economical servicing should be a priority.*

The development themes emphasized in the Official Community Plan for Port Alberni emphasize the importance of downtown revitalization. This study suggests that this revitalization should take into consideration the value associated with preserving existing historic and heritage buildings. This may require facilitating developers interested in refurbishing these buildings for contemporary uses. Design guidelines should be incorporated as part of the downtown revitalization plan to ensure that new developments are sympathetic with this existing heritage character. The existing themes also emphasize the importance of investigating tourism opportunities especially along the waterfront. In addition, this study suggests that an exploration of additional tourism opportunities associated with the community's roots in the forestry industry would reflect the resident's feelings that forestry is an integral and special part of Port Alberni's identity. A unique feature of Port Alberni is it's perceived small town feel despite a relatively high population. Planners should seek to preserve this feature though growth management strategies and appropriate development controls. This study suggests that the preservation of environmental features and facilitation of future economic diversification opportunities as suggested by the existing development themes, is appropriate.

7.5 General recommendations for planning in BC's communities in transition

The specific policy recommendations suggested by this researcher for each of the case study communities should not be considered transferable to other BC communities in transition. Those specific recommendations are based on the combination of characteristics unique to those settings and on the values, and preferences that are unique to the residents living in those places. This study should largely be seen as an illustration of the significance of conducting a place

identity study, and as a precursor to future action. It is recommended therefore, that planners in other similar types of communities initiate their own identity studies and reevaluate their own policies. This is vitally important considering the rapid transformation occurring in these once single resource communities and the challenge presented to planners to balance preservation of existing elements with the demands for future growth and development. These future investigations could be more comprehensive than this project considering the staffing, and the financial and technological resources that municipalities have at their disposal. In less than one month, this researcher was able to garner input from over 500 households by going door-to-door and hand delivering surveys. With addressing databases and electronic mailing systems, municipalities could include a much wider range of people. Based on this research it is recommended that place identity investigations be adopted as part of the process that planning departments, in BC's communities in transition, utilize to develop future polices. For example, an identity investigation could be incorporated during the developmental stages of an Official Community Plan.

It is imperative that the proposed future identity investigations in these communities, follow the example of this research project in terms of using a participatory approach. Although it is possible to acquire a glimpse into the identity of a place by evaluating it as an outsider, this is not an appropriate substitute for the firsthand input of local residents. Further, an outsider's view of place identity may be inauthentic, and an inaccurate representation of what these places actually mean to their residents. A noteworthy aside is that these interactive approaches encourage positive feedback from residents. For example, this researcher received a follow-up e-mail from a resident who had completed a questionnaire, commenting that, " It is nice to see a researcher undertaking such a proactive interest in the community. I wish that the planning department made the same type of effort to ensure that the interests of the residents are considered before decisions are made."

7.6 Chapter Summary

An effort was made in this chapter to evaluate the current planning policies in each of the three case studies based on the results of the place identity investigation presented in Chapter 6. In some ways the current planning policies already successfully reflect an understanding of place

identity and this study serves to substantiate their appropriateness. However, some justifiable recommendations could be made for each of the case studies to build upon and improve the existing policies and therefore provide planners with a more effective decision making tool to guide future development towards preserving and enhancing an authentic and positive sense of place. The success of this study suggests that planners of other communities in transition should conduct similar place identity investigations and reevaluate their own policy framework.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSIONS

8.1 The contributions of this study to the planning profession

The primary purpose of this research project was to improve planning processes and policies in British Columbia's transitioning forestry communities by providing recommendations based on an in depth investigation of the identity that has evolved in these places as a result of recent physical, economic, social, cultural, and demographic changes. These recommendations were presented in Chapter 7. In conducting this investigation a number of contributions have been made to the planning profession.

First, this research project has provided the profession with a clear definition of what is meant by the term 'place identity'. A detailed review of the multidisciplinary literature found in the field of environmental psychology yielded five interrelated elements: physical setting, activities and functions, meanings or significance, the spirit of place, and the attributes of individuals and groups. The basic framework for place identity that was established is quite straightforward and easy to comprehend, and can be used to guide future empirical research.

Second, this project emphasized the importance of place identity for individuals and communities. A positive place identity, incorporating links to the past but also representing ongoing aspirations for the future, was identified as being beneficial to the psychological well-being of individuals as well as to their overall level of satisfaction with the communities in which they reside. Correspondingly, greater connectedness to locality, which residents develop through ongoing positive experiences with a place and its identity, was recognized as promoting more cohesive, viable, and sustainable communities. A strong image was also emphasized as rendering places more attractive to visitors, and encouraging greater opportunities for outside investment.

Third, this research highlighted the delicate nature of identity and the important role of planning for identity management. The identities of places are continually evolving as the attributes of places change and also as the values, and preferences, of the people experiencing those places change. Since the industrial revolution, the identities of places have been breaking down as

various forces associated with contemporary society promote standardization. Planners, by virtue of their ability to regulate land, resources, facilities and services, play a vital role in managing the changes in a place that may have implications for its identity. It was argued therefore, that planners need to ensure that they have an effective policy framework that reflects a comprehensive understanding of the interrelated elements that make up the identity of a place. Effectively designed policies can help preserve and enhance the positive aspects of a place's identity and mitigate the negative aspects resulting in more pleasurable place experiences.

Fourth, by providing an empirical investigation of three case study communities, this research has illustrated that a comprehensive investigation into the various elements of place identity can provide legitimate real-world results. Had this research project not included an empirical component, the implications of place identity would have been considered largely theoretical and their real-world applicability would have been questionable.

Fifth, this research has demonstrated the use of a Place Identity study as a practical planning tool. The benefit of a Place Identity study is that it gets residents to think about their community in a comprehensive way rather than focusing on a specific project or development area. The methods allowed residents to really think about, and articulate, what makes their communities special and unique to them. It has the ability to incorporate a vast array of qualities that various community members might consider significant. This type of information and feedback may be overlooked through traditional planning processes and yet it is so critical for community building. A Place Identity investigation can be conducted in a relatively short period of time, and at lower costs that other more comprehensive methods.

Finally, this research project has emphasized the importance of greater public participation in planning. It was argued that planner's understanding of the identity of places should be based on the perceptions and sentiments of those who are most familiar, and who have had a multitude of direct experiences, with those places; the local residents. The pro-active approaches required to conduct an effective identity investigation go far beyond the participatory methods already employed in planning such as public information meetings and open houses. It requires a larger number of residents and incorporates a more comprehensive range of issues. It puts greater

pressure on planners to be interactive but the rewards are more effective planning polices that promote the public interest.

8.2 Directions for Future Research

A number of suggestions for future research can be made based on the results of this research project. First, the mixed methods approach employed to investigate place identity in this study could be utilized by other researchers to conduct similar academic research in other British Columbia communities that are evolving away from forest industry dependency. Although it is recommended that planning departments in BC's transitioning communities undergo their own identity investigations, it is uncertain whether they will actually dedicate the resources necessary to do so. Future academic research may be a more likely method through which these other places determine the nature of their identities, and enhance their own planning and development policies and strategies.

Second, it is hoped that this study will stimulate scholars who have traditionally been overly narrow in their research focus, to move beyond the issues of employment and out-migration and consider other concerns that have an impact on the future success of British Columbia's communities in transition. This could include studies on a variety of social issues, and on any of the numerous opportunities and constraints associated with these places.

Third, this study could be a stepping stone to research on other single-industry communities across the country that have begun to transform as a result of employment downsizing in the dominant sector. There are several communities across Canada that have traditionally relied on the resource sector, not only forestry, but also in mining, and fishing, whose futures have become uncertain. Strategy formulation for the future planning and development of these communities would benefit from incorporating an identity investigation.

Finally, this thesis opens the door to endless possibilities in terms of using the principle of place identity as a contributory decision-making strategy. A place identity investigation could serve as a precursor to developing plans for a downtown or waterfront revitalization project, for the planning and management of a heritage or historic district, or for developing an authentic

marketing strategy to promote the unique attributes of a place to outside interests. For example, the City of Vancouver could conduct an in-depth survey of residents to identify the characteristics of Vancouver that make it a special place to call home. The information gathered could become an integral part of the promotional campaign for the 2010 Winter Olympics. The wide-scale application of the principle of place identity would help to create a world that is full of significant places and one that offers a multitude of unique place experiences.

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APPENDIX A

CHEMAINUS PLACE IDENTITY SURVEY

DISTRIBUTED: JUNE 14th - 16th, 2003

COLLECTED: JUNE 23rd & 24th, 2003

A Local Survey of Chemainus, British Columbia.

University of Waterloo

School of Planning
Faculty of
Environmental Studies

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200 University Avenue West
Waterloo, Ontario, Canada
N2L 3G1

519-888-4567
Fax 519-725-2827

June 16/2003

Dear Resident of Chemainus,

This survey is part of a research project designed to investigate British Columbia communities with a history in the forestry industry. The role of the survey is to learn about what people living and working in Chemainus think about their community. I want to get as many viewpoints as possible, so your participation will be greatly appreciated. The goal of the project is to gain valuable insights into the community, which will hopefully help planners make appropriate decisions that will benefit Chemainus, and other communities like it. A copy of the final report will be sent to the mayor of Chemainus, and the local planning department.

The project is part of a Masters Thesis requirement for the School of Planning at the University of Waterloo.
It is being conducted under the supervision of Dr. Robert Shipley; a professor in the School of Planning, and a registered professional planner. The project has also been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo. In the event you have any comments or concerns resulting from your participation in this study, please contact Dr. Susan Sykes at (519)-888-4567, Ext. 6005.

The questionnaire is in four parts. Part A consists of a series of questions intended to gauge your opinions on the community. Part B asks you to mark some information on a map. Part C will ask you to look at a series of photos and try to identify which photo is from your community, or to choose which photo you prefer. Finally, Part D is about personal information that will help with my survey.

Participation in this survey is voluntary and the information you provide is entirely confidential. You may decline from answering any questions you feel you do not wish to answer. The survey data, with identifying information removed, will be kept for a period of 2 years and will be securely stored in a locked office at the School of Planning.

This survey should take no more than fifteen minutes to complete.

Instructions for answering questions are provided on the next page. I will be back in town **June 23rd** and **June 24th** and can pick up the survey at your home at that time. If you are not home on those days please leave the completed survey in your mailbox.

Many thanks for your help and I look forward to hearing your unique views. If you have any additional questions, I may be contacted by e-mail at rgill@fes.uwaterloo.ca or by phone at (604)-536-4769. You may also contact Dr. Robert Shipley by email at rshipley@fes.uwaterloo.ca or by phone at (519)-888-4567, Ext. 5615.

Sincerely,

Ron Gill, Student Researcher.

Instructions for answering questions

Please read the following instructions prior to answering the questions. Your responses will greatly contribute to the success of this project.

- Please try to answer all of the questions unless they do not apply to you.
- There are no right or wrong answers. It is important that you give your own personal opinions.
- For questions where there are answer boxes provided, please indicate your answer by placing a check mark in the appropriate box.

Example:

1. The quality of life in Chemainus is:

☐ Excellent ☐ Good ☐ Adequate ☐ Poor ☐ Very Poor ☐ Don't Know

If you think the quality of life is 'Good' in Chemainus you would check the second box from the left.

- Please only check one box unless otherwise specified.
- In questions where a written answer is required, please write in the space provided below the question.

This questionnaire will take approximately 15 minutes to complete.

Your participation is completely voluntary and your answers will be kept strictly confidential. You may leave unanswered any question you prefer not to answer. You may also decline from participating at any time during the survey.

YOUR HELP IN COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE IS GREATLY APPRECIATED.

Part A

1. As a place to live, Chemainus is:

☐ Excellent ☐ Good ☐ Adequate ☐ Poor ☐ Very Poor ☐ Don't Know

2. As a place to work, Chemainus is:

☐ Excellent ☐ Good ☐ Adequate ☐ Poor ☐ Very Poor ☐ Don't Know

3. As a place to visit, Chemainus is:

☐ Excellent ☐ Good ☐ Adequate ☐ Poor ☐ Very Poor ☐ Don't Know

4. As a place to do business, Chemainus is:

☐ Excellent ☐ Good ☐ Adequate ☐ Poor ☐ Very Poor ☐ Don't Know

5. As a place for recreation and leisure, Chemainus is:

☐ Excellent ☐ Good ☐ Adequate ☐ Poor ☐ Very Poor ☐ Don't Know

6. Have you lived in Chemainus all your life?

☐ Yes ☐ No

7. If you answered 'No' in question 6, what were your motivations when you first decided to move to Chemainus?

_____
_____
_____
_____

8. What 5 qualities about Chemainus are most important to you?

1._____
2._____
3._____
4._____
5._____

9. How big a pay increase would an employer have to offer you to get you to leave Chemainus?

☐ I would never leave ☐ More than $20,000 per year ☐ $10,001-$20,000 per year ☐ $1000-$10,000 per year ☐ Less than $1000 per year ☐ I want to leave anyway. I don't need a pay increase

10. Name at least 3 major changes that Chemainus has experienced in your lifetime.

1._____
2._____
3._____
4._____
5._____

11. In general I feel that during my lifetime, Chemainus has:

☐ Improved A Lot ☐ Improved A Little ☐ Stayed the Same ☐ Become Worse ☐ Become a Lot Worse ☐ Don't Know

12. In the future, I feel that Chemainus will:

☐ Improve A Lot ☐ Improve A Little ☐ Stay the Same ☐ Become Worse ☐ Become a Lot Worse ☐ Don't Know

13. Please indicate what you think will happen to Chemainus in the future, in the following areas.

	Improve A Lot	Improve A Little	Stay the Same	Become Worse	Become a Lot Worse	Don't Know
Employment/Income	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Services	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Recreational Opportunities	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Appearance	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Friendliness	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sense of Community	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Crime	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

14. Name 3-5 places in Chemainus that are special or important to you, the types of places you'd bring an out-of-town visitor.
    1._____
    2._____
    3._____
    4._____
    5._____

15. If you were to send an out-of-town friend a postcard that captured the essence of Chemainus, what would be on that post-card?
    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____

16. What 3-5 features make Chemainus different from other Vancouver Island communities?
    1._____
    2._____
    3._____
    4._____
    5._____

17. What 3 other communities do you know that are similar to Chemainus?
    1._____
    2._____
    3._____

18. In the past, how did each of the following industries rate in importance to your community?

	Essential to the towns' survival	Extremely Important	Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important at all	Don't Know
Forestry	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Mining	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Fishing	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tourism	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Services	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Government	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Retail	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

19. Presently how does each of the following industries rate in importance to your community?

	Essential to the towns' survival	Extremely Important	Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important at all	Don't Know
Forestry	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Mining	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Fishing	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tourism	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Services	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Government	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Retail	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

20. In the future how will each of the following industries rate in importance to your community?

	Essential to the towns' survival	Extremely Important	Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important at all	Don't Know
Forestry	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Mining	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Fishing	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tourism	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Services	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Government	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Retail	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

21. Name up to 5 economic development projects that Chemainus is currently pursuing and state how you feel about them? (If you don't know of any projects, please leave this question blank)

	Support	Oppose	Not Sure How I Feel About This Project
1._____	☐	☐	☐
2._____	☐	☐	☐
3._____	☐	☐	☐
4._____	☐	☐	☐
5._____	☐	☐	☐

22. How important is the forestry industry to the identity of your community?

☐ Absolutely Essential ☐ Extremely Important ☐ Very Important ☐ Somewhat Important ☐ Not Important at all ☐ Don't know

23. Please rate the following features of your community in terms of importance.

	Absolutely Essential	Extremely Important	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important at all	Don't Know
Employment	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Services	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Recreational Opportunities	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Heritage	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Historical Features (e.g. significant buildings)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Cultural Features (e.g. festivals)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Natural Features (Environment)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sense of Belonging	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

24. What types of features, or specific sites/buildings, in Chemainus do you think should be preserved? (e.g. significant buildings, places of natural beauty etc.)

_____
_____
_____
_____

25. What types of development, or specific projects, do you think might threaten the character of Chemainus?

_____
_____
_____
_____

26. What kind of development, or specific projects, if any, do you think Chemainus should pursue?

_____
_____
_____
_____

27. What, if anything, do you wish you could change about Chemainus?

_____
_____
_____
_____

Part B

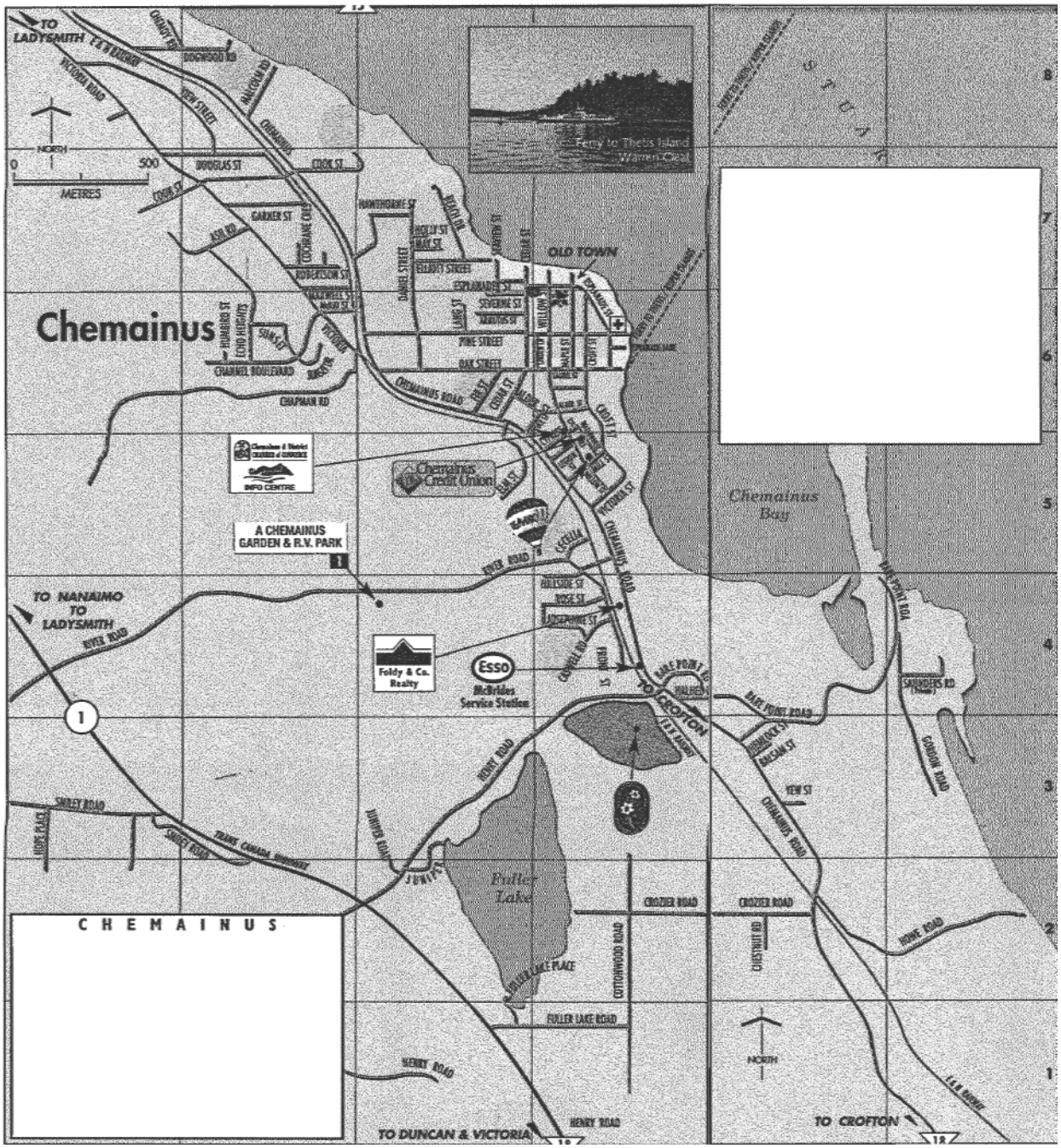
1. On the map of Chemainus below, please indicate the following:

a. Please indicate where you live with a:

b. Please **circle** the location of Chemainus' most important landmarks and special places.

c. Please Show where you spend most of your leisure time with a:

d. Show where you work with a:



Map source: Cowichan Valley Visitors Choice Guide (produced by: www.mapbook.com)

Part C

1. Which of the following is a historical landmark located in Chemainus? (check one)

☐ Photo 1

☐ Photo 2

☐ Photo 3

☐ Photo 4

2. Which of the following main streets do you prefer? (check one)

☐ Photo 1

☐ Photo 2

☐ Photo 3

☐ Photo 4

3. Which of the following subdivision types do you prefer? (check one)

☐ Photo 1

☐ Photo 2

☐ Photo 3

☐ Photo 4

4. Which of the following house type do you prefer? (check one)

☐ Photo 1

☐ Photo 2

☐ Photo 3

☐ Photo 4

5. Which of the following housing type do you prefer? (check one)

☐ Photo 1

☐ Photo 2

☐ Photo 3

☐ Photo 4

6. Which of the following is a historic house/building in Chemainus? (check one)

☐ Photo 1

☐ Photo 2

☐ Photo 3

☐ Photo 4

7. Which of the following is the City Hall for your community? (check one)

☐ Photo 1

☐ Photo 2

☐ Photo 3

☐ Photo 4

8. Which of the following restaurant styles do your prefer? (check one)

☐ Photo 1

☐ Photo 2

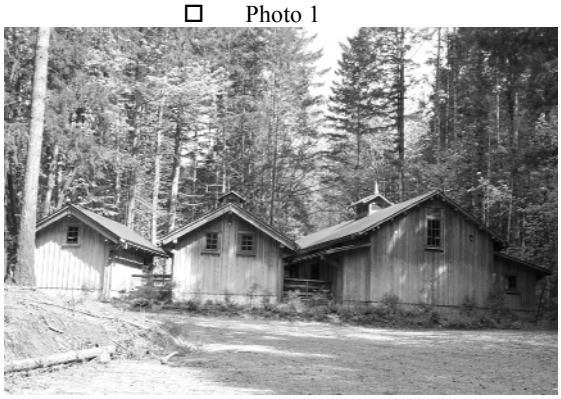
☐ Photo 3

☐ Photo 4

9. Which of the following are Chemainus attractions? (check as many as apply)

☐ Photo 1

☐ Photo 2



☐ Photo 3

☐ Photo 4

10. Which of the following is a church located in Chemainus? (check one)

☐ Photo 1

☐ Photo 2

☐ Photo 3

☐ Photo 4

Part D

1. How long have you lived in Chemainus?

☐ More than 20 years ☐ 11-20 years ☐ 6-10 years ☐ 1-5 years ☐ Less than 1 year

2. How many generations of your family have lived in Chemainus?

☐ My Great Grandparents lived here ☐ My Grandparents lived here ☐ My Parents lived here ☐ I moved here from somewhere else ☐ I'm only temporarily living here

3. Are you:

☐ Male ☐ Female

4. How old are you?

☐ 19-25 ☐ 26-30 ☐ 31-40 ☐ 41-50 ☐ 51-60
☐ 61-70 ☐ 71-80 ☐ over 81

5. What is your marital status?

☐ Single ☐ Married without children ☐ Married with children ☐ Divorced

6. What is your educational background?

☐ Some High School ☐ High School Graduate ☐ College Diploma ☐ Technical School Graduate
☐ University Degree ☐ University Graduate Degree ☐ None of the above

7. Do you work in Chemainus?

☐ Yes ☐ No

8. If you answered 'No' in question 7, Do you commute to your job from Chemainus?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If 'Yes', please specify commute location _____

9. Which employment category best classifies your current occupation?

☐ Entrepreneurial Business ☐ Services ☐ Resources Industry ☐ Manufacturing ☐ Student

☐ Institutional (e.g. education/police/ fire dept.) ☐ Home Maker ☐ Retired ☐ Unemployed

Other _____ please specify

10. Are you currently employed in a forestry industry related position?

☐ Yes ☐ No

11. If you answered 'No' in question # 10, Have you ever been employed in a forestry industry related position?

☐ Yes ☐ No

12. What is your annual household income before taxes?

☐ Less than $10,000 ☐ $10,000 - $20,000 ☐ $20,001 - $30,000 ☐ $30,001 - $40,000

☐ $40,001-$50,000 ☐ $50,001 - $60,000 ☐ $60,001 - $70,000 ☐ More than $70,000

Thank-you for taking the time to participate in this questionnaire.

APPENDIX B

SOOKE PLACE IDENTITY SURVEY

DISTRIBUTED: JUNE 17TH -19TH, 2003

COLLECTED: JUNE 25TH & 26TH, 2003

A Local Survey of Sooke, British Columbia.

University of Waterloo

School of Planning
Faculty of
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519-888-4567
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June 16/2003

Dear Resident of Sooke,

This survey is part of a research project designed to investigate British Columbia communities with a history in the forestry industry. The role of the survey is to learn about what people living and working in Sooke think about their community. I want to get as many viewpoints as possible, so your participation will be greatly appreciated. The goal of the project is to gain valuable insights into the community, which will hopefully help planners make appropriate decisions that will benefit Sooke, and other communities like it. A copy of the final report will be sent to the mayor of Sooke, and the local planning department.

The project is part of a Masters Thesis requirement for the School of Planning at the University of Waterloo.
It is being conducted under the supervision of Dr. Robert Shipley; a professor in the School of Planning, and a registered professional planner. The project has also been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo. In the event you have any comments or concerns resulting from your participation in this study, please contact Dr. Susan Sykes at (519)-888-4567, Ext. 6005.

The questionnaire is in four parts. Part A consists of a series of questions intended to gauge your opinions on the community. Part B asks you to mark some information on a map. Part C will ask you to look at a series of photos and try to identify which photo is from your community, or to choose which photo you prefer. Finally, Part D is about personal information that will help with my survey.

Participation in this survey is voluntary and the information you provide is entirely confidential. You may decline from answering any questions you feel you do not wish to answer. The survey data, with identifying information removed, will be kept for a period of 2 years and will be securely stored in a locked office at the School of Planning.

This survey should take no more than fifteen minutes to complete.

Instructions for answering questions are provided on the next page. I will be back in town **June 25th** and **June 26th** and can pick up the survey at your home at that time. If you are not home on those days please leave the completed survey in your mailbox.

Many thanks for your help and I look forward to hearing your unique views. If you have any additional questions, I may be contacted by e-mail at rgill@fes.uwaterloo.ca or by phone at (604)-536-4769. You may also contact Dr. Robert Shipley by email at rshipley@fes.uwaterloo.ca or by phone at (519)-888-4567, Ext. 5615.

Sincerely,

Ron Gill, Student Researcher.

Instructions for answering questions

Please read the following instructions prior to answering the questions. Your responses will greatly contribute to the success of this project.

- Please try to answer all of the questions unless they do not apply to you.
- There are no right or wrong answers. It is important that you give your own personal opinions.
- For questions where there are answer boxes provided, please indicate your answer by placing a check mark in the appropriate box.

Example:

1. The quality of life in Sooke is:

☐ Excellent ☐ Good ☐ Adequate ☐ Poor ☐ Very Poor ☐ Don't Know

If you think the quality of life is 'Good' in Sooke you would check the second box from the left.

- Please only check one box unless otherwise specified.
- In questions where a written answer is required, please write in the space provided below the question.

This questionnaire will take approximately 15 minutes to complete.

Your participation is completely voluntary and your answers will be kept strictly confidential. You may leave unanswered any question you prefer not to answer. You may also decline from participating at any time during the survey.

YOUR HELP IN COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE IS GREATLY APPRECIATED.

Part A

1. As a place to live, Sooke is:

☐ Excellent ☐ Good ☐ Adequate ☐ Poor ☐ Very Poor ☐ Don't Know

2. As a place to work, Sooke is:

☐ Excellent ☐ Good ☐ Adequate ☐ Poor ☐ Very Poor ☐ Don't Know

3. As a place to visit, Sooke is:

☐ Excellent ☐ Good ☐ Adequate ☐ Poor ☐ Very Poor ☐ Don't Know

4. As a place to do business, Sooke is:

☐ Excellent ☐ Good ☐ Adequate ☐ Poor ☐ Very Poor ☐ Don't Know

5. As a place for recreation and leisure, Sooke is:

☐ Excellent ☐ Good ☐ Adequate ☐ Poor ☐ Very Poor ☐ Don't Know

6. Have you lived in Sooke all your life?

☐ Yes ☐ No

7. If you answered 'No' in question 6, what were your motivations when you first decided to move to Sooke?

_____
_____
_____
_____

8. What 5 qualities about Sooke are most important to you?

1._____
2._____
3._____
4._____
5._____

9. How big a pay increase would an employer have to offer you to get you to leave Sooke?

☐ I would never leave ☐ More than $20,000 per year ☐ $10,001-$20,000 per year ☐ $1000-$10,000 per year ☐ Less than $1000 per year ☐ I want to leave anyway. I don't need a pay increase

10. Name at least 3 major changes that Sooke has experienced in your lifetime.

1._____
2._____
3._____
4._____
5._____

11. In general I feel that during my lifetime, Sooke has:

☐ Improved A Lot ☐ Improved A Little ☐ Stayed the Same ☐ Become Worse ☐ Become a Lot Worse ☐ Don't Know

12. In the future, I feel that Sooke will:

☐ Improve A Lot ☐ Improve A Little ☐ Stay the Same ☐ Become Worse ☐ Become a Lot Worse ☐ Don't Know

13. Please indicate what you think will happen to Sooke in the future, in the following areas.

	Improve A Lot	Improve A Little	Stay the Same	Become Worse	Become a Lot Worse	Don't Know
Employment/Income	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Services	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Recreational Opportunities	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Appearance	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Friendliness	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sense of Community	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Crime	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

14. Name 3-5 places in Sooke that are special or important to you, the types of places you'd bring an out-of-town visitor.
    1._____
    2._____
    3._____
    4._____
    5._____

15. If you were to send an out-of-town friend a postcard that captured the essence of Sooke, what would be on that post-card?
    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____

16. What 3-5 features make Sooke different from other Vancouver Island communities?
    1._____
    2._____
    3._____
    4._____
    5._____

17. What 3 other communities do you know that are similar to Sooke?
    1._____
    2._____
    3._____

18. In the past, how did each of the following industries rate in importance to your community?

	Essential to the towns' survival	Extremely Important	Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important at all	Don't Know
Forestry	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Mining	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Fishing	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tourism	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Services	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Government	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Retail	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

19. Presently how does each of the following industries rate in importance to your community?

	Essential to the towns' survival	Extremely Important	Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important at all	Don't Know
Forestry	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Mining	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Fishing	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tourism	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Services	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Government	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Retail	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

20. In the future how will each of the following industries rate in importance to your community?

	Essential to the towns' survival	Extremely Important	Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important at all	Don't Know
Forestry	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Mining	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Fishing	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tourism	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Services	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Government	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Retail	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

21. Name up to 5 economic development projects that Sooke is currently pursuing and state how you feel about them? (If you don't know of any projects, please leave this question blank)

	Support	Oppose	Not Sure How I Feel About This Project
1._____	☐	☐	☐
2._____	☐	☐	☐
3._____	☐	☐	☐
4._____	☐	☐	☐
5._____	☐	☐	☐

22. How important is the forestry industry to the identity of your community?

☐ Absolutely Essential ☐ Extremely Important ☐ Very Important ☐ Somewhat Important ☐ Not Important at all ☐ Don't know

23. Please rate the following features of your community in terms of importance.

	Absolutely Essential	Extremely Important	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important at all	Don't Know
Employment	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Services	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Recreational Opportunities	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Heritage	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Historical Features (e.g. significant buildings)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Cultural Features (e.g. festivals)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Natural Features (Environment)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sense of Belonging	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

24. What types of features, or specific sites/buildings, in Sooke do you think should be preserved? (e.g. significant buildings, places of natural beauty etc.)

_____
_____
_____
_____

25. What types of development, or specific projects, do you think might threaten the character of Sooke?

_____
_____
_____
_____

26. What kind of development, or specific projects, if any, do you think Sooke should pursue?

_____
_____
_____
_____

27. What, if anything, do you wish you could change about Sooke?

_____
_____
_____
_____

Part B

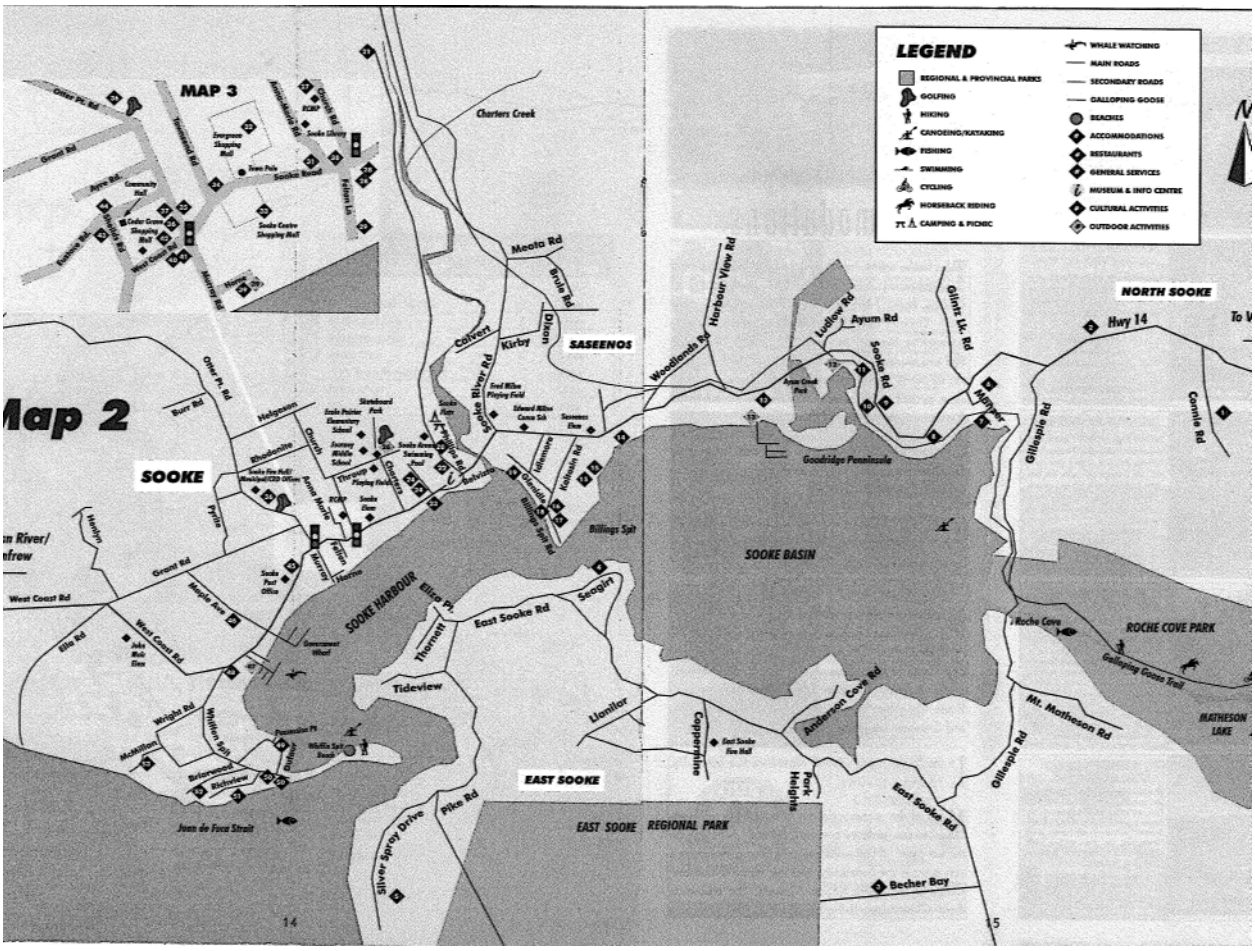
2. On the map of Sooke below, please indicate the following:

a. Please indicate where you live with a:

b. Please **circle** the location of Sooke's most important landmarks and special places.

c. Please Show where you spend most of your leisure time with a:

d. Show where you work with a:



Map source: Free Maps Sooke to Port Renfrew

(Produced by: Sooke Region Museum and Visitor Information Centre)

Part C

1. Which of the following is a historical landmark located in Sooke? (check one)

☐ Photo 1

☐ Photo 2

☐ Photo 3

☐ Photo 4

2. Which of the following main streets do you prefer? (check one)

☐ Photo 1

☐ Photo 2

☐ Photo 3

☐ Photo 4

3. Which of the following subdivision types do you prefer? (check one)

☐ Photo 1

☐ Photo 2

☐ Photo 3

☐ Photo 4

4. Which of the following house type do you prefer? (check one)

☐ Photo 1

☐ Photo 2

☐ Photo 3

☐ Photo 4

5. Which of the following housing type do you prefer? (check one)

☐ Photo 1

☐ Photo 2

☐ Photo 3

☐ Photo 4

6. Which of the following is a historic house/building in Sooke? (check one)

☐ Photo 1

☐ Photo 2

☐ Photo 3

☐ Photo 4

7. Which of the following is the City Hall for your community? (check one)

☐ Photo 1

☐ Photo 2

☐ Photo 3

☐ Photo 4

8. Which of the following restaurant styles do your prefer? (check one)

☐ Photo 1

☐ Photo 2

☐ Photo 3

☐ Photo 4

9. Which of the following are Sooke attractions? (check as many as apply)

☐ Photo 1

☐ Photo 2

☐ Photo 3

☐ Photo 4

10. Which of the following is a church located in Sooke? (check one)

☐ Photo 1

☐ Photo 2

☐ Photo 3

☐ Photo 4

Part D

1. How long have you lived in Sooke?

☐ More than 20 years ☐ 11-20 years ☐ 6-10 years ☐ 1-5 years ☐ Less than 1 year

2. How many generations of your family have lived in Sooke?

☐ My Great Grandparents lived here ☐ My Grandparents lived here ☐ My Parents lived here ☐ I moved here from somewhere else ☐ I'm only temporarily living here

3. Are you:

☐ Male ☐ Female

4. How old are you?

☐ 19-25 ☐ 26-30 ☐ 31-40 ☐ 41-50 ☐ 51-60
☐ 61-70 ☐ 71-80 ☐ over 81

5. What is your marital status?

☐ Single ☐ Married without children ☐ Married with children ☐ Divorced

6. What is your educational background?

☐ Some High School ☐ High School Graduate ☐ College Diploma ☐ Technical School Graduate
☐ University Degree ☐ University Graduate Degree ☐ None of the above

7. Do you work in Sooke?

☐ Yes ☐ No

8. If you answered 'No' in question 7, Do you commute to your job from Sooke?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If 'Yes', please specify commute location _____

9. Which employment category best classifies your current occupation?

☐ Entrepreneurial Business ☐ Services ☐ Resources Industry ☐ Manufacturing ☐ Student

☐ Institutional (e.g. education/police/ fire dept.) ☐ Home Maker ☐ Retired ☐ Unemployed

Other _____ please specify

10. Are you currently employed in a forestry industry related position?

☐ Yes ☐ No

11. If you answered 'No' in question # 10, Have you ever been employed in a forestry industry related position?

☐ Yes ☐ No

12. What is your annual household income before taxes?

☐ Less than $10,000 ☐ $10,000 - $20,000 ☐ $20,001 - $30,000 ☐ $30,001 - $40,000

☐ $40,001-$50,000 ☐ $50,001 - $60,000 ☐ $60,001 - $70,000 ☐ More than $70,000

Thank-you for taking the time to participate in this questionnaire.

APPENDIX C

PORT ALBERNI PLACE IDENTITY SURVEY

DISTRIBUTED: JUNE 20TH – 22ND, 2003

COLLECTED: JUNE 27TH & 28TH, 2003

A Local Survey of Port Alberni, British Columbia.

University of Waterloo

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Participation in this survey is voluntary and the information you provide is entirely confidential. You may decline from answering any questions you feel you do not wish to answer. The survey data, with identifying information removed, will be kept for a period of 2 years and will be securely stored in a locked office at the School of Planning.

This survey should take no more than fifteen minutes to complete.

Instructions for answering questions are provided on the next page. I will be back in town **June 27th** and **June 28th** and can pick up the survey at your home at that time. If you are not home on those days please leave the completed survey in your mailbox.

Many thanks for your help and I look forward to hearing your unique views. If you have any additional questions, I may be contacted by e-mail at rgill@fes.uwaterloo.ca or by phone at (604)-536-4769. You may also contact Dr. Robert Shipley by email at rshipley@fes.uwaterloo.ca or by phone at (519)-888-4567, Ext. 5615.

Sincerely,

Ron Gill, Student Researcher.

Instructions for answering questions

Please read the following instructions prior to answering the questions. Your responses will greatly contribute to the success of this project.

- Please try to answer all of the questions unless they do not apply to you.
- There are no right or wrong answers. It is important that you give your own personal opinions.
- For questions where there are answer boxes provided, please indicate your answer by placing a check mark in the appropriate box.

Example:

1. The quality of life in Port Alberni is:

☐ Excellent ☐ Good ☐ Adequate ☐ Poor ☐ Very Poor ☐ Don't Know

If you think the quality of life is 'Good' in Port Alberni you would check the second box from the left.

- Please only check one box unless otherwise specified.
- In questions where a written answer is required, please write in the space provided below the question.

This questionnaire will take approximately 15 minutes to complete.

Your participation is completely voluntary and your answers will be kept strictly confidential. You may leave unanswered any question you prefer not to answer. You may also decline from participating at any time during the survey.

YOUR HELP IN COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE IS GREATLY APPRECIATED.

Part A

1. As a place to live, Port Alberni is:

☐ Excellent ☐ Good ☐ Adequate ☐ Poor ☐ Very Poor ☐ Don't Know

2. As a place to work, Port Alberni is:

☐ Excellent ☐ Good ☐ Adequate ☐ Poor ☐ Very Poor ☐ Don't Know

3. As a place to visit, Port Alberni is:

☐ Excellent ☐ Good ☐ Adequate ☐ Poor ☐ Very Poor ☐ Don't Know

4. As a place to do business, Port Alberni is:

☐ Excellent ☐ Good ☐ Adequate ☐ Poor ☐ Very Poor ☐ Don't Know

5. As a place for recreation and leisure, Port Alberni is:

☐ Excellent ☐ Good ☐ Adequate ☐ Poor ☐ Very Poor ☐ Don't Know

6. Have you lived in Port Alberni all your life?

☐ Yes ☐ No

7. If you answered 'No' in question 6, what were your motivations when you first decided to move to Port Alberni?

_____
_____
_____
_____

8. What 5 qualities about Port Alberni are most important to you?

1._____
2._____
3._____
4._____
5._____

9. How big a pay increase would an employer have to offer you to get you to leave Port Alberni?

☐ I would never leave ☐ More than $20,000 per year ☐ $10,001-$20,000 per year ☐ $1000-$10,000 per year ☐ Less than $1000 per year ☐ I want to leave anyway. I don't need a pay increase

10. Name at least 3 major changes that Port Alberni has experienced in your lifetime.

1._____
2._____
3._____
4._____
5._____

11. In general I feel that during my lifetime, Port Alberni has:

☐ Improved A Lot ☐ Improved A Little ☐ Stayed the Same ☐ Become Worse ☐ Become a Lot Worse ☐ Don't Know

12. In the future, I feel that Port Alberni will:

☐ Improve A Lot ☐ Improve A Little ☐ Stay the Same ☐ Become Worse ☐ Become a Lot Worse ☐ Don't Know

13. Please indicate what you think will happen to Port Alberni in the future, in the following areas.

	Improve A Lot	Improve A Little	Stay the Same	Become Worse	Become a Lot Worse	Don't Know
Employment/Income	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Services	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Recreational Opportunities	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Appearance	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Friendliness	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sense of Community	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Crime	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

14. Name 3-5 places in Port Alberni that are special or important to you, the types of places you'd bring an out-of-town visitor.
    1._____
    2._____
    3._____
    4._____
    5._____

15. If you were to send an out-of-town friend a postcard that captured the essence of Port Alberni, what would be on that post-card?
    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____

16. What 3-5 features make Port Alberni different from other Vancouver Island communities?
    1._____
    2._____
    3._____
    4._____
    5._____

17. What 3 other communities do you know that are similar to Port Alberni?
    1._____
    2._____
    3._____

18. In the past, how did each of the following industries rate in importance to your community?

	Essential to the towns' survival	Extremely Important	Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important at all	Don't Know
Forestry	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Mining	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Fishing	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tourism	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Services	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Government	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Retail	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

19. Presently how does each of the following industries rate in importance to your community?

	Essential to the towns' survival	Extremely Important	Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important at all	Don't Know
Forestry	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Mining	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Fishing	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tourism	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Services	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Government	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Retail	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

20. In the future how will each of the following industries rate in importance to your community?

	Essential to the towns' survival	Extremely Important	Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important at all	Don't Know
Forestry	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Mining	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Fishing	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tourism	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Services	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Government	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Retail	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

21. Name up to 5 economic development projects that Port Alberni is currently pursuing and state how you feel about them? (If you don't know of any projects, please leave this question blank)

	Support	Oppose	Not Sure How I Feel About This Project
1._____	☐	☐	☐
2._____	☐	☐	☐
3._____	☐	☐	☐
4._____	☐	☐	☐
5._____	☐	☐	☐

22. How important is the forestry industry to the identity of your community?

☐ Absolutely Essential ☐ Extremely Important ☐ Very Important ☐ Somewhat Important ☐ Not Important at all ☐ Don't know

23. Please rate the following features of your community in terms of importance.

	Absolutely Essential	Extremely Important	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important at all	Don't Know
Employment	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Services	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Recreational Opportunities	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Heritage	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Historical Features (e.g. significant buildings)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Cultural Features (e.g. festivals)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Natural Features (Environment)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sense of Belonging	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

24. What types of features, or specific sites/buildings, in Port Alberni do you think should be preserved? (e.g. significant buildings, places of natural beauty etc.)

_____
_____
_____
_____

25. What types of development, or specific projects, do you think might threaten the character of Port Alberni?

_____
_____
_____
_____

26. What kind of development, or specific projects, if any, do you think Port Alberni should pursue?

_____
_____
_____
_____

27. What, if anything, do you wish you could change about Port Alberni?

_____
_____
_____
_____

Part B

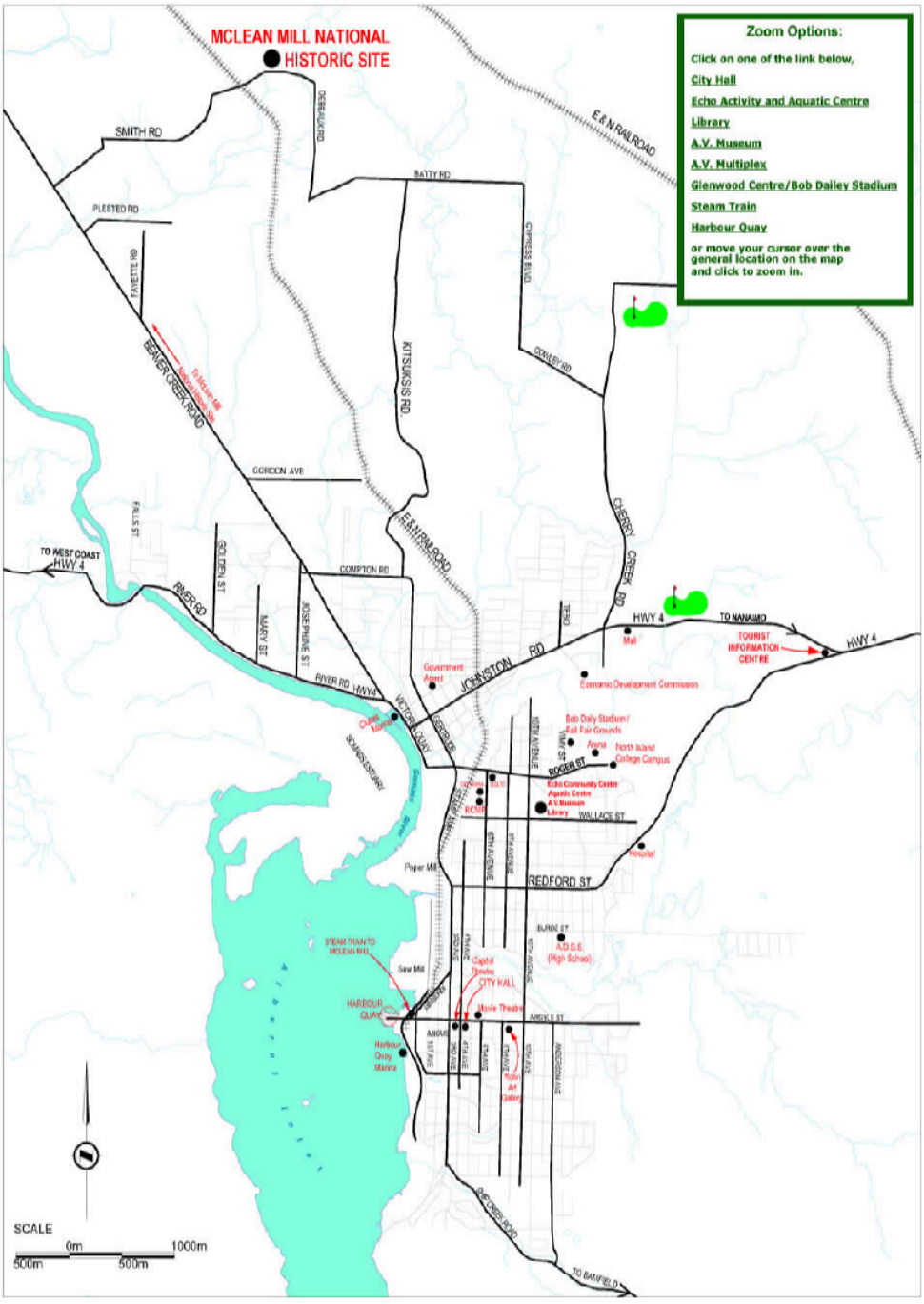
3. On the map of Port Alberni below, please indicate the following:

a. Please indicate where you live with a:

b. Please **circle** the location of Port Alberni's most important landmarks and special places.

c. Please Show where you spend most of your leisure time with a:

d. Show where you work with a:



Map source: City of Port Alberni Website (http://www.city.port-alberni.bc.ca)

Part C

1. Which of the following is a historical landmark located in Port Alberni? (check one)

☐ Photo 1

☐ Photo 2

☐ Photo 3

☐ Photo 4

2. Which of the following main streets do you prefer? (check one)

☐ Photo 1

☐ Photo 2

☐ Photo 3

☐ Photo 4

3. Which of the following subdivision types do you prefer? (check one)

☐ Photo 1

☐ Photo 2

☐ Photo 3

☐ Photo 4

4. Which of the following house type do you prefer? (check one)

☐ Photo 1

☐ Photo 2

☐ Photo 3

☐ Photo 4

5. Which of the following housing type do you prefer? (check one)

☐ Photo 1

☐ Photo 2

☐ Photo 3

☐ Photo 4

6. Which of the following is a historic house/building in Port Alberni? (check one)

☐ Photo 1

☐ Photo 2

☐ Photo 3

☐ Photo 4

7. Which of the following is the City Hall for your community? (check one)

☐ Photo 1

☐ Photo 2

☐ Photo 3

☐ Photo 4

8. Which of the following restaurant styles do your prefer? (check one)

☐ Photo 1

☐ Photo 2

☐ Photo 3

☐ Photo 4

9. Which of the following are Port Alberni attractions? (check as many as apply)

☐ Photo 1

☐ Photo 2

☐ Photo 3

☐ Photo 4

10. Which of the following is a historic church located in Port Alberni? (check one)

☐ Photo 1

☐ Photo 2

☐ Photo 3

☐ Photo 4

Part D

1. How long have you lived in Port Alberni?

☐ More than 20 years ☐ 11-20 years ☐ 6-10 years ☐ 1-5 years ☐ Less than 1 year

2. How many generations of your family have lived in Port Alberni?

☐ My Great Grandparents lived here ☐ My Grandparents lived here ☐ My Parents lived here ☐ I moved here from somewhere else ☐ I'm only temporarily living here

3. Are you:

☐ Male ☐ Female

4. How old are you?

☐ 19-25 ☐ 26-30 ☐ 31-40 ☐ 41-50 ☐ 51-60
☐ 61-70 ☐ 71-80 ☐ over 81

5. What is your marital status?

☐ Single ☐ Married without children ☐ Married with children ☐ Divorced

6. What is your educational background?

☐ Some High School ☐ High School Graduate ☐ College Diploma ☐ Technical School Graduate
☐ University Degree ☐ University Graduate Degree ☐ None of the above

7. Do you work in Port Alberni?

☐ Yes ☐ No

8. If you answered 'No' in question 7, Do you commute to your job from Port Alberni?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If 'Yes', please specify commute location _____

9. Which employment category best classifies your current occupation?

☐ Entrepreneurial Business ☐ Services ☐ Resources Industry ☐ Manufacturing ☐ Student

☐ Institutional (e.g. education/police/ fire dept.) ☐ Home Maker ☐ Retired ☐ Unemployed

Other _____ please specify

10. Are you currently employed in a forestry industry related position?

☐ Yes ☐ No

11. If you answered 'No' in question # 10, Have you ever been employed in a forestry industry related position?

☐ Yes ☐ No

12. What is your annual household income before taxes?

☐ Less than $10,000 ☐ $10,000 - $20,000 ☐ $20,001 - $30,000 ☐ $30,001 - $40,000

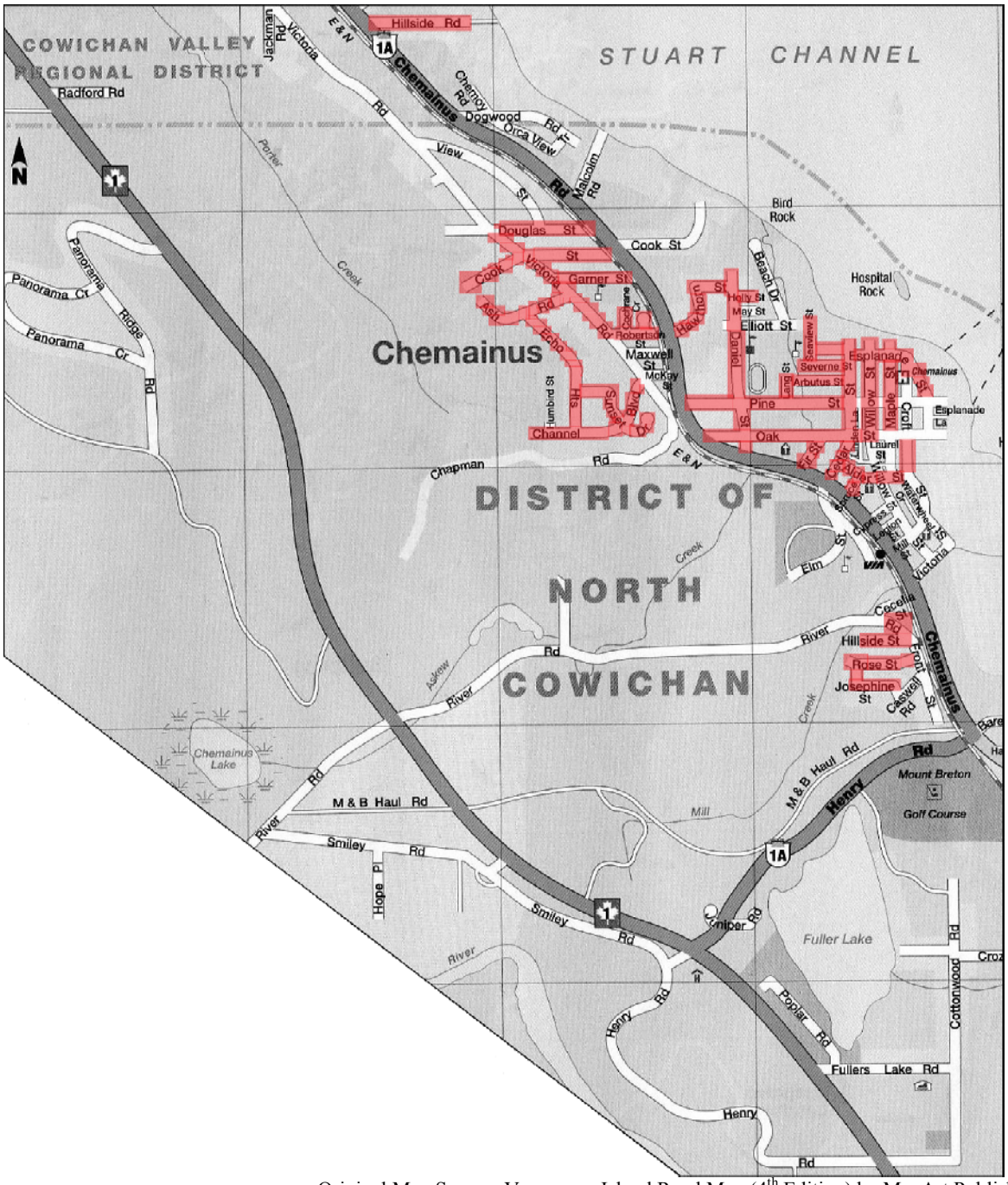
☐ $40,001-$50,000 ☐ $50,001 - $60,000 ☐ $60,001 - $70,000 ☐ More than $70,000

Thank-you for taking the time to participate in this questionnaire.

APPENDIX D

MAP OF SURVEY RESPONDENT LOCATIONS FOR CHEMAINUS, BRITISH COLUMBIA

Map of Respondent Locations: Residential Streets where surveys were collected are highlighted in red.



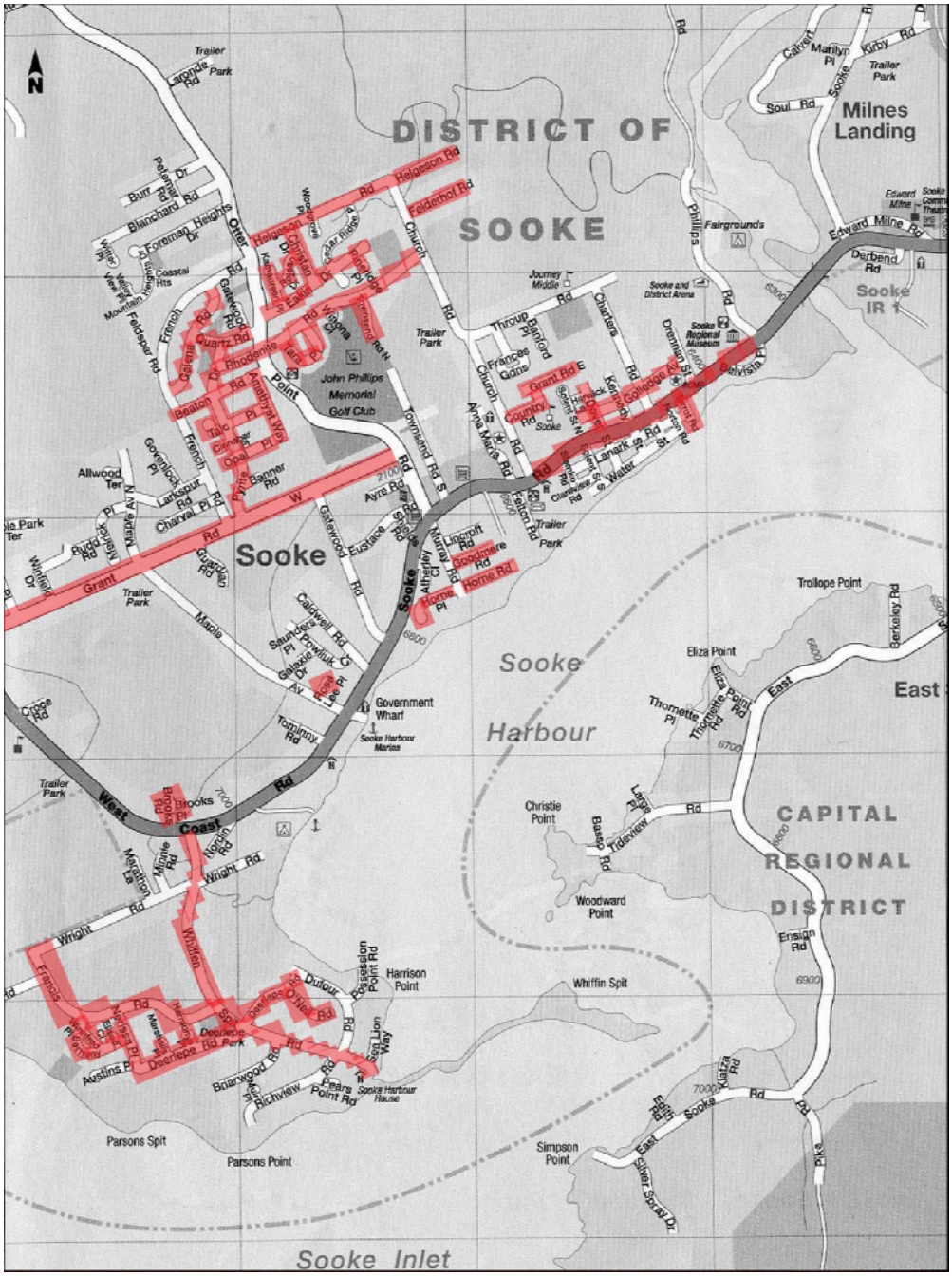
Original Map Source: Vancouver Island Road Map (4th Edition) by MapArt Publishing

INDEX OF STREETS WHERE SURVEYS WERE COLLECTED						
Willow Street	Alder Street	Pine Street	Ash Road	Cochrane Cr.	Chemainus Rd.	Cedar Street
Esplanade St.	Spruce Street	Lang Street	Echo Heights Rd.	Josephine Street	Maple Street	Daniel Street
Seaview Street	Oak Street	Holly Street	Sunset Drive	Rose Street	Arbutus Street	Cook Street
Severne Street	Fir Street	Hawthorne St.	Channel Boulevard	River Road	Victoria Street	Garner Street
Hillside Street	Douglas St.					

APPENDIX E

MAP OF SURVEY RESPONDENT LOCATIONS FOR SOOKE, BRITISH COLUMBIA

Map of Respondent Locations: Residential Streets where surveys were collected are highlighted in red.



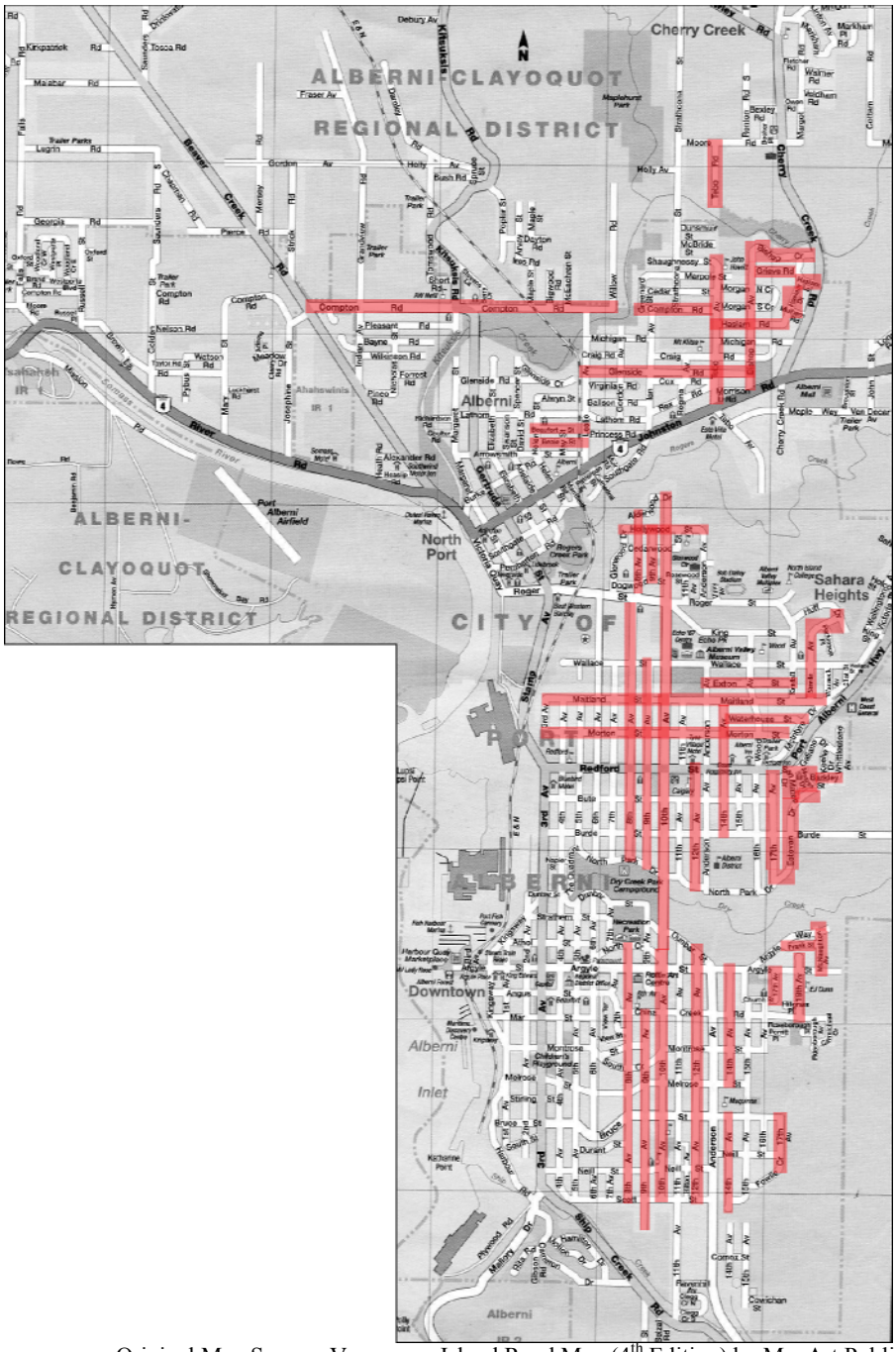
Original Map Source: Vancouver Island Road Map (4th Edition) by MapArt Publishing

INDEX OF STREETS WHERE SURVEYS WERE COLLECTED						
Rhodenite Dr.	Pineridge Pl.	Whiffen Spit Rd.	Winnifred Pl.	Goodmere Rd.	Talc Road	Christian Dr.
Townsend Rd N.	Grant Road	Briarwood Place	Francis Road	Horne Road	Beaton Rd.	Helgeson Rd.
Tara Place	Dover Road	Deerlepe Road	Narissa Road	Charters Street	Galena Rd.	Bethany Place
Kamaureen Pl.	Golledge Ave.	Harmonys Place	O'Niel Road	Amethyst Way	Quartz Dr.	Brooks Road
Rojean Drive	Country Road	Marshalls Place	Brooks Place	Opal Place	Sooke Rd.	Terrot Road
Eakin Road	Felderhof Rd.	Elise Close	Rose Lee Pl.	Cinnabar Place		

APPENDIX F

MAP OF SURVEY RESPONDENT LOCATIONS FOR PORT ALBERNI, BRITISH COLUMBIA

Map of Respondent Locations: Residential Streets where surveys were collected are highlighted in red.



Original Map Source: Vancouver Island Road Map (4th Edition) by MapArt Publishing

INDEX OF STREETS WHERE SURVEYS WERE COLLECTED						
9th Avenue	Exton Street	McNaughton Ave	Haslam Road	Beaufort Street	San Mateo	Waterhouse St
8th Avenue	Steede Avenue	18th Avenue	Grieve Road	Beale Street	Barkley Street	Hollywood St
10th Avenue	Maitland Street	14th Avenue	Tebo Avenue	Estevan Drive	17th Avenue	Alderwood Dr.
12th Avenue	Frank Street	Bishop Road	Compton Road	Meares Drive	Morton Street	Glenside Road