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POWER RELATIONS AND COMMUNITY-BASED TOURISM PLANNING

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Abstract: Recent research on community tourism has adapted organizational theories to tourism contexts. This paper contributes to these efforts by identifying how power relations affect attempts at community-based tourism planning. The proposed conceptual framework focuses on power relations within three policy arenas. A citizen-based tourism planning process in Squamish, Canada, is discussed to illustrate how the framework might be applied. It is concluded that power relations are endemic features of emergent tourism settings. As such, it is unlikely that independent agencies can be identified to convene differences in power across stakeholder groups. Therefore, research should focus on explaining the impacts of power relations on community-based tourism rather than identifying mechanisms to disperse power. **Keywords:** community-based tourism planning, power relations, collaboration. © 1997 Elsevier Science Ltd

Résumé: Les relations de pouvoir et la planification communautaire due tourisme. Des recherches récentes sur le tourisme communautaire ont adapté à leurs contextes des théories organisationnelles. Cet article propose un cadre conceptuel pour examiner comment les relations de pouvoir influencent la planification communautaire du tourisme dans trois arènes de gestion. On présente l'exemple d'un processus de planification mené par les habitants de Squamish (Canada). On suggère que les relations de pouvoir sont endémiques dans les contextes développants. Il serait difficile d'identifier des agences indépendantes qui pourraient convoquer les intéressés et servir d'intermédiaire entre leurs différences de pouvoir. La recherche devrait donc se concentrer sur l'explication des impacts des relations de pouvoir sur le tourisme communautaire plutôt que sur l'identification des mécanismes pour disperser le pouvoir. **Mots-clés:** planification communautaire du tourisme, relations de pouvoir, collaboration. © 1997 Elsevier Science Ltd

INTRODUCTION

In January 1993, approximately 100 residents of Squamish, British Columbia (BC), Canada attended a workshop to help establish a tourism development plan for the town that has been historically reliant on forestry. Following the workshop, 19 volunteers met to develop the plan that ultimately incorporated a vision statement, action-plan concepts, and strategies for the future. After two additional public meetings and 18 months of sweat equity, the volunteers presented their final draft to the municipal council in June 1994. The plan was approved and adopted by the District of Squamish Council in December 1994 (Citizen's Advisory Committee and Howe Sound Community Futures Society 1994).

This effort was an example of similar initiatives occurring through-

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out North America designed to bring stakeholders together at the community level to plan new economic directions through tourism development (Alberta Tourism 1988; Go, Milne and Whittles 1992; Haywood 1988). To date, several models for community-based tourism planning have been put forward (Blank 1989; Gunn 1988; Murphy 1985); however, the theoretical underpinnings of such efforts remain weakly developed. More recently, researchers have advanced conceptualizations of tourism planning by introducing and adapting organizational and management theories to tourism contexts (Jamal and Getz 1995; Selin and Beason 1991). In particular, Jamal and Getz provide a coherent argument for using organizational theories to improve mechanisms for collaborative (and cooperative) approaches to planning in emergent tourism settings. According to them, emergent tourism settings are characterized by "the presence of numerous organizations [and] lack a well-defined inter-organizational process" (1995:196). Their insights provide intellectual seeds from which a critical analysis of collaboration and cooperation in the context of community-based tourism planning might be generated.

Despite its contribution to understanding community-based planning processes, research on collaborative tourism planning still relies on rather weak theories of power relations within community settings. Power is defined here as the "ability to impose one's will or advance one's own interest" (adapted after West 1994). While power relations are included within collaborative theory, it is frequently assumed that collaboration can overcome power imbalances by involving all stakeholders in a process that meets their needs. In this paper, it is argued that power relations may alter the outcome of collaborative efforts or even preclude collaborative action. Consequently, it is necessary to consider how power relations can help to explain the processes and outcomes of collaboration. From this vantage point, this paper seeks to contribute to theories of community-based tourism planning and collaboration by considering the sources and effects of power relations within a community-based tourism planning process.

Conceptualization of Power Relations

Community tourism analysts tend to assume, often implicitly, that the planning and policy process is a pluralistic one in which people have equal access to economic and political resources. This assumption runs through ecological models of tourism planning (Murphy 1985) as well as more general assumptions about the nature of tourism. For example, the tourism system is frequently described as highly fragmented (Shaw and Williams 1994). This observation has led to the assumption that "no single organization or individual can exert direct control over the destination's development process" (Jamal and Getz 1995:193). In the most narrow interpretation, it is true that individuals often rely on coalitions with other private or public individuals or agencies. Yet, such an interpretation masks the pivotal role that actions of individuals can have at the local scale. For example, the success of Chemainus, Canada as a tourism destination is largely

attributable to the initiative and promotion of one person (Barnes and Hayter 1992). At a larger scale, the design and management of Disney World in Florida have created problems in Greater Orlando (e.g., transportation, housing, poverty) that residents perceive are exacerbated by, if not entirely created by, the Disney Corporation (Warren 1993).

Collaboration in relation to tourism planning has been defined as “a process of joint decision-making among autonomous, key stakeholders . . . to resolve planning problems . . . and/or to manage issues related to the planning and development [of tourism]” (Jamal and Getz 1995:188). Such a definition emphasizes the ability of individual actors to engage in purposeful activities for mutual self-interest. This orientation suggests that research should be focused on determining where the optimum balance of interests lies among competing sectors and on using specific techniques to bring it about. For example, Jamal and Getz argue that “collaboration offers a dynamic, process-based *mechanism* [emphasis added] for resolving planning issues and coordinating tourism development at the local level” (1995:187). If collaboration fails to yield optimal solutions, analysts risk attributing this result solely to failure of individuals or individual processes rather than considering broader structural features within which the processes are embedded. This kind of analysis has tended to dominate research findings about collaborative approaches to environmental resources management (Jordan 1989).

This is not to say that writers of community tourism are silent about dimensions of power. They are not. For example, Blank points out that “community leadership is heterogeneous . . . drawn from a number of power bases” (1989:54). He continues by suggesting that resistance to building a community tourism product may come from political leaders, a dominant industry, the Chamber of Commerce, local businesses, residents, environmentalists, and public agencies at all levels. Building on work by Gray (1985, 1989) who writes about organizational theory, Jamal and Getz present a table suggesting that power relations must be addressed at all stages of a collaborative planning process (Table 1). For example, citing a study undertaken by Gray and Hay (1986), Jamal and Getz argue that “power imbalances and

Table 1. Power Relations in a Collaboration Process

| Stages and Propositions | Facilitating Conditions | Actions/Steps |
|-------------------------|--|--|
| Problem-Setting | Shared access to power | Balancing power differences |
| Direction-Setting | Dispersion of power among stakeholders | Ensure power distributed among several stakeholders |
| Implementation | Redistribution of power | Select suitable structure for institutionalizing process |

Source: Excerpted from Jamal and Getz (1995:190).

legitimacy issues related to the stakeholders can inhibit both the initiation and the success of a collaboration" (1995:190–191).

Yet, power is viewed as an instrument to be managed and balanced. For example, Jamal and Getz (1995) argue that it is possible (and necessary) to address the issue of power and authority by including legitimate stakeholders and identifying a suitable convener at an early stage in the collaborative planning process. To these ends, they propose criteria for identifying legitimate stakeholders based on identifying the right and capacity to participate. Where power is not initially equal, they suggest that a local authority, for example local government, may be a suitable convener when the issues revolve around directing the community's future growth and development, or resolving a land-use development problem.

These propositions do not explain why, how, and under what conditions, those with power would be willing to distribute it to others. Reliance on local authorities to convene power relations assumes that these authorities will be neutral arbiters in the land development process. Yet, political theorists have demonstrated that governance institutions have their own agendas in the formulation and implementation of policy (Clark 1984; Dye 1986; Rees 1990), while applied researchers have illustrated how these agendas have been advanced (Reed 1995). Specifically addressing tourism development, Hollinshead (1990) argues that government agencies may act as regulators, players, or partners exercising influence and control through their regulatory and service functions.

Furthermore, in emergent tourism settings where interests are not collectively organized, the identification of legitimate stakeholders may itself be a contestable task. For example, it is important to consider who determines whether an individual or groups is/are affected by a development and who has sufficient capacity to participate. Particularly in emergent tourism settings, the lack of institutions supporting tourism may allow conventional power holders in the community to retain their influence in these key decisions. This is not to suggest that cooperation and collaboration are impossible to achieve, but that structural as well as procedural conditions, within which community tourism planning is constituted, will act as constraints to collaboration. By focusing on how power relations operate within community settings, perhaps the explanations of collaborative community-based tourism planning can be advanced.

A Typology of Power Relations

The typology presented here is adapted from Dye (1986). It suggests three policy arenas and associated actors involved in power relations at the community level (Table 2). The typology implies that power is held and contested, while change is welcomed and resisted across multiple policy arenas. While three levels are considered separately, in practice, questions about development, allocation, and organization frequently overlap. By separating these issues, however, the typology can help explain why certain elements of the community's power

Table 2. Community-Level Policy Arenas Exemplifying Local Power Relations

| Policy Arenas | Developmental | Allocational | Organizational |
|--|---|--|---|
| General Description: | Provision of lands and marketing Involves policies that directly enhance the economic status of the community Typically, conventional elites form a major influence in developmental policy Example, hotel, airport development | Traditional public services provided by local government Typically, pluralist politics may occur within allocational debates Example, schools, sewers, garbage collection, parks | Involves decisions about the structure of decisionmaking Debates about organization do not necessarily challenge the substance of developmental policies Example, type of electoral procedures, advisory committees to council |
| Application to Community Tourism: | Conventional views of tourism see it as a <i>developmental</i> issue, characterized by "products" (land-based) and "marketing" Challenges may be raised that attempt to incorporate access to environmental quality and recreational pursuits Competing visions will cause conflict between conventional and counter-elites over specific initiatives | Requires public funding for infrastructure and services to be shared between residents and tourists Example, signs, public washrooms | Decisions about how tourism is to be determined and managed and by whom |
| Main Players: | Municipality Chamber of Commerce Provincial/federal regulators Large-scale developers New residents New operators/businesses | Municipality Chamber of Commerce Community organizations New operators/businesses Longstanding residents New residents | Municipality Chamber of Commerce Federal/provincial development agencies Community organizations New operators/businesses New residents Specific individuals or groups may also be important in power struggles |

structure will be mobilized to act and what tactics they might use to respond to community-based planning processes.

1. Developmental Policy Arenas. Conventional developmental policies focus on provision of land and marketing efforts to stimulate economic

growth. Historically, local development has been determined to a large extent by the decisions of individual private entrepreneurs in the community who make decisions that are primarily market driven (Douglas 1989). Conventional local elites include real-estate developers, landowners, lending banks, and the local Chamber of Commerce or business association. Local government is also a conventional player in development policy because it is responsible for land development within its own boundaries and it relies on local businesses to provide jobs and tax revenues. A local government may act on behalf of developers through favorable zoning or building bylaws or, if necessary, by mustering its energies and skills to lobby senior governments on behalf of developers. Conventional local elites usually maintain a strong adherence to the ideology of growth (Little and Krannich 1982; Molotch 1976). In particular, local business people whose fortunes are tied to growth and the vitality of the community, are considered most active in community decisionmaking and policy formation. Conflicts are likely to emerge between those who seek to maintain the *status quo* or at least to encourage business starts that are consistent with it, and those who seek to change the nature of economic activities in the local community. These conflicts may arise when new residents and entrepreneurs enter a community and challenge the existing substance of development policies.

In Canada, local economic development is frequently shared as the provincial governments have responsibility for the allocation of property rights and resources on public or Crown lands located primarily beyond municipal borders. Outside of major metropolitan centers, municipal governments frequently rely on the favorable discretion of provincial policies that control adjacent land-uses through agencies responsible for highways and transportation, parks and protected areas, and resource extraction and environmental management. Furthermore, provincial and federal levels of government have initiated programs and agencies to assist communities in identifying and implementing priorities for local economic development. These initiatives may provide incentives through provision of expertise or grants to communities to undertake local development.

2. Allocational Policy Arenas. Allocational policies include a broad range of public services that have traditionally been provided by local government. Theories of community politics suggest that decision-making related to service functions is frequently subject to competitive political struggles at the local level involving a broad range of individuals and groups (Dye 1986; Saunders 1981). In this arena, interest and activity define who participates rather than economic resources. Access to decisionmaking is based upon information about the issues, knowledge of the political processes, and organizational and public relations skills. Elected officials frequently display sensitivity to the opinions of their constituents on allocational questions.

Allocation issues may come into conflict with development policies, however, if allocation requires a redistribution of resources away from initiatives that support traditional elites. For example, where there are limited funds, politicians seek to provide services and infra-

structure for development projects that they believe will contribute to overall employment and tax revenues. Yet, local governments are also called upon to provide services for which there are no immediate economic returns (e.g., provision of parks and public areas). In the latter scenario, it may not be politically palatable to reject outright those proposals that provide such services. Rather, municipal politicians may employ tactics of non-decisionmaking in response to demands for allocation of funds towards specific initiatives. Non-decisions include situations where no decisions are taken or necessary as well as when conscious choices are made to do nothing, to thwart demands for change or to adopt plans that are imperfectly implemented (Bachrach and Baratz 1971; Debman 1975; Rees 1990; Wolfinger 1971). Funds may then be available for projects with more immediate and direct local economic benefits. In this way, conventional power elites may not appear to be actively involved in allocational issues, yet they may be instrumental to their outcome.

3. *Organizational Policy Arenas.* Organizational policies deal with issues of who will make decisions in the community and who will take responsibility for them. Authority for decisionmaking is shared among different tiers of government as well as among different stakeholders within a local community. With the rise of public involvement in all aspects of community development, it is no longer feasible for decisions to be left to elected representatives and their delegated officials. New players within developmental politics may question who should make the decisions without questioning the underlying premise of economic growth. Where the economic base and demographic characteristics of a community are changing, however, choices about who will be responsible for decisions may in fact be tied to different visions of the substance of economic development and community life (Blahna 1991).

The introduction of tourism to communities introduces conflicts over the substance of economic development, the allocation of public funds among residents and tourists, and the processes by which decisions are made. In the following section, discussion revolves around communities where the decline in dependence on the traditional economic base is accompanied by growth in the population. This scenario often occurs where a resource-dependent community (e.g., agriculture, forestry) can still rely on its original economic base, yet is located sufficiently close to urban areas to attract new residents who seek affordable housing and lifestyle changes associated with recreation, small town atmosphere, etc. (Bryant 1989; Rudzitis 1993).

Application of the Typology to Emergent Tourism Settings

Conventional models of economic development view tourism as a *developmental* issue where it is stimulated by developing land and products, through initiatives such as downtown redevelopment or the creation of a new project (e.g., hotel, golf course). Within emergent tourism settings, new residents and businesses may enter and offer

alternative perspectives about economic development. For example, new residents seek lands for outdoor recreation, conservation, and housing as part of their positional goods within community settings (Lowe, Murdoch, Marsden, Munton and Flynn 1993; Ward, Lowe, Seymour and Clark 1995). Conventional local elites may struggle with new counter elites over the nature and direction of developmental policies within emergent tourism settings.

The introduction of tourism within communities usually requires funds to be *allocated* to develop the local infrastructure and services which may service visitors who do not contribute to the residential tax base. Particularly in an emergent setting, tourism may not be viewed as a legitimate form of economic development because it is not visible and/or tourists are not viewed as "productive" entities that contribute to the local economy. As a consequence, municipal politicians may be reluctant to devote money to tourism development because their power base comes from developers who provide tax revenues and jobs, and from residents who vote.

Questions about who will be *involved in decisions* about tourism may emerge where demographic and economic changes are occurring within local communities. In an emergent tourism setting characterized by population growth, new residents may question traditional land uses and modes of economic development, and work to produce cracks in the power structures in order to open up new venues for citizen participation. This is not to suggest that new residents form a cohesive argument for change (Cloke and Thrift 1987), only that they may be an important local force as they take up new opportunities to participate in civic affairs (Blahna 1991; Fortmann and Kusel 1990; Rank and Voss 1982). In particular, newcomers may introduce a formalization of procedures, processes and institutions for decisionmaking (Cortese 1982).

A community-based tourism planning process is an example of a more formal mechanism for harnessing citizen opinion about development issues. Its introduction may provide a venue for expressing new, potentially competitive, interests in the process, substance and/or players of local development. Consequently, attempts to undertake community-based planning in an emergent tourism setting are subject to the expression of power relations in different policy arenas. These relations are examined in Squamish, Canada.

SQUAMISH AS AN EMERGENT TOURISM SETTING

The discussion that follows applies the conceptual framework to a community-based tourism planning process involving residents and conventional stakeholders in Squamish, Canada (Figure 1). The data presented here form part of a larger research effort aimed at understanding the processes of economic and social restructuring in the region (Gill and Reed 1996; Reed and Gill 1996).

Research for this study began in October 1992, using a multi-perspective approach that incorporated both qualitative and quantitative data techniques. First, the author observed the initial meetings of the Citizen's Advisory Committee and received all

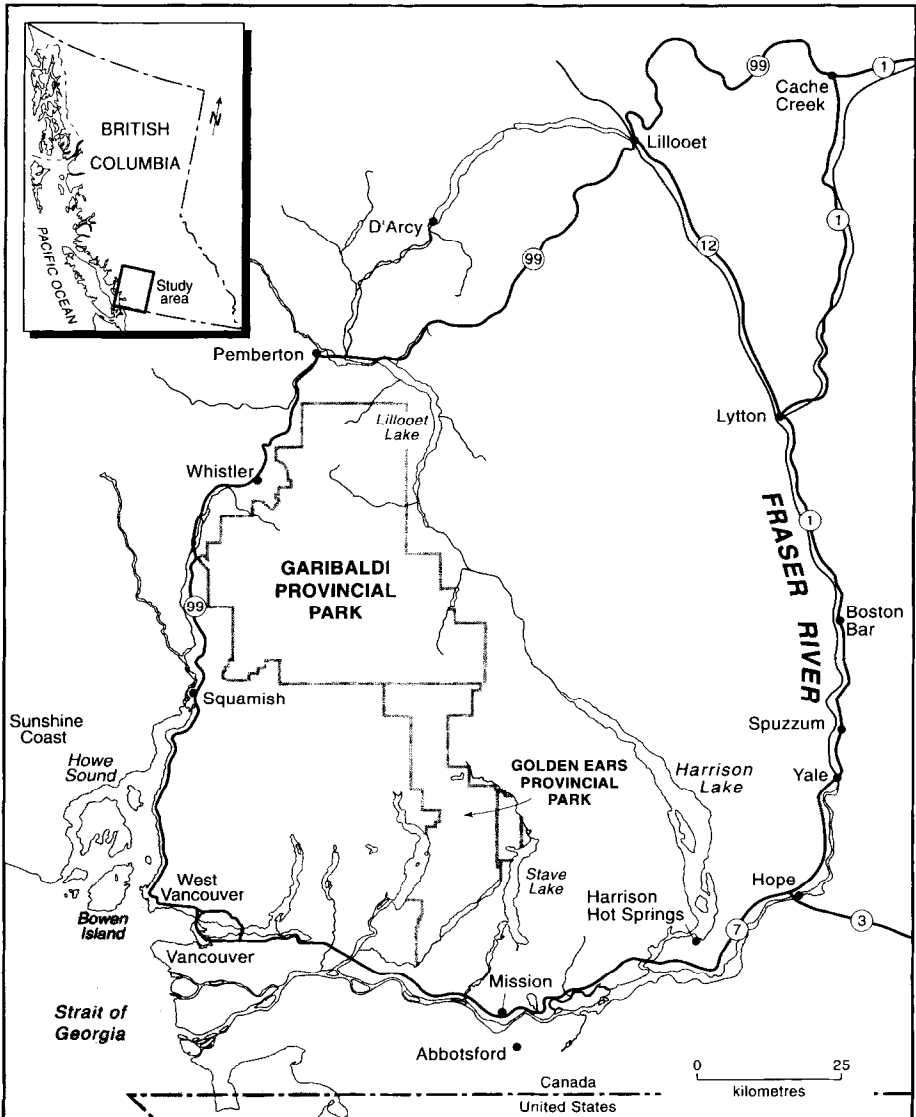


Figure 1. The Location of Squamish BC, Canada

minutes and communication associated with its activities. Second, other documentary sources were also reviewed including Census of Canada, newspaper accounts, a draft, and the final tourism development plan. Third, in 1995, the author conducted in-depth interviews with all 19 continuing citizen participants, 3 of 5 resource people and observers, and the manager of the Chamber of Commerce. Analysis of the verbatim transcripts followed the methodology of accounts outlined by Brown and Sime (1981). The information from the interviews was checked for internal consistency within cases and cor-

roborated with other interviews and documented sources. A story line was created using coded themes and excerpts from the interviews and classified according to the categories of the typology. The interview data were then incorporated into the other sources to form the basis for the analysis presented here. Fourth, reference is made to a household survey conducted with Gill in Squamish in July 1995, where 1,270 residents responded. A more detailed discussion of this method and results are presented elsewhere (Gill and Reed 1996; Reed and Gill 1996). Some results of this survey are presented here to indicate the nature of community composition and opinions about tourism.

Squamish, a District Municipality of approximately 13,000, is located between Vancouver and Whistler. Squamish can clearly be considered an emergent tourism setting. Until the 1980s, Squamish was a "classical" resource-based town, dependent primarily on the forest industry relying on logging, pulp production, and sawmilling, which in 1981 employed about 27% of its laborforce. This figure does not include log-handling activities, the shipping terminal, and the railway which also contributed to the resource economy. By 1991, the year of the last available census data, 18% of jobs were held in the basic forestry-related jobs. Services had increased their share of the laborforce by 20%, to make up 47% of the labor-force.

Originally, the economy of Squamish developed relatively separately from Vancouver and Whistler. However, pressures from the former for port facilities and from both cities for recreational opportunities and affordable housing within commuting range began to draw in new residents from these neighboring municipalities. In addition, Squamish is situated in a region of the province that has experienced the highest growth rate in visitors in the past decade. Consequently, since 1991, the population of Squamish has grown more than 3% per year. New residents and public processes have begun to contribute to a broader debate over the appropriate kind and level of growth in the community. In particular, they have pointed to the physical attributes of the community which offer international caliber recreational opportunities including rockclimbing, windsurfing, and hiking, and they have promoted and/or taken up opportunities for employment in related businesses.

However, Squamish has yet to shake its primary image as a forestry town. At present, the Chamber of Commerce (the Chamber) reports that 60% of local businesses are members. Of these, approximately 35 of 350 are related to tourism. This figure includes hotels, tour operators and restaurants. Since 1985, the Chamber has held a fee-for-service contract with the municipality to provide tourism information services. It also forms part of a "joint tourism committee", composed of members of the municipal council, the Chamber, and a person from the local Parks and Recreation Board to oversee the contract. The Chamber also retains the option to undertake marketing on behalf of the municipality. The marketing of Squamish as a tourism destination is currently hampered by its lack of a tourism infrastructure, the limited appeal of its town center, restricted access to foreshore areas, and a lack of local understanding of the current and potential impact of tourism and recreation opportunities on the local economy. As will

be discussed later, some members of the tourism sector would place the Chamber among those who lack understanding of contemporary tourism opportunities.

The emergent character of tourism is also evident in resident opinions associated with tourism development. Respondents to the 1995 survey agreed that dependency on forestry served to make Squamish vulnerable to economic changes. While all respondents supported diversification of the local economy, residents of 5 years or less (newcomers) showed stronger levels of agreement with statements concerning the benefits of tourism and higher levels of disagreement over statements indicating the negative impacts of tourism, than did longer-term residents. In addition, longer-term residents were more pessimistic about the ability of long-term planning to manage the negative impacts of tourism (Gill and Reed 1996).

In 1992–93, Squamish became involved in a community tourism planning exercise as a result of a proposal to develop a four seasons ski resort at Brohm Ridge located on Crown land adjacent to the municipality. For several years, the proposal had been officially endorsed by the municipal council who believed that it was necessary in order to offset the pending reduction in forestry jobs and consequent tax base. In addition, it would boost the profile of Squamish, providing a launch for a potentially lucrative tourism product. The municipality and the proponent company had lobbied the provincial government for several years to approve the project. The provincial government declined, stating among other reasons that the municipality had not “gone to the people” to determine if this were the type of tourism attraction which community residents would like to support. For some members of council, the community-based planning process remained the best means of assuring the provision of the ski hill project.

To oversee the process, a tourism coordinating committee was appointed by the municipality. Representatives from the conventional power holders such as municipal and regional government agencies, the Chamber, and BC Rail were included (Figure 2). After an initial meeting, the Squamish (Aboriginal) First Nation, not a traditional power holder at the local level, was also appointed to the coordinating committee. The committee was charged with making recommendations to the municipal council with respect to the establishment of a comprehensive tourism plan, the setting of tourism development priorities, the allocation of local resources for assisting tourism opportunities, and the evaluation of ongoing tourism initiatives.

The actual planning was undertaken by an advisory committee, composed of 19 ongoing volunteer residents whose work was facilitated by the economic development officer from Community Futures, a federally-sponsored community development agency. According to the template used by Community Futures, its members identified priorities for specific strategies, developed action plan concepts, and created a vision statement to guide the plan. Although established under the municipal council, the advisory committee did not operate under the standard protocol of council committees. For example, minutes of meetings were not provided to steering committee mem-

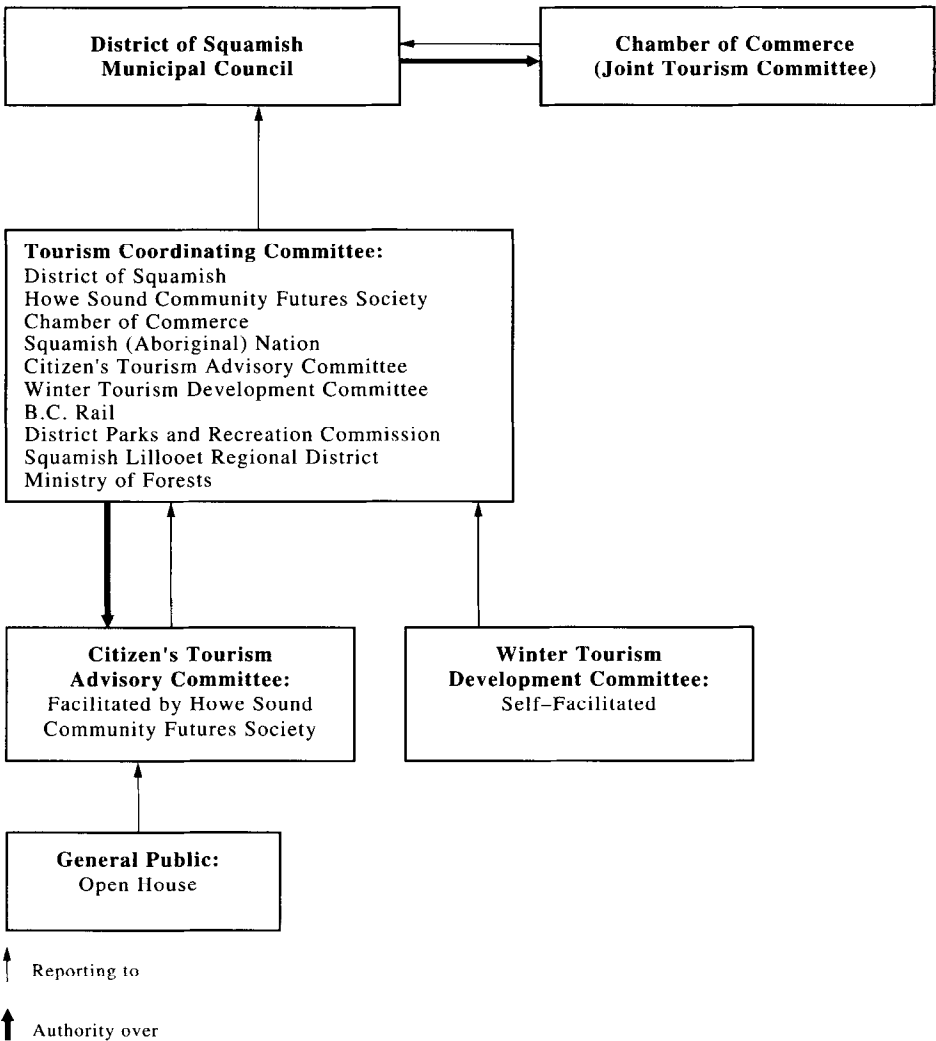


Figure 2. Reporting Relationships for Tourism in Squamish BC, Canada

bers on a regular basis and on several occasions municipal representatives were not invited to the meetings.

The Citizen's Advisory Committee was open to any community residents willing to participate. With only one exception, the committee members had not previously been part of the local decision-making hierarchy. Members included small-scale entrepreneurs, individuals with experience in tourism planning and/or marketing, and concerned citizens. Only one member was a fulltime tourism operator. While a statistical comparison is not possible, a cursory review of committee members and respondents to the community survey indicates that representation on the advisory committee was biased in favor of new residents engaged in business and professional

Table 3. Employment Characteristics of the Advisory Committee and Respondents

| Nature of Employment (Census Categories) | % Of Respondents Resident for 0-5 Years (<i>n</i> =384) | % Of Respondents Resident for > 5 Years (<i>n</i> =593) | % Of Members of Advisory Committee (<i>n</i> =19) |
|---|--|--|--|
| Primary | 4.4 | 10.5 | 0.0 |
| Construction | 9.9 | 6.7 | 0.0 |
| Manufacturing | 3.4 | 7.8 | 0.0 |
| Transport | 7.6 | 13.3 | 0.0 |
| Retail | 7.8 | 10.1 | 5.3 |
| Finance | 4.2 | 3.4 | 0.0 |
| Government | 8.3 | 7.6 | 21.1 |
| Education | 7.6 | 11.6 | 0.0 |
| Health | 13.3 | 7.4 | 0.0 |
| Accommodation | 6.0 | 5.6 | 0.0 |
| Business and Professional Services | 18.5 | 9.9 | 36.8 |
| Sport and Recreation | 4.2 | 0.7 | 5.3 |
| Other | 4.9 | 5.4 | 36.8 |

Source: Data collected by author, Squamish Community Household Survey 1995 and interviews of committee members.

services, "other" employment such as the arts and retirees, and individuals employed in the public service (Table 3). Notably absent was representation from primary (e.g., forestry) and construction industries. Length of residency is also a distinctive feature of the committee members. Of all survey respondents, 36% had lived in Squamish for 5 years or less, compared to 63% (12 of 19) committee members.

After 18 months, the advisory committee submitted a final plan to the coordinating committee and the municipal council. The plan developed and ranked 30 action plan concepts for future tourism development. No effort was made to identify funding sources, although lead agencies and implementation paths were discussed. Of the 30 concepts, the first 10 related to research, planning, logistical support, training, coordination, and infrastructure development.

The context for policy struggles is revealed by the way in which tourism was perceived by different factions associated with the plan. The conventional power players interviewed included a representative of the Chamber and a longstanding municipal politician connected to the forest sector who also served on the advisory committee. For them, tourism in Squamish was viewed as an intangible activity. One respondent said, "it's unorganized. It's a soft activity, very hard to measure, very hard to control". In his mind, the thrust of tourism development should be product driven. According to him, "We need products, more of them". Both respondents focused on two projects as options for future development, a hotel, and a ski resort.

To them, the biggest barrier to the development of tourism was the lack of support from higher orders of government to release land for specific initiatives. For example, the Chamber representative cited frustration with the provincial government for its lack of cooperation in meeting local needs. In her words:

We're frustrated with various levels of the provincial government and [in] some cases the federal government... a lot of Crown land is located within the District of Squamish, and to access that for tourism development... Basically... there was a lack of cooperation to get Crown land released for tourism development and to get cooperation to make Squamish a more desirable location for establishment of... hotels.

To several members of the advisory committee, tourism was viewed as the "next phase" of local development, as yet "underdeveloped" and poorly understood by longstanding power elites. One respondent stated:

I know a lot of people in the tourism/recreation field. They felt they were under-represented in this community particularly, so that's the reason why I thought it was very important indeed to maybe get on board and try and perhaps redirect slightly [and] broaden the concept of what tourism was.

To these proponents, tourism was viewed as an outcome of recreational opportunities, with rockclimbing, windsurfing, and the estuary upon which Squamish is located as focal points. Small-scale tour operators were identified as part of the emergent tourism setting, although members recognized that they remained unorganized. As one participant pointed out, "the problem is that tourism is so underdeveloped here that there really aren't stakeholders".

The Results of the Initiative

In this context, power struggles within developmental, allocational, and organizational policy arenas are illustrated with reference to the community-based tourism planning initiative in Squamish. The empirical evidence is not exhaustive, but serves to illustrate how power relations might figure within collaborative tourism planning (Table 4).

Competing visions for the development of tourism were evident within the Citizen's Advisory Committee as well as between the committee and the broader local power structure. The advisory committee became fractured around the ski hill issue. Some members of the committee viewed the planning process instead as an opportunity for public service and to steer tourism in a direction that was quite different. Those who opposed the ski hill argued that they did not want Squamish to become a "tinsel town" or a "fantasy garden". In BC, the allusion to fantasy garden is attributed to a political scandal involving a former premier of the province who owned a theme park, "Fantasy Gardens", that combined gardens with Christian images. Opponents to the ski proposal feared that large-scale intrusion of capital would destroy the community life they enjoyed and create a dependency relationship on the ski hill operator. Their opposition was

Table 4. Summary of Power Relations

| Policy Arena and Example | Main Players | Key Actions | Discussion and Resolution |
|---|---|---|--|
| Developmental: Brohm Ridge Ski Resort Proposal | Municipality | Lobbying in favor to provincial government | The debate over Brohm Ridge revolved around the appropriate type and scale of development for tourism in the community. The result was a modified form of cooptation where conventional power elites ensured the project was not denied |
| Allocational: Overall plan and its implementation | Provincial government Private developer Citizen's Advisory Committee Private recreation group Municipality | Initial refusal, required a community process Lobbying municipality and individuals informally Split between committee at large and winter tourism committee Lobbying in opposition to provincial and municipal governments Non-decisionmaking | The plan was deliberately oriented towards procedural elements over identification of specific projects. This orientation allowed the municipality and the Chamber to declare that the uptake had to come from private sector. As a result, the municipal council did not allocate any public funds to implement any recommendations. Implementation was marred by non-recommendations. In the allocational arena, decisionmaking by the public sector. In the allocational arena, marginalization of the planning effort resulted |
| Organizational: Recommendations for a tourism association and a tourism coordinator | Chamber of Commerce Citizen's Advisory Committee Municipality Chamber of Commerce Community Futures Citizen's Advisory Committee | Support of private sector initiative for implementation Recommendations contained in the plan. No further lobbying after the plan was completed No direct action, although municipal representative facilitated a subsequent meeting of tourism operators Opposed the recommendations and demanded changes Originally supported the change and its profile in Squamish would have been enhanced if it had succeeded Some members believed that the recommendations would allow other groups to be included in the nature and form of tourism as it developed | These recommendations posed a clear threat to the Chamber, a conventional power elite. The demand for changes to the recommendations marked an attempt to render the plan marginal. Despite these changes, new voices are being expressed with respect to tourism development, representing a juxtaposition of traditional and new models of organization |

shared by a small but vocal group of recreationists who attended public meetings to oppose any new development because of its predicted impact on the present informal recreation opportunities.

Other members of the committee were more receptive to the possibility of developing a ski hill. For some, the ski resort was in keeping with their vision of the next phase of development. For example, one respondent suggested:

We have our own personal vision of what Squamish is like. We want to see a beautiful semi-resort town. It's got all the potential. It's got the skiing potential, the mountain biking, the wind surfing, the climbing, it's got everything.

This divided opinion may also be reflected in the broader population. Almost 49% of all respondents to the questionnaire survey supported the development, while 30% were opposed. Of this total, newcomers were more likely to be in favor of the development than longstanding residents.

The proponent and the municipality viewed the committee primarily as a mechanism to endorse the project. For some members of the council, the process remained the best means of assuring the provision of the ski hill project:

I think certainly there was a clear message from our friends in Victoria, in order for some type of plan to be successful in their eyes, that there needs to be further community involvement.

At the very first meeting of the advisory committee, the proponent was able to ensure that the proposal had been placed at the top of the agenda, asking the participants to endorse the project. Instead, the committee deferred discussion of this proposal indefinitely.

Partly because of the continued lobbying by the proponent of individual members of the committee and partly because of the slowness of the process, five committee members broke away from the main advisory committee to focus on winter tourism activities. Two additional members of the community were asked to join this newly formed Winter Tourism Committee, composed of both new residents and longstanding elites. This liaison between new residents and conventional elites was possible because the resort offered amenities and lifestyle options attractive to some, at the same time as it offered a replacement for taxes and jobs soon to be lost from the forest sector.

The Winter Tourism Committee made six recommendations (Table 5), among them being support for a ski development at Brohm Ridge. When the Winter Tourism Committee returned with its recommendations, the main advisory committee was reluctant to include them in the main report. Consequently, the Winter Tourism Committee bypassed the Citizen's Advisory Committee and submitted its recommendations directly to the coordinating committee (Figure 2). The coordinating committee required that the recommendations of the Winter Tourism Committee be incorporated into the main report. As one participant put it, "that [the coordinating committee] was not a consensus decision-making group at all. That was strict, traditional power-base."

Table 5. Classification of Recommendations in the Squamish Tourism Development Plan

| Development Needs | Winter Tourism Committee | Citizen's Advisory Committee |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|
| Attraction/Project | 5 | 9 |
| Promotion | 0 | 3 |
| Infrastructure | 1 | 5 |
| Hospitality/Service | 0 | 1 |
| Research/Coordination | 0 | 8 |
| Community Participation | 0 | 4 |
| Total | 6 | 30 |

Source: Citizen's Advisory Committee and Howe Sound Community Futures Society (1994).

As a result of the internal wrangling, the concept of a ski resort at Brohm Ridge was supported and embedded within the third-ranked objective, "to develop a plan to promote outdoor winter tourism opportunities and attractions" (Citizen's Advisory Committee and Howe Sound Community Futures Society 1994:7). This recommendation was worded carefully to ensure that it did not support the specific proponent or proposal that had been the subject of local discussion. Yet, as soon as the tourism plan was completed, the municipal government and the proponent resumed their lobby for the ski hill at Brohm Ridge. The plan was used by them as evidence of community endorsement for the project.

The provincial government subsequently made a call for development proposals for Brohm Ridge and the process for tendering began. The decision to seek a call for proposals was primarily as a result of strategic policy changes at the provincial level, rather than successful lobbying by local government. While the development process clearly did not end with the call for proposals, the approval to go to tender marked an achievement by the conventional power elites. Local elites were able to retain their influence locally, despite some effort by members of the advisory committee to broaden the tourism agenda.

This process showed intent by at least some of the conventional elites to coopt the planning process to meet their ends. The proposal was characteristic of traditional mechanisms for economic development, driven by provision of land for a specific and tangible project. The ski hill was a project for which rejection by the advisory committee was not an option. In light of conflict among committee members, the creation of the Winter Tourism Committee ensured that the project was not lost from the agenda. Outright cooption of the community-based planning process did not occur, however. Importantly, although one ski hill development was endorsed, no specific project or proponent was identified. Because the recommendation was nested among several others and within the context of a particular vision, it also ensured that this particular project did not derail the entire planning process.

Instead, the proposal was effectively segregated and then subsumed by the broader-based community effort. If, in the future, the project does not proceed, its failure will not jeopardize the other substantive and procedural elements of the tourism plan. In sum, this series of events represents a modified form of cooptation by conventional power elites.

Non-Decisions in the Allocational Policy Arena

The problems of allocational policies are evidenced in the effort by the committee to view tourism development within a broad perspective. Outside of the recommendations of the winter subcommittee, of 30 recommendations, only 9 dealt with specific projects or attractions. The other two-thirds dealt with broader issues associated with research and coordination, development of infrastructure, and community participation (Table 5).

While one could argue that the nature of these recommendations reflects a lack of efficacy, skills, or creative ideas on the part of committee members, participants suggested that this orientation was due to the need to develop basic infrastructure and awareness within the community before a truly community-based tourism product could be established. By focusing on research, infrastructure needs and coordination, the advisory committee *deliberately* shifted the emphasis of tourism away from concern for private project development to broader public concerns about the process of development. For example, one participant argued that:

Council has to look at what [its] role is in terms of providing infrastructure, not just sort of say, we need a hotel, and going out there and dragging a financier into town and saying "build it here". But rather, what are the terms and conditions in the town itself that will allow a hotel to come here, that's what we want to do.

This strategy, however, resulted in a document that failed to generate momentum for, or even interest in, direct future actions by the municipality. The lack of interest is evidenced in the fact that none of the volunteers received a verbal or written thank you from the municipal council for the efforts they undertook in developing the plan. Some members of the committee did not even know if the council had accepted the plan. In addition, the council did not take any steps toward implementation. For example, when asked 8 months after the plan had been accepted, how it was being implemented, the municipal planner replied:

I don't know. I know you can get copies for free at Municipal Hall... I go back to the plan to say "yeah, this stuff fits in or doesn't". We had a couple of shopping mall proposals and they didn't really fit in with this, which was fine, but then council can look at these proposals in terms of certain land uses, not a tourism thing.

Because many of the recommendations were not land-based, they did not gain priority by the municipal council for allocation of funds. As one observer noted:

Council didn't necessarily buy into the next step, because they were concerned what it meant in terms of dollars . . . [it's] the age-old problem . . . [do] you wrestle with the flood plain [a local land-use concern] or some other issue.

Subsequently, the municipal council agreed to allocate CAN\$5,000 to do a marketing plan pending matching funds from the provincial government. When it was discovered that a marketing plan would cost at least four times that amount, the council dropped the matter, hoping that further development of tourism would come from the private sector. In contrast, the council approved two shopping mall proposals that were inconsistent with the plan.

The predominant interpretation of appropriate tourism development as the combination of "product" and "marketing", reinforced by land development proposals, fed into the notion that new tourism initiatives should be generated from the private sector. This opinion was voiced by one of the conventional power players who suggested that the plan was "being used as a bible for the Chamber, for hotels, for anybody who wants to set up a business". Furthermore, he argued that entrepreneurs "can take it [the plan] to their bank and show that the community's interested in tourism". This interpretation allowed the council to support the new economic sector, while providing ample scope to do nothing and absolve itself from any responsibility for tourism development.

The emphasis of the tourism plan on process over project effectively retained the *status quo* within the conventional power structures. As a result, the Chamber maintained its hold on tourism and constrained its development in the immediate future. As discussed further in the next section, in the aftermath of the plan, new energies are emerging in the community. From the perspective of allocational policies, non-decisions rendered the plan *marginal* to local development efforts by local elites. It is possible, though, that as new kinds of tourism businesses become established and become organized into networks, conventional and new models of organization are becoming juxtaposed beside one another.

Signs of Juxtaposition in the Organizational Policy Arena

Struggles over who should make decisions were evident both in the leadership of the process and in two specific recommendations made by the committee. Both individual personalities as well as institutional priorities clashed in the organizational policy arena. The development officer of Community Futures, a new person representing a new organization in Squamish, volunteered to facilitate the process. According to some of the participants he gained the confidence of the group in attempting to find solutions to the problems they identified. Yet, over the course of the planning effort, his role as facilitator became more intrusive. As one participant put it "First, they weren't going to try to control it or steer it and then they did".

Not only did the person leave a mark within the committee, but he also attempted to become a significant player in directing tourism for

the municipality. Whether by deliberate design or by inexperience, the facilitator effectively cut the municipality out when he no longer ensured that minutes of meetings went to the municipal offices and meetings were called without inviting the municipal representatives. The Chamber believed that, despite its role in tourism locally, it was also shut out. It dropped out of the citizens' process early when it became clear that the advisory committee was not specifically interested in endorsing a hotel that the Chamber sought to establish. The Chamber was further excluded because despite its membership on the steering committee, it did not receive minutes or notification of meetings throughout most of the process. Several of the volunteer participants and municipal observers referred to territorial turf wars that occurred between the Chamber and Community Futures throughout the course of their deliberations.

These tensions came to a head when two of the key recommendations of the advisory committee were modified in light of opposition by the Chamber. First, the committee recommended that an independent tourism association or advisory body be established on an ongoing basis to review tourism initiatives and to make recommendations to council. This recommendation was made in light of concerns that new tourism-related businesses had been shut out from the power structure within the Chamber which consequently did not understand or address their needs. In the words of one respondent, "From the community's perspective, again, there's a whole bunch of people who feel that the Chamber does not represent their interests in the recreation/tourism arena, and who still feel very shut out."

Members of the advisory committee believed that a separate association would be more successful in lobbying the council for funding and providing a profile for tourism initiatives. The Chamber, however, took the position that it was responsible for coordinating efforts and providing information on educational/networking opportunities for tourism businesses. Its objections were supported by others on the coordinating committee. As a consequence, the recommendation became watered down. The current recommendation, designed to offend no one, is to "encourage broader-based participation in local tourism development".

Second, the committee recommended that the municipal council establish a position for a tourism coordinator to develop nascent initiatives and generate a higher profile for tourism in Squamish. This recommendation was in line with the work of other committees of the municipal council. For example, the Youth Advisory Committee had obtained funds to hire a person to identify and coordinate responses to youth concerns. The advisory committee recommended that a coordination role should be advanced through Community Futures, the agency from which the facilitator was drawn. Community Futures agreed to apply for funds through a federal program to hire a person to do the job. Had the agency been successful, some of the influence for tourism development would likely have been redirected towards Community Futures.

The Chamber viewed this recommendation as a direct threat to its existing position. It argued that the role of coordination was already

undertaken by the joint tourism committee, despite the fact that this committee simply oversaw the contract for visitor information services, not product development and coordination. The Chamber stated that if this recommendation were pursued, then Community Futures would be viewed in direct conflict with its own mandate to be complementary and facilitative of community efforts, rather than competitive and duplicative. Furthermore, if additional funds were obtained, the Chamber argued that it should rightly be the sponsor. After vocal and direct opposition to the recommendation, the advisory committee was forced to rescind it and replace it with something more palatable. Consequently, the recommendation was amended to "encourage increased tourism coordination".

The original recommendations threatened not only those who would be responsible for tourism coordination and development, but also implied that new forms of tourism development would become increasingly important. For example, new tour operators and others within the recreation sector might gain a coherent voice under such an arrangement. By opposing the advancement of a separate association and coordinator, the Chamber attempted to render an alternative voice marginal within the organizational arena. Despite this attempt, there are ongoing efforts to establish a network among recreational and tour operators and their service providers. One of the municipal representatives has initiated meetings in order to track emerging trends. He noted that "it's surprising the number of tour operators here and kayakers, it's amazing, every time I call a meeting there's about 20 of them there that I didn't even know existed. So there's a nucleus there...". Since the plan was completed, two new members of the council, sensitive to recreational interests, were elected. Consequently, new voices have begun to gain credibility and representation within community organizations and governance structures. As a result, the *juxtaposition* of traditional and new modes of organization and development hold each other in dynamic tension.

CONCLUSION

In Squamish, the community-based tourism planning process introduced new interpretations of tourism and coexisted to some degree with a more conventional approach to economic development. Challenges to the collaborative effort were raised according to the substance of development, the allocation of public resources to promote development, and the processes by which development decisions were made. From inception to completion of the plan, conventional players in the community ensured that their basic interests were addressed. Yet, through the commitment of citizen participants, the plan for the development of tourism introduced a much broader vision of community aspiration than would have been possible by development applications made to the council on a project-by-project basis. The extent to which the initiative will remain a component of local development processes, however, remains to be seen.

Application of the typology to different policy arenas revealed different kinds of tactics used by players in the planning process to

influence the efforts of collaboration. In this case, three outcomes were realized (Table 4). First, *modified cooptation* occurred within the development arena. The conventional elites, the municipality along with the proponent of the ski hill development, were successful in using the planning process to their ends. Outright cooptation would have resulted if a specific project entirely subsumed or blocked other undertakings. In this case, although the elites were able to ensure that the ski hill project remained on the agenda, they were not successful in derailing the entire planning process. As a result, the tourism development plan presented a much broader vision than that held by the conventional power elites. Within the planning process, there was a shift from the development of a solely private project towards public goods and services that would be in keeping with community needs and desires. This is not to say that all members of the advisory committee spoke with one voice; but rather that their input began to diversify the range of demands to which traditional power brokers had to respond.

Second, *marginalization* of the plan occurred within the allocational arena. The council approved the plan, however, subsequently did little to implement it. Instead, the plan was viewed as a document that could be taken forward by members of the private sector to advance specific projects. The council initially proposed to undertake a marketing strategy which would be in keeping with conventional viewpoints of tourism. When it was discovered that even this undertaking would require a larger allocation of funds than originally anticipated, the measure was not executed. Instead, the Council passed bylaws to allow for other developments (e.g., shopping centers) that contradicted elements of the tourism plan.

Third, *juxtaposition* of traditional and new models of organization is emerging. Within this arena, there was evidence that the traditional power elite, the Chamber, was unwilling to relinquish its apparent hold on the organization and coordination of tourism in the municipality. Its opposition, and the resulting changes in the tourism development plan, marked an attempt to render the plan marginal. However, the Chamber has been unable to control all the players in tourism. New operators continue to organize separately from the Chamber in order to promote their interests to the municipal council. Furthermore, since the report was completed, new people have been elected to council who are sensitive to the "next wave" of development. Although these members have not skewed the overall thrust of local development, their voices suggest that new visions for development will continue to be expressed. Juxtaposition of traditional and new modes of organization will likely continue throughout the period of transition towards tourism.

The empirical research revealed that development of tourism requires a slow process of community-building, particularly when conventional stakeholders do not view tourism as a productive activity. For example, a reorientation of the economic base to give tourism a higher profile would require that scattered and diverse local interests pull together to implement changes. In Squamish, new tourism operators were not well-organized and there was a resistance to recog-

nizing them within the conventional means of representation. This resistance was summarized by one interview respondent:

I think there's a law in this community... people who have been here for their whole lives sort of like the way it is and don't want to see things change that much. They want to sort of protect their position.

In this context, it was difficult to identify leaders who could build sufficient momentum to turn around the substance and process of development. Consequently, despite a collaborative effort to create a new plan, the overall impacts were minimal.

At least two limitations of this research pose challenges for future work. First, the conceptual framework has focused most attention on institutions of power. However, at the local level, these struggles may be rooted in the personalities and circumstances of individual parties which this paper only discussed superficially. For example, even if all parties seek the same vision for development, this vision may elude them because of idiosyncratic circumstances such as historical interaction, personal grievances, inexperience, or attempts to build a career or reputation. Further development of the typology could examine the role of leadership by explicitly considering how individuals intersect with institutions within and across policy arenas. The work of Ap (1990), who identified social exchange theory as a means by which to consider the behavior of individuals in an interaction situation, may be a fruitful starting point.

Second, the diversity of conditions and processes at the local level limits the attempt to develop theoretical explanations. Communities are heterogeneous according to several characteristics including proximity to large urban centers, predominant land uses, type of tourism-based activity, and gender roles and relations. Institutionally, communities exhibit diversity and dynamism in terms of community structure, organization, and relations with senior levels of government. As a result of the small scale and unique characteristics of emergent tourism settings, it is not possible to come up with an explanation that will predict local outcomes with any certainty. For example, while marginalization of the plan was observed in this case, it is possible that in others, local elites will lose their control over community-based tourism planning. Therefore, the experiences in one community may not be transferred automatically to other places.

In addition, community-based processes themselves are complex. Their establishment implies the creation, destruction, and/or reinforcement of relations within and without individual communities. The results will be processes of varying influence and efficacy over time and across different places. Further research in other localities would be required to help separate idiosyncratic elements from characteristic ones, and provide specific, if partial, understandings of the efficacy of community-based planning initiatives in shaping priorities for emergent tourism settings.

Notwithstanding these limitations, the suggestion from this research is that power relations are an integral element in understanding the characteristics and consequences of community-based planning where tourism is emergent. Attempts to balance or disperse

power differences among stakeholders by selecting suitable structures may in fact be contested activities. Those who traditionally hold power may resist its redistribution, thereby hindering attempts for collaboration. These relations are not simply hurdles to be overcome by creating better mechanisms, facilitating favorable conditions, or identifying action steps, but rather are considered endemic to development processes. It is unlikely that agencies such as municipal governments will be neutral conveners of power. They are more likely to be purposeful, goal-oriented actors that use their power to their own purposes. Thus, power relations that favor tourism will gain ascendancy as the nature and structure of the community itself changes through alterations to the demographic composition, economic base, and policies at higher tiers of government. Consequently, theories of collaboration must incorporate power relations as an explanatory variable that demonstrates why collaborative efforts succeed or fail, rather than as an instrumental variable that suggests how power can be balanced or convened. □ □

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