Western Geography, 12 (2002), pp. 130–162

A Regional Geography of Recreation and Tourism in New Caledonia

Greg Halseth
Geography Program
University of Northern British Columbia
Prince George, BC V2N 4Z9
halseth@unbc.ca

This paper examines a regional geography of recreation and tourism in "New Caledonia." It begins with an introduction to definitional and conceptual issues, then presents data on tourism and recreation within the region and sets this information within a conceptual framework. Centred around Prince George, New Caledonia is at the geographic heart of British Columbia. Both tourism and recreation are firmly grounded in the region's natural landscape and in its community fabric. For tourism, the region is best understood as a series of nodes and pathways, where a significant economic opportunity exists for community nodes to capture more of the tourist traffic along these pathways. The spatial organization of recreation activity is similar to that of other resource-based industries in the region, where small towns are the focal points for major infrastructure investments and there is extensive activity on Crown lands. Finally, cottage property development is common throughout the region and its benefits and impacts can be considered as significant.

Introduction

This paper is a regional geography of recreation and tourism activity and land uses within the region of "New Caledonia". As such, it hopes to accomplish three things. The first is to introduce readers to some central definitional and conceptual issues connected with the study of tourism and recreation activity. The second is

to present summaries of information related to tourism and recreation activity as it is occurring within the region. The third is to recognize that tourism and recreation activities have important environmental and social implications beyond the commonly discussed economic ones.

Centred around the City of Prince George, "New Caledonia" is situated at the geographic heart of British Columbia. The region includes many other small towns and villages each with their own rural residential countryside. Transportation routes focus upon Prince George and act to channel provincial tourist flows through the region. Though definitions vary, this paper understands New Caledonia to include the central interior of British Columbia from the Rocky Mountains in the east to the Coast Mountains in the west, and from Cache Creek in the south to the Peace River country in the North. The large forested hinterland of this region also figures prominently in the spatial organization of recreation activity by area residents. Indeed, the vast amount of publicly owned Crown land in British Columbia's central interior is its most valuable natural resource when it comes to both tourism and recreation (see also Dearden, 1983).

Defining Terms

To begin consideration of tourism and recreation within New Caledonia, it is appropriate to develop working definitions of these two central terms. While there is a general sense that tourism and recreation are related but different activities, it is important to be clear and to specify these differences as they have an impact upon the geographic (or spatial) organization of these activities. It is equally important to point out, however, that while considerable attention by both researchers and industry analysts has been directed towards defining these very terms, a considerable range of usage still exists (British Columbia, 1992a; Shaw and Williams, 1994; Wall, 1989a). This complexity of usage means readers must always be careful when interpreting tourism or recreation use "facts" from any of the many statistical compendia regularly published by government or industry.

Tourism

In its simplest form, tourism involves visiting a location, place, or region not generally considered your home community. Beyond this, any attempt to make concrete a definition of tourism often

only "muddies the waters" (see also Murphy, 1983). One of the first issues arising from this simple definition is the need to distinguish the "reason" for the travel. In most cases, tourism is conceptualized as travel or visiting for pleasure, relaxation, or similar purposes which specifically excludes travel for employment, business, or such reasons.

In British Columbia, there has been a move towards using the World Tourism Organization definitions in government reporting (British Columbia, 1992a). As seen in Table 1, the relatively straightforward definition of tourism can quickly become more complex when distance or duration of visit are included and when geographic (in this case international) boundaries are added as well. It is not surprising, therefore, to find numbers of combinations of these variables used in developing definitions for, or reporting statistics from, tourism surveys.

Table 1 World Tourism Organization Definitions

Tourist: is a visitor who travels to a place outside his/her usual environment for at least one night.
Excursionist: is a visitor who travels to a place for less than 24 hours without spending the night in the place. ("same-day" tourist)
Internal Tourism: A person residing in a country, who travels to a place within that country, but outside his/her usual environment, for a period not exceeding six months, and whose main purpose of visit is not for employment or related purposes.
International Tourism: A person who travels to a country other than that in which he/she has his/her usual residence and which is outside his/her usual environment, for a period not exceeding one year, and whose main purpose of visit is not for employment or related purposes.

Adapted from British Columbia (1992a, 9).

While these definitions suggest that tourism is an activity engaged in by those visiting a particular region, tourism must also be understood as an economic activity and as an industry (Murphy, 1979, 1983). As an economic activity, studies of regional tourism activity can be approached from either a "demand-side" or a "supply-side" analysis. A demand-side investigation would focus upon the characteristics and expenditures of the tourists themselves. One of the common sources of information for a demand-side analysis

is the "visitor survey". A supply-side investigation on the other hand would seek to identify the services, facilities, and products available within the region for use (or consumption) by tourists. Together, demand and supply side research are critical to the development of local and regional tourism industry strategies. In the discussion below on tourism activity in New Caledonia, a demand-side presentation is emphasized using data on tourists coming into the region.

For some time now economic research has been arguing for recognition of the tourism industry as a growing and important sector of the regional economy (British Columbia, 1991a, 1993; Murphy, 1979). A provincial government economic impact report argued strongly for tourism as an important industry and economic contributor:

> The Tourism Industries are made up of tens of thousands of businesses across the province that produce goods and services that are used by tourists. These businesses offer accommodation, food and beverage services, recreation, transportation and retail sales and range in size from large hotel chains to part-time fishing guides. They hire workers, purchase inputs, pay taxes and create 'value-added' in their products. Altogether, the tourism industries produce significant economic impacts in the B.C. economy (British Columbia, 1992a), p. 8.

Estimates of these economic impacts are impressive. Using tourism data from 1988, a provincial government report estimated that tourism businesses earned approximately $5.8 billion; producing direct economic impacts of $3.3 billion, and an additional $2.1 billion in indirect economic benefits (British Columbia, 1992a). The direct economic benefit is of particular significance as tourism supported over 105,000 jobs in 1990 alone (British Columbia, 1993, 59). By 2001, annual tourism revenues had increased to more than $9.5 billion on an overnight visitor volume of 22.5 million people (British Columbia, 2002).

Recreation

Starting again with the simplest of definitions, recreation can be described as any activity which offers a contrast to work-related activities (Hammitt and Cole, 1987). As with tourism, such a simple and broad definition allows for a wide range of potentially diverse types of activities to be included. Walking, hiking, camping, boating, skating, skiing, snowmobiling, snow-shoeing, team sports, and

trail rides can all be considered recreational activities. Any attempt to limit that range, however, introduces tremendous definitional complications (Marsh and Wall, 1982). Stemming from this diversity and from a considerable potential overlap between tourism (especially "same day" tourism identified above) and recreation activities, this paper is organized around a distinction between tourism as involving "visitors" to a region and recreation as involving activities engaged in primarily by "local residents".

The geography of recreation develops out of a relationship between the availability of sites or resources for recreational activity and the location of potential users of those resources. Knudson (1984), building upon earlier research by Clawson and Knetsch, sketches a three part classification of recreation places. Based upon the spatial relationship between users and recreation resources, Knudson identifies: 1) "User-Oriented Areas", 2) "Intermediate Areas", and 3) "Resource-Oriented Areas". User-Oriented Areas refer to sites or facilities developed principally for the use and enjoyment of local residents. These can include public facilities such as community playgrounds as well as local commercial facilities such as roller skating rinks.

Recreation sites considered as Intermediate Areas make a spatial compromise between the location of the user and the location of the resource. The user clientele are still primarily local residents, however, the recreation site is not within the immediate community but at the resource location. Examples can include public facilities such as hiking trails in nearby parks or recreational sites, as well as commercial facilities such as small-scale downhill ski facilities located adjacent to town. Note the potential for definitional overlap here between local residents taking part in a nearby recreation opportunity and reported tourism statistics that include "same-day" excursionists.

Resource-Oriented Areas are those planned and developed to take advantage of an outstanding resource opportunity. The focus upon the quality of the resource means that the primary user group is likely no longer regarded as local. In fact, the costs of developing such resources may require a much larger potential user base. Examples in New Caledonia most certainly include the major Provincial Parks. A current "buzzword" within both the recreation and tourism industries is "resource-based" recreation activity. While such activities certainly are not new, the current intent is most often to increase the level of commercial participation in recreation provision based upon outstanding natural resource opportunities. The potential which this type of recreation activity

can, however, have for bringing destructive pressures to fragile natural areas is tremendous and considerable academic attention and concern has been directed to identifying such dangers (Coppock and Duffield, 1975; Hammitt and Cole, 1987; Knudson, 1984; Wall, 1989b).

Like tourism, recreation can also be conceptualized as an industry. Perhaps the most economically significant component of this industry involves recreational equipment supply. Looking only at the "outdoor" aspects of recreation, Wall argues:

> outdoor recreation is a voracious consumer of resources. The recreational equipment industry produces a wide variety of products including boats, cameras, cottages, fishing and hiking equipment, skis, tents, and trailers, and large areas of land and water are assigned to outdoor recreation. Thus, outdoor recreation is big business, and it has [an important] impact on people, resources, and the economy (Wall, 1989a, 7-8).

In this sense, the recreation industry can also be examined through supply-side (Kreutzwiser, 1989) or demand-side (Smith, 1989) analyses. A supply-side study of recreation "refers to the recreational resources, both natural and man-made [sic], which provide opportunities for recreation" (Kreutzwiser, 1989, 21). In New Caledonia, both the natural landscape and climate together with the many facilities, such as ice rinks and ball fields, available in the towns and communities of the region are critically important to local recreation. A demand-side study, in contrast, would focus upon the users of these recreation opportunities, sites, and facilities. In this paper, a supply-side investigation of community and provincially managed facilities is emphasized. This emphasis will allow for comparison to the demand-side approach used to cover tourism activity.

A final important point about recreation is that there is widespread agreement that recreational activity is not only beneficial to the body but also the mind and spirit (Helleiner, 1980). Knudson (1984, 6) argues that recreational leisure provides the "vital rewards of 1) self-fulfilment, 2) physical and intellectual involvement, and 3) creative and cultural development". Hammitt and Cole (1987, 3) introduce their study of "wildland recreation" by arguing that "notions of recreation as constructive, rewarding, and restorative are at least as important as the notion of recreation as fun".

Erosion of Tourism and Recreation Opportunity

Much of the above discussion with respect to defining tourism and recreation is based upon the more general notion that individuals have both the time and resources to take advantage of such opportunities (Helleiner, 1980). As Wall (1989a) points out, the study of recreation (and, by extension, tourism) must recognize that such activity is one component of an individual's leisure-time activities, and that such activities cannot be understood without reference to costs or to the time required for employment and work.

Early in recreation studies Clawson (1974) linked leisure time and discretionary income. More recently, Shaw and Williams (1994) explored the implications of this linkage by examining the inequalities which exist in social access to leisure time and tourism. It also now appears that the availability, if not the very existence, of leisure time is under attack from a variety of forces. Increasing "flexibility" in workplace restructuring and employment is changing the relationship between work and leisure time. "Home offices" all too often mean that the "worker" is always on the job, with the workstation in the corner of the kitchen beckoning. Critics of "surfing to work on the information highway" argue that "people appear to be more and more enslaved in their work and home lives than ever before" (Saige, 1995, 67). Finally, the restructuring of work and employment within the North American economy now often means lower wages and the need by more and more people to work at more than one job (Harvey, 1989; Mather, 1993; Pratt and Hanson, 1989). All of these pressures can erode seriously the amount of leisure time available for recreation or tourism activity.

Finally, tourism activities, and increasingly many recreation activities as well, cannot be accessed without paying various forms of "user fees". In Ontario, for example, going for a picnic at a provincial park has for several years now been accompanied by the requirement to pay a "day-use permit" fee. Pressures such as these are combining to both limit the amount of leisure time available to individuals and households and to limit the range of tourism or recreational activities in which they can engage. Consider for example the recent boom in "wilderness-recreation" experiences. A theme of social exclusivity is firmly grounded in the economic marketing of these costly wilderness guided tours. One assessment specifically identifies affluent young urban singles and professionals as the target market (British Columbia, 1991a). It is difficult to imagine a rush by the homeless or street youth populations of our

cities to take part in these types of expensive wilderness adventures. Yet, it is equally difficult to imagine populations more in need of these types of restorative or "re-creation"[1] experiences. Tremendous public resources are being allocated to opening "pristine" wilderness areas to this new form of recreation industry and questions must be asked about who is benefitting.

Geographical Themes

As suggested above, tourism and recreation activities and land uses are often described and interpreted as resource industries—based most often upon a renewable resource. Certainly in British Columbia's central interior region it is the natural environment that draws most of the tourists and generates conditions for much of the outdoor recreational activity. While the remainder of the paper will spend time charting and detailing this activity, no regional geography can be effective only as a compendium of "facts"—rather, some conceptual framework is required within which the various facts and details presented can be better understood. Therefore, two frameworks are set out in this section for interpreting and understanding a regional geography of tourism and recreation. Underlying both of these frameworks is a more general theme of a regional reliance upon the natural resource base.

A Framework for the Regional Geography of Tourism

Tourism is an action activity. It involves the movement of visitors to places. The central interior of the province is both a **destination** and a **travel path** for tourism. One of the ways, therefore, to understand the regional geography of tourism activity in New Caledonia is by combining two action, or movement models (Figure 1)[2]

In this conceptual model, the circles denote "nodes" of tourism destination activity. The larger the circle, the more important the site as a tourism destination. These destination locations are linked by tourism pathways. Again, the wider the pathway the more important it is in terms of tourism travel routes through the region. The use of nodes and pathways is a well established conceptual model in geography, one which Barker (1978) uses effectively to illustrate the friction of distance on weekend recreationalists travelling from Vancouver to interior ski facilities. Such a conceptual model remains useful for tourism research, and one of its strengths is that it is amenable to geographic information system techniques

which combine spatial location with statistical data to plot changes in the spatial organization of tourism.

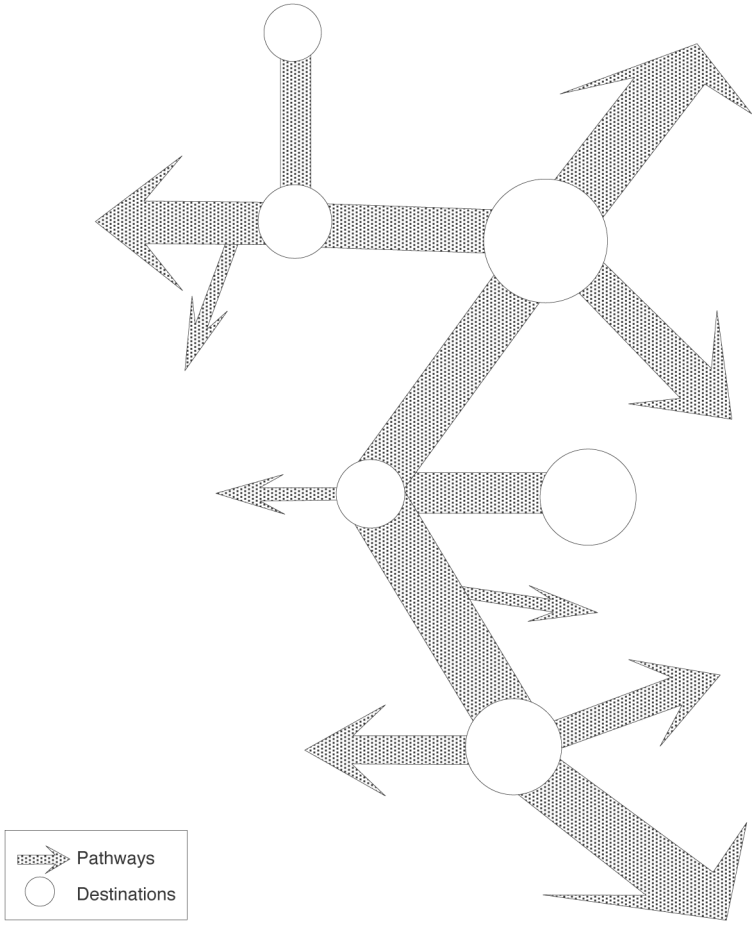

Figure 1 Conceptual Framework of Tourism in "New Caledonia"

Tourism in British Columbia includes both residents of the province and visitors to the province. Using data from a 1989 tourism survey (Table 2), tourism activity included over 23 million people and generated over $5 billion in revenues. Looking just at British Columbia residents travelling within the province, this "tourism sector" accounted for just over two-thirds of the total volume of travel and just over one-half of the tourism revenue (British

Columbia 1991b). The specific regional implications of these tourism volumes and values, however, depend upon the geography of the tourist destinations and travel paths.

Table 2 Tourism in British Columbia—1989: Resident and Visitor Markets

	B.C. Residents	*Visitors to B.C.*	*Total*
Number of Tourist Parties (million)	5.90	3.09	8.99
Avg. Party-Size (persons)	2.62	2.47	2.58
Number of Tourists (million)	15.61	7.63	23.24
Person-Nights (million)	57.80	43.70	101.50
Length of Trip in B.C. (nights)	3.70	5.83	4.36
Expenditure per Person-Day	$45.35	$54.90	$49.28
Gross Expenditures (billion)	$2.62	$2.40	$5.02

Adapted from British Columbia 1991b. p. 9.

A Framework for the Regional Geography of Recreation

The geography of recreation activities in New Caledonia can be effectively described using themes similar to those employed for understanding the spatial organization of other natural resource-based industries within the region. As listed in Table 3, four elements effectively describe recreation's regional geography.

Table 3 A Regional Geography of Recreation

1. Facilities focused upon communities.
2. Commercial developments on small parcels of private land.
3. Vast Crown lands available for outdoor recreation.
4. Provincial Government's maintenance of Crown land access infrastructure.

The first of these elements concerns the way in which small communities of the central interior are the focal points of intensive investment in major recreational facilities. These facilities, which can include ice arenas and small sports stadiums, form the basic infrastructure for year-round recreational activity. These facilities serve not only the individual communities within which they are

set but also the rural residents of a surrounding hinterland. A second element centres around the existence of a wide range of recreational development and activities throughout the region which takes place on private property. These can range from very small properties such as launching sites for whitewater rafting excursions to some very large properties involved in Guest Ranch operations.

Outside of the urban places and small settlements of New Caledonia the vast majority of lands remain publicly-owned Crown land. The third theme important for interpreting recreation activity centres upon this enormous amount of public land; how it is a major resource and how it is both available and widely used for outdoor recreation by the residents of the region. Over the past 25 years the construction of high quality year-round forestry access roads have been important in opening up this land base to recreationalists. Developing from this is the final theme important for understanding regional recreation activity, that is the role of the provincial government in managing, maintaining, and enhancing access to Crown lands for public recreation[3].

Tourism

Interpreting demand-side tourism data for New Caledonia is complicated by the fact that provincial tourism statistics are collected and reported for "tourism regions". In 1987 two regions, "Cariboo-Chilcotin" and "North-by-Northwest", form the closest approximation of New Caledonia possible using provincial tourism region boundaries (Figure 2). As shown in Table 4, approximately 55,000 tourists visited the Cariboo-Chilcotin region and approximately 89,000 tourists visited the North-by-Northwest region during the summer of 1987. In both regions the largest group of tourists, over two-thirds in both regions, came from the United States. Over the next decade, tourist numbers increased dramatically. By 1998, the North-by-Northwest region recorded 0.9 million non-resident visitors and the Cariboo-Chilcotin region recorded 0.7 million non-resident visitors (British Columbia, 1998).

Figure 2 Cariboo–Chilcotin and North-by-Northwest Tourism Regions

Table 4 Tourists to "New Caledonia" Summer 1987[1]

	Tourism Regions[2]	
Source	*Cariboo-Chilcotin*	*North-by-Northwest*
Canada	7,000	16,000
USA	40,000	59,000
International	10,000	14,000
Total	55,000	89,000

Adapted from British Columbia 1988a and 1988b.

[1]July to October.

[2]These do not coincide well with conceptualizations of "New Caledonia" but are the closest approximation possible using Ministry of Tourism boundaries.

While there are clearly many tourists from the United States coming into these regions, their role in the tourism planning strategies for central interior communities takes on a different meaning when you examine the final destination of these visitors. When asked whether British Columbia was their major destination, far less than half of these United States visitors responded "yes" (Table 5). For most of these visitors, their travel plans were to connect with the Alaska or Stewart-Cassiar Highways with the final destination being the State of Alaska. For these tourists, New Caledonia is territory to be passed through, with overnight accommodation, food, and fuel purchases being their only contribution to the local tourist economy. This pattern of through travel by visitors continued during the 1990s (British Columbia, 1998). There is a clear opportunity for the small towns of New Caledonia to capture more of this tourism value flowing through the region.

Table 5 Percentage of Visitors Who Stated that BC was Their Major Destination—1987

	Tourism Regions[1]	
Source	*Cariboo-Chilcotin*	*North-by-Northwest*
Canada	82%	90%
USA	40%	32%
International	53%	51%
Total	47%	47%

Adapted from British Columbia 1988a and 1988b.

[1]These do not coincide well with conceptualizations of "New Caledonia" but are the closest approximation possible using Ministry of Tourism boundaries.

Communities such as Prince George have recognized the significant potential of this tourism stream passing through the region and have made this a focal point of their tourism and marketing strategies (Tourism Prince George, 1996). For the "rubber tire" market segment, the majority of whom are coming from the south bound for the Yukon or Alaska, "Prince George is a stopover, rather than a destination, tourism revenues from all this traffic are not maximized" (Tourism Prince George, 1996, 7)[4]. Strategies to capture more of the tourism revenue passing through the community "has been a focus of Tourism Prince George's marketing efforts for

6 years" (Tourism Prince George, 1996, 7). Current marketing strategies include advertising campaigns, encouragement of tourist attraction development, creation of tourist services packages, and ongoing visitor surveys. These strategies clearly link both the supply and demand sides of the local tourism industry.

That the local potential of this tourist traffic is important is illustrated with data from Prince George (Table 6). Through the early 1990s estimates of tourist traffic through the community range from 350,000 to 645,000 people. Fluctuations in levels can be accounted for by special events, trade conventions, weather, and general economic climate. Annual direct revenues generated by this tourist traffic range from approximately $23 million to more than $41 million. Indirect annual benefits generated within the local economy, such as the purchase of goods and services by firms which cater to the travelling public, would of course be higher.

Visitors from within the province demonstrate very different travel and destination patterns for the Cariboo-Chilcotin as compared to North-by-Northwest region (Table 7). For the Cariboo-Chilcotin tourism region, over half of the provincial visitors come from the urban southwest with the remainder coming from a variety of source areas. For the North-by-Northwest tourism region, however, 42 percent of provincial visitors come from the urban southwest while a further 45 percent come from within the North-by-Northwest region itself. There are three items of note on this difference. The first is that the North-by-Northwest tourism region covers a much larger territory than does the Cariboo-Chilcotin. This means northern residents can go on extended trips or vacations and still remain within the same tourism statistical region. The second item of note is related to the first in that there is the potential definitional problem of overlap between "same-day tourists" and regional residents out on recreational excursions. Data difficulties are enormous with this type of statistical reporting. The third is that the North-by-Northwest is much more isolated by distance from southern British Columbia requiring increased travel costs and effort. These types of geographic considerations must be included in any evaluation of reported tourism statistics. Finally, the local economic impact of such in-province tourists should not be underestimated in tourism strategy planning. Many identify B.C. locations as their primary destination and will spend more time, and potentially make a more significant per/visitor economic contribution, in the local area.

Table 6 Prince George Tourism Statistics

	1990	*1991*	*1992*	*1993*	*1994*	*1995*
Visitors[1] (infocentre) [thousands]	46.2	38.7	39.8	28.1	45.7	51.6
Visitors[2] (estimated total) [thousands]	577.9	483.1	497.1	351.2	571.5	645.0
Direct Revenue [$ million]	37.6	31.4	32.3	22.8	37.1	41.9

Adapted from Tourism Prince George statistics.

[1]Visitors (infocentre): count of the number of visitors to Prince George who entered the Infocentre office.

[2]Visitors (estimated total): estimated 100 percent of the annual 'rubber tire' visitors to Prince George, based on assumption that the Infocentre captures approximately 8 percent of this traffic.

Direct Revenue: estimated revenues derived from 100 percent visitors.

In summary, despite the difficulty of spatial incongruities between region boundaries, the tourism data highlights the framework of our conceptual model of New Caledonia tourism. In terms of destinations, there is clearly a segment of the tourist market that is looking to make one of the regional communities, parks, or recreational areas their primary destination. In terms of pathways, the central interior also experiences a considerable flow-through of tourists whose ultimate destination is outside of the region. One of the most important of these tourist traffic flows involves visitors from the United States destined for Alaska. Communities such as Prince George recognize the tremendous economic opportunity passing through the region annually, and recent promotional campaigns such as "catch your breath in Prince George" are aimed at getting the overnight stays of Alaska bound tourists extended by an extra day or two.

Table 7 Source of B.C. Visitors to "New Caledonia," 1990

	Tourism Regions[1]	
Source	*Cariboo-Chilcotin* %	*North-by-Northwest* %
Vancouver Island	6	5
Southwest B.C.	56	42
Okanagan	3	4
Kootenay	0	1
Thompson	9	3
Cariboo	8	7
North by Northwest	9	45
Peace River	1	5
Rocky Mountains	1	0

Adapted from British Columbia 1991b.

[1]These do not coincide well with conceptualizations of "New Caledonia" but are the closest approximation possible using Ministry of Tourism boundaries.

Recreation

If employment in resource-based industries marks a major part of the livelihood for New Caledonia residents, then all-season participation in outdoor recreation activity in this resource hinterland marks the lifestyle. Two issues are important in a supply-side analysis of the regional geography of recreation. The first is the availability of recreation facilities within even the smallest communities, while the second is the availability of access to vast recreation lands.

Communities

In a pattern which mirrors the spatial organization of other natural resource-based industries, the towns and small communities of New Caledonia are focal points for capital intensive facilities. The importance of year-round recreation is illustrated through the emphasis which even the smallest of settlements place on developing community facilities. This commitment is not trivial, as the

development of facilities is costly and many of these communities have a limited tax-base from which to draw funds.

Table 8 presents a listing of some recreational facilities within a selection of communities. There are several items of interest with respect to this data. All of the sample communities have an ice arena and all but one have curling rinks. Some communities have more than one ice-sheet available, often within the same facility and often involving a combination of one large and one small ice surface. Curling rinks commonly have between two and four sheets. Swimming pools are another major and common recreational facility. In New Caledonia, however, the availability of community swimming pools is much less widespread than are ice arenas. From this survey it appears that communities with less than 3,000 residents typically have not invested in a swimming pool facility.

Major facilities such as ice arenas, curling rinks, and swimming pools represent not only significant capital investments but also commit the community to large and continuing annual operating cost budgets. For most of the communities listed, capital construction costs were assisted by one or more senior government funding initiatives. Over the years these have included various "centennial" funding projects, a range of community infrastructure improvement initiatives and, more recently, the use of grants from provincial lottery revenues to build or upgrade recreation facilities.

A final item of note in Table 8 is the number of communities which can boast civic campground facilities. Operated by the municipality, these campgrounds generally offer a limited number of sites and a limited range of services. Situated at convenient, often picturesque, locations within the community, many of these civic campgrounds do not charge a fee for short-term camping stays. These civic campgrounds are one of the jewels of recreation facilities throughout the region.

Beyond the publicly owned or developed recreational facilities there are, of course, a wide range of private recreation facilities. Like almost any other community in Canada, roller skating rinks, indoor play and amusement centres, golf driving ranges and a host of other commercial recreation facilities are common in New Caledonia communities. Another type of private recreational facility includes the small-scale ski facilities which, taking advantage of regional climate and topography, serve a largely local user group. Not only do these small-scale facilities cater to downhill ski enthusiasts, but many are now actively seeking the local snow-boarder market as well.

Table 8 Community Based Recreation Facilities

Sampled Communities[1]	*Population*	*"Hockey" Arenas*	*Curling Rinks*	*Swim. Pools*	*Civic Camp-grounds*	*Golf Courses*
Mackenzie	5,997	1	1	1	1	1
Williams Lake	10,472	2	1	1	1	2
Vanderhoof	4,401	1	1	1	2	1
Hudson's Hope	1,122	1	-	1	4	-
Chetwynd	2,980	1	1	1	1	2
Tumbler Ridge	3,775	1	1	1	2	1
Smithers	5,624	1	1	1	1	2
Burns Lake	1,793	1	1	-	1	1
Fraser Lake	1,344	1	1	-	-	1
Fort St. James	2,046	1	1	-	-	1
Quesnel	8,468	2	2	1	-	2
McBride	740	1	1	-	-	1
Valemount	1,303	1	1	-	-	2
Hazelton[2]	3,200	1	1	-	-	-

Population: Based on local government estimates and 1996 Census data.

[1]Most communities typicaly serve a population twice that listed in table.

[2]Hazelton area communities are grouped together.

Throughout New Caledonia there are also many unique recreation "developments" which take advantage of the vast Crown land resource. A cursory glance at many of the 1:50,000 topographic maps for the region reveals tracts of provincial forest lands identified as "snowmobile area" or "cross-country ski area." Over time these types of land uses have become a part of the recreational landscape through various forms of Crown land leases or arrangements with the B.C. Forest Service. In Prince George, for example, the "Caledonia Nordic Club" continues a long tradition of private organization for winter sports activity. Tracing its origins back to 1957 and the "Sons of Norway Ski Club", the club has developed recreational facilities which have evolved into the (commercial) Purden Mountain Ski Hill, the Tabor Mountain cross-country ski trails, and the new Otway Nordic Centre. Not only do the

Caledonia Nordic Club facilities cater to local recreationalists, they have also hosted Canadian and international competitive events.

Public Land—Parks

As described above, one of the major recreational assets of British Columbia's central interior region is the vast amount of public land. Responsibility for the management and enhancement of access to, and use of, this Crown land for recreation purposes falls primarily to either the provincial Parks Service or the provincial Forest Service.

While there are no large National Parks found within New Caledonia, there are many Provincial Parks and Recreation Areas. In 1996, there were 81 provincial park areas (Table 9). More than half of these sites provide camping facilities while most of the remainder offer picnicking, interpretive trails, boat launches, beaches, or other facilities for day-use recreation. A centrepiece of the provincial park system is historic Barkerville, which draws local and international visitors back in time to the days of the Cariboo gold rushes.

Table 9 Provincial Parks, 1996

Parks with vehicle/tent campsites	45
Parks without vehicle/tent campsites	36
Total Provincial Parks in Region	81
Total BC Provincial Parks	346

Source: B.C. Parks Branch mapping and directories

The central interior and northern regions of British Columbia contain just less than one-quarter of the total provincial park system sites. Covering close to one-third of the province, these regions may be slightly under-represented in terms of the number of park facilities. The region does, however, contain some of the largest parks in the provincial system. Table 10 is a summary listing of the major provincial parks and recreation areas found in the region. These 21 areas include approximately 5 million hectares of protected lands. This listing also includes a number of British Columbia's most renowned parks, such as Tweedsmuir, Wells Gray, and Mt. Robson. Bowron Lake Provincial Park is not only an important recreational asset, its circular chain-lake canoe tour annually draws outdoors enthusiasts from around the world (Paquet, 1990).

Table 10 Provincial Parks, Major Parks within Region, 1996

Park/Recreation Area		*Size (ha)*
Parks	Atlin	271,140
	Bowron Lake	123,117
	Boya Lake	4,597
	Carp Lake	19,344
	Gwillim Lake	9,199
	Kwadacha Wilderness	158,475
	Monkman	40,000
	Mount Edziza	228,698
	Mt. Robson	219,829
	Muncho Lake	88,416
	Spatsizi Plateau Wilderness	656,785
	Stone Mountain	25,691
	Tatlatui	105,826
	Tatshenshini-Alsek Wilderness	958,000
	Ts'yl-os	233,240
	Tweedsmuir	981,000
	Wells Gray	529,748
Recreation Areas	Babine Mountains R.A.	32,400
	Kakwa R.A.	127,690
	Stikine River R.A.	217,000
	Wokkpash R.A.	37,800

Source: B.C. Parks Branch mapping and directories, and Paquet, 1990.

Total 5,067,995 ha.

The region also boasts some of the province's newest park areas.[5] The Tatshenshini-Alsek Wilderness, covering nearly one million hectares, was created in 1993. In 1994, it was announced that 233,240 hectares of land around Chilko Lake in the Chilcotin Ranges west of Williams Lake was now Ts'yl-os Provincial Park. This park addressed part of a major deficit in the Chilcotin Mountains for landscape representation within the provincial park system (British Columbia, 1990). Despite these new parks, and despite the large size of many existing parks throughout the region, many natural environment landscapes are still considered under-represented in the provincial park system (British Columbia, 1992b).

Public Land—Forest Service Recreational Sites

Throughout New Caledonia, the largest share of the Crown land base is allocated to forest management uses. One of the least well known mandates of the B.C. Forest Service, in its role as manager of the province's public forest resource, is to enhance access to the recreational potential of this land. As such, the Forest Service makes available recreation sites for public use. Table 11 lists the distribution of Forest Service recreational sites for a number of the Forest Districts within the central interior. For the most part such sites are "rough" with limited services and amenities. Most sites are also small, involving only two or three campsites, and most are accessible only by gravel roads. There are, at present at least, small permit fees attached to the use of these sites and detailed maps identifying recreational site locations are available from local Forest Service offices. Located off the main "tourist routes", these sites are in some of the most scenic settings in the region.

One of the first items of note in Table 11 is the large number of sites which have been developed. While the listings between columns are not exclusive, the Forest Service maintains more than 540 recreational sites in the general New Caledonia region. A further item of note concerns the variety of recreational uses these Forest Service sites can accommodate. Many are suitable for year-round recreational use, for example, summer campsites along lakes may become excellent winter ice-fishing locations. Beyond the specific recreation sites themselves it should also be recognized that the labyrinth of forestry access roads built throughout the region provide important access to other recreation opportunities. Publications such as the British Columbia Recreational Atlas have assisted in making these forest access roads a recreation asset.

Turning aside from the role of the B.C. Forest Service, a number of the largest forestry companies who have obtained various forms of timber cutting rights also engage in the promotion and enhancement of recreational access. For example, Canadian Forest Products Industries (Canfor) publishes detailed maps identifying the range of recreational sites and land uses available in areas covered by its timber cutting areas.

Table 11 B.C. Forest Service Numbers of Recreational Sites, 1996

Forest District	*General Recreation*		*Camping*	*Picnicing*	*Winter Use*
	Water Based	*Land Based*			*Recreation/ ski*
Cariboo	54	35	104	89	12
Dawson Creek	12	9	16	9	10
Fort St. James	69	15	67	8	3
Mackenzie (South)	37	28	36	21	2
MacKenzie (North)	2	1	2		
Prince George	15	18	84	7	7
Robson Valley	6	24	8	12	9
Vanderhoof	39	25	39	17	6
Totals	234	155	356	163	49

Water Based General Recreation: sites for boating, canoeing, fishing, swimming, etc..

Land Based General Recreation: interpretative trails, hiking, horseback riding, mountain-biking, wildlife viewing sites, etc.

Picnicing: day use sites with picnic facilities.

Winter Use: cross-country skiing, snow-mobiling, ice fishing, etc.

Cottaging

The rustic cottage at the lake is one of the most ubiquitous images of the Canadian rural countryside (Halseth, 1998). This said, however, the cottage is both conceptually and practically a very problematic type of recreational land use. This section of the paper explores the issue of cottaging or lakeside recreation residential development.

Within New Caledonia, cottages and cottaging areas are common. Major resort lake districts include the "Canim–Bridge" lakes area near 100 Mile House, the "Quesnel–Horsefly" lakes area near Williams Lake, 10 Mile Lake just north of the City of Quesnel, the collection of lakes surrounding Prince George including Clulculz, Bednesti, Norman, and Ness, and the "Fraser–Francois" lakes area near Vanderhoof. Cottages are also found scattered along many of the small lakes throughout the region. As well, a number of "fly-in" resorts and fishing lakes through the Chilcotin ranges attract an often wealthy international clientele. This Chilcotin area also includes the Alexis Creek to Nimpo Lake recreation lake corridor.

Table 12 is a summary of the extent of cottage property development around Prince George. Nearly 2,500 waterfront residential properties have been developed and more than 1,500 of these have a residential dwelling unit constructed on them. Since nearly all of these lakes are within commuting distance of Prince George, this locational attribute will affect the mix of seasonal and permanent residential occupancy of these lakeside properties.

Table 12 Waterfront Residential Property[1]

Location	*Vacant Property*	*Improved*[2] *Property*	*Total*
Chief and Summit Lakes	13	21	34
Cluculz Lake	296	440	736
Fraser and Francois Lakes	45	222	267
Hixon/Stoner area	1	8	9
McLeod Lake	36	159	195
Ness Lake	50	207	257
Norman and Bednesti Lakes	30	217	247
Purden Lake	17	62	79
Stuart Lake (around Ft.St. James)	140	169	309
Stuart/Babine/Takla Lakes (area north of Ft.St.James)	139	166	305
Tabor Lake	24	34	58
Vanderhoof (north of)	1	5	6
Vanderhoof (south of)	71	47	118
West Lake	18	64	82

Source: B.C. Assessment Authority records.

[1]Defined for data collection purposes as all small-lot single-family residential property, outside of municipal boundaries, located along a watercourse or lake shoreline. Expected to contain a mix of permanent and seasonally occupied dwellings.

[2]"Improved" means that the property has a residential dwelling unit.

To explore the importance of cottaging in the region we need to examines three sets of issues. The first centres upon a definition of "cottage". The second involves the land tenure arrangements of cottage property ownership, while the third concerns the moral or ethical role of cottage land uses in the countryside.

The Cottage

Across North America a number of terms are used to describe these small, recreation-oriented residences which are generally found "nestled amongst the pines" in some picturesque rural setting. Chalet, cabin, camp, or cottage, whatever the term, the folklore now so commonly associated with these places describes a retreat from urban settlement forms—an escape from both the physical and psychological pressures of work and city life. Popular literature (Cross, 1992; Gordon, 1989) and academic research (Halseth and Rosenberg, 1995; Wolfe, 1951, 1965) alike highlight the extent of cottaging activity and land uses in Canada.

For writers such as Cross (1992), the essential point about the cottage is its use as a retreat. She argues that in their isolation and simplicity such places have always been havens for personal renewal. The journey to the cottage becomes, in some ways, a metaphorical journey along which the distractions of everyday life are stripped away. But such an idyllic escape is often more a construction of the mind than of the spatial landscape in which cottages are often found.

Viewed individually, a cottage along the lake may indeed appear as an isolated retreat. Cottage development, however, rarely occurs individually. Instead the pattern is either that of a tight band of small properties around the waterfront margins or of a "cluster" development which closely resembles a more urban design and landscape (Figure 3). In either case, the individual cottage is no longer isolated but rather it is part of a collective of properties.

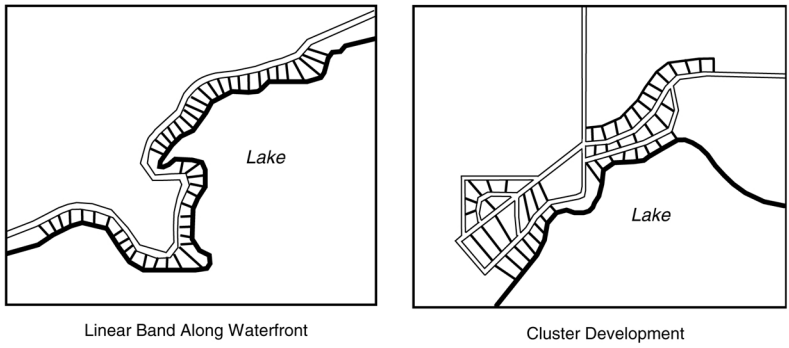

Figure 3 Cottage Development Patterns

Development densities along the lake can be as high as in many North American suburbs. The isolation suddenly gives way to all forms of intrusion. Wolfe long-ago encapsulated the fundamental paradox of cottaging—a paradox that all too often also applies to other recreational activities. Characterizing Wasaga Beach in Ontario, Wolfe (1952, 62) writes:

> …the traffic jams are as satisfactory as any in Toronto itself. Cars and people fill all the streets. The tourist cabins are bursting, and cars are parked in all the available space. The noise is tremendous, as [children] shout to each other, car-horns blow at them, motorboats roar on the river, and an aeroplane skims the rooftops. We are no longer in the country. We are back in the city again—or better, we are in the city away from the city ... .

Cottage Property Tenure

Two principal forms of land tenure are associated with cottage developments—fee simple private land ownership and leased crown land. Fee simple private land refers to property which is "owned". Across most of New Caledonia owned cottage property is found outside of municipal boundaries and falls within the jurisdiction of regional districts. One of the key implications of this arrangement for cottage property owners is that property taxation is comparatively low. For many cottage areas, however, there are still land use zoning and building permit requirements and regulations in place.

The second principal type of cottage land tenure is leased Crown land. In this case, the land (and assets on the land) continues to be "owned" by the crown and the cottager obtains the right

through a long term lease arrangement to use and develop the property for recreational uses. Similar long-term lease arrangements are sometimes also found on Indian Reserve lands. Such leased land arrangements are a common form of cottage tenure across Canada (Rosenberg and Halseth, 1993). Typical annual lease fees for seasonal cottage property on B.C. Crown lands is approximately 3 percent of assessed value, with a $500 minimum (British Columbia, 1985). There are, of course, drawbacks to the lease property arrangements and principal among these is security of investment. Typical lease periods for seasonal occupancy on Crown shoreland is 15 years (with renewal rights) (British Columbia, 1985). In addition to the limited terms, such leases usually contain some form of 90-day termination without compensation clause (British Columbia, nd.). In part due to this tenuous nature of property tenure, chartered banks are prohibited by legislation from offering mortgages on leased lands. Financing, where sought, is generally done through credit unions.

Crown land leases typically identify a range of general restrictions on uses and what can and cannot be done with the lands (British Columbia, nd.). These include such general requirements as the need to maintain the land in a safe and sanitary condition and to not wilfully cause property destruction. Other requirements can include specific issues such as timber cutting restrictions or particular approval processes for dwelling construction.

One of the most contentious issues respecting leasehold cottage property concerns the availability of the option to purchase this Crown land. Previously a paperwork issue involving document preparation (titles/surveys/etc.) and processing through the regional B.C. Lands office, the situation is much more complicated at present with a policy requirement to consult local First Nations prior to approving sales (*Prince George This Week*, 15 October 1995). Many First Nations groups are not, however, presently equipped to make assessments as to possible implications of Crown land sales on current or future land claim or treaty negotiation processes (*Prince George This Week*, 20 August 1995). Unfortunately, this present situation is simply creating confusion on all sides.

Conflicts

At a general level there are issues of conflict and concern embodied within the development of cottage property—conflicts and concerns that can be extended to many of the tourism and recreation land uses and activities described in this paper (Shaw

and Williams, 1994). Firstly, while cottages are set within a rural countryside, there is little sense of the surrounding rural community in most constructions of cottage community organization (Halseth, 1993 and 1998). This is a reflection of a geographic imagination which often recognizes the "rural" as simply a picturesque backcloth or setting. There are important social and economic implications for small communities annually "invaded" by cottagers and these need to be better recognized and incorporated into land use allocation or planning.

Another set of concerns involves issues of sustainable use and environmental values. This has much less to do with the contribution of a single cottage to local pollution levels, though this can be very important at the local level (see Regional District of Fraser-Fort George, 1994), and is more concerned with the general "idea" of cottages. There is the serious issue of the alienation of recreational land for use by a limited segment of society able to afford the additional costs of a "second home" (Ragatz, 1974). This leads to a related concern over the virtual closure of public access to lakes or recreational waterways by virtue of a narrow band of private cottage property forming a barrier between the public and the waterfront. While limited access to many recreational lakes in Canada's "cottage country" may be the result of historical processes (Marsh and Wall, 1982), current land use planning through areas of New Caledonia is repeating this mistake.

A further recreational property issue involves the implications of cottage property "conversion". Such conversion involves the shift in cottage use from a week-end or seasonal vacation property into a year-round residence. Under certain circumstances, even leased Crown land is eligible for conversion of cottage tenure from recreational to full-time residential uses (British Columbia, 1985). Such conversion activity may involve older persons making the decision to retire to the lake or others choosing to commute to nearby small towns. This type of cottage conversion activity is occurring within New Caledonia, such as at Ness Lake just north of Prince George or 10 Mile Lake outside of Quesnel.

Too often the costs of cottage conversion activity are not anticipated in planning recreation residential property development. Pollution risks are certainly increased as households put more pressure on septic tank systems often designed for seasonal or periodic usage. Beyond the need to upgrade services on individual cottage properties, conversion also increases the pressure to upgrade services to cottage property areas (Halseth and Rosenberg, 1990). Collective services demands can include the paving or widening of

access roads, better winter snow removal, community water systems to replace lake-drawn water, garbage collection, and even community sewer systems. The costs of these service needs can be substantial, especially when combined with the general rural servicing problem of large distances and low user densities. Under this scenario, service demands may easily exceed property tax revenues and, therefore, the development of cottage lots for sale as a way of adding to local government coffers needs to be critically examined.

A final issue which can arise from cottage conversion activity involves potential conflicts arising from the arrival of a new group of residents into the rural area. Since the lake is the cottage owner's most significant asset, the cottagers often seek to "stake claim" to ownership of the lake itself (Halseth, 1995; Rosenberg and Halseth, 1993). This can generate considerable local political debate and contention.

In summary, like all tourism and recreation developments and activities, cottaging has a tremendous number of positive benefits to offer. Also like tourism and recreation activity, there are a number of important potential conflicts and costs associated with the development of cottage property areas. A regional geography of recreation must not only identify economic benefits but it must offer a balanced assessment which includes consideration of the social, political, cultural, and environmental impacts as well[6].

Summary

One of the central challenges for regional geography research and writing is to detail sufficient "factual" information about a particular region so as to inform the reader. These details cannot, however, simply stand by themselves but must be interpreted through some conceptual framework which communicates a sense of what that information means for the character and nature of the region. This paper has considered some of the issues concerning recreation and tourism activity and land uses in New Caledonia. In terms of tourism activity, the region is best understood as a series of nodes and pathways. A significant economic opportunity exists to "capture" more of the tourist traffic along these pathways. The spatial organization of recreation activity can be understood as being very similar to the organization of other resource-based industries of the region. The towns and small communities are the focal points of major infrastructure investments, with even the smallest of settlements maintaining some form of baseball fields and winter outdoor skating rinks. Beyond these facilities, much recreation activity

occurs on Crown lands. The lakes and forests of the region support not only a number of provincially significant resource industries but also private recreational activity. Provincial Parks and B.C. Forest Service recreation sites are critical components. Finally, cottage property development is common throughout the region and its benefits and impacts can be considered as significant.

The future of tourism and recreation in New Caledonia faces a series of opportunities and challenges. Some of the economic opportunities have been clearly identified and communities are initiating strategies to capture more of these benefits. Some of the specific challenges revolve around the degree to which social and environmental impacts of further tourism or recreation developments are considered. Too often the economic benefits are not considered together with the social or environmental costs. This is an unsustainable relationship as both tourism and recreation in British Columbia's central interior are so firmly grounded in the natural landscape and in the community fabric. Damage to these valuable environmental or social foundations will have economic implications. As described in this paper a regional geography approach can be useful in both communicating the opportunities and alerting us to the challenges.

Notes

1. David Robinson, formerly of the Resource-Recreation/Tourism Program at the University of Northern British Columbia, introduced me to this word play on "recreation".

2. This is a conceptual model. As represented here, the nodes and pathways are not linked to published tourism data. The strength of the model is that it can graphically illustrate changing tourism relationships within a region through the incorporation of both historic and contemporary data.

3. See Pearse (1968) for an early discussion of the economic issues and implications involved with government participation in the provision of recreation sites and with resulting patterns of usage by tourists and recreationalists.

4. The "rubber tire" tourism market is generally defined as involving individual parties of travellers arriving via personal automobile or recreational vehicle.

5. Recent provincial land use planning initiatives such as the Commission on Resources and Environment (CORE), and the Land and Resource Management Plan (LRMP), processes have suggested many new park and protected areas for designation.

6. See also D'Amore (1983), Dearden (1983), and Marsh (1983) for a related discussion of the social, political, cultural, and "environmental" impacts respecting tourism development in a variety of contexts.

Bibliography

Barker, Mary L. (1978). Recreational Hinterlands: A Metropolitan Call on the Environmental Base. In *Vancouver—Western Metropolis*, L.J. Evenden (ed.), 135-155. Victoria: Department of Geography, University of Victoria, Western Geographical Series Volume 16.

British Columbia (1985). *Policy—Land Use Programs—Residential Land Use—Disposition of urban, rural, and remote Crown land and Crown Shoreland for residential use.* Victoria: BC Lands, Ministry of Environment, Lands and Parks.

British Columbia (1988a). *Visitor '87—A Travel Survey of Visitors to British Columbia—Cariboo Tourism Region.* Victoria: Marktrend Marketing Research Inc., B.C. Research Economic Planning Group.

British Columbia (1988b). *Visitor '87—A Travel Survey of Visitors to British Columbia—North by Northwest Tourism Region.* Victoria: Marktrend Marketing Research Inc., B.C. Research Economic Planning Group.

British Columbia (1990). *Preserving Our Living Legacy—Parks Plan 90.* Victoria: BC Parks—Planning and Conservation Services.

British Columbia (1991a). *United States Market Match Survey—Outdoor Adventure Vacations.* Victoria: Prepared by Campbell Goodell Consultants for B.C. Ministry of Development, Trade and Tourism and Industry, Science and Technology Canada.

British Columbia (1991b). *Resident Travel in British Columbia—A Survey of Residents Travelling in British Columbia.* Victoria: Marktrend Research Inc., The Tourism Research Group.

British Columbia (1992a). *The Economic Impact of Tourism Industries in British Columbia.* Victoria: Research and Information Management, Ministry of Tourism and Ministry Responsible for Culture.

British Columbia (1992b). *Towards a Protected Areas Strategy for B.C.—Parks & Wilderness for the 90s.* Victoria: BC Parks.

British Columbia (1993). *Highlights of British Columbia's Tourism Industry.* Victoria: prepared by Ministry of Tourism and Ministry Responsible for Culture.

British Columbia (1998). *British Columbia Visitor Study: Report on Travel in British Columbia.* Victoria: Tourism British Columbia.

British Columbia (2002). *The Value of Tourism: Building Tourism with Insight.* Victoria: Tourism British Columbia.

British Columbia (nd). *Sample Lease—Recreational Lot (L73, Rev 2).* Victoria: BC Lands, Ministry of Environment, Lands and Parks.

Clawson, M. (1974). How Much Leisure Now and in the Future. In *Land & Leisure—concepts and methods in outdoor recreation,* D.W. Fischer, J.E. Lewis and G.B. Priddle (eds.), 3-14. Chicago: Maaroufa Press Inc.

Coppock, J.T. and Duffield, B.S. (1975). *Recreation in the Countryside—A Spatial Analysis.* London: Macmillian Press Ltd.

Cross, A.W. (1992). *The Summer House—A Tradition of Leisure.* Toronto: HarperCollins Publisher Ltd.

D'Amore, L. J. (1983). Guidelines to Planning in Harmony with the Host Community. In *Tourism in Canada: Selected Issues and Options,* P. Murphy (ed.), 135-160. Victoria: Department of Geography, University of Victoria, Western Geographical Series, Vol. 21.

Dearden, P. (1983). Tourism and the Resource Base. In *Tourism in Canada: Selected Issues and Options,* P. Murphy (ed.), 75-94. Victoria: Department of Geography, University of Victoria, Western Geographical Series, Vol. 21.

Gordon, C. (1989). *At the Cottage.* Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc.

Halseth, G. (1993). Communities Within Communities: Changing `Residential' Areas at Cultus Lake, British Columbia. *Journal of Rural Studies,* 9 (2), 175-187.

Halseth, G. (1995). `Community' and land-use planning debate: an example from rural British Columbia. *Environment and Planning A,* 28, 1279-1298.

Halseth, G. (1998). *Cottage Country in Transition: A social geography of change and contention int he rural-recreational countryside.* Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's Unviersity Press.

Halseth, G. and Rosenberg, M. (1990). Conversion of Recreational Residences: A Case Study of Its Measurement and Management. *Canadian Journal of Regional Science,* 23 (1), 99-115.

Halseth, G. and Rosenberg, M. (1995). Cottagers in the Urban Field. *The Professional Geographer,* 47 (2), 148-158.

Hammitt, W.E. and Cole, D.N. (1987). *Wildland Recreation—Ecology and Management.* New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Harvey, D. (1989). *The Condition of Postmodernity.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd.

Helleiner, F. (1980). Recreation and Leisure-time Patterns. *Ontario Geography,* 16, 47-55.

Knudson, D.M. (1984). *Outdoor Recreation.* New York: Macmillian Publishing Company.

Kreutzwiser, R. (1989). Supply. In *Outdoor Recreation in Canada*, G. Wall (ed.), 19-42. Toronto: John Wiley & Sons.

Marsh, J. (1983). Canada's Parks and Tourism: A Problematic Relationship. In *Tourism in Canada: Selected Issues and Options,* P. Murphy (ed.), 271-308. Victoria: Department of Geography, University of Victoria, Western Geographical Series, Vol. 21.

Marsh, J. and Wall, G. (1982). Themes in the Investigation of Outdoor Recreation, in *Recreational Land Use: Perspectives on its Evolution in Canada,* G. Wall and J. Marsh (eds.), 1-11. Ottawa: Carleton University Press.

Mather, C. (1993). Flexible Technology in the Clothing Industry: Some Evidence from Vancouver. *Canadian Geographer,* 37, 40-47.

Murphy, P. (1979). Prospects and Problems of Tourism Development in the Middle North Region of British Columbia and the Yukon. In *Geographical Perspective on Western Canada: The Prince George Papers,* B. Barr (ed.), 33-47. Vancouver: Tantalus Research Ltd., B.C. Geographical Series, No. 28, Occasional Papers in Geography.

Murphy, P. (1983). Tourism: Canada's Other Resource Industry. In *Tourism in Canada: Selected Issues and Options,* P. Murphy (ed.), 3-24. Victoria: Department of Geography, University of Victoria, Western Geographical Series, Vol. 21.

Paquet, M.M. (1990). *Parks of British Columbia & the Yukon.* North Vancouver, Maia Publishing Ltd.

Pearse, P.H. (1968). A New Approach to the Evaluation of Non-Priced Recreational Resources. *Land Economics,* February, 87-99.

Pratt, G. and Hanson, S. (1989). Reconceptualizing the Links Between Home and Work in Urban Geography. *Economic Geography,* 64 (4), 299-331.

Prince George This Week, August 20, 1995, "Crown land freeze thawing", p. 1.

Prince George This Week, October 15, 1995, "Fraser Lake leaseholders told to wait", p. 8.

Ragatz, R.L. (1974). Vacation Homes in the Northeastern United States: Seasonality in Population Distribution. In *Land & Leisure—concepts and methods in outdoor recreation,* D.W. Fischer, J.E. Lewis and G.B. Priddle (eds.), 60-69. Chicago: Maaroufa Press Inc.

Regional District of Fraser-Fort George (1994). *Lakeshore Guidelines.* Prince George: Regional District of Fraser-Fort George.

Rosenberg, M. and Halseth, G. (1993). *Recreational Home Conversion in Canada.* Ottawa: Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation.

Saige, F. (1995). All roads on the info superhighway lead to more consumption. *Utne Reader,* March-April (68), 66-67.

Shaw, G. and Williams, A.M. (1994). *Critical Issues in Tourism—A Geographical Perspective.* Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers.

Smith, S. (1989). Demand. In *Outdoor Recreation in Canada,* G. Wall (ed.), 43-74. Toronto: John Wiley & Sons.

Tourism Prince George (1996). *Tourism Prince George—Marketing Plan 1996.* Prince George: Sandra Clotildes, Marketing Coordinator.

Wall, G. (1989a). The Nature of Recreation. In *Outdoor Recreation in Canada,* G. Wall (ed.), 1-18. Toronto: John Wiley & Sons.

Wall, G. (1989b). Environmental Impacts. In *Outdoor Recreation in Canada,* G. Wall (ed.), 199-230. Toronto: John Wiley & Sons.

Wolfe, R.I. (1951). Summer Cottagers in Ontario. *Economic Geography,* 27 (1), 10-32.

Wolfe, R.I. (1952). Wasaga Beach: The Divorce From The Geographic Environment. *Canadian Geographer,* 2(1), 57-65.

Wolfe, R.I. (1965). *About Cottages and Cottagers.* Landscape, 15 (1), 6-8.

Acknowledgements

I wish to acknowledge the kindly offered assistance and advice of many groups and individuals. Particularly I wish to thank Bob and Judy Armstrong of the Caledonia Nordic Ski Club, Joe Creegan of the B.C. Assessment Authority, Bob Pfister of the UNBC Resource Recreation/Tourism Program, as well as the staff at Tourism Prince George, B.C. Lands, B.C. Parks, and the B.C. Forest Service. The assistance of Kevin Driscoll with the maps and graphics is greatly appreciated. All errors or omissions are mine alone.