

The Impact of Surf Tourism on the Community of Tofino

by

Mervyn Jefferies

Master of Education, James Cook University, 2008

Bachelor of Tourism Management, Vancouver Island University, 2002

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of

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in the Department of Geography

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Abstract

This dissertation explores the emergence of surf tourism as a significant aspect of rural communities. It uses an inductive qualitative approach focused on Tofino, British Columbia, Canada as an example to provide an in-depth exploration of a rural community effected by this phenomenon. Qualitative interviews were conducted with a snowball sample of key informants to address the following research objectives: (1) What factors have influenced the evolution of surf tourism in Tofino; (2) How might the evolution of surf tourism in this case study relate to the Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC); (3) What is the impact of surf tourism on the broader community development of Tofino?

Analysis of the Tofino data elicited following themes: (1) For some, surfing is a desirable lifestyle, reflecting in some ways the concepts of specialization, serious leisure, and community's identity; (2) Surf shops are a community hub for local surfers and surf tourists; (3) Pacific Rim National Park plays a critical role in the region, contributing to surfing and the surf tourism industry, but has yet to fully engage with surfers or the surfing industry; (4) New and more affordable equipment technology has brought increased access to cold-water surf and surf tourism, reducing what may have constrained the early development of surf tourism; (5) Considerable increases in the supply and demand for surfing in Tofino have occurred, tempered by the increased number of surfing competitions and other new tourism segments that exist in the community; (6) Increasing safety issues may undermine the growth of surf tourism; (7) Limits to surf tourism growth are evident regarding facility and physical carrying capacity; (8) As a result of the considerable growth of surfing in Tofino, recreational crowding, and conflict are in evidence, as are coping mechanisms; (9) 'Localism' exists in Tofino, but perhaps less so than in

other destinations which have a fixed beach break; (10) Surf tourism has the potential for positive and negative impacts on First Nations communities in the region; and (11) Local government plays an important role.

These themes were then analyzed and linked to the following theoretical concepts: serious leisure; specialization; leisure constraints; localism; violence; conflict; crowding, carrying capacity, amenity migration, the Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC); and, rural tourism. This led to some intriguing findings. For example, unlike most other popular surf tourism destinations, crowding is not so apparent in the surf because the surf breaks in the Tofino area are primarily beach breaks that constantly shift as the bathymetry of the ocean floor changes with tides and currents, resulting in constant wave changes. This contrasts with fixed break conditions found elsewhere, so in Tofino it is easier to avoid other surfers by simply moving to another part of the wave.

When the Tofino findings were compared with TALC, some similarities and differences were noted. Factors that appear to be consistent with the TALC model are: increasing numbers of tourists, changing type of tourists (e.g. more mass tourists, compared to the early days of surf tourism), increasing numbers of tourism facilities, increased levels of marketing, increased levels of interaction between visitors and local communities (perhaps leading to instances of conflict, and localism), and increased economic benefits to the community. However, one possible departure from the expected trajectory is impacts on the natural environment, which have increased in some ways, but are improved in other ways. There has been some environmental change in terms of the growth in the town of Tofino, and with the development of lodgings near to the surrounding beaches. However, much of the larger landscape, remains largely intact or less impacted than what might have occurred without the presence of Pacific Rim National Park,

and the Clayoquot Biosphere Reserve. Further, the TALC model suggests that the development of tourism will lead to lesser local control of development. The Tofino findings suggest that there remains a great deal of local control and that local government support the tourism industry, including surf tourism.

It was noted that the emerging surf tourism refers to several concepts found in the general nature tourism literature, such as crowding, conflict and carrying capacity, but the surf tourism literature tends to overlook the complexity of some of these concepts. For example, future surf tourism research might consider more explicit examination of the various dimensions of conflict described in this study, including in group and outgroup conflict, interpersonal conflict and social values conflict. There is little evidence of the incorporation of these concepts in the surf tourism literature.

Finally, the data exposed a high level of social capital within the surf community and also between surfers and non-surfers as a facet of a close-knit rural community dependent to a degree on surf tourism as a social driver manifesting in mutual cooperation, trust and reciprocity occurring in social institutions such as surf-shops.

Keywords: surfing; surf tourism; community; Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC); amenity migration; localism; conflict; violence; rural tourism; sustainable tourism, carrying capacity; national park; Tofino; Vancouver Island.

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Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to my wife, Mary, who has been with me all the way.

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 The Significance of Tourism

Tourism is one of the fastest-growing industries in the world and bears significant weight in global economic terms, although it is both promoted and contested as a socio-economic panacea, particularly in developing countries. According to the World Tourism Organization, in 2016, international tourist arrivals reached 1.184 billion, generated \$1.4 trillion in export earnings, and earned \$218 billion from international transportation (UNWTO, 2017). Travel and Tourism generated *direct* contribution of \$USD 2.3 trillion to GDP and \$US 7.6 trillion *total* (includes indirect and induced contributions) *contribution* to GDP, accounting for 10.2% of global GDP and contributing GDP growth of 3.1%. Internationally, tourism employment grew to 292 million jobs in 2016 (World Travel and Tourism Council, 2017) and international tourist arrivals are forecast to reach 1.4 billion visitors by 2020 (UNWTO, 2014). In Canada, the tourism industry is significant and provides over 721,600 jobs and supports 159,000 tourism businesses. In 2016, Canada experienced over 20 million international visitors, which translates into over \$20 billion in international tourism revenues (TIABC, 2017).

However, a significant literature has emerged that criticizes the environmental, economic and social impacts that tourism has brought to many regions of the world. Table 1 provides a summary of positive and negative economic impacts of tourism. The economic aspects of tourism are often cited as the primary driver for tourism development in host communities, arguably to the detriment of the region socially and environmentally. Often the economic benefits of tourism to local communities are associated with environmental challenges, as outlined in Table 2. Connected to negative environmental impacts, modern travel developed as

mass transportation in the form of air travel became more common, efficient, and relatively inexpensive during the fifties and sixties (Howell, Wright & Reynolds, 2010; Dearden, 2009). As air traffic passenger volumes have increased since 2005 (other than a slight drop between 2008 and 2009) there have been parallel increases in CO₂ emissions; fuel consumption (around 1.5 billion barrels [63 million US gallons] of jet fuel per annum) and increased need for land resources for global airport expansion almost everywhere. However, the International Aviation Industry Association (IATA) claims that aircraft CO₂ emissions have remained relatively unchanged over the last two decades and accounts for less than 3% of global emissions (IATA 2017).

Table 1

Positive and Negative Economic Impacts of Tourism

<p>Positive Economic Impacts of Tourism (Webster & Ivanov, 2014; Rojo, 2009; Genesis Public Opinion Research Inc., 2007 ; UNEP, N.D.; Moscardo & Murphy, 2014; Crawford, Bradley & Marcucci, 2013 <i>et al.</i>; Williams & Shaw, 2009; Ladkin, 2011)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased Gross Domestic Product (GDP) from tourism-based business, which can support the cost of social services such as health, fire prevention and law enforcement • Distribution of revenues throughout the community via the ‘multiplier effect’ as wages and employee benefits • The attraction of new businesses to host communities • Appreciation of property and land values • Urban regeneration in cases where land use shifts towards tourism and recreation use • Tourism development can diffuse or ameliorate the negative impacts of downturns in other regional economic activities by providing new employment opportunities
<p>Negative Economic Impacts of Tourism (Jolliffe & Farnsworth, 2003; UNEP, N.D; Usher & Kerstetter, 2014)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human resource challenges of seasonal employment in a single industry • Foreign or non-regional corporations transferring revenues away from the community (leakage) • Importing expertise and personnel to manage properties (as opposed to hiring locally) • Excluding local residents from ‘higher-end’ employment opportunities • Increased costs to provide services for tourists • Increases in prices of goods and services, inflating the price of items such as groceries food and beverage services, entertainment and recreational facilities • Increase in property and values that displace local residents from their own community

Some argue that the negative environmental aspects of tourism can be somewhat mitigated by considering aspects of tourism development that provide positive environmental impacts such as greater awareness of endangered or ‘at-risk’ indigenous zoological and botanical species (e.g.,

the recognition of the Spotted Owl as an endangered species) (Eagles, 1993). In addition, a greater awareness by tourism operators to market environmentally and ecologically sound business practices has emerged (Kensbock, 2011): for example, guidelines voluntarily employed by some whale-watching and kayak touring companies in coastal British Columbia and other parts of Canada (DFO, 2014; SKGABC, 2014). Canadian whale watching guidelines are being proposed as enforceable regulations by the Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO) but are currently under review as part of a consultation process (DFO, 2018).

Table 2

Negative and Positive Environmental Impacts of Tourism

<p>Negative Environmental Impacts of Tourism (Bennett, Lemelin, Koster, & Budke, 2012; Saenz-de-Miera & Rosselló, 2014; Baoying & Yuanqing, 2007; Andereck, Valentine, Knopf & Vogt, 2005; Catlin, Jones, & Jones, 2011; Duffus, 1990; Holden, 2010)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Degradation of the local environment • Air pollution • Increased pressure on fresh water resources that can cause conflict between communities competing for those resources • Aesthetic impacts of tourism-based structures not harmonized with local architecture and the built environment • Pressure on wildlife populations from wildlife ‘spectators’ • Deforestation • Modern travel developed as mass transportation in the form of air travel
<p>Positive Environmental Impacts of Tourism (Eagles, 1993; Rollins <i>et al.</i>, 2014; Kensbock, 2011)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Greater awareness of endangered or ‘at-risk’ indigenous zoological and botanical species (e.g., the recognition of the Spotted Owl as an endangered species) • Motivation to protect ecologically or historically unique sites and areas from urban development or resource extraction • Protection of natural resources and sites for leisure and recreational enjoyment • Greater awareness by tourism operators to market environmentally and ecologically sound business practices has emerged

The third component of tourism impact literature addresses the social impacts of tourism, which will be the focus of this research. Positive and negative social impacts of tourism are summarized in Table 3. An example of positive tourism related social impact is the tourism-based infrastructure development in Puerto Vallarta, Jalisco state, Mexico, which grew from a municipality of three thousand in 1918 to incorporation as a city in 1968. The first hotel started delivering tourism services in 1952 and air transportation brought tourists to the destination in 1954, such that by 2007 approximately 30% of all tourism in Jalisco state was delivered by

Puerto Vallarta reflecting its status as an economic driver for the region. From a social perspective, Puerto Vallarta has developed as a tourist destination, facilities such as bars, restaurants, retail spaces and art galleries increasing their presence and supplementing traditional infrastructure such as plazas and mercados thereby benefitting the social landscape for visitors and residents alike (Everitt, Massam, CháVez-Dagostino, SáNchez, & Romo (2008).

Table 3

Positive and Negative Social Impacts of Tourism

<p>Positive Social Impacts of Tourism (Andereck <i>et al.</i>, 2005; UNEP, N.D.)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Greater acceptance of ‘other’ cultures • An increased awareness of a host community’s culture by indigenous residents leading to revival and/or conservation initiatives • Stimulation of local economy by employment stability • Improved infra- and super-structure. Improved facilities for the visitor, which subsequently benefits the community. Examples include: improved water supply; sewage services; and road and airport construction • Providing enhanced facilities for recreation and entertainment (such as community recreation centres and sports arenas) • Developing enhanced retail areas; and providing more food and beverage facilities (such as restaurants; pubs, bars, and nightclub venues)
<p>Negative Social Impacts of Tourism (Scheyvens & Momsen, 2008; Andereck <i>et al.</i>, 2005; Swarbrooke, 1999).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Crowding • Increased crime rates • Greater pressure on policing • Increased pressure on social services and community facilities • Displacement of affordable housing from local residents to accommodate relatively affluent tourists • Exclusion of local residents from ‘tourist-only’ facilities • Over-reliance on seasonal employment • Cultural commodification of traditional rituals and costume • The ‘demonstration effect’

In addition to negative social impacts of tourism as outlined in Table 3, negative social impacts of tourism are illustrated with Ponting’s 2008 study of Mentawaiian surf culture noted that local youth were adopting negative behaviour such as excessive drinking, drug consumption, and surfing all day, at the expense of school and work to emulate tourists. Ponting (2008) noted that the concern was that local youth would adopt this behaviour all-year round based on the behaviour of tourists who were typically on the islands temporarily as vacation time. However, Swarbrooke (1999) argues that this “demonstration effect” is not always negative, for example,

when the host community strives for higher standards of living and/or enhanced community achievement (see Table 3 for additional positive tourism impacts).

1.2 The Tourism Area Lifecycle

Concerns for the sustainability of tourism have spawned a significant literature measuring tourism impacts, as outlined in Tables 1-3 above. At a more conceptual level, the Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC) provides a framework for understanding the evolution of tourism in a given destination area (Butler, 2011; Butler, 1980; Hovinen, 2002; Haywood, 1986). According to this model, tourist destination development is based on the concept of a lifecycle that evolves through sequential stages described as: exploration, involvement, development, consolidation through to stagnation and possibly decline or conversely rejuvenation as reference points. Each stage is characterized by differing numbers of tourists, tourism facilities, levels of marketing, levels of interaction between visitors and local communities, impacts on the natural environment, impacts on local social environment, impacts on the economic environment, and levels of local control of tourism development.

In this dissertation, the TALC framework is applied to assist in the interpretation of the development of surf tourism in Tofino, as outlined in the research questions outlined at the end of this chapter. As discussed in Chapter 2, TALC is normally applied to describe the totality of tourism development in a given destination; however, in this dissertation, TALC is applied to examine a specific segment of tourism – surf tourism. It is argued that surf tourism in a given destination could evolve through a TALC life cycle through to consolidation or stagnation, although overall tourism development in the same destination may follow a somewhat different trajectory.

1.3 Rural Tourism

In the rural context, tourism is particularly problematic, as these communities are often resource dependent, and experience periodic ‘boom – bust’ cycles where employment is characterized by rapid expansion and contraction. Such cycles are currently evidenced with the Fort McMurray gas and petroleum developments in northern Alberta, Canada. Fort McMurray was in the boom stage of the cycle as the second highest oil-sand and gas deposits on the planet; however declining oil prices led to an economic downturn for the community (Tracey, 2005). As a more extreme global example, two of the most dramatic ‘boom and bust’ economic collapses were the Great Recession of 2007–2009 and the Great Depression of the 1930s both caused by overvalued “asset bubbles” bursting (Ivanova, 2017). These cycles are traumatic for communities and tend to undermine the social fabric, leading for a call for more “sustainable” forms of development, of which tourism is thought to be.

However, tourism is a relatively new form of economic activity in many parts of rural Canada. Traditionally, rural communities have tended to rely on primary industries such as agriculture, forestry, fishing and mining to underpin local economies and shape their social identity. A number of these traditional industries are, however, now in decline for reasons which include the depletion of resources, international trade factors, economic restructuring, the removal of tariff protections, changes to company employment procedures and government land use policies (Vaugeois & Rollins, 2007).

Some rural communities have responded to declines in these traditional industries through the development of tourism. However, the benefits of rural tourism are contested by some, and the tension between positive and negative impacts outlined in Tables 1, 2, and 3 apply to rural tourism as well. For example, one of the arguments often put forward in support of

tourism development in rural areas is that it can act as an economic lifeline for rural communities; bringing in dollars, generating jobs and supporting retail growth (Randolph & Schwimmer, 2015; Schweinsberg, Wearing, & Darcy 2012; Vaugeois & Rollins, 2007). Baldacchino, Helgadóttir and Mykletun, R. J. (2015) posits that rural tourism can support an economic strategy "...that can turn around a sputtering economy..." (p.5) but cautions that economic benefits can drain to external entities and do not automatically benefit the immediate community.

This is certainly the case for surf tourism that often develops in rural areas. For example, Towner *et al* (2016) found a clear connection between surf tourists and economic activity in the Mentawai Islands. Similarly, Porter, Orams, and Lück (2015) notes that surf tourism in the Philippines is a viable co-industry to bolster declining 'artisanal' fisheries, although Ponting and O'Brien (2015) alerts to the danger of surf tourism communities, perhaps inevitably, experiencing 'boom and bust' cycles.

The potential for a rural community to be divided on the role of tourism is connected to the lack of homogeneity in rural communities more generally, and this is no different for surf tourism. This has implications for the study of sustainable tourism development in rural areas and for the examination of surf tourism in particular (Martin & Assenov 2013; Schweinsberg *et al*, 2012). These issues will be explored in this dissertation through an analysis of surf tourism development in Tofino, and how this development may reflect concepts identified in the surf tourism literature, introduced in the following section.

1.4 Surf Tourism

Surfing was introduced to Australia, and eventually to America, in the early 20th century from Hawaii by the generally acknowledged 'father of surfing', Duke Kahanamoku. Since those

early days of 'surfing for royalty' the sport has been appropriated and commodified to a form that was unlikely envisioned by the original board-riders (Nendel, 2009). Today, surf-riding is present in at least 161 countries on five continents (Martin & Assenov, 2013), and involves an estimated 35 million surfers globally, of which 15 million surf several times a week, and that around 35 million people surf at least once annually (O'Brien & Eddie, 2013a). Surf tourism is thought to generate revenue somewhere between \$70-130 billion annually (O'Brien & Eddie, 2013a). Clearly surf tourism has rapidly developed into a significant nature tourism sector and this has begun to attract the attention of academic researchers, as outlined in this dissertation.

Ponting (2008) defines surfing tourism as "...travel and temporary stay, undertaken by a surfer, involving at least one night away from the region of the surfer's domicile which is undertaken with the primary expectation of surfing waves" (p25). Ponting takes the definition discussion a stage further by separating surf tourism from surfing tourism: Ponting defines *surf tourism* as an implication that breaking waves are present within the touristic experience (attending surf competitions as spectators, surf watchers) whereas *surfing tourism* implies actively surfing the wave. However, for the purposes of this review the term *surf tourism* will be used to reflect both of these dimensions.

Surf tourism is a subset of tourism in general, which is referred to as the "activities of visitors" (p.4) by the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO):

A visitor is a traveller taking a trip to a main destination outside his/her usual environment, for less than a year, for any main purpose (business, leisure or other personal purpose) other than to be employed by a resident entity in the country or place visited. These trips taken by visitors qualify as tourism trips. Tourism refers to the activity of visitors. (n.d. p.4).

1.5 The Study Site

Rural townships throughout the country are currently re-evaluating the role that primary industries play in their local areas. Some rural communities have transitioned from resource-based economies to economies based heavily on tourism (Rollins, Dearden, & Fennell, 2016). For example, the community of Chemainus, located in rural British Columbia, has embraced tourism as a primary economic driver, replacing a primary resource industry, in this case logging, when the local lumber mill closed in 1983 (Chemainus Festival, N.D.)

Similarly, the study area of Tofino, situated on the western coast of Vancouver Island, was heavily dependent on logging and fishing during the mid- to late-twentieth century and has subsequently stagnated in comparison to British Columbia as a whole, where resources industry employment has declined. Consequently, rural communities, such as Tofino, have looked to secondary industry and service sector activities such as tourism (see Mason, 2012) to offset resource industry employment stagnation.

Tofino was selected for this dissertation because the community illustrates many of the challenges facing rural communities where tourism has been introduced into a community previously dependent on resource extraction. Since the 1970's Tofino has shifted from a resource-based economy centred on logging; commercial fishing and mining, to a tourism-based economy (see Mason, 2012). The shift from traditional industries such as agriculture towards rural tourism has occurred in many other global locations, for example Kibbutz Yuron in Northern Israel (Mansfeld, 2005), the Limpopo Province of South Africa (Mafunzwaini & Hugo,

2005) and Iceland (and other North Atlantic region locations) (Baldacchino *et al*, 2015) and China (Su, 2011).

To situate the study in historical context, the following table (Table 4) traces a rudimentary chronology of tourism and surf tourism development ‘markers’ in the Tofino region and provides a snapshot of the community from the early 1920’s to the present day (Mason, 2012). This chronology identifies some of the important points in evolution in Tofino’s tourism development in general and focuses on surf tourism specifically. Looking first at the growth of tourist accommodation, in 1958 Tofino resident, George Nicholson, provided a prescient clue to the trajectory about to be taken.

Nicholson noted in his journal:

The present settlement of this seaside resort comprises about thirty permanent homes, four resorts with cabins and fifty summer cottages occupied during the summer months by owners from different parts of the [Vancouver] Island and the lower [BC] mainland. All the buildings are partly hidden, for the entire waterfront is still heavily wooded. (Mason, 2012, p.148)

Vancouver Island is more highly developed on the east coast and southern tip, but the west coast is fiord like and largely inaccessible and lightly populated. The wilderness character of the region has shaped the specific form of surfing in the Tofino area. Further, surf tourism has tended to focus mainly in Tofino which became more accessible following paved highway completion in the early 1970’s. An important factor in regional tourism development is the establishment of Pacific Rim National Park Reserve, which was officially announced in 1970. Parks Canada has played a significant role in providing a natural mechanism to inhibit ‘inappropriate’ infrastructure development in the Long Beach National Park Reserve Unit

(LBNPRU) thereby preventing commercial and community development within the Park Reserve Unit boundaries (Mason, 2012, p.173).

Table 4

Chronology of Tofino and Long Beach NPR Surf Tourism (Mason 2012)

1920-1930	1924: Early tourism noted by Tofino resident George Jackson: tourists attracted to Long Beach, some hosted by Jackson. 1929: Canadian National Parks Association propose Long Beach as a National Park.
1930-1950	1936: Ucluelet, near to Tofino, chosen for Royal Canadian Airforce Base. 1937: Singing Sands becomes first Resort to service tourists 1939: Start of World War Two. 1940: #4 Bomber Reconnaissance Squadron relocated to Ucluelet Base. 1941: Site established for a Royal Canadian Air Force Station Tofino. 1941: Bombing of Pearl Harbour: Canada at war in the Pacific theatre. 1942: Tofino and Ucluelet Japanese residents interned 1945: End World War Two.
1950-1960	Late 1940s: Wickaninnish Lodge opened 1950: Combers Resort and Long Beach Bungalows opened 1950's: Pine Lodge opened in what is now Long Beach segment of Pacific Rim National Park Reserve 1959: Highway 4 (gravel road) opened access from Port Alberni to Tofino/Ucluelet 1959: Maquinna Hotel opened
1960-1970	Mid-60s: first influx of surfers, alternate life-style itinerants 1966: first surf competition at Long Beach 1968: small surf school opened at Long Beach 1969: British Columbia legislature passed the West Coast National Parks Act allowing for park development at Long Beach
1970-1980	1970: Pacific Rim National Park Reserve officially announced 1971: Official Park opening 1972: Highway 4 paving completed, from Port Alberni to Tofino 1972: Long Beach Water Safety and Surf Apparatus School opened 1973: RCMP invoke Riot Act to restore order on May long weekend: estimated 10,000 people camping on Long Beach 1973: Parks Canada ban driving and camping on Long Beach; Parks Canada provide lifeguards
1980-1990	1984: First surf shop opened Others followed suit: currently 16 surf-related businesses are in operation
1990-2000	1993: Clayoquot Land Use Plan 2000: Clayoquot Biosphere Reserve established
2000-2015	2009: Tofino host to the O'Neill Cold Water Classic, the first ASP (Association of Professional Surfers) event to be held in Canada. 2012: Long Beach National Park surf guard program eliminated 2013: Rip Curl Pro International Surfing Event: won by local surf professional Pete DeVries

Another factor influencing sustainable development, including tourism in the Tofino area, is the Clayoquot Land Use Plan, completed in 1993 as a result of fierce debate and controversy over land use in the Clayoquot Sound region. One of the primary outcomes of the plan was 'immediate reserve' from logging and mineral claims by protecting a total of 87,600 hectares

including the previously protected areas of 39,000 hectares within Clayoquot Sound including the Long Beach segment of Pacific Rim NPR (Province of British Columbia, 1993).

One outcome of the Clayoquot Land Use Plan was the designation as a UNESCO Biosphere Reserve (CSUBR) in January 2000. The Biosphere Reserve is a member of the international network of UNESCO World Biosphere Reserves.

The CSUBR describes the role of biospheres reserves thus:

Biosphere Reserves have legally protected core areas (long-term protection to landscapes and ecosystems), buffer zones (resource extraction can take place, as long as it does not undermine the objectives of the core areas), and transition zones or zones of cooperation (people work together to use the area's resources in a sustainable manner). At their core, Biosphere Reserves seek sustainable ways to work with our natural environments. (Clayoquot Biosphere Trust, n.d.)

Parallel to the evolution of surfing in the Tofino area is the development of resorts, which are the face of commercial tourism development in the region. The map below (Figure 1) represents the PRLBU area (shaded in blue) and geographical relationship to Tofino. Popular surf beaches in PRLBU are Long Beach, Combers Beach, Wickaninnish Beach and Florencia Bay (also known locally as Wreck Beach). Outside the park reserve area Mackenzie Beach; North and South Chesterman Beaches and Cox Bay are frequented by surfers year-round. Although the region is considered a 'cold-water' surf location requiring heavy-duty wetsuit equipment, the surf breaks are surfable throughout the year with the heaviest swells caused by off-shore storms arriving in the late Fall and Winter months providing the most challenging and high-quality waves.



Figure 1. Parks Canada Visitor Map: National Parks Long Beach Unit

The first surfers appeared in the early 1970s approximately concurrent with the construction of a paved highway to Tofino allowing for better vehicle access. Reputedly, some of these early surfers were Americans evading the Vietnam conflict conscription draft (Mason 2012, p.158). Subsequently the region attracted increasing numbers of surfers and surf tourists providing the impetus and platform for a vibrant industry and surf 'scene'. Before park authorities and police intervention, Long Beach was a popular destination for camping and was witness to activities including automobile drag races on the beach itself. In May 1973, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police invoked the Riot Act to restore order on the May long weekend as an estimated 10,000 people camping on Long Beach became unmanageable for park staff (Mason, 2012, p.184).

The evolution of tourism in the Tofino area has been influenced by the growth of surf tourism in the area, inasmuch as Tofino is one of the very few places in Canada that contains a viable surf opportunity. As of 2017, sixteen Tofino and Ucluelet businesses were identified as surf-related (retail surf shops, surf equipment rentals and surf schools), which are sometimes combined into a single business, in addition to outdoor adventure companies specializing in surf tours (surf camps, surf safaris). Seven other businesses were identified as surfboard shapers; surf equipment and surf accessory vendors in the region. Surfers and surf tourists also support the hospitality industry, transportation, and ancillary services (e.g., retail, gas stations, grocery stores, personal services, health services) in addition to participating in other outdoor activities (e.g., hiking, sailing, kayaking, fishing, touring, wildlife watching, surf competitions) and cultural activities (e.g., First Nations culture, art galleries, music performances, and festivals) (Tourism Tofino, 2018).

One indicator of tourism growth in the region is captured in the number of accommodation properties currently operating in the Tofino region. According to the 2014 Tofino Tourism Master Plan, there are thirty-eight accommodation providers in the area including hotels, inns, motels, vacation home rentals, hostels, condominiums and bed and breakfast properties. As of 2017, Trip Advisor, lists seventeen hotels, forty-six bed and breakfasts, twenty 'specialty' lodges and fifty-five vacation rentals in the Tofino section (Trip Advisor, 2017) To put this in perspective, the Comber Resort was the first resort to open as a purpose-built property and commenced hosting guests in 1950; clearly tourism-based growth is significant in the region. Revenues generated through the accommodation sector in Tofino increased from \$33,882,000 in 2010 to \$53,658,000 in 2018. The number of active properties as

accounted in Municipal and Regional District Tax (MRDT) statistics has increased from 25 to 32 since 2010 to current levels (BC Statistics, 2018).

1.6 Summary and Research Questions

This chapter has described the economic significance of tourism on a global scale and within Canada and British Columbia. Further it was noted that these economic benefits are sometimes contested (e.g. leakage), and concerns have been raised regarding negative environmental impacts and negative social impacts sometimes associated with tourism. The Tourism Area Life Cycle Model (TALC) provides a framework for interpreting the evolution of tourism through a succession of stages from exploration through to consolidation or stagnation. Although this model has been criticised (e.g. Yun & Zhang, 2016), it provides one framework used in this dissertation to explore the growth of surf tourism in Tofino, a rural community transitioning from an economy based mainly of resource extraction (forestry, commercial fishing and mining) toward a tourism-based economy based in part on surf tourism.

Hence, the purpose of this dissertation is to examine the development of the surf tourism industry in Tofino. The specific research questions are: (1) What factors have influenced the evolution of surf tourism in Tofino; (2) How might the evolution of surf tourism in this case study relate to the Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC); (3) What is the impact of surf tourism on the broader community development of Tofino?

The remaining components of the dissertation are organized as follows. Chapter 2 (Literature Review) situates the study by expanding on topics introduced in this chapter, including a critical review of the surf tourism literature, TALC, and rural tourism development. Chapter 3 (Method) describes how data was collected, through qualitative semi – structured personal interviews. Chapter 4 (Results) describes the findings of these interviews, through an

analysis of the interviews into thematic areas. Chapter 5 (Conclusions) describes how these findings inform our understanding of surf tourism, and related theoretical concepts.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to situate the examination in this thesis of surf tourism development in Tofino within relevant bodies of literature. The chapter has three main sections. The first section provides an analysis of the emerging surf tourism literature and related theoretical constructs. This is followed by a discussion of the Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC) model (Butler, 1980), as a conceptual framework for interpreting the evolution of surf tourism in a given destination. The third section provides a review of the literature addressing tourism development in rural resource-based communities.

2.2.0 Surf Tourism: Introduction

Surf tourism can take place on any coastline around the globe that is accessible by road, boat or floatplane. McGregor & Wills (2017) inform that there are about 5151 surf breaks in 146 countries. Similarly, surf tourism research occurs in many regions, including:

- Tropical or sub-tropical regions of the United States, Australia (see Wearing, & Darcy, 2012; Waitt & Warren, 2008) and Indo-Pacific (see Ponting, McDonald, & Wearing, 2005; Ponting & O'Brien, 2014; Towner, 2016);
- China (see McElroy & Hamma, 2010);
- Japan (see McGregor & Wills, 2017; Ponting, 2008; Warren & Gibson, 2017);
- Mexico (see McGregor & Wills, 2017; Warren & Gibson, 2017; Wiersma, 2014);
- Central and South America (see Orams & Towner, 2012);
- Africa (see Preston-Whyte, 2002; (McCareavey & McDonough, 2011);
- United Kingdom (see Beaumont & Brown, 2015); and,

- Iceland (see Orams & Towner, 2012).

However, cold water destinations, such as Vancouver Island, are less represented in the literature, but have become more viable as access via air transport is increasingly practical, and because of improved wet-suit technology and innovation. For example, Rip Curl, an Australian surf wear manufacturer and designer, developed a new wet-suit that was much tighter to the body than wet-suit technology had previously allowed, which resulted in a higher heat retention factor meaning the surfer could surf in colder water and for longer periods. The wet-suit material developed by Rip Curl has continued to improve innovations leading to a much thinner, warmer, synthetic fabric than was previously available (Pech, 2015).

According to Martin & Assenov's 2013 review of surf tourism research, the specific term 'surf tourism' was first used in academe by Reed (1999) and concurrently by Buckley (1999) and subsequently by Ponting (2000) and Buckley (2000). Martin & Assenov (2013) identified three stages of surf tourism research. The "early period" (1997-2000) saw surf tourism research as primarily descriptive and produced the first statistical marketing data. An example of surf tourism research from this early period is Augustin's (1998) work in France discussing the development of fashionable resort destinations near French surf-breaks and beaches. According to Martin & Assenov (2013), Augustin's work was likely the first internationally published article focusing on surf tourism. Buckley (1999, 2000) investigated carry-capacity at surf sites in the Menatawai Islands, Indonesia and was a forerunner in surf-tourism academia, which was in its infancy and foreshadowed the interest in global surf-tourism studies (Martin & Assenov, 2013).

The “formative period” (2001-2006) produced studies of two general types: (1) studies aimed at surf tourist demographics, behavior, travel patterns and economic statistics; and (2) studies aimed at the commodification of surf destinations concurrent with the impacts of surf tourism on foreign destinations. An example of research from this formative period is Buckley’s seminal work on tourism sustainability in small island states in the Indo-Pacific Islands (Buckley, 2002a, 2002b), which is frequently cited in surf tourism literature.

The “progressive period” (2007-2011) was characterized by a greater volume of academic research concerning surf tourism, as well the initial involvement of government and non-government organizations, destination marketing organizations and private interest groups. Of particular interest in this period was the body of work situating the economic value of surf sites in the context of domestic surf tourism and coastal communities. Surprisingly, most of the research leading up to 2011 was undertaken in USA, Australia or Malaysia, although surf tourism existed in at least 61 countries. In this third period, sustainability, social justice and equality in emerging economies emerge as important themes. An example of research from this progressive period is Ingersoll’s (2009) development of “...ontological and cultural perspectives on Polynesian seascape epistemology as an integral base upon which contemporary tourism is placed” (p.273). This period also marked the first ever Government commissioned report investigating the competitiveness and viability of the New South Wales surf break, in an effort to promote the region as a ‘premier domestic and international surf destination’ (Tourism New South Wales, 2009).

Further to this historical overview of surf tourism research, a number of themes in surf tourism research have been identified, drawing primarily on literature overviews provided by Anderson (2014), Martin & Assenov (2013) and Barbieri & Sotomeyer (2016; 2013). These

themes are outlined in the following sections: surfing as lifestyle; political critique; market segmentation; surfing and gender; surfing events; localism, conflict and violence; carrying capacity; and conservation.

2.2.1 Surfing as Lifestyle Activity

Surfing is often referred to as a ‘lifestyle’, which as a sociological concept can be viewed as a composite of image, status, and prestige, and decision to lead life in a certain way, albeit voluntarily (Hirsch, 1976), although some observers would posit that surfing is an addictive activity that goes far beyond the notions of image, status and prestige (Orams & Towner, 2012; Taylor, 2007; Wiersma, 2014).

Wheaton summarizes:

...lifestyle sports (such as surfing) as individualistic in nature (as opposed to team-sports); participatory rather than spectator-focused; consuming of new technologies; centered on skill, risk and hedonism; resistant to regulation and institutionalization; and in their relationship to competition. (See Wheaton, 2004 p.12, in Anderson 2014).

This summary would seem to encapsulate the essential tenets of the activity. For example, and bearing in mind the traits described by Wheaton (2004), surfing can be viewed as “the quintessential lifestyle sport...” and has been commoditized and morphed into popular folklore along with the physical prowess, film, music and fashion associated with the activity (Anderson, 2014).

Since the early days of ‘surfing for royalty’ the sport has been appropriated and commodified (disembedded) to a form that was unlikely envisioned by the original board-riders (Daskalos, 2007; Kampion, 1997; Nendel, 2009). However, it was not until the early 1960’s that

surfing became part of popular culture in film, fashion and music, and to many represented youthful hedonism at its finest. Indeed, hedonism is an underlying component of risk-taking activities and lifestyle sports such as surfing that lend to the perceived life and style of surfing as depicted in popular culture (Anderson, 2014). In contrast to the hedonism trope, Lederman (2017 p.50) argues that in reality, hedonism is not risk-taking at all, and not in the least bit rebellious, but an expression of entitlement and self-centered behaviour. Regardless, these perceptions have captured the imagination of many surf tourists who strive to capture the ‘perfect wave’ or as Ponting (2008) articulates, the “pursuit of Nirvana”.

Popular film has influenced the notion that ‘foot-loose and fancy-free’ (Ponting, 2008) youth can follow the sun in the *Endless Summer*, the Bruce Brown (1966) film that, perhaps, triggered the movement of surf tourists to seemingly exotic destinations to catch the perfect wave and has become a trope in academic studies pin-pointing the roots of surf tourism (Dolnicar & Fluker, 2003; Martin & Assenov, 2013; Orams & Towner, 2012; Ponting, 2008). Clearly, surfing is woven into the lifestyle of millions (Lazarow, Miller, & Blackwell, 2008), and Doskalos (2007) argues that surfing is less of a lifestyle of the “adventure-seeking rogues” as surfing has become commodified and is available to anyone who has the time and financial resources for equipment and travel.

Consequently, surfing is no longer the ‘self-conscious’ lifestyle statement it once was (Taylor, 2007). However, elements of the original Polynesian lifestyle as revealed by Kahanamoku, or perhaps more powerfully, the Polynesian ‘way of life’, still form a basis for ‘tribal’ or ‘soul surfers who purport to ascribe their own lifestyle to traditional surf characteristics (Kaffine, 1997; Taylor, 2007). Part of this draw has been described as the ‘imaginary of surfing.’ Evers (2009) refers to the sensuality of the ‘stoke’, the quintessential surfing experience that

surfers continually seek and is the imaginary for many surfers and surf tourists as well as the underlying basis of surf destination commodification (O'Brien & Ponting, 2013). The imaginary of artificial boundaries separating locals from 'Others' is a central thread when attempting to understand surf territories that 'Others' (surf tourists) are allowed to occupy by locals (Preston-Whyte, 2002). Surfer narrative often carries an unspoken undercurrent of 'Others' or those that are not 'Us' and underscores the mythic image of the surfer as being primarily white and male (masculine). It appears that women (feminine); 'other' ethnicities (non-white); and sexuality (LGBT) have not been included as 'Us' and are treated as 'Others' or outside the dominant social structure of surfers (Evers, 2009). Conversely, Springer (2016) asserts that as the evidence of, for example, 'exceptional violence' becomes more unacceptable, people will become less willing to stand by as people are 'Othered' out of social structures.

Stranger (2010) identifies surfing as an authentic 'embodied' experience rather than simply a notion experienced through imagery and the commodified trappings of fashion, movies and music and suggests that unless an individual 'rides the surf', then that individual can never 'live' the surfer life as imagined by popular culture (see Evers, 2009; Fordham, 2008; Stranger, 2010; Warshaw, 2011). Surfing does not form and develop in a vacuum and, further, it is reasonable to apply views that surfing is a subculture in that the activity has an 'insider' focus based on risk and spontaneity that excludes 'outsiders' who may be attracted by the perception of an exciting lifestyle (Ford & Brown, 2006).

2.2.2 Political Critique of Surf Tourism

In their quest for the 'perfect' wave, surf tourists are travelling to global destinations and taking their own culture and behaviour with them, a practice described as "... a routed but rootless 'trans-local' surf identity" that a "... 'trans-local' may bring to a destination without

actually engaging in their ‘new community’...”(Anderson, 2014, p.246). Anderson (2014) argues that this ‘rootless’ surf identify affects existing ‘locals surf-shore’ relationship with the littoral zone and that local and trans-local surfers should mutually respect both the surf break and the culture of the terrestrial environment that supports the break in tandem.

This observation suggests that surfers and the surfing lifestyle have studiously disregarded the political consequences of surf activities particularly in less-developed destinations (Laderman, 2017). Observers have noted that surf tourism is a form of Western socio-economic and cultural domination by colonization (Ruttenberg & Brosius, 2017) and is responsible for “disturbance and contaminant” of destinations (Anderson, 2014).

Ponting *et al* (2005) state:

[S]urfing tourism has a history as a colonizing activity. Surfers tend to venture into areas previously unvisited by mainstream tourists, opening up new routes and new systems of development – surfing tourism has nudged unprepared destinations down the slippery slope to large scale industrialized tourism and its related issues (p.20).

Further to the notion of a new form of colonization, surf media has frequently ignored the politics of surf in coverage of surf destinations that focus on the wave, rather than the social and political structure of the destination. For example, in 1982, *Surfer* magazine ran a six-page feature article extolling the wonders of Chile as a surf paradise, but did not mention Augusto Pinochet, arguably one of the most brutal dictators of modern history, once. This also occurred when *Surfer* covered Brazil as a surf destination and “... one big party” in 1968 following the “...US-backed overthrow of João Goulart, the left-wing president who was deposed by the military in 1964...” (Laderman, 2017, p.52).

Local surf politics can arise in the form of advocacy rather than politics in the form of formal governance, whereby many surfers believe that access to surf should be ‘free’ and unencumbered by the neoliberal model of revenue generating resources, however, local accommodation owners and surf tourism operators may also advocate that surf breaks can be reserved for exclusive use by their guests and customers (Buckley, Guitart, & Shakeela, 2017). Buckley *et al* (2017) argue that independent surf tourists may reverse their ‘access for all’ perspective if they could be guaranteed uncrowded surf breaks and if denied exclusive access for waves they have “paid-for”, they will go elsewhere. For example, the Buckley *et al* (2017) study of surf resort in the Maldives informs that conflict such as crowding and localism is related to destination ownership issues and further posit that privately controlled surf breaks at surf-resorts actively block surfers accessing the break by boat operators.

The politics of ecology is especially germane to the act of surf-riding and by association, surf tourism. Paradoxically, surfers generally consider themselves to be environmentally aware and acknowledge that the pursuit of surf, by definition, requires access and depletion of the surf resource. As surf tourism grows, the more surf breaks are ‘used-up’, if not literally, but by dint of commodification and crowding, surf breaks in locations such as Bondi Beach, Sydney, Australia become less desirable. Counter to the notion that surfers are environmentally conscious, surf-parks have been built to capture the demand for surfing in locations many kilometres away from the ocean surrounded by intensely commercialized space in shopping malls and theme parks, specifically in California and Japan (Hill & Abbott, 2009). This potentially echoes the ‘decline’ stage premise of Butler’s (1980) oft-cited Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC) model, discussed later in this chapter.

Hill & Abbott (2009) alert that a further paradox is apparent because the equipment required to surf is largely based on the manufacture of surfboards, board wax and wetsuits from petrochemicals, and are the primary pieces of surfing equipment. As Hill & Abbott (2009) note the geo-politics and ecological threats presented by crude oil 'ownership', extraction and subsequent processing is fraught with controversy. A romanticized perception (the imaginary) of the independent soul-surfer is that all is required is a board, a wetsuit and a body. However, as surf competitions become the stylized ideal and motorized equipment is used to tow surfers to otherwise unattainable breaks, in addition to acquisition of a 'quiver' (multiple boards for differing conditions), the romanticized imaginary of a surf 'Nirvana' fades. Ponting *et al* (2008) propose that imagery of the perfect wave in a "...generic tropical location..." functions to underwrite perceptions of the destination as "Wonderland", which is essentially mythical and only exists at the expense of marginalizing the 'Other'; the local whose existence becomes an impediment to accessing the wave.

2.2.3 Profiling and Segmentation of Surfers

For many, surfing is a high-risk sport and involves exposure to serious injury, acute danger, and in rare instances, death. Many surfers tend towards thrill-seeking as an intrinsic reward for exposure to a high-risk activity and justify the risk in return for experiencing various sensations especially of the thrill or 'stoke'. Intrinsic rewards (vertigo, catharsis, aesthetics) can be more important than extrinsic motives (health, competition, social fitness) indicating that many surfers participate in the activity for the sake of the activity itself (Buckley, 2012; Diehm & Armatas, 2004; Ponting, 2008; Sotomayor & Barbieri, 2016a). The concept of 'stoke' can be directly connected to the 'peak experience' that surfers report and is akin to the psychological state of 'flow' where an athlete feels like they "are on top of the world" and "time stands still"

during a physical activity: being “in the zone” ’ (Morgan & Coutts 2016, Jackson & Csikszentmihalyi, 1999)

However, the literature also suggests that not all surfers are motivated in the same way, or seek the same kinds of surfing experiences, leading to some studies that have utilized market segmentation approaches. Market segmentation has been used as a tool to determine which user group have similar characteristics in order to better understand the preferences and behaviors of surf tourists (Dolnicar & Fluker, 2003; Dolnicar, 2008; Ernst & Dolnicar, 2017). For example, surf tourists have been segmented in different ways: (1) by their previous destination choice (Dolnicar & Fluker, 2003a); (2) by demographics (Barbieri & Sotomayor, 2013; Wheaton, 2017); and (3) by psychographics (Beane & Ennis, 1987). To illustrate, one of Dolnicar and Fluker’s findings (2003a) revealed six distinct surf tourism segments based on previously visited destinations and suggest that while surfers may spend about the same per day in the studied surf destinations (America; Australia; Indonesia; Western Australia; News South Wales/Queensland; Surf-breaks World Wide), they tended to stay longer in Indonesia, leading the researchers to conclude that the Indonesia surfer segment were potentially more valuable than other groups and should be targeted by under-represented South Pacific destinations such as Tonga and Fiji. Work by researchers such as Dolnicar and Fluker and other academics underscore the notion that surf tourism is an important industry sector and should be used by destination marketing and management organizations to assist in marketing initiatives as well as destination management functions such as understanding the future viability and sustainability of a surf destination.

Orams & Towner (2012) have contributed to the segmentation literature by situating the surfer in a framework of *recreational*, *hard-core*, *casual* and *kooks* as outlined in Figure 2 in relationship to level of ability and difficulty level of the wave.

Level of Ability	Expert	RECREATIONAL <i>Wide range of conditions</i> <i>Moderate skill and experience</i> <i>Focussed</i> <i>Moderate risk</i>	HARD-CORE <i>Challenging conditions</i> <i>High-skill and experience</i> <i>Focussed and dedicated</i> <i>High risk understood and carefully managed</i>
	Novice	CASUAL <i>Easy conditions (<1.5 m.)</i> <i>Low skill and experience needed</i> <i>Opportunistic</i> <i>Low risk</i>	KOOKS <i>Challenging conditions</i> <i>Low skill and experience</i> <i>Little awareness of risk</i> <i>High real risk</i>
		Easy	Difficult
Level of Difficulty			

Figure 2. The Orams and Towner Typology of Surfers (2012)

Two commonly used approaches for segmentation in the general recreation and tourism research are serious leisure and specialization, but little attention to these approaches has been found in the surf tourism literature. The concept of *serious leisure* has been defined as an approach to a leisure activity where participants evoke strong levels of engagement, as evidenced by six characteristics: perseverance; effort, anticipated benefits, involvement in a unique social world, and personal identity with the activity, possibly leading to a career in the activity (Stebbins, 1982; 2012). In contrast, casual leisure requires limited skill and commitment (e.g. going for a walk). The serious leisure concept has been used extensively in recreation and tourism research (Barberieri and Sotomayor, 2013), in studies such as wildlife viewing, dancing, photography and volunteering, but not (until their study) has serious leisure been used as a construct in surfing research. In their study of surf travel behavior and destination preferences, Barbieri & Sotomayor (2013) found that these six aspects of serious leisure were related to destination preferences, such as variety of waves and quality of the natural environment, but not to surf travel behavior, such as number of surfing trips in the past five years.

One compelling model for tourism segmentation is the *recreation specialization* approach, whereby subgroups are identified along a continuum from novice or generalists to specialists, as indicated by increasing skill, equipment, and participation. Some dispute if all these components vary in predictable ways between generalist and specialist levels (Knuentzel and Heberlein, 2008), but most agree that specialization consists of three dimensions: (1) behavioral factors, such as equipment, or amount of experience; (2) cognitive factors, such as skill and knowledge; and (3) affective factors, such as centrality to life style (Needham, Haider, & Rollins, 2016). Specialization has proven to be an effective approach for identifying subgroups who vary in interesting ways, such as: preferences for numbers of other kayakers (Randall *et al*, 2008); tolerance for littering in nature settings (Needham *et al*, 2004); and tolerance for differing whale shark viewing conditions (Ziegler, Silberg, Araujo, Labaja, Ponzo, Rollins & Dearden, 2016).

It is important to note that within the same activity there can be differences between participants and degrees of specialization (Scott, 2012). For example, Duffus and Dearden (1990) contend that in a newly discovered or developed tourism destination (such as Tofino in the mid-1960s), the first wave of tourists to the new destination will consist primarily of “specialists,” people who are highly invested in the activity and location. Over time, as the site becomes more popular, these early specialists gradually become displaced by “generalists” who have different values and priorities regarding the activity and the setting characteristics, undermining conservation efforts, and possibly conflicting with local communities. Malcolm and Duffus (2008) discuss how this pattern may have occurred in the whale watching industry at various locations on Vancouver Island. Further, the same pattern of specialization may have occurred in Tofino: early surfers who specifically sought out Tofino as a surf destination in the

late 1960's may have been displaced by "general" tourists who were also interested in surfing, but also had other interests or motivations for visiting Tofino.

Specialization would appear to be useful for surf tourism studies, since the surfing context implies that as a surfer becomes more 'expert' he or she is more inclined to venture into more challenging waves and more inclined to surf in poor weather conditions if the perceived quality of the experience merits the risk, which aligns to the notion that specialists have highly developed motivations and are more likely to select specific sites (the wave) to fulfill their expected goals than novices (Needham, *et al* 2016). However, the specialization concept has not been explicitly developed in surf tourism research.

Some recent research has shown empirical linkages between specialization and the concept of serious leisure. In a study of birdwatchers in the US, Lee & Scott (2013) identified a strong relationship between two aspects of specialization (personal commitment and behavioral commitment) and four aspects of serious leisure (identity, perseverance, career, and significant effort), supporting their argument that the two concepts were measuring the same construct.

2.2.4 Surfing, Gender, and Leisure Constraints

Surfing has generally been perceived as primarily a male oriented pursuit; however, women are becoming increasingly involved regardless of the associated high-risk and pervasive surf fraternity (Bush, 2016; Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Fendt, Wilson, Jenkins, Dimmock & Weeks, 2014) The imaginary of surfing has played a role in understanding how surfing is perceived and has been criticized as a strategy oriented towards targeting male surfers as the primary surf tourism market in media and surf apparel manufacturers (Ponting 2008). Henderson (2001) specifically singles out *Tracks* surf magazine as a vehicle of "hypermasculinity" supporting the notion that the 'oceanic pleasures' of surfing should not unequivocally grant space to women.

This hypermasculinity approach is countered by the 1950's movie character *Gidget's* image as "...an idol for American girls who were just reaching adolescence and who saw in her the ideal representation of what it meant to be a successful, determined, recognized and strong young woman who refused to compromise on being 'girlie'..." (Fendt *et al*, 2014) and represents a feminist 'Surfer Girl' perspective of an engendered activity dominated by males. Fendt (2014) *et al* assures that the term 'Surfer Girl' is not intended to diminish the role of female surfers but rather uses the term to accentuate the relationship between feminine strength and the inherently playful element of surfing.

However, female surf tourists encounter "...personal, socio-cultural and practical constraints..." throughout their surf travel experiences; yet have learned to manage these constraints by maintaining a passion for the activity; meticulous planning and preparation; and keeping an "it's worth it" attitude to counter negative attitudes towards female surf tourists (Fendt & Wilson, 2012). Fendt and Wilson's study contends the example of female surf tourists traveling regardless of obstacles challenged the notion that constraints are frequently only negotiable by non-participation (White, 2008 in Fendt & Wilson, 2012). Similarly, female surfers contend with very real challenges of conflict in a male-dominated activity as do gay and lesbian surfers and adopt coping mechanisms that move them through the 'glass ceiling' by working hard to perform as well as the 'straight' men (Fendt & Wilson, 2012).

Studies of surfing and gender illustrate how some "sub-groups" of surfers (e.g. females) are constrained in their desire to surf, and Fendt and Wilson (2012) invoke the concept of leisure constraints as a theoretical framework. However, constraints to participation in surfing can be experienced by others, not just females, so it is important here to examine the leisure constraints literature.

The leisure constraints model was originally proposed by Crawford and Godbey (1987 in Godbey, Crawford, & Shen, 2010) and developed further by Crawford, *et al* (1991, 1993 in Godbey, 2010). The leisure constraints concept can be defined as “The factors that are assumed by researchers and perceived by individuals to inhibit or prohibit participation and enjoyment in leisure” (Jackson, Crawford, & Godbey, 1993, p. 273). The hierarchical model of leisure constraints (Crawford *et al*, 1991; Godbey, *et al*, 2010) addresses leisure participation (and non-participation), as a function of leisure preferences, and leisure preferences are influenced by leisure motivations, and by leisure constraints. This model posits three forms of leisure constraints: (1) intrapersonal constraints involve psychological states such as stress anxiety, or perceived skill; (2) interpersonal constraints involve the nature of relevant personal relationships, such as relationships with a spouse or a friend; and (3) structural constraints refer to availability of opportunity, travel time, financial resources, or infrastructure (e.g. accommodation).

More recent literature contends that factors such as cultural differences; ingrained attitudes towards specific activities; and, gender may be direct or indirect factors that constrain leisure outside of more obvious factors (Godbey, *et al*, 2010), such as an overcrowded wave; lack of physical access to a beach; or, in an extreme example, intimidation by locals.

Within this model, physical ability can be viewed as a constraint variable and is a participation factor in a high-level activity such as surfing, however people with higher *negotiation-efficacy* are more able to negotiate leisure constraints and perceive fewer challenges to leisure by persevering with the activity, while accepting opportunity costs as a component of leisure constraint in order to pursue high-performance activity (Alexandris, Funk & Pritchard, 2011; Kennelly, Moyle, & Lamont, 2013; White, 2008). An indirect positive outcome of constraint negotiation-efficacy appears to be that when feelings of constraint emerge, some

people view this circumstance as a reasonable challenge and are motivated to overcome the constraint (Alexandris *et al*, 2011; Kennelly *et al*, 2013; White, 2008). In some ways this echoes the surfer credo of searching for the ‘perfect wave’ (Ponting & O’Brien, 2014; White, 2008).

Leisure constraints theory appears to offer much promise in surf tourism research but appears to be underutilized to date. Further, the notion of negotiation-efficacy within the leisure constraints concept provides an insight as to how some people are able reduce the possible negative impacts of factors such as crowding, conflict, violence and localism, described in the following.

2.2.5 Localism, Violence in Surf Tourism

At times, surf tourists experience conflict with other surfers, with local surfers, with other types of activity in the surf environment (e.g. ocean kayakers), and with local residents. One theoretical framework for understanding conflict within the surfing milieu is the concept of localism. In the surfing context, ‘... “localism” refers centrally to the various exclusionary cultural practices by which a number of local surfers attempt to control access to particular surfing “spots”, thereby limiting access to the same place for non-local tourists (Scheibel, 1995).

Springer (2011) suggests that localized violence is a form of colonialism “... [questioning] how seemingly local expressions of violence are instead always imbricated within wider socio-spatial and political economic patterns”, which supports the notion of past and current neo-colonization of surf destinations (Canniford & Karababa 2013; Baldacchino, 2011), as outlined in the previous discussion of political concerns (see section 2.2.2 above).

Localism in the form of conflict and violence can occur between host (local) and visitor (tourist) (Buckley, 2002b; Ponting, 2008; Scheibel, 1995). This has been accepted as a matter of course within the surf culture since the early colonial incursions into the Hawaiian Islands by

haoles (outsiders) and vigorously resisted by the Hawaiians (Baldacchino, 2011; Beaumont *et al*, 2016; Canniford & Karababa, 2013; Abberton & De Souza, 2007; Beaumont, 2016 *et al*; Daskalos, 2007; DeAlessi, 2009; Evers, 2009; Olivier, 2010; Ponting, 2008). Although surf tourists to the Hawaiian Islands were essentially colonizing the cultural practice of surfing the locals—beach boys—actively discouraged haole arrogation of surf breaks and beaches by superior surfing skills and overt aggression (Canniford & Karababa, 2013).

In the surf milieu, localism is also a function of conferring status on a surfer by virtue of their frequency at specific surf break or location: the ‘local’ status does not necessarily mean that the surfer is actually resident at the location, but that he or she is recognized as someone who is a regular surfer by the other locals.

Localism can be described as a continuum from benign, mild, moderate, or heavy depending on the level of deference expected by and shown to the locals (Beaumont *et al*, 2016; Evers, 2008; Nazer, 2004; Scott, 2003; Scheibel, 1995; Young, 2000). Mild localism may be as simple as acknowledging that a local takes preference over a non-local and if the non-local pays sufficient respect towards the local that will be as far as it goes. In contrast, ‘heavy’ localism can, indeed, result in physical violence or ‘surf rage’ (see Evers, 2008; Nazer, 2004; Scheibel, 1995; Scott, 2003; Young, 2000). For example, Nat Young (2000) a professional and respected Australia surfer discusses his personal experiences of being badly beaten by another surfer as a consequence of competing for the same wave. Young states that a committed surfer will experience some form of surf-rage at some point in his or career: “It's not only rampant in Australia, [as] everywhere increasing numbers of surfers search for quality waves ”.

There is a clear connection between the quality of surf and the degree of localism: Kaffine’s (2009) research into wave-breaks concludes that even a small increase in wave

‘quality’ can increase the level of aggressive localism significantly ranging from “elbow bumping” to overt physical violence: “...experienced surfers state, although somewhat facetiously so, that in accessing the break any non-locals “walking down the trail...[will face] locals throwing rocks down on...[them].” (Mixon, 2014).

The notion of artificial boundaries separating locals from ‘Others’ is a central thread when attempting to understand surf territories that ‘Others’ (surf tourists) are allowed to occupy by ‘Locals’ (Preston-Whyte, 2002). Non-residents (the tourist) can also negatively impact the social fabric of a host community by displacement or transfer of facilities and/or resource enjoyment from the local user to the visitor. For example, a community beach is ‘discovered’ as a prime surfing spot that subsequently attracts non-resident surfers thus diluting the experience of the community resident (the local). This can lead to resentment of tourists (and tourism), expressed as irritation that can escalate on a continuum of mild annoyance to confrontation and ultimately as physical or implied violence (localism) (Beaumont *et al*, 2016; Doxey, 1975; O’Brien, 2013; Ponting & O’Brien, 2014; Ponting, 2005).

Daskalos (2007) suggests that localism is a function of skill levels and that only “old school surfers” would be tolerated at a specific spot that would consequently develop a reputation of locals being antagonistic to “outsiders”, or as Beaumont *et al* (2016) explains, the outsiders would be “Othered”. However, the distinction of locals and non-locals is blurred because local status is not necessarily conferred based solely on local residency: a local could be a non-resident but accepted as a local by virtue of experience and skill levels (see discussion of specialization above), in addition to frequency of visits to the region. Localism does, albeit rarely, escalate into serious violence as evidenced by the 2005 race riots at a popular surfer beach at Cronulla, Sydney, Australia that was triggered by friction between ‘locals’ and ‘outsiders’ (i.e.

white Australians and men of Lebanese descent) (Evers, 2008). Further to blurring identity, a non-resident surfer may feel a strong enough attachment to the region that he or she considers themselves 'local', without overtly asking for approval or permission from the local surf culture.

Localism can be viewed as a way of rationing or managing wave distribution according to surfer status: the more 'local' the surfer, the more waves he or she is likely to claim; the more waves a surfer has access to, the less likelihood there is of conflict. Localism can also be viewed as a mechanism to regulate and distribute "sea wealth" and reflects perceived social class within a surf hierarchy at specific wave-break (Bandeira, 2014). Bandiera does not agree completely with the contention that it is primarily *locals* that provoke violence and conflict and she proposes that wave aggression is also caused by outsiders (*haoles*), she further suggests that many locals are essentially pacifist by nature and unlikely to deliberately cause violent acts.

Localism attracts media coverage as evidenced by, for example, an article in the UK press documenting the activities of Californian wave 'war lords' aggressively "protecting their turf" at Lanada Bay (Carroll, 2015).

Scheibel (1995) contends:

...localism refers centrally to the various exclusionary cultural practices by which a number of local surfers attempt to control access to particular surfing "spots" and further to the notion of access control, non-locals (outsiders) are rarely apprised of "secret spots" known only to locals (insiders) (p.255).

Disregard of local etiquette may result in a verbal response to the offender, which may or may not escalate to physical violence. Surf etiquette tends to be similar in all surf locations and mitigates conflict because a mutually agreed set of 'rules' is followed by surfers, especially those who are 'locals' or have been accepted as 'locals' by the regional surf community.

However, there are sanctions for those who choose not to follow the rules in the form of, for example, peer pressure ranging from mild, but focused, ‘banter’ to actual physical conflict. A frequent surfer at a surf destination may have local status conferred on him or her in recognition of their ability and respect for the local surf community, regardless of actual place of residence.

Localism is an inherent component of the regional surf culture and is likely to increase as the destination becomes increasingly popular for surf-tourists and is more covert than conflict and violence and manifests in more subtle forms such as waxing a vehicle windshield or deflating tires. Nevertheless, localism is present, and its form and degree will inevitably be disseminated via social media and surfer publications, which could influence a potential surf-tourists’ decision to visit the destination. Inferred and actual localism could be a deterrent for future surf-tourism and may edge the destination towards a stagnation (downward) trajectory of the TALC model S-curve, discussed later in this chapter.

2.2.6 Crowding and Conflict in Surf Tourism

Localism expresses one form of tension, between local surfers and visiting surfers. Other related forms of tension include crowding and conflict, which can at times be expressed as violence. This section describes crowding and conflict within surf tourism research, and then describes related theory drawn from the nature tourism literature, noting that surf tourism so far has not utilized many of these approaches.

Surf tourists are willing to devote significant personal resources to experience high quality waves (Barbieri & Sotomayor, 2013; Morgan & Coutts, 2016), and, as Buckley *et al* (2017) asserts, the rapid growth and pace of surf tourism is causing surf spaces to be “highly contested” (i.e. crowded). Further, Buckley *et al* (2017) posits that as surf destinations become

increasingly developed, local populations that may not have been exposed to surfing as a recreational activity have themselves acquired the skills to compete with surf tourists for the wave break exacerbating potential issues of crowding, conflict and violence (Beaumont & Brown, 2015; Buckley, 2002b; Kaffine, 2009; Olive, McCuaig & Phillips, 2013; Warren & Gibson, 2017).

For example, one study illustrating crowding in the surf literature reveals that crowding can lead to aggression and surfers running into each other causing physical harm. In addition, surfers in crowded spaces tended to be more aggressive as they compete with other wave users such as stand-up paddlers who may or may not be aware of surf etiquette thereby compounding the problem (Usher, Goff, & Gómez, 2016). The study also reported that several local surfers were known to pick fights and be physical aggressive as a means of controlling the waves for their own use.

These crowding studies within surf research indicate a general lack of theoretical underpinning, failing to incorporate crowding research conducted in other aspects of nature tourism. Within the general nature tourism literature, crowding has been defined by Vaske and Shelby (2008), as "... a subjective negative evaluation that the number of people encountered is excessive". The key term here is subjective because subjectivity infers that 'excessive encounters' depends on the perspective of the participant. Early crowding studies that compared numbers of encounters with perceived crowding yielded surprisingly weak relationships (Manning, 2011). More recent research has demonstrated stronger relationships using a methodology derived from the "structural norm approach" (Needham *et al*, 2016): rather than asking respondents to comment on how the actual number of encounters may be affecting their experience, the structural norm approach presents respondents with a number of scenarios

(usually photographs depicting a range of visitor densities in a setting), and respondents are asked to rate the acceptability of each scenario. This approach has been used successfully to better predict crowding levels in a variety of situations, including kayakers in Pacific Rim National Park (Randall *et al*, 2013), and hikers in Whistler Mountain ski area (Needham *et al*, 2004).

Reflecting on the use of structural norm theory, Vaske and Wittaker (2004) contend that participants involved in a specific activity, such as surfing, will tend to arrive at a consensus on what is the 'minimum acceptable condition' (number of other surfers) at the activity site (the wave). Some have challenged this observation, noting that even within the same activity, people may differ in their preferred level of interaction with others. For example, Needham *et al* (2005) explored area crowding as perceived by mountain bikers in Whistler, British Columbia, varied in terms of skill level.

Similar to the concept of crowding, conflict can be expressed as ongoing tension between one or more parties, individuals or groups, and is often expressed in terms of goal interference whereby the behavior of others conflicts with ones' goals or motivations (Needham *et al*, 2016). Conflict in surf tourism centers on resident surfers and temporary surf tourists that may be unaware or chose to ignore surf etiquette, such as dropping-in on a surfer already committed to a wave (snaking). Surf etiquette is the acceptable behaviour generally agreed to by surfers in a given surf location, such as not 'dropping-in' on a surfer already committed to a wave. Following surf etiquette practices can be beneficial to the perception of a surf-break as it can ameliorate the consequences of wave crowding by provide a social order at the break (Ponting & O'Brien, 2015).

Although crowding and conflict are frequent themes in the surf tourism literature, few surf tourism studies have incorporated theory and models developed in the nature tourism literature, as outlined in the following. Conflict theory (Graefe, & Thapa, 2004; Manning, 2011) argues for different forms of conflict. For example, surf conflict tends to manifest as *out-group conflict*, (such as, surfers and stand-up paddlers and/or kayakers) or conflict between resident surfers and surf-tourists described as *in-group* conflict.

Although conflict is usually related to the nature of interactions people experience with each other, *social values* conflict occurs without actual interaction – this type of conflict occurs just by knowing that a conflicting type of use occurs in an area, even though the two groups may not be able to see or hear each other (Vaske, Needham & Cline, 2007; Gray, Canessa, Rollins, Keller & Dearden (2010). For example, a surfer may experience social values conflict when he or she knows that a particular spot may also attract stand-up paddlers, even if the surfer does not use the same spot. ‘Regular’ (paddling prone on the board using no other equipment) surfers tend to view stand-up paddlers as an inferior, less pure activity, in the arcane surfer hierarchy. Finally, conflict can be expressed as a two-way phenomenon, where both groups (e.g. surfers, and stand up paddlers) experience conflict, or as one-way phenomena (e.g. surfer experience conflict because of stand-up paddlers, but stand-up paddlers do not feel conflict due to the presence of surfers).

2.2.7 Carrying Capacity and Surf Tourism

Some surf tourism studies have explored the carrying capacity model as a strategy for managing crowding, conflict and violence. For example, carrying capacity was used in surf tourism research is a study of the Mentawai Islands, Indonesia and the effects of capacity management initiatives by the government which were strongly opposed by surf-tourism

operators (Ponting & O'Brien, 2015). However, a weakness of this paper and many similar surf tourism studies, is the failure to address the theoretical underpinnings of carrying capacity, as described in the following.

Drawing on the early research on crowding and conflict, outlined above, the “carrying capacity model” was proposed to reduce the negative impacts of nature tourism (Manning, 2011, Needham, *et al*, 2016). Carrying capacity is defined as “... the limit of visitor use beyond which unacceptable impacts occur” (Needham *et al*, 2016). Four types of carrying capacity have been identified: social, environmental, facility and physical. Social carrying capacity is the level of activity that is optimum for a positive leisure experience, beyond which conditions such as crowding and conflict are negative consequences. Environmental (resource, ecological) capacity occurs when an environment is adversely affected by changes in physical attributes such as soil; water; wildlife and vegetation. Facility carrying capacity encompasses infrastructure such as parking lots or washroom facilities that may be exhausted by visitor volume or traffic. Physical carrying capacity implies the degree to which physical space may become saturated, for example, surfing capacity at a given site may be limited by the size of a surf wave to accommodate all the surfers who arrive at a given moment.

Carrying capacity has some intuitive appeal because managers can theoretically balance visitation with ecosystem protection and visitor satisfaction in a scientifically supported construct that specifies an optimal number of visitors to a site at a given time (Needham *et al*, 2016; Manning, 2011). However, the model has been challenged because the concept of carrying capacity as a formula to calculate (and therefore plan) the finite visitor capacity of a given tourism destination is unrealistic, as little consensus on visitor numbers (including surf tourists) can be determined (McCool, 2009; Buckley, 2002a; Getz 1992). Further, considerable research

has indicated that it is often not the number of visitors *per se* that provokes negative impacts; rather it is visitor behavior (Needham, *et al*, 2016). Finally, Butler (2005) reminds us that carrying capacity “was always envisaged as having several components and not as a single “magic” number, [which is] impractical to determine even in wilderness areas let alone in such a varied setting as a resort or destination.” (McCool & Lime, 2001; Butler, 2005 in Cole 2012). For example, a site can have different carrying capacity standards for each aspect of carrying capacity (social, environmental, facility, or physical).

Interestingly, the carrying capacity literature does not appear to address the impacts of surf tourism on local cultures, which can occur in a variety of ways, such as: stressed infrastructure (e.g. local grocery stores, restaurants, and banks); resentment of visitor behaviour; or resentment directed to the in-migration of surf tourists who decide to become permanent residents (amenity migration, discussed below). Although economic activity in a destination may be enhanced by an influx of tourists, local cultures are frequently diluted (Zhong, Deng, & Xiang 2008), for example, when local garb is replaced by ‘outside’ garments, such as tee-shirts branded with foreign sports equipment logos, and local residents mimic tourist mannerisms and speech patterns: behaviour often referred to as the “demonstration effect” (Ponting, 2008). Currently few surf tourism studies have addressed resident attitudes about culture conservation and tourism (Hee, 2016). However, in a study by Zhong *et al* (2008) in Zhangjiajie National Forest Park, China, albeit not related to surf tourism *per se*, found that commercialized sections of the park had lost the cultural, social and natural attractiveness that drew visitors in the first place. This finding draws parallels to the TALC model in the stagnation stage.

More recent elaborations of carrying capacity research have employed the ‘Limits of Acceptable Change’ (LAC) approach (Manning, 2011; Needham *et al*, 2016), whereby managers

identify and collaborate with important stakeholders who have a vested interest in the type of experience to be provided in a nature tourism setting. Stakeholders and managers work together to identify the appropriate conditions in tourism settings (environmental conditions, social conditions, and managerial conditions). Then the team determines what are the “acceptable range” for each type of conditions, how to measure each condition (indicators), and finally, what management actions to take, if indicators suggest that conditions are changing toward undesirable levels. Finally, it is anticipated in LAC that there will be a variety of opinions about what levels of change are acceptable, based on the preferences of specific stakeholder groups, as indicated in market segmentation studies (Needham *et al*, 2016). Accordingly, a given tourism destination area may need to contain a number of different zones each reflecting a different mix of desired environmental, social and managerial conditions (see also Manning, 2011 discussion of the “Recreation Opportunity Spectrum”).

In summary, these concepts of carrying capacity and limits of acceptable change, common themes in the nature tourism literature, to date have not been utilized substantially in the surf tourism literature.

2.2.8 Amenity Migration and Surf Tourism

Concept such as crowding, conflict and violence have been discussed here as possible factors that may inhibit tourism growth and sustainability. Similarly, localism may inhibit tourism development through conflicts that may arise between local residents and visiting tourists (e.g. between local surfers, and surf tourists). An extension of this thinking is the notion of amenity migration, which relates to the arrival (migration) of new residents, motivated to move, in part, by the attraction of tourism related features or activities, such as surfing (Argent, Smailes & Griffin, (2007); Argent, Tonts, Jones, & Holmes. (2014; Stefanick, 2008). Pavelka

(2017) defines amenity migration as “... the movement of people to communities that provide an extraordinary array of physical, recreational and cultural amenities.” Natural attractions present at destination communities such as Whistler Mountain Resort, British Columbia and Canmore, Alberta where mountains, clean environment (air, water) and cultural features are also factors in amenity migration decisions; communities will tend to actively provide recreation facilities that attract amenity migrants who often stay as permanent residents (Gripton, 2009; Pavelka, 2017). Similarly, employment opportunities and, in some instances, lower living costs (economic migration) are migration factors (Gripton, 2009).

One of the most contentious issues caused by amenity migration is an increase in housing costs that may force some residents away from their own community as amenity tourists displace them. This can also lead to employment retention challenges as workers are forced to move away from the community as housing becomes unaffordable (Gripton, 2009). In some instances, this displacement can be prevented, or at least managed locally, when the community is in control of communally owned indigenous lands as is the case in Las Salinas, a surf destination in Nicaragua, where foreigners pay significantly higher taxes than locals (Usher & Kerstetter, 2014). In the Las Salinas case, community and amenity migrants cooperate by providing scholarship and education programs; trash pick-up and other benefits and is a factor that appears to contradict studies that amenity migration is necessarily a negative situation when “...inflation and gentrification [are] major problems experienced by local residents of tourism destinations” (Usher & Kerstetter, 2014).

Surfing is a desirable activity for many people and the allure promised by the search for the ‘perfect wave’ is often described as addictive (Ponting & McDonald, 2013; Stranger 2010; Taylor, 2007), so strong for avid surfers that they may relocate—migrate—to experience the surf

amenity on a more regular basis. This amenity migration process can have a significant impact on a community as more people migrate and access resources in the destination. For example, pressure on housing resources in Tofino may impact the community's capacity to house tourist workers. It should be noted that amenity migrants are often tourism workers and are also surfers. Amenity migrants may contribute to crowding on some surf beaches. This crowding may lead to localism or violence as outlined earlier, or in the decision by some resident surfers to cope with crowding by moving on to an alternative location (Argent *et al*, 2007; Argent *et al*, 2014; Stefanick, 2008).

Amenity migration certainly occurs in Tofino, but it is uncertain if this is driven by surfing or other aspects of the setting, nor is it known how this in-migration might be impacting on long term residents of the community.

2.2.9 Surfing and Conservation

The notions of carrying capacity, limits of acceptable change, and amenity migration, as discussed above, indicate that all forms of nature tourism, including surf tourism, have the potential to impact local environments, communities and economies, and so surf tourism is directly related to notions of conservation and sustainable development. For example, surf tourism can contribute to environmental degradation as coastlands are developed for surf resorts and related commercial developments (Ruttenberg & Brosius, 2017).

One approach for understanding the impacts, positive and negative, of surf tourism on sustainability is Martin & Assenov's (2013) Surf Resource Sustainability Index (SRSI), which uses a 27-point indicator methodology based on qualitative interview data and methodology using modular index derived metrics. Indicators include: social experience; surf community; surf

amenity and infrastructure; and surf tourism. Each indicator at a site is subjectively assessed a value between 1-5 and a mean derived from the numerical assessment. SRSI claims to provide:

[a] clear-cut set of indicator criteria and implications...the twenty-seven indicators were selected based on their importance for conservation in terms of integrity, use, value, quality, and sustainability attributes (p.789).

Another approach is the development of best practice initiatives, such as “STOKE Certification” (Sustainable Tourism Operator’s Kit for Evaluation), intended to be a universally applied framework for surf-related businesses, typically surf-resorts. The parameters are developed externally and applied locally highlighting the challenges in applying an exhaustive 142-point best-practice matrix while concurrently considering local community needs, resources, property ownership and land-use rights, and traditions within the disparate actors in a surf destination (Borne & Ponting, 2015 in Ruttenberg & Brosius, 2017).

While sustainable surf tourism initiatives are often developed by ‘external to the community agencies and actors’ are well-intentioned, this nascent tourism industry sector “...may run the risk of ...sustainability greenwashing while reproducing conventional forms of exploitation”. Locals are sometimes seen as impediments to surf breaks by surf tourists, as readily available labour sources and as cultural entertainment, in addition to being displaced by an influx of foreign capital triggering property and land value escalation (Ruttenberg & Brosius, 2017). Ruttenberg & Brosius (2017) write:

The field of SST represents both a discursive ideology and an action - oriented movement based on a shared recognition that host communities should reap the socioeconomic benefits of surf tourism, and that efforts should be made to minimize the environmental impacts of related development (p.112).

Similarly, the viability of surf tourism can be impacted by other activity in the marine environment. For example, surf quality is an important element in surf tourism and is dependent on the ecology and bathymetry of the destination, which can be altered by erosion of the ocean bed (often coral reef). However, human intervention in the marine environment in the form of breakwaters, dredging, or sandbar alteration, can affect the quality of waves, and consequently the viability of surf tourism (Martin & Assenov, 2013; Scarfe *et al* 2009). Further, a breakwater may be seen by recreational sport fishers as an asset by providing shore access to deep water; whereas a breakwater could adversely affect wave break quality and degrade the surf experience.

Until relatively recently, surfers have not been included in conservation dialogue of surf breaks, however, as coastal management jurisdictions have become aware of the social, environmental, and economic implications of surf tourism, surfers are being considered in conservation management decisions (Scarfe *et al*, 2009). Consequently, surfers are now more likely to be included with other stakeholder groups in the decision and management process of coastal zone management projects. Inclusion as part of surf break enhancement and conservation measures could also act to ameliorate potential user group conflict (Scarfe, 2009).

Community involvement through co-management in coastal destinations involving relevant stakeholders from industry and the community is a significant surf tourism management challenge, albeit subject to government corruption in some jurisdictions, for example the Mentawai Islands (Towner, 2016b). In the Mentawai Islands case government destination management imposed a surf tax on surf tourists, however, there was a strong likelihood that the surf tax was not going back to the communities, which was the stated purpose of the tax.

The promise of sustainable surf tourism is that communities will benefit from positive socioeconomic initiatives and concurrently resist harmful environmental degradation (Ruttenberg

& Brosius, 2017). This is presented as a “sustainability dilemma”: how does a community sustain surf tourism and the capitalist, neo-colonial structures that support an active tourism industry sector while upholding the notion that all members should equitably benefit socially and economically?

2.3.1 The Tourism Area Life Cycle

Surf destinations often face inundation from surf tourists as the destination becomes established as part of the surf circuit, and in a vicious cycle becomes unsustainable when the break is unable to support the volume of surfer traffic (Buckley, 2002, 2002a; 2002b; Buckley, *et al* 2017; O’Brien & Eddie, 2013b; Ponting & O’Brien, 2015; Davenport & Davenport, 2006). The surf tourism dichotomy, as with other forms of tourism, is that as the destination becomes explored, involved and developed (and, perhaps, abandoned) by surfers, the original destination appeal may fade or be lost. Sustainable surf tourism (SST) is challenged to avoid the ‘boom and bust’ cycle that occurs with some tourist destinations. One approach is the Tourism Areas Life Cycle (Butler, 1980), referred to here as TALC.

While the surf tourism literature has incorporated many of the theoretical concept found in the nature tourism literature, as outlined in the above sections, very little attention has been given to the TALC approach. In one instance, Orams and Towner (2012) very briefly refer to TALC in their work on surf-riding typologies, but not in direct reference to surf tourism, rather to tourism as a broad concept. However, it can be argued that TALC may inform how surf tourism has evolved in many sites, how sustainability can be maintained in certain surf tourism destinations (including Tofino), and that surf tourism research may contribute to the substantial TALC related literature, outlined below.

Butler's 1980 seminal paper *The Concept of A Tourist Area Cycle Of Evolution: Implications For Management Of Resources* argues that the trajectory of a tourist destination is based on the concept of a lifecycle that evolves through sequential stages described as: exploration, involvement, development, consolidation through to stagnation and possibly decline or conversely rejuvenation as reference points (See Figure 3). Each stage is characterized by differing numbers of tourists, tourism facilities, levels of marketing, levels of interaction between visitors and local communities, impacts on the natural environment, impacts on local social environment, impacts on the economic environment, and levels of local control of tourism development.

Further, Butler states that the nature of the visitor is thought to evolve with changing characteristics of the tourism destination in the TALC model, borrowing on the thinking of Cohen (1972), and Plog (1972). Cohen described a sociological spectrum of tourist types to include drifters, explorers, individual mass tourists, and organized mass tourists. Cohen proposed that organized mass tourists are the least likely to take any risk in their travel experience and typically purchase package tours as the safest travel vehicle. Individual mass tourists are less 'organized' and may leave some elements of their trip to chance, but still likely to organize their trip through an agency of some kind. The explorer is more independent than the mass tourist but will seek relatively comfortable accommodation and may seek at least partial immersion in the host culture. The drifter tends to stray the furthest off the beaten track and is more likely to seek out unfamiliar authentic experiences and destinations than the previously described tourist.

Similarly, Plog outlines a typology of tourism related personality types that can be arranged on a continuum that includes allocentrics, mid-centrics, and psychocentrics. Allocentrics are described as 'venturers' and are more likely to visit less developed destinations,

for example sub-Saharan Africa; mid-centrics tend to visit well-established destination for example France; Italy and the UK; and finally, psychocentrics are posited to visit safe and predictable destination, for example Disney World and Disney Land.

However, it must be noted that Butler does not explicitly link visitor characteristics with any of the TALC stages described below (see also Singh, 2011). The TALC also model draws on Doxey's (1975) "Irridex Model" which posits that positive feelings towards tourists in a given community move through stages of progressively negative feelings from euphoria through to apathy, irritation, and finally to overt (or covert) antagonism. At the "euphoria" level the anticipated benefits of tourism are promoted, tourists are welcomed, and little control of tourism development occurs. At the "apathy" level, tourists are no longer a novelty for community residents; they are part of the social landscape. Some of the problems that tourists bring to a community are more apparent, but these are balanced somewhat by the benefits of tourism. At the "annoyance level", tourism grows and becomes more conspicuous in terms of numbers of tourists, tourist behaviour becomes an increasing concern for local residents, and rather than controlling or managing growth, more infrastructure is created, further alienating local residents. At the "antagonism" level, in the absence of tourism planning, annoyance spills into overt hostility or aggression towards tourism and the tourism industry (this compares with earlier discussions about conflict, violence, and localism). Again, Butler does not explicitly link the Irridex model with any of the TALC stages (Singh, 2011).

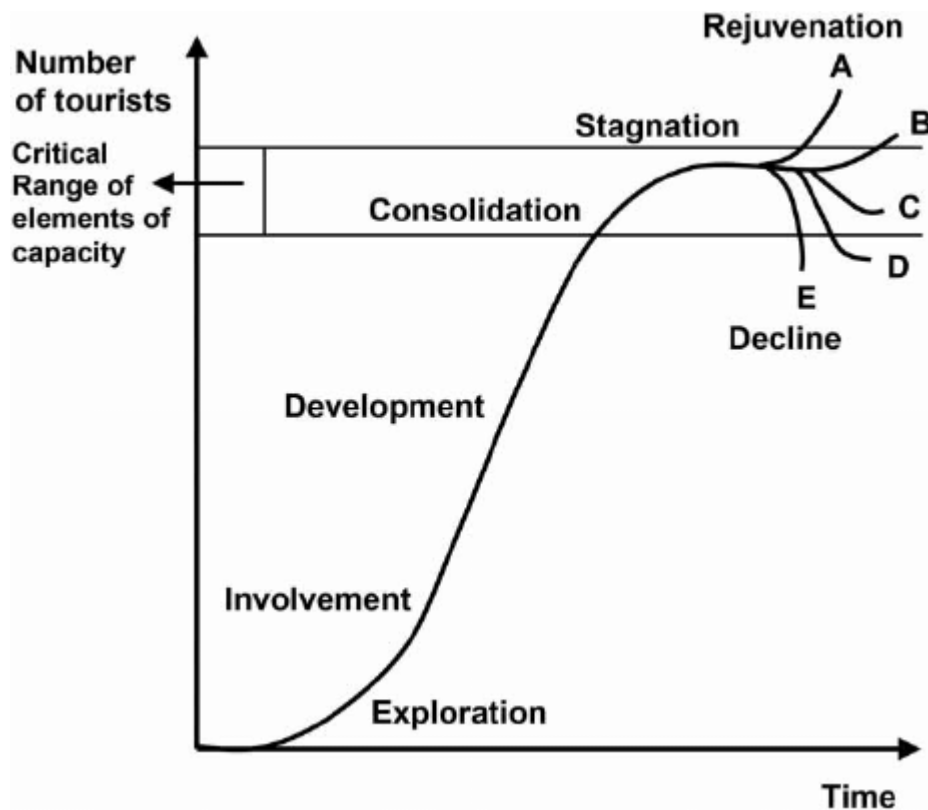


Figure 3. Tourism Area Life Cycle (Butler 1980)

However, these factors influenced the narrative describing each stage of the TALC model, illustrated in Figure 3 (Butler, 1980). The exploration stage has the following characteristics: small numbers of visitors; no facilities designed specifically for tourists; little information or marketing about the destination; high and positive interaction with local communities; little impact on the natural environment, social environment, or economic environment; and, high control of development by local communities. Subsequent stages in the TALC model are referenced by changes in some or most of these characteristics.

Although not stated in the model, this exploration stage could also be characterized as representing the “euphoria” stage of community response to the arrival of tourism according to

the Irridex model. Further, the early visitors could be characterized as “drifters” according to Cohen’s 1972 model of tourist types.

At the involvement stage, local communities will begin to provide facilities that cater to the emerging tourism traffic; contact between residents will remain high; some marketing for tourism will begin to emerge; and some changes in local social patterns may be apparent in response to greater numbers of visitors. As tourism evolves toward the development stage, there is an exponential growth in tourism numbers (Figure 3), in response to more significant marketing and awareness of a destination. This stage experiences a decline in local control of tourism development, with more elaborate tourism facilities provided by non-locals, replacing simpler local facilities. These facilities and the presence of greater numbers of tourists will contribute to noticeable changes in the appearance of the destination. More sophisticated tourism facilities and services will attract non-local tourism workers. The presence of these new residents employed in the tourism industry, and the greater number of tourist interactions with local populations will begin to influence the social character of the destination, perhaps moving to the “apathy” level in the Irridex model (although not specified by Butler (1980). Similarly, the type of tourist may change, with more “individual mass tourists” (Cohen, 1972) evident (although not stated by Butler). The possibility of a tourism destination attracting amenity migrants, not just tourism workers, appears to have not been anticipated by Butler, nor the possible implications of amenity migration on the sustainability of a tourism destination.

At the consolidation stage, visitor numbers continue to increase, but not as rapidly. Tourism will have become a major industry, and tourism marketing will be more extensive and sophisticated. The type of visitor may be changing, to include more “organized mass tourists” (Cohen, 1972) in the mix of visitors. The large numbers of visitors and the nature of some

tourism facilities will create some negative perceptions of tourism within the local community, perhaps reflecting the “antagonism” stage of the Irridex model. Antagonism may resemble the forms of conflict, localism, and violence described earlier in this chapter. These negative tourism impacts could include: lack of access to certain places, such as beaches; inappropriate dress and behaviours by some tourists; and declining environmental features, such as the abundance of wildlife. These negative impacts can lead to the stagnation and decline stages of the TALC model, or possibly provoke changes (Butler, 2011; Cole, 2012; Cole, 2009; Haywood, 1986; Hovinen, 2002; Lui *et al*, 2016; Ma *et al*, 2013; Yun & Zhang, 2016; Zhong *et al*, 2008) that lead to a rejuvenation stage (e.g. through aggressive marketing initiatives, adding new attractions, or adding new activities).

Butler suggests that the stagnation phase is precipitated by “carrying capacity”, by which he refers to undesirable levels of environmental impacts (e.g. impacts on water, vegetation, or wildlife), undesirable social impacts (impacts on other visitors in terms of crowding, or resentment by local communities), or stress placed on the physical plant (including problems with transportation, accommodation, or other aspects of the tourism delivery system). Presumably these issues are not as severe at earlier stages of the TALC model. Critiques of the use of carrying capacity are outlined earlier in this chapter.

Finally, Butler indicates that the S curve will vary, according to characteristics of each tourism destination, and is shaped by a number of factors, including rate of development, levels of investment, accessibility to the area, government policies, and number of similar competing areas. Further, Butler indicates that tourism development is influenced by a number of other factors such as war, disease, or catastrophic events (such as floods, earthquakes, or terrorism).

2.3.2 Elaborations and Critiques of the TALC Model

In the 28 years since Butler first published the description of TALC outlined above, the model has attracted considerable attention. For example, Zhong *et al* (2008) contend that the S-curve did approximately mirror economic development in Zhangjiajie National Forest Park, China during the 1980's to the mid 2000's. Development was, to some extent, driven by government marketing initiatives to specific markets such as South Korea, which is predicted to taper off (stagnate) and to be (theoretically) replaced by the North American market. Conversely, Yun and Zhang (2016) examined tourism development in Zhangjiajie, Hunan Province, China, a popular tourist destination, and found that residents reacted positively to tourism activity and also had a high tolerance level towards cultural conservation and tourism development during the consolidation stage, although Butler (1980) originally suggested that residents would start resenting visitors.

Other prominent studies include Weaver's (2014) study of mass tourism that suggest the TALC has been used to support the notion that tourism is a "trojan horse" that invokes less desirable forms of tourism (for example, sex tourism) during the exploration and involvement stages. However, Weaver suggests that the increased tourism levels simply use the existing sector resources more intensely, perhaps by the influx of backpackers, for example.

Kristjánsdóttir (2016) study in Scandinavia examined tourism growth with three variables: inbound tourists, occupancy and reported guest nights, and found that changes in the S-curve (corresponding to the TALC model stages) could be accounted for by infrastructure improvements such as internet access and new highways, in addition to government efficiency, fiscal policy changes and the skill levels of local labour. The study concludes that the TALC

model can indeed be used to predict estimated tourism peak levels, at least in the Scandinavian study sites presented in their research.

However, this body of literature has raised a number of critiques of the TALC model. For example, it is noted above that the TALC model does not specify how to integrate community perceptions of tourism (e.g. the Irridex model), or the implications of different user groups (e.g. Plog's 1972 model) arriving at a tourism destination at each stage. Much of the critical literature referring to TALC has been outlined by Ma and Hassink (2013) who provide a useful analysis summarized below:

- Some research has suggested variations in the later stages of the TALC model, to include an extensive maturity stage, a reinvention stage, and an exit stage.
- There is a lack of consensus on the measurement of stages, with various measures including: tourist arrivals (most frequently used measure); length of stay; dispersion of tourists; characteristics of tourists, tourist expenditures, number of tourism related establishments; changes in settlement patterns; and nature of involvement by tourism authorities.
- The use of carrying capacity has been criticized as an appropriate concept for determining when the decline stage is imminent. Further to this comment, the nature tourism literature argues that carrying capacity contains two components: one component measuring tourism imposed change, such as increased number of tourism facilities; and, a component that measures the acceptability of the change (see Needham *et al*, 2016). Some levels of change may be acceptable, at least to some local stakeholders, but not acceptable to others. Hence carrying capacity will vary depending on who benefits (McCool & Lime, 2001).

- The factors Butler indicated would influence the S curve do not operate the same way at each site, with the impact of each factor (e.g. environmental factors, social factors, and human factors), having unique impact depending on the setting.
- The nature of influencing factors has been expanded. Physical factors have been expanded to include unique tourism features; locational advantages; environmental conditions; and natural disasters. Social conditions have been expanded to include changes in economic conditions; changes in tourism preferences; and changes in the political environment. Human oriented factors have been expanded to include man-made attractions; tourism planning and management; tourism marketing; capability of entrepreneurs and operators; tourism investment; and government policies.
- The TALC model fails to distinguish between a tourism area (e.g. Tofino) and a tourism product (e.g. surf tourism). For example, it could be argued that surfing (the product) would still exist without the destination, Tofino, (the area) being present. Extending this argument, it is likely that if Tofino declined as a destination because of, for example, overcrowding or increasing price competitiveness, surfing could still occur, and may even prosper while overall tourism to the area might decline. Conversely, Tofino would still likely exist as a tourism destination without surfing; albeit in a different form.
- At a theoretical level, there is confusion between the terms life cycle and evolution. Some researchers claim that evolution is a long process, characterized by many life cycles. Other researchers suggest that different parts of a tourism areas may experience unique and different life cycles. This concern would seem to relate to the

issue identified above as a confusion between the terms tourism area, and tourism product.

Ma and Hassink (2013) challenge the TALC approach to tourism development by providing an alternate paradigm derived from evolutionary economic geography (EEG), using the concepts of path dependence and coevolution. Path dependence is derived from the influence of chance events and history, leading to self-reinforcing processes. For example, once tourists begin to arrive at a destination (chance or history), a tourism industry begins to develop through the efforts of various groups such as local residents, entrepreneurs and government. The patterns of relationships between these actors will shape and influence subsequent tourism development, leading to path dependence.

Coevolution aspect of EEG draws on the biological paradigm that two populations can co-evolve if they have a positive relationship to each other. Using this framework, tourism area development can be considered as a co-evolutionary interaction between tourism sectors, products, and institutions.

A number of other researchers have contributed to the critique and evolution of the TALC model. For example, some have stressed that the level of government engagement has a much stronger influence on tourism development than Butler envisaged (Kubickova & Li, 2017; Petrevska & Collins-Kreiner, 2017). Governments typically become involved at the development stage of the S-curve and less so during the consolidation stage and, perhaps, involved again if a destination is experiencing stagnation and government intervenes with aggressive marketing strategies (Butler, 2011; Cole, 2012; Cole, 2009; Haywood, 1986; Hovinen, 2002; Lui *et al*, 2016; Ma *et al*, 2013; Yun & Zhang, 2016; Zhong *et al*, 2008).

According to some researchers, the consolidation stage of the S-curve has been studied extensively, however the decline stage, or, as Canavan (2014) puts it, the ‘de-growth’ stage, less so. Canavan’s Isle of Man study concluded that when a destination experiences a tourism decline residents “...sense of loss of attractiveness of place, socially, environmentally, architecturally and in terms of facilities even where economic decline has been avoided...” by, in this case expanding the economic base to off-shore financial and banking services. This contradicts Doxey’s (1975) oft-repeated model that predicts residents would eventually resent tourists.

As outlined above, there are divergent ideas about the rejuvenation and decline stages, which can be suspended in extensive stagnation or maturity stage without falling into an obvious decline (Getz, 1992). Cooper (2006) suggests that rejuvenation continues the destination lifecycle trajectory as various tourism stakeholders introduce aggressive marketing initiatives; new infrastructure, or new attractions are developed. Alternatively, a permanent or semi-permanent ‘exit’ may occur because of natural occurrences or geo-political events. For example, unemployment in Australia’s Great Depression (1929-1932) (National Museum Australia, 2017) and partly by overseas troop deployment during the Second World War (1939-1945) caused the tourism industry on Queensland’s Gold Coast to ‘exit’ the TALC model and subsequently re-entered at the development stage after hostilities ceased, triggering demand for tourism infrastructure (Ma *et al*, 2013). In another example Wolong National Nature Reserve located in the Greater Jiuhaigou Touring Area of Sichuan China developed tourism along the S-curve, only to catastrophically collapse because of the 2008 Wenchuan earthquake (Liu, *et al.*, 2016). The Reserve was subsequently closed by the Wolong Administration Bureau to tourism as being too dangerous. Wolong is no longer considered a tourist destination, and, has essentially ‘exited’ the S-curve.

The above examples illustrate how external factors beyond tourism management (war, earthquake) can impact the sustainability of a tourism destination beyond what the TALC model originally anticipated. Lieu *et al* (2016) provide a number of examples: such as:

- significant geo-political events (e.g. elections (USA 2016);
- war, terrorism (Raj Hotel, Mumbai 2008);
- currency devaluations (Mexico 1994);
- fuel price changes (Mexico 2017);
- inflation (Venezuela 2016);
- legislation changes (marijuana decriminalization/legalization (Colorado 2015);
- natural occurrences (Okanagan Mountain Park Wildfire 2004), earthquakes (Tohoku Japan 2011), tsunamis (Thailand 2004), extraordinary weather events (Hurricane Katrina 2005);
- infrastructure changes (e.g. increased US border security 2017);
- change in destination access (road, water, air access); and
- water supply issues (currently occurring in California).

Other terms to describe these event markers are “critical events”; specific events such as an earthquake that can be definitively identified because it “happened,” but “blurry transitions” (Johnston, 2001 in Liu *et al*, 2016), imply a more subtle change or changes over a period of time. For example, currency value changes may cause a destination to become unattractive (for example, a weak Canadian dollar relative to a strong US dollar may cause Canadian tourists to reconsider a US trip). Further variables inferred partly by Butler (1980) and more currently by Kristjánsdóttir (2016) are: government efficiency (legislation implementation and management);

bank monetary policy management; paved roads as a percentage of total roads; skilled labour; and internet access/user volumes.

As discussed above, the TALC the model does not fully consider differences between tourist types (Plog 1974) and resident's attitudes (irritants) towards visitors (Doxey 1975). As Singh (2011) points out, a challenge in attempting to apply the TALC model to destination planning is understanding the synthesis of visitor psychographics and levels of visitor irritation as posited by Doxey's Irridex model.

The Butler TALC model has endured as a basic tenet of tourism academe since its inception and continues to be cited despite critique and challenges from many directions. Arguably, the basic premise of progressive stages of tourism development likely hold true, but the concept has acquired mythic status and is used in tourism studies almost as a matter of course. Much attention in the literature is focused on the decline stage of the model which is derived from Doxey's (1975) Irridex assertion that tourism will eventually destroy itself, yet this does not seem to be the case at least so far (McKercher & Prideaux, 2014).

2.4.0 Tourism Development in Rural Communities

Since surf tourism can occur in rural locations such as Tofino, it is important to consider the implications of surf tourism for rural development. Rural tourism can represent:

Any form of tourism that showcases the rural life, art, culture and heritage at rural locations, thereby benefiting the local community economically and socially, as well as enabling interaction between the tourists and the locals for a more enriching tourism experience (Nagaraju & Chandrashekara, 2014).

Sharpely & Jepson (2010) posit that rural tourism is "An activity long recognized as occurring within and offering experiences antithetical to modern urban environments." Perhaps

rural tourism can simply be defined as tourism activities occurring in ‘countryside’ areas (OECD 1994) and in the final analysis dependent on individual tourists’ perceptions of ‘countryside’ compared to their perceptions of ‘town’ (Singh, Ambarkhane, & Bhama Venkataramani, 2017 p.1051).

The term ‘rural’ has many interpretations, including, for example: remoteness; lack of services; dependence on agriculture and resource extraction industries and low population densities. However, perceptions of remoteness or lack of services do not adequately describe all remote areas as rural. Although there are still rural areas that lag behind urban areas, internet access in particular has blurred the distinction of rurality and urbanity based on remoteness (Whitacre & Mills, 2010). Behavioural elements are associated with the notion of rurality that add another layer of complexity. For example, “...people who are less materialistic, more connected to nature, believe in a peaceful existence, have strong human values, and follow traditional practices...” are attributes often associated with ‘ruralness’ (Singh *et al*, 2017. p.1051).

Rural tourism can be articulated as related, albeit different, sub-sectors that occur in authentic rural settings. For example: agri-tourism where tourists perform chores in a rural setting; ethnic tourists experience the life of resident populations; ecotourists experience the ecological and environmental aspect; creative tourism is creative activities experienced with the locals; culinary tourism is the local cuisine and beverage experience (Choo *et al*, 2009). Choo *et al* (2009) further makes the distinction between rural tourism and farm or agri-tourism inasmuch as farm tourism takes place within an agricultural entity (for example a lavender farm on Vancouver Island, British Columbia), whereas rural tourism is the overall sector providing tourism services in a rural setting.

The globalization of tourism and rural tourism adds a further layer of complexity to this research. Rural tourism research is evident in many regions internationally across a range of topics areas, including developing rural tourism in Macedonia (Petrevska & Collins-Kreiner, 2017); transition from forestry to rural tourism in Eden, New South Wales, Australia (Schweinsberg, *et al* 2012); changes in traditional life-styles attributed to rural tourism in Botswana (Mbaiwa, 2011); the role of rural tourism in rural development in India (Nagaraju & Chandrashekara, 2014); the role of individual rural tourism entrepreneurs in Finland (Komppula, 2014); the role of rural tourism in sustainable development in the proposed Mourne National Park, Northern Ireland (McAreavey & McDonagh, 2011); the role of rural tourism in reversing population out-migrations in the North Atlantic Region, including Prince Edward Island, Cape Breton Island, Newfoundland Greenland, Iceland, Faroes and Shetland, Ireland, Scotland, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark (Baldacchino *et al*, 2015); rural tourist segmentation by motivation in South Korea (Park & Yoon, 2009); and the evolution of rural tourism in a protected area (Wolong Nature Reserve), China (Liu *et al*, 2016).

Rural tourism has been perceived as a viable alternative to declining resource industries (George, Wanda, & Donald, 2009; Mansfield & Jonas, 2005; Vaugeois & Rollins, 2007) but some would argue that it should not be viewed as a panacea for industries negatively impacted by globalisation and other political impacts (Choo & Jamal, 2009). Schwienberg (2009 p.36) argues that rural tourism development is an idealized perspective based on the elusive concept of sustainability but is only one component of an overall economic picture that also provides for resource development. Further, there may be resistance to environmentalism in resources-extraction based rural communities that materialize in reluctance to embrace a service-based industry as an economic and social alternative (Schweinsberg *et al*, 2012). Small communities

are more prone to the cycle of 'boom and bust' as economic changes caused by extrinsic factors such as the US economic collapse of 2008 that affected economies worldwide and are less able to absorb economic shock.

Boom and bust cycles exacerbate the challenge of attracting investment into a rural community, where the return on investment is less secure (Baldacchino, 2011).

As Baldacchino (2011) aptly points out:

After all, the life cycles of economic opportunity rarely align themselves perfectly with the life cycles of economic actors...so somehow, such actors are riding multiple economic waves, successively and/or simultaneously, like so many intrepid ocean surfers...and hopefully coming out on top to face another day, and another wave (p.241).

Rural tourism proponents offer an alternative, albeit a limited yet concurrent alternative, to traditional primary resource industries such as forestry, mining and fisheries. If the potential and promise of rural tourism does indeed track a trajectory towards sustainable tourism, then rural tourism can be posited as a more environmentally, economically and socially sustainable use of rural areas and their unique natural environments over the traditional primary industries of logging, fishing and mining. Rural tourism focuses on sustainability, maintaining a sense of local authenticity and can be viewed as a compatible activity not necessarily substituting for traditional income sources. For example, subsistence farming might be revived as a complimentary rural tourism activity (Zolfani *et al*, 2015). Rural tourism may help counter the very real problem of community depletion by out-migration of rural populations attracted to economic opportunities in high-density urban centres by providing employment, presenting

entrepreneurial opportunities and “development and regeneration” of their home environs (Baldacchino *et al*, 2015).

Conversely rural tourism enterprises may be owned by entities outside the community itself, and thus income is diverted away from the rural community back to external ownership, negating or at least neutralizing the employment benefit accrued from rural tourism (Singh, 2017, p.1051). Ponting and O’Brien (2014) observe that surf-breaks in Papua New Guinea that are popular with Japanese and Australian surf tourists act as centres for social exchange between the tourists and locals thereby strengthening social capital and empowerment that is otherwise lacking in the local community.

Rural tourism links the natural and cultural ‘story’ of a community and differentiates from narrowly defined nature tourism parameters (Mafunzwaini & Hugo, 2005). Further to the natural and cultural story, rural tourism can provide a sense of spirituality that may be absent from urban tourism. Sharpley & Jepson (2011) concluded that: “...it was not the rural environment (or the landscapes gazed upon) in general that elicited a sense of the spiritual amongst group members, but the specificity of being on or in the mountains”. While it may be generally true that rural tourism promotes a less overtly extractionist relationship with the natural environment than logging or mining, traditional primary industries are none the less often fundamentally connected to the social and economic sustainability of a rural community. For example, rural tourism can involve a presentation to tourists of these traditional extractionist industries.

Tourism development often necessitates a fundamental re-organisation of a community’s economic and social structure. As such, the appropriateness of tourism development in individual rural centres can be seen in terms of an ideological opposition to notions such as

environmentalism that is brought about through decades and generations of an extraction industry culture, as well as a fundamental change from extractive/tangible product delivery to being part of an intangible service economy (Baldacchino *et al* 2015) . For example, the 1993 protests in Clayoquot Sound, British Columbia against logging old-growth forest was a catalyst to the area being conserved as a biosphere reserve in 2000, limiting resource extraction activities and was arguably a factor in boosting nature tourism, in addition to developing co-management initiatives of the resources with Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations First Nations communities (UNESCO, 2015; Goetz ,2005). Attitudes towards forestry and tourism development are not necessarily mutually exclusive: Schweinsberg's (2009) study of Australian forest regions informed that that were management relationships between traditional forestry and tourism in terms of shared infrastructure and potential for forestry and tourism partnerships. In the same study many respondents from local communities "... saw themselves as custodians of the forest, custodians that are responsible for using forests in a sustainable manner and protecting it for future generations" inferring that sustainable resource extraction and tourism were potentially compatible.

An important aspect of this re-organization is to counter the outward migration from rural communities to urban centres as traditional resource industries struggle to maintain an employment base. Conversely outward migration leaves a semi-vacuum sometimes filled by amenity migrants wishing to leave urban areas permanently or temporarily by purchasing or leasing vacant properties, in addition to a (potential) influx of visitors now attracted to the region because of touristic opportunities. Amenity migration, described earlier in this chapter, can exert pressure on infrastructure, which tends to lag behind 'new' tourism, and can lead to crowding and housing scarcities, particularly in peak season periods (Baldacchino *et al*, 2015). In addition,

increased pollution levels and associated environmental impacts; changes in social structures such as “...economic displacement of vulnerable populations...” and altered land-use patterns can occur by often rapid changes in population composition (Krannich, Luloff, Field, 2011).

The negative aspects of out-migration can be countered by a contra-flow (not necessarily equal to the population out-flow) of in-migrants attracted to rural amenities and life-style by bringing high levels of professional expertise and educational levels that may enhance human resource capacity bolstering the needs of the community in an upward trajectory (Krannich *et al*, 2011). Moscardo Konovalov, Murphy and McGehee (2013) points out that amenity migrants differ from other rural tourist groups, for example back-packers, as they tend to purchase real-estate to settle and therefore contribute to the community property tax-base.

Of particular interest in this dissertation, is to better understand how surf tourism may influence a rural community. For example, does surf tourism exacerbate out-migration, or create new employment opportunities: how significant is surf tourism in attracting new residents (amenity migration); does amenity migration strain local infrastructure (e.g. stores, banks, housing) or lead to the development of new infrastructure; does surf tourism stress local cultural values, or does surf tourism contribute to the enhancement of those values as part of a rural tourism scenario.

2.5.0 Summary

This chapter has reviewed the evolution of surf tourism research, and how surf tourism can be situated within the rural tourism and development literature. Many theoretical concepts, such as localism, amenity migration, and the Tourism Area Life Cycle may provide insights into the specifics of tourism development and sustainability, but these concepts are not as well developed in the surf tourism literature as is found in the broader nature tourism

literature described in this chapter. For example, the TALC model was examined as a vehicle for explaining how surf tourism may develop, and what factors may influence how the TALC curve moves either toward maturity and rejuvenation, or toward stagnation and decline. However, most previous research using the TALC model has not fully exploited the surf tourism or nature tourism literature, or the factors that have been identified in this chapter as possible influences on participation in specific forms of nature tourism such as surf tourism. The inclusion of these factors appears to be warranted when considering the growth of a sector of tourism (surf tourism) rather than a tourism destination per se.

For conceptual clarity, these various factors influencing the development of surf tourism, and more generally applied to the TALC curve can be organized and combined into six components: physical; environmental; economic; social; institutional; and external factors, as outlined below.

- 1) Physical factors. Physical factors refer to the level of type of facilities and services that support tourism development, including accommodation, transportation and tourist specific attractions (Ma & Hassink, 2013). Physical factors such as these provide the infrastructure needed to accommodate greater numbers of tourists. However, this infrastructure may come at the expense of environmental features, and possibly conflict with local values.

- 2) Environmental factors. Environmental factors refer to the impacts that tourism activity can impose on a natural setting (McCool & Bosak, 2016; Ma & Hassink, 2013). Most often the tourism literature refers to the negative impacts created by tourism development, such as water pollution; supply of drinking water; declining wildlife populations; or the loss of forest cover to provide tourism infrastructure. These impacts

are linked to the concept of environmental carrying capacity, although the concept of carrying capacity is contested (Needham *et al*, 2016; Manning, 2011). These negative environmental forces would constitute vertical pressure pulling down on the S-curve. However, tourism development can also provide some positive environmental impacts leading to upward pressure on the S-curve, such as improving visitor awareness of environmental issues and assisting with conservation programs (McCool & Bosak, 2016; Zeppel & Muloin, 2008).

3) Economic Factors. Economic factors refer to the long term economic viability of the tourism industry in a region (McCool & Bosak, 2016). Economic sustainability is related to the other vertical forces described here but is also influenced by factors such as entrepreneurial and management expertise (Baldacchino *et al*, 2015; Canavan, 2014; McCool & Bosak, 2016); marketing strategies; levels of investment; and emergence of competing destinations (Ma & Hassink, 2013). Clearly, the presence of these kinds of expertise will contribute a positive vertical force to the S-curve, whereas a shortage of the expertise will contribute a negative vertical force to the S-curve.

4) Social Factors. Social factors refer to the forces at play within tourists, between tourists, and between tourists and the community. These factors include changing leisure preferences; crowding; conflict; violence; localism; amenity migration; leisure constraints, and social carrying capacity. Tourism can provide for positive social interactions, which exert positive upward forces on the S-curve, or negative social interactions, such as crowding, that impose negative downward forces on the S-curve. These factors are linked to the concept of social carrying capacity (Needham *et al*, 2016).

5) Institutional factors. Institutional factors refer to the influence of various agencies on the viability of tourism development and includes the influence of government policies on tourism (Ma & Hassink, 2013; and the engagement of tourism related agencies, such as Parks Canada; Tourism BC; BC Government; and the District of Tofino.

6) External Sustainability factors. Tourism sustainability is influenced by a number of external factors that will impact on the S-curve (Lieu *et al*, 2016), including exchange rates; fuel costs; state of Canadian and World economies; external environmental factors (e.g. climate change; oil spills, tsunami, forest fires, earthquakes, etc.); health factors (e.g. avian flu; SARS); terrorism; and, innovation. External sustainability factors are rarely, if ever, controlled either partly or wholly by the host community who can only react in the event these situations occur. In British Columbia, for example, the tourism industry has had to manage changes caused by many of these external factors (Rollins *et al* 2016. p.399).

The next chapter will describe the methods used to examine the evolution of surf tourism in a rural community (Tofino), and how the concepts reviewed above may contribute to an understanding of this process. Rural tourism is clearly a significant actor in the sometimes challenging pursuit of economic and social parity for those communities and surf tourism appears to play a strong role in the unfolding Tofino story.

As George *et al* (2009) succinctly note:

As rural communities struggle with the growing gap between resources and responsibilities (i.e. economic and political restructuring), tourism becomes

popular and appealing as a mechanism for stimulating rural growth in troubled times (p.3).

Chapter 3: Methods

3.1 Introduction

The literature review chapter outlined previous studies of surf tourism, as well as a number of theoretical positions commonly employed in nature tourism research that may apply to surf tourism, including the Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC), amenity migration, localism, conflict and violence. This methods chapter outlines the approach used to extend this understanding of surf tourism and related concepts through a study conducted in Tofino, British Columbia. The chapter begins with a discussion of ontology and epistemology, and then proceeds to describe how data was collected and analyzed.

3.2. Ontology and Epistemology

Ontology, epistemology and methodology are the three primary components of an inquiry paradigm (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004). Ontology is the study of human existence and asks what is real and how is a (perceived) reality understood in the context of social inquiry based on ‘claims and assumptions’ made during the study. Epistemology refers to the theory of knowledge: how knowledge is formed and what knowledge is based ‘claims and assumptions’ of truth. Methodology is the practice of knowledge collection. Phillimore and Goodson (2004, p.34) encapsulates the process thus:

Put simply, knowledge production relies heavily upon the ontology of the researcher – their definition of reality. Their epistemology – what they count as knowledge – depends on what they want knowledge about, while the kind of knowledge that they seek determines their methodology (Jones, 1993 in Phillimore & Goodson, 2004, p.34).

Ontological and epistemological views shape axiology, which can take four general forms, as follows (Brodsky, Buckingham, Scheibler & Mannarini, 2016):

- 1) Positivists believe in one true reality that can be perfectly understood
- 2) Post positivists believe that reality, while objective, is only imperfectly understood. Neither positivists nor post-positivists believe that worldviews should or do play a role in research. They design research that aspires to control worldview.
- 3) Constructivists argue that worldviews cannot be removed from research, and to attempt this would merely obscure reality. Therefore, researchers must describe and acknowledge their role.
- 4) Criticalists believe that reality is constructed and cannot be separated from context and power dynamics.

This study of surf tourism in Tofino is premised on the ontological belief that these phenomena can best be understood by accepting that reality in this case is expressed in the perceptions of people who have experienced surf tourism in the Tofino study site. Individuals will likely vary somewhat in their perceptions of surf tourism development in Tofino, and the various issues and challenges that have emerged. These perceptions will have been shaped by individual experiences with surf tourism that may vary somewhat from person to person, so reality in this form of study will be a social construct rather than an objective reality. As stated by Patton (2015):

Constructionists study the multiple realities constructed by different groups of people and the implications of these constructions for their lives and interactions with others. Any notion of 'truth,' then, becomes a matter of shared meanings and consensus among a group of people (p.121).

Accordingly, this study can best be situated within a constructivist perspective (Brodsky *et al*, 2016, Jackson, 2013), in which analysis seeks to uncover shared interpretations of surf tourism in Tofino, while being sensitive to aspects that may not be shared by all subjects, and examining these ‘outliers’ as meaningful data. This constructivist perspective lends itself to an inductive, qualitative approach outlined in the following section.

3.3 Inductive Qualitative Research Design

Research methodologies can employ either inductive or deductive approaches. Deductive approaches seek to explicitly test a theory, usually framed within a hypothesis (Martin & Woodside, 2008). Deductive studies in the surf tourism literature include Edwards and Stephenson’s (2013) work assessing the potential for surf-break co-management by surfers working cooperatively with local authorities in New Zealand, and Reineman’s (2016) study of the “...utility of surfers’ wave knowledge for coastal management” (p.144), sampling surfers who had used the same surf spots for a number of years.

In contrast, inductive approaches build on the notion that the data can “speak for itself”, albeit framed by existing concepts and theory (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016, p.190). Further, inductive analysis is used to uncover patterns, thematic relationships and immersive details to provide an emergent picture based on the reality of the analysis, rather than attempting to test existing theory (Patton, 2015, p.47) as generally exists in experimental, hypothesis testing approaches most often employed in deductive inquiry (p.64). In other words, inductive studies allow for new insights that may emerge that may not have been anticipated during preliminary investigation. Inductive qualitative studies in surf tourism include Baldacchino (2011) study of “...change management, intersectoral migration and the economic development of small island

states...” (p.236) as influenced by surfers, and Wiersma’s (2014) investigation of big-wave surfing at Maverick’s, California.

Since this study of surf tourism in Tofino is exploratory, which the literature and existing research suggests surf tourism is currently, inductive exploratory techniques were employed to inform and understand patterns and behaviours observed in the case-study, without being predisposed to analysis outcomes (Patton, 2015, p.64).

The decision to take an inductive approach to this study can be summarised thus:

Human experience—the way real people experience real events—is endlessly interesting because it is endlessly unique, and so, in a way, the study of human experience is always exploratory and is best done inductively (Bernard 2013, p.12).

However, it should be acknowledged that analysis is frequently neither strictly deductive (theory-derived) or inductive (data-based) but rather situates on a continuum and can be termed *abductive* to denote a fluid combination of analysis and is more likely to reflect real-world reflections and findings (Patton, 2015, p.561). Abductive approaches are illustrated in Bajc’s (2012) ethnographic study of tourism destination marketing in Jerusalem. She notes:

Theoretically interesting social activity can be identified using Peircean abduction.

Rather than following a predetermined set of research questions in the data collection process, abductive ethnography embraces serendipity and allows intuition to guide the fieldwork. Data analysis begins neither with inductive nor deductive reasoning (p.73).

Even though qualitative data are more typically associated with an inductive analysis to produce new explanations or theories, it is possible that qualitative data can employed in a deductive manner, to explore how the data may contribute to existing theory or concepts. In this

study of surf tourism, the approach was primarily inductive, collecting data in a way not driven explicitly by theory and concepts described in the literature review. Nevertheless, the research was open to the possibility that the findings may contribute to this existing body of theory, but not be bound by theory. In this sense the approach to this study could be considered as abductive. Although the current study is based on a set of prepared interview questions (described below), the expectation that unexpected data could materialize was a significant component of the research design. The intent of the approach used in this study was to allow respondents to reveal thoughts and feelings based on a question set developed to guide the interview (see Table 6 below) and for interview data to flow from there.

Studies based on a constructivist epistemology and inductive (abductive) approaches such as this study are thought to be well suited for qualitative approaches to data collection (Brodsky *et al*, 2016). Qualitative methods aim at discovery, as well as identifying factors and working hypotheses that warrant further attention (Brodsky *et al*, 2016). Qualitative researchers are willing to question scientific norms of objectivity, and argue that the researcher's standpoint and interaction with the participant (subject) influence the production of data and findings.

There are many forms of qualitative research (such as interviews, observations, photographs, videos, and historical records); however, two characteristics are common (Brodsky *et al*, 2016): (1) the use of nonnumerical data (such as words) to describe meanings of a phenomena from the perspective of individuals included in the study; and (2) they value the uniqueness, variability, and ambiguity of the data. When using qualitative methods, researchers must consider their world view (discussed above), data collection methods, analysis, and trustworthiness of their research design.

Cresswell and Clark (2007), provide a useful framework for comparing qualitative and quantitative approaches, by arguing that qualitative approaches tend to:

- Use inductive analysis, whereas quantitative approaches tend to use deductive analysis.
- Engage with the literature to situate the problem rather than for identifying hypotheses (as in quantitative approaches).
- Ask open ended questions to understand the complexity of a topic, compared to close-ended questions more typical of quantitative approaches.
- Use data from words or images whereas quantitative approaches focus on numbers.
- Analyze data through identification of themes, whereas quantitative approaches tend to use statistical analysis.
- Identify the personal stance of the researcher, whereas quantitative approaches make little reference to the role of the researcher, and attempt to remove or control for any personal bias.
- Use validity procedures that rely on participants, researcher, and reader, compared with quantitative approaches where validity is based on external standards such as statistical comparisons.

Patton (2015) elaborates on this comparison, stating:

The advantage of a quantitative approach is that it is possible to measure the reactions of a great number of people to a limited set of question, thus facilitating comparison and statistical aggregation of the data. This gives a broad, generalizable set of findings presented succinctly and parsimoniously. By contrast

qualitative methods typically produce a wealth of detailed information about a much smaller number of people and cases. This increases the depth of understanding of the cases and situations studied but reduces generalizations. (p.22)

A touristic example of the difference between qualitative and quantitative approaches is a visitor exit survey. A qualitative inductive study with a small sample can inform the various reasons why people might visit the destination; whereas a quantitative survey can inform the relative importance of each of the reasons across a large sample selected to represent the views of all visitors to the destination.

3.4 Situating the Researcher

All research is vulnerable to the characteristics and values of the researcher, and this is particularly true for qualitative research. Reflexivity is the process of critical reflection of the researcher on the research process and is intended to document how the researcher's values may influence the research process in positive and detrimental ways (Riger *et al*, 2016).

It is important to identify the role of the researcher in developing and executing a research plan, as the interaction between the researcher with the research is likely to influence the outcome (Marshall & Rossman, 2016, p.126). For example, it would not be ethical to pose as a full-time, dedicated, life-long surfer to infiltrate the surf community. The approach taken here was open transparency based on a life-long interest in surfing. As Patton (2002) explains: "Full and complete disclosure [is advised]. People are seldom deceived or reassured by false or partial explanations—at least not for long" (p.273). This would be especially germane in a small close-knit community such as the study site where people of like-minds are likely to talk to each other about a researcher.

To put this study into context, I was a passionate and engaged surfer in the UK during the 70s, consequently surfing has always been a presence in my life, albeit not as an active surfer for some time. From a personal perspective, surfing is an activity that never lets you go, and I still have an ingrained sense of wind direction, weather conditions and other factors that determine if 'surfs up' today. This sense of personal engagement brings a depth to the study that a truly detached observer or researcher might not have, and is an important aspect of the methodology employed (Patton, 2015, p.46). Similarly, I bring my own sense of neutral empathy to the study because I am fully 'present' during the interview process as I develop rapport with surfers and non-surfers based on a mutual understanding of surfing underscored with a non-judgemental neutrality (Patton, 2015, p.46). This approach may not have the hallmarks of traditional, highly distanced 'objective' social sciences research methodology, but is an appropriate methodology and stance to take to remain open to the thoughts and emotions of the sample, surfers and non-surfers alike (Patton 2015, p.55). Moustakas refers to this sense of neutral empathy as "Being In" or fully immersing oneself in another persons' world (1995, pp. 82-83), further expressed as "The idea of acquiring an "inside" understanding—the actors' definitions of the situation—is a powerful central concept for understanding the purpose of qualitative inquiry" (Schwandt, 2000 p.102). A risk of this "Being In" approach could be perceived as bias towards not only "Being In", but "Buying In" to emotion-based interview data to the point that it overshadows scientific reason and objectivity, however "...scientific inquiry should incorporate emotions [empathy] as a source of data and insight into the nature of the human experience." (Knutson, 2014, p.127), which is essentially the point of studying a phenomenon. The researcher attempted to maintain a distance from the interviewees while concurrently "Being In" the 'moment' of the interview.

3.5 Sampling Strategy

Sampling in qualitative research is focussed on gaining rich, local information as opposed to aiming for generalizability common to quantitative approaches (Brodsky et al, 2016). Approaches to sampling vary, depending on the intent to increase or decrease variation, or explore extreme, typical or particular cases of interest. Accordingly, common sampling platforms include: naturalistic approaches (speaking with a variety of participants within a setting); purposive sampling (reaching a specific population); or snowball (or chain) sampling (asking participants to suggest others who have similar or different characteristics).

This study of surf tourism used the snowball approach to sampling, building a “snowball” or adding a link to a “chain” of informants who knew other surfers and non-surfers and who were willing to participate in the study (Patton, 2015, p.28), and who were knowledgeable about surf tourism in the Tofino context (Marshall & Rossman, 2016). This approach was viewed as more appropriate than the naturalist approach, which may have precluded important subjects not found on site, or the purposive approach, which may have captured too narrow a sample (e.g. recent arrivals to Tofino). The sample included resident surfers, surf tourists, Tourism Tofino, surf shop owners, the District of Tofino and Parks Canada (the agency managing several of the surf beaches in the area). Through previous employment with Tourism Vancouver Island, the names of several people within the sample were known and were used as the initial sample frame. Following each of these initial interviews, the snowball technique was employed to identify other possible interviewees.

In this study, sixteen interviews were recorded from a chain snowball sample, all of whom were either surfers or non-surfers who were closely associated with the activity and the study site. A researcher generally has finite limitations on time and resources and therefore needs

to decide on absolute breadth or intense depth of information gathering (Patton, 2015, p.311). Sample size was determined by the point at which data saturation became evident. Saturation or redundancy of sampling occurs when the researcher senses that further data collection will be repetitive and no 'new' evidence is forthcoming (Patton, 2015, p.271). However, as Marshall and Rossman (2016, p.229) point out "...we can never know everything and there is never one complete Truth." Further, samples of one individual are not uncommon when collecting "thick" or in-depth descriptions of a given research topic (Marshall & Rossman, 2016, p. 108). For example, Freud developed the discipline of psychoanalysis based on a case-set of less than 10 clients (Patton, 2015, p.313). In surf tourism and tourism research, sample size varies broadly and there seems to be no generally accepted method to definitively assess 'correct' sample size. Nourbakhsh's (2008) qualitative study of female surfer's recreation specializations, motivations, and perspectives comprised a sample of nine participants. Fendt & Wilson (2012) study of female surfers negotiating constraints in surfing and surf-related travel drew from a sample of 20 women. Ponting and O'Brien (2015) study of regulation and surf politics in the Mentawai Islands used primary research interviews from 30 respondents. Although the question of sample size for this study is not completely resolved, I accept this may be a limitation of the study.

A description of the sample is provided in Table 5 below, containing respondent fictional name, gender, generic description (purposefully vague to protect respondent anonymity), self-identified surfer or non-surfer status, resident or non-resident status and interview type (face-to-face recording or written response using same question set). Of this demographic composition a slightly higher proportion of respondents were male: all male respondents were surfers; 19% of non-surfer respondents were female. Further, a higher proportion of surfers were resident compared to non-resident: 56% male to 44% female respectively.

Table 5

Respondent Demographics

	Fictional Name	Gender	Description	Surfer/Non-Surfer (self-identified)	Resident Status	Interview Type (see note)
1	Bill	M	Academic	surfer	Non-resident	Face to Face recording
2	Steve	M	Student	surfer	Non-resident	Face to Face recording
3	Kylie	F	Surf Shop Owner	surfer	Resident	Face to Face recording
4	Cindy	F	Resident	non-surfer	Resident	Face to Face recording
5	Nick	M	Pro surfer	surfer	Resident	Face to Face recording
6	Jim	M	Surf shop owner	surfer	Non-resident	Face to Face recording
7	Kenny	F	Technician	surfer	Non-resident	Face to Face recording
8	Dale	M	Business owner	surfer	Non-resident	Face to Face recording
9	Andrea	F	Resident writer	non-surfer	Non-resident	Face to Face recording
10	Ben	M	Ex- PC employee	surfer	Resident	Face to Face recording
11	Jeannie	F	Local Gov. Rep	non-surfer	Resident	Face to Face recording
12	Cedric	M	Manager	surfer	Resident	Face to Face recording
13	Andrew	M	PC employee	surfer	Resident	Face to Face recording
14	Tyler	M	S/Shop manager	surfer	Resident	Face to Face recording
15	Chelsea	F	Surf shop owner	surfer	Resident	Face to Face recording
16	Tiffany	F	S/Shop employee	surfer	Resident	Written responses

3.6 The Interview Form

As this research design involved qualitative research, an open-ended series of interview questions was employed to obtain data. Critical to the use of open-ended questions is the basic technique of posing questions that cannot be answered with a simple “yes” or “no” so that the informant was encouraged to speak free-form and build on their thoughts and feelings in continued responses. The third column in the table, indicates how each interview question may elicit a response that would relate to a concept addressed in the literature review or relate to one of the research objectives.

Table 6

(Appendix A) Extract of Interview Questions in Theoretical Context.

	Surfer Questions: Question Structure/content	Possible Relationship to Literature area
Q1	Hello, I am doing a study about surfing in the Tofino area as part of my PhD research. I am interested in understanding what you like and don't like about the scene here. If possible, I would like to talk to you for about an hour: can we arrange a meeting time?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduction • Commit to meeting time/place
Q2	(At the meeting) Thanks for agreeing to this interview. Before we start, I would like you to read and sign this consent form.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Informed consent
Q3	How long having you been surfing here and in other places?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Icebreaker • Developing rapport and building relationship (on-going through interview process) • Assessing experience: specialization/serious leisure
Q4	How important is surfing to you?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Specialization/serious leisure
Q5	What do you like about surfing or the surf scene here?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • TALC (subject may refer to the level of surf tourism development, and what they like/dislike about this) • Amenity migration, community development
Q6	(probing questions) So, do you live here, or are you visiting? a) (if visiting) How important is surfing for this visit? b) Is it your main purpose for visiting? c) (if living here) How important is surfing to your decision to move here?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Specialization/serious leisure • Amenity migration
Q7	Now, is there anything you don't like about surfing or the surf scene here?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • TALC (subject may refer to the level of surf tourism development, and what they like/dislike about this) • Conflict, localism, crowding, Constraints to leisure • Community development
Q8	(follow-up to Q7 if applicable) So how do you deal with conflicts or constraints?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Negotiating constraints, coping • TALC: how people negotiate issues (e.g. crowding) has implications for satisfaction with surf tourism experience
Q9	(follow-up to Q7, Q8) Can you suggest what would need to be done to improve the surf scene in Tofino?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • TALC: these perceptions relate to understanding growth or decline of surf tourism • May relate to community development
Q10	Apart from your own engagement with surfing, how does surfing benefit others here or in the community?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • TALC: perceived community impacts of surf tourism relates to possible growth or decline of surf tourism • Relates to community development
Q11	So still thinking about others, here and in the community, do others seem to experience a downside to surfing?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • TALC: perceived community impacts of surf tourism relates to possible growth or decline of surf tourism • Relates to community development
Q12	So, I am beginning to understand your opinion and perspective about surf tourism as it presently exists in the Tofino area. Next, I would like to hear your thoughts about how surf tourism has developed over the years. a) What was surfing like here in the '70's. Please describe your own recollections or what you understand the '70's to have been like. b) How has surf tourism changed over the years? (Prompt: '70's, '80's, '90's, etc.) c) In your opinion, what changes were: i. Generally good and generally positive ii. Generally, not so good and generally negative d) When negative events or changes occurred, what happened next; how did things evolve?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • TALC: may indicate growth or decline of surf tourism, and what factors may contribute • May relate to community development • Amenity migration • Constraints to leisure • Conflict • Violence

Open-ended interview techniques are an essential building block of qualitative research methodology and are discussed in the next section. The interview questions used in this study, presented in the condensed template above (Table 6), were designed to provide a continuity between each interviewee but allowing for free-form responses minimally guided by the

interviewer. (Please see Appendices A: Surfer Questions and B: Non-Surfer Questions). As noted in Appendices A and B and in Table 6, connections between the interview questions and existing theory are apparent to the researcher but were not explored specifically as in a deductive approach. Respondents could have been asked about specific aspects of theory, such as different stages of the TALC model (e.g. stagnation, decline). However, the purpose of the interviews was to probe interviewees about surf tourism without leading the conversation towards specific theory, which may be distracting to the interviewee. Instead respondents were asked to describe how surf tourism had evolved over time (see Q12 in Table 6 above).

3.7 Interview Strategy

Patton (2015) suggests using three basic approaches to structuring interviews, each possessing varying characteristics, strengths and weaknesses: 1) the Informal Conversational Interview; 2) the Interview Guide; and, 3) the Standardized Open-Ended Interview. Others describe interview structures as structured, semi-structured, or unstructured.

As indicated in Table 6 above, the approach used in this study was a structured open-ended interview. However, it was important to include and allow for follow-up questions as ‘probes’ to allow for: 1) open-ended clarification; 2) open-ended elaborations; and 3) detailed clarifications (Marshall & Rossman, 2016).

Further, Patton (2015) outlines ten important principles and skills for interviewing that were used in this study, as follows:

- Ask open-ended questions, that invite thoughtful responses
- Ask questions that are clear, focussed, and answerable
- Listen carefully to responses, indicating to the respondent that you are paying attention

- Where necessary include follow up probing questions to clarify or generate greater depth of meaning
- Observe the interviewee, as a means for using ‘body language’ to signal possible meanings such as excitement, despair, frustration, or boredom
- Strive to be both empathetic, neutral, and non-judgemental
- Provide smooth transitions through different segments of the interview
- Strategize the sequence and flow of questions to anticipate how the respondent might best share their thoughts
- Be flexible and prepared to go with unexpected discussion that may be relevant but unexpected
- Interviewing can be demanding for the interviewer, as well as the respondent, so maintain personal energy throughout, and be sensitive to respondent energy or fatigue

Patton (2015) goes on to suggest how an interview derived from a social constructivist perspective should proceed, indicating that the interviewer is involved by guiding the discussion and being involved in the discussion, as follows:

Rather than the researcher studying what participants know about a particular topic or what kind of experience they have had, they instead engage in dialogue with participants and thus actively contribute to the knowledge production. The goal of the interview is to examine how knowing subjects have experienced particular aspects of life as they are constructed through dialogue (p.434).

In summary, Bloomberg & Volpe (2016, p.155) the interview outcome ‘quality’ depends on the skill of the interviewer to keep the interview on-track while simultaneously providing

‘space’ for the interviewee to respond in an in-depth and honest manner. Essentially, the outcome of the interview depends on building rapport and mutual trust between the interviewer and interviewee, in addition to understanding the links between questions posed to the interviewee and the research questions themselves (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016, p.155).

A conscious effort was made not to lead the respondent or ‘fill-in’ the non-verbal gaps with my own thoughts and feelings unless the respondent was unsure if he or she should answer as openly to the extent that they were comfortable confiding. This strategy proved effective as respondents appeared to be comfortable sharing their thoughts for between 60-80 minutes.

The interviews were conducted between October 2015 and April 2016. The interviews were professionally transcribed, and the interview transcripts were subsequently returned to the interviewees for their review from April to September 2016, and to request adding any further thoughts to the existing interview data (as interviewees may provide fresh data having had more time to think about the interview questions).

All interviews were conducted face-to-face with the study respondents in various locations in Nanaimo, Victoria, Parksville, Ucluelet and Tofino. The interview locations included respondents’ workplaces, homes, surf shops, cafes, a motel room, Vancouver Island University and the beach. The locations were generally selected through mutual negotiation between researcher and participants. This included one interview which in which the respondent preferred to provide a written response to interview questions. The interviewee was supplied with the same questions as the in-person interviewees; although the questions were the same, there was less opportunity to follow-up by using probing questions and is not as rich as the in-person interviews.

Interviews were conducted using Human Research Ethics Approval application for qualitative research, as required by the University of Victoria. The application essentially requires protection for the interviewee and that the interviewee is not harmed or negatively impacted because of the interview or the interviewer (See Appendix C).

3.8 Confidentiality

Confidentiality was protected by using pseudonyms and non-specific role descriptions, except for situations where a descriptor may have relevance to the research outcomes.

Participants were informed that there are limits to confidentiality, but describing roles in a general, non-specific way protects identity: for example, a Parks Canada Supervisor could be described a 'Parks Canada Representative'. Participants were not described in such a way as to be identifiable, at least within realistic limitations of confidentiality.

An ethical review was conducted by University of Victoria's Office of Research Services under the auspices of the Human Research Ethics Board. Under the review the research proposal was deemed to "...meet the appropriate standards of ethics as outlined by the *University of Victoria Research Regulations involving Human Participants*." The ethical review was subsequently approved 29 July 2015 (see Appendix C).

After each participant was contacted, they were asked to read and sign a *Participant Consent Form* (see Appendix C) as required by University of Victoria, which was stored securely in a locked filing cabinet in the researchers' home. The consent form includes the interviewers name and supervising committee contact information, research purpose and objectives, risk, benefits, inconvenience factors, and that the interview is confidential and voluntary.

3.9 Recording Each Interview

Each interview was recorded digitally using a password-protected smartphone and professionally transcribed into digital format and text for analysis. Data and written notes were stored on a password-protected laptop computer and secured in locked premises. Data backup was also provided by storing all data related to the interviews on Google Drive for an additional layer of security.

An important consideration (and challenge) of data collection is the reliance on technology to assist in the interview recording in this study. Although modern digital technology is reliable and very functional, it is not without limitations and potential data loss resulting from equipment failure and/or operator error. In one instance, an interview was lost because data was corrupted during recording by a flawed after-market recording application and the interview not recovered. To mitigate future losses, two recording devices were used as mutual back-up insurance and did not experience further problems or data loss.

3.10 Data Analysis

Data in this study was analyzed using thematic analysis, a type of qualitative inductive method (Riger *et al*, 2016), which assumes that what is real is socially constructed, and so people may vary in their perceptions as there is no one fixed reality. Thematic analysis is based on the constructionist view that there is no objective reality beyond our perceptions. This contrasts with quantitative research that is more typically grounded in realist epistemology. Thematic analysis in this study followed six stages, outlined in the literature (Nowel *et al*, 2018; Riger *et al*, 2016) as follows:

- Stage 1: Familiarization with the data, prolonged engagement with data, keeping field notes.
- Stage 2: Generating initial codes, creating an audit code (see Appendix E for an example)
- Stage 3: Searching for themes, including peer triangulation and note taking. In grounded theory approaches, this step is described as axial coding (Marshall & Rossman, 2016).
- Stage 4: Reviewing themes, including peer triangulation and vetting of themes
- Stage 5: Defining and labelling of themes, through team consensus.
- Stage 6: Producing the report, including a description of the coding and analysis procedures, and linking themes with theory and related literature (adding to or challenging the literature), where appropriate.

These thematic dimensions typically emerge out of field work and close rapport with the interviewee, rather than imposition of formal theory testing as is the case with deductive analysis (Patton, 2015, p.64). The notion of abductive reasoning (in comparison to deductive and inductive analysis) was introduced in the first section and should be considered relevant to this study (Servillo & Schreurs, 2013). As Denzin (1978) in Patton (2015, p.561) points out: “Facts do not speak for themselves. They need to be interpreted” (pp.109-110). Thematic analysis, then, offers the researcher flexibility while “...providing a rich and detailed, yet complex account of data...” (Nowell, Norris, White, D. & Moules, 2018, p.2) as it does not depend on the depth of technical knowledge and theoretical underpinnings. While thematic analysis provides a flexible analysis approach, it is acknowledged that this flexibility can lead to a lack of consistency in developing themes, which can be countered by presenting a clear epistemological position that

supports the study findings (Holloway & Todres, 2003). Advantages of thematic analysis include (Nowell et al, 2018):

- Flexible, and easily applied
- Does not require detailed theoretical knowledge;
- Few prescriptions and procedures
- Useful for examining the perspective of different subjects and generating unexpected insights.

However, according to Nowell *et al* (2018), thematic analysis has some disadvantages, such as:

- Does not allow the researcher to make claims about language use
- Lack of substantial literature on this approach
- Flexibility in approach can lead to inconsistency in the themes that are developed

3.11 Establishing Rigour

Demonstrating rigour or trustworthiness is an essential element for determining quality in research. For qualitative research, the rigour is assessed through a consideration of four criteria: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability concepts (Patton 2015, Marshall & Rossman, 2016) as proposed by Lincoln and Gupta (1986). Lincoln and Gupta (in Patterson 2015) suggest that these criteria are analogous to concepts traditionally held in traditional social sciences:

...credibility is an analog to internal validity, transferability as an analog to internal validity, dependability as an analog to reliability and confirmability as an analog to objectivity (p.684).

Lincoln and Gupta (1986) posit that credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability in varying permutations constitute the overall concept of trustworthiness and, according to is a parallel term for rigour (pp. 76-77). However, there appears to be no consensus around what constitutes rigour and exactly what criteria should apply and test rigour in qualitative-based research studies (Marshall & Rossman, 2016, p.47).

As Ponting and McDonald (2013) aptly notes

...a social constructionist epistemology and post- structuralist ontology underpin the assumptions of this research and reposition the researcher, “from ‘all-knowing analyst’ to ‘acknowledged participant’ in the production of always partial knowledges (p. 419).

and thus acknowledges that the researcher will never ‘know everything’ but can investigate what things are (epistemology) and how that knowledge is gained (ontology).

In this study, I attempted to build credibility by developing rapport and empathy with the interviewees based on sharing my own surf experience and innate easy-going personality and being open and honest in my motives to undertake this research: there was no hidden agenda or background agency that I might have been working for. For example, I was not undertaking this research for financial gain by surreptitiously infiltrating the surf community as a means to implement restrictive new regulation governing surf-break access. The question structure was open and ‘generally specific’ enough that I could have implemented the study in any surf-break location and was entirely transferable.

The study was dependable because the process was logical, traceable, and documented. The questions were logical and spoke directly to surfers and the surfing experience, in addition to assessing perceived impacts at the study site. The study was traceable by recordings and

subsequent transcripts (audit trail). The study was documented in research notes made prior to preparing this dissertation, which is also a documentary vehicle. The researcher actively looked for patterns and themes as suggested by Patton (2015, p.653) that were unanticipated (i.e. not based on insights gained from the literature review and prior subject knowledge) and is underpinned by the precept that confirming or ‘proving’ preconceived outcomes were not the intended purpose of the study; rather the production of ‘new knowledge’ was the intended objective. As an additional layer of trustworthiness, the language used by interviewees was preserved and is used in the study findings to underscore authenticity and rich detail of the interview experience. Also, interviewees were provided with transcript copies and asked to verify accuracy of their statements and to provide clarification if and where necessary (Kerry & Armour, 2000). The secondary verification yielded new transcript data, for example, one respondent provided greater insight on her perspectives of localism from a life-long residents’ gaze (i.e. unless a person is born here, they will always be outsiders) and acknowledged that localism did indeed occur and was stated more strongly by her than other respondents, perhaps reflecting an ingrained sense of her ‘place’ in the community.

Data can be perceived as trustworthy when viewed in context of time spent with interviewees and at the research site (Patton 2015, p.685) and as proposed by Lincoln and Gupta (1986): “If prolonged engagement provides scope, persistent observation provides depth” (p.304). In addition to face-to-face interview process, the initial contact and initiation of the project (including interview set-up and providing participation consent forms, which were an integral but essential part of the relationship building process), the researcher had spent many days in the community as part of multiple roles working for Tourism Vancouver Island and had taken considerable time observing and absorbing the subtle and not-so subtle nuances of the

community. This prior observation and absorption period was a significant motivator to undertake this study.

Patton (2015) cites Lincoln and Gupta's (1986) view that "...naturalistic inquiry should be judged by dependability (a systematic process systematically followed)" (p.684). The study provides dependable data synthesized from the systematic and consistent interview process that was indeed followed in a systematic, yet free-flowing manner that produced rich material. Further, data was confirmable by providing transcripts to the interviewees for their review and feedback asking for clarification and/or expansion on their responses.

Finally, credibility was also demonstrated through "peer debriefing" (Nowell *et al*, 2018), whereby three other academic researchers with experience in qualitative analysis were asked to review a sample of the data (seven transcripts) and provide independent coding and thematic analysis of the data. The group of researchers met and compared their findings, to arrive at a consensus opinion regarding the themes.

3.12 Research Challenges

Prior to the actual interviews, a significant challenge to the research was identified as 'buy-in' from the regional surfer community because surfing tends to attract individuals who resist intrusion from non-surfers into their 'closed circle'. The snowballing technique began with relationships with known participants who were willing to participate. These participants invited other participants to contribute to the study based on a mutual trust of assured confidentiality and impartiality, which 'snowballed', building a comprehensive sample. In reality and practice, the snowball approach outlined above reduced this challenge and respondents were generally open and receptive to requests for interviews and at no time was there any sense of resentment or

resistance to questions observed, or to subsequent probing for clarification and expansion on the topic.

The research sites are close-knit communities and the presence of an outsider is likely to cause defences to be raised against perceived intrusion, and in worst case scenario, perceptions of manipulation data to 'fit' a pre-determined/assumed outcome (Ponting, 2014, Personal Communication April 12, 2:00pm). Based to some extent on intuition, developing relationships with a core of stakeholder participants was an effective and authentic approach to understanding perceptions of surf tourism sustainability on the community of Tofino. The open-ended qualitative interviews aimed at provoking discussion that would provide insights into surf tourism in Tofino, and several advantages of this approach were discussed in this chapter. However, it is possible that the interview process may not have been effective with all respondents.

It is acknowledged that reliance solely on personal interviews may be a limitation to this study. In this study, however, interviewees proved to be valuable sources of information-rich data about a specialist activity (surfing). Further research into this topic would likely benefit from other methods of triangulation, for example, a quantitative questionnaire-based survey that could be transferred to other settings as part of a mixed methods research study (Marshall & Rossman, 2016).

Sample size was acknowledged earlier as a possible limitation of the study, although it is also realized that sample size is difficult to determine, and that richness of data, interview skill and attention to data analysis are also important, perhaps more so than sample size.

In summary, this chapter has outlined how data was collected, beginning with a discussion of ontology and epistemology, followed by a description of the qualitative inductive

approach, and how this was implemented with open ended interviews with subjects selected through a snowball sampling technique. Thematic analysis was used to analyze interview data, and create the findings outlined in the next chapter. Quality and trustworthiness were discussed, highlighting that peer debriefing was used to generate a consensus view on the salient findings.

Chapter Four: Findings

4.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the findings of the research undertaken to explore the emergence of surf tourism as a significant aspect of rural communities, such as Tofino, British Columbia, Canada. Specific research objectives of this study are as follows: (1) What factors have influenced the evolution of surf tourism in Tofino; (2) How might the evolution of surf tourism in this case study relate to the Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC); (3) What is the impact of surf tourism on the broader community development of Tofino?

The data was collected through semi-structured, face to face interviews conducted with subjects familiar with the history and current status of surf tourism in Tofino. The selection process and justification have been outlined in the previous chapter (Chapter 3). Throughout this chapter, subjects are referred to using pseudonyms, in order to help ensure confidentiality in the study.

This chapter outlines the main themes that emerged from the analysis of these interviews. In addition to the researcher's thematic analysis, three academics with experience in qualitative analysis reviewed seven interview transcripts as a triangulation mechanism (peer debriefing). The 11 themes described in this chapter (summarized in Table 7 below) are a synthesis of the researchers' and reviewers' identifications. The following chapter (Chapter 5) will reflect on these findings in terms of contributions the study provides to the research literature.

Table 7

Thematic Analysis of Interviews

Theme 1. For some, surfing is a desirable lifestyle, reflecting in some ways the concepts of specialization, serious leisure, and community's identity.
Theme 2. Surf shops are a community hub for local surfers and surf tourists
Theme 3. Pacific Rim National Park plays a critical role in the region, contributing to surfing and the surf tourism industry, but has yet to fully engage with surfers or the surfing industry
Theme 4. Increasing safety issues may undermine the growth of surf tourism
Theme 5. New and more affordable equipment technology has brought increased access to cold-water surf and surf tourism, reducing what may have constrained the early development of surf tourism.
Theme 6. Considerable increases in the supply and demand for surfing in Tofino have occurred, tempered by the increased number of surfing competitions and other new tourism segments that exist in the community.
Theme 7. Limits to surf tourism growth are evident regarding facility and physical carrying capacity.
Theme 8. As a result of the considerable growth of surfing in Tofino, recreational crowding, and conflict are in evidence, as are coping mechanisms.
Theme 9. 'Localism' exists in Tofino, but perhaps less so than in other destinations which have a fixed beach break
Theme 10. Surf tourism has the potential for positive and negative impacts on First Nations communities in the region.
Theme 11. Local government plays an important role.

4.2.1 For some, surfing is a desirable lifestyle, reflecting in some ways the concepts of specialization, serious leisure, and community's identity.

Many people visit Tofino or choose to live in Tofino because the surf experience represents many aspects of a desired lifestyle, for themselves or for their family. Andrea, a resident writer, relates her experience currently as a non-surfer but who has surfed earlier in life, and how surfing underpins 'small town' community for families:

Well, on a personal level, [surfing is] not very important, but I think as far as from my understanding, it's a kind of a healthy option and a recreational option for my family growing up. For my children growing up, it was always a nice thing because in a small town like that, it's too easy to start focusing on what you don't have rather than what you do have. So, I always felt that this is the place where people really wanted to come because of this activity. So, this school was really good as far as there were surf clubs and swaps of surf gear for kids and things like that. So as far as a great activity for kids it

was really nice. I mean that's personal, I guess, but not me actually out there surfing, necessarily.

Like Andrea, for some residents, participating in surfing is not that important, but they see value in surfing and the relationship between the surf scene in Tofino and the natural setting. For example, Cindy who is currently a non-surfer and long-time resident, but has surfed earlier in life, reflects that:

It is not like personally important to me. I would say though it is probably important to the communities or people or friends that I have who probably rely on it economically. It is important in the sense that there is an environment that it relies on, so keeping that environment clean and pristine that's important to me, but I think really that's probably it.

Similarly, Jeannie, a local government worker, reinforces the notion of the importance of surfing to the community and for community identity, rather than to herself:

Well, on a personal level, [surfing is] not very important because it is just not an activity that has been incorporated into my life, but I like watching it and I love that other people enjoy it. On a community level, I think surfing is incredibly important; it's a real part of this community's identity. So whether you surf yourself or you watch surfers from the beach. Everybody knows somebody who surfs and those people in the community who have excelled, that surfing has a lot of community support in back-up behind them, so that's also big part of the surfing picture here in Tofino.

Dale, an occasional surf tourist and not a resident of the community, hints at the intrinsic appeal for many that surfing, and surf tourism provides even though he is unable to articulate exactly why that appeal exists:

For me, personally. It is actually very important. I don't know why, but I just, it's one of those things that I, every year, I look forward to, to going there and to surf. Yeah it's just there is something about it. There is something about it that I look so forward to going every single year, so, yeah it's very important...it gets under my skin.

The natural setting where surfing takes place in Tofino plays a significant role for many respondents in the way they define community and how this relates to their interest in living in Tofino. Kenny, a technician, describes his first surf experience and shares the importance of family participation in the activity and life-style:

I came out here in 2006 from Alberta. So, I had no rapport with the ocean prior and knowing we're living in the island, my first experience with surfing. I had to try it and I was okay if I only tried it once, and didn't end up going again, but lot of that was dependent on my wife and what the feelings were for it. So, we went out, we took a lesson and it was just so incredible to have that rapport with nature, and both of us after our first ride that we had that day knew it was going to be something we did want to do.

Quotes such as this were derived from a sample of respondents selected using a 'snowball' method such that selected respondents had a connection with surfing and surf tourism as a surfer or non-surfer. Not surprisingly, for many people in this sample, surfing appeared to be very important; however, this was not the case with everyone interviewed.

For some surfers, surfing is a 'regular' part of their day, reflecting centrality of lifestyle (an element of specialization), and personal identity (an element of serious leisure). As Tyler, a surf shop owner, observes:

... important as somebody going to the grocery store and getting veggies to make a salad or make a dinner, because it's like I'm pretty much based my life around surfing down and yeah it's like the first thing I kind of think about in the morning

Jim, also a surf shop owner, takes surfing importance (centrality, personal identity)

further stating:

Surfing is everything to me. Surfing is my life, I mean besides keeping me alive, I also have a surf shop so for me it's my whole life and I'm happy with that. Like I wouldn't want to change it, except I'd like to surf more and work less but to answer the question "it's everything".

For Jim, surfing has moved beyond a recreational activity, and has become a career, reflecting the career aspect of serious leisure. Andrew, a Parks Canada employee, takes a broad view of surf culture and frames his perspective within the notion of the surf culture, reflecting the aspect of unique social world aspect of serious culture:

...[s]omething I appreciate about it, the surf culture, in that it will be accepted quite a bit, but as far as certain cultures exist here, it is a bit of a community, you know the people in the water, and you know what they are, what they do, if they are fisherman or they work in resorts, or they are labourers, and so they bring all their experiences, real hometown living. They bring that [experience] in to the local surf culture here, so that's not what I call 'Tofino surf culture' or 'regional surf cultures', [but] a lot more about the community, and people who are in it that come out of that as 'surf culture'.

Nick, a professional surfer outlines how he has turned a recreational activity to a specialized occupation that he takes very seriously, reflecting several aspects of serious leisure and specialization, as follows:

When I was like 16, 17, I started getting free wet suits and free clothes and that kind of thing. I realized that there was a chance, to start making a bit of money and then later on when I finished High School I started making money, so I avoided the 'real job' time, pretty well it's just kind of happened to go that way, and yeah, around 18 or 19 I was making a little bit and living with my mom and kind of making work it work and then as I've gotten older and the surf industry has grown in Canada and I've had my own, portions of successes it's gone well enough that I've ended up making a living so far, so I don't have any other job right now other than surfing, which has been very nice.

For Nick three aspects of specialization are apparent: behavior (highly experienced); cognitive (skill and knowledge); and affective (centrality to lifestyle). In terms of serious leisure, his comments reflect the aspects of personal identity, career, perseverance, effort, and anticipated benefits. Nick stresses the importance of surfing personally and how he has struggled as a result of a recent injury that has prevented him from surfing:

Well, I mean obviously the livelihood part is a bonus and really, in the end it's just what you love to do and regardless of, money or anything else. It's obviously this town is seemingly built around these days, so yeah this has been a big thing. For example, this year, I had knee surgery and I haven't surfed in seven months, so I've quickly realized how important surfing is and to overall happiness and stuff and it's hard when you have something that is such a part of your life like literally every single day I went surfing for the last, ten or somewhat years and now I have that like void of time even it's just empty, it's tricky to get used to, like all of a sudden you have all this day left and I don't have, like I said I don't have another job so a lot of my time has just been filled with trying to get my knee going again So, I can surf again, but yeah it's huge.

These findings inform that there is a wide continuum of importance attached to being a surfer, with some surfing only occasionally but others who surf professionally; however, all respondents felt that surfing is a desirable lifestyle and important for the community, stressing that surfing, surf culture, and surf tourism are very important aspects of life in the community. Many people moved to Tofino (amenity migrants) because of the opportunity to surf, to work in the surfing industry, or because of the 'laid back vibe' that surfing contributes to the feel of the community. An important aspect of the desirable component of surf and surf tourism was health and fitness. Steve, a student, makes a direct connection between physical and mental fitness, and community:

As I said it's a pretty big part of my life and I really dislike not being able to, just because it of all the benefits that you get from surfing, the meditative parts, the physical parts and the community surrounding it. It's a really great experience and I think the lifestyle is something that I don't really want to give up right now.

Steve reinforces the community and fitness connection, in addition to expressing his motives to re-locate to Tofino:

I went from wanting to go to school in Edmonton to going to South Africa and moving out here to the island to surf and with that, it's, I would say, lots of personal changes to my life. I've become, I think, a better person, more connected with a community. Become more fit because it's a very intensive sport and it's very meditative and so it can teach you mental capacity, very strong support.

In summary, most respondents identified surfing and surf tourism as a desirable lifestyle. Some respondents recognized that while they now identified as local surfers and residents, they initially came to Tofino as surf tourists, which evolved into their chosen life-style. Some

respondents came as ‘surf bums’, stayed, started families and businesses and are an integral part of the community

4.2.2 Surf shops are a community hub for local surfers and surf tourists.

Surf-shops play an important role in the surf tourism industry and for community development in Tofino. Tiffany, a surf-shop employee, offers her perspective of this role:

The surf industry in Tofino supports the community in a huge way. It brings tourists to town and provides a business opportunity for locals. It offers an activity for children, as well as adults within the region.

Surf-shops also act as community hub for local surfers and surf tourists alike, as suggested by Tyler, who states that surf-shops are hubs for local knowledge and act as *ad hoc* visitor information centres:

...they ask ... where is a good place to go hike and hang out or stay or whatever, we're like the main hub. People [ask]where to go eat, so everybody feeds off it, and then this area has become more of a surf destination, so majority of the people that come out here are surfers, so it's being in the surf shop you're kind of the hub of that ... first connection, the first contact, so ... people want to know where is a good place to eat in Tofino.

As a surf-shop owner Kylie has seen first-hand how businesses like hers have helped develop awareness, for example, around changing wet-suit technology for surfers:

Then, yeah, all during that time with the wetsuits technology changing, just more and more people coming up and then the opening of different wet-suit shops and stuff in this area just providing people with like rentals, like people didn't know where to get a wet suit before that.

However, concern was expressed that surf-shops would rent equipment to “anyone who has a dollar” regardless of safety concerns. Steve expresses support for surf-shops but is concerned about safety:

And I think that they have, again they have positively participated in the impact of surf tourism. They have provided the resource or the ability for people to head to Tofino and learn to surf. In fact, the, you know, they supply the wet suits, the boards and the lessons, etc., to teach people. So, I think that's good in this allowing people to head out to Tofino to be surfer tourists. At the same time the rental shops will rent big, long dangerous boards to anyone who has a dollar. And I've seen those people get into pretty hairy situations involving either just themselves being stuck in a riptide or colliding with other surfers and I think that the surf breaks being flooded with those people on rental boards can definitely negatively impact the area and surfer tourism.

Surf shops play several roles in supporting surf tourism in Tofino. Most obviously, surf shops sell or rent surfing equipment, and having this aspect of infrastructure locally is an important attribute. Providing lessons for novice surfers is also important for growing the activity for locals and visitors. Surf shop personnel can also provide support for novice surfers who may be unsure or nervous about their initial experiences in the surf environment and culture. Kenny, a non-resident occasional surfer and technician, explains how Collin, a surf-shop owner, welcomed him not only as a customer and novice surfer, but as part of an “extended family”:

You know [it's] little intimidating because it is that culture, but when in there [the surf shop] and there was me and my son ...And it was so wonderful to meet Collin...because I was their family. So they were very, just lovely people, they loved surfing and were happy to share it. So yeah it's that, that kind of like extended family. If we're going to

buy things, it's like we can go to the shops out here, but I'm going to go [to a shop] that's [a] family business, so that where we would go. And always, and always good conversation, always helpful with some hints, but I remember Collin saying to me "So there were two ways that this goes, you either surf with your friends that will help you learn and then you can learn quickly. Or you're doing it on your own and it will take a long time". I'm in the longtime category.

However, the lessons provide more than instruction on surf technique, as they appear to stress safety and etiquette in the water, reducing conflict with more expert surfers. For many tourists, the surf shop is the first connection with the community, operating somewhat like a tourist information centre, but also connecting visitors with the local surf scene and local surf culture. An obvious but important role of surf-shops is providing employment to local residents outside the hospitality industry and for some may continue to work through the quieter, off-season periods. Surf-shops are also sponsors of professional surfers whose exposure through competition and surf media help publicize Canada as a surf-tourism destination. Tiffany shares her thoughts:

Travelers have generated enough curiosity for surf, that surf shops are busy all year round. Young surfers are also ambitious to develop a surf scene in Canada. There are also several sponsored athletes here in Canada who generate talk about Canada's surf scene.

4.2.3 Pacific Rim National Park plays a critical role in the region, contributing to surfing and the surf tourism industry, but has yet to fully engage with surfers or the surfing industry.

Many people commented on how important the natural setting is for the surf experience, and how this is somewhat unique compared to other surf destinations, such as Hawaii, where the surf experience occurs in a more urban environment. The natural setting for Tofino surfing is shaped in part by the presence of Pacific Rim National Park.

Andrew, a Parks Canada employee and surfer, notes that the primary concern of the park is to actively maintain the ecological integrity of the park environment under the National Parks Act while supporting recreational activities that create awareness and appreciation of the ecology. Interestingly, the park does not specifically focus on surfing and surf tourism; as Andrews says "...we have never built it [surfing] into a service offer".

He explains from a broad 'insider' perspective:

[Pacific Rim is one of] the few or only parks in Canada that you can surf at. Parks Canada do not really advertise this, they are not promoting so we have a real luxury in being a part of that culture, it is also a concept of what we do here, you know, our mandate is to go get people to experience, and to connect to the land, but also through the [Parks] Acts, to ensure first and foremost the integrity of the environment, so we bring people to these places and promote them and the rest of town.

The other thing, they need to respect the environment and they cannot leave their garbage behind, they can't idle the car, they can't dump fuel, [they must] put their dog on the leash, you can't chase shore birds, don't walk on these flowers, don't drink in the parking lots. All these things we try to do to maintain the integrity of that and it is

constant balance and that is the nature of business of Parks Canada and we are fortunate to have that as our business as far as the surf culture is concerned.

Andrew suggests that the park should engage more profoundly with surfing and surf tourism because there is a strong synergy between surfing and the Parks Canada mandate, in that surfers in Tofino have a deep connection with the environment, and many surfers are drawn to Tofino specifically because of the natural character of the setting. Andrew states:

I think personally, I look at it as a big opportunity for us to engage in different demography and different user than other parks [users], if you really have conversation with a generation or a market segment. We haven't been having a conversation before and to make stewards of these people and to have inspiration from certain cultures already healthy stewardship, mentality and internalise promoter as well, and so there is a lot of synergies between surf culture and Parks Canada. There is an appreciation of environment, it is all about making a connection with the environment and enjoying special places and I think a park recognizes that it is beginning it and engagement in a more complicated and comprehensive way, with surfing in general, so it is always taking place here and we have never or not acknowledged it or we have never partnered with it per se, we have never built it into a service offer, I mean you won't see a sign in the park that has the word surf board on it, or the picture of a surfer anywhere in the park. You will see pictures of people on motorized vehicles, walking their dogs, chasing sea birds, you name it, you won't see someone surfing, which is kind of interesting, so I think, we are really starting to see there is value in living that way, it all kind of comes back to Parks Canada –making a picture to connect with the environment.

Tyler, a surf shop manager, compares the Tofino experience to highly developed destinations such as Surfers Paradise on Australia's Gold Coast or Huntington Beach, California:

I think it's important for anywhere to have a park, I mean it limits the possibility of building more infrastructure like having a big condominium or big resort or something like that, in that regard, so it limits that development, but you go anywhere in the world and you're surfing with high rises like in Australia or the Gold Coast, surfing, high-rises right in front of you, and the pollution with all that stuff and out here it's great having the national park, I think is a huge plus; keeps it raw...in the park...

Tyler continues:

...[T]he park comes ... which is probably good because now, there is no deterioration of land, there is no littering and they have the sewage stuff under control and so it's like when you go there you're kind of like you're totally like in awe, it's just like untouched, there's nobody there, it's a good stabilizer for not letting this area get too big, too fast and too out of control, so I think it's awesome to have the park for sure.

Andrea, a local resident, suggests that from her perspective Parks Canada's mandate actively constrained unsustainable use and development of the beaches:

...when the park came in the philosophy of the day, which was in the early 70s, was more parks are [for] wilderness, ... but you know then you were driving on the beach and camping on the beach and everything was, and it was becoming just this huge party, like it was just kind of craziness. And so, when the park came in, it actually became more wilderness than it had been for decades; just a few decades probably, really.

Andrea's gaze provides further insight:

So there was always I guess access to the surf but, they, I don't think Parks [Canada] ever promoted it as part of their thing until very recently, until they went, "Oh this [surfing] is kind of a cool thing..." but I don't think it ever was really [promoted], it's more about the beach, and I'm not sure what else, big trees or something, but I think they were slow to the game for sure, the national park.

The notion of passive surf tourism development and involvement by Parks Canada is echoed by an ex-Parks Canada employee, Ben, when asked about Parks Canada's role in surf tourism responded: *"[Parks Canada] wasn't ever [involved] – my association with the park was from '81 to 2012; it [surfing] was never promoted by the park."* Until relatively recently Parks Canada did not support surf competitions in the park, however, absolute prohibition of surf competition has evolved into acceptance of surf competition (an inherently commercial enterprise) perhaps signalling a softening (or evolution) of a strictly non-commercial mandate for the park. Surf-shop manager, Tyler, expresses frustration concurrently with acknowledgment that Parks Canada management are 'open to suggestion' providing the criteria are strictly adhered to:

It's a little bit annoying having the park for like surf tourism stuff because it's federal [jurisdiction] so you got to jump every single loophole and there you got to do the steps. When I did my surf contest, we did our contest in the national park which is the first time there as a surf contest in the park in 27 years, which was pretty huge for us and for the area. And people realizing that if you go to the parks and try to do something in the park you're not going to get a 'no' answer, you're definitely going to get a 'yes' answer, but you just got to meet every single criteria.

Similarly, surf-school owner Kylie feels vindicated that parks have shown more interest in supporting surf tourism: *"I mean, they have allowed us to teach surfing in a park which that was*

definitely a victory... but as far as helping progress the sport I'm not sure there's been literally that much on their radar."

While many respondents spoke to how the park has contributed to surf tourism by protecting the natural setting, it is clear that the park has not yet fully embraced the possibilities of more actively supporting surfing within the park. Further, the park in some ways has limited the safe development of surf tourism, by removing the lifeguarding program on popular beaches.

Cedric ponders the wisdom of park funding-cutbacks particularly in light of apparent crowding levels:

They had a lifeguard program. They pulled it. That was five, six years ago. I never understood that, especially at Long Beach where you have got like 300 people in the water at once or something.

Pacific Rim National Park Reserve (Long Beach Unit) plays an important role in surfing and surf tourism. The park is also a significant component of the Clayoquot Biosphere Reserve, a larger landscape unit embracing most of Clayoquot Sound, and managed for sustainable development of which nature-based tourism (such as surf tourism) is part. Respondents recognized that the park could both contribute and constrain the development of surf tourism, currently and in the future. Generally, respondents supported the presence of the park, but did not universally laud park management in its approach to surf and surf tourism, particularly in respect to water safety, which is analysed in greater detail in the next section.

4.2.4 Increasing safety issues may undermine the growth of surf tourism.

Safety is of prime importance to the surf community and is part of the role that surf schools play by connecting surf etiquette to water safety. Kylie suggests:

If it's a safety issue, like if someone is being particularly aggressive, like, they're dropping in on someone and I would probably just bring it to their attention. I first try in a kind way and, secondly, and then I would try in a more authoritative way. Because for me that's the number one concern is just safety.

Kylie emphasizes the importance of safety and surf etiquette as an integral function of her surf-school and the role schools play in ensuring safety at all levels of surf specialization:

"...whoever is on their feet first like that's why we have these rules in place. So if those people are following the rules it's okay. It's just when people don't follow the rules, it can be upsetting. Usually I try to educate people, because sometimes people just don't know anything, but when people do know better and they're doing it that's what kind of sets off that kind of that bad vibe in the water. But yeah, I mean it's mostly education at the school that's one of the main things we teach in the lesson is just your attitude on how – make sure that everybody is having fun, whatever level you're at in the sport.

The elimination of the surf-guard programme in Pacific Rim National Park was mentioned by several respondents as a significant safety concern. Jeannie, a senior local government representative relates:

I think it was extremely unfortunate when we lost the surf-guards that used to be out in the summer time because people come to the national park and [to] that particular location...and that was unfortunate.

Nick, a professional surfer, reinforces the impact of the surf guard programme loss from the direct perspective of the surfer:

I'm sure in the summers they've played a huge role in keeping people safe. ...[I]t does get quite dangerous in the summer with all those big boards and people getting hit in the

head, and I know there's been some drowning literally in, like, waist deep water in that way. And I'm sure they played a large role in monitoring and making sure everybody knows what they are doing and like I had mentioned before, it's knowing the rules and [surf] etiquette and stuff. So, I don't know as far as going forward, if there's just not going to be a life guard service [and] how that's going to pan out, there's more and more people coming and if anything, it seems there should be an expanded life guard service, but that's obviously not the way tax dollars work. If there's no money there, programmes get cut, so that'll be interesting...

Water-safety raised concerns and a direct connection is made between the role of Parks Canada and surf tourism that echoes other respondents' thoughts and feelings: A non-resident surfer, Bill, notes:

I'm a water safety guy; my background is in aquatics and lifesaving, so I'm deeply concerned about the number of tourists engaged in surfing on Long Beach and I'm also aware that the Parks have restricted or reduced the safety staff on the beach, and I'm concerned about that.

Bill presses his point further and extends the connection between tourism and responsibility of the host community as represented by the Park:

I've said this before, I'm deeply concerned is, is, the safety factor; we're putting, potentially, people that may have been in the water, [but] certainly not in waves and cold, west coast surf and at the same time we're reducing our ability to respond to any emergencies.

And...

Lastly, they do have responsibility for safety on their land, so that is the organization that used to provide surf rescue on Long Beach, Parks Canada, and they have restricted that, in my understanding. And even when they did provide it, it wasn't overt; it wasn't advertised, so nobody knew they were there right? So, that's an area that I would argue, they need to do a far better job on, overtly.

Ben reinforces the significance of the surf-guard programme in relation to the growth of surfing and the role of Parks Canada and from his own experience as an ex-Parks Canada employee in compelling terms:

I think we're sort of teetering as time goes on, on the verge of loss of life with all the surfing activities that's been taking place. So, the National Park for forty some years had a surf-guard programme and prevented loss of life over all those decades. The people that delivered that programme were some of the original surfers on Vancouver Island.

He continues:

So, the wealth of experience and at the peak of the summer, they were on duty on some of the busiest surfing areas at Long Beach and could see situations developing and intercede often before it turned into a disaster, a tragedy. And even with that there was occasional loss of life. It was, I think, a triple fatality that really cemented that programme...at...Long Beach; I think a grandparent and two grandchildren died in the rip current. And so, but now that programme has been cut as part of the Ottawa's changed vision for National Parks at the very time when it has just seen this explosive growth and the extension of this whole surfing season, so it used to be the surf-guard programme was delivered over a nine-week period at the peak of surfing activity. But

now the surfing season has expanded to a much greater proportion of the year; well, and it's happening year-round so there's always surfers out all year round.

However, as a surfer and surf-shop owner, Jim, pointed out that the coastline located in the park is difficult to monitor and guard comprehensively unless beaches are demarcated between surfer beaches and swimmer beaches.

...But [then] again you can't have lifeguards over there on all those beaches. There is just too much space and it too big, so if they wanted to have, if that was an issue for the people, they should have one beach that was the swimming beach that had the life guards and again that would be within 100 meters of the whole beach, they cannot, no life guards can protect the whole beach. In...we used to have swimming designated swimming areas between buoys and designated surfing areas. So that's only way if that is what families wanted, lifeguard protected beaches, and then it would have to be very limited. And you have got to keep the bathers and the surfers out of that zone because they don't mix.

Pro-surfer, Nick, articulates his thoughts in a solidly pragmatic approach:

That surf guard programme ... it was such a surprise to see [it] leaving and if time like now the numbers just growing and growing, there's no life guards at any of the other beaches, which is, I understand there is not enough funding for it, but on any given day Cox Bay or Chesterman can have 200 or 300 people swimming or surfing and probably 99% of those people haven't done it before, so they are not mindful of their boards, people are constantly getting hit by each other's boards, and like I said all it takes is someone gets hit in the head and they are face down for two minutes and that's it, right?

So, to have a guard programme is probably something that will be talked about as we stay a couple of years without the one at Long Beach.

Safety is also a factor on land as well as in the ocean. While nature is an important part of many surf-tourists experience, it must be recognized that human presence and domesticated animals, for example, pet dogs, can precipitate extermination of naturally present wild-life. Ben, an ex-parks employee expresses frustration:

I saw as my role as a park warden was that part of that lifestyle seems to involve for a lot of the people having dogs and part of that community of values is and it's not just surfers, it's lots of dog owners that live in and visit the area that beaches are places that are dog playgrounds essentially, so people going into the water surfing and leaving their dogs to play on the beach. But in the work that I do in the human-wildlife conflicts, most conflicts with wolves and cougars begin with dogs. And beaches are particularly important hunting corridors for wolves and cougars. So just it's been frustrating trying to make that connection for dog owners, and some of those are surfers, a significant portion that they're really putting their dogs at risk and they're really putting the wildlife at risk by just turning their dogs loose and going off surfing. It's great fun for the dogs until they're dead, until cougar takes them out or a wolf takes them out. And then we're put in a position of hunting wolves and cougars so that's the only negative I would have.

As a tragic coda to this section, two surfers lost their lives over the period of this writing. It is conjecture whether or not a surf-guard programme would have influenced the outcomes, although the deaths have re-ignited discussion around the topic (CTV, 2018)

4.2.5 New and more affordable equipment technology has brought increased access to cold-water surf and surf tourism, reducing what may have constrained the early development of surf tourism.

It is clear from the above discussion, that the growth of surf tourism in Tofino has been shaped in part by the natural setting, and by the way that the community of Tofino has embraced surfing as a healthy lifestyle. However, Tofino is a cold-water surf destination which for a time may have constrained the growth of surfing and surf tourism, compared to warm water destinations such as Hawaii or California.

In recent years, improved and more affordable wet suits, and better sizing, have helped to reduce possible constraints caused by cold-water surf conditions. The increased accessibility in particular for entry-level surfers, children, and young families, who are an important tourism segment for Tofino, is at least partly responsible for the popularity of the region as a family destination, in addition to increased interest from mainstream and weekend surfers at varying ability levels.

Nick, a professional surfer, states: “...*I couldn't wear a wetsuit warm enough to get me through the winters until I was big enough to fit, I think it's a women size four at that point, which I would have been 14 [years-old] ...*”.

And as Cindy relates from her perspective as an experienced surfer and surf business operator:

A huge difference, yeah. Absolutely instrumental in opening it up and making it more accessible to people. Even when I first started it was hard for me to find a woman's wet suit...I usually ended up in a men's suit because you couldn't get a woman's suit that was high quality that was very warm. There were lots of, kind of, lower quality suits or lower warmth suits that were being imported from California but it just wasn't applicable to

our surf conditions here and then just as the wetsuits have improved over the years, so allowing for more flexibility and a lower price point for people, it's just really opened it up a lot. And you know now you can get kid suits like toddler sizes in wet suits which was unimaginable 15 years ago.

Cindy reinforces the accessibility (in terms of affordability) theme and the role of improved equipment technology.

Totally, yeah. I mean before kids would have to wait until they are basically a young adult in order to surf, in the white-wash, but it would be freezing after 10 or 15 minutes but yeah it's really made the sport accessible for families that made it really, like, family-friendly

Cindy posits a tenable connection between early access to equipment and the early development of surfers:

Wetsuits are in general, I feel like have become more accessible, they've gone down in price. You can get a cheap summer suit here. You can take kids out and play or you can get a 'hand me down' kind of thing. I think that is really positive.

In addition to improvements and benefits of wetsuit technology, local surfer, Andrew, describes how improvements to surf board have addressed the specifics of surfing in Tofino:

"...[mainstream] surf board companies...and their equipment don't resonate with [the] reality of the wave here, they don't function properly in our environment and a lot of surf boards you find in the shops here work well a dozen days of the year and fail the others; there are few local shapers who understand what the conditions are and what the reality is...they make products that resonate with the place better, they understand what that culture is I think a little bit better ...

However, Jim, a surf shop owner, disagrees somewhat about the impact of better, more affordable equipment, arguing that the more important factors are the natural beauty of the area, and the feel of living in the community.

I don't think it would have been much different except the equipment's got a lot better, especially in the wet suits, wet suit technology over the last every year it just gets better and better and nobody should complain about being cold. In the seventies, I mean, the only wet suits you could find was a dive suit that had no flexibility to it. It might have kept you warm but, you know boots and gloves weren't really flexible or even warm as long as you could get some coverage. But you have got some spots in Tofino or Wickanninnish Beach for instance, and I think when you sit in the water, whether you sit in the water in 1970 or 2015, the view is exactly the same and that was what I was saying about earlier the beauty of the place.

Jeannie echoes Jim's thoughts on surf equipment improvements and how the 'gear' may displace the intrinsic and fundamental 'shape' of the surf experience from being more concerned with technology than the excitement of surfing.

[Old-timers] ...this is how you used to be, nostalgia, "We made our own boards, they were wooden, they were this, it wasn't like, you know, there weren't 100 different shapes that surfer boards back then, you just got out, you just got out there". It was much less technical, and much more not about the wetsuit, not about the exact board you had. It was about getting out in the water and the thrill of learning how to surf and then just being out there, because these people that you speak to you did that back in those days when they moved here, you know, for the same reasons people move here today. I think that but it is to be part of a small community and to live in this beautiful place.

This discussion suggests that access to surfing has increased due to improvements in the design and price of wet suits and boards, although some argue that other factors, such as natural beauty and relaxed atmosphere of Tofino, may be more important. However, it is clear that new market segments have emerged, in part because of this improved technology. This is discussed in the next theme.

4.2.6 Considerable increases in the supply and demand for surfing in Tofino have occurred, tempered by the increased number of surfing competitions and other new tourism segments that exist in the community.

An indication of how far Tofino surf industry has developed since the 1970s can be gauged by the supply of retail outlets, surf schools, surf guides, board shapers and surf equipment rental businesses since the early challenges of locating surf related goods and services. Early Tofino surfers could be characterized as young, single surf transients, but this has changed. Emerging markets identified by respondents include: novice surfers, women, children, families, affluent middle-class families, and professional surfers.

Surf competitions have emerged in Tofino in recent years, indicating a new market segment for surf tourism in Tofino, and also representing an aspect of specialization that reflects the presence of more expert surfers. Tyler notes a direct link between the community building their surf industry and surf contests.

I think contests are probably the best thing for a community to really get a foothold with the surf industry. I guess, it just kind of builds lots of hype around the industry and then also it pushes the level of surfing in the area too, for mostly [those] that live here year around, and it pushes their level because they see Pete (DeVries) and Raf (Bruwhiler)

and Sep (Bruwhiler) and all these guys that have pretty much been the face of the Canadian surf industry for their whole life.

One business specializing in products and services for female surfers was instrumental in organizing and promoting a female-only contest, an important aspect of building a female presence and developing physical skills in the sport. Kylie, a surf shop owner, recalls:

We created a women's contest because in contesting, historically, we had always been sidelined. It was like, yeah, it's a men's contest. Why aren't women [competing], they do their thing over here? Our prize money is half that – less than half the men's. So, if men got 5,000 dollars, we got 1,000 dollars. So, we just started our own surf contest and with the support of, like, the local men in town, because they were upset by it too, seeing that the women were not being treated the same. And since then it's really [increased] the level of contests in general as well as being respectful to the legitimacy of women, top women athletes out here. Yeah.

Surf-shop manager Tyler supports the increase in women surfers and wryly compare their ability to men, and also to participation in a women-only surf competition.

...now you'll see just as many girls surfers in the waters over guys, which is actually probably the best thing for surfing because girl surfers have been looked down upon or frowned upon, just because it's like being the male; dominant guy, "you got to be the man", ... a little bit less confrontational, girls are, compared to guys and so it's a little bit of an intimidating sport for them, but out here you see ... the amount of girls surfing. and there are guys, and in fact, three quarters of those girls or half of those girls are surfing better than half the guys out here, so it's like kind of funny. And just talking with the girls out here, and over the years, it's like that's their [surf tourism] biggest driver

here and there are so many ...a good group of them that support each other and, sure, having this contest 'Queen of the Peak' in October, that's huge. It's so strictly a girl's contest, which I don't think there is any strictly girls contest in the world.

At the other end of the spectrum, low-key non-professional contests have also provided a platform for children's surfing and is instrumental in enhancing skill levels for youth. Chelsea, a long-time resident, surfer and surf-school owner, explains:

I have started running, like, a board-riders club, so once a month we do a little contest and, and that's just really to keep, yeah to keep the kids inspired...people like a reason to continue to be passionate and continue to try and improve their skills and it's super fun and super casual and it doesn't cost anything, yeah, it's just been, it's been really awesome.

Chelsea relates how low-key competition can also involve local business and government that produces a symbiotic relationship between the young surfer segment and the community at large:

And where I've had more experience with the local government is through like I run a couple of events of the year the one is a big paddle board surf event, one is a big kid surf contest and then we run a paddle board race as well, so they're really supportive. They [government] have a really awesome program in place for people who want to hold events and they're very supportive and they help you out in their grants and they have equipment you can use and they doesn't cost anything and they have coaching sessions and they put on free workshops and it's, but that's very new, but they really like stepped up to the plate and like "Hey, you guys are bringing so much business to the community,

how can we help you make this even better and have more people come to it?" Yeah, I think they're doing a really nice job.

Surfing attracts a market segment that may want to 'play the part' by assuming the language and fashion of a perceived surf lifestyle but does not actually surf or minimally so. It's likely the surf "poser" is not a positive addition to surf tourism, however their presence does provide business opportunities for the community. Steve explains:

... They [surf posers] really don't affect me, so they really shouldn't bother me. But there are times where it does actually become bothersome to participating in this sport. You know parking lots will be full; stores will be sold out of incredible equipment just because everyone is buying it. And it's all sitting at home and breaks on days where it's not super difficult to paddle it back. Those days are full of those poser surfers just sitting around on the break clogging it up but not actually surfing it which makes it difficult for people who are trying to surf because you end up getting close to collisions or people are in the way or you get in their way. It, yeah, a busy break is a nightmare.

Tofino is also experiencing an influx of relatively affluent family sector that includes surfing in their overall vacation experience, but Jim cautions of the dangers of not being competitive with other destinations:

But yeah, they have to be competitive and it's not just price, it's service and everything else that makes, because the surfers aren't just this 18 to 24 demographic, I mean the surfers that are spending money are probably the families where you have got the Dad who is in his late forties or fifties surfing with the kids that are in their teens and so they take families going out there, you know, husband, wife, and two kids and the dog. If they're getting a really good holiday experience where they are finding the prices

reasonable and the service is good, then they will go. But they might go once and if they are not getting that, their next vacation will be somewhere else.

Tofino also attracts an affluent market sector that has the financial, technological and time resources to travel to the region as and when surf conditions change, particularly during the winter tropical storm season that generates challenging surf conditions. This sector provides economic opportunities for Tofino as the influx of visitors helps fill the shoulder season, but also brings safety challenges. Ben, an ex-national parks worker observes that technology in the form of social media is also a significant aspect of surf-tourism:

And when you're surfing outside in those fall and winter and spring conditions that's much more hazardous conditions and actually seen where people with social media are tracking tropical storms and the swell it generates for a week on the internet, and then they're hopping in their cars from Abbotsford and hitting the ferry and arriving with the swell and going out in huge storm surf and you have dozens of people out and really conditions where there's no room for mistakes.

The evolution of surf tourism in Tofino can be attributed in part to the development of these new market segments. This development is also linked to innovations in technology, pricing, and sizing of equipment, as noted in the previous section, but also to more sophisticated marketing of these market niches. Success in attracting these new market segments can be attributed in part to improved access to the region, mainly through road improvements, but also through improved air access. While this growth in surf tourism in Tofino has been notable, safety concerns have also been discussed. Other factors may be constraining the growth of surf tourism, as outlined in the next theme.

4.2.7 Limits to surf tourism growth are evident regarding facility and physical carrying capacity.

As outlined above, surf tourism in Tofino has grown substantially since the 1970's, and has diversified into new market areas, such as children, families, and professional surfers. The growth of surf tourism is paralleled by the growth of general tourism in Tofino, and this growth is beginning to exhibit signs of stress that may limit future growth. Access to Tofino is still limited to a primarily two-lane highway and by limited air service to Tofino Airport, which may be expanded in the future.

One consequence of this growth is the shortage of accommodation for surf tourists, for other tourists, and for people working in the tourism industry. This shortage of accommodation is exacerbated by the flow into Tofino of people seeking to relocate on a permanent basis, motivated to live in a desirable community (amenity migrants) where surfing and other leisure amenities are readily available. A proposed mixed-use housing and hotel complex was recently vetoed by the District limiting future development that may have simultaneously compounded crowding and helped resolved accommodation shortages.

Chelsea, a surf shop owner, posits her experience as an amenity migrant and how surfing, family and 'place' are her priorities:

You know it's really, it's actually really interesting because I grew up...I just want to surf, I actually went to nursing school for three years, and I was, like, I just can't work in a hospital and then I started a family and I moved to Mexico with my husband and he is from Canada as well, but he is a sports fishing guide. So my kids grew up down there, and then we moved back and I was just, like, it's basically just surfing and helping him run the business and stuff. And I just, I never imagined that just because I like something

and I just kept doing it that I could actually make a career out of it, and it's pretty awesome. That's pretty awesome to look back and think, I just lived my life as a surf bum and, yeah, I'm lucky to be able to just take that knowledge and turn it into something and no one is getting rich but I'm feeding my children and myself and I have an awesome job, you know. It's fun.

Ben, a former Parks Canada employee, considers the role of tourism in Tofino and similar growth challenges (e.g. housing) in other destinations:

I don't know if it's so specific to surfing. I think that the community is definitely facing challenges as a tourism-based community, that and that's part of it. But I think they're facing similar challenges to places like Whistler and other destination tourism-based economies, that there are serious problems with accommodation.

A diametrically opposed perspective advanced by a young professional surfer, Nick, represents an entrepreneurial trajectory as he shares his thoughts and acknowledges that business growth is going to be an integral part of the 'picture':

Well, I think probably now, everyone's, their eyes are just more open to the possibilities to surfing always being kind of a fringe sport, maybe never really got viewed as a way that they could actually make this kind of money because of a little pastime like surfing. I think now everyone's like "Wow" we really have a real opportunity to open businesses that's tailored around people that come in here to go surfing.

When asked if Airbnb impacts worker-housing availability, Cedric, a business manager in Tofino, posited the dilemma posed for municipal jurisdictions:

Yeah, that [Airbnb] definitely is going to be a factor. I know that both towns [Tofino and Ucluelet] are constantly struggling with legislation on regulating vacation rentals and

B&Bs. There has been a lot of controversy over that in both towns, so I think that will play a large part as well. Who is following the rules? Who is not? How far do you push it? I know that Airbnb, it's a good thing in some ways, but it certainly can lead to some surprises in other ways. I had known some people that had some pretty negative experiences on Airbnb. I don't know if it will be a massive factor, but I think most people that can or have room to rent places out, especially in the summer, do it because the money is hard to ignore.

Steve shares his experience as a seasonal worker and his personal challenges securing accommodation:

What I have been noticing is because of all the tourism, what has happened is people who have been renting houses to the locals decide that they can make more money renting their houses, a vacation rental as opposed to just renting to someone to live [long-term]. And so, all of these homes that used to be accommodating locals have now turned into vacation rentals.

And it's become a housing crisis in Tofino. There is nowhere for anyone to live—myself included. I experienced the impacts of this when I went to move out there at least just three years ago I found it was pretty easy to live and two years ago as well, found somewhere to live. But this past year there was nothing. There was nowhere to rent and the only reason I was able to live out there was because of the accommodation the business I was working for provides accommodation for their employees.

If I had not worked there, I would not be living in Tofino. And it has been a problem to the point where there is now a shortage of workers in Tofino because there are no more locals to work the jobs because everyone changed their houses into vacation rentals.

Nick describes how the town is constrained by some of the consequences of tourism growth and physical and infrastructure carrying capacity limitations:

Yeah, it's hard to say as far as the town goes and the size of the town I think we are pretty limited by park boundaries. Like the town can only grow so much and then, there's only so much space for X amount of people who are coming, and I don't really see that number slowing down, if anything I see that number continually going up so, housing is already, I know, is becoming an issue, like restaurants and hotels. All those people need staff, but where are the staff going to live? There's staff housing provided, but that's not enough and then, yeah, that's probably the primary issue.

There's so many transients here that are camping in the woods and those people are also pooping in the woods and everything kind of gets a little messy and disgusting and whatever, and there's theft and there's, other issues like that, but yeah, those are all things that everywhere else you go in the world there's people [that] are homeless. And I guess they are facing similar issues. I think the district's probably doing their best to figure out ways of combating that, you know.

Ben expresses his concern for future growth succinctly and reflects concerns residents frequently express regarding the communities' future 'vision'.

So, I think the local politicians and visionaries; there's going to be that ongoing tension to try to determine what is sustainable and what do we want to be? Do we want to control our vision for the community or do we want to let the forces of 'whatever' determine it for us?

Not only is the supply of accommodation an issue, but also the price is an issue, particularly when compared to the price of visiting other surf tourism destinations. Cedric

suggests that infrastructure provided by The District and Parks Canada has not kept pace with surf-tourism's popularity:

I would say it really causes problems again... parking at certain beaches you can't even get a parking spot once peak season is on. I think it could create a bit frustration on behalf of the locals, for sure, as well as probably even the people that are coming and paying top dollars, they're out here and then it's hard to get a parking spot.

And...

I think it's going to the point where the infrastructure for it [surfing] has been outstripped by the popularity, so they haven't been able to keep up having parking stalls or not [keeping up] the washrooms or a lot of those things.

Dale, a business owner, adds:

I think that they [Tofino] are close to pricing themselves out of the market, but they are still, but they are still [there], it's such a beautiful place and it is such a strong market, and you can see that with the amount of people that go there every single year that they are still strong. But now they are close [to pricing themselves out of the market]. And I think it's because, you know, it's a seasonal thing, so they try to make as much as they can, they try to take it all in summer when all the tourists come, which is understandable, it's business right? And the people eat it up. But it's close; it's you know, for myself it sits very close to where I am. I have to figure out some of the things if I want to enjoy it as much as I do, right?

One strategy for growing tourism and surf tourism has been to expand into a four-season destination. Jim, a surf shop owner, responds:

It [four-season] would be nice and I think that off-season period is getting better for them, but I think that pricing and the accommodation, and restaurant pricing is crazy. I have customers and friends that go, that will go to Mexico for a week to an all-inclusive and surf, rather than go to Tofino for a long weekend because it is cheaper for them to hop on a plane and go south than get on a ferry, go to Tofino, pay for the accommodation, go out for food and other stuff, [which is] way more expensive doing that than going even to Hawaii on an all-inclusive package.

Jim continues the discussion and interweaves doubt into his thoughts that Tofino can be competitive with other destinations such as one of North America's premier alpine developments, Whistler Blackcomb Ski Resort, British Columbia, Canada, based on cost and service quality:

So 'till they can - until Tofino can stop thinking that they are what they are not, they're not Whistler, you cannot charge Whistler prices; the other thing is the level of service. There [Tofino] you go into a restaurant; you're being served by really temporary staff and I think any business can do better when you've got better staff.

So it's not like you are getting this world class experience there, you are just getting by and you are paying a premium and there is lot of other places to go in the world and even in North America where you can get the whole package and not to have to wear a wetsuit.

Because I have seen it happen, and in this peak in the last few years, you know, all of a sudden they think, you know, you pay \$300 a night for a hotel, it is crazy. I mean, we were just in San Clemente [California] at a nice Best Western [Hotel] this last summer

and I had a walk down to San Clemente pier and walked to restaurants and we're paying \$79 a night.

Clearly, accommodation is a significant growth issue, apparent to surf tourists, other tourists, and people working in the tourism industry. However, other growth-related issues are apparent, including parking, washrooms, change rooms, the supply of potable water, and the possible saturation of surf related businesses. The preceding excerpts underscore the concern of many residents that growth is causing 'tension' to the community that also reflects similar challenges in other destinations, albeit as an adjunct to business and entrepreneurial development.

The issues relate to the level of infrastructure needed to support current levels of tourism, including surf tourism. Sometimes referred to as physical carrying capacity, the level of infrastructure is a reflection of demand, but also is influenced by the vision of the community. While some residents see opportunity to grow the tourism further by expanding tourism related infrastructure (accommodation, access, amenities); others are concerned about how additional growth may alter the feel of the community, and compromise the natural values of the region. The key question is to what extent will the community allow market forces to drive their future or, as Ben inferred, should the community shape the "vision"?

4.2.8 As a result of the considerable growth of surfing in Tofino, recreational crowding, and conflict are in evidence, as are coping mechanisms.

Infrastructure issues discussed above can place limits on the growth and viability of surf tourism in Tofino. Other possible limitations to surf tourism relate more to the changing social dimension of surf tourism, such as crowding.

Crowding is apparent in the town, on the beach, and in the water. Jeannie, a district official, notes that the quality of the surf tourism experience is eroding as crowding increases:

...surfing is very popular; so it is bringing more people to the beaches and more people to the water and so we are beginning, I am beginning to, and I hear a few more comments... ” You know, it is too busy”. Is it too many people? I think because Tofino has a fairly remote location in cold water surf location people come here because they say” “Oh I can get away from it all, I can get out there... I am going to be able to do what I want” *but then you get out there and there are 40 newbies taking a lesson and that is kind of not what you thought you were coming for—you know, it kind of destroys the experience that you maybe thought you are coming for.*

Surf tourism crowding also reflects in the town ‘experience’ and is a factor in the delicate balancing act of “how much is too much” exemplified by the increasing popularity and also increased demand for surf competitions. Jeannie, a district official, is cognizant of the implications of attracting increasing numbers of tourists to the town:

...but there are more and more surf competitions that want to come and that puts more pressure on parking lots and roads in the beaches, and the cleanup and I think we are, so far, doing a good job with managing that, but it does make me think, like, “How much is too much?” When do we know we are saturated... when does surfing become...is it possible that surfing could become such a ‘thing’ that it impacts other people’s experiences and they say “You know, Tofino is not so great anymore. I can’t get a parking spot. I have just lined up for 40 minutes to get a fish Taco, it is expensive”, you know, I worry about that.

Cindy describes how she copes with crowding by taking the expedient step of simply avoiding a spot that she knows is going to be crowded (a ‘coping’ strategy). She also hints that social carrying capacity may play a role in beach crowding:

Like I said I just, I don't hang out in the places that I know that are going to be like on a long weekend, I wouldn't necessarily go to Long Beach and go to parking lot A, whatever it's called, The Rock, whatever you want to call it. Just because I know, it is going to be packed, I know it is probably going to be like that and I'm generalizing, but probably be the sort of 20-somethings crowd and I was involved in it, when I was young...I most likely would in the summer months, say, Long Beach south, I guess it is [the scene]. I would stay away from that area, because it is too busy and hot.

Some surfers avoid the crowded summer conditions by focussing their surfing in the winter months (spatial displacement), when fewer novices are surfing, and when more challenging surf waves are present. Some surfers are exploring other less used surfing beaches in Clayoquot Sound (spatial displacement). Other surfers, such as Jim are able to focus on the surf experience, not the social scene, suggesting a form of coping referred to as ‘product shift’:

No, there is nothing I'd say I don't like, but I do like to do try to keep out of the scene. I don't, even though I own a surf shop I feel I have enough exposure to the scene in the shop, but when I go to the beach and I've done that drive in the morning. And I'm normally a morning person, I leave here at six in the morning. I try to get to the beach and in the water by 8 'o clock: my purpose is to go surf. I don't want to stand and drink coffee, I mean it's not that I don't want to, but I prefer not to stand and bullshit and drink coffee and stand around for another two hours. I just want to go surf, so yeah and the scene, I mean the summertime the scene gets a little – because there is a lot of influx of

younger people that don't live there, you know—it can get a little 'different', but again personally I am in there in the morning, surf for two, two-and-a-half, three hours have a cup of coffee, a sandwich and I back drive home.

The notion of in-group conflict or discord may occur between surfers that disrupts the 'flow' of 'surf experience' is described by Chelsea, a life-long Tofino resident of Tofino and surf-school operator:

Yeah, it's just a really, really like they're just very hungry because people, once they discover surfing, they love it ... it's a very selfish sport. It is all about you catching the wave and your experience out there, so, but it can't really be like that when there is other people you know it can and it can't, but it can be done right and so, yeah, sometimes just kind of that [selfish sport]. But when there's a good group of people out there and everybody understands then it's a totally different experience, and you just have to throw one ninja into the mix and nothing works anymore in sort of a nice flow.

Cedric reflects on the peak-season crowding and challenges for local surfers:

I think really the main thing about having many people in the water is that you could only have one person on a wave at a given time; that's kind of the etiquette of it.

If there's a 100 people in the water, it's going to make it a little bit more competitive, and it's also going to make it a little bit more dangerous in terms of just collisions or people getting hit by a board or what-have-you.

Andrew, a Parks Canada employee, suggests that the nature of Tofino surf breaks are not reliant on fixed point or reef breaks and surfers can cope by moving according to the conditions of a beach break and is a factor in reducing crowding stresses, including conflict:

...[So] people aren't necessarily lined up it's not a conventional [point break] line-up which helps to spread people – takes the demand of the specific surf break or peak, that helps with kind of [crowding, localism] issue, if we could also bring down people's temperature a little bit, if they are not fighting, they are all fighting over the one break. I mean, if Tofino had one point break and everyone who came here it would be a mad house. It would be terrible... so people just kind of wade in to the water and work their way through and surf [the beach break] without being smashed on rocks or reef or what not.

Jim reinforces the notion that surfers can cope with crowding by moving to another location that is not dependent on a single, fixed break (a form of spatial displacement):

And again, it's so much space, if you're not happy with...your surfing. Even Cox Bay which is one of the smallest places there is – we don't have these reef breaks that are so limiting- you know you don't have to surf there. Cox Bay on any day has got four – five peaks. So if you're not happy with this one, just paddle up and just surf somewhere else. Nobody is forcing you to be in that situation and if you're not happy there move somewhere else. It's pretty easy.

Jeannie draws parallels between surfing and whale-watching in Tofino, indicating by inference that whale-watching is in decline, and surf tourism may experience the same pattern.

I think that whale-watching sector has some lesson that could - we could learn from because it's been established for much longer and it's kind of gone through that curve. I think it's gone to that point to where within the whale-watching sector, for example, if there is too many boats around whales, well, if that is no good for anybody. Again, it sort of destroys their experience so that, you know, there is sort of natural saturation of the number of businesses that can be accommodated and probably it is the same with surf

schools and surfing, and I don't know that is why it gets pushed, pushed and pushed without the municipality and the business leadership within town and everybody saying you know; "Maybe we are done". And not done as in 'over' but done as in: "We don't need to see any more growth".

Jeannie's thoughts are echoed and reinforced by Chelsea, a life-long resident and surf business owner, and underscores concerns within parts of the business community that saturation is imminent, again echoing the 'decline' stage of the whale-watching sector and that licensing controls should be implemented at The District level. When asked what she would do if she were 'The Boss of the Beach', Chelsea responded:

I might start to limit the amount of surf schools that are, like I find Tofino, I don't know what the rules there are on this, but I know everywhere in the world, they only give out X amount of business licenses for X amount of businesses, it's especially [important] given a given size of a town, I find that even though it's a really great business to have, everyone is struggling because there's too much competition, but everyone gets a piece of the pie but it's almost too small.

This growth is reflected in an underlying thread from respondents is that regional beaches are often overcrowded during the peak summer months in large part because of the volume of surf school novices present on the beach and in the water. Jeannie expresses her perspective that Tofino is a 'community first, an attraction second' and her observation that surf schools bring a new market and potential conflict to the beaches:

I do think it is time to sit down and have some conversations about managing parking for example how we know that that is in short supply and the surf schools are bringing a lot of people in to the beaches and one of the popular beaches is in a residential community

that creates conflict and we need to make sure everyone is aware of that and sensitive to it and that we try to manage it.

Kylie reflects:

Then there are a few surfers who don't, obviously aren't excited to share their waves; they would rather just be them out there alone. So they're not exactly welcoming with open arms to new surfers. I mean, I guess competition between the two sectors. A family comes up here and they're going to have a finite amount of dollars, so they can spend them whale-watching or they can be surfing. I could definitely see that there would be a bit of crossover. Other tourism sectors being upset just with the competition because it's something that is so exclusive to this area that we really have that going for us, but that would be about it.

Bill relates his personal experience with surf related conflict:

You know, the last point of conflict I had was absolutely decades ago. And it had to do with access to Cox Bay and it was it restricted to a private operator who ran a resort. And had tires slashed and windows broken on the car. But because of access to the beach, that person was resentful. The owner, that operator was resentful of people accessing the beach through their property. And, other than that I never experienced that whole 'locals only' conflict piece.

Pro-surfer Nick connects surf tourism development and crowding (and to his own career), as a “double-edged sword” that is not likely to abate as surfing continues to increase in popularity and more surfers specialize at higher ability levels:

...it's just so much busier, but that said, that's allowed me to go surfing for a living and it's allowed all these people to open businesses and it's always going to be a double-

edged sword. Like people want their waves and they want their privacy and stuff, but that's just not the way that it works, it's got to be both, so it can get frustrating especially in the summer there's people everywhere and you just want to go for a surf without 100 guys in the way, but that's part of the deal so it's like you may as well embrace it because it's not going anywhere.

Nick provides clarity on the reality of living in a town that does not have the physical capacity for the volume of visitors in the peak season and how it might affect residents that are not directly related to surfing:

...those sessions that [we] used to get by ourselves or with a couple of friends those probably aren't going to happen as much anymore and [if] you're driving through town in August [it] is a nightmare. It's a bit busier and my mom always complains about the Co-op [store] having no food in it, which is a pretty annoying, I know it's in the summer too, but I guess if you're working in an industry that doesn't revolve around tourism, it can get frustrating, you're not really not gaining out of it and you have to put up with the couple of cons that do come out of having a town that's designed for 2000, but [has] housing for 20.

Most every type of tourism has a social carrying capacity dimension, and tourists will describe how the tourism experience is enhanced by positive engagements with other travellers or local residents, or the experience is undermined with negative interactions. This would appear to be the case with surf tourists in Tofino as well. However, a variety of coping strategies were described by respondents that helped reduce the negative social interactions that can occur. These coping strategies include seeking different beaches to surf (spatial displacement), or surfing during the less busy winter months (temporal displacement). To a certain extent,

crowding and inappropriate surf etiquette is reduced by information provided by the surf shops, described earlier as the hub of the surf scene in Tofino. Further, Tofino is somewhat unique in that the surf waves are influenced by bottom topography, rather than by a fixed reef. This creates conditions for a constantly changing location of surfable waves, and reduces the focus on a specific reef break, such as found in Jordon River and other surf destinations.

4.2.9 ‘Localism’ exists in Tofino, but perhaps less so than in other destinations which have a fixed beach break.

Localism in surf tourism destinations is documented in the academic literature and media outlets, and seems to exist in Tofino, albeit in a minimal form when compared to other destinations. Localism in the context of surfing can be seen as closely related to notions of crowding and social carrying capacity outlined earlier, in that localism refers to the conflict that occurs between a local surfer, and a visiting surf tourist, competing for the same wave (an in-group form of conflict). In Tofino, localism appears to be reduced because of the abundance of surf waves, and the effect of beach breaks that are constantly changing. The phenomena of the beach break is often contrasted with reef breaks that are fixed in one location, leading to competition, conflict and crowding for the surfable wave. A reef break is found in the nearby surf scene at Jordon River (near Victoria), where more frequent reports of localism were mentioned by surfers in Tofino.

The following account by Tyler echoes other surfers’ perspectives of the neutralizing effect of beach breaks compared to point breaks:

I’ve personally never seen - at least out here I’ve never seen someone get physical, I’ve heard stories of people getting physical especially down there towards Victoria...which [causes] localism a little bit more. Of course, that [Jordan River] is a point break, so it

breaks into certain spots all the time, which makes it a little tricky for people to surf because everyone's trying to sit in that one... and you got beginners, pros, intermediates. You get all different types of surfers and then that thing's got kind of crazy. [I] can understand why the localism is a little bit more intense down there, than it is up here, because up here its breach breaks, so there is different sand banks and points everywhere, so you can just kind of surf the whole beach...

The mediating effect of beach-breaks is reinforced by Chelsea who compares Tofino with Hawaii:

I think that there is definitely a little bit of that [localism], that goes on for sure, when the waves get really good, but for the majority of the time... it's easy to share the waves here because it's all beach breaks, it's peaks you know. So, that makes it, like it's kind of nice in that sense, you don't have to go to Hawaii and [where] the waves are breaking in the exact same spot all of the time, that [competition] becomes a little more fierce. Here there's space to move away and yeah, that's kind of room for everybody so it's kind of nice like that.

However, from a competitive surfer, Jim's perspective of the shifting nature of the break is also "...like a lottery...".

Over here [Tofino] it's a beach, primarily beach break that we're surfing. So, it kind of gives [an] opportunity; it's like a lottery a lot of the times. You can kind of position yourself [in] what you think would be the best spot, but with the sand bottom constantly shifting the waves or constantly breaking in different ways; so everybody kind of has a fighting chance.

Similarly, Jim reinforces the notion that it is not difficult to move to a different location because beach breaks in the Tofino region help mitigate localism situations that can occur in the relatively localised constraints of a reef break.

You know, you hear [localism] stories; I've never had it happen to me. And again, it's so much space, if you're not happy with...you're surfing, even Cox Bay which is one of the smallest places there is – we don't have these reef breaks...you know you don't have to surf there. Cox Bay on any day has got four – five peaks. So, if you're not happy with this one, just paddle up and just surf somewhere else. Nobody is forcing you to be in that situation and if you're not happy there, move somewhere else. It's pretty easy.

Andrew counters the notion that it is not necessarily local surfers that instigate conflict, noting that in his experience it is often “weekend-boarders” that harbour a sense of entitlement:

Now I have been 'being a local', you can get inundated by certain weekend-boarders who don't know who is in the water with them, don't know their story, or why they are there, I don't say that there is sense of entitlement by any of the local surfers, I don't think that resonates in the water but rather people who project a sense of entitlement show up and people who return here in summers, for their vacation or for their work whatever, there can bring a sense of entitlement that's not really appropriate for the place, given how many people are there.

The presence of women surfers would also appear to ‘calm the waters’ and exert a moderating influence in an arena that is still dominated by men. Kylie explains:

I mean, I've definitely seen it myself. I've gotten upset. Like I've definitely had my bad moments and seen women be pretty vulnerable to other women, but it is something you usually find generally speaking more with males. Yeah, often when there are girls in the

water it relaxes the vibe of the surf a little bit, makes it a bit more social, and yeah, I definitely feel like having women in a line does relax the line a little bit.

Kylie notes that the Tofino attitude differs from Jordan River on South Vancouver Island and as described previously in this section relies on a point break rather than a beach break perhaps contributing to a higher level of localism leading to aggression:

Yeah, I'm not thinking of anything else. Like, yeah, as long as I'm not carrying it [aggression] forward to, you know, like a lot of the reason why the South Island is, the vibe is so different as the original people that kind of started surfing down there... had this attitude. And so, then it was passed on to the next people that started surfing there, like, "This is our spot. This is what we do." And it was a very serious competitive vibe out there. But I think that one of the best things we can do is just take it forward like understanding that surfing doesn't have to be this aggressive, crazy thing. It can be just be fun and silly and light and people can take turns and still have a good time. So, we can ensure that the next generation knows that, yeah.

Conflict in the form of localism can undermine the surf tourism industry but does not seem to be as significant a constraint in Tofino compared to crowding issues and infrastructure issues described in previous sections. Localism in Tofino is reduced somewhat by the prevalence of beach breaks compared to reef breaks, as found in Jordan River near Victoria. Localism may also be reduced by the more relaxed surf scene described for Tofino, the increasing number of women surfers and by the option for locals to surf in the shoulder seasons, when tourism diminishes and when waves are usually less crowded.

4.2.10 Surf tourism has the potential for positive and negative impacts on First Nations communities in the region.

First Nations people form a significant component of the demographic in Tofino, and also within the tourism industry. Many visitors to the area seek a cultural component to their experience, and the emergence of First Nations tourism in recent years illustrates how this demand is being met in shops, tours and galleries. First Nations involvement in surf tourism is limited at present to one business, but the potential for growth was mentioned by several respondents. Surfing was originally created by Hawaiian royalty, so it was inherently an indigenous, cultural activity from the beginning, although not present within First Nations cultures in Canada, until recently.

Jeannie posits that from her perspective surfing and surf tourism has not played a major role in First Nations culture, although there is an important presence, albeit relatively small currently, and the potential for First Nations managed surf tourism operations is evident:

From my perspective surfing doesn't seemed to be a big [thing] you know there. I know, I definitely know, some First Nation people who are avid surfers. Tyson from Ucluelet First Nation for example and his wife Anita, and they are teaching their kids how to surf and ...then Charlie, she is another young woman from Ucluelet again, who is an avid surfer, and her son surfs and they get out and, but really peripheral, really peripheral. So not part of the bigger conversation that could probably situate for tourism in general, and although there is some overlapping intersection with First Nations and couple of aboriginal businesses, there is not enough, not nearly enough.

She continues and acknowledges the District of Tofino can do more to include First Nations in the tourism process at the administration support level:

I think what I see happening was just more and more interesting capacity from within the First Nation Community to understand the positive and the negative aspect of tourism and what ... the positive impacts that you can have in terms of employment and community pride and being able to celebrate culture and teach people, educate people create awareness.

There are lots of people who come to Tofino who want to know more [about First Nations culture], but their access points are limited... I think over time it will really increase and I am okay with that...what is important to me, is that we always extend the invitation to participate in that tourism marketing to understand how the municipality works in its relationship to tourism and know that there is a voice for First Nations and you want to be an active part, but at the same time I think we are not doing a good enough job always listening to them.

Bill links First Nations economic opportunities with Parks Canada's passive role in surf tourism advocacy:

I don't think they [Parks Canada] have a role in advocating for surf tourism, not part of their mandate, if you like. So, do I think they've helped? I don't think they should've helped...They could do quite a bit better job in integrating, again, I'm gonna go with the local First Nations into the economic opportunities that could occur within the park and that's an area where they could play a role, they should play a role.

Bill elaborates his thoughts about First Nations potential involvement in surf tourism, the commercialization of surfing and First Nations culture, and again links to the Parks Canada 'experience':

The other thing is Parks Canada did a study in recent years that asked tourists what they wanted as visitors to the park, and the number one thing that they got back was more cultural experiences and so the massive opportunity that I see there for surf tourism and tourism period is the combination, somehow, a First Nations experience that somehow includes surfing.

Surfing came from the indigenous people of the Polynesian Islands, right? So, at its roots, it's an indigenous activity, So I think there's an amazing potential there, I would personally would really like to see that work more. I'm really troubled by the commercialisation, of, you know, the culture by the surf community and so I'd like to see something sorted out there.

Chelsea suggests that surfing is a relatively recent activity for local First Nations in counterpoint to Bill's comments

Yeah, I'd say that the one that stands out the most is the First Nations communities definitely not something that would have ever crossed their minds and they have a little surf school over by the junction there [Wya Point], and yeah, it's just, it's cool. They, we have lots of groups of kids from the different bands. They come and do paddle boarding and surfing and it's, that's neat.

Cedric echoes Chelsea's thoughts on the recent presence of First Nations youth in the water and offers insight why this seems to be a relatively recent phenomenon and relates some of the social and educational considerations of First Nations culture to surfing and surf tourism:

I think they are doing fairly well with it [surf tourism], in terms of their economic base You know they have got the Wya resort and a bunch of other stuff, but that will probably be the best of all their businesses.

I see hardly any youth out there– it's not because the water wasn't a huge part of the culture, living off the water, basically living, you know with the ocean. Wave-riding, because [they] didn't have wetsuits, so this is a fairly recent thing, a last couple of generations thing and there were some guys... I used to surf with them, that were, they were the First Nation guys, I don't see them out there hardly at all and again I just I don't see any kids out there; very few.

I used to visit them at Long Beach, their housing being right on the beach, you would think that there would be kids in the water all the time...it is not a part of their culture yet and it may change, but I think part of that is, their own programs and their own funding [that] they have access to, how they allocate that and also it is up to the public school system to a degree as well to put together program to get these kids out there, and teach them water safety and give them a positive experience and bring on the role. What they need is as much positive re-enforcement as they can, and it would be nice to see more of that out there.

While most respondents saw mainly positive impacts associated with surf tourism and First Nations, some expressed concerns that may emerge. For example, Jeannie relates how surf tourism might affect more remote regions in Clayoquot Sound, when surfing occurs on traditional First nations territories:

So, if you are from Ahousat and you are seeing all that [tourism] stuff happening in Tofino and you will feel like the community is not benefiting us, however you get the feeling... when things get too full in Tofino? What happens is it pushes out into Clayoquot Sound? So, more people are going up to Vargas Island, which is kind of hardcore traditional territory and something that happens. Well, it's not good.

Respondents generally reflected that First Nations could benefit from surf tourism, but also expressed concern that First Nation territories could be negatively impacted as surf tourism is expected to continue to grow and surfers encroach ‘further out’ in order to ‘chase the wave.’ There is a substantial opportunity for First Nations to add a cultural component to surf tourism, but this opportunity needs to be tempered by the possibility of commodification of First Nations culture, as reported in the tourism literature in other tourism destinations. Also, there is a related concern that other tourism operators in the Tofino area may choose to incorporate aspects of First Nations culture into their product, a phenomenon known as cultural appropriation.

4.2.11 Local Government Plays An Important Role.



Figure 4. Promotional Material: Tourism Tofino



Figure 5. Promotional Material: Tourism Tofino

Local government plays an important role in Tofino’s tourism development in general and is supportive of surf tourism as a significant tourism driver. As a resident, Andrea, notes that

infrastructure improvements are not exclusively focussed on surfers, but all recreational beach users.

Yeah, I mean, I think maybe with the amenities and that the access thing, that's the only thing I can really think of they have put in showers recently at North Chesterman and washrooms but – so the showers I suppose benefit surfers, but they benefit anybody who's using the beach, not necessarily surfers.

Andrea also brings into sharp focus that The District has followed the growth of surf tourism rather than led the process:

...[A]nd definitely surfing culture and surfing industries; always now recognized as a 'thing', which I don't think maybe 10 years ago would have been, like it's just recognized yeah, this is the thing, this is part of our community. So that I think it's...they've supported and allowed contests, and so that means beach access and by-law things...or licensing or something.

So, I think they haven't like said, "No, we're not going to do that because it's kind of crazy people on the beach making noise". They've been really supportive that none of this is part of our thing, so I think that's, so I can't think that they haven't been supportive, but I don't know that they've been proactive necessarily[either].

The administrative boundaries between local government roles and Parks Canada roles blur when the surf community and the local community engage in common interests and activities:

Recently, more recently, they've [The District] been supportive of surf competitions so that whole phenomenon is relatively recent and it's been sort of a mixed experience for the local governments, but they enter the National Park, initially the National Park didn't

permit surf competitions, and I think this past winter this past December, was the first time they actually collaborated and allowed a surf competition.

But the communities, there has been at first and then they eventually began collaborating with locals who coordinated local events and so now that's a whole new phenomenon for the local youth. They actually have something to aspire to but I'm, and I guess, that surfing did in more recent years to become part of the parks and recreation programme for communities.

Conversely Jim, a 'seasoned observer' and surf-shop owner, when asked to describe the role of local government expresses his thoughts unequivocally:

I don't know, I don't know, I think either how it's grown has had nothing to do with government; it's been pretty much entrepreneurs just starting shops or starting surf schools and I am not a big fan of government involvement, so I would say no. Nor has the government has been or should be too involved in it.

Jim suggests that to market Tofino solely as a surf destination at the exclusion or dilution of other tourism sectors is myopic:

Well, I think any tourism board should be selling the whole package, you know, if you are selling only one aspect of it, you're going to pigeon-hole yourself, So if I was British Columbia [Destination BC] or Tofino Tourism, I would definitely be selling the whale watching, the natural beauty, the bears, the whole culinary experiences, especially when you want somebody to come 12-months of the year; surfing alone won't just do it. And I think they have done [that], I mean you see that kind of advertising all over anyway. So I don't think, I don't want to see more [surf advertising], there is already enough saturation at this point so, if I, when I go to California and tell people you are

from Canada; the West Coast of Canada, they all know Tofino, that's the only name they know, so if that was – if they were planning that, they have succeeded already.

Jeannie acknowledges the role that The District of Tofino should play is to integrate tourism sectors by connecting and echoing the previous statement but at a higher policy planning level.

That is a really good question and when I admit I have not put my mind to enough, but I think we need too. I think I am glad that Tofino has a tourism master plan that gives us a framework to integrate the community values in with the economic benefits and all that, all the tourism sector and, increasingly I see the surf sector as being kind of part of the decision making within the community.

People are, owners of companies, are active on the Chamber of Commerce; they are active in the marketing organization; and there is a good rapport between the municipality and the surf businesses. They themselves get along with each other quite well is my understanding; but I do think it would be beneficial if we were bit more proactive and kind of try to get ahead of that curve a little bit; so, we actually talked about some of the what could go wrong and how can we manage that.

As evidenced in many places in this discussion, the District of Tofino provides core infrastructure that ensures the well-being of the physical aspects of the town such as roads, parking facilities, public washrooms and potable water. This infrastructure also benefits the surf tourism industry. Further, the district administration also coordinates with local businesses for licensing and development zoning issues, although some would argue that local government could examine possible limits to growth for surf tourism businesses and avoid some of the pitfalls that were described with the whale-watching industry. Finally, local government provides

support for various tourism marketing initiatives that promote surf tourism as well as other attractions to the area (see Figures 4 and 5 above). This includes Tofino's destination marketing organization (DMO), Tourism Tofino and the Tofino Tourism Master Plan.

4.3 Summary

To summarize the main findings uncovered in this research, the following short statements distil the essence of the findings (see Table 8):

- 1) Surfing is important to the community from a surf-tourism perspective, in addition to the importance that residents attach to the benefits provided to the community. Benefits attributed to surfing and surf tourism by respondents included employment, health and fitness and the opportunity to specialize in the activity at a high level of proficiency.
- 2) Surf-shops are an important component facet of surf-tourism as they often provide the first contact between the tourist and the 'surf-scene' as a hub of local knowledge (e.g. surf conditions, surf spots, restaurant recommendations, etc). Surf-shops also provide access to equipment both rental and retail, in addition to providing surf lessons that incorporate etiquette and safety information thus helping to ameliorate crowding and conflict issues on the wave. Some respondents were critical of surf-shops renting inappropriate equipment to novices that could prove to be dangerous because of lack of experience and skills. Surf-shops also sponsor professional surfers in competitions that help elevate the profile of Tofino as a surf destination.
- 3) Pacific Rim National Park plays an important role for surf-tourism in the Tofino region by providing protected access to surf-breaks. The parks management of non-commercial development ensures universal beach access for the foreseeable future.

- The park is a tangible aspect of the natural appeal for many surfers and is an important attraction to the region in its own right. The findings suggest that parks has not fully engaged with surf-tourism but is more likely to support surf competition than in the past. Support for reinstating a defunct surf-guard program is significant although some respondents questioned the reality of effectively patrolling the entire park coastline.
- 4) Safety was a concern for respondents who generally acknowledged the role that surf-shops and surf-schools in particular played in relaying safety information and surf etiquette advice as part of their business practices. Support for reinstating a defunct surf-guard program is significant although some respondents questioned the reality of effectively patrolling the entire park coastline.
 - 5) Surf equipment has evolved as new technology is incorporated into wetsuits and surfboards allowing for enhanced surf opportunities in cold-water environments such as the Tofino region. Wider size ranges wetsuits specifically designed for women and children has also expanded access to the activity across a comprehensive ability, gender and age range. However, some respondents argued that the ‘wild’ essence of the surf experience had not changed regardless of technical advances.
 - 6) New surf-tourism sectors have developed in Tofino as surf competitions, affluent middle-class families and children, women, and professional surfers (in addition to surf “posers”) have increased as supply and demand for the activity has expanded. The influence of women surfers seems particularly germane as a positive tempering influence in the predominantly and arguably more aggressive male surfer domain.

- Local surf companies have supported and encouraged surf competitions focusing on women and children on an equal level to men's competitions.
- 7) Local government and businesses are supportive of surf-tourism albeit wary of carrying capacity limits because of increased infrastructure pressure and crowding of local facilities such as restaurants and grocery stores. In addition, pressure on housing inventory for seasonal workers is evident.
 - 8) Surf-tourism is instrumental in Tofino's growth and concerns pertaining to crowding and limits of physical carrying capacity (infrastructure) being reached were evident. Housing is an ongoing challenge as more people (amenity migrants) are relocating to Tofino for the lifestyle and employment opportunities. Tourism industry workers are particularly challenged to locate accommodation for the peak season, which is exacerbated by the influx of short-term rental platforms such as HomeAway and Air BnB depleting long-term rental inventory. Contrary to the positive aspects of surf competitions, the demand for competitions has also affected the Districts' ability to cope with infrastructure needs, specifically parking and public washrooms. Residents and surfers coped with crowding at the popular peak-season beaches simply by moving to a less crowded spot or surf break. Tolerance for crowding could still change if the number of surfers escalates into the future – and real crowding can occur when room on waves becomes limited and contested, as in Jordan River (point break wave).
 - 9) Localism is less apparent in Tofino than other locations (e.g. Jordan River) in part because Tofino surf breaks are primarily determined by beach break topography which constantly shifts with the winds, currents and tides. Locations with a fixed

- break (e.g. reef, point) are more likely to experience localism as surfers are vying for 'that one spot'. Consequently, surfers are likely to be more aggressive to secure their dominance of the break often by virtue or 'right' bequeathed by local status.
- 10) First Nations people have recently participated in surf-tourism related business opportunities and there is potential for First Nations culture to be included in surf-tourism as it is in other sectors such as retail and hospitality.
- 11) Supportive government at local and provincial level as exemplified by marketing initiatives by Tourism Tofino and in Supernatural BC tourism marketing theme for the province. The District is responsible for infrastructure needs and implementing zoning bye-laws for new development.

These findings have implications for understanding how surf tourism has developed in Tofino, how this development might contribute to our understanding of TALC, and how surf tourism can impact on rural communities transitioning from a resource-based economy to a tourism economy. These linkages will be explored in the next and concluding chapter, and where future research might build upon these findings.

Chapter Five: Discussion and Conclusions

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this dissertation is to explore the emergence of surf tourism as a significant aspect of rural communities, such as Tofino, British Columbia, Canada. This chapter describes how the findings of the study outlined in the previous chapter contribute to the related literature explored in Chapter 2, thus creating a narrative through a reflection on the research questions: (1) What factors have influenced the evolution of surf tourism in Tofino; (2) How might the evolution of surf tourism in this case study relate to the Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC); (3) What is the impact of surf tourism on the broader community development of Tofino?

The data to address these research questions was collected with in-depth qualitative interviews undertaken with subjects selected through a snowball sampling strategy that aimed to identify people knowledgeable about how surf tourism has emerged in Tofino. Respondents were asked to outline what they liked or did not like about surfing in Tofino, and how surfing and surf tourism has evolved over the years in Tofino (see Appendices for the interview questions).

This chapter contains the following components: (1) introduction; (2) discussion of research question #1: what factors have influenced the evolution of surf tourism in Tofino; (3) discussion of research question #2: how might the evolution of surf tourism in this case study relate to the Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC); (4) discussion of research question #3: what is the impact of surf tourism on the broader community development of Tofino ; (5) possible strengths and weaknesses of the study; (6) suggestions for future research; and (7) summary.

As a starting point, Table 8 provided below indicates how the findings in Chapter 4 are linked to topics found in the literature on surf tourism. These linkages are elaborated in the following discussions.

Table 8

Linking Interview Results from Chapter 4 with Surf Tourism Literature

<i>Result Themes from Chapter 4</i>	<i>Related Literature (from Chapter 2)</i>
For some, surfing is a desirable lifestyle, reflecting in some ways the concepts of specialization, serious leisure, and community's identity.	Specialization, serious leisure, surfing as lifestyle, community development
Surf shops are a community hub for local surfers and surf tourists	Community development
Pacific Rim National Park plays a critical role in the region, contributing to surfing and the surf tourism industry, but has yet to fully engage with surfers or the surfing industry	Surfing and conservation, environmental carrying capacity, physical carrying capacity
New and more affordable equipment technology has brought increased access to cold-water surf and surf tourism, reducing what may have constrained the early development of surf tourism.	Leisure constraints, negotiating leisure constraints
Considerable increases in the supply and demand for surfing in Tofino have occurred, tempered by the increased number of surfing competitions and other new tourism segments that exist in the community.	Profiling and segmentation of surfers, gender
Increasing safety issues may undermine the growth of surf tourism	Physical carrying capacity (infrastructure), TALC
Limits to surf tourism growth are evident regarding facility and physical carrying capacity.	Facility carrying capacity, physical carrying capacity, amenity migration, TALC
As a result of the considerable growth of surfing in Tofino, recreational crowding, and conflict are in evidence, as are coping mechanisms.	Crowding, violence, localism, and social carrying capacity, constraints, negotiating constraints, coping, TALC
'Localism' exists in Tofino, but perhaps less so than in other destinations which have a fixed beach break	Localism, conflict, TALC, community development
Surf tourism has the potential for positive and negative impacts on First Nations communities in the region	Authenticity, appropriation of culture, political critique, TALC, community development
Local government plays an important role	Physical carrying capacity (infrastructure), TALC

5.2 Discussion of Research Question 1: What factors have influenced the evolution of surf tourism in Tofino?

As suggested in Table 8 above, each of the themes revealed in the analysis of respondent comments in Chapter 4 can be linked to at least one topic described in the literature review. In this section, the findings related to the growth of surf tourism in Tofino are linked to this literature, beginning with a discussion of crowding.

5.2.1 Crowding

The concepts of crowding, conflict, violence, and localism are apparent in this study, but are not as severe as in many studies mentioned in the literature and are linked to the concept of carrying capacity discussed later in this chapter. Looking first at the concept of crowding, Vaske and Shelby (2008) contend that crowding is a subjective negative evaluation that the number of people encountered is excessive. The key term here is *subjective* because subjectivity infers that ‘excessive encounters’ depends on the perspective of the participant; in the Tofino case: the surfer. In the Tofino data there was a general consensus that the beach, and therefore, the wave is ‘big enough’ for all users. However, some crowding was noted in parking lots and in washrooms.

An interviewee’s observation of some of the crowding issues:

I would say it really causes problems again... parking at certain beaches you can't even get a parking spot once peak season is on. I think it could create a bit frustration on behalf of the locals, for sure, as well as probably even the people that are coming and paying top dollars, they're out here and then it's hard to get a parking spot.

These aspects of crowding relate also to the nature of facilities provided, not just the number of surfers in the area (see discussion of physical carrying capacity below). Crowding studies are becoming more apparent in the surf tourism literature, such as Usher *et al.*, (2016) study of surf tourism issues at Virginia Beach, USA, which found that crowding increased to dangerous levels, because of a management decision to limit surfing to certain beaches.

The *structural norm approach* to crowding (Vaske & Wittaker, 2004) suggests that participants involved in a specific activity, such as surfing, will tend to arrive at a consensus on what is the ‘minimum acceptable condition’ (number of other surfers) at the activity site (the

wave). For example, a study conducted at Whistler Alpine resort, British Columbia (Needham, Haider, & Rollins, 2011) that found that hikers generally agreed about accepted levels of contact on trails and facilities but were less tolerant than other recreational user groups (e.g. mountain bikers). The Tofino data did not provide evidence of what levels of surfer interaction on a given wave are acceptable (or too crowded), because crowding is usually, but not always, self-regulated in the Tofino case, and surfers will move to a less crowded part of the wave (a form of spatial coping). However, if surf tourism continues to build in Tofino, self-regulation may not always be viable, and some form of crowding management may be required, perhaps informed by research using the structural norm approach, although there is no evidence of this approach in the current surf tourism literature.

There is also some findings from this Tofino study that suggest that more expert surfers are less tolerant of crowding, compared with novice surfers. This echoes Needham's (2005) crowding research comparing crowding perceptions of more skilled mountain bikers and less skilled mountain bikers. Future surf research could elaborate on crowding perceptions by skill level, and related concepts of specialization and serious leisure (discussed below).

5.2.2 Conflict

Similar to the concept of crowding, conflict can be expressed as ongoing tension between one or more parties, individuals or groups, where the goals or expectations of one group are interfered by the activity of a second group (Graefe *et al* 2004; Manning, 2011; Vaske, Needham & Cline, 2007). Conflict theory argues for different forms of conflict, for example, surf conflict tends to manifest as *out-group conflict*, such as surfers conflicted by the presence and behavior of stand-up paddlers and/or kayakers), or as *in-group conflict*, which may occur when expert surfers feeling conflicted by the behaviour of novice surfers on the same wave. *One-way conflict*

appears to be more prevalent in the Tofino data, in that surfer seem to be more conflicted by the presence of stand-up paddlers, whereas there was no clear evidence that stand-up paddlers felt conflicted by these interactions (*two way conflict*). However, two-way conflict may have been more evident if stand-up paddlers had been interviewed. In contrast, *social values conflict* occurs without actual interaction. For example, a number of respondents in Tofino were concerned about conflict at the surf break in Jordon River, a site located on Vancouver Island but some distance from Tofino.

A number of factors may influence the magnitude of conflict (Needham *et al*, 2016; Jacob & Schreyer, 1980). ‘Activity style’ (similar to the concepts of specialization and serious leisure) suggests that surfers who are more involved in surfing have more clear goals and expectations, and so will experience more conflict than novice surfers, as suggested by the in-group example of conflict provided above. A second factor is ‘resource specificity’ (similar to the concept of ‘place attachment’) which suggests that local surfers may be more attached to the Tofino surf, and so experience more conflict than visitors to the area. Another factor possibly influencing the level of surfer conflict in Tofino is referred to as ‘tolerance to lifestyle diversity.’ In the Tofino situation, many respondents referred to the laid-back attitude of local surfers and that this may contribute to the feel of the community, and possibly to the lower levels of conflict than what might have been expected.

Another strategy for reducing conflict in the Tofino surf community could be described as self-regulation (coping). Examples of self-regulation include spacing on waves to reduce interaction (spatial displacement), moving to other parts of the beach (spatial displacement), and temporal displacement (surfing at different times of the day, week or season to avoid busy periods, or travelling to more remote beaches in Clayoquot Sound).

This phenomena of self-regulation behaviour is echoed in other studies. For example, Beaumont (2016) found that ‘local’ surfers (established insiders) viewed the wave as an essential aspect of ‘their’ community and ‘protected’ that space from outsiders by employing “benign localism” (p.279) regulation of the wave by enforcing surf etiquette (is also an aspect of localism). Bandeira (2014) noted that surfers form social groups which are fluid in composition as the social groups fluctuate in hierarchy between surf-break locations. A ‘membership’ function of the groups is to adhere to local surf etiquette, which is a form of group self-regulation. The notion of self-regulation is also evident in Daskalo’s (2007) observations that as more newcomers enter a surf-break that some form of regulation is necessary to prevent collision and injury: “This social order predominately valued skill and seniority (but from my own observations, also valued masculinity and Whiteness)” (p.162).

Self-regulation, as reported in the surf tourism literature, resembles the notion of coping, as summarized by Needham *et al* (2016), who describe coping as a response to crowding. One form of coping is called product shift whereby surfers adjust their expectations to match existing conditions. Similar to product shift is the coping approach known as rationalization whereby surfers may be reluctant to admit they feel crowded, in order to reduce inner tension in having selected a surf destination not fitting their true expectation. A third form of coping is displacement whereby crowded surfers avoid the crowds (self-regulate), as described above, by moving to other parts of the beach, or surfing at different times of the day, week or season to avoid busy periods, or travelling to more remote beaches in Clayoquot Sound.

The literature indicates that conflict is sometimes addressed through management intervention (see Needham *et al*, 2016). One might have expected that conflict to have been addressed in the study area in the form of Parks Canada officers or regional police, but this was

not reported by interviewees. As discussed later in this chapter, several respondents did mention a concern that surf guards had been removed from the park. Surf guards may be able to reduce conflict between surfers in the water. Ironically, the removal of surf guards may have created a form of conflict between surfers and park management.

Future surf tourism research might consider more explicit examination of the various dimensions of conflict described in this study, including in group and outgroup conflict, interpersonal conflict and social values conflict. There is little evidence of the incorporation of these concepts in the surf tourism literature.

5.2.3 Violence

Violence is challenging to define precisely because it takes many forms (see Krug, Mercy, Dahlberg & Zwi, 2002), and as noted by World Health Organization (2002) “Violence is an extremely diffuse and complex phenomenon. Defining it is not an exact science but a matter of judgement” (p.4).

However, the World Health Organization (WHO) posits that violence is:

The intentional use of force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation” (WHO, 2002 in Krug *et al*, 2002, p. 1084).

Violence in this study is understood as implicit or actual physical force against one or more parties, specifically how and if violent acts occur between two or more surfers arising from conflict because of behaviour on the wave or at the beach. Daskalos (2007, p.162) summarizes behavioural consequences within surfer groups thus: “Observing the established order was rewarded with inclusion in the group, and breaking the rules was punished with ridicule,

ostracism, and regulated violence.” The instances of actual physical violence did not emerge in the Tofino data, although there was one report of having a windshield waxed.

However, implied violence manifesting as ‘banter’ or strongly expressed feelings usually directed at surf etiquette transgressors did present, albeit infrequently and supports Springer’s (2011) perspective that violence is difficult to pin-point precisely as an event but is part of an “unfolding process” (p.91). This process can be expressed as a continuum of events along an escalating spectrum, rather than a surfer simply attacking another surfer at the outset of a conflicting encounter. For example, a surfer may drop-in on an already committed surfer, which is an etiquette transgression that could escalate from banter to physical violence (Bandeira, 2014; Beaumont, 2016). In the Bandeira (2014) study, aggression towards *haoles* (outsiders) most often took the form of verbal abuse from the *locals*, but sometimes manifested as more direct violence by, for example, using slingshots to fire marbles at the *haoles* board in order to hole the board, or waxing a *haoles* car’s windshield with board wax. In the rare instances of direct physical violence observed in Bandeira’s study, the cause was almost always intentional dropping-in on another surfer, which is considered at the very least disrespectful and at worse, an offense, and echoes Springer’s notion of the “unfolding process” (p.91). Beaumont (2016) alludes to *outsiders* as being aggressively “Othered” (p.286) in the context of “local community surfing” and that actual acts of ‘heavy’ violence is not only rare but are (apparently successful) ‘urban myths’ intended to keep certain locations as *locals-only* beaches. The urban myth perspective did not manifest in the Tofino study, but it is an intriguing aspect of the complex and nebulous architecture of surf hierarchies.

Reasons for violent behaviour *not* occurring were generally cited because of an easy-going laidback attitude that is prevalent in the Tofino region supported by the relative ease of

moving to another part of the beach (coping) when crowding conditions were present.

Perhaps this finding provides some insight into violence, which could be construed as a form of coping when other forms of coping (such as moving down the beach) are not readily available, as is the case in the Jordan River region (158 km south of the Tofino area), which is also a popular west coast Vancouver Island surf destination. In Jordan River, like many other surf destinations, the wave break location is caused by an underwater rock feature (point break) and local surfers compete with surf tourists for relatively limited wave access compared to the Tofino beach break. It appears that if the current situation remains consistent, the impact of violence will likely have minimal effect in Tofino.

Surf tourism research provides many examples of violence, however future surf tourism research might consider the notion of a “continuum of events along an escalating spectrum,” and how coping strategies are manifested.

5.2.4 Localism

Occasional localism episodes in Tofino support Scheibel’s (1995) defining contention that:

...localism refers centrally to the various exclusionary cultural practises by which a number of local surfers attempt to control access to particular surfing “spots” and further to the notion of access control, non-locals (outsiders) are rarely apprised of “secret spots” known only to locals (insiders). (p.255)

In the Tofino context localism does not appear to invoke overt physical violence, although conflict is present albeit in relatively mild form primarily comprising verbal exchanges focusing on surf etiquette transgressions typically on the part of the non-local. However, occasional escalation to physical confrontation on the beach or in parking lots was inferred, but

only confirmed as occurring in the past. One respondent reported that she would paddle over to an etiquette transgressor and advise him or her that their behaviour was inappropriate and generally that was as far as conflict would go.

Disregard of local etiquette may result in a verbal response to the offender, which may or may not escalate to physical violence. Surf etiquette tends to be similar in all surf locations and mitigates conflict because a mutually agreed set of 'rules' is followed by surfers, especially those who are 'locals' or have been accepted as 'locals' by the regional surf community. However, there are sanctions for those who choose not to follow the rules in the form of, for example, peer pressure ranging from mild, but focussed, 'banter' to actual physical violence, although this did not appear in the Tofino case.

A frequent surfer at a surf destination may have local status conferred on him or her in recognition of their ability and respect for the local surf community, regardless of actual place of residence, however as *Bandeira (2014)* states localism is an unwritten acceptance or rejection of social hierarchy; similarly *Beaumont (2016)* draws a clear continuum between 'benign' and 'heavy' localism based on a sense of belonging in the community and that the wave is part of the community. *Daskalos (2007)* suggests that localism is a function of skill levels and that only "old school surfers" (p.156) would be tolerated at a specific spot that would consequently develop a reputation of locals being antagonistic to 'outsiders', or as *Beaumont (2016)* explains, the outsiders would be "Othered" (p.286).

The distinction of locals and non-locals is blurred because local status is not necessarily conferred based solely on local residency: a local could be a non-resident but accepted as a local by virtue of experience and skill levels (degree of specialization), in addition to frequency of visits to the region. However, localism does, albeit rarely, escalate into serious violence as

evidenced by the 2005 race riots at a popular surfer beach at Cronulla, Sydney, Australia that was triggered by friction between ‘locals’ and ‘outsiders’ (i.e. white Australians and men of Lebanese descent) (Evers, 2008; Waitt & Warren, 2008).

Further to blurring identity, a non-resident surfer may feel a strong enough attachment to the region that he or she considers themselves ‘local’, without overtly asking for approval or permission from the local surf culture. Localism is an inherent component of the regional surf culture and could increase as the destination becomes increasingly popular for surf-tourists. However, localism can be more covert than conflict and violence, and manifests in more subtle forms such as waxing a vehicle windshield or deflating tires. Nevertheless, localism is present, and its form and degree will inevitably be disseminated via social media and surfer publications, which could influence a potential surf-tourists’ decision to visit the destination. Inferred and actual localism could be a deterrent for future surf-tourism. Examination of localism in this study suggests that localism could be a coping response to conflict, similar to the discussion of violence in the previous section.

5.2.5 Carrying Capacity

Notions of carrying capacity were apparent in a number of the findings reported in Chapter 4: crowding, conflict, violence, safety issues, and possible saturation of the surf tourism industry. Drawing on concepts of crowding and conflict, and environmental impacts, the carrying capacity model has been proposed in the nature tourism literature as a strategy to reduce the negative impacts of nature tourism (Manning, 2011, Needham, *et al*, 2016). Accordingly, carrying capacity is conceptualized as the limiting of visitor use beyond which unacceptable impacts occur (Needham *et al*, 2016). Needham *et al* (2016) outline four types of carrying capacity, some of which appeared in the Tofino findings: social, environmental, facility and

physical. *Social carrying capacity* is the level of activity that is optimum for a positive leisure experience, beyond which conditions such as crowding and conflict are negative consequences. Social carrying capacity addresses issues of conflict and crowding, which do not appear to be severe in the Tofino findings, at least in the ocean environment where surfers are able to avoid crowding and conflict much of the time by spreading out on a wave, moving to another wave, moving to other beaches, or surfing more in the off-peak seasons (September to May). Interestingly, little in the carrying capacity literature speaks to this form of ‘self-regulation’ to mitigate possible crowding, although self-regulation is an extension of coping strategies described above. Self-regulation or coping contrasts with more traditional management prescriptions like quota systems, such as found on the West Coast Trail segment of Pacific Rim National Park, where the number of overnight hikers is limited to a maximum of 75 individuals per day entering the park (Parks Canada, 2017).

Environmental carrying capacity occurs when an environment is adversely affected by changes in physical attributes such as soil; water; wildlife and vegetation. According to respondents, this aspect of carrying capacity is mitigated somewhat by the presence of Pacific Rim National Park Reserve (PRNPR), with a mandate for nature protection, and only minimal infrastructure (e.g. no hotels or resorts). Parks Canada plays a strong role in preventing commercial development within the park boundaries, as an integral aspect of federal National Park policies, thus providing a more pristine nature experience for park users, including surfers (Parks Canada, 2010). Without park establishment, it is likely that considerably more tourism development would have occurred along the Tofino coastline, thus impairing the unique draw for people to surf in setting with a strong natural character. wqsqea

As well as protecting the natural character of the Tofino surf experience, the park contributes to conservation by providing communication initiatives (such as signage and interactive programs) as a mechanism to promote conservation and enhance visitor awareness of the environmental significance of an area. However, Rollins *et al* (2016 p.406) contend that tourism business interests do not always match parks agencies conservation and education objectives: this did not appear to be the case in the Tofino example. Respondents in general were supportive of parks management conservation and education roles.

There are a dearth of studies specifically addressing surfing in protected areas. For example, Bells Beach Surfing Reserve provides many benefits (Martin & Assenov, 2014):

“...surfing reserves increase habitat protection, enhance natural resource values, and retain existing social, cultural, economic, and environmental values while providing a strategic and institutional framework to address current and future user and management needs and issues (p.274).

However, McKay (2014) laments that many coastal tourist parks in New South Wales are situated near hazardous surf beaches and put the tourists in harm's way by not providing life-guards or at least only partly so. Interestingly, McKay refers to *surf beaches* but not the actual activity of surfing. These studies parallel the Tofino experience from the positive conservation attributes described by Martin & Assenov (2014), and the negative aspects of McKay's observations that life-guards are not provided in potentially hazardous coastal locations.

In addition to Pacific Rim National Park, environmental impacts of tourism and surf tourism are mitigated in the study area by the presence of the Clayoquot Biosphere Reserve. This designation provides a buffer zone between built development and a conserved marine and terrestrial setting, thus helping to maintain a primary aspect of the attraction of the region,

namely, relatively unspoiled natural environment. Biosphere reserves are "...areas of terrestrial and coastal/marine ecosystems where, through appropriate zoning and management, conservation of ecosystems and their biodiversity is enhanced..." and act as buffer zones areas designed to limit activities to research, environmental education and recreation (Needham *et al*, 2016 p.30).

The role of the biosphere reserve is an important component of sustainable development, including surf tourism, yet many people (including surfers) do not realize the area is part of a biosphere reserve. Although the role of the biosphere reserve was not specifically captured in the data, the implications of the Tofino area as a natural setting was present throughout the interviews, including responses from local government representatives and park personnel. This compares with studies conducted in other biosphere reserves. For example, a Vietnam study noted that biosphere reserves are directly under control of the provincial governments, but do not have national status resulting in a lack of a national cohesive implementation of sustainable development practices. However, the lack of formal policies allowed for greater flexibility in acting at the local level. The provincial governments also control many other industry sectors including tourism, forestry and fishing, in addition to provincial parks and protected areas (Cuong, Dart, Dudley & Hockings, 2017).

The presence of a national park and a biosphere reserve contribute to surf tourism by contributing to environmental carrying capacity and somewhat to social carrying capacity. Also important for surf tourism are the notions of facility carrying capacity and physical carrying capacity. *Facility carrying capacity* encompasses infrastructure required to sustain visitor numbers. In Tofino, respondents indicated that physical capacity seems to be an issue in a number of dimensions, including parking near surf beaches, washroom facilities near surf

beaches, and accommodation options (for example, camping spaces are at a premium in peak season). The fourth type of carrying capacity, *physical carrying capacity*, is described as the degree to which physical space may become saturated. In Tofino, the number of surf beaches is defined, and cannot be expanded. Similarly, the physical dimensions of the Tofino peninsula preclude the kind of expansion of tourism infrastructure evident in other tourism destinations, such as Cancun, Mexico.

Although each of these aspects of carrying capacity are evident in the Tofino data, the carrying capacity concept does not appear to address issues related to the impact of surf tourism (or tourism in general) on local cultures. For example, the Tofino data indicated some concerns with the behavior of surfers in the shops and restaurants in Tofino, although respondents suggested that local residents have generally accepted this behavior because it is most prevalent only in the peak summer months and is balanced somewhat by the revenue that surf tourists bring. Perhaps a more significant concern is the possible impacts that might develop between surf tourism and First Nations culture. Some respondents mentioned that some surfers are moving to surf beaches outside of Tofino, that fall on traditional First Nations territory, or actual First Nations Reserve lands. Finally, the Tofino data indicated that some First Nations groups are becoming involved in surf tourism and incorporating some elements of First Nations culture as part of the surf experience. The success of this approach may tempt other surf tourism operators to appropriate some aspects of First Nations culture in their service as well.

The surf tourism literature does provide some evidence of the cultural disturbance that surf tourism can create with local cultures (see Ponting, 2005, and Anderson, 2014). However, these concerns have not been subsumed within the carrying capacity model. Perhaps the carrying

capacity model requires another dimension, which could be called ‘cultural carrying capacity’, the limit of tourism development beyond which unacceptable impacts occur on local cultures.

Other concerns with the carrying capacity model remain, as outlined in the literature review chapter. For example, considerable research has indicated that it is not the number of visitors (e.g. surfers) that creates negative impacts; rather it is the behaviour of tourists which is the concern. This Tofino study does indicate some concerns about the behaviour of surf tourists on waves, and also in the Tofino community, but the data does not adequately clarify the source of impact as the number or behaviour of surfers, or both.

Finally, carrying capacity has been criticized because there is often a lack of consensus about the acceptable number of visitors (surfers). Acceptability has been shown to vary among a number of dimensions, including environmental, social, and managerial situations (Needham *et al*, 2016; Needham & Rollins, 2005) can vary within a group (between surfers), between groups (e.g. between surfers and kayakers), or between different areas (different beaches, or waves).

Some of these issues with carrying capacity have been addressed with the ‘Limits of Acceptable Change’ (LAC) approach (Manning, 2011), whereby managers collaborate with relevant stakeholders to identify appropriate conditions desired in a nature tourism setting (social conditions, environmental conditions and managerial conditions). Then the team determines the acceptable range for each condition, how to measure each condition (indicators), and finally, what management response to use should actual conditions exceed predetermined thresholds (standards). Although LAC is prevalent in the nature tourism literature, it has received little attention in the surf tourism literature. In the Tofino context, there is some indication that local government is applying some aspects of LAC by taking a role in facilitating discussions in the

community to determine desired levels of growth for tourism, and by extension for surf tourism. The role of local government is discussed later in the chapter.

5.2.6 Leisure Constraints

Leisure constraints are the factors that individuals experience or perceive as hindering their leisure pursuits (Godbey *et al.*, 2010; Jackson *et al.*, 1993). In the Tofino data, the concept of leisure constraints (and how they are mitigated) appeared in a number of the findings: (see Table 8 above).

Leisure constraints are thought to occur in three ways: (1) intrapersonal constraints involve psychological states such as stress anxiety, or perceived skill (e.g. novice surfers intimidated by presence of expert surfers); (2) interpersonal constraints involve the nature of relevant personal relationships, such as relationships with a spouse or a friend (e.g. attitudes to female surfers); and (3) structural constraints refer to availability of opportunity, equipment (e.g. appropriate wet suits, or surf boards); travel time, financial resources, or infrastructure (e.g. accommodation).

Leisure constraints in the Tofino surf-tourism example tended to appear with descriptions of peak season crowding at beaches (parking and saturation of surf schools), on the wave (ignorance of, or non-compliance, with surf etiquette), and in-town (parking, grocery store line-ups, gas stations and restaurants). However, many of these constraints were reduced or mitigated through strategic behaviours or coping strategies. Coping strategies are actions that motivate participants towards a satisfying leisure experience by negotiating the existing situation (e.g. crowding) and conditions (e.g. weather) (White 2008). Similarly, non-surfer residents coped by avoiding potential crowding by shopping and parking in off-peak business periods, visiting less popular beaches and avoiding peak beach periods (week-ends, public holidays). The notion of

coping related to the crowding and conflict literature seems similar to the concept of negotiation applied in the constraint's literature.

Another important consideration in discussing leisure constraints is the role that improved equipment, especially wetsuits, has ameliorated some leisure constraints. Most respondents reported that improved and more affordable surf equipment, in particular wetsuits, has significantly improved accessibility to the typically cold-water surfing conditions in the Tofino region. The wetsuit insulates the surfer from cold water, provides protection against 'sand rash', wipe-outs and other injuries, and provides buoyancy in a comfortable, flexible 'envelope'. By taking advantage of improved wet-suit technology (and better sizing options), the surfer is essentially negotiating through the constraint in order to surf beyond the physical limitations imposed by cold-water conditions. These improvements are at least partly accountable for the increase in the 'mainstreaming' of surfing, and, are an important component in the growth of surf tourism in the Tofino region, particularly in the family and entry-level segments of the sector.

Similarly, surfboard evolution addresses the constraint that surfboards are not a universal 'one size fits all' proposition. Mass-produced surfboards do not provide a universal solution to an apparently infinite combination of specialized local conditions and unique surfer characteristics. However, these constraints appear to be addressed by custom surf board shapers who construct individual boards for specific conditions, styles and physical characteristics of the surfer.

A wider implication of improved equipment is that as warm climate surf destinations become increasingly crowded, other even more remote cold-water locations (e.g., Thurso, Scotland hosted the 2011 O'Neill Coldwater Classic surf competition) will also continue to evolve as desirable, uncrowded surf destinations and are currently being marketed as such. This

is also occurring on British Columbia's west coast (Nootka Sound) and a growing surf community is active in the Haida Gwaii island group in the north Pacific Ocean. The movement of surfers to relatively remote and generally uncrowded locations such as Tofino echoes Ponting's (2008) contention that surf new destinations are a continuous part of a 'Nirvanification' process, whereby surfers are constantly searching for an elusive perfect wave, and is also related to the desire to discover new places (the explorer stage in Cohen's 1972 model of tourism).

Another example of leisure constraint is evident with the evolution of female surfing in Tofino. Constraints for female surfers are considerable as surfing has tended to be a male-oriented activity (Evers, 2000; Waitt, 2008). The Tofino data found that female surfers coped with gender-based constraints by essentially striving to be equal or better surfers than male surfers. In general, male respondents supported the notion of equality and, for example, were also supportive of equal prize money in Tofino surf competitions. This was also noted by Beaumont (2014) who indicated that surfing is becoming more open to female surf competitors and in everyday surfing activity. The data did not uncover overt discrimination towards any particular societal group. This compares, for example, with Fendt & Wilson's (2012) study that found women negotiated gender constraints in surf tourism and coped by maintaining a positive attitude, and, that being pushed through their comfort zone was "...all worth it..." (p.13) in addition to acting as a powerful motivation for self-growth. Further, Fendt & Wilson note that: "For this particular group of women, it seemed that the higher their motivation was, the lower was the level of constraint felt, resulting in fewer efforts needed to negotiate these constraints" (p.15).

Leisure constraints appears to be a useful approach to understanding some of the dynamics at play in the surfing world, but perhaps more attention could be given to the various dimensions of leisure constraints, including intrapersonal constraints, interpersonal constraints, and structural constraints. Lastly, the concepts of coping or negotiating constraints, apparent in Tofino, and in some other surf studies (e.g. Fendt & Wilson, 2012), can provides important insights.

5.2.7 Specialization and Serious Leisure

The concept of specialization emerged in the Tofino findings mainly with regard to surf contests. Specialization in the surfing context implies that as a surfer becomes more 'expert' he or she is more inclined to venture into more challenging waves and more inclined to surf in poor weather conditions if the perceived quality of the experience merits the risk. This aligns to the notion that specialists have highly developed motivations and are more likely to select specific sites (the wave) to fulfill their expected goals than novices (Needham *et al*, 2016. p118).

Specialization theory evidenced in the Tofino results can be compared to other specialization research. For example, McFarlane (2004) found that specialized campers tended to choose more challenging locations that required higher levels of self-support and self-reliance and less dependence on facilities and services, and in recreational fishing where casual anglers were more likely to support relaxing catch limits compared to advanced anglers who more likely to support strict adherence to catch limits thereby increasing the challenge experience (Oh & Ditton, 2006). However, the Tofino data suggests that novice surfers are just as likely to surf in poor and potentially dangerous conditions because they do not fully understand the risk they are taking.

Some specialization studies decry how nature destinations are undermined over time, in a process where specialists are overwhelmed by less discriminating generalists (e.g. the whale watching industry as described by Duffus and Dearden, 2016; and by Malcolm and Duffus, 2008). However, in the Tofino surfing context, it appears that specialists and generalists can co-exist in the same area. In fact, respondents indicated that specialist events such as surf competitions tend to enhance the experience for generalists as well as for specialists. Further, in contrast to the Duffus Dearden model (above), positive attitudes toward nature conservation seem to cut across levels of specialization within the community and with surf tourists.

The surfing literature tends to explore conflicts and other issues that can occur between expert surfers and novices but lack a more careful rendering of specialization theory and how the various dimensions of specialization might apply: behavioral factors, cognitive factors, and affective factors (Needham *et al*, 2016; Scott & Shafer, 2001). Similarly, little attention has been given in the surf tourism literature to the related concept of serious leisure (Lee & Scott 2013). Serious leisure is thought to be comprised of six dimensions that may have potential for future surf tourism research: perseverance, careers, personal effort, durable benefits, unique ethos, and identity. The Tofino data suggests that many of these dimensions of serious leisure are evident with some surfers in Tofino, including the notions of identity, durable benefits, and careers. The data also reflected that although the respondent may not be an active surfer, he or she expressed a strong connection and support for surf tourism through family, friends and the community.

The related concepts of serious leisure and specialization are normally applied to the individual and their level of attachment to a leisure activity, but in some ways the Tofino data suggests these concepts could be applied to the community as a whole. Respondents suggested that the community identifies strongly with surfing and surf tourism. This does not imply that all

Tofino residents are active surfers in the behavioural sense of these two concepts, but it does seem to apply to the notions of identity (serious leisure) and affective factors (specialization).

Specialization, serious leisure and community development as situated under the surf tourism umbrella can be encapsulated in the role that surf-shops play in Tofino. Surf-related businesses (surf shops) are an important component of the community and support many initiatives including surf competitions/contests, greater acceptance of female and young surfers, and water safety through lessons and expert instruction. Surf shops are often the first point of contact for surf tourists and can provide a central information hub for prevailing surf conditions, local surf breaks, and food and accommodation resources. Surf shops and their owners have the potential to significantly impact the experience of surfers, especially relatively new surfers that are intimidated by what can be an exclusionary community as imbued by implied and real localism (see Anderson, 2014; Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Reineman, 2016).

These combined services also act as social gathering hub for the surf community and provide a valuable resource. Several surf-shop owners or managers respondents directly cited the relationship between their businesses and the value-added nature of surf competitions; and a greater acceptance of female and young surfers in a primarily male- and adult-dominated activity. Surf contests have played an important role in the acceptance and respect for female surfers in the region and surf-shops have underwritten the inclusion of women, in addition to water safety delivered through lessons and expert instruction to the surf community in particular, and the community at large. Several respondents not involved directly with surf-related businesses also cited similar attitudes relating to the positive influence of surf-related businesses. In addition, surf shops provide employment opportunities throughout the year as Tofino evolves

into a three/four season destination, although many Tofino workers still rely on multiple jobs to continue to live in the community year-round.

Future studies could explore how specialization and serious leisure might apply for individual surfers and also at the community level. Future studies could examine more closely how serious leisure and specialization might explain other surfing related issues such as conflict or conservation behaviour.

5.2.8 Amenity Migration

Amenity migration occurs when people re-locate based on a perception that their quality of life will improve because of outstanding natural beauty and amenities they may not otherwise access (Pavelka, 2017). It is likely that many amenity migrants to Tofino were attracted by the unique surfing scene. Amenity migration growth can create conflict as new arrivals (the amenity migrants) create stress on infrastructure capabilities, such as affordable housing. On the other hand, amenity migrants can bring many benefits of use to rural, resource-based communities, including entrepreneurial experience, and financial capital.

Destination saturation was cited by several respondents and reflects awareness that once a saturation point is reached, Tofino may become a less attractive destination. The quandary is how to balance economic benefits with social impacts. Respondents hint that Tofino is becoming too expensive (in part because of amenity migration), which is a primary decision factor for visitors to any destination. Observers also noted that it is not necessarily surf tourism that specifically triggered housing challenges and increasing real-estate values, but tourism in general as Tofino becomes increasingly popular as a tourist destination.

Amenity migrants can impact the destination both negatively and positively, and this appears to be the case in Tofino, although comments directed towards amenity migrants tended

to be only mildly critical. Respondents were generally resistant to further influxes of amenity migrants primarily because of increased property costs and the challenges for the tourist sector to retain quality workers for longer than the peak summer season, which consequently lowered visitor satisfaction compared to other destinations such as Whistler and Mexico. On the other hand, amenity migration appears to be a factor that has contributed to the growth of surf tourism, in that many people have relocated to Tofino specifically because of the attractiveness of the surf lifestyle. Some of these amenity migrants have created surf related businesses that contribute to the Tofino economy, and to the growth of surf tourism.

5.2.9 Role of Local Government

Close cooperation between local government and industry is an important part of tourism development, in terms of development zoning, infrastructure management, and related protocols (Lazarow, *et al.*, 2008). For example, local government can play a role in conserving surf breaks because the wave itself is not a tradeable commodity, as such, but a public resource that could be negatively affected by overdevelopment impeding access to surfable coastline or adversely changing the nature of a surf break.

Conversely, government intervention may be challenged by industry development that is occurring too quickly for the existing infrastructure and may overwhelm future sustainability. As Johnston (2014) suggests: “The changes during these [development] years are perhaps typical of all tourism situations when the government is not prepared for rapid development and the industry goes somewhat out of control” (p.208).

Local government in Tofino (The District of Tofino) is currently facing challenges posed by a lack of housing for seasonal workers in addition to semi-permanent and permanent residents particularly during the busy summer period. The housing shortage appears to be exacerbated as

non-resident property owners are turning to web-based leisure accommodation platforms such as airbnb (sic) to realize revenue from their property, where traditionally those properties were made available to workers during the peak and off-peak seasons.

In another example, a 27-acre mixed residential and hotel multi-unit development project was undergoing planning approval, however, this would have been a relatively long-term project (six to ten years) to completion and would not alleviate the current housing shortage. The project which required changes to the Official Community Plan was subsequently refused planning permission by Tofino Town Council (CBC, 2017).

Determining the balance between providing an open climate for business and implementing control over the number of surf-related businesses allowed to operate on public (non-park) beaches represents another key challenge for the District. Some respondents voiced concern over safety issues caused by surf-school saturation during peak-periods and some form of licensing was suggested as a partial solution.

Another aspect of the influence of local government on surf tourism is the role played by local government in marketing. Although not directly funded by the District, Tourism Tofino is an integral component of the Destination Marketing system in British Columbia and, as such, Tourism Tofino works closely with local government (the District of Tofino), Destination BC (a provincial destination marketing organization) and Tourism Vancouver Island (a regional marketing organization). Tourism Tofino is involved in multiple marketing initiatives including social media, web-based marketing, traditional media (brochures, travel guides, newspaper, magazines, TV), consumer and trade shows and familiarization trips with industry professionals (e.g., travel agents, tour companies and travel writers). Tourism Tofino recognises the important

role played by surf tourism and is likely to continue promoting that activity as a key positive driver for the region.

Local government also provides essential services such as law enforcement and fire protection, public health care facilities, parking, public washrooms, access roads. Local government is generally supportive of surf tourism but acknowledges the risk of placing too much emphasis on one sector to the detriment of other sectors such as sport fishing or whale-watching.

The Tofino findings suggest that local government plays a significant role in supporting surf tourism and general tourism development. However, the role of local government is not significant in the surf tourism literature, although the role of local government is mentioned in the TALC literature, discussed later in this chapter.

5.2.10 Summary of Research Question 1

The growth of surf tourism in Tofino has been attributed to many factors outlined in the Results Chapter, including: the emergence of more affordable and effective equipment (wet suits and surf boards), the laid back lifestyle associated with the community, the natural setting for surfing, the presence of a national park, and the associated Clayoquot Biosphere Reserve, and, expansion into new market segments, including families, women, and elite surf competitions. These factors have been linked in this chapter to theoretical concepts described in the surf tourism literature and the related nature tourism literature.

The growth of surf tourism in Tofino has also been challenged by a number of factors, including accommodation for tourism workers, negative interactions or conflict between surfers and with others, and with infrastructure issues such as the shortage of parking areas, washrooms,

loss of a surf guard service. These issues have also been linked in this chapter to theoretical concepts including carrying capacity, limits of acceptable change, amenity migration, and constraints to leisure. The role of local government has been highlighted as vehicle for managing growth of surf tourism and tourism in general in a way that supports economic growth, community lifestyle values, and quality of the natural setting.

It is noted that the growth of surf tourism is also linked with the development of general tourism, including accommodation, transportation, and marketing. For example, surf tourism developed with general tourism in Tofino following the paving of the logging road between Port Alberni and Tofino. On the other hand, accommodation prices in Tofino have increased, raising questions about how well Tofino will be able to compete with other surf tourism destinations, such as Hawaii, California, and Mexico.

It is difficult to imagine how tourism, including surf tourism, could increase very far beyond the current levels, given the relatively difficult access to the area (winding, primarily two-lane highway) compared to other established surf locations such as Hawaii, California, or Australia, and the limits to physical carrying capacity imposed by the current levels of available accommodation. This situation could change with the proposed expansion of the local airport announced August 2015 (Tofino Airport, 2011) and if bylaws are changed to allow for more intensive accommodation development. For example, Cancun, Mexico has experienced massive growth from 100 inhabitants in 1974 to 722, 800 inhabitants by 2014 (last known census year) expanding at a rate of 20% per annum (population.city 2016) and if projected growth occurs would exceed 800,000 by 2017. The growth has driven serious socio-economic issues as powerfully described by Azcárate (2011):

The upsurge of violence and insecurity and the total veiling of the everyday life and spaces inhabited by those who cater for tourists soon became endemic elements of the city's life and a condition for the tourist area to remain competitive in the global tourist market. (p.188)

Although it is unlikely that unsustainable tourism development levels exemplified by the Cancun case will occur in Tofino, it is a cautionary tale of economic expansion at the expense of the social fabric of the community.

5.3.0 Discussion of Research Question 2: How might the evolution of surf tourism in this case study relate to the Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC)?

Much of the discussion provided above can be applied in a more general sense to the Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC) model. The main components of the TALC model will be briefly reviewed below, followed by a discussion of how the findings from this study may contribute to the understanding of the TALC model.

5.3.1 The TALC Model

The TALC model is normally applied to explore the development within a community or region of an entire tourism industry (not just one sector, such as surf tourism). However, many of the principles contained within TALC may provide insights into surf tourism development in a community such as Tofino. Alternatively, it could be argued that the usual way of using TALC measures the big picture of tourism development but obscures the specifics of the dynamic at play within one sector such as surf tourism. There is obviously a relationship between surf tourism development and the development of general tourism in Tofino and this will be highlighted in this discussion.

The TALC model (see Figure 6) describes the evolution of a destination from *exploration* by the ‘new’ visitor and *involvement* by the community leading to a period of *development* by the tourism industry. This will eventually build to a period of *consolidation* as tourism levels begin to saturate the community’s capacity levels. The consolidation period is critical for the sustainability of a destination because this is the period where the most control can be implemented to maintain the attractiveness of the destination, typically before conditions deteriorate leading to *stagnation* (Yun & Zhang, 2016), and possibly declining visitation (Butler, 2011; Cole, 2012; Cole, 2009; Haywood, 1986; Hovinen, 2002; Liu *et al.*, 2016; Ma, 2013; Yun & Zhang, 2016; Zhong *et al.*, 2008).

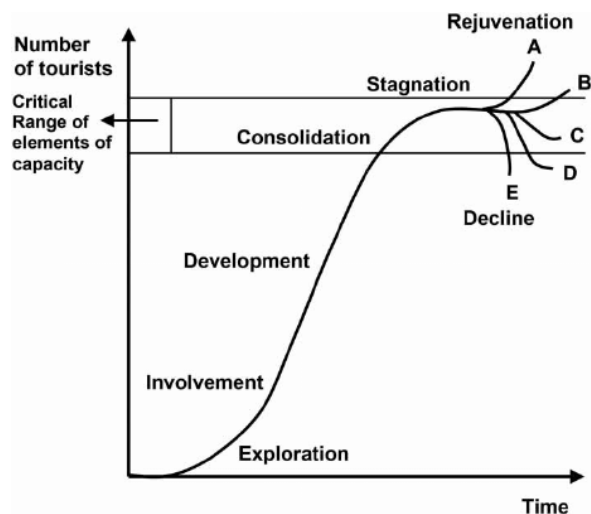


Figure 6. Tourism Area Life Cycle (Butler 1980)

Butler (1980) outlines the kinds of changes likely to occur along this trajectory. As tourism evolves toward the development stage, and beyond, there is an exponential growth in tourism numbers (Figure 6), in response to more significant marketing and awareness of a destination. There is a decline in local control of tourism development, with more elaborate tourism facilities provided by non-locals, replacing simpler local facilities. These facilities and

the presence of greater numbers of tourists will contribute to noticeable changes in the appearance of the destination. More sophisticated tourism facilities and services will attract non-local tourism workers. The presence of these new residents employed in the tourism industry, and the greater number of tourist interactions with local populations will begin to influence the social character of the destination, perhaps moving to the 'apathy' level in the Irridex model (although not specified by Butler, 1980). Similarly, the type of tourist may change, with more 'individual mass tourists' (Cohen, 1972) evident (although not stated by Butler). The possibility of a tourism destination attracting amenity migrants, not just tourism workers, appears to have not been anticipated by Butler, or the possible implications of amenity migration on the sustainability of a tourism destination.

As outlined above, each stage of TALC is characterized by differing numbers of tourists, tourism facilities, levels of marketing, levels of interaction between visitors and local communities, impacts on the natural environment, impacts on local social environment, impacts on the economic environment, and levels of local control of tourism development. When applied to surf tourism, the Tofino findings suggest a similar pattern of evolution along most of these axes, but there appears to be some departures from this predicted trajectory. Factors that appear to be consistent with the TALC model are: increasing numbers of surf tourists, changing type of tourists (e.g. more novice surf tourists, compared to the early days of surf tourism), increasing numbers of surf tourism facilities (such as surf shops), increased levels of marketing for surf tourism, increased levels of interaction between surf tourists and local residents (perhaps leading to instances of antagonism, and localism), and increased economic benefits to the community from surf tourism.

However, one possible departure from the expected trajectory is impacts on the natural environment, which are predicted by the TALC to change and decline over time. There has been some environmental change in terms of the growth in the town of Tofino, and with the development of lodgings near to the surrounding beaches. However, much of the larger landscape, remains largely intact or less impacted than what might have occurred without the presence of Pacific Rim National Park, and the Clayoquot Biosphere Reserve. It could be argued that these two initiatives were inspired to a certain extent by the desire to maintain the nature tourism industry, including surf tourism.

Secondly, the TALC model suggests that the development of tourism will lead to lesser local control of development. The Tofino findings suggest that there remains a great deal of local control and that local government support the tourism industry, including surf tourism. There appears to be some concern about the number of surf businesses, and that this market may be saturated. Some respondents suggested that local government should control the number of business licenses allocated to the surf tourism industry, implying that respondents feel that this issue is potentially controllable at the local level. A contrary perspective is the regulations in place at Pacific Rim National Park Reserve, whereby surf schools are allowed on some beaches but not on other beaches. In this instance, the national park operates as a federal jurisdiction and so can be seen as removing authority at the local level.

The TALC model predicts increased levels of interaction between tourists and residents, leading to resentment and conflict in some cases. This was evident in the Tofino surf tourism data, but at a very low level. In the surf tourism context, this is also somewhat apparent with the presence of localism, but this was reported as being mild. Surfers are part of the overall tourist traffic that puts pressure on local resources during peak season. Given the rather high level of

visitors to such a small area (Tofino region), it is surprising that resentment of tourists is not more apparent. Presumably, those residents who are employed in tourism related operations are inclined to generally welcome tourists as an important element of the local economy. For those local residents who are not employed in tourism, one may assume they appreciate the economic value of tourism to the community and are more tolerant to the large number of tourists that arrive mainly in the busy summer season. Also, since many residents are also surfers, there may be greater acceptance of surf tourism in general, while conflict on waves between resident surfers and surf tourists seems to be relatively low, and somewhat self-managed (coping), as outlined earlier in this chapter

One strength of the TALC model is the broad-brush perspective that portrays the full spectrum of tourism development. Recent TALC research has explored the forces that contribute to tourism growth, either creating positively toward sustainable tourism, or compromising sustainable tourism (see Kristjánisdóttir, 2016; Liu, *et al.*, 2016; Zhong, *et al.*, 2008). These forces were outlined in the Literature Review Chapter, and were summarized into the following components: social, environmental, economic, physical, institutional, and external factors. The findings of this study contribute to each of these dimensions, but primarily to the social sustainability forces, as outlined in the following.

5.3.2 Social Factors Influencing TALC

Social factors refer to the forces at play within tourists, between tourists, and between tourists and the community. These factors include crowding, conflict, coping mechanisms (such as violence and localism), amenity migration, leisure constraints, social carrying capacity, and facility carrying capacity. Tourism, including surf tourism, can provide for positive social interactions, which exert positive upward forces on the S-curve, or negative social interactions,

such as crowding, that impose negative downward forces on the S-curve. Each of these factors were apparent in varying degrees in the Tofino data. Further, it is noted that most of these factors are apparent in the surf tourism literature, although only sparse mention of amenity migration and leisure constraints exists.

Findings from this study indicate that several social factors are at play in the Tofino context. Crowding is most pervasive in parking lots and in washrooms, due to limited facilities rather than just the number of surfers. Surprisingly little crowding occurs on waves, which appears to be a more significant issue in other surf tourism destinations (Bush, 2016; Oliver, 2010; Ponting & O'Brien, 2015; Towner, 2016).

Conflict was noted as being present but not severe, and manifested mainly as in group conflict, where novice surfers at times ignore surf etiquette and 'snake' a more experienced surfer. Outgroup conflict also occurs between surfers and paddle boarders, and some social values conflict occurs when surfers reflect on the surf scene outside of the Tofino region, particularly in Jordon River. Physical violence, an extreme form of conflict, was not apparent in this study, although implied violence or banter was reported as occasionally occurring.

Localism resembles the notions of conflict and violence but is distinct in the sense that it is a tactic intended to prevent Outsiders from taking waves from Locals but does not necessarily invoke physical action; however, action is implied and possibly imminent. A few examples of localism were apparent in the Tofino data, including actively discouraging Outsiders from taking-off on a wave and by demonstrating superior skills and local knowledge to their benefit, but not sharing that knowledge with the Outsider, until they were deemed Local.

The concept of carrying capacity is related to several of these issues. Needham *et al* (2016 pp.122-124) describe four types of carrying capacity: social, environmental, facility and

physical. Carrying capacity has been challenged due to a questioning of the notion that an absolute number of visitors can be determined for each of these forms of carrying capacity, beyond which unacceptable impacts occur. However, the very subjectivity inherent in the diversity of people who visit natural areas, including surfers, makes carrying capacity determinants problematic. Based on respondent comments, it would appear that social and environmental carrying capacities have not been exceeded, whereas facility carrying capacity seems to have been reached with respect to parking facilities and the number of washrooms. In the Tofino context, physical carrying capacity could be applied to the dimensions of surf waves, or to the geographic area encompassing the Tofino peninsula.

The concept of leisure constraints has received little attention in the surfing literature, although related concepts such as crowding and gender are more apparent. The Tofino data is rich in the portrayal of leisure constraints, and how many of these constraints have been negotiated. For example, wet suits have been customized to meet the cold-water constraint, generic board designs have been complemented by a supply of boards specific to Tofino conditions, and female surfing has been supported through female surf competitions and the presence of a surf shop promoted specifically for a female market.

The notion of amenity migration has little mention in the surf tourism literature but is prevalent in the Tofino data. Many people have relocated to Tofino, in part due to surfing opportunities not very common in other parts of Canada. The literature suggests that this immigration can provide benefits, in terms of bringing skills, new businesses, and investment capital, particularly important for small communities tied to resource-based economies. However, amenity migration sometimes brings challenges, which in the Tofino case is evident in sharply rising house prices, and in a shortage of accommodation for tourism employees.

5.3.3 Environmental Factors Influencing TALC

Environmental factors refer to the impacts that tourism activity can impose on a natural setting (See: Buckley, 2002; McCool & Bosak, 2016; Ma & Hassink, 2013; Miller, Merrilees, & Coghlan, 2014; Priskin, 2003). Most often the tourism literature refers to the negative impacts created by tourism development, such as water pollution, the supply and quality of drinking water, declining wildlife populations or the loss of forest cover. These impacts are linked to the concept of environmental carrying capacity, although the concept of carrying capacity is contested (Needham *et al*, 2016; Manning, 2011). These negative environmental forces would constitute pressure pulling downward on the S-curve. However, tourism development can also provide some positive environmental impacts leading to upward pressure on the S-curve, such as improving visitor awareness of environmental issues and assisting with conservation programs (McCool & Bosak, 2016; Miller, Rathouse, Scarles, Holmes & Tribe, 2010; Ponting & McDonald, 2013; Zeppel & Muloin, 2008).

Environmental concerns in Tofino do not seem to be pervasive, and certainly not specific to surf tourism. The tourism literature provides considerable evidence of tourism development eroding the natural environment through the creation of tourism infrastructure in the form of resorts and services. However, the Tofino data suggests that tourism sprawl appears to have been contained in part by the presence of Pacific Rim National Park, and the mandate of the park toward ecological integrity, while allowing for some forms of tourism activity, such as surfing, that are thought not to present a serious threat to environmental conditions. The study area is also situated within a biosphere reserve, with a mandate for sustainable development.

Many respondents spoke strongly about how they felt that surf tourism in Tofino is enhanced by the prevalence of the natural environment as a significant component of the surf

experience in the Tofino area. The conservation values expressed by surf tourists appear to be consistent and supportive of local values, suggesting that surf tourism contributes positively to environment and to the TALC curve.

5.3.4. Economic Factors Influencing TALC

Economic factors refer to the long-term economic viability of the tourism industry in a region (McCool & Bosak, 2016). Economic sustainability is related to the other vertical forces described here but is also influenced by factors such as entrepreneurial and management expertise (Baldacchino *et al*, 2015; Canavan, 2014; McCool & Bosak, 2016), marketing strategies, levels of investment, and the emergence of competing destinations (Ma & Hassink, 2013). Clearly, the presence of these kinds of expertise will contribute a positive vertical force to the S-curve, whereas a shortage of the expertise will contribute a negative vertical force to the S-curve.

Surf tourism appears to be contributing positively to the regional economy, as evidenced in the number of surf related businesses located in Tofino, and the related human capital in the form of management skills, entrepreneurial skills, and investment. However, a concern raised by respondents was the rising prices for a surf tourism holiday in Tofino, compared to parts of the US, and to an emerging surf tourism industry in Mexico. The uncontrolled proliferation of surfing related businesses was also a concern for many respondents.

5.3.5 Physical Factors Influencing TALC

Physical factors refer to the level of type of facilities and services that support tourism development, including accommodation, transportation and tourist specific attractions (Buckley, 2002; Davenport & Davenport, 2006; Ma & Hassink, 2013). Physical factors such as these

provide the infrastructure needed to accommodate greater numbers of tourists. However, this infrastructure may come at the expense of environmental features, and possibly conflict with local values.

In the Tofino surf data, there is some concern that facilities are not always adequate to support the tourism industry, including surf tourism. This includes the supply and price of accommodation, as well as limited parking at some surf tourism beaches. The narrow, winding highway access to Tofino would appear to be an obstacle but seems manageable at current levels. In summary, physical factors appear to constrain further growth of surf tourism as well as overall tourism in Tofino. There appears to be some debate in the community regarding how much further tourism development that should be allowed out of concerns for environmental impacts and preserving the unique character of the community. This issue is elaborated in the discussion of institutional factors below.

5.3.6 Institutional Factors Influencing TALC

Institutional factors refer to the influence of various agencies on the viability of tourism development and includes the influence of government policies on tourism (Ma & Hassink, 2013), and the engagement of tourism related agencies, such as Parks Canada, Tourism BC, BC Government and the District of Tofino.

In the Tofino data, these agencies appear to be providing a positive force on the S curve. The influence of Parks Canada (Federal Government) and the Clayoquot Biosphere Reserve (the BC Government) have been discussed above. In addition, it is significant to reiterate the positive factor presented by local government in Tofino in infrastructure provision, which supports surf tourism by providing public facilities such as washrooms and access roads, in addition to parking areas and public health facilities. On the other hand, local government has denied permits to

increase housing. This could be seen as limiting tourism and surf tourism, but this action can also be seen as a positive factor whereby local control on tourism development is asserted, and the unique community atmosphere is being protected as a consequence.

Tourism BC contributes through joint marketing initiatives with Tourism Tofino, including social media, web-based marketing, traditional media (brochures, travel guides, newsprint, magazines, TV), consumer and trade shows and familiarization trips with industry professionals (travel agents, tour companies, travel writers).

These observations relate to the impact of institutional factors on the overall tourism industry in Tofino, but the emergence of these factors was provoked through a discussion of surf tourism. In this way the discussion of surf tourism can be seen as a lens for understanding how TALC concepts may be evident throughout the tourism industry in Tofino.

5.3.7. External Factors Influencing TALC

Tourism sustainability is influenced by a number of external factors that will impact on the S-curve (Liu *et al*, 2016), including exchange rates, fuel costs, the state of Canadian and World economies, external environmental factors (e.g. climate change, oil spills, tsunami, forest fires, earthquakes, etc.); health factors (e.g., avian flu or SARS), terrorism and innovation. External sustainability factors are rarely, if ever, controlled either partly or wholly by the host community who can only react in the event these situations occur. For example, Wolong National Park was closed to tourism until 2016 since the Wenchuan Earthquake in 2008 but is now receiving visitors to the Giant Panda reserve located in the park (Liu *et al*, 2016). Another example is the innovation apparent in the design and price of wet suits and surf boards represents an external factor that has contributed to the growth of surf tourism in Tofino.

In British Columbia, the tourism industry has had to manage changes caused by many of these external factors, such as fuel prices, exchange rates, disease (SARS), and terrorism (Rollins, *et al*, 2016). Singh's (2011) critique of the TALC models posits that fuel availability as a tourism variable "...ultimately lead[s] to finite tourism carrying capacity" (p.1186) and also a position supported by Butler (2009) referring to "...the spectre of increasing fuel costs and decreasing availability" (p.350). Warren & Gibson (2017) discuss the influence of "... market strategies of debt-financing, global expansion, standardisation, and public-listing that propel both growth and decline" (p.178) in relation to subculture branding, in this instance, by surf apparel manufacturers such as Rip Curl and Billabong and indirectly on surf-based destinations such as Tofino.

Tourism in Tofino, including surf tourism, has been influenced in the past by some of these factors. For example, American tourists to Tofino comprise the largest foreign tourist market, yet this market has occasionally fluctuated when the American dollar has declined, when the American economy has suffered (2008), when 9/11 occurred, and with the outbreak of avian flu. Although these issues did not specifically emerge in the interview data, these external factors had an influence and relate to the TALC model. One example of the positive effect of a weak currency on a destination's tourism surfaces in Ponting's (2008) work on the evolution of Bali as an affordable and attractive surf tourism destination.

5.3.8 Summary of Research Question 2

This discussion surrounding research question 2 has described how the findings from Tofino illustrate the forces that act on a sector of the tourism industry (surf tourism), supporting the notion that these forces can be grouped into six factors: physical, environmental, economic, social, institutional, and external factors. Each of these factors contain many theoretical

components that appear in the TALC literature, but also a number of features drawn from the surf tourism literature and from the Tofino findings. For example, the TALC literature tends to address social factors through a consideration of the experience of the visitor and the host community, whereas the Tofino findings take these factors deeper to address issues such as crowding, conflict, violence, and localism.

This study has examined the development of surf tourism, a specific sector of the tourism industry in Tofino, rather than the entire tourism industry in Tofino. While most TALC studies have examined the latter, Ma & Hassink (2013) argue that the TALC model fails to distinguish between a tourism area (e.g. Tofino) and a tourism product (e.g. surf tourism). Earlier in this dissertation, it was argued that surfing (the product) would still exist without the destination, Tofino, (the area) being present. Further, it is likely that if Tofino declined as a destination because of, for example, overcrowding or increasing price competitiveness, surfing could still occur, and may even prosper while overall tourism to the area might decline. Conversely, Tofino would still likely exist as a tourism destination without surfing, albeit in a different form. Finally, it could be argued that it may be more useful to examine the development of various sectors of a tourism economy, in order to better understand the bigger picture of tourism development and the specifics of the TALC model.

5.4.0 Discussion of Research Question 3: What is the impact of surf tourism on the broader community development of Tofino?

Tofino is a rural resource-based community that has evolved from reliance on extractive industries such as logging and fishing to a greater economic emphasis on tourism. Surf tourists reportedly started appearing in Tofino as a few Americans came north to Canada to avoid the US-Vietnam conflict draft. Since those early days, tourism in general, and surf tourism in

particular, has become a significant aspect of Tofino's economic and social base. The destination is still challenging to access but when the paved road opened connecting Port Alberni and Tofino, surf tourism became an even stronger focus for the community. Today, respondents indicated that the community has seemed to embrace surfing and surf tourism as part of the community identity, going beyond mere recognition of surf tourism as a local industry.

The impact of surf tourism on a rural community can be examined through the notion of capital assets. Moscardo, *et al.* (2013) suggest there are seven types of capital (resource) that contribute to the well-being of a community: financial, natural, built, social, cultural, human and political. Looking first at financial capital, this includes resources used for development and investment. In the surf tourism context, financial capital includes the resources that have been used specifically to develop surf tourism operations such as the surf shops. Financial capital also is evident in the development of related tourism infrastructure, such as hotels, restaurants, resorts, and other tourism related attractions such as whale watching or sport fishing.

To situate natural capital in this study, it can be succinctly defined as: "Natural ecosystems and the assets, services and resources that they provide, including landscape, environmental systems, green spaces and conservation areas" (Moscardo *et al.*, 2013 p.534). Although this definition does not expressly include coastal resources, 'ecosystems' and 'conservation areas' are undeniably natural capital or natural resources. The conservation of natural capital in the Tofino area has been influenced by tourism development, including surf tourism. The presence of natural capital has become a source of pride and community identity in Tofino, and these community attributes have been supported by the surf tourism industry.

Built capital refers to the infrastructure resulting from capital and financial investment and includes "...buildings, transport systems, public spaces, technological systems and

distribution systems for water, waste and energy” (Moscardo *et al*, 2013, p.534). Rural and urban communities alike require built capital to function and supports surf tourism in the rural context. Much of the built capital now evident in Tofino can be attributed to the growth of tourism and surf tourism, and provides value to the community residents as well as to tourists.

The data exposed a high level of social capital within the surf community and also between surfers and non-surfers as a facet of a close-knit rural community dependent to a degree on surf tourism as a social driver manifesting in “mutual cooperation, trust and reciprocity” (Moscardo *et al*, 2013, p.534) occurring in social institutions such as surf-shops. Surfing is sometimes described as a sub-culture or as tribes forming distinct but informal social groupings (Barbieri & Sotomayor, 2013; Lanagam, 2002; Moutinho, Dionísio, & Leal, 2007) that have their own codes of behaviour and language, and share “values and symbols” (Moscardo *et al*, 2013, p.534) and brings a distinct cultural contribution to the rural community ‘way of life’ (Moscardo *et al*, 2013). One aspect of social capital mentioned by many respondents is the role that the surf shops play as social hubs, providing information about local surf conditions, and about the surf scene in Tofino. Surfing is very much a human endeavour and relies on human capital (Moscardo *et al*, 2013) in the form of skills and knowledge of the surf community (e.g. surf schools, surf competitions, board shapers) and contributes to the physical health and well-being of the Tofino surf community

Political capital is evident in Tofino is the form of local government, provincial government agencies and federal agencies such as Parks Canada. These agencies have developed a presence in Tofino in part due to the growth of tourism and surf tourism. But this political capital also contributes to other aspects of community life in Tofino. For example, there was sufficient political capital present in Tofino to deny a major housing and lodging development in

the downtown core, partly because the innate rural character of the community would be impaired (CBC, 2017).

Unless the coastline at the Tofino research site is dramatically altered (e.g. earthquake) or subject to uncontrolled commercial development, it is conceivable that the ‘wave’ is sustainable for the foreseeable future. The wave is therefore an essential yet inextricable component of surf tourism, and by extension rural tourism, in the Tofino case. The presence of the national park acts as an important defense against over-development and supports the sustainability of surf tourism in the rural context. The national park also establishes the notion that access to the wave is protected and thus the wave resource is protected. Seasonality is an ongoing tourism concern for destination management (Sasu & Epuran, 2016) and surf tourism can be a mechanism for smoothing the seasonal fluctuations by providing an authentic, sustainable activity in a rural setting that in of itself is potentially a four-season activity.

The Tofino findings have underscored the role that surf tourism can play within aboriginal cultures, such as the First Nation cultures in the Tofino area. This finding was not anticipated at the outset of this study, as surfing in North America is not usually associated with indigenous or First Nations cultures, although the roots of surfing are found within the aboriginal cultures of Hawaii (Nendel, 2009). First Nations in Tofino (and elsewhere in British Columbia) are becoming more conspicuous in the tourism industry, as suggested by numerous gift shops and art galleries displaying First Nations art in Tofino. However, the findings from this study go further, indicating a First Nations engagement in the surf tourism in the Tofino area (e.g. Wya Point Resort).

Previous studies of surf tourism in developing countries provide some evidence of negative social impacts that surf tourism can bring to indigenous cultures. For example,

Pontings's (2008) study of Mentawaiian surf culture noted that local youth were emulating the behaviour of surf tourists by adopting negative behaviour such as excessive drinking, drug consumption, and surfing all day. The Mentawaiian study illustrates the situation where aboriginal peoples have tourism (and surf tourism) imposed upon them, which is not the case in the Wya example in the Tofino area, where the local First Nations community have made the decision to engage in surf tourism rather than having it imposed by others. However, negative social impacts of surf tourism on local First Nations culture are still possible, even when the operation is owned and managed by First Nations people.

Other issues may occur with the emergence of a First Nations surf tourism industry in the Tofino area, such as the notion of cultural appropriation, whereby a non- First Nations surf tourism operator may choose to capitalize on the demand for a First Nations element, and 'appropriate' some aspects of First Nations culture (such as First Nations graphic design) a part of their tourism offer. Another related issue revealed in comments from respondents is that expansion of surf tourism activities beyond Tofino into traditional First Nations territories located elsewhere in Clayoquot Sound. As Stephen Charleson of Hesquiaht First Nations, a member of the Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations, which comprises 14 First Nations located on the west coast of Vancouver Island, states: "A lot of the things that go on now in Clayoquot Sound, if they don't have First Nations involvement, they don't go any where." (In Goetze, 2005 p.247). Historically, land-use management including forestry practices that have encompassed tourism and recreation was primarily the agency of the forestry companies who held resource extraction licences, while community involvement was minimal (Goetze, 2005). Up until relatively recently, Nuu-chah-nulth were where not beneficiaries of the economic effects of the tourism industry (Murray & King, 2012). This is a very sensitive issue among First Nations people who

are still seeking land claims in the area, while at the same time participating in the 'truth and reconciliation' agenda currently underway throughout Canada.

The emergence of First Nations tourism in Tofino reflects both a demand for this type of tourism, as well as a need to address chronic unemployment of First Nations people in the Tofino area, estimated at approximately 60% (Parker, Rollins, Murray, Chafey, & Cannessa, 2016). The Esowista First Nations have been exploring a variety of approaches to engage in tourism (as well as other industries). Some other examples include the Tin Wis Resort, the Bungy Zone, and the Tribal Park on Meares Island (Murray & King, 2012). Many studies in Canada have revealed there is a demand for tourism experience that include a First Nations cultural component, and the emergence of First Nations surf tourism would seem to support this research (Henry & Hood, 2014). Although traditional First Nations culture does not include surfing, the opportunity for tourists to engage with First Nations culture through a surfing experience seems possible.

Looking beyond the Tofino study, the demand for Indigenous Tourism within British Columbia is evident, with revenues surpassing the 50-million-dollar mark in 2015, and with 2015 also reporting 3,300 jobs (ITAC, 2016). The lead agency for the marketing of Indigenous tourism on a provincial scale is Indigenous Tourism British Columbia (ITBC), and there is also a national organization referred to as the Indigenous Tourism Association of Canada (ITAC).

Two goals of indigenous tourism are to foster the preservation of indigenous culture and to increase awareness of indigenous culture through education and interpretation (Aboriginal Tourism British Columbia, 2004). The challenge for indigenous tourism, including surf tourism, is to cater to consumer demand for an indigenous cultural experience while retaining authenticity. In the context of First Nations delivery of surf tourism, maintaining authenticity may be challenging, given the absence of surfing in local First Nations culture. As this

discussion indicates, the presence of First Nations surf tourism operations in the Tofino area is interesting and complex and presents a new and unique aspect of surf tourism research that warrants attention in future studies.

Tofino has transitioned from a primarily extractive-based resource economy (fishing and logging) to include surf tourism in the economic profile. Some respondents noted this transition particularly those who had been long-term residents and were aware of the historical context of resource-based industry. Some also noted that the wave itself is a resource and for surf-tourism to succeed the shoreline and the wave should be protected from over-development. Parallels can be drawn between this study and Schweinsberg *et al.*, 's (2012) study of transition from forestry to nature-based tourism in Eden, New South Wales, Australia. The Eden example contends that the more tourism planners and local jurisdictions understand the value of nature-based tourism, the more likely the community is to embrace and implement the transition. This was evident in the Tofino case from the perspective of the government administrators and Parks Canada respondents as well as others involved in the study.

Tofino's fishing industry sector declined in the 1990's and was part of the transition from a primarily extractive resource-based community to one supported at least partly by rural tourism and echoed other communities transition to rural tourism. For example Placencia, Belize experienced a decline in their fishing industry because of over-fishing and transitioned to rural tourism, initially as an informal service offering by the villagers that was eventually integrated into a national tourism plan emphasising eco-tourism as a primary component in the national tourism plan (Key, 2002).

Several respondents reported that they had returned to Tofino for the coastal and surf-lifestyle after time away for study and work suggesting that surf-tourism can help reverse out-

migration from a community. The notion that rural areas can provide leisure and recreation as part of sustainable rural tourism is exemplified by McAreavey & McDonagh (2011) as a component of rural development in the proposed Mourne National Park in Northern Ireland and is evident in the Tofino study data. McAreavey and McDonagh (2011) note the term ‘sustainable development’ is problematic as the term is situational. However, it is reasonable to apply the term to tourism that is: “...economically viable but does not destroy the resources on which the future of tourism will depend, notably the physical environment, and the social fabric of the host community” (Swarbrooke 1999, p. 13).

Several Vancouver Island communities were heavily affected by high unemployment and “... resident anxiety over how to survive” (Vaugeois & Rollins, 2007, p.632) when resource industries started to decline. These communities included Port Hardy, Port McNeil and Gold River, in addition to Tofino, Ucluelet and Chemainus. Tofino, Ucluelet and Chemainus have made a successful transition to tourism from the extractive logging, fishing and mining industries and the other referenced communities are making inroads into tourism development as part of their economic platforms (Vaugeois & Rollins, 2007; Tourism North Vancouver Island, 2018). Valemount, a small British Columbian community, has debated the implications and complexities of potential resort development as a transition from declining forestry and agricultural activities, and the lack of other economic activities to support the townships economy (Nepal, 2008).

To underscore the complexity of transitioning between resource industries and large-scale tourism development, the proposed development, Valemount Glacier resort has not yet started construction and is not scheduled to start until 2019 (Clearwater Times, 2018), although the

project development process was started in 2012 and approved by the British Columbia government in August 2016 (Valemount Glaciers, N.D).

It appears that for Tofino the transition to a rural tourism-based economy has been smoother compared to other rural communities in Canada and elsewhere. The reasons for this are difficult to ascertain, but part of the explanation may rest in amenity migration, whereby a skilled, entrepreneurial populace have moved into Tofino, attracted by the characteristics of the region, including wild beaches, surfing, and the laid-back ambience of the town. This in-migration differs from some other rural communities that lack the expertise to develop a tourism industry. These communities have lost much of the younger work force which had migrated away in search of employment and careers no longer available when traditional rural economies have withered.

5.4.1 Summary Of Research Question 3

This discussion of research question 3 provides support for the notion that natural, financial, built, social, human, and political capital assets are contributing factors for community development partly provided by surf tourism in Tofino. The study exemplified some of the underlying factors that have provided a transition mechanism from extractive resources (logging, fishing) to rural tourism including surf tourism which for many residents is a source of pride and community achievement.

The study informs that the national park is an important aspect of the character of the Tofino region and provides much of the recreational resources for visitors and residents. The presence of the park is a powerful deterrent to over-development of the coastline and provides access to beaches necessary for the likely continued growth of tourism and surf tourism. The

wave itself is a resource and is protected by the park presence and is likely to remain so, natural disaster, political influence or human intervention withstanding.

The engagement of local First Nations in surf tourism presents interesting insights into the complexities of rural tourism. While tourism is championed for providing new employment for rural communities transitioning away from resource industries, First Nations people do not always benefit from these new employment opportunities. This study provides some indication that surf tourism is providing an economic benefit to some First Nations people in the Tofino area, but more study is needed to clarify if negative social impacts have been avoided.

Rural communities experience out-migration when employment bases are eroded because of downturns in resource extraction industries as was the case in the Tofino region. Rural tourism can ameliorate out-migration as residents may return after spending time away for work or education if the community transitions from a depressed area into a burgeoning and desirable destination.

5.5.0 Strengths and Weaknesses of the Study

This study used a qualitative methodology for data collection, involving in depth interviews with people thought to be well informed about how surf tourism has developed in the Tofino region. The primary strength of this approach was the depth of interview data presented by the respondents. Respondents were open and enthusiastic in the dialogue which took place in Tofino and other interview locations. Respondents were encouraged to go beyond the questions *verbatim*, resulting in a rich vein of experience and local knowledge, sometimes told from an outsider's perspective, yet still conveying deep passion and interest in the study's purpose and subject matter. Researcher and respondent rapport built quickly during the interview sessions and

is perhaps a discreet indicator of why Tofino is perceived as friendly and at ease with itself by residents and visitors alike.

As a comparison to this study, Parker *et al's* 2017 study of the same study area used quantitative survey methodology to examine perceived impacts on the community by the presence of the national park, in order to build a picture of perceived costs and benefits. Quantitative approaches of this kind, by their very nature, can provide verifiable and observable data such as age, gender, income levels, occupation and other relevant demographics in the context of a study that describe observable attributes of a given sample population. Further, quantitative survey approaches can measure community opinions, attitudes and values, often with great precision. However, quantitative survey approaches are designed to have subjects respond to statements prepared by the researcher. For example, the Parker *et al* (2017) study used Likert scales, whereby subjects indicated the level of agreement or disagreement with a set of statements prepared by the researcher. Such an approach provides data that could be analyzed statistically and generalized from a sample of respondents to a larger population. However, the weakness of the quantitative approach is the structured engagement with subjects, which precludes the opportunity to explore concepts to a deeper level. In comparison, qualitative approaches such as used here tend to focus on the 'unseen' attributes of a sample population (Charmaz, 2014; Kensbock, 2011).

The researcher was relatively inexperienced but sensed that the chosen approach of open-ended probing technique would be effective in the surf *milieu*. The inexperience aspect materialized in an aborted interview caused by technology failure combined with a lack of foresight: it is important to have back-up technology available as insurance.

A further weakness is that the researcher worked alone (budgetary reasons) and would have benefited from employing a local research assistant(s) to conduct follow-up interviews to reinforce and strengthen the data. In retrospect, using VOIP technology such as Skype could have allowed for more face-to-face time, albeit remotely, however, the researcher felt that actual face-to-face interaction would be the most effective process to produce quality data.

A gap in this research is that the sample did not include community residents that do not have specific 'buy-in' to surf-tourism. Also, it was not possible to obtain respondents with personal experiences dating from the early days of surf tourism in the 1970s.

There are some issues with the research design. The overall sample size is a possible limitation to the study. Large samples are always desirable, although there is a lack of consensus on sample size for qualitative research. In retrospect, the research design could have incorporated other data sources to triangulate against the interview data. Content analysis of local newspaper reports might have been useful here.

Parks Canada personnel were included in the study, however, further work focussed more tightly on Parks Canada's role past, present and future would extend understanding and provide insight into specific beach management strategies.

5.6.0 Suggestions for Future Research

Throughout this chapter, a number of suggestions for future surf tourism research have been identified. These opportunities are summarized below:

- The structural norm approach could be used in the examination of crowding, as there is little evidence of this approach in the current surf tourism literature.

- Although conflict is frequently discussed in the surf tourism literature, there is an opportunity in future studies to consider more explicit examination of the various dimensions of conflict described in this study, including in group and outgroup conflict, interpersonal conflict and social values conflict.
- Surf tourism research provides many examples of violence, however future surf tourism research might consider the notion of a continuum of events along an escalating spectrum.
- The surf tourism literature frequently references carrying capacity as a concern, but few studies have specified these four dimensions of carrying capacity (social, environmental, facility and physical), or how they could be measured.
- Leisure constraints appears to be a useful approach to understanding some of the dynamics at play in the surfing world, but perhaps more attention could be given to the various dimensions of leisure constraints, including: intrapersonal constraints, interpersonal constraints, and structural constraints. Further, the notion of negotiating constraints, apparent in Tofino, and in some other surf studies (e.g. Fendt & Wilson, 2012) can provides important insights, and can be linked to the concept of coping.
- The surfing literature tends to explore conflicts and other issues that can occur between expert surfers and novices but has given little attention to specialization theory and how the various dimensions of specialization might apply: behavioral factors, cognitive factors, and affective factors (Needham *et al*, 2016, Scott & Shafer, 2001). Specialization appears to be linked to a similar construct, known as serious leisure (Lee & Scott, 2013). Together or separately, these concepts could be used in future studies as independent variables to assess how they explain other phenomena, such as conflict and localism.

- Amenity migration appears to offer an insight into surf tourism research that warrants investigation in future studies. For example, to what extent does the surf tourism experience stimulate people to relocate to surf destinations, and how do amenity migrants impact on surf communities?
- The role of local government is not significant in the surf tourism literature, although local control of the surf tourism is sometimes mentioned. Local government is mentioned in the TALC literature and may be a useful area of research in future surf tourism studies.
- Surf tourism is spreading to new destinations, including cold water sites such as Tofino. The emergence of these new sites, and the subsequent evolution over time suggests there is an opportunity for further examination of surf tourism, possibly incorporating the TALC model.
- The significance of Pacific Rim National Park to this study of surf tourism in Tofino suggests that future studies could include an investigation into the role of nearby protected areas, such as National Parks.

5.7 Conclusion

The purpose of this dissertation was to explore the emergence of surf tourism as a significant aspect of rural communities, such as Tofino, British Columbia, Canada. Further, the dissertation was directed by the following research questions: (1) What factors have influenced the evolution of surf tourism in Tofino; (2) How might the evolution of surf tourism in this case study relate to the Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC); (3) What is the impact of surf tourism on the broader community development of Tofino?

Many possible factors thought to influence surf tourism were identified in the surf tourism literature, including crowding, conflict, violence, localism, and carrying capacity. These concepts were further explored in the related nature tourism literature, which also suggested additional concepts that may be at play in surf tourism, including leisure constraints, specialization and amenity migration. The Tofino data indicated that each of these concepts was evident, although in varying degrees. Amenity migration for example, was very conspicuous in the discussions with respondents, whereas violence was largely absent, although possibly inferred.

It was also noted that the emerging surf tourism research literature has not fully exploited the possibilities presented by these concepts. For example, the concept of conflict has many dimensions, including in-group conflict, out-group conflict, one-way conflict, two-way conflict, interpersonal conflict, and social values conflict. None of these were apparent in the surf tourism literature.

The study also suggests that the Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC) may be a useful construct for examining surf tourism. TALC is normally used to explore the evolution of an entire tourism industry in a specific community or region, whereas this study examined just one tourism sector: surf tourism. It was argued that many of the forces apparent in the TALC model could apply also to understanding the growth of surf tourism, and this seems apparent in the findings of the study. Concurrently, it is acknowledged that surf tourism is also influenced by other aspects of the tourism industry, such as accommodation and transportation.

The TALC model argues that tourism destinations tend to evolve along a trajectory from early exploration, through to other stages described as involvement, development and consolidation, and possibly stagnation and decline (Butler, 1980). Much of the subsequent

literature has examined the possible factors that might influence this trajectory. These factors have been summarized here as social factors (e.g. crowding, conflict, carrying capacity, etc.), environmental factors (e.g. loss of forest cover, water pollution, declining wildlife populations), economic factors (e.g. marketing strategies, levels of investment, competing destinations), physical infrastructure factors (e.g. accommodation, transportation, and specific tourist attractions), institutional factors (e.g. government policies, and the role of local government and other government agencies) and external factors (e.g. exchange rates, threats to health, and natural disasters). Many but not all of these factors are similar to those identified in the surf tourism literature, suggesting that TALC may provide some useful strategies for examining surf tourism.

Tofino's economic base has shifted away from traditional resource extraction industries as reflected in recent (2007-2017) employment stagnation in these industries (BC Statistics, 2018). However, this trend is contrasted with the growth of tourism, accompanied by population increase over a similar period. Rural tourism, partly in the form of surfing, has appeared to smooth the effects of these employment changes in Tofino. Tourism has increased, as evidenced by increasing tourist numbers, and room revenues. Improvements in infrastructure and amenities (expanded parking, new restaurants) are apparent, but also struggling to keep pace with the numbers of tourists. In addition to economic benefits, rural tourism can provide a sense of spirituality that may be absent from urban tourism (Sharply, 2010) echoing some respondents thoughts and feelings expressing a sense of being emotionally and physically connected to nature and the environment by being on the water.

However, these positive changes are also offset by corresponding pressure on infrastructure, community facilities and services and housing. Of particular concern is the

pressure on rental accommodation stocks that are essential for housing seasonal and permanent workers. Much of the previously available rental stock has transitioned to vacation rentals accelerated by the incursion of commercial web-based enterprises such as Airbnb and VRBO (Vacation Rental By Owner). As noted previously, increases in tourism, rural or otherwise, are accompanied by challenges that the community will have to bear and solve if rural tourism is to remain a viable alternative to primary industry employment. Viable rural tourism could fulfil the promise of sustainable tourism and supplement or even supplant primary resource industries. In closing, it is instructive to revisit Swarbrooke's (1998) definition:

[Sustainable tourism is] tourism which is economically viable but does not destroy the resources on which the future of tourism will depend, notably the physical environment and the social fabric of the host community (p.13).

Unless surf tourism and other aspects of tourism are thoughtfully managed, the reason surf tourists came to Tofino in the first place, primarily a rural experience untouched by urbanity, may be compromised. Similarly, it is clear that the presence of the National Park acts as an environmental and physical buffer ameliorating the potential harm of unfettered commercial development and is an essential component of the surf tourism experience.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Surfer Questions

	Surfer Questions: Question Structure/content	Purpose /topic area
Q1	<p>Hello, I am doing a study about surfing in the Tofino area as part of my PhD research. I am interested in understanding what you like and don't like about the scene here.</p> <p>If possible, I would like to talk to you for about an hour: can we arrange a meeting time?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduction • Commit to meeting time/place
Q2	<i>(At the meeting)</i> Thanks for agreeing to this interview. Before we start, I would like you to read and sign this consent form.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Informed consent
Q3	How long have you been surfing here and in other places?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Icebreaker • Developing rapport and building relationship <i>(on-going through interview process)</i> • Assessing experience level: "specialization"
Q4	How important is surfing to you?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assess specialization level
Q5	What do <i>like</i> about surfing or the surf scene here?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assess specialization level • Tourism Area Life Cycle • Amenity migration
Q6	<p><i>(probing questions)</i> So, do you live here, or are you visiting?</p> <p>d) <i>(if visiting)</i> How important is surfing for this visit?</p> <p>e) Is it your main purpose for visiting?</p> <p>f) <i>(if living here)</i> How important is surfing to your decision to move here?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Specialization • Amenity migration
Q7	Now, is there anything you don't like about surfing or the surf scene here?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • TALC • Conflict • Constraints to leisure
Q8	<i>(follow-up to Q7 if applicable)</i> So how do you deal with conflicts or constraints?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Negotiating constraints • TALC
Q9	<i>(follow-up to Q7, Q8)</i> Can you suggest what would need to be done to improve the surf scene in Tofino?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • TALC
Q10	Apart from your own engagement with surfing, how does surfing benefit others here or in the community?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • TALC • Socio-economic issues/considerations

	Q11	So still thinking about others, here and in the community, do others seem to experience a downside to surfing?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • TALC • Socio-economic issues/considerations
	Q12	<p>So, I am beginning to understand your opinion and perspective about surf tourism as it presently exists in the Tofino area. Next, I would like to hear your thoughts about how surf tourism has developed over the years.</p> <p>e) What was surfing like here in the '70's. Please describe your own recollections or what you understand the '70's to have been like.</p> <p>f) How has surf tourism changed over the years? (<i>Prompt: '70's, '80's, '90's, etc.</i>)</p> <p>g) In your opinion, what changes were:</p> <p>iii. Generally good and generally positive</p> <p>iv. Generally not so good and generally negative</p> <p>h) When negative events or changes occurred, what happened next; how did things evolve?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • TALC • Socio-economic issues/considerations • Amenity migration • Constraints to leisure • Conflict • Violence
	Q13	How would you describe the role of the national park and Parks Canada played in the evolution of surf tourism in this area?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • TALC • Socio-economic issues/considerations • Amenity migration • Constraints to leisure • Conflict • Violence
	Q14	How would you describe the role of local government in the evolution of surf tourism in the area?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • TALC • Socio-economic issues/considerations • Amenity migration • Constraints to leisure • Conflict • Violence
	Q15	What other groups or individuals have been important, positively or negatively, in the evolution of surf tourism here. How would you describe their influence?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • TALC • Socio-economic issues/considerations • Amenity migration

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Constraints to leisure • Conflict • Violence
	Q16	Can you recommend other people that I could speak to who can comment on benefits and concerns associated with surfing in Tofino?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Initiate “Snowball” recruitment sample process
	Q17	Can you tell me why (each) person might have an interesting perspective?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • TALC • Snowball sample recruitment
	Q18	OK—thanks very much! Before we conclude this interview, do you have anything else that you would like to share that you think might help my research?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opportunity for informant to share perspectives outside the scripted questions. • Continue to develop rapport and build relationship <i>(on-going and continuing through post-interview process)</i>

Appendix B: Non-Surfer Questions

	Non-Surfer Questions	
	Question Structure/content	Purpose /topic area
Q1	<p>Hello, I am doing a study about surfing in the Tofino area as part of my PhD research. Even though you may not be a surfer I am interested in understanding what you like and don't like about the surfing scene here.</p> <p>If possible, I would like to talk to you for about an hour: can we arrange a meeting time?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduction • Commit to meeting time/place
Q2	<p><i>(At the meeting)</i> Thanks for agreeing to this interview. Before we start, I would like you to read and sign this consent form.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Informed consent
Q3	<p>Have you surfed? If so, would you consider yourself currently as a 'surfer'?</p> <p>(If informant answered 'yes', use Surfer Question sheet)</p> <p><i>If informant answered 'no': continue to Q3</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Icebreaker • Developing rapport • Assessing experience and/or interest level: "specialization"
Q4	<p>Tofino seems to have a thriving surf scene; as someone who doesn't surf, how important is surfing to you?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Developing rapport and building relationship <i>(on-going through interview process)</i> • Assess specialization level
Q5	<p>What do <i>like</i> about the surf scene here?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assess specialization level • Tourism Area
Q6	<p><i>(probing questions)</i> So, do you live here, or are you visiting?</p> <p>g) <i>(if visiting)</i> How important is surfing for this visit?</p> <p>h) Is it your main purpose for visiting?</p> <p>i) <i>(if living here)</i> What were the main reasons for your decision to move here?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Specialization • Amenity migration • Tourism Area
Q7	<p>How does surfing <i>benefit</i> others here or in the community?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tourism Area • Socio-economic issues/considerations •
Q8	<p>Now, is there anything you <i>don't</i> like about the surf scene here?</p> <p>a) Does the surf scene affect your leisure experiences in any way?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tourism Area • Conflict • Constraints to leisure • Amenity migration

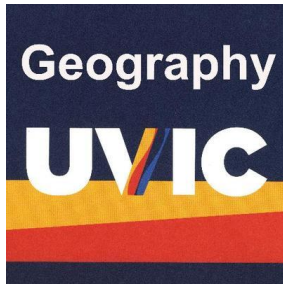
Q9	<i>(follow-up to Q7 if applicable)</i> So how do you deal with conflicts or constraints imposed on you or others by the surfing scene?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Negotiating constraints • Tourism Area/Product Life Cycle
Q10	<i>(follow-up to Q7, Q8)</i> Can you suggest what would need to be done to improve the leisure experience in Tofino?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tourism Area
Q11	So still thinking about others, here and in the community, do others seem to experience a <i>downside</i> to surfing and the surf scene?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tourism Area • Socio-economic issues/considerations • Amenity Migration • Conflict
Q12	<p>So, I am beginning to understand your opinion and perspective about surf tourism as it presently exists in the Tofino area.</p> <p>Next, I would like to hear your thoughts about how surf tourism has developed over the years.</p> <p>i) What was surfing like here in the '70's. Please describe your own recollections or what you understand the '70's to have been like.</p> <p>j) How has surf tourism changed over the years? (<i>Prompt: '70's, '80's, '90's, etc.</i>)</p> <p>k) In your opinion, what changes were:</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">v. Generally good and generally positive</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">vi. Generally not so good and generally negative</p> <p>l) When negative events or changes occurred, what happened next; how did things evolve?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • TALC • Socio-economic issues/considerations • Amenity migration • Constraints to leisure • Conflict • Violence
Q13	How would you describe the role of the national park and Parks Canada played in the evolution of surf tourism in this area?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • TALC • Socio-economic issues/considerations • Amenity migration • Constraints to leisure • Conflict • Violence
Q14	How would you describe the role of local government in the evolution of surf tourism in the area?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • TALC • Socio-economic issues/considerations • Amenity migration • Constraints to leisure • Conflict

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Violence
Q15	What other groups or individuals have been important, positively or negatively, in the evolution of surf tourism here. How would you describe their influence?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • TALC • Socio-economic issues/considerations • Amenity migration • Constraints to leisure • Conflict • Violence
Q16	Can you recommend other people that I could speak to who can comment on benefits and concerns associated with surfing in Tofino?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Initiate “Snowball” recruitment sample process
Q17	Can you tell me why (each) person might have an interesting perspective?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • TALC • Snowball sample recruitment
Q18	<p>OK—thanks very much!</p> <p>Before we conclude this interview, do you have anything else that you would like to share that you think might help my research?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opportunity for informant to share perspectives outside the scripted questions. • Continue to develop rapport and build relationship <i>(on-going and continuing through post-interview process)</i>

Appendix C: University of Victoria Certificate of Approval

		Office of Research Services Human Research Ethics Board Administrative Services Building Rm B202 PO Box 1700 STN CSC Victoria BC V8W 2Y2 Canada T 250-472-4545 F 250-721-8960 uvic.ca/research ethics@uvic.ca											
<h3>Certificate of Approval</h3>													
PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Mervyn Jefferies UVic STATUS: Ph.D. Student UVic DEPARTMENT: GEOG SUPERVISOR: Dr. Simon Springer	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>ETHICS PROTOCOL NUMBER</td> <td>15-220</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">Minimal Risk Review - Delegated</td> </tr> <tr> <td>ORIGINAL APPROVAL DATE:</td> <td>29-Jul-15</td> </tr> <tr> <td>APPROVED ON:</td> <td>29-Jul-15</td> </tr> <tr> <td>APPROVAL EXPIRY DATE:</td> <td>28-Jul-16</td> </tr> </table>			ETHICS PROTOCOL NUMBER	15-220	Minimal Risk Review - Delegated		ORIGINAL APPROVAL DATE:	29-Jul-15	APPROVED ON:	29-Jul-15	APPROVAL EXPIRY DATE:	28-Jul-16
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APPROVED ON:	29-Jul-15												
APPROVAL EXPIRY DATE:	28-Jul-16												
PROJECT TITLE The impact of surfing on the community in Tofino RESEARCH TEAM MEMBER None DECLARED PROJECT FUNDING: None													
CONDITIONS OF APPROVAL													
<p>This Certificate of Approval is valid for the above term provided there is no change in the protocol.</p> <p>Modifications To make any changes to the approved research procedures in your study, please submit a "Request for Modification" form. You must receive ethics approval before proceeding with your modified protocol.</p> <p>Renewals Your ethics approval must be current for the period during which you are recruiting participants or collecting data. To renew your protocol, please submit a "Request for Renewal" form before the expiry date on your certificate. You will be sent an emailed reminder prompting you to renew your protocol about six weeks before your expiry date.</p> <p>Project Closures When you have completed all data collection activities and will have no further contact with participants, please notify the Human Research Ethics Board by submitting a "Notice of Project Completion" form.</p>													
<h3>Certification</h3>													
<p>This certifies that the UVic Human Research Ethics Board has examined this research protocol and concluded that, in all respects, the proposed research meets the appropriate standards of ethics as outlined by the University of Victoria Research Regulations Involving Human Participants.</p>													
<div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 40px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> <p>Associate Vice-President Research Operations</p>													
Certificate Issued On: 04-Aug-15													
			15-220 Jefferies, Mervyn										

Appendix D: Participant Consent Form



Participant Consent Form

The impact of surfing on the community of Tofino

You are invited to participate in a study entitled **The impact of surfing on the community of Tofino** that is being conducted by Merv Jefferies

Merv Jefferies is a GRADUATE STUDENT in the department of Geography Department at the University of Victoria.

As a Graduate student, I am conducting this research as part of the requirements for a PhD degree in Geography.

Purpose and Objectives. The purpose of this research project is to examine how surf tourism has evolved in Tofino, and how surf tourism may have provided benefits and concerns to the community.

Importance of this Research. This research will help us better understand the role of surfing tourism as an agent of economic and social change in Canada's rural sector.

Participants Selection. You are being asked to participate in this study because you were recommended by another participant or office who indicated you have some experience and understanding of surfing in Tofino. Alternatively, you are a non-surfer whose views will contribute to a fuller understanding of surfing in Tofino.

What is involved. If you consent to voluntarily participate in this research, your participation will include an interview lasting about 1 hour at a mutually agreeable location and time. An audio recording will be made of the interview, and I will take some written notes.

Inconvenience. Participation in this study may cause some inconvenience to you, primarily the use of your personal time

Risks. There are no known or anticipated risks to you by participating in this research.

Benefits. The potential benefits of your participation in this research include:

- For you, the participant, you will have the opportunity to share your experiences and opinions about surf tourism in the Tofino area.
- For society, your involvement in this research may enhance or aid community development

Voluntary Participation. Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. If you do decide to participate, you may withdraw at any time without any consequences or any explanation. If you do

withdraw from the study your data will not be used. If you decide to meet with me again after our initial interview, I will contact you and ask you to read and sign a new consent form.

Anonymity. Your anonymity will be protected by using pseudonyms and non-specific role descriptions (e.g. tourism official, or local surfer, etc.). Although there are limits to anonymity, data will be protected by using a password protected laptop.

Confidentiality. Your confidentiality and the confidentiality of the data will be protected by using pseudonyms and non-specific role descriptions, and data will be protected by using a password protected laptop.

Dissemination of Results. The results of this study will be shared in the following ways web-site, directly to participants, published article, thesis/dissertation,/class presentation/presentations at scholarly meetings.

Disposal of Data. Data from this study will be kept indefinitely as the researcher intends to use data for further work, e.g. Journal Articles, Conference Presentations, classroom teaching, etc. Data will not contain identifiers.

Contacts. Individuals that you may contact regarding this study include my dissertation supervisors

In addition, you may verify the ethical approval of this study, or raise any concerns you might have, by contacting the Human Research Ethics Office at the University of Victoria (250-472-4545 or ethics@uvic.ca).

Your signature below indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this study, that you have had the opportunity to have your questions answered by the researchers, and that you consent to participate in this research project.

Name of Participant

Signature

Date

/

A copy of this consent will be left with you, and a copy will be taken by the researcher.

Appendix E: Sample Data Analysis and Coding

Sample Data Analysis

Text of Interview	Initial Coding	Secondary Coding
<p>Interviewer: Alright. So, you've got a chance to sign this; that's great.</p> <p>SJ: Yes.</p> <p>Interviewer: Is it okay for us to record this?</p> <p>SJ: Yes, that's fine.</p> <p>Interviewer: Okay. I got that legality kind of things...</p> <p>SJ: Out on the way? Okay.</p>		
<p>Interviewer: Yeah for change. How long have you been surfing here?</p> <p>SJ: About 19 years I started coming out here. I was living in Vancouver and started surfing as an alternative to snowboarding or skiing. There's a fringe activity at the time more or less. Some people were doing it but it was definitely a lot different than it is now. I was coming out here and basically spending every vacation <i>[indiscernible]</i> [0:00:56]. At a certain point, it occurred to me that I should maybe try to find a way to make the move out here and worked out for me. In 2000, I came over from Vancouver into deep woods.</p>	<p>Amenity migrant moving from Vancouver</p> <p>Surfing for 20-years</p> <p>Fringe activity</p>	Amenity migration
<p>Interviewer: Okay. Cool. Have you surfed in other places too?</p> <p>SJ: Yes. I've been – well it's the usual places Mexico, Hawaii, etcetera and also island besides here; so some other cold water areas and then some warm water areas too.</p>		Cold water surfing
<p>Interviewer: Okay, so what's your favorite?</p> <p>SJ: It's hard to say. I'd say my favorite would have to be Mexico probably just in terms of the consistency and the water is 29 degrees and a lot of nice things about it. But it's a different experience surfing in the tropics is without a wetsuit, it's usually in reef situations as supposed to sand bars which is what we have here. It's a different experience but definitely it's good for your</p>	<p>Surfing tropical locations</p> <p>Comparing sand bars with reef breaks</p> <p>Citing surfer mobility</p>	Ocean floor topography partly mitigates crowding, conflict, violence, and localism

<p>surfing. The next thing about it is you can do it anywhere in the world almost now.</p>		
<p>Interviewer: Yeah, absolutely. Alright. So surfing is for you to have moved here from the main land must be important to you.</p> <p>SJ: Yes. It became pretty important to me just from a lifestyle perspective. I wasn't enjoying the city lifestyle anymore. It was something I've done for a long time and decided that I'd really like change the scenery; but obviously change the lifestyle too if possible that trick for most people out here – career. That's how you're going to survive or where you going to live and so for me I was fortunate because I was able to come <i>[indiscernible]</i> <i>[00:02:41]</i> by a company and that's how I managed to do it.</p>	<p>Re-locating to west coast</p> <p>Found employment supporting lifestyle</p>	<p>Amenity migration impacts on housing for people working in the tourism industry</p>
<p>Interviewer: Okay. Cool. Alright and so in terms of what we might refer to is the surf scene which is may be a bit of outmoded expression nowadays but what do you like about the surf scene here?</p> <p>SJ: About the surf scene?</p> <p>Interviewer: Yeah.</p> <p>SJ: Well probably at this point after doing it for so long, I would say that there's probably about the scene itself. There are probably more things I don't like than do like but obviously running into old friends, as a community that's separate from another like the business community and others. It is nice to – there's a lot of guys that long time locals and pretty much during the time I see those guys so that's great. It's nice to see – thriving from an economic perspective, amount of attention to it and the amount of people and the water is exciting from a business standpoint for sure. From a surfing standpoint, it's always one of those things where you – if you experienced something uncrowded conditions and it becomes crowded, then that is something that – it does tend to take a little bit of the shine of it but that's the way it is everywhere. I was just lucky that I got in accounted before I got really, really popular. But if you go to California or Hawaii, a lot of these areas pretty much anywhere. It's very developed and it has been for a long time, so scene that go from hoping, there's another person out there who wishing there was less than 80 people out there.</p>	<p>Disliking more about surf scene than liking</p> <p>Relating surf growth to economic success/growth</p> <p>Crowding negative impact on surf experience</p> <p>Local conditions less impacted than other popular destinations</p>	<p>Crowding an issue</p> <p>Surf tourism has evolved and grown</p>
<p>Interviewer: <i>[Laughs]</i> Alright. Surfing was obviously an important decision – surfing it was an important reason for you to make that decision.</p>		

<p>SJ: That was the main reason for coming here.</p> <p>Interviewer: The main reason, okay. Alright. What you don't like about it?</p> <p>SJ: Just I would say going back to – it's so popularize now but the crowd is a major factor and because there is only a certain number of spots and small area and they're generally have good conditions at the same time usually one or two breaks that are given day or better on a given day, so what you have is not only resident surfers, got to be over a thousand at least between the two communities. A lot of people living here now are avid surfers and then you've got all the people coming from old town. Particularly in the summer months bit of right of for the locals because it's just that popular now. I was able to – but I guess it's like the crowds so I think you hear that for people who have been around. Other than that there's nothing to dislike about it, I mean it's all still worth it going out there. It's still enjoyable. It's great exercise. Let's say the positives outweigh the negatives but that would be the big one for me.</p>	<p>Surfing increasing in popularity</p> <p>High proportion of resident surfers</p> <p>Citing challenging summer conditions for resident surfers</p> <p>Physical/health benefits</p>	<p>Surf tourism growing</p> <p>Some conflicts between local surfers, and non resident surfers</p> <p>Positive life-style</p>
<p>Interviewer: Okay. Alright, so within that thing of crowding, do you think that causes other problems too?</p> <p>SJ: I would say it really causes problems again why these things parking at certain beaches you can't even get a parking spot once peak season is on. I think it could create a bit frustration on behalf of the locals for sure as well as probably even the people that are coming and paying. Top dollars, they're out here and then it's hard to get a parking spot. To being is particularly challenged with that part of it at their end because there are beaches based the ride in town, so they're probably in a lot of pressure on the facilities. I think it's going to the point where the infrastructure for it has been outstripped by the popularity so they haven't been able to keep up having parking stalls or not the washrooms or a lot of those things. But I think really the main thing about having many people in the water is that you could only one person in a wave at a given time that's kind of the etiquette of it. If there's a 100 people in the water, it's going to make it a little bit more competitive and it's also going to make it a little bit more dangerous in terms of just collisions or people getting hit by a board or what have you. I think there are some other things that develop and it's really, really crowded but that's only applies to I would say July, August, and half of September. The rest of the time it's pretty manageable hasn't going to do that all year around but certainly in summer definitely creates some tension.</p>	<p>Infrastructure not keeping pace with increasing surf popularity</p> <p>Crowding causes safety problems</p> <p>Surf etiquette providing coping mechanism</p> <p>Crowding occurring primarily in peak summer season (July-August)</p> <p>Crowding creating tension</p>	<p>Infrastructure concerns</p> <p>Crowding</p> <p>Coping</p> <p>Surf-related businesses and four-season tourism infrastructure supports sustainability of surf tourism</p>
<p>Interviewer: Yeah. Do you experience that localism thing that we hear about and read about?</p> <p>SJ: I don't – I have been here for a long time. I think just here like anyone else in the world if you don't follow the</p>		

<p>kind of etiquette of the sport, you're going to get locals getting the backstab and probably letting you know about it. There have been a few scattered incidents I've heard of here and there were actually goes beyond that but it's pretty rare. Most of the time it's just a matter of you want to follow there you want to exercise when it gets or more people are getting frustrated and starting to let each other know. Again, it's none of those things takes a bit of the shine off for sure.</p>	<p>Not experiencing localism directly</p> <p>Anecdotal, but sparse reports of localism and direct conflict</p>	<p>Localism not significant, but present</p>
<p>Interviewer: Okay. Alright. Good. So, you feel personally when you're challenged or faced with those kinds of interest surfer or conflicts how do you do with that?</p> <p>SJ: I think I deal with that showing respect and not kind of breaking those rules yourself and usually it'll come back to you that way. If it's just one of those days where are those people in the water that are doing that sort of thing for me, it's just now that we're being out there. Generally coming that point and go at a different time or to a different place or move down the beach or whatever. I mean you have beaches that are pretty big so when the conditions are good, you can spread out a lot more and when the condition is limited to certain areas only you got more concentration of people.</p>	<p>Showing respect</p> <p>Not breaking rules personally</p> <p>Surfing off-peak periods reducing crowding</p> <p>Beach breaks allow surfers to spread out reducing tension/conflict</p>	<p>Coping mechanisms</p> <p>Ocean floor topography partly mitigates crowding, conflict, violence, and localism</p>
<p>Interviewer: Alright. Okay and you find the people coming from out of town are generally respectful of that or...?</p> <p>SJ: I think the once that I have been surfing <i>[indiscernible]</i> <i>[00:09:11]</i> for the most part. I think it's more than you could see than really anything kind of <i>[indiscernible]</i> <i>[00:09:18]</i> why that people are coming. There aren't really known better a lot of them until somebody tell them. We tried educating like if you feel other sign it's indicative of what. It's something that – the line up or they're kind of tense the police itself that way but it is something where if you do get that sort of thing going on it's either two reasons for once in they know better and the other one is either kind of plain leave more and they get out of it. In those cases I think it's where it gets a little bit more heated.</p>	<p>Locals actively educating tourists regards etiquette</p> <p>Self-policing</p> <p>Conflicting occurring when surfers not respecting 'rules'</p>	<p>Conflict occurs</p>
<p>Interviewer: Yeah. One of the expressions that one of my SJ used was parking lot ninjas.</p> <p>SJ: Yeah. <i>[Laughter]</i>. Yeah there are things that happen waxes are applied to windows sometimes or something like that but generally it's just part of it. It's part everywhere like wherever you go to surf there going to be locals. It's pretty rare now in the world where you have unless you get on a boat in Indonesia somewhere. We're going to deal with that, so I think like I said a lot just goes back for not doing anything then up there yourself. Eventually, it will be kind of what until this got a few waves but it's just an inch rather, yeah. Like I said it's like that everywhere.</p>	<p>Localism occurring virtually at all locations unless very remote: boat access</p>	<p>Localism occurs but not too big a problem</p>
<p>Interviewer: Okay. Yeah. My surf connection is I surfed in UK when I was younger like when I was in late teens and it was the same.</p>	<p>Cold water surfing starting to emerge in different places like Tofino</p>	<p>Cold water constraints</p>

<p>SJ: Sure. In UKs it's really developed scene of course there has been for longer than here.</p> <p>Interviewer: Yeah. I used to surf in UK which is where the epicenter of –</p> <p>SJ: The whole thing.</p> <p>Interviewer: The whole thing in Europe and UK was – it was pretty wacky.</p> <p>SJ: I have some relatives in Scotland and they're in to like there as some little more recent there plus 10-15 years sort of thing.</p> <p>Interviewer: Yeah. The cold wave thing has really taken off in Scotland.</p> <p>SJ: <i>[Indiscernible] [00:11:08]</i>?</p> <p>Interviewer: Yeah.</p> <p>SJ: I see. You get tired before you get cold as almost of the time here. If you're working out there you're not getting cold that fast, so.</p>		<p>Improved surf equipment reduces leisure constraints</p>
<p>Interviewer: No. <i>[Laughs]</i> Alright. If you were the boss of Tofino, how would you improve the surf scene, what things could be done?</p> <p>SJ: I think they're doing pretty much everything they can. The development of there has got the point how we're - they really can't develop very much. Tofino is pretty much developed out. Really I think it's a matter of just continuing education and there's a lot of these beginning surfers kind of – something as you probably know when you first start it's very difficult thing to learn how to do. You never unless you live somewhere we can do a lot. You have hard time progressing pass at a certain point; once you get to that point. You want to be surfing better waves and more challenging waves, bigger waves so that also is something that I think separates a little bit; but as far as parts of Tofino really other than more parking and more facilities particularly Chesterman Beach would be something I would seriously look at.</p> <p>I've done things that put in the shadow that runs up and down they got bypass built-in so people have racks their bikes and they bike around and that sort of thing. Really for such a small community, there's a lot of ways they can go and in terms of the industry, it's grabbing the biggest step on driver out here now if you look on the year around basis. The business communities they have a support I think from the standpoint or how the tourists are treated coming in. I think it's pretty good. It is kind <i>[indiscernible] [00:12:57]</i>, so I think for the most part they do what they can do educate</p>	<p>Tofino at saturation development</p> <p>Citing difficulty of learning to surf; need for continuing education</p> <p>Accessing beaches and parking challenges Needing more facilities: showers etc</p> <p>Community supporting business community: inferring mutual benefits</p> <p>Continuing surf education</p>	<p>Surf tourism possibly reaching saturation point</p> <p>Infrastructure issues</p> <p>Mutual benefits between surfers, community and business</p>

<p>and that sort of thing. I really think just more education the better and the school was doing a great job with that when getting lessons. But it is something as well or maybe I would kind of up in the marketing push on etiquette and making sure that you're creating an enjoyable experience for everybody and like I said lot of times people are just so <i>[indiscernible]</i> [00:13:27] get out there and they're getting in a way with the locals but really <i>[indiscernible]</i> [00:13:33] do right. You can't blame people for loving what you fell in love with.</p>	<p>Suggesting marketing push around surf etiquette directed at tourists</p>	<p>Surf tourism sustainability is linked to branding of the Tofino tourism product</p>
<p>Interviewer: Yeah, absolutely.</p> <p>SJ: So that I swear, but you know it's great for business so yeah I think <i>[indiscernible]</i> [00:13:45] being best surf town or something. You grew up seeing like you really Tofino skewed for number of years but now you go what, yeah. It's really, really come on strong.</p> <p>Interviewer: That seems starting to balance help a little bit to the two communities.</p> <p>SJ: Yeah, the average age <i>[indiscernible]</i> [00:14:16].</p>	<p>Surf tourism starting to balance out between Tofino and Ucluelet</p>	<p>Surf tourism starting to balance out between Tofino and Ucluelet</p>
<p>Alright. So apart from your kind of engagement with surfing, how do you see are those benefiting in the community in Tofino from surfing?</p> <p>SJ: Well just obviously the amount of jobs it creates that being the big one. This area on the map in a huge way and if you look at who the business owners are in Tofino <i>[indiscernible]</i> [00:14:46] lot of surfers like the question now is who surf and who doesn't surf, so what you've got is the actual economic base of the town is a lot of that has been existing – long existing business have been purchased by younger people. But most of them are surfers part-time are kind of really avidly. It has been a lot of startup businesses Tofino <i>[indiscernible]</i> [00:15:11] is an example. Even the major resorts like Pacific Sands and Ocean Village are owned by a common ownership, they're couple of brothers and they surf all the time. So really it's so intervened into the community now in terms of not only the tourist industry but it's all the other supporting industries around it are really like you say you can't really walk in places sounded that isn't the surfers. It's really like I said it's the biggest economic engine out here and will continue to be that. I don't know how much more it can grow <i>[indiscernible]</i> [00:15:49] have a certain amount of room first things but once like I said the parking lots are full. People just seem come out and get this point right, so I think there's a lot of things about access and how are they going to regulate that. A lot of it has to do with the national park and that's blessing that we have a national park because it would be all hotels and condos are working down at the beach.</p>	<p>Increasing economic benefits to community surf driven</p> <p>Young people taking over long-established business</p> <p>Surf industry prime economic driver</p> <p>Enhancing support industries: e.g. hospitality, accommodation</p> <p>Inferring infrastructure, access saturation</p> <p>National park 'presence' instrumental in passively controlling over-development</p>	<p>Surf-related businesses and four-season tourism infrastructure supports sustainability of surf tourism</p> <p>Surf tourism possibly reaching saturation point</p> <p>Pacific Rim National Park provides a unique wilderness character contributing to environmental sustainability and market niche</p>

<p>But the challenge with that it's not about the money available for improvements. You're not going to get more access opened up probably in the park whereas they could. There's probably 15 kilometers of beach that is accessible from the road. I mean there's a lot of things like that, they could do if they want to open that up but I just can't see it. It's kind of on the point how things are going to continue to grow but most of the group has already have it.</p>		
<p>Interviewer: Okay. That's actually a very good point. From your perspective as a business person and a surfer here, do you see is there coming a point where it's going to flat out or even start to decline because of saturation or...?</p> <p>SJ: Well historically it has like people in California and from years ago when I got into this. I would talk to them and they would say we look out because it's going to be crowded because once people really discover or anything like that though we all over but don't worry it will eventually taper off again but it hasn't happened and I think there were the difference now is surf culture has permeated all culture, all society like in terms of you see the surfing influence and everything in clothing and in music and basically you can't almost watch a TV commercial with <i>[indiscernible]</i> [00:17:45] surfing at some point, right. I think that's really something that has made the difference. Now it's not a clique or unique or French thing, it's everywhere. You go to Disneyland there's right downtown Disneyland and there's <i>[indiscernible]</i> [00:18:02]. You just can't – it's almost you just can't avoid it. It's everywhere now. I think that that's the difference and the parking areas is just I think probably going to you stay the same or keep going but in an area like this like I said, I mean if you go somewhere at times and it's just too crowded or maybe you have to change the time where you're going or go somewhere else. I think there is a certain amount of people that after a while it's really bearing for their surfing to go and surf some other break. There's a lot of other ways on or just a little bit more difficult to get through here.</p>	<p>Surf tourism not peaking as yet</p> <p>Doubting that surf culture will decline: mainstream media exposure continuing to grow towards saturation</p> <p>Crowding: coping by moving to another break</p>	<p>Approaching saturation</p> <p>Unlikely surf tourism will decline</p> <p>Strong surf culture evident</p> <p>Crowding occurs</p>
<p>Interviewer: Do you see that Tofino has kind of plan for that to happen because in terms that's likely to happen?</p> <p>SJ: Yeah. I think they are looking at it and that's why well there are few reasons why they aren't allowing a lot more development currents they go through. As well as that right now you've got 100% occupancy or 90% occupancy in those peak months and it is now growing in terms of like the grow and even the occupancy rate down the offices are up from what they were even 3-4 years ago. You're seeing I guess the kind of your around thing to shoulder seasons are filling out with bookings. There were still range in a lot of places even the top places are range 50% in March right now. Really you can only build out so much because there's got always if you do too much then you're going to have this empty rooms. I think the challenge for Tofino operate is a lot of them that as you need four times the amount of staff in</p>	<p>Occupancy rates high: approaching 100% summer months</p> <p>Staff housing significant challenge: continuing problem</p>	<p>Amenity migration impacts on housing for people working in the tourism industry</p>

<p>summer as you do in winter so where all these people are going to stay? These are all challenges here in the peak season both towns, we have people living into their cars all over the place. There is really nowhere as they, so again it's like we can only – the infrastructure whatever has to get bigger if it's going to continue to really grow over and grow</p>	<p>Not possible to build sufficient infrastructure and while remaining sustainable</p>	<p>Surf tourism possibly reaching saturation point</p>
<p>Interviewer: This means that there is going to be this point of no return that the communities really going to have to decide what it's going to do with the infrastructure to maintain or sustain the levels of it is at right now, level on what happened 10 years from now.</p> <p>SJ: That's right so if there's always other I think with our off season business too, the mountains are being good in terms of against <i>[indiscernible]</i> [00:20:48] having good snow. That really also is a factor over here so like this year we really saw them in November-December when last year grounds open Mount Washington was open. But as soon as this year when there's a big bunch of snow, we saw that. I think there's a lot of other factors that – in over last three years why it's getting so busy all years because there's really not happening skiing available. That's kind of the same snowboard would crossover, right?</p>	<p>Linking off-season business to mountain snow coverage; cross-over from snowboard/skiing to surfing</p>	<p>Activity crossover depending on season</p>
<p>Interviewer: It's good. Alright. Good stuff. Kind of on the other side of that, so do you think that there are groups or people in the community that experienced the down side of surfing?</p> <p>SJ: Unless they're having local surfers <i>[laughs]</i>. I don't really think so because everybody knows that without it, I mean now the companies would be doing as well. That's the thing is that you can't get too frustrated too because they're life blood out here. We have to walk on them, hope to have a positive experience, hope they come back because like they're saying I don't have a company without that. There's no other base industry out here. There's a little bit of fish pond stuff but it's not enough to support the town. Tourist have – the main economy for a long time but it shifted from sport fishing, whale watching, those were really the two earlier ones then kayaking has become a pretty good draws as well. You've got – all those things at your space now you get surfing which is just taken over everything and it becomes the biggest one without it. Well these towns would be a lot smaller a lot for what we've had really, really good fortune with the development of the sport. If you look at the number of shops, the number of rental boards is it literally in the thousands and they're all like in the summer months on they're pretty much all out there.</p>	<p>Surfing main economic driver</p> <p>Tourism shifting from whale-watching, fishing to surfing</p>	<p>Surfing main economic driver</p> <p>Surf shops approaching saturation</p>
<p>Interviewer: Yeah. I did a quick inventory of the surf directly surf-related businesses, rental shops and so on. There was summer in '16 or something like that</p> <p>SJ: There's a lot of retails, a lot of dollars, it's a lot of jobs and it's not only that, it's – there's being impressions surfers didn't have money much bonds in or whatever even in</p>	<p>Rental shops benefiting from growth</p>	

<p>Tofino where there buildings some in there resorts earlier. Surfers were kind of spurn as being kind of knock who they were after while -- surfers have money. Last time there's such a demographic there and more I guess 30 to 35, 60 even year old demographic that have traveled all over the world. These are the guys that can afford to put those vacation dollars out there and buy the equipment and all of these things. There are also the people that are not necessarily eating Kraft Dinner or they're camping or they're going out for dinner like Black Rock or doing whatever taking in to, all these other things. Just having that many people in town I think is really changed and now of course everybody realized that surfers actually do have money. We can make money out of this industry that's why you see it everywhere. We've got rentals up here at the resorts, some beaches now which it totally makes sense. I mean they're staying at Pacific Sands or Long Beach lodge or wherever now your equipment there, they're putting all sorts of things. To have paddle boarding, another huge kind of game changer, that's kind of now and just added to it. Wherever is that and we don't have a huge amount of up here especially this time of year. You won't really see where are many but in the summer time there are factors as well; again these guys are a lot of that sector are the ones that are working professionals and that's kind of – that's who went out here as the people want to kind of patronize a bunch of different sectors.</p> <p>Interviewer: Trying enough if it's – this surf everywhere, my wife thought a jar of peanut butter are not a butter company based of Victoria and guess what's on the label.</p> <p>SJ: Absolutely like I said you just can't do anything without seeing it everywhere and like I said it used to be kind of <i>[indiscernible]</i> [00:25:40] the wild adventurous thing to do but everybody – most people realized it's especially <i>[indiscernible]</i> [00:25:47] here. We don't have big, we have some but it doesn't – it's not like in the Hawaii where it's either complete beginner or complete expert ways. We've got pretty much something for everybody here, so no matter what your level is it's generally be something for you but first safety goes both safe as it gets like in terms of sand bottom and current – yeah but nothing like Hawaii or Mexico other places I've been there; so really it's a place where you can bring the whole family, surfing the water, throw your kids in the water, get some <i>[indiscernible]</i></p>	<p>Tourist demographic shifting from low-income younger surfers to relatively affluent older segments: spending money</p> <p>Industry recognizing older demographic buying power: working professionals</p> <p>Resorts capitalizing by providing equipment rentals</p> <p>Paddle boarding (SUP) 'game changer'</p> <p>Destination appealing to all levels of surfer: young families to experienced pros.</p> <p>Universality differentiating from other major destinations: mass appeal</p>	<p>Surf tourist demographic changing</p> <p>Resorts also act as rental shops</p> <p>Surf-related businesses and four-season tourism infrastructure supports sustainability of surf tourism</p> <p>Mass market, no longer purely specialist</p>
<p>Interviewer: Yeah. That's what I'm finding out through my research. It shifted more away from the fringe element to something where everyone and just about anywhere that study in terms of surfing.</p> <p>SJ: It really has, yeah. It does – it's a great way to entertain, you don't need to do anything else once you got there or you bought equipment. There is your vacation and everybody comes on the story and there's a lot of good</p>	<p>Beach break, sandy bottom supporting relatively safe surfing</p>	<p>Ocean floor topography partly</p>

<p>times and very few incidents just because of our sets here. I don't think with the UK but I know that even other parts of the island here it's rock reef. You don't know what you're doing be very strong pattern and not getting trouble we carry you have your pretty neglectful and pretty unaware to get. It just still happens, people getting into situations where they just can't paddle anymore usually. It's very – it supposed safe as it gets of course you're wearing wet suit so you've got floatation sand bottom, big <i>[indiscernible]</i> [00:27:55] there that takes a lot of the punch and everything. <i>[Laughs]</i></p> <p>Interviewer: Alright. You were here actually in the 70's?</p> <p>SJ: No.</p> <p>Interviewer: But you probably have some impressions of what it was – what have been like Tofino in the 70s when they were first started to.</p> <p>SJ: Yeah, it was very fringe then.</p> <p>Interviewer: Very fringe.</p> <p>SJ: Very fringe yeah even the wetsuit technology in the 70s was the flexibility, it have to be brute basically to paddle in those things. I know a lot of surfers in 70s are not here in California and other places. I think out here was definitely something where it was really, really fringe activity and it was mostly done by people that were very – I guess I would say sort of island people that live close to the land and kind of animalist living and it was basically developed by people living in <i>[indiscernible]</i> [00:28:57] up here. Before there was a park open and there was just a gravel road up here, the family that's been coming over here since the 60s and they weren't crossing anybody surfing out here in those days. I think that's how fringe it was then.</p>	<p>comparing to reef breaks</p> <p>Modern wetsuits aiding buoyancy</p> <p>70s: fringe activity</p> <p>60s: Sparely populated before road access: very few surfers</p>	<p>mitigates crowding, conflict, violence, and localism</p> <p>Improved surf equipment reduces leisure constraints</p> <p>Improved access</p>
<p>Interviewer: Sure. I would see that's over those like 10 or 20 or 30 years or so since then, that's surfing has evolved to the point where it's now. But is there anything kind of station in mind like called maybe markers those things are changing, what cause that all of a sudden explode in 80's for instance?</p> <p>SJ: I think well a few things one is that people are always looking for the next alternative the next sport. For me the way I started it wasn't that I saw on TV and internet was pretty minimal than too in a way. But I heard from friends that they were coming out here and doing this and I said, "What you can actually surf there?" and came out for one of the first trips and I was just absolutely shocked to see what we had right here on the island. I think people will find the next place as far as the markers go, I really think the advent of media, for sure, has started to glamorize the sport that long ago, there was a surf video industry. I started seeing more exposure to it. The pioneering of big wave surfing,</p>	<p>People always looking for next 'alternative' sport.</p> <p>Media exposure significant marker in glamorizing sport, developing surf video industry</p>	<p>Media influences surf popularity</p>

<p>which is now a different game, but very popularized as well and a huge thing; so I think as far as the media and all that, I think there was a factory there and people always look for the next thing and find it, but I think wetsuit technology is another one. That was probably a big change, because that was <i>[inaudible] [00:32:1]</i> the cold waters even at Northern California and these areas. So, wetsuit technology for sure another factor and as far as locally, I really think it was something that is just – Vancouver Island it was a very heavy snowboard community, and there is crossover there. So, I think that sport was really popularized as well at the same time it is the same sort of – The extreme athlete type thing became very popular, and obviously skateboarding has been there for a long time. It is the same demographic if you look at who is doing this sort of thing and as soon as we opened that we had one shop on the peninsula and then one open in Ucluelet and a second one in Tofino and that to me was like, “Wow. All of a sudden there is one. Now there is three. And then a couple years later, now there is four and then five.” You really started to notice it from that standpoint is the demand for equipment started to go up. It didn’t really seem like overnight. It just seemed very gradually, steadily every year more media, more people trying it, more people talking about it. Anybody that knows anybody that’s done it before; hears about it and wants to come up and try it. I mean I’ve exposed, just myself, I don’t know how many people to and through family and friends. I’m just one guy. I think it becomes something where people are excited and says, “Hey. Try this. Come on and try it. Yeah, you will be warm.” I don’t remember any particular points where I felt all of a sudden now it is really going off the charts. It has just been every year just steadily growing.</p>	<p>Media popularizing big wave surfing</p> <p>Wetsuit technology continuing to improve ‘cold water’ surf experience</p> <p>Strong cross-over influence from snowboarding: similar demographic profile</p> <p>Retail sector gradually growing directly connecting to increasing media exposure.</p> <p>Personally connecting and introducing friends relatives to sport</p>	<p>Improved surf equipment reduces leisure constraints, and so improves sustainability</p> <p>Surf shops growing</p>
<p>Interviewer: I know, of course, a number of people are staying that come out here, try it, and decide this is their lifestyle.</p> <p>SJ: Oh, yeah, that happens all the time. If they come over here on a really sunny day and have great waves then they think it is like that all the time. It happens a lot where people – A lot of people would love to live out here, if they could find a way to make it work. It is becoming more and more popular that way. The challenge is in a tourist based economy, you have got a pretty high percentage of the jobs that are not high income, so you need two or three jobs to make it out here as a young person coming up here. Most of the ones I know have two, three, four jobs that they work at, and accommodation is the other big one. That’s where staff accommodation comes in. There is more and more of that, but definitely it is not a problem getting job here in the summer. The problem is getting</p>	<p>Increasing influx of amenity migrants</p> <p>Challenging employment/labour market</p> <p>Challenging housing market</p> <p>Paradox of access to housing versus availability of employment</p>	<p>Amenity migration impacts on housing for people working in the tourism industry</p>

<p>a place to live. There is no problem getting a place to live in the winter, but are you going to get the hours at your job?</p> <p>Interviewer: I think that is going to change too with Airbnb in winter time and the offseason time, I think, you are going to see more and more available rental being snapped up by Airbnb. I think that is going to have a dramatic effect on the ability to retain your human resources up here.</p> <p>SJ: Yeah, that definitely is going to be a factor. I know that both towns are constantly struggling with legislation on regulating vacation rentals and B&Bs. There has been a lot of controversy over that in both towns, so I think that will play a large part as well. Who is following the rules? Who is not? How far do you push it? I know that Airbnb, it's a good thing in some ways, but it certainly can lead to some surprises in other ways. I had known some people that had some pretty negative experiences on Airbnb. I don't know if it will be a massive factor, but I think most people that can or have room to rent places out, especially in the summer, do it because the money is hard to ignore.</p>	<p>Housing continuing to be challenging: Air BnB now a significant factor</p>	<p>AirBnb is significant factor</p>
<p>Interviewer: Absolutely. I get that, but I think in terms of the community, I'm guessing, there is going to be some long-term issues with that.</p> <p>SJ: Oh, yeah. There will be for sure. Yeah, definitely they need to – I guess one of those things is most of the new housing starts in condos – Are not targeted at middle income people. They are targeted as much as possible to the higher end, so that doesn't really do a lot for these young families that are looking. I know that there is a lot of – The real estate market is pretty active at the low ranges but if not at the high end, so houses that are \$200-350 move quickly – once you get up over \$400-500 hardly at all.</p> <p>Interviewer: Said there.</p> <p>SJ: Yeah, that just shows you it is that young demographic that is trying to secure a piece of the rock over here and there hasn't been a lot of new construction in that midrange. It has been either big, nice houses with water views or stuff that is more hotel, motel oriented or strata type oriented for recreational property where you cannot live there full time. I think there is a lack of that type of housing for sure.</p>	<p>Towns struggling with vacation home rental legislation/regulating</p> <p>New housing starts targeting high-end real-estate market segment</p> <p>Highest activity in lower-end buyers: young buyers trying to secure permanent housing</p>	<p>Local government involvement</p> <p>Amenity migration impacts on housing for people working in the tourism industry</p>

<p>Interviewer: I noticed this time around and the last couple times I have been here, it seemed to be more the strata type of development going on.</p> <p>SJ: Yeah, and there has been some of the waterfront developments here in Ucluelet have been purchased recently. There is another one in Princess is going to be on the block pretty soon. Again what's going to go there? Well, it's not going to be for people who are looking to put down roots here. There are other challenges, I think, for a lot of these young families too. I know that it is constantly a discussion with the lack of programs available for children. I will say I am really surprised there isn't like a school of surfing program or a something, a youth organization that gets these kids out there. You don't see that many kids out there. You don't see hardly any native kids out there. I think that is a mistake too. I think that is something we do have, yet here we don't have a lot of the programs that they have in bigger centers for kids. It is a challenge for young families, because they are fine when they are infants, and their first few years of school is of course all pretty much the same. Once you get into junior high and high school, that's where I think it is tough for them, some families to stay here. Hopefully, that changes too; but I think that would be something that they have looked at it, trying to organize a surf club or something for the kids, but getting to it young, it's something you do for the rest of your life.</p>	<p>Increasing activity in strata type housing in both communities</p> <p>Citing lack of school programs involving surfing</p> <p>Very few native children surfing</p> <p>Challenging for families to stay in community once children get to high-school: lack of programs like surfing (life-long activity)</p>	<p>Minimal First Nations involvement</p>
<p>Interviewer: Yeah, that's true. Good stuff. Changing gears quite a bit, how would you describe the role of the national park and Parks Canada in the role of surf tourism or the evolution of surf tourism?</p> <p>SJ: Well, the park has not really done anything to facilitate it. The facilities that we have now are the same facilities since we have had since I have been coming out here. Even in terms of hours you can access it, in June it is light at 5:00 am, and you cannot get in until 8:00 am. There are all sorts of thing that I think the park could do differently. Some of them I don't think cost a lot of money. Again, it is things like upgrading and improving or expanding parking, which is a big issue. They had a lifeguard program. They pulled it. That was five, six years ago. I never understood that especially at Long Beach where you have got like 300 people in the water at once or something. I know that there are challenged with the amount of funding they get, but I really don't see anything the park has done to enhance it, facilitate it, improve the experience for people. It just seems to be the same things. They can barely keep up with fixing the boardwalks and the roads. Then another peak season hits, and it is even more crowded than last year and you've got all the same challenges all over again. I know that they try their best, but I really think it is something the government needs to look at investing in some of these areas where there really has not been a significant change.</p>	<p>Parks inactive in surf evolution</p> <p>Access, parking challenging</p> <p>PC pulled lifeguard program</p> <p>Expressing frustration that PC have done little to improve or facilitate the visitor experience</p> <p>Acknowledging PC funding challenges</p>	<p>Pacific Rim National Park provides a unique wilderness character contributing to environmental sustainability and market niche</p> <p>PC slow to market</p> <p>Increasing safety issues may undermine sustainability of surf tourism</p>

<p>Interviewer: To follow on from that, how about local government in the same vein?</p> <p>SJ: The local government I think has – Well, it is pretty different between Tofino and Ucluelet. I know that on Ucluelet, it's been a proactive council here in terms of that. Because we don't have beaches in town, it is a little bit different than Tofino that way. I know that it has always been something where they have encouraged the sector and they do a lot of marketing. If you look at the District of Ucluelet's website, there is quite a bit of that. Tofino as well, I think once they caught on to the fact that this was going to be a massive economic engine for the area, they really changed their tune and supported contests. There is still an annual contest. Although we lost it, we had an actual pro qualifying event that only ran one year.</p>		<p>Local government provides/supports much of the local tourism infrastructure</p>
<p>Then that was – I don't know what happened. I think it was more a decision of the WSO, but there is one <i>[inaudible]</i> <i>[00:41:06]</i>. There is a women's event too. Then there are other contests that happen. There is something else with the park that is a real challenge is getting permission to do anything there is obviously a lot of <i>[inaudible]</i> <i>[00:41:21]</i> you have the same issues on the parking. Where are you going to put judges? How are you going to do all that? I think there is definitely a challenge there for them, but Tofino has I think realized that it is their biggest economic driver, and the embrace it much more than they did now. I think they are doing what they can. I have seen Tofino do definitely some new parking areas at Chesterman Beach; however they probably need more, and they have done that you know, I think a fairly good job in terms of marketing and as a surf town, and it definitely feels like that. Now, you may walk up and down the streets and, it is pretty evident that, that is what the main thing is, right so....</p>	<p>Tofino increasing marketing and support for surf competitions based on 'economic engine.</p> <p>Citing challenges working with PC to hold competition in park area.</p>	<p>Surf tourism is linked to branding of the Tofino tourism product</p> <p>Infrastructure improving</p>
<p>Interviewer: Pretty clear.</p> <p>SJ: Well you know what they say, you know the local governments they really I think both of them really <i>[inaudible]</i> <i>[00:42:20]</i> and they support it to the best they can, but obviously Tofino is in a position and they do much more just because of beaches within the town, that is where they have got <i>[indiscernible]</i> <i>[0:42:39]</i> industry.</p> <p>Interviewer: Right, I think they have more access to marketing dollars too?</p> <p>SJ: Yes.</p> <p>SJ: Also bigger economy they said for sure, and <i>[Indiscernible]</i> <i>[0:42:54]</i> was always kind of secondary I think it is changing over time, so lot more destination you poll the people now and every year we hear lots of people that have been to Tofino lots of</p>	<p>Tofino effectively marketing surf tourism: projecting surf town image</p> <p>Increasing/improving infrastructure: parking</p> <p>Comparing Tofino and Ucluelet: beaches, marketing funds</p>	<p>Surf tourism sustainability is linked to branding of the Tofino tourism product</p>

<p>times in the Ucluelet area and they actually prefer in lot of ways.</p>		
<p>Interviewer: I stayed there and now I don't stay in Tofino.</p> <p>SJ: So, yeah, you know we have seen more and more to that and you can tell the occupancy rates in any further way up to you and particularly you know resorts such as Black Rock and Waters Edge kind of two bigger properties that are doing a lot better, <i>[inaudible] [00:43:21]</i> really busy for this time of year, so I think a lot of that too is. It's just a different feel here, it's more of a community type feel, and that is due to the more blue colored nature I would say of this town; but again I mean things changed over time you know, I never thought I would see this biggest surf culture and art beaches on this and <i>[inaudible] [00:43:46]</i> that has changed, right, so, definitely things are way more over surf time than it used to be, but Tofino has the reputation for it, than they have the beaches, right so I think they will always be talked about that way. It's okay with me.</p>	<p>Repeat visitors frequently shifting from Tofino to Ucluelet: blue-collar, greater community 'feel',</p> <p>Higher-end resorts in Ucluelet experiencing recent occupancy growth</p>	<p>Shift towards Ucluelet as a viable destination</p>
<p>Interviewer: Yeah that is not a bad thing, this is our reason. So, we touched really very briefly on the First Nations. Do you think that First Nations are being, are they short changed by not being involved with tourism or with surfing as much as they could be?</p> <p>SJ: Yeah I think <i>[indiscernible] [0:44:29]</i> and I think they are doing fairly well with it, in terms of their economic base and the multiple, you know they have got the Wya resort and you know bunch of stuff, <i>[Indiscernible] [0:44:43]</i> will probably be the best of all their businesses, but <i>[indiscernible] [0:44:50]</i> native kids out there, and you know you go to Hawaii or Mexico, or where ever and it is a bit different I guess there because you know don't need the <i>[Indiscernible] [0:45:02]</i> you can get into the ocean at any age and start pushing them around a board but, I don't see hardly any youth out there and I think that's the word comes from – it's not because the water was a huge part of the culture, living off the water, basically living you know with the ocean. Wave riding in, because you know didn't have wetsuits, so this is a fairly recent you know last couple of generations thing and there were some guys some of the pool guys I used to surf with them, that were, they were the First Nation Guys, I don't see them out there hardly at all and again I just I don't see any kids out there; very few. Even used to visit at long beach, like you know their housing being right on the beach, you would think that there would be kids in the water all the time, but I guess it is something as well, it is not a part of their culture yet and it may change but I think part of that is, their own programs and their own funding they have access to, how they allocate that and also it is up to the public school system to a degree as well to put together program to get these kids out there, and teach them water safety and you know give them a positive experience and bring on the role you know. What</p>	<p>Sees FN's starting to benefit economically from tourism</p> <p>Very few FN youth surfing: appears not be part of FN culture</p> <p>Lacking positive reinforcement to help bring surfing into school programs</p>	<p>First Nations involvement</p>

<p>they need is as much a positive re-enforcement as they can and you know it would be nice to see more of that out there.</p>		
<p>Interviewer: Sure. So from your perception what do you see - any other groups perhaps that are not benefitting from surf tourism as much as they might?</p> <p>SJ: Well, I think there maybe sectors that if people fits in either or and whether they are going to go kayaking or surfing or maybe a bit of competition in between the sectors, but I can't see how any anybody living out here, working with the you could say it is a negative because again it is what feeds low order people and it goes so creates an atmosphere where it is that kind of youthful vibrant atmosphere you can see that changing and you know go to you know, when you say go, bear in minds they are looking at how much local product is in all these places and local coffee and you know there is a culture that kind of stems off a surf culture from that and it is about organic food, good coffee you know whatever it is crap beer even, I only think all of those things are spin offs of that so, really as much as it was a French thing I think it is now <i>[indiscernible]</i> <i>[0:47:39]</i> here and if you look at the percentage of people that are coming out here you know, I would say it is significant how many of them are coming out here either to experience that in some level or know somebody that does, and it is just going to continue for sure.</p>	<p>Generally seeing surf tourism as benefitting the community by introducing improved/enhanced amenities: e.g. local culinary products</p>	<p>Surf tourism generally benefits the community</p>