

Beach Town Tourism:
The Smooth and Striated Dynamics of Pacific Beach, California

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Abstract

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The beach is often considered spatially homogeneous. Marine tourism, coastal zone management, and urban planning policies frequently envision the beach as a static space without recognition of the socio-culturally dynamic, and spatially complex, relationships created between a beach's user groups. Utilizing Pacific Beach, California as a case study, the complexity of these spatial relationships is examined and a selection of geophilosophical terms are applied so as to elucidate these dynamics.

A literature review of Social-Ecological Systems - emphasizing the HANS model - provides the academic context, and an exploration of Deleuze and Guattari's concepts of smooth and striated space establishes the philosophical framework for

the research. Elite interviewing is supplemented by limited participant and unobtrusive observation, as well as Participatory GIS, to qualitatively document the complex spatial relationships between locals and the beach. A history of Pacific Beach is provided to situate the community and beach socially and spatially. The smooth and striated spaces of these complex relationships develop and justify a new conceptualization of space for marine destination planning. Results are discussed within the context of marine tourism and planning, and could be further extrapolated to the fields of coastal zone management, marine spatial planning, marine shipping and transportation, marine protected areas, protected destination systems, sustainable development, and coastal resilience.

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Introduction

The field of marine affairs covers a range of diverse research areas such as coastal zone management, marine policy analysis, environmental restoration and marine tourism. Research focused on tourism in the coastal zone has grown alongside the burgeoning marine tourism industry, The United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) reports that in 2017 international tourism accounted for \$1.4 trillion (USD) in exports and predicts that by 2030 annual international tourism arrivals will reach 1.8 billion (UNWTO Tourism Towards 2030, 2017). For its part, coastal tourism has grown rapidly, tourism and recreation across coastal destinations is estimated to contribute \$170 billion annually to the US economy (Mustoe et al., 2005).

In the United States, where flourishing marine tourism has mirrored population growth, coastal watershed counties nationwide are expected to increase by 15 million residents between 2010 and 2020 (NOAA, 2013). Furthermore, a finite amount of land and a booming population has dramatically increased density; in 2010 coastal shoreline counties averaged 446 persons per square mile (compared to the US average of 105), and are predicted to continue increasing in density (NOAA, 2013). As more Americans choose to vacation, recreate, and reside in coastal areas competition for space has increased.

Spatial competition in coastal communities is manifested through a variety of socio-economic functions, of which the most commonly discussed is the high cost of living; in 2018 of the 30 cities with highest cost of living in North America only 2 were not coastal (Numbeo, 2018). Spatial competition can also be litigious as it pertains to questions of maintaining public coastal access (as in the case of Surfrider Foundation vs. Martin's Beach 1, LLC *et al.*)¹, or perceptions of coastal resource rights (as in the case of State of Washington vs. Longshore)². Land use and community preservation have

¹ *Surfrider Foundation vs. Martin's Beach 1, LLC et al.* – *Martin's Beach, South of San Francisco, is protected by high cliffs, preventing*

² *STATE of Washington, Respondent, v. Timothy LONGSHORE, Petitioner. In Washington State, where tidelands are considered private property, Timothy Longshore was convicted of second-degree theft for collecting more than 300 pounds of clams from private property. The case was appealed to the state Supreme Court; at issue was whether or not clams naturally occurring on private tidelands constitute private property. In the United States wildlife is typically considered *ferae naturae* and thus may not be private property. Unlike other states, Washington classified shellfish as "not wildlife", the courts found thus that shellfish occurring on private tidelands constitute private property (State of Washington v. Longshore, 1997).*

increasingly become contentious issues as cities grow in population and develop new business ventures (including tourism) in and around coastal neighborhoods.

In highly populated coastal destinations like Pacific Beach - a neighborhood of San Diego, California - urban planning is utilized to improve quality of life, reduce conflict, and regulate the demands of a strong tourism sector alongside the needs of residents. As the most recent community plan acknowledges in its opening lines “Pacific Beach is both benefited and burdened by its proximity to the Pacific Ocean and Mission Bay. As the community develops . . . it will strive to reconcile the duality of its roles as a visitor destination and residential community” (City of San Diego Planning Department, 2005, p. 3). Commonly (as is the case in Pacific Beach), urban planning is approached through land use zoning: the process of designating particular areas for specifically permitted uses, such as commercial business or single family residential homes (Low & Smith, 2006). While these so-called Euclidean zoning codes³ are the most prevalent form of urban planning in the United States (American Institute of Architects, 2017) they are not without criticism. In her seminal work *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961), Jane Jacobs argued that the modernist principles used to create Euclidean zoned cities fails to capture the layers of complexity and subtleties of relationship that create a community. As a result, the reduction of space by separation of uses creates unnatural zones that do not accurately reflect the multitude of behaviors that occur therein, creating conflict between the permitted (zoned) users and other community members.

The beach itself is often characterized as spatially homogenous, frequently treated as little more than an expanse of sand demarcating the limits of a town. In actuality, the beach is a space of deep socio-cultural significance that transcends spatial bounds to influence the community at-large, acting as much more than a recreation site, and fulfilling a role far more complex than its Euclidean zone designation.

³ The term Euclidean zoning is derived from the supreme court case *Village of Euclid vs. Ambler Realty* (1926), in which the supreme court upheld enforcement of zoning laws on new development as an extension of an incorporated community’s policing powers. The case set a strong precedent for the rights of communities over the rights of property owners in issues of development.

Thesis Plan

Employing elite interviews and participatory GIS with local beachgoers, this thesis utilizes the Deleuzoguattarian geophilosophical concepts of smooth, striated, and holey space in a case study of Pacific Beach, California to argue that:

- *The beach is a highly dynamic and transformative space that provides a forum for cultural exchange, and the creation of community identity.*
- *The beach is a significant space that exerts cultural and economic influence outside its geographic boundaries, and across the entire community.*
- *The economic and cultural relationships that exist between the beach, tourism, and locals are spatially complex and cannot be easily distilled into permitted zones.*

So as to best address these arguments, the main body of this work is divided into two sections. Part One provides a review of basic concepts and literatures. Chapter 1 summarizes Social-Ecological Systems and introduces the Human-Artifactual-Natural System model. Chapter 2 introduces Deleuze and Guattari's concepts of smooth, striated, and holey space. Chapter 3 is a review of research methods used, including elite interviewing and participatory GIS. Part Two is the case study of Pacific Beach, California. Chapter 4 provides a history of Pacific Beach. Chapter 5 explores the perceptions of Pacific Beach as a neighborhood, and as a destination. Chapter 6 describes the niche and fetishization of Pacific Beach as a beach town. The subsequent discussion addresses the concepts introduced in the previous chapters through a Deleuzoguattarian lens. The appendices supplement this thesis, including terms and definitions, a contemporary map of Pacific Beach, and scanned copies of PGIS field papers.

Part I

Basic Concepts and Literatures

Chapter 1 – Human, Artifactual, Natural Components of the Beach

The beach can be many things to many people. While personal conceptualizations offer nearly infinite permutations there are three popular understandings of a beach: the beach as natural and wild, the beach as a people-based destination, and the beach as a component of a system encompassing people, infrastructure, and natural elements. These popular understandings are reflected in two models frequently utilized in an academic perspective; social-ecological systems and human-artifactual-natural systems.

1.1 Social-Ecological Systems

Historically, academic contact between social and natural sciences was limited, with each field excluding elements of the other from research; this practice began to change in the 1970's with the rise of specialized social science subfields such as political ecology, common property, and ecological economics (Berkes, Folke, & Colding, 1998). In 1973 C.S. Holling released his seminal paper *Resilience and Stability of Ecological Systems*, the essential concepts of which were developed into the first social-ecological system (SES) models and ultimately resulted in the formation of the academic journal *Ecology and Society*. Since that time SES frameworks have been diversely employed as a method of analysis for studies ranging from small-scale irrigation (Janssen & Anderies, 2013) to continental fisheries (Österblom et al., 2011), cultural conservation norms and taboos (Cinner, 2007) to traditional ecological knowledge (Berkes, Colding, & Folke, 2000) and as case studies in adaptive (Allen & Gunderson, 2011) ecosystem (Carpenter, Brock, & Hanson, 1999) and coastal zone management (Tompkins, Adger, & Brown, 2002).

Beyond their utility in studies where conventional scientific methodologies are of inadequate scope (Berkes, Colding, & Folke, 2003; McDonnell & Pickett, 1993) SESs have become popular because they function as an adaptable system in which components “do not change in a predictable, linear, incremental fashion... and disturbances (e.g. fires, floods, wars, market changes) to these systems can drive them across a threshold into a different regime.” (Walker & Salt, 2006, p. 31), allowing for flexibility in analysis which may otherwise have been unfeasible.

The scale, complexity and emphasis (see figure 1.1 & 1.2) of different SES frameworks varies considerably based upon the focus of analysis, while one SES may be developed specifically to describe a single forest community another SES may be designed as a universal model. Typically small-scale and detailed frameworks often prove most descriptive (Glaser, 2006). Producing empirical conclusions may prove difficult at times due to the rapidity with which social systems can change compared to the ecological components, however SESs prove essential to studies in which both human and natural drivers are endogenous (Kotchen & Young, 2007; Walker & Salt, 2012).

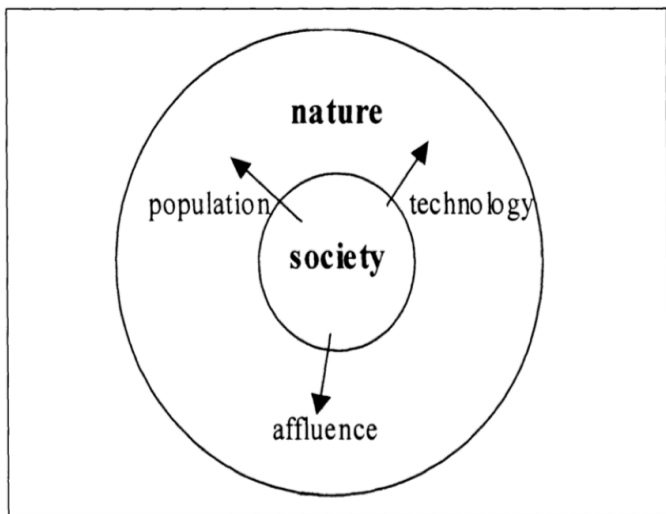


Figure 1.1 – A simple anthropocentric SES (Glaser, 2006).

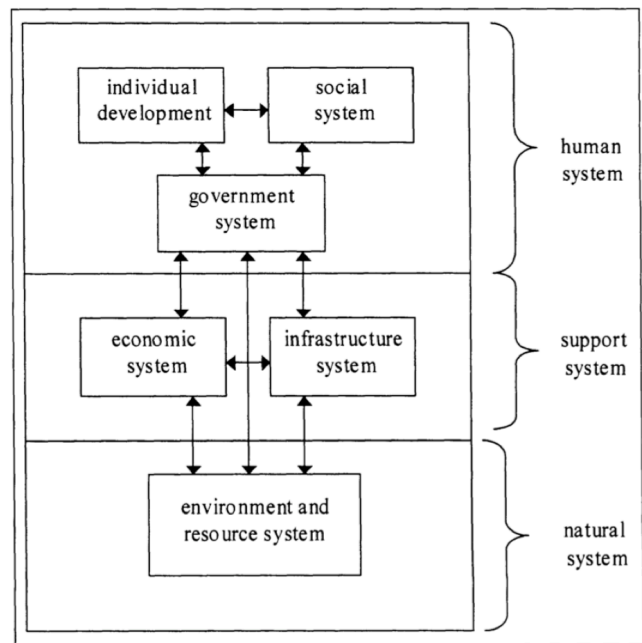


Figure 1.2 – A SES emphasizing sustainable development subsystems (Bossell, 1999).

1.2 Human-Artifactual-Natural Systems

The Human-Artifactual Natural System (HANS) model is a SES framework modified to address the influence of infrastructures, technologies, and devices on society and the environment (M. Miller et al., 2014). Originally developed for tourism-focused research the model is adaptable to a variety of studies. A hallmark of the HANS model is the inclusion of the artifactual component, a concept familiar to the fields of architecture and urban planning (Vermaas, 2009) but altogether ignored in traditional SES frameworks.

Although beaches may string together along a coastline they are also relatively fractal and localized in scale, for the purposes of this thesis the HANS model is used to analyze beaches on an individual basis. This does not mean that beaches are immune to externalities and influences from outside their spatial bounds, but rather provides a framework by which to understand the internal processes of each beach and identify exogenous effects as well.

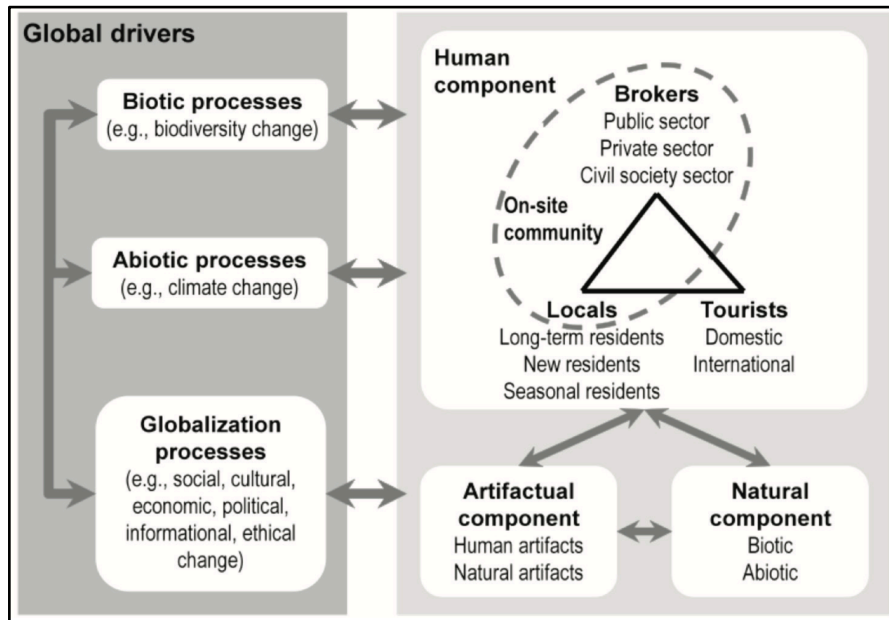


Figure 1.3 – The Human-Artifactual-Natural System Framework (M. Miller, Carter, Walsh, & Peake, 2014)

1.3 The Human Component: Brokers, Locals, and Tourists

The human component encompasses the entirety of human groups, behaviors, and anthropogenic effects; in the context of the beach the human component certainly includes tourists, beachgoers, and beach-related industry, but it also includes incidental and inadvertent behaviors, not just those elements intentionally (or consciously) directed towards the beach. By example, business and urban development affect the beach and surrounding community without being directly focused on beach development.

The human component can be understood in terms of the broker-local-tourist model (M. L. Miller & Auyong, 1991), (Lück, 2008). The BLT framework moves beyond a basic “guest” and “host” model of tourism (Smith, 1977) allowing for a nuanced analysis of dynamics between tourists, residents, businesses, and other stakeholder groups. In

the context of the beach, brokers are the individuals, organizations, and sectors whose business is directly, or indirectly, connected to the beach. Most apparent herein are those businesses of the tourism sector; hotels and hospitality services, restaurants and shopping, tour operators. However this also includes the public sector (local government & agencies) and the civil sector (citizen interest groups, NGO's).

Locals are residents and actors in the community; the definition of locals here is broader than may be applied by the community itself. As will be discussed in subsequent sections localism is an important element of social identity and subject to a variety of definitions. While many residents consider only those people dwelling in the immediate vicinity of the beach to be "local" this definition fails to capture the important role other community members play in establishing identity and social norms in a beach town. Thus, for the purposes of this thesis, locals include beachgoers that may not reside in Pacific Beach, but visit regularly commuting to and from home. Locals also include seasonal residents, such as retirees and students, that may not consider Pacific Beach their primary residence but nevertheless are present for a substantial portion of the year and influence community identity. Together locals and brokers make up the on-site community, those human groups whose influence includes functions indirectly affecting the beach (such as addressing the need for community services or infrastructure).

Tourists are those individuals traveling to the community for a temporary stay; they may travel for a variety of reasons (recreation, business, religious experience) but all forms of tourists "engage in the pursuit of contrast in a range of places and settings, ultimately returning home" (Miller & Auyong, 1996). While tourists mainly interact with brokers they exert a profound effect on locals as well, although this may often be portrayed in a negative light it is not inherently so.

1.4 Artifactual Components

Hard artifacts are objects that influence the space, aesthetic, and function of a community or ecosystem; they may be intentional human creations (such as a pier or boardwalk), natural structures (a reef), or unintentional features (a shipwreck). Hard

artifacts need not be large; technologies, machines, utilities, and art are all examples of hard human artifacts (Miller, Carter, Walsh, & Peake, 2014). Soft artifacts are the less tangible (though equally real) components that shape and influence human-environment interactions including laws, management policies, social customs, and proscribed behaviors (Miller, Lieske, Carter, & Walsh, 2018). Regardless of scale or quality, all artifacts are active in that

“they help to shape actions, interpretations and decisions, which would have been different without the artifact...found in their directing role in the actions and experiences of human beings” (Vermaas, 2009, p. 95)

Most literature concerning artifacts comes from the fields of architecture and urban planning and focuses on the interactions between humans and artifacts. However, the natural world interacts with artifacts as well (such as the congregations of fish beneath a pier, or birds along a terrace). Artifacts change the behavior and interactions of both humans and animals, spatially and in relation to the other components.

There is a distinction to be made between natural artifacts (those not made by human activity) and abiotic natural components. While a beaver’s dam and a dislodged boulder may both disrupt the flow of a stream and alter the behavior of local species (and humans) only the beaver’s dam is an artifact. The distinction between a natural artifact and an abiotic natural component is that the artifact is created as the result of an activity or procedure (i.e. an animal building a shelter, a reef forming from the growth of corals), where as the natural component is the result of a process (i.e. the formation of bluffs due to erosion, the deposition of erratics by glaciation).

1.5 Conclusion

The HANS model emphasizes the subtleties that various human interest groups may introduce to a SES, as a result it functions as an ideal framework for research and analysis of socially based environmental questions. This thesis, which seeks to understand the geospatial relationship between various human users in the context of beach town tourism will focus almost exclusively at the on-site community, with an eye to its artifactual and natural catalysts and implications. The role of global drivers is

largely outside the scope of this research, however critical concepts like globalization help provide context in the part two case study. Particular attention is paid to the dynamics of spatial competition between locals and tourists using the geophilosophical concepts described in chapter two.

Chapter 2 – Geophilosophy; The Smooth and the Striated

The HANS model encompasses and categorically defines the components and processes of tourism in the beach town. In contextualizing and understanding the dynamics and relationships between the forces shaping the beach town, the relationships between various HANS elements, a wholly different vocabulary is needed. A vocabulary that articulates the differential relations of a space (or spaces) is precisely what the geophilosophy of Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari concerns. Poststructural theory rooted in metaphysical philosophy, but accessible enough to be applied across a variety of fields and disciplines, Deleuzian geophilosophy proves an appropriate lens by which to view the beach, and to contextualize the beach town.

2.1 The Smooth and the Striated

In their book *A Thousand Plateaus* (1980) Deleuze and Guattari outline an extensive ontological framework for the study of capitalist social and spatial functions. Originally published as a companion to their previous book *Anti-Oedipus* (1972), many of the key concepts - including *rhizome*, *body without organs*, and *faciality* - have been widely applied outside their original scope across diverse fields such as education theory (Gregoriou, 2004), sports medicine (Markula, 2006), and theatrical pedagogy (Cull, 2009). One of the most familiar, and frequently cited, of their concepts is introduced in “1440: The Smooth and the Striated”, spaces (regardless of scale) are subject to two qualities, they observe.

Smooth space is open, undefined, and infinite in principle “it does not assign fixed and mobile elements but rather distributes a continuous variation”(Deleuze & Guattari, 2016, 476). It is a space in which points and areas are subordinate to trajectory and vector. Smooth space is not homogeneous but an aggregation of infinite intricacies, whose basis of interval is not metric, but rhythmic; it is a space of affects defined by events and haecceities⁴. Smoothing is autonomous, multilateral and

⁴ *Haecceity*, from the Latin *haec* meaning ‘this’, has a long ontological history dating back to the philosophy of Duns Scotus in the 13th century, it is concerned with the particular qualities of a thing or object that make it unique: its *thisness*. *Haecceity’s* role in realist philosophies is outside the scope of this thesis, and should be taken in context to describe the discrete qualities and essential *thisness* necessary in experiential smooth space. For more on *haecceity* see *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*.

transgressive. The Platonic beach is smooth, infinitely unbounded in all directions. Certain social behaviors on the beach, displaying sexualized bodies, illicit drug or alcohol use, smooth imposed striations.

In their maritime model, the sea is hailed as a “smooth space *par excellence*” (ibid, pp.479). From the perspective of a raft in the middle of the ocean it is a space without landmark or place that continues indefinitely, immeasurably, in all directions. Here it is haptic perception⁵ (tactile and sonorous qualities) that describes space, location is relevant only in relation to direction and journey. Open water sailing, utilizing celestial navigation to define a precise place, and the division of the ocean through rectilinear lines of latitude and longitude, began striating the ocean.

In striated space a vector is not direction but simply a line or dimension. A line delimits an area, defining boundaries, creating an inside and outside. Striation is measurement, turning points into forms that organize matter; it is perceived optically based on its metric properties (structure). It is heterogeneous space being parceled and separated, centered and bordered, symmetrical and rectilinear division so as to approach (but never actually achieve) homogeneity. Striation impedes, redirects, and channels flows. On the beach striations can be physical, structures such as piers and boardwalks define a space and disrupt flows. Striating forces can be impermanent; beachgoers occupy space and partition it for their uses; lifeguards regulate where surfing is allowed. Striations can be intangible, as in the attitudes or expectations of what is acceptable behavior on the beach versus in the neighborhood.

Smooth and striated spaces do not occur in simple opposition. Rather, all space is a dynamic duality of iterative smoothing and striating which prevents the antitheses from coinciding cleanly. Smooth space may be closed off at intervals, divided, thus becoming striated. Likewise, the boundaries of striated space can be transgressed; flows can be created across and between striations that serve as a smoothing agent. When applied as a framework for analysis it may be tempting to define elements as smooth

<https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/medieval-haecceity>.

⁵ Referring to a sense of touch (or being touched), haptic is usually utilized with reference to touch as a kinesthetic and proprioceptive sensory experience . With these more specific contexts in mind, Deleuzoguattarian use of the word is more clear; haptic is meant as experiential and ephemeral, and by its very nature utterly unique. In this way it pairs well as a descriptor of the sensory experiences derived from encountering haecceities.

and others as striated, but it is important to note that smoothness and striation are processes (even if seemingly permanent ones, such as a boardwalk) as much as they are qualities. This is in keeping with Deleuze and Guattari's premise

“What interests us in operations of striation and smoothing are precisely the passages or combinations: how the forces at work within space continually striate it, and how in the course of its striation it develops other forces and emits new smooth spaces.”(Deleuze & Guattari, 2016, 500).

Acknowledging this dynamism proves critical in understanding the functions of holey space, looseness and slippage.

2.2 Holey Space

Deleuze and Guattari say little about holey space directly, but begin to conceptualize it in the example of Benoit Mandelbrot's fractals, incomplete patterns that proliferate *ad infinitum* in equal segments with constant variation, moving from miniscule to colossal without forming an area⁶. “Geometrically, holey space is not properly volumetric, nor surface-like, nor linear, but always on the way to becoming one state or another. It can be called, metamorphological” (Frichot, 2007, 171).

Holey space is inherently connected to (and transversing) both the smooth and the striated; it is never as haptic and autonomous as smooth space, nor is it independent from striations' metrics and organization. Holey space is interstitial, liminal, and enigmatic- it is the place of functions clandestine and opaque. Conceptually, holeyness encompasses those spaces at the threshold of smoothness and striation, but holey space also subverts the smooth and the striated and becomes its own space. Deleuze and Guattari use holey space to bring further dimensionality to their framework

⁶ While an academic description of the Mandelbrot Set falls outside the scope of this thesis, computer renderings of this complex set serve as a helpful visualization tool and aid in the conceptualization of Deleuzoguattarian holey space. Some excellent renderings are available from Fractal Universe at <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCupBhu5TVx3RnK3iUIdeVlg>

“Transpierce the mountains instead of scaling them, excavate the land instead of striating it, bore holes in space instead of keeping it smooth, turn the earth into swiss cheese.” (Deleuze & Guattari, 2016, 413).

As a tool for analysis, holey space in its multidimensionality acts as the connecting tissue between the smooth and striated, it penetrates the enfolded space and creates flows of matter and desire (Deleuze & Guattari, 2016). Holey space helps to understand the “between” and provides a means to rethink the binary and the absolute that frequently characterizes spatial planning (Dovey & Polakit, 2006).

2.3 Loose Space and Slippage

The concepts of smoothness and striation have been utilized by a variety of fields, including urban planning where it has “proved instrumental for understanding both the potential of a non-linear, non-hierarchical, multivalent approach to space and the societal transformations characterized as nomadism and deterritorialization.” (Lang, 2006, 199). Providing additional vocabulary to make these concepts more accessible, Franck and Stevens introduce the concept of loose space. Unlike the smooth and the striated, loose space does not concern the metaphysical, but is rooted firmly in human use of space. While these uses are certainly transitory or iterative, looseness is used specifically to describe activity in a substantive space; “for a site to become loose, people themselves must recognize the possibilities inherent in it and make use of those possibilities for their own ends” (Franck & Stevens, 2006, 2). Looseness and loosening can be seen then as human acts (or flows) of smoothing in a holey or striated space.

At the same time this iterative occupation of an area creates tension inside the space and as “various forces, ideals and actions give shape to space... we see the introduction of new people, objects or ideas into spaces that are already occupied.” (Franck & Stevens, 2006, 25). The smoothing actions of the

first loose activities can begin to striate as new users enter the area and define a separate space.

Slippage is a nearly synonymous term, used in regards to urban competition for space (Dovey & Polakit, 2006). Like loose space, slippage deals with a substantive environment; it is concerned with the fluidity of meaning, identity, shape, and use of space. Unlike loose space, slippage presumes a proscribed functionality (or multiple functionalities) of a space. Slippage is the ephemeral, transgressive, and unintended. Slippage is the incursion of the liminal and holey.

Slippage and loose space become useful terms in that they are already structured inside an implied area. While smoothing, striating and holey spaces can be tangible, they also function to describe metaphysical qualities. By incorporating slippage or loose space into the vocabulary of spatial descriptions one may reduce ambiguity,

2.4 Uses in Geophilosophy

Deleuze and Guattari are geocentric philosophers whose work lends itself to spatial studies (Gasché, 2014), and while the smooth and the striated have been applied across a variety of disciplines, these concepts have enjoyed particular attention from geographers (Bonta, 2009), (Malins, 2008), (Mould, 2009), (Saldahna, 2003). In part this is because they serve as an effective framework for poststructural geographers who “now routinely speak of ‘spaces of flows’ and testify to their growing power to affect: the flows of money, desire...people.” (Doel, 2000, 124). Deleuze and Guattari’s writings also prove quite complimentary to other poststructural theorists, including Derrida and Foucault; papers sometimes utilize Deleuzian functions to describe a topic studied through a Foucauldian or Agambenian lens (Stavrides, 2006), (Lang, 2006), (Frichot, 2007). This thesis will in fact do the opposite, introducing Foucauldian concepts in small measure to compliment a Deleuzian framework.

Some examples use smooth and striated in its most utilitarian function, contrasting those elements of a topic that are smooth against those that are striated. While this proves effective in building a concise and unambiguous vocabulary it fails to grasp the full potential of Deleuzian geophilosophy; the exploration of holey space, and the added concept of loose space, furthermore make it possible to discuss the smooth and the striated in an applied scenario with a great deal of nuance.

As mentioned above the beach and beach town, while often envisioned or presented in simple terms, are highly complex environments shaped by dynamic forces competing (directly and indirectly) over limited space. Deleuzian geophilosophy provides an appropriate level of subtlety to a framework of analysis for these environments. Previous studies have applied the smooth and the striated to studies of spatial planning and development (Purcell, 2013), ecology (Gandy, 2013), tourism (Brooks, 2014), as well as game and play (Tael Harper, 2009), all of which are essential elements of the beach and beach town. This paper will utilize smooth, striated, and holey space to analyze the populations, institutions, structures, and forces that shape and define Pacific Beach, California. The additional concepts of loose space and slippage will enlarge the vocabulary and provide an effective means by which to describe physical flows between conceptually smooth and striated spaces. In elucidating the subtle, powerful, and ephemeral forces structuring and deconstructing the beach and community this thesis will explore the concept of the beach town, and present an essential case study.

Ch. 3 - Research Methods

The first two chapters described the academic and philosophical influences that inform and compose the framework of research for this thesis. In analyzing the socio-spatial dynamics of the beach it is necessary to utilize research methods capable of capturing *“how the forces at work within space continually striate it, and how in the course of its striation it develops other forces and emits new smooth spaces.”*(Deleuze & Guattari, 2016, p. 500). This thesis employs multiple qualitative methodologies to document these forces in a case study of Pacific Beach, California. Chapter 3 begins by situating the methodologies used within the qualitative academic tradition. Research methods utilized - elite interviewing and Participatory GIS - are defined, with particular attention paid to their function in this study. Finally the case study methodology is introduced, accompanied by a description detailing the incorporation of the other methods into a case.

3.1 Qualitative Methodology

Qualitative methodology is used to research data that cannot be numerically captured, or described, effectively; it is concerned with the characteristics, concepts, and descriptions of subjects (Berg, 1989). Interviewing - one form of qualitative research - seeks information about the interviewee, their position, experiences or viewpoints, either to draw conclusions about the person themselves or about some subject with which they are familiar (Kvale, 1996).

Qualitative interviews are often criticized for being subjective, biased, and unscientific, as opposed to quantitative research which is categorized as objective, positivist and grounded in scientific method (Kvale,1996). Interviewing is often a high cost, time intensive research method; it requires a great deal of preparation, significant effort to organize, and can yield very little data (Jacob & Furgerson, 2012; Berry, 2002). However, interviewing can provide insight and information that would be difficult or impossible to obtain from other research methods (Dexter, 1970) often because *“there is a natural storytelling urge and ability in all human beings...[and] even just a little nurturing of this impulse can bring about astonishing and delightful results”* (Mellon,

1998, pp. 174). In addition, interviewing can act as a superior mechanism in order to “gain insight into lived experiences, learn the perspectives of individuals participating in a study, and discover the nuances in stories” (Jacob & Furgerson, 2012, pp.1).

Elite interviewing, in particular, allows the interviewee to express concepts, information, or problems that would not be addressed through a more controlled question-and-response methodology (Dexter, 1970). To this end, elite interviewing functions to contextualize a question or concept that a researcher seeks to further understand, but may lack sufficient data to elucidate otherwise.

This thesis is an attempt to understand the dynamics of beach town tourism in Pacific Beach, San Diego - through a Deleuzoguattarian geophilosophical framework – utilizing the concepts of smooth, striated, and holey space; this socio-spatial conceptualization cannot be fully described through quantitative (or even most qualitative) methods which may capture the basic delineation of smooth and striated spaces, but ultimately lack the nuance needed to detail the act of smoothing and striation between spaces (*ibid*; Bonta & Protevi, 2004). Interviewing, and in particular elite interviewing, is an optimal methodology as it allows the researcher to examine individual perceptions and feelings, and to determine what inferences can be drawn in regards to the actual environment (Dexter, 1970). While much of the general framework in this thesis could be explained through geospatial analysis it is only through interviewing that the nuanced socio-spatial smoothing/striating actions can be adequately described.

3.2 Defining the Interview

The term interview describes an immense array of specific methodologies with substantial variation in application and resultant data product. An interview can occur once or be cumulative; it may focus on the individual response, or concern itself with answers from a collection of interviewees; it may be highly structured and directed, or unstructured as a design to maximize free response. While interviewing has grown in sophistication and popularity amongst researchers it can still prove a contentious methodology and is not without its limitations. Included among these limitations,

interviewing carries a high cost (in both money and time) to low reward risk, and is sometimes criticized as subjective and particular, rather than objective and generalizable (Fontana & Frey, 1994; Opdenakker, 2006, Kvale, 1996). For the purposes of this thesis, an interview shall be defined as a strategic interaction in which at least one of the participants seeks information or data from other participants in order to further an argument or support a hypothesis.

3.3 Traditional Elite Interviewing

Elite interviewing is often qualified in contrast with other interviewing methods; most efforts to define it begin by enumerating how it diverges methodologically from 'traditional' or 'standardized' interviewing. However, it is rare that a clear definition of 'traditional' or 'standardized' interview is provided. For the purposes of this thesis the terms standard interviews, or standardized interview methodologies, shall be considered tantamount to a structured interview⁷. By comparison, Dexter describes nonstandard as:

- “ 1. stressing the interviewee’s definition of the situation,*
- 2. Encouraging the interviewee to structure the account of the situation,*
- 3. Letting the interviewee introduce to a considerable extent . . . his notions of what he regards as relevant, instead of relying upon the investigator’s notions of relevance” (Dexter, 1970, p. 18).*

Elite interviewing initially developed as a method to effectively engage subjects in a position of power, or of elite status, for whom standard interview methodologies would be insufficient (Dexter, 1970). *“In popular vernacular, elites are defined as a ‘group in society considered to be superior because of the power, talent, privileges etc. of its members”* (Welch *et al.*, 2002, pp. 613). Utilized especially in the fields of political science and sociology, elite interviewing relies upon categorizing data post-interview, rather than developing questions meant to evoke categorical answers (Farazmand,

⁷ *Structured interviews* are defined as a series of pre-established questions, with a limited range of responses, in which “the interviewer controls the pace of the interview...in a standardized and straightforward manner...There is very little flexibility in the way questions are asked or answered.” (Fontana & Frey, 1994, pp.363). *Note that structured interviews should not be confused with structuralism, mentioned in the subsequent section.*

1999). Elite interviewing has become increasingly popular in other academic fields as well, and the array of potential 'elites' has expanded well beyond the initial definition as the method enjoys more liberal application (Dexter, 1970; England, 2002; Smith, 2006). However, elite interviewing still lacks a comprehensive and ubiquitous definition (Dexter, 1970; Welch *et al.*, 2002).

In elite interviewing the interviewer is seeking some information or insight which they are not capable of eliciting through standard interview methodologies. Often the interviewer uses the elite methodology to let the interviewee teach or explain what the question, situation, or conflict actually is (Dexter, 1970). To that end, elite interviews encourage the interviewee to introduce more of their own experience and information as they deem relevant. The interviewer does not try to control responses so tightly, or to fit each answer into predetermined categories, but instead allows the interviewee to describe and contextualize their experiences through their own definitions. To that end the elite interviewer is less concerned with unexpected responses; standard interviews are structured so as to minimize errors (Fontana & Frey, 1994), however, in elite interviews a deviation may imply a reinterpretation or new approach, rather than a statistical anomaly (Dexter, 1970). Indeed, the single greatest appeal of elite interviewing may be the opportunity to generate novel and insightful data (Harvey, 2010).

3.4 Structuralism and the Elite Interview

"[Traditional elite interviewing] relies on structural notions of power, the idea that 'elites' can be neatly defined and treated as consistently powerful is a view which relies on the rather simplistic idea that there is a dichotomy between 'powerful elites' and 'powerless others'"

(Smith, 2006, pp.644-645).

Levi-Strauss' work *Elementary Structures of Kinship* endeavors to show how a plethora of related systems can be reduced to a few underlying exchange structures (Levi-Strauss, 1967), and in this manner attempts to provide a framework for understanding "the variation upon which other factors operate to determine a

particular social structure.” (Friedman, 1974, pp. 451). This concept is at the core of structuralism, an intellectual method which seeks to understand social relationships in the context of the presumed overarching social structure, and in so doing often situates related systems as binary oppositions (i.e. male/female, rich/poor, powerful/powerless) (Levi-Strauss, 1967). By providing a seemingly coherent framework, and emphasizing the logical and scientific nature of its results structuralism established itself as an intellectual movement, particularly in the social sciences (Deleuze & Guattari, 1988).

The presumption of an overarching social structure also implies that power can be configured across society, and thus individuals or organizations that possess power are able to act with potency across social sectors and in a variety of relationships (Levi-Strauss, 1967; Harvey, 2010; Smith, 2005). Traditional elite interviewing relies on the notion that there are those with power (or status), and those without power, in order to justify and explain its unique methodological approach, and thus espouses a structuralist perspective (Harvey, 2010).

Structuralism has also been derogated for its overly rigid approach to social structure and binary relationships, and so too has traditional elite interviewing (Mullings, 1999; Smith, 2005). The idea of elite interviewing was first criticized by Marxist theorists as latent approval for elite dominion justifying the marginalization of non-elites (Woods, 1998), however it would prove to be conceptually unsatisfactory for many different researchers who valued the open style of elite interviews, but struggled with the conceptual definition of elite (Dexter, 1970).

3.5 Post-Structuralism and the Elite Interview

“The insider/outsider binary in reality is a boundary that is not only highly unstable but also one that ignores the dynamism of positionalities in time and through space. No individual can consistently remain an insider and few ever remain complete outsiders. Endeavors to be either one or the other reflect elements of the dualistic thinking that structures much of Western thought.”

(Mullings, 1999, pp.340).

Post-structuralism emerged as a series of critiques (and rejections) of structuralism across the social sciences, with critics arguing instead that power is

ephemeral, fluid, and an effect rather than a possessable quality (Smith, 2005). Poststructuralists expound further that power is visible and anchored in its various modalities, and thus disrupts the idea that power associated with an individual in one context is easily transferable to a different situation or environment (Deleuze & Guattari, 1988; Woods, 1998). The highly influential Michel Foucault elaborated on many of these principals in his influential works *Birth of the Clinic*, *Discipline and Punish*, and *History of Sexuality*. The modality of post-structural power in tourism and marine affairs has been explored previously through the Foucauldian concepts of surveillance (Hollinshead, 1999), gaze (Cheong & Miller, 2000), and biopower (Ek & Hultman, 2008). In viewing power as dynamic and contextual poststructuralists expand the scope of who or what might be considered 'elite'. Rather, any subject with exceptional knowledge or status in regards to a given field or community may be powerful, and therefore 'elite' in the context of that community, and thus may be considered an appropriate candidate for the elite interview methodology.

Some of the first practitioners of post-structuralist elite interviewing were feminist human geographers and anthropologists who identified the power-destabilizing effect of their gender (female) in conducting research with traditional male elite subjects (England, 1994). In recognizing the power of gender dynamics in human interaction, and in particular while conducting interviews, researchers argued that it is unrealistic to reduce each relationship to a binary, as there are a multitude of personal, environmental, and temporal factors which effect the interviewer/interviewee relationship. Instead these researchers argued for a reflexive approach, an understanding that the relationship may be defined throughout the process of the interview, rather than a predetermined relationship which is knowable before the research begins (Smith, 2006). As England states;

"A more reflective and flexible approach to fieldwork allows the researcher to be more open to any challenges to their theoretical position that fieldwork almost inevitably raises. Certainly, a more reflexive geography must require careful consideration of the consequences of the interactions with those being investigated." (England, 1994, p.244)

By allowing the relationship to develop in its' own right interviewers hope to unpack the complex and shifting dynamics between subject and researcher, thereby defining the extent and limitations of power, developing a greater theoretical latitude to work within, and allowing for deeper reflection of the researchers' own role.

Opponents to the post-structuralist method criticize its framework as too loose, abstract, and ungrounded in a solid theory. While most critics do not dispute a certain level of power fluidity they rebuff post-structuralism as designed to accommodate the disposition of the researcher. Sir Peter Medawar criticized Deleuze and Guattari's writing as

"a prancing, high-stepping quality, full of self-importance; elevated indeed, but in the balletic manner, and stopping from time to time in studied attitudes, as if awaiting an outburst of applause. It has had a deplorable influence on the quality of modern thought."

(Medawar, 1982, pp. 180)

Sir Richard Dawkins concurs, characterizing post-structuralists as "intellectual impostor(s) with nothing to say, but with strong ambitions to succeed in academic life" who don the trappings of high theory but say little coherently because "a lucid [literary style], surely...would expose your lack of content." (Dawkins, 1998, pp.141). While poststructuralism has its critics, they are nearly all positivist natural scientists (both Medawar and Dawkins were biologists); in the social sciences poststructuralist theory has persisted as a common methodology.

3.6 Interview Parameters

For the purposes of this thesis an unstructured elite methodology was utilized. Following in the poststructural tradition described above, so-called 'elites' were defined as locals with extensive knowledge of Pacific Beach who frequently (at least weekly) worked or recreated on the beach, only 2 subjects spent less than 3 days a week at the beach. Subjects ranged in age from 21 through 82, and had all lived in Pacific Beach for at least 2 years. 20 interviews were conducted over the course of 28 days, while an innumerable number of smaller conversations and interactions provided supplemental material.

Interview locations varied, but were conducted *in situ* whenever possible. For example: surfers were interviewed while successively waiting to catch a wave, a retiree was interviewed while fishing from the pier. As these interviews were unstructured there was neither a universal question bank nor pre-determined questions for individual interviewees. Rather, subjects were engaged in a dialogue regarding their preferred activities, beach habits and routines through which socio-spatial data was elucidated. The interviews were coupled with the Participatory GIS method described later in this chapter, with one subject abstaining from the mapping exercise but completing the interview.

3.7 Qualitative Geographic Information Systems

Geographic Information Systems (GIS), are a convergence of a wide collection of technologies including data derived from remote sensing (satellite, LiDAR, buoy data), traditional methodologies including manual observation, and computer software and hardware that facilitate; the measure of aspects of geographic phenomena and processes; the representation of those measurements so as to emphasize a theme or relationship (Hamylton, 2017); and the ability to “operate on these representations to produce more measurements and to discover new relationships by integrating disparate sources” (Chrisman, 2002, p. 11).

GIS applications are constructed through three main technology services: data management, data analysis, and data visualization. Although many GIS will feature all three services it is entirely possible to utilize a GIS that uses only one or two. While there are a great variety of visualization techniques the most common, and by far most familiar, is the map. In addition to being an effective means to visualize data and communicate information to an audience the map was also the basis for traditional spatial analyses (Chrisman, 2002). GIS applications are typically considered quantitative for a variety of reasons: it is associated with quantitative spatial analysis and the scientific method: it occupies the intersection of science and technology through the medium of digital data and computer programming: and the concept of visualizing data is associated with the common scientific notion that visual observation is an objective

methodology (Pavlovskaya, 2009). However in the last twenty years GIS use has increasingly found applications outside it's quantitative base.

Qualitative GIS applications have been used in tourism studies (Cieri, 2003), constructing geographic narratives (Elwood, 2006), visualizing local knowledge (Rambaldi, Kyem, McCall, & Weiner, 2006), and in analyzing community space (Knigge & Cope, 2009). These new uses of a traditionally quantitative discipline have been largely inspired by the poststructural concepts discussed above, as well as the field of critical geography which acknowledges that "relational space, along with time, is inseparable from social processes and may embrace non-measurable properties of place, human experience, and social power" (Cope & Elwood, 2009, p. 25). The advent of qualitative geography has provided a new method of communicating and visualizing information to a wide variety of social science projects, as well as increasing methodologies available in conducting research.

3.8 Participatory GIS

Many social scientists have combined GIS visualization or data collection techniques with other methodologies - such as ethnographic interviews (Brennan-Horley, Luckman, Gibson, & Willoughby-Smith, 2010) or grounded theory (Kwan & Knigge, 2006) - for a variety of reasons: improved analysis or clarity of processes: to promote the incorporation of different forms of spatial knowledge, or develop multiple epistemologies: or to challenge the typical view of GIS as a positivist quantitative technology (Cope & Elwood, 2009). These mixed method approaches have proven particularly important to geographic research because they allow for a diversity of techniques that can contextualize, contrast, or share data, with multiple narratives and with the understanding that knowledge derived may be situated (dependent on the social, political, and geographic situations and positions of the participants) (Elwood, 2009).

Many of these combined methods have been refined and incorporated into the relatively new discipline of Participatory GIS (PGIS).

“PGIS refers to the development of geospatial technologies that is initiated and directed by participants . . . It emphasizes collaborative processes for developing spatial data, and inclusion of multiple realities, diverse perceptions of space and place. The PGIS literature is replete with examples of how GIS might be used with non-cartographic or qualitative ways of representing and communicating spatial knowledge, including oral narrative, sketch mapping, performance, or collaborative collection of field data.”(Cope & Elwood, 2009, p. 59)

PGIS has been used as an effective technique in community-based resource management research (McCall & Minang, 2005), integrating Traditional Ecological Knowledge (Tripathi & Bhattarya, 2004), and in developing park planning (Brown, Schebella, & Weber, 2014). PGIS may be highly structured, but most often emphasizes the freedom of the participant(s) to define the space and data at hand.

For the purposes of this thesis, PGIS was implemented to help participants discuss spatial concepts and preferences in relation to Pacific Beach. Much as described above, the intention of these maps is not to define the boundaries or quantities of tourist behavior in Pacific Beach via deductive reasoning; rather, these maps are a means by which participants can visualize and communicate their own experiences in navigating Pacific Beach as a neighborhood, and as a destination.

Participants were provided with a black and blue pen and several copies of a low resolution map of Pacific Beach. Participants were then encouraged to use the map to describe or delineate concepts as a part of the interview process. Near the beginning of interviews participants were asked to mark on one map (in black ink) the places in Pacific Beach where they encountered tourists and tourism-dependent businesses. Towards the end of the interview participants were asked to mark on a separate map (in blue ink) the places in Pacific Beach that were significant to them, where they visited, recreated, and generally participated in the community. The maps were generated using Field Papers⁸ (available in the appendix), and were subsequently scanned before being uploaded to GIS processing software (ESRI ArcGIS v10.6). The resulting database is displayed in subsequent chapters and is available in the appendix.

⁸ For a digital, downloadable version of the map used see: <http://fieldpapers.org/atlasses/46a8mu7a/A1>

3.9 Case Study Methodology

The case study methodology assumes that by examining the conditions and context surrounding a topic (case) information may be discovered that is integral to a larger understanding (Harrison, Birks, Franklin, & Mills, 2017). To that end the methodology functions as

“An empirical inquiry about a contemporary phenomenon (e.g. a “case”) set within its real-world context – especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident.” (Yin, 1994, p. 18).

Thus case study methodology is particularly applicable when addressing research questions that are descriptive or explanatory in nature, and may provide more useful data for research *in situ* than would be possible with derived data (Bromley, 1991).

While the case study methodology is not suited for every research question, there are an infinite number of subjects that may be defined as a case; a case is often a singular phenomenon (an event or condition) or neatly bounded entity (a person, a company), however a case may also be an archetype or paradigm (such as beach towns). Where a case study focuses on a case that is not singular or revelatory it is often necessary to utilize a compelling framework. Indeed, the case study may be even conducted for the purpose of introducing or demonstrating the utility of a novel framework. Initially case studies were considered to have a subject (the framework) and object (the case or cases), as the methodology has matured academic discourse has resulted in a wider case study typology, incorporating a plethora of suggested case study types (George & Bennett, 2005)(Thomas, 2011): see Figure 3.1 for a table of proposed case study types.

Case studies may involve single or multiple cases, and may include multiple embedded sub-units of analysis, or a singular holistic analysis. The four possible pairings of cases (single/multiple) and units of analysis (embedded/holistic) result in a matrix as displayed in Figure 3.2. Multiple-case designs are often used to replicate conditions between similar cases, or to provide greater confidence in findings (Hersen & Barlow, 1976), however they are often more costly and time consuming to conduct. It is worth noting that in multiple-case designs results are not simply tallied (i.e. three cases

supported the theory, but two did not), but instead rely on deeper analyses as informed by the study's academic framework.

George and Bennett (2005, drawing on Eckstein, 1975)	Merriam (1988)	Stake (1995)	Bassey (1999)	de Vaus (2001)	Mitchell (2006) (drawing on Eckstein, 1975)	Yin (2009)
Theory testing	Descriptive	Intrinsic	Theory seeking	Descriptive/ explanatory	Illustrative	Critical
Atheoretical/ configurative- idiographic	Interpretative	Instrumental	Theory testing	Theory testing/ theory building	Social analytic	Extreme/ unique
Disciplined configurative	Evaluative	Single/ collective	Storytelling	Single/multiple case	Extended (over time)	Longitudinal
Heuristic	—	—	Picture drawing	Holistic/embedded	Configurative- idiographic	Representative
Plausibility probes	—	—	Evaluative	Parallel/sequential	Disciplined- configurative	Revelatory
“Building block” studies	—	—	—	Retrospective/ prospective	Heuristic	—
					Plausibility probes	

Figure 3.1. Types of case studies as described by various analysts (Source: Thomas, 2011).

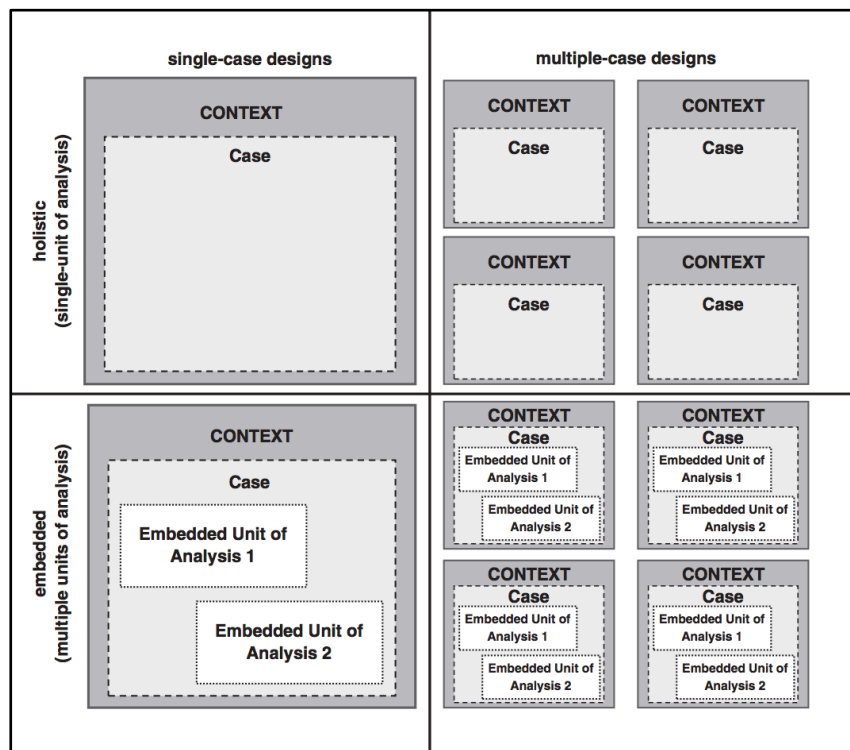


Figure 3.2. Displaying the four combinations of case designs and unit(s) of analysis. (Source: Yin, 2012).

Another advantage of the case study is that it does not restrict the number of data sources utilized; in fact most case studies rely on multiple sources of evidence, and may frequently combine qualitative and quantitative data (Thomas, 2011). Common data sources include: direct observations, interviews, archival records, documents,

participant-observation, and archival records⁹. The challenge inherent in incorporating multiple data sources and methods is to defend the logical connection (or synergistic relationship) between them. In this regard case study methodology has been criticized both for not being rigorously defined and for being too convoluted to produce generalizable results (Yin, 2012).

For the purposes of this thesis, a holistic single-case design was used incorporating qualitative data derived from interviews and PGIS field work in Pacific Beach, California utilizing the HANS model as the research framework, and Deleuzoguattarian spatial concepts as analysis. The discussion section addresses challenges encountered with this approach, as well as recommendations for future expanded research.

⁹ It should be noted that most data sources are derived utilizing another methodology and are subsequently situated within the context of the case study; the case study is not a singular umbrella methodology. This thesis, for example, derives data from interviews and PGIS, which is then applied in a case study.

Part II

A Case Study of Pacific Beach, California

Chapter 4 – History of Pacific Beach

In the extreme Southwest corner of the United States the mountains of the Peninsular Ranges level into a series of mesas and canyons before submerging beneath the waters of the Pacific Ocean. The unique topography of sheltered lowlands creates extensive tidal marshes and, combined with the nutrient rich waters of the Santa Barbara Channel, supports incredible biodiversity amidst the more austere California coastal sage and chaparral that dominate the ecoregion (Yin, 1994, p. 18). This sunny Mediterranean climate encouraged early and extensive settlement by humans, and the bountiful natural resources facilitated a variety of specialized cultures. The area that is today the town of Pacific Beach, California has been inhabited for at least 12,000 years by a variety of cultures (Jones, Aiello, & Klar, 2010), including the coastally-oriented peoples of the La Jolla Complex, and the agrarian Kumeyaay people (Gallegos, 1995). While five hundred years of Western colonization has radically altered the composition and demography of Pacific Beach, the balmy climate and diverse land cover means that today, as much as ever, the region supports a multiplicity of human uses and industries.

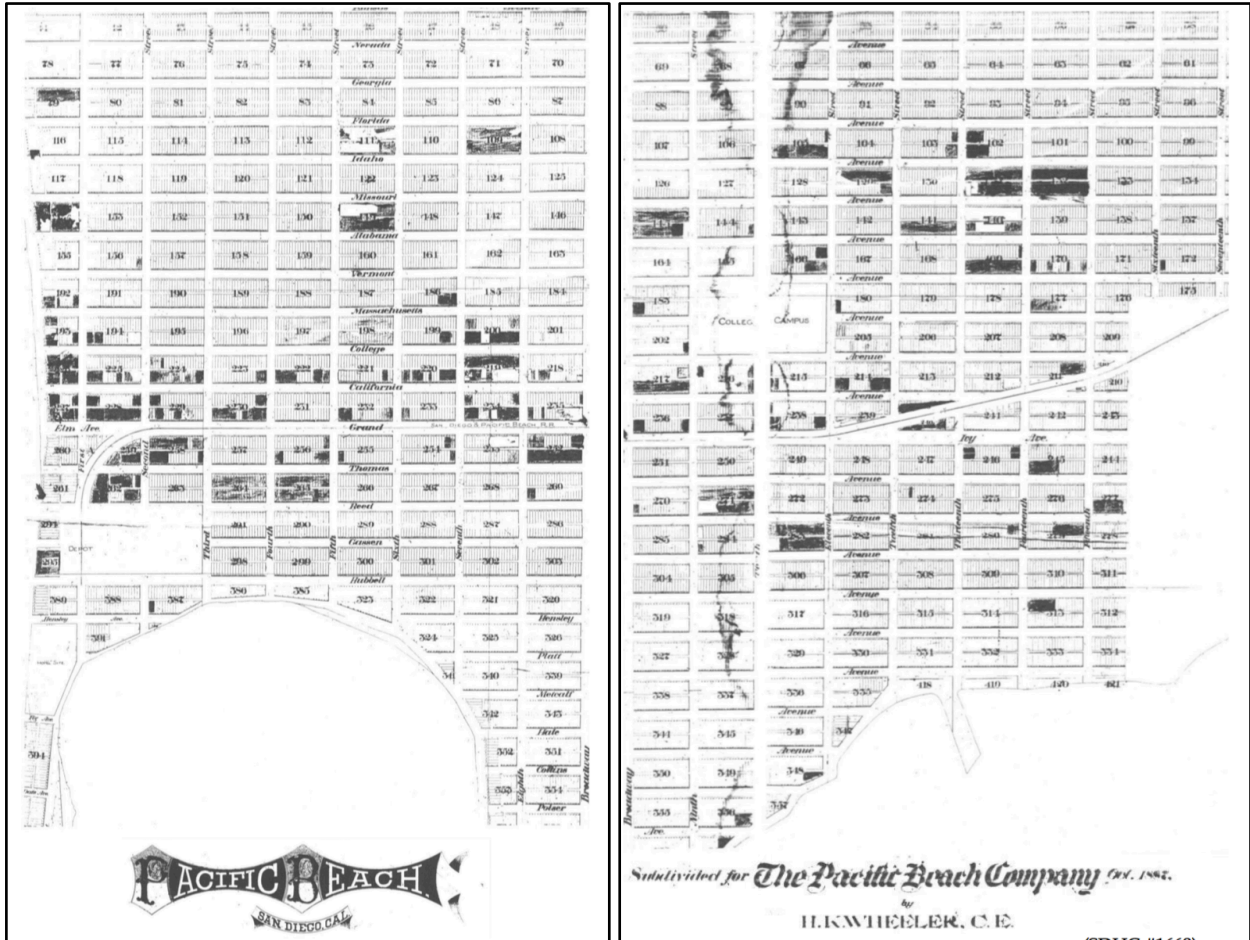
4.1 – Pacific Beach Founding

While the lands comprising Pacific Beach (PB) were certainly known and utilized by Indigenous people it was largely ignored by the Spanish missions that first brought Europeans and Euro-Americans to the region. The Mexican and American settlers that succeeded them found the flat flood plains ideal for hayfields and grazing, but imposed no substantial developments on the area. It was not until 1885, when a link to the transcontinental railroad catalyzed the first major regional expansion (known as San Diego's Great Boom) that serious development began. After successful real estate ventures in Coronado, and around downtown, developers E.S. Babcock and H.L. Story secured 1,665 acres of land for development of a town immediately north of False Bay (now Mission Bay) brokered by the newly founded Pacific Beach Company and operated with infrastructural support from the San Diego and Pacific Beach Railroad (incorporated only a couple of days before).

Situated in the flood plains of the San Diego River, Pacific Beach was carved out of the surrounding sedimentary bedrock, leaving a surficial layer of fertile alluvial flood-plain deposits; the flood plain's relief would also give the area impressive views of Mount Soledad, La Jolla, and Point Loma. With its scenic landscape, several miles of fine sand beach and protected waters, the early developers envisioned upscale establishments targeted towards a haut monde community, replete with luxury hotels, a racetrack, university, and connections to San Diego by fashionable railcar. A massive marketing campaign was undertaken, with newspapers heralding the real estate as "the nearest thing on earth to the kingdom of heaven, so far as climate is concerned" (Smythe, 1908). Despite fairly strong opening sales in the fall of 1887, the community failed to materialize due in part to a near total real estate collapse as the boom subsided in early 1888.

"Despite the enthusiasm generated by the opening sale, property ownership within Pacific Beach during the period ... was relatively thin and unevenly distributed. Of the nearly 400 blocks created by the grid of streets and avenues in Pacific Beach, counting Crown Point but not counting Mission Beach, only 78 blocks had even one lot marked out on the map. The largest concentration of marked-out lots was along the beachfront, particularly at the foot of Grand Avenue near the railway depot. Another concentration of sales took place near the center of the community, around the intersection of Grand and Broadway (Ingraham). " (Webster, 2013, p. 13)

Property sales not only failed to meet expectations, subsequent development was sluggish; in 1892 there were only 20 residencies listed with the San Diego directory. Although by 1897 that number increased to 37 residencies, the primary occupation in Pacific Beach was agricultural or ranch work: a far cry from the sophisticated community originally envisaged. Many of the planned attractions, including a dance pavilion and luxury hotel, were scrapped or repurposed as profits failed to materialize, and the Pacific Beach Company was dissolved in 1898.



The original community layout, as proposed by The Pacific Beach Company, with pre-existing structures and sold lots shown in black. (Source: San Diego Historical Society).

The eponymous community however, would continue to grow, slowly adding residents and venues. At the turn of the century most residents in Pacific Beach were focused on growing their recently established farms and citrus orchards; despite several small investments early attractions (such as the racetrack and driving grounds) fell into disrepair as local interest, and profits, dwindled. However, despite the failure of initial ventures to produce a luxury seaside community, Pacific Beach’s strong potential for recreation and tourism (even if only from nearby San Diego) was not overlooked by future investors.

For several years, beginning in 1904, Fredrick Scripps had been purchasing the cheap Pacific Beach parcels, developing a verdant horticultural center, and linking the community by trolley to San Diego, and his developments in La Jolla; at the center, in Pacific Beach, were the Scripps gardens and Braemar estate. Scripps’ private residence

was open publicly for floral shows, fetes, and a host of clubs and societies from around San Diego. Under the patronage of Scripps and several other wealthy residents their properties along False Bay became a preferred gathering place for regional social events. Socialites riding the electric trolleys to, and from, Pacific Beach would certainly have seen the large tracts of picturesque oceanfront property, ready for development (much of which was, of course, owned by Scripps).

Social expectations of acceptable behavior (and in particular notions of propriety) tempered development of any outright beach culture. Nevertheless, recreation and social gatherings were situated firmly along the beach. In addition to the Braemar estate, False Bay had a small diving pier, and dressing rooms for bathers. The hard-packed sand of the beach was attractive for auto racing or carriage drives, while row boating was popular for riding the surf (McClain, 2007). Through World War I Pacific Beach remained a sparsely developed rural community, but its modest infrastructure and plentiful beach access made it a popular weekend destination for the region's residents.

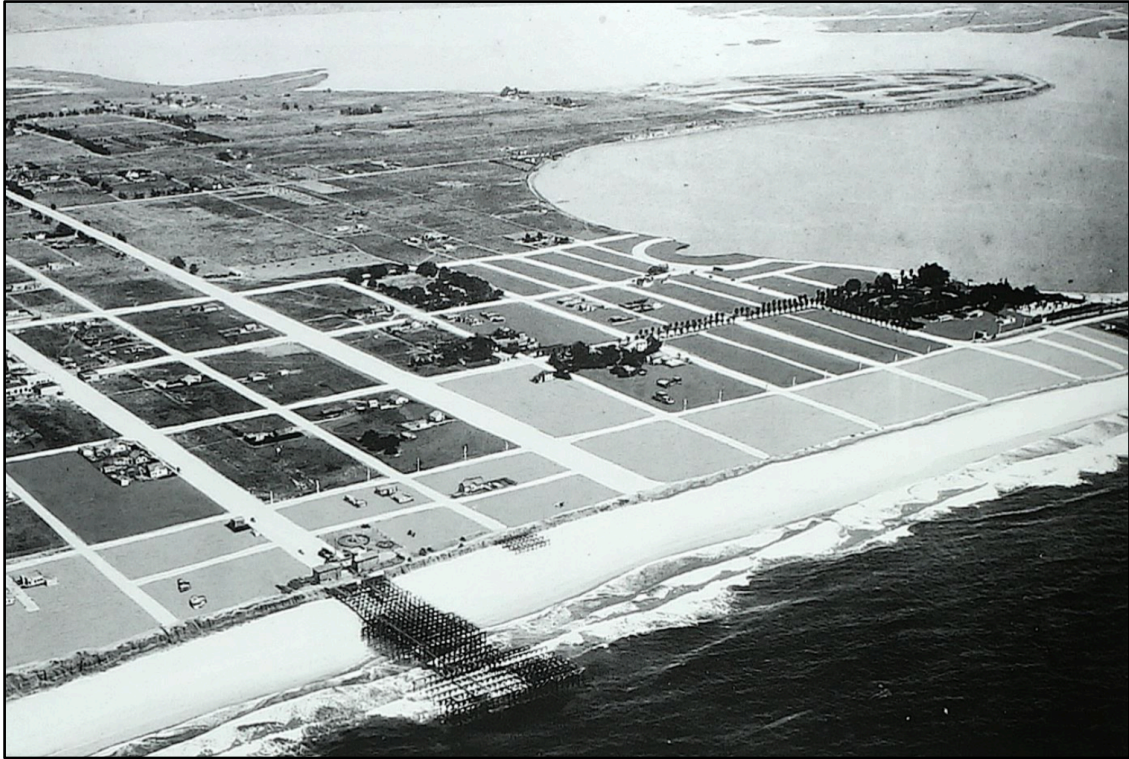


This map, created by Jo Mora in 1928, depicts Pacific Beach (Top Left) as a quiet town sandwiched between the attractions of Mission Beach and La Jolla. (Source: David Rumsey Historical Map Collection).

4.2- Initial Tourism Development

In 1925 Ernest Pickering announced he would finance the construction of a one million dollar pier and ballroom adjacent to the Western end of Garnet Avenue. Pickerings' Pleasure Pier, as it was initially called, was not so much an investment in tourism as it was a means to encourage people to buy homes, and residential plots, from Pickering's business colleagues. The pier opened to the public in 1927 with two buses bringing potential buyers for tours. Pickering would lose the pier and ballroom during the Great Depression. After changing hands several times U.S. National Bank foreclosed on the property in 1934, extended the pier and removed the ballroom. As with previous investors, the tourism potential of such a site was not overlooked; the midway was replaced with 20 vacation cottages, and the pier reopened in 1936 under the moniker Crystal Pier. Crystal Pier's inauspicious beginnings belied the iconic role it would play in shaping the identity of Pacific Beach during the latter half of the twentieth century.

Throughout the Great Depression housing projects were built across much of the Northern and Eastern portions of Pacific Beach, as well as a U.S. Navy training facility and barracks. While the population continued to grow slowly the additional infrastructure and housing built by these two projects established ideal conditions for a postwar boom. After the cessation of hostilities in the Pacific thousands of sailors and marines returned to San Diego from overseas. Postwar developments, such as Crown Point on Mission Bay, were developed specifically for Federal Housing Assistance-qualified veterans, many of whom found the climate and postwar job opportunities in Southern California quite agreeable, settling in large numbers in communities like Pacific Beach. In fifty years the population of Pacific Beach had grown nearly 20 times over, with nearly 30,000 residents by 1950. Although this population failed to reflect the haut monde culture initial investors had hoped to attract, Pacific Beach (like much of America) was a community built on the purchasing power of the middle class, and it would be transformed again by the introduction of middle class tourism to Southern California.



Taken in 1926, the framework for Crystal Pier is clearly visible, as is the Braemar Estate in the far right (Source: Fry, 2002).

Britain's Industrial Revolution during the mid-19th century created a new class of traveler: industrial, managerial, and administrative professionals with paid time off. Taking advantage of Britain's railway infrastructure, Thomas Cook pioneered travel packages by organizing trips for working class Britons, first to the English seaside, then to continental Europe, the Mediterranean, and North Africa (Hunter, 2004). Packaged tours were nothing short of a revolution, and the foundational relationship between tourism and middle class would be cemented with the re-emergence of mass tourism in postwar America (Weiss, 2004).

In addition to paid vacations more Americans owned cars than ever before; by 1960 eighty percent of American households owned at least one car, compared to forty five percent in 1941 (US Census Bureau, 2000). The Interstate Highway Act of 1956 expedited the rapidly expanding network of highways and interstate freeways - meaning vacationers were no longer dependent on destinations serviced by rail - and the advent of commercial air travel meant Americans were more mobile than previously possible.

By the mid-1960s San Diego had transformed Mission Bay into a recreational water park, expanded the marinas, refurbished the amusement park attractions at Belmont Park, established Seaworld, and expanded the causeway connecting Pacific Beach to Old Town. Taking advantage of the tourism boom, properties along Ocean Boulevard were purchased for development of hotels and luxury condos. Although Pacific Beach would remain solidly working class and residential the beachfront was far too valuable and picturesque to escape notice any longer. In the span of 15 years the sole beachfront development, Crystal Pier, would become the centerpiece of private ventures stretching unbroken from Tourmaline Street to Mission Bay.



By the time this picture was taken in the early 1970's hotels and businesses lined the beach (Source: Pacific Beach Historical Society)

4.3- Beach Culture Beginnings

The sport that would become the iconic image of the Southern California lifestyle would mirror Pacific Beach in its initial growth and postwar boom. Surf exhibitions given in 1907 by Hawaiian George Freeth attracted residents and tourists to Los Angeles' beaches, introducing the Polynesian tradition to California and America. As early as 1910

surfing was practiced in the San Diego surf by native Californians, and grew in popularity after 1916 demonstrations by legendary surfer Duke Kahanamoku.

Freeth and Kahanamoku did more than dazzle Americans with their ability to ride the waves, they were the charismatic ambassadors of Hawaiian surf and beach culture. The shirtless, toned, and tanned bodies of these surfing 'beach boys from Waikiki' were as revolutionary as the sport they were demonstrating. Kahanamoku had recently won gold and silver medals in swimming at the 1912 Olympics, a sport the United States banned women from competing in due to the inappropriate form-fitting swimwear worn (Bier, 2011). At a time when the propriety of revealing bodies was a matter of moral and legislative concern Kahanamoku was not only an internationally recognized athlete, he was the charming sex symbol of a movement to liberalize beach customs and behavior (Davis, 2018).

No one took Kahanamoku's image, philosophy and style to heart more than Tom Blake, a native Wisconsinite that moved to Hawaii after seeing Kahanamoku surf on film. Blake not only learned to surf but also studied the beach and Polynesian culture, his photographs and reports were published in *National Geographic* and *Life*, making their way into living rooms throughout America; his book *Hawaiian Surfboard* is widely credited with inspiring the beach subculture that would arise from the 1920s on (Capra et al., 2017).

"Tom Blake is the obvious link between the ancient South Pacific watermen and the twentieth-century Anglo watermen... he understood and adopted the aloha frame of mind... at the same time Albert Einstein was finishing his accepted $e = mc^2$ theory, Tom Blake was carving 'Nature = God' into the sand bluffs of what is now Malibu." (Kampion, 2003).

Blake inspired a generation of young bohemians who took to the beach with surfboards and guitars, bonfires and beer, and a conspicuous lack of clothing. Many of the pictures depict young beachgoers behaving in ways that would have been scandalous at the time, half nude in an age when men could still be arrested for going topless at the beach (Capra et al., 2017).

Throughout the Western world contemporary concerns over propriety while bathing were a symptom of the rapid cultural changes precipitated by burgeoning seaside tourism. In Australia the discourse around fully clothed bathing was framed, not as a moral issue, but as a foundational pillar of gender;

“I am an Australian girl, sharing our national love for the water. I am no prude, and think the human figure the highest form of beauty, but no true woman would exhibit herself to all who care to gaze, clad in the thinnest and tightest of gowns. (“Surf Bathing to the Editor of the Herald: Daily Dipper,” 1907).

The notion that scantily clad young women were a dangerous and destabilizing threat to society was common in Europe and the United States as well. Yet by the 1920s icons such as Duke Kahanamoku, Nancy Carroll, and Coco Chanel were challenging these traditions, not only at the beach, but through the ultimate measure of glamor and beauty: Hollywood films (Metusela & Waite, 2012). By the 1930s, although the debate was not over, the popular opinion had shifted to the side of fashionable swimsuits for both genders. Rather than protecting modesty, swimwear was now meant to accentuate the wearer’s desirable and sexualized features.

“Lovely fabrics slenderize you... bra-lifts accent your loveliness and gently restrain unruly curves...Giving to women an amazing degree of figure control.” (“Jantzen Swimsuit Advertisement.” 1938).

Bare flesh at the beach would necessitate another shift in social standards. Throughout the Western world tan skin had long been associated with unskilled labor, the poor, and darker skinned races deemed inferior by white Europeans, the bourgeois and sophisticated therefore idealized pale ivory skin over all other pigmentation. This opinion began to change at the turn of the century as the health benefits of sun tanning were debated. Despite the increasing agreement that exposure to the sun was beneficial it was ultimately the rise of tanned celebrities and fashionistas (again Kahanamoku and Chanel would be iconic figures) that shifted popular opinion in the Western world (Koskoff, 2007). The cultural incorporation of tanning was being

combined with skimpier bathing suits as the framework for modern Western beach culture.

While surfing's beach culture caught on quickly the sport's growth was sluggish, by the 1930s there were only a few dozen surfers in Southern California (James, 1998). The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941 would impose a hiatus on surfing; overnight Hawaii and California were transformed, rather than being seen as a haven to avoid spillover from the war in Europe they had become the frontline in a war for the Pacific. The long coast of California was not a place for recreation but a potential warzone, as a matter of national security the federal government closed many of the most popular surfing beaches. Again, it was not until the war was over that surfing would reach its full potential in Southern California.

Much like the population of Pacific Beach, surfing would experience huge postwar growth. Beaches and the surf were open again to the public, and the booming coastal communities were filled with young middle class residents. The mass industrialization of the West Coast - spurred by the Pacific war effort - was turned to other business ventures, and surfing was one of the beneficiaries:

“materials and technologies developed during the war enabled advances in surfboard design. While solid wood boards that required nearly superhuman strength to carry were increasingly being replaced by hollow boards in the 1930's, war technologies were enabling even newer designs that drew on balsa, marine plywood, fiberglass, polyester resin, and polyurethane foam. These lighter boards opened up the sport to countless newcomers. So, too, did the development of wetsuits- another beneficiary of wartime technology.”(Laderman, 2014, p. 39).

These new designs combined with the heady postwar temperament, strong economy, and mass relocation to the West Coast to create the first real boom in surfing. With the success of several surf-themed films, particularly *Gidget* and *The Endless Summer*, surfing became the iconic, if still subcultural, sport of Southern California.

4.4 Tourmaline Surf Park

The postwar explosion of communities throughout Southern California was not without consequences, the beaches in San Diego - from Coronado to La Jolla - were more crowded than ever before. Although skimpy swimsuits and tans reigned supreme the discourse over appropriate beach behavior continued, competition for space could be heated, and the question of who owned the beach was quickly becoming litigious.

In the 1960s the breaks off False Point, immediately North of what is now family-friendly Tourmaline Surf Park, were mostly rocks with much less sand than today, and subject to particularly strong swells through the winter months. The best breaks were most easily accessed through the nearby residential neighborhoods. Without adequate amenities to park, or change, surfers were frequently found waxing boards and disrobing on street corners and in front lawns (Schmitt, 2016). Homeowners were incensed by surfers trespassing through their property, dripping wax on their landscaping, and generally “raising the devil” (“Surf Riders Stir Waves of Protest,” 1960). Soon surfers were to blame for every neighborhood disturbance, even out of season when there was no surf presence. While conflicts between residents and surfers were occurring throughout Southern California, as well as Australia and South Africa, the homeowners of North Pacific Beach and La Jolla were some of the most vociferous, and successful at gaining media sympathy.



Beach Clean-ups were one means by which surf clubs attempted to improve the image of the sport throughout Southern California, as seen here at Pacific Beach 1963. (Source: San Diego Historical Society)

After multiple attempts to license surfboards and restrict the sport to a handful of beaches were rebuffed, residents begrudgingly agreed to the city's proposal in 1965 to develop Tourmaline canyon, creating a road, parking lot, and changing facilities providing direct access to the surf. It was an imperfect compromise at best, ultimately residents agreed to the surf park in order to stymie a proposed high rise apartment development on the site; surfers meanwhile avoided the surf park because there were no good waves in the area, instead continuing to access False Point through the local neighborhood.

Tourmaline's popularity would not catch on until several decades later when its rocky shore was filled in with sand dredged from the San Diego River, creating better waves to ride. However, it was a seminal moment in Pacific Beach's history, Tourmaline represented the partitioning of surfing by society at large. Despite multiple efforts to ban surfing, the sport and its culture were durable, weathering the *dissensus* and ultimately gaining recognition as enforceable behavior, and incorporation into the political *police* (Ranciere, Panagia, & Bowlby, 2001). Additionally, Tourmaline Surf Park

would serve as a hard artifact that literally put surfing on the map, guaranteeing access on a coastline where the division between public and private was quickly consolidating.

4.5 Beach Town Identity

By 1965 essentially all of the infrastructure that is present today was in place. Although many lots still featured large tracts of open ground Pacific Beach was essentially full; developments could either fill in lots, or start building up. Despite construction of several 'unsavory' high-rise apartment buildings the next several decades were devoid of the ambitious and contentious boom-and-bust developments of the previous eighty years. The filling-in of Pacific Beach solidified the distinction between commercial and residential Euclidean zones, aiming to reduce the overall friction between residents and beachgoers. Friction between homeowners, surfers, and (increasingly) the tourism industry would persist, but the more robust community infrastructure and management policies proved capable of mitigating most conflicts. As modern tourism flourished in San Diego, Pacific Beach became a haven for locals avoiding the crowds, and ultimately a tourist attraction in its own right. Indeed, all the same elements that had captured the admiration of its founders a century earlier would attract new investment in the 1980s and 1990s, this time the emphasis would not be on building a community, but creating a tourist destination.



In this illustrated map from the 1970's Pacific Beach is represented by bikini-clad sunbathers, surfers, and a young couple playing in the waves. The artistic choice to present an east facing orientation emphasizes the coastline, hinting at the growing importance of beach culture and identity to Pacific Beach and San Diego. (Source: www.johnfry.com)

Since the town's inception a footpath had crowned the bluffs along the beach, eventually this path was widened into Ocean Boulevard. As Pacific Beach became more populated the increase in traffic made Ocean Boulevard, devoid of sidewalks and few access points, something of a barrier to beachgoers (Fry, 2002). There were also safety concerns as the weight of vehicles passing continuously along the sandy bluffs' edge increased erosion. In a bid to stem erosive forces, unite the beachfront, and draw in more tourists, a proposal was put forth to replace Ocean Boulevard with a seawall and landscaped promenade that would connect Palisades Park in the North to Crystal Pier and South to the Mission Beach boardwalk.

Much like Tourmaline Surf Park, the new promenade was not initially appreciated for its critical contribution to the community. Developers and tourism brokers would reap most of the obvious location and monetary benefits; nevertheless the promenade was a hard artifact that guaranteed open public access to the beach. Through its various public initiatives and oft-litigious Coastal Commission, California's

commitment to preserving public beaches is well documented, but Pacific Beach boasts uncommonly easy access; many communities along the coast have been separated from their beach by wealthy housing estates or elite luxury attractions, with access restricted by long approaches or steep descents to public beaches that occupy the narrowest space between cliff and surf. Although much of the beachfront in PB belongs to hotels and rental homes the surf park and promenade keep the entirety of the beach open to the public, promoting a strong flow of pedestrian traffic between the downtown attractions and the surf.

The proximity and easy accessibility to the water disseminate beachgoers throughout the surrounding neighborhood, shops, and restaurants; the sun-and-sand lifestyle that began as surfing's subculture permeates throughout Pacific Beach due in large part to that accessibility. Businesses and brokers certainly exploit and even fetishize beach culture to attract more visitors, but there is an undeniably genuine beach town atmosphere in PB.

Chapter 5 - Neighborhood and Destination

All of the factors that influenced Pacific Beach's rapid development in the second half of the twentieth century continue to make it an attractive place to live, vacation, and recreate. Pacific Beach has successfully transformed from a suburban San Diego community into a popular and lucrative beach town destination, but these dual identities are not always complementary. PB's success means that a huge variety of people, groups, and businesses - all with a diverse array of interests - are invested in the community. However, as competition for space between various interest groups grows conflicts do as well. Perceptions about appropriate growth and Euclidean zone designation, documented through interviews, demonstrate the challenges involved in achieving a comprehensive community plan that promotes Pacific Beach as a tourist destination, and protects residents' interests.

The previous chapters have served as an introduction to the key concepts, methods, and history of this case study and were presented in an accordingly orthodox style. Starting with this chapter the narrative of beach town development is described using the Deleuzoguattarian vocabulary introduced previously, for a review of geophilosophical terms see Chapter 2.

5.1 – Community Management, Preference and Perceived Best Use

Pacific Beach's growth and success as a community and destination are largely a function of its location. Particularly for tourists, Pacific Beach is attractive on account of its desirable climate and beaches - that is to say, unlike heritage tourism or ecotourism, the main attraction is not intended to be historically significant, culturally enlightening, or naturally pristine, the main attraction is that it feels good to be in Pacific Beach. In no way should this be interpreted as low-brow, or a cheap form of tourism, the powerful economic and cultural impacts of tourism in balmy climates are far reaching, including expedited racial desegregation (Iceland, Sharp, & Timberlake, 2013), emancipatory senior living practices (McHugh, 2000), and heightened community polarization (Almeida García, Balbuena Vázquez, & Cortés Macías, 2015). These social, cultural, and economic implications become particularly important in a residential community like

Pacific Beach, where tourism is a major (but not dominant) industry that must be balanced against community needs and expectations.

The technical and political processes employed to balance competing human uses, develop infrastructure, and maintain environmental standards all fall squarely in the realm of urban planning. At the community level urban planners address tourism as a matter of space (both area and coordinate space) and infrastructure, providing adequate capacity for attractions in order to establish separation (Striate) and minimize spillover for residents, as well as developing the transportation and support infrastructure necessary to sustain the community. Pacific Beach's orthogonal lay out - consisting of several arterial routes through commercial zones connecting adjacent residential neighborhoods - represents the typical rectilinear American grid plan popular with developers through the 1960's. While the American grid has many benefits, including efficiency and easy navigation, it has been criticized for low versatility and an inability to respond to change.

In PB space is at a premium, and demand must be balanced between the need to maintain livable neighborhoods with a strong community feel, and to develop attractive destinations that will encourage repeat visitors and investment from tourism-related industry. In an established grid network, a neighborhood striated by a multiplicity of hard artifacts, opportunities to adjust community composition are limited. In 2005 the San Diego Planning Commission updated the Pacific Beach Community Plan, adopting several strategies to facilitate growth while minimizing the impact to residents. In order to address the increasing number of weekend and holiday visitors the 2005 plan authorizes more mixed-use developments – typically in the form of first floor shops with offices or apartments on additional stories- in the commercial zones of PB. Additionally, to accommodate more residents and provide a buffer between tourists and homeowners the 2005 plan authorizes upzoning (as well as re-designation from single family to multi-family homes) of residential blocks adjacent to the commercial zones – See *Figure 5.1 (City of San Diego Planning Department, 2005)*.

Community leaders and urban planners endeavor to minimize conflict through effective management policy implemented via the community plan; in developing this

framework the city includes input from community members and parties with a vested interest in Pacific Beach. Perhaps one of the greatest challenges for planners is the disparity between interest groups regarding their preferences, and perception of best use designation, in community development. While policy makers are forced to balance multiple (sometimes competing) requirements many stakeholders are singularly vested. In the following sections this chapter explores the perceptions of various broker, local, and tourist stakeholders as they relate to beach use, tourism development, and community.

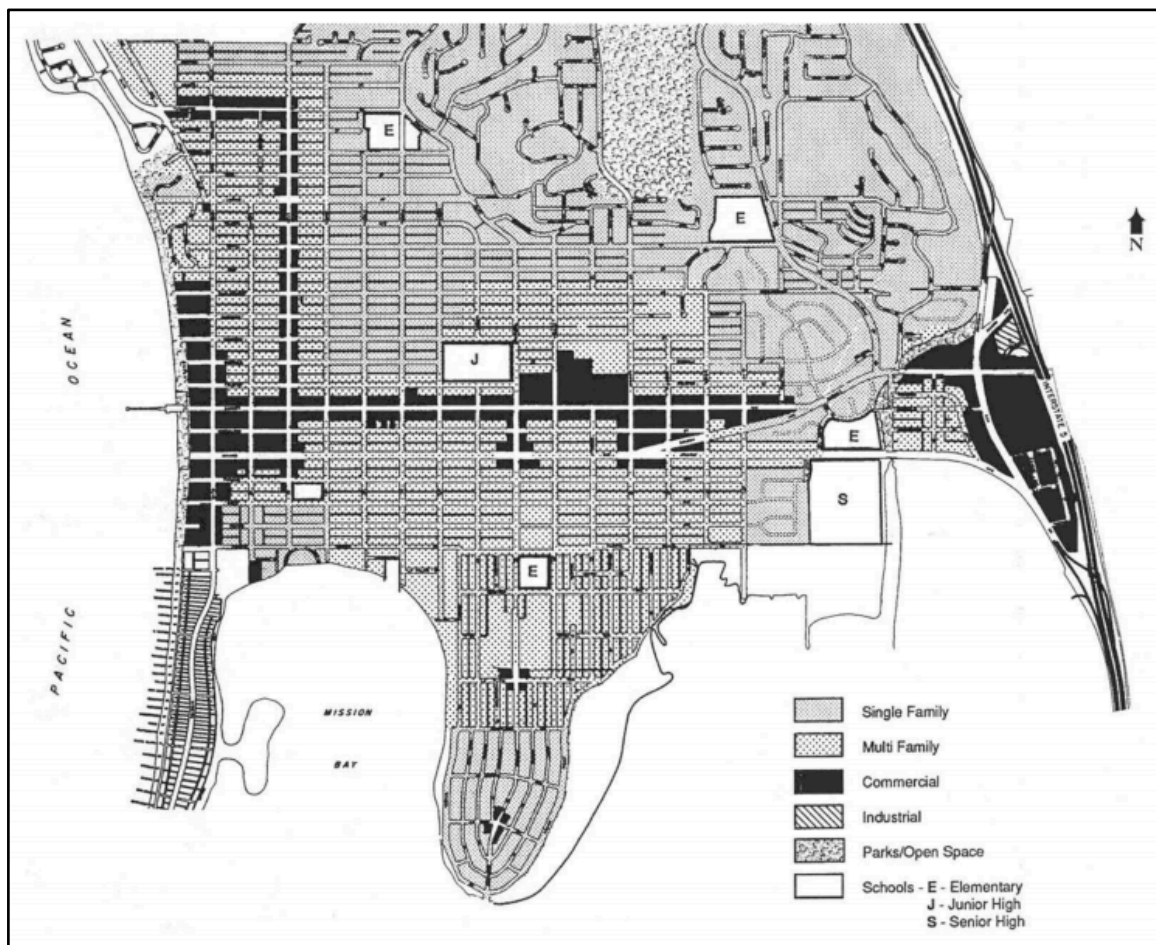


Figure 5.1. Contemporary Euclidean zoned Community Plan for Pacific Beach, San Diego (Source: City of San Diego Planning Department, 2005).

5.2 Local Perceptions

The word local is a term loaded with personal meaning packaged inside a specific context. In interviews and conversations across Pacific Beach it was exceptionally rare to

find the same definition of local used. To some, local meant a San Diegan that frequents PB; residents of Pacific Beach often took exception to that definition, insisting a local must live within the limits of PB. Community boundaries were not a stringent enough striation for some, insisting instead that locals are only those who: own homes in PB, were raised in PB, or could 'hear the surf from their house.' This thesis uses a liberal definition of local, encompassing residents of Pacific Beach as well as San Diegans that visit the beach at least weekly. This less stringent definition acknowledges the similar concerns shared by stakeholders for whom changes in PB would have near daily ramifications.

In terms of tourism and beachfront development, community and neighborhood preservation are the most common concerns that unite locals. Tourism has been a substantial component of Pacific Beach for a half century - indeed, many PB locals started as tourists before settling in the community - and most locals accept tourism, or at least tolerate it as a necessary evil. Through infrastructure, community investment, time, and (especially) capital, tourism has insinuated itself into the fabric of the PB community: the tourist however, has not. Tourists are always "they" or "them", word choice (whether intentional or not) is employed to separate tourist from resident. Other visiting groups, such as surfers, have a place in the community, they are seen to contribute something to the PB identity. Even if their contribution (as with surfing) is not lauded as particularly meritorious, their group is considered a component of PB, and they benefit from inclusion in the community's self-conceptualization of its composition. Tourists are decidedly separate, word choice striates identities, and is the fundamental operative that defines the tourist as 'other'.

The Other is the philosophical entity created by the human being to conceptualize the differences found in other humans, or groups of humans (Honderich, 1995). The process of *othering* is observed as an ethical dilemma when applied to race, sex, or creed, where its function is formalized as a tool to separate and dominate, manifested in such forms as imperial orientalism and male-dominated societies (Rieder, 2008). In Pacific Beach *othering* is much less insidious, but it is certainly the prevailing mechanism that defines the tourist-local dynamic. Residents are not excessively geared

towards disparaging the tourist, nor were tourists irrationally blamed for community problems. Nevertheless, the tourist is wholly other in the eyes of locals. As one interviewee described it *“September is great, you’re here now that they’ve [tourists] all gone, things are back to normal . . . now it really is paradise.”* The tourist may be characterized as too loud, too drunk, or too unaware of their environment, but often times the tourist is simply described as ‘they’ which is itself not reprehensible, but certainly undesirable.

5.3 Homeowners and Long Term Locals

All 20 locals interviewed acknowledged the important financial contribution tourists make in Pacific Beach. Additionally, most locals valued the challenging balance between maintaining livable neighborhoods and developing attractions to compete with other tourist destinations. Residents that owned property were the most sensitive to real (or perceived) incursions, and were the most vocal in expressing a desire to keep tourists well separate from residential areas and community services. As one longtime resident phrased it, *“You know they’re gonna be at the beach and pier, and that’s all fine, but when they’re picking Von’s [community grocer] clean it’s sort of . . . well why’d we build all the restaurants downtown?”* This comment captures the attitude pervasive amongst home owning locals: tourists are welcome to enjoy Pacific Beach as long they bring money, stay in the tourist areas, and don’t disrupt the local community. Many of the concerns these residents raise are not without merit. Although homeowners and other long-term residents tend to be an older and smaller group (only 29.2% of the community is over age 40) they were most frequently concerned with neighborhood investment and preservation, which included high participation in community organizations. This group most frequently voiced concern about increased commercialization, tourist development, and crowding.

The predominant perception of tourists mirrors, and is influenced by, the historic mid-century détente between surfers and locals. Indeed, the friction caused by tourists – much like the pioneering surfers before them - may have less to do with crowded grocery stores than with perceptions of appropriate behavior at (and therefore use of)

the beach. PB was founded as a residential neighborhood with an eye for the refined, and that ideal has always been represented by an element of the community (in particular the homeowners along the Northern blocks nearer the beach). Most residents described herein expressed concern related to drinking, sex, disruptive behavior, and illegal activities at the beach and into residential areas. However, for a substantial number of locals, these factors are part of PB's attraction.

5.4 Young and Short Term Locals

Pacific Beach is one of the youngest neighborhoods in San Diego, based on 2016 estimates 56% of residents in PB are between 22 and 40 years of age (US Census Bureau, 2016). The plethora of seasonal, restaurant, and tourist employment opportunities make PB a viable place to live for many young adults. Additionally, with three universities and two major military bases all within 10 miles of PB it is not surprising that the community has started to skew younger over the last twenty years.

Many of the same venues and attractions that make PB a tourist destination make it popular with young locals. In terms of popular attractions the beach, bar scene, and nightlife were the most common answers young locals gave. Young locals' penchant for such activities not only distances their preferences from those of other locals, it increases their exposure to tourists; they are likely to socialize with tourists through work as well as recreation. Illustrating this point, one surf-instructor described a serendipitously quintessential situation.

"I went to the bar with some buddies . . . and we ended up doing some shots with these nurses who were in town for a conference . . . Anyways, the next morning I woke up and was, you know, rushing to get to work, and she was trying to figure out how to get to her thing . . . So I throw my wetsuit on and come out to meet the client, and she's standing there with her friends, she just points at me and is like 'it's you!'"

The high level of interaction between groups reduces the *othering* of tourists by young locals. Like other residents many of PB's young locals still expressed concern about

community preservation, however they were less likely to blame the tourism sector or tourists

Through shared behavior – and as the direct beneficiaries of tourist business – young locals may have developed a more inclusive attitude towards tourists, but there are other influences as well. Baby boomers in Pacific Beach self identified as natives of Pacific Beach (or at least Southern California) at a high rate. Local Millennials, on the other hand, represent a much larger geographic sampling of America, and many of them don't necessarily intend to stay in Pacific Beach. The mix of university students and military service members almost inherently implies a geographically mobile demographic, but they were not the only young locals that didn't plan to reside in PB indefinitely. Median home prices in Pacific Beach (\$799,000) have outpaced most of San Diego County (\$529,000) (S & P Dow Jones Indices, 2018) and many young residents do not envision owning property in PB in the near future. While this does not preclude opportunities to return to Pacific Beach later in life, it may affect the sense of connectedness, or investment, Millennials have with the community at present, resulting in behavior and preferences that might be considered undesirable by more invested community members.

There are also locals for whom Pacific Beach is not a permanent community. In particular this group includes many students and service members (generally between the ages of 20 and 30), but also young professionals, whose careers or ambitions do not include settling in PB or San Diego. For these short-term residents (1-2 years) Pacific Beach is attractive for all the same reasons mentioned above. However, these locals are the least concerned with long term community health or investment; indeed, their perceptions of the community may be more akin to a very long form of tourism than to those of other residents. These locals were more concerned with maximizing their Pacific Beach experience, and were less concerned with neighborhood development. While in most respects the short term locals represent a subset of the young locals, they diverge over one substantial issue; willingness to pay. As mentioned above, one of the major concerns of young locals is the cost of living in PB. Residents that planned to live in PB for less than two years rarely complained about the cost of living, and were more

comfortable with paying high rent prices. With such a high rate of turnover amongst this group they are the least connected members of the community, and it is unclear whether they are at all politically active. As a result, this group may influence Pacific Beach more through their purchasing power than through any level of involvement, in which case they represent the threshold between local and tourist preferences.

5.5 Smoothing Neighborhood Striations – Tourist Slippage

After Los Angeles, San Diego is the second most visited destination in California with direct travel earnings contributing \$5.318 billion in 2016 (Dean Runyan Associates, 2017) hotels alone contributed nearly \$289 million in Transient Occupancy Tax revenue during 2017 (San Diego Tourism Authority, 2018). Pacific Beach, sporting over 15 hotels along the beachfront alone, is indeed a major beneficiary of San Diego's tourism industry. Although these tourists will likely never formally engage in community development they influence PB through their behaviors and preferences, particularly where they choose to spend money and how they choose to recreate.

There is a certain paradox inherent in trying to manage a beach town that serves both as a tourist destination and as a residential neighborhood. Both community members and tourists like that Pacific Beach has a small beach town feel but is close to other major San Diego attractions. PB the destination capitalizes on this preference, which is to say; by marketing a beach town atmosphere Pacific Beach essentially invites the commercial into the residential, smoothing over the striations imposed by zone-specific artifacts. Unlike portions of downtown San Diego where residential neighborhoods are buffered from tourist attractions by the central business district many of Pacific Beach's attractions are also community assets, including the all important beach itself, as a result this approach invariably encourages tourists in PB to mix with the local community. Indeed, some community assets are built specifically for tourists (recall Crystal Pier) but over time are sublimated into the local identity, and may even be conceived of as more 'neighborhood' than 'destination'. These spaces, supposedly striated by the soft artifacts of the community plan and zone policy are

often in fact the physical space where locals and tourists co-mingle, the hard artifacts built serving to encourage smoothing by nature of attraction.

For their part, some tourists eschew developments that seem too “touristy” in search of cheaper prices or a more authentic experience, as a result the overtly touristy developments - or at least the saturation of tourist attractions along Mission and Garnet – may very well drive tourists further from the beach (destination) and into the neighborhood. Boutiques, upscale restaurants and dive bars, all seek to capitalize on tourists’ desire for authenticity by situating themselves outside the main thoroughfares (sometimes in the heart of residential PB), and in so doing increase tourist slippage. While having coffee with an interviewee the subject pointed to one such dive bar across the street. The bar sported a very authentic looking beach bungalow aesthetic with old surfboards and murals on the wall. Carved in a piece of driftwood a sign proclaimed the bar’s origins ‘EST. 1973’, the subject scoffed stating *“I lived in that house until 1988, so I don’t know what they’re talking about.”* Although residents mentioned the minor annoyances (lack of parking, crowded shops) they experience due to destination related slippage it was generally described as a minor inconvenience.

The PGIS techniques introduced in Chapter 3 proved particularly useful in documenting this slippage of tourists, smoothing the divide between neighborhood and destination. Respondents identified not only the main commercial blocks as areas with high tourist traffic, but added a wide variety of side streets and residential areas as well. The collection as a whole showed that much of what is intended to be commercial does in fact draw in tourists, but the striations created by hard and soft artifacts do not provide the clean distinction between neighborhood and destination.

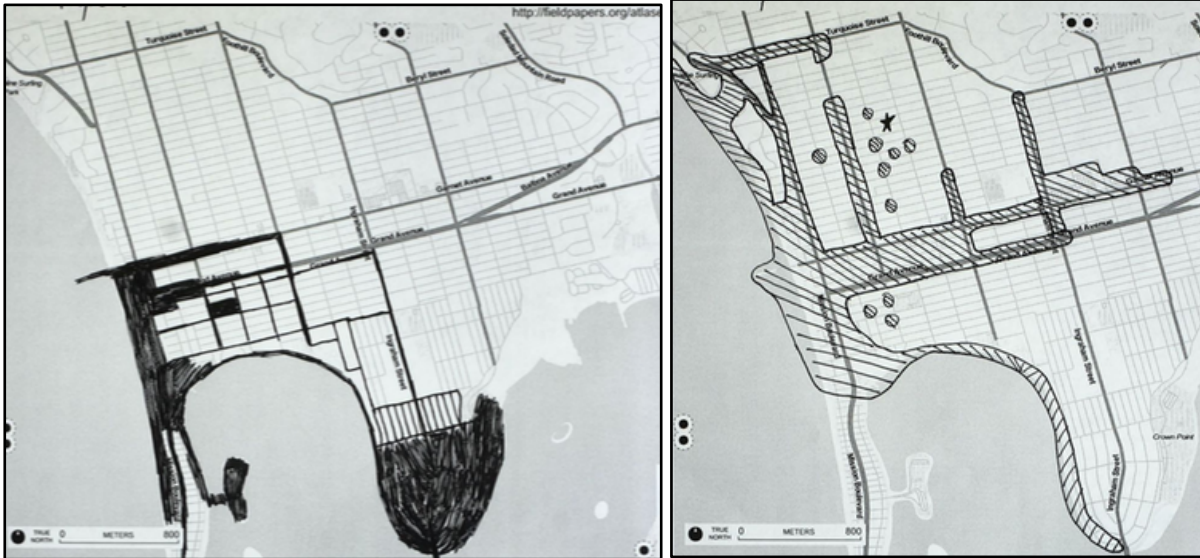


Figure 5.2. Two examples of field papers from locals displaying areas in Pacific Beach where they frequently experience tourism. Compared with Figure 5.1 it is easy to identify areas of tourist slippage from destination (commercial) to neighborhood (residential).

5.6 Short Term Vacation Rentals and Holey Space

Despite their relatively recent history Short Term Vacation Rentals (STVR), such as Airbnb, have become politically contentious (Lee, 2016) with a reputation for disrupting communities (Guttentag, 2015). The advent of networked home sharing has been a substantial source of revenue for investors and landlords, and a source of consternation for neighbors and community leaders. In Pacific Beach Airbnb is anathema to many residents for whom it represents the fundamental erosion of their community. STVRs have quickly become the nexus of debate in the milieu of concerns around balancing tourism development and neighborhood quality of life. Indeed the onerous list of real and perceived threats STVRs pose serves as a rallying point for nearly all locals. San Diego City Councilmember Laurie Zapp captured the zeitgeist during an address at a Pacific Beach town hall meeting.

“Investors, LLCs, trusts, out of town people are . . . renting [STVRs] out and essentially opening up a hotel in the middle of our neighborhoods, they’re disrupting our lives . . . But it’s getting worse because now we’re seeing real estate agents who are saying single family homes, they’re advertising them as investment opportunities and . . . these schools start losing enrollment because families aren’t living here, you start losing your volunteers, you

start losing little league coaches, your PTA, your businesses . . . I say, it does not help small business because how many vacationers are going to dance and music lessons, the eye doctor, the cleaners . . . these are not people that are supporting the small businesses that we start and we depend on for our livelihoods. Restaurants of course do well because people come and they shop, what about the pet store? This is a domino effect that I believe is killing the neighborhood quality, that is killing our sense of community. Who's going to be on the neighborhood watch group? You don't have people joining neighborhood watch because you don't have neighbors anymore." (Laurie Zapp, 20 September, 2017).

Although community opposition has grown and coalesced rapidly, so has the proliferation of STVRs. Cheaper, more flexible, and often more appealing (due to location and sense of authenticity) than traditional tourist lodging, it's no surprise that STVRs have become such a popular choice with visitors to PB. For landlords, the ability to tap into the tourism market and charge rates near those of hotels means STVRs are a far more lucrative investment opportunity than renting to long term occupants. However, the slippage of tourists into residential space (neighborhood) is amplified by STVRs, which extend their presence beyond the operational hours of the nearby boutiques or restaurants, and precipitate pockets of perpetual destination. For their part, the tourists do not behave in any extraordinary fashion, but perform those activities most associated with the destination: socializing, sunbathing, and carousing. In eliminating long-term residents that would otherwise participate in the community, while simultaneously creating a space for behaviors meant (in the perception of locals at least) to be relegated to tourist areas, STVRs smooth over the striations made between neighborhood and destination while simultaneously reinforcing the *otherness* (striation) of tourists.

STVRs are situated on the threshold of legality, in a 2017 memorandum to the city council San Diego's City Attorney Mara Elliott stated "*The City has a "permissive zoning ordinance."* This means that any use that is not listed in the City's zoning ordinance is prohibited. Short-term vacation rentals are not specifically defined, expressly permitted,

or listed in any of the zone use categories, including residential.” (Office of the City Attorney, 2017, p. 2). As a result, she opined that STVRs are an illegal form of occupation, before noting that there is no legal distinction between STVRs and home-sharing. Essentially the act of purchasing, advertising, or paying to stay at a property operating as an STVR is not illegal. However, accepting payment or physically occupying an STVR is prohibited by law. The liminal space in which STVRs operate is holey, they are essentially illegal but exist in an unenforceable capacity; simultaneously, they are residential spaces until occupied by vacationers whose behavior disrupts the residential Euclidean zone in which they’re situated.

Although they may operate to smooth or striate in various capacities, STVRs themselves function as holey space. They occupy the interstitial, existing between the legality of the sale (rental payment) and the illegality of the physical occupation (rental stay), as a space that it is inherently local but metamorphosed by tourism, and forms a connecting interface for slippage between neighborhood and destination.

5.7 Tourism Seasonality

The identities of neighborhood and destination (which often appear to be fundamentally opposed) exist primarily as notions of preference and perceptions of appropriate use amongst different groups within the context of Pacific Beach. Problems, framed as threats to the social fabric of a neighborhood, become associated with the *other* (*i.e.* tourists) and thus the destination. The tourism industry and STVRs may exacerbate many of the aforementioned concerns, however the local community’s perceptions of appropriate behavior are far from homogeneous. Young locals were likely to value the amenities that older locals considered tourist incursions into their neighborhood. This becomes more evident in the offseason, generally regarded as post Labor Day through the Spring Break season in March.

During the peak months of the tourism season Pacific Beach is inundated with tourists. Restaurants and bars open as early as 10 am and are packed by early afternoon. Before noon the choice spots are claimed and beachgoers compete for whatever sand is still available. The effects are felt throughout the community as local

streets become congested with beach traffic and beachgoers spread through the town. For many locals tourists recreating simply represent a nuisance to be overcome during their commute or while running errands. Through sheer numbers and behavior tourists act as a smoothing force that operates outside of, and in opposition to, the striations of locals' social expectations and routine behaviors.

For many locals these behaviors are the signifiers of the *otherness* of tourists, which is emphasized by their ephemeral (but predictable) presence. As the tourist season winds down the number of visitors diminishes, and so too does their smoothing role. For many locals the off-season represents the genuine, or authentic, Pacific Beach: the time of year when community behavior is dictated by the routines and preferences of its residents. The cyclic nature of tourism year in and year out, becomes a fact of life for residents, and is incorporated into business models of both tourist brokers and local companies. This predictable flow of tourists *en masse* becomes part of the community identity – locals would refer to the tourist off-season simply as “normal” or “the real PB” – and over time becomes a temporal striation.

While the immediate changing behavior and preferences of tourists acts to disrupt local routine, the long term ebb and flow of tourist populations becomes a pattern that is incorporated into the community identity; for many locals this pattern is the rhythm of their community's narrative. The disrupting visitors create PB the tourist destination, which is a seasonal appropriation of portions of Pacific Beach the neighborhood. These patterns of disruption and spatial appropriation that have shaped the modern local identity play out amongst different groups of beachgoers, whose local/tourist identities become detached on the boardwalk and sands of Pacific Beach, elucidating the smoothing dynamics between the beach and the town.

Chapter 6 - Surf, Niche & Fetish

The same stakeholders and dynamics that shape PB's community identities are at play in shaping the beach as well. Often conceptualized as spatially homogenous and static, the beach is in fact highly dynamic and incredibly diverse. In the absence of infrastructure and artifacts the beach is a smooth space subjected to the striating forces of beachgoers and tourists. At the same time, the behaviors of these groups create a culture and social structure unique (and wholly attached) to the beach, which exists only as holey space. With hundreds of miles of beach covering the Southern California coast Pacific Beach sustains its unique identity through specialization and fetishization of its holey space.

Previous chapters have reckoned with Pacific Beach as a destination in its own right, with only cursory nods to the greater San Diego metropolis. In fact San Diego is itself a major tourist destination with a glut of attractions, many of which – Coronado, La Jolla, The Gaslamp Quarter, Balboa Park – are more popular and better known than PB. While this multitude of attractions may benefit as an amalgamation to entice tourists into picking San Diego over another destination, once there many of these attractions compete against each other for tourists' limited time and money. This is particularly true for the beach communities (Pacific Beach, Mission Beach, Ocean Beach, Imperial Beach) whose main attraction (the beach) is available many times over. Pacific Beach, situated between Mission Beach and La Jolla along 5 miles of unbroken sands, is sandwiched by competition.

Mission Beach is better connected by bus, has more parking spaces, and is a shorter drive from downtown than PB. Additionally, Mission Beach sports major attractions like SeaWorld and the Belmont amusement park along with ample beachfront vacation homes. To the North, La Jolla boasts beautiful coves and a plethora of sea life, making it a popular destination for snorkeling, diving, spearfishing and kayaking. A wide variety of high-end restaurants, spas, and boutiques give La Jolla the corner on the luxury market as well. Caught between the two, PB has developed its own identity and attractions to compete with its neighboring communities (as well as San

Diego at large) and carve out its own niche destination. This chapter will explore how the smooth and striating dynamics (as well as the corresponding fetishization) of beach and surf culture have created PB's niche destination.

6.1 Striating the Smooth Beach

The previous chapter explored the history of development and striation in Pacific Beach; although Euclidean zoning, infrastructure, and artifacts have served to striate and define the town of PB the beach itself remains a smooth space, largely undisturbed. Crystal Pier is the only substantial artifact that imposes order on the smooth space of the beach, other striating forces are ephemeral. During weekends and holidays lifeguards divide the beach into areas for swimming and surfing, ushering families and swimmers to a different area away from the young adults with boards. By the end of the day however, the lifeguards, ropes and cones are gone; the next high tide washes away any trace of these daily striations and the beach is once again utterly smooth.

Beyond the bluffs and boardwalk, artifacts which partially delimit its landward bounds, the beach is striated only by beachgoers. Striation occurs as an iterative self-selection of space based on preference and spatial competition. The first beachgoers are free to claim whatever space they choose, their preferences acting to inform the desirability of any given location. As more beachgoers arrive their choices are limited by the space that is already claimed. Based on preference, beachgoers begin to self-segregate; their choices create patterns (*i.e.* striations) operating at a scale beyond their own actions. One of the most common patterns are the gatherings of parents and caretakers with young children; intentional but unplanned, large numbers of beachgoers with kids congregate creating "child zones" across large portions of the beach. These beachgoers striate the beach by selecting space close enough in proximity to other beachgoers with children so as to make the interstitial spaces available undesirable to other users. Swimmers and bathers act similarly, although their initial selection of space is dependent on preference they conglomerate, effectively creating a swimmer-only space. This process is reiterated hundreds or thousands of times over as some beachgoers arrive and others depart, selecting and free space accordingly. While

individuals have no intention of exerting group control over space their preferences serve to iteratively striate the beach.

Selecting space based on preference for proximity to beachgoers with similar characteristics represents an intriguing insight into the social construction of the beach. Identities in the community divide between local and tourist, neighborhood and destination, familiar and other. However, these identities are forgotten (or at least we can say they are irrelevant) at the beach. Preference - whether it is preference for security, socialization, or to perform a favorite activity – becomes the primary identity of the beachgoer; to a certain extent typical social characteristics (income, ethnicity, etc.) are subjugated by the beach, replaced by the identity their activity prescribes (sunbather, partier, surfer). Indeed, at its most high-minded, the beach becomes a zone of heterogeneity that smooths over societal striations, becoming a place where people of disparate social groups can commune and interact in ways that would be unlikely to occur in routine society.

The beach should not be conceptualized, however, as a peace-inducing sacred space, or a panacea for the hierarchies of social structure. Like any space occupied by humans the beach is subject to competition, conflict, and social stratification: there are simply different metrics applied at the beach. Perhaps the quintessential example is that of the beach body, and the power of revealing sexualized flesh to increase social standing. Whether its significance is a result of a liberalized appreciation of the body, or simply a base metric humans apply to determine status in the absence of signifying objects (e.g. jewelry, sports cars, designer brands) is outside the scope of this thesis. Nevertheless, the concept of the beach body, and its role in determining status at the beach persists. As one veteran surfer phrased it “Sometimes you just see those people with their clothes off and know like, they should *not* be at the beach.” The idea contained herein is quite clear: there is a standard of tan, youthful, fitness by which all beachgoers either gain, or lose, status. It is far from the only metric, but it illustrates the key concept that while the beach is a space that is both smooth (it can be repeatedly divided, striated, and then renewed) and capable of smoothing social striations, beachgoers will introduce values that create hierarchy and beget new social striations.

6.2 Fetishization of the Surfer

The variety of social behaviors and activities that occur at the beach is far too numerous to list, but there are several iconic activities which are almost universally associated with the beach. Children playing in the sand, sunbathing, and sport are all examples of prototypical beach leisure. But nothing evokes classic beach imagery like the paragon of beach culture: surfing. Surfing's influence extends beyond participation in the sport itself; as was argued in earlier chapters, westernized notions of Hawaiian culture incorporated with other popular beach behavior (campfires, alcohol, sex, etc.) to become the dominant beach culture of Southern California by the middle of the 20th century. Surf culture is so dominant that surfers' preference exerts influence over the whole beach; the colloquialisms and styles adopted by surfers become the attitudes and aesthetics of other beachgoers, retailers and destinations.

Surf culture's appeal extends beyond simple fun, charm, or attractiveness. Surfing itself exists as a holey space. The surfboard creates a space in which humans are both immersed in the ocean, and able to separate themselves from it. It allows surfers to occupy a space where the only competition comes from other surfers, where they are free from the striating presence of other beachgoers. The act of surfing, riding waves, is the maximal extension of the sport's holey space. Displacement of the surfer's weight by the board creates a real space the surfer can occupy (though only ephemerally), that otherwise does not exist. The holey space surfing occupies is significant because it is impressive, beautiful, and highly visible. Where most activities are at, or below, the surface of the ocean, surfing is elevated above it. Separated by distance from the beach, and elevated by waves, surf space is a prominent stage that can be viewed (*gazed*) from almost anywhere else on the beach.

In his book *Discipline & Punish* Foucault expands the concept of the gaze – the act of seeing, or being seen, as a dynamic of power relations – to the disciplinary mechanism of surveillance that encourages proscribed behavior through constant real and perceived observation. In Foucault's classic example of surveillance the power of the gaze comes from the state by inducing fear that surreptitious behaviors will be observed or discovered, but in other scenarios the power dynamic may favor the one

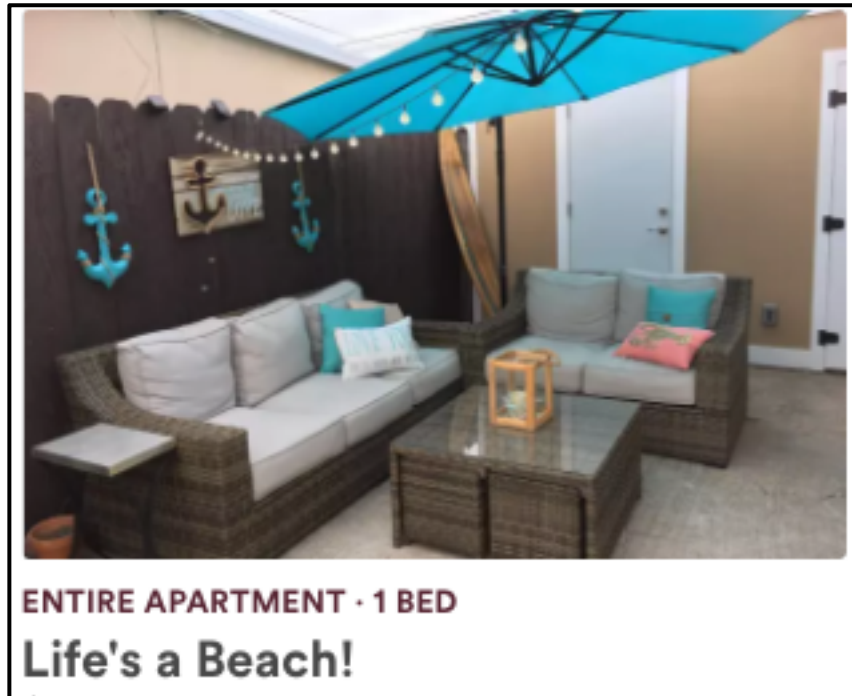
being seen, for example performers (Murphy, 2003). This concept has been applied both directly and indirectly to tourism studies including issues of gendered tourism (Pritchard & Morgan, 2000)(Jordan & Aitchison, 2008), conservation tourism (Lemelin, 2006), and tourism geographies (Law, Bunnell, & Ong, 2007).

Surfers in Pacific Beach are almost constantly under the gaze of beachgoers (and by extrapolation the tourist), but in this dynamic it is the surfer being seen who holds power. The remarks of spectators lining Crystal Pier during any number of weekend surf competitions underscore this concept. Children and teens are inspired by the athleticism and deft skill of the riders, whom they idolize and want to emulate. The surfers' movements on the board flex their toned muscles and display youthfulness, health, and sexuality admired by older observers. The surfer in being seen gains status, the observer's gaze conveys power through appreciation, admiration, and even desire.

The gaze transaction that occurs between surfer and observer is part of a larger tourism process in Pacific Beach. The surfer's displays underscore their image as the paragon of beach culture, and the embodiment of beach town lifestyles. For the observer this is the culmination of tourist expectation. Pacific Beach is marketed as a beach town destination; surfing, beach culture, and surf aesthetics proliferate throughout the brochures and websites brokers produce. Well before arriving at the beach and gazing at the surfers, an expectation or mental image of Pacific Beach was being cultivated by the tourist (with influences from the brokers). Design and aesthetic choices throughout the community reinforce this expectation, but would ultimately be unrewarding without the beach and surf. Gazing at the surfer is confirmation of PB's culture, and authenticity as a beach town.

Surfers unintentionally act as an engine of tourism. The practice of their sport and the associated beach culture permeate throughout the beach and surrounding neighborhood, smoothing the boundaries between town and beach by making permissible mannerisms and behaviors that were once acceptable only at the beach (for example, wearing swimwear into nearby stores and restaurants). The surf style is the defining aesthetic, present in hotels, bars, and restaurants as well as many neighborhood homes. These artifacts extend the influence of the beach beyond the

sand's edge and throughout the community, solidifying PB's beach town atmosphere. The presence of surfers walking through town carrying their boards, working in the tourism industry (and above all surfing!) gives credence and authenticity to what would otherwise be a suburb of San Diego with a lot of tiki bars.



A typical example of a STVR in PB, note the surfboard as decoration in the rear. This unit is located nearly 3 miles from the beach. (Source: www.airbnb.com).



Surf Taco, a restaurant on Mission Blvd, features hundreds of surf boards, surf memorabilia, and a constant stream of surfing videos on TV. (Source: Bryan Pelach).

6.3 The PB Niche

As mentioned earlier, Pacific Beach has to compete with a variety of other destinations in San Diego. Situated further from many of the top attractions, and caught between other neighborhoods with similar beach access, Pacific Beach has found its tourist identity as a laid-back come as you are beach town. Central to this identity is the beach itself which exists as a smooth space that facilitates the performance of unique beach cultures. The attitudes and preferences created are not confined to the beach however, and elements extend beyond the boardwalk, into the community and neighborhoods thus reinforcing PB's identity.

While a certain sector of society in PB has always envisioned the community as a sophisticated *haut monde* neighborhood, the population has always been a mix of middle income blue and white collar workers, and was largely passed up by wealthier San Diegans for neighboring La Jolla. The affordability and accessibility to the beach has helped shape PB, and its union with surfing and beach culture created the atmosphere and aesthetic that has helped it grow as a tourist destination in its own right. Although Pacific Beach may have fallen short of its original founders' lofty ambitions, it has found an audience as the beer and tacos answer to ritzier and more expensive San Diego destinations. Ultimately PB has constructed its own identity as a community – one which is far more complex than can be captured by permitted zones – united by the far reaching effects of the eponymous beach.

Discussion

For a seaside destination like Pacific Beach the balance between growing tourism dependent business and protecting the needs of local neighborhoods continues to be an ongoing challenge. As overall population and urban density increase in coastal communities spatial competition will become one of the paramount issues for urban planners, politicians, coastal zone managers, and tourism brokers. Failing to understand the complex and dynamic relationships that exist spatially between attractions (the shops and boardwalk), public space (the beach), and residential communities will reduce the efficacy of any mitigating policies implemented. Coastal communities that aim to preserve their beaches, the cultural relationships their residents have with the beach, and their beach-dependent industries will need to develop new methods to address increased population growth and spatial competition. One component of these new effective management plans will be a recognition of the complexity and dynamism of community spaces: including beaches.

Contemporaneous descriptions of the beach characterize it as a nice place for fun, and other diminutions implying frivolity. This thesis has argued that the beach is not frivolous, but a dynamic space that needs to be considered and managed seriously. By using historical records and elite interviews in chapters 5 and 6 this thesis illustrated the effect the beach had on coastal culture and the development of community identity, affirming the beach's critical capacity to provide a forum for cultural exchange and the creation of community identity.

Using participatory GIS and elite interviews chapters 6 and 7 document how humans and artifacts act to striate the beach, but also serve to transport the beach throughout the surrounding community, smoothing the striations between beach and town. By documenting this slippage (found in the aesthetic fetishization of beach culture) these chapters have supported this thesis' assertion that the beach exerts cultural and economic influence outside its geographic boundaries, and that the spatial complexity of these relationships transcends any conceptual divisions imposed by Euclidean zoning codes.

Understanding Social Space

The philosophy and academic study of social space is both expansive in scope and voluminous in quantity. Hippodamus - widely regarded as the first urban planner in Western civilization - championed spatial striation to improve social functions in his visionary 'Best City', a concept which Aristotle described as "*the first attempt to speak on the subject of the best form [space] of constitution.*" (Aristotle, 1995, II.1267b). Following in Hippodamus' style a surfeit of models and theories proliferated over the following two millennia; nearly all considered ideal social space to be achieved through the optimal division and organization of functions across space.

As understanding of social space has become more complex so have associated theories. By the mid-twentieth century critiques of positivist modern models – such as the Burgess Model¹⁰ – urged planners and academics to avail themselves of "*some deep-seated doctrine that seeks order in simple mappable patterns, when it is really hiding in extremely complex social organization, instead.*" (Webber, 1963, p. 54). In his seminal work, *Social Justice and the City*, David Harvey furthers this argument; addressing conceptual problems in urban planning he states:

"in general, we have to conclude that social space is complex, non-homogeneous, perhaps discontinuous, and almost certainly different from the physical space in which the engineer and the planner typically work ... One of the benefits of developing this view of space is that it seems capable of integrating the geographical and the sociological imaginations." (Harvey, 1973, p. 35).

As more complex understandings of social space have been adopted, efforts to articulate its myriad elements have created a discipline-specific lexicon. Just as occurs in the vernacular, academic/professional terminology and word choice increases (and diminishes) in popularity. Kevin Lynch's influential, and oft-cited, *The Image of The City*

¹⁰ The Burgess Model, or Concentric Zone Model, was introduced in 1925 by sociologist Ernest Burgess as a descriptive theory of land use change across a spatial plane. Using Chicago as a case study, in the center of the Burgess Model lies the Central Business District; surrounding the CBD subsequent rings represent industrial zones followed by low-income residences. Moving further outward increases the quality of housing, but also increases travel cost to commute to the CBD. While Burgess' theory has proven useful for highlighting the importance of travel cost it has been criticized as too simplistic, and not applicable to either pre-industrial or post-industrial cities (Rodrigue, Comtois, & Slack, 2017).

contributed several now common terms: paths, edges, districts, nodes, landmarks (Lynch, 2005). Jane Jacobs' *The Life and Death of Great American Cities*, on the other hand, eviscerated terms like *urban renewal* and *separation of uses* that subsequently fell out of favor, at least partially.

In this tradition Deleuze and Guattari's concepts of smooth, striated, and holey space have been readily appropriated by geographers and urban planners to describe spaces with multiple social and economic uses (Dovey & Polakit, 2006), intermodal landscapes (Malo, 2000), and connectivity between urban zones of intensity (Juul, 2011). Case studies of relationships between people and space have utilized this framework to document how prohibited/illegal activities utilize space (Malins, 2008), the dynamics of a space between day and night (Saldahna, n.d.) how locals repurpose corporate event spaces between uses (McGillivray & Frew, 2015). In the field of marine tourism concepts of smooth and striated space have been applied to show how tourist developments separate local communities from the beach (López-López, Cukier, & Sánchez-Crispín, 2006), and how tourism creates opportunities for new social interactions in waterfront destinations (Moreno, 2007).

This thesis further enhances the utility of these terms in two capacities. First, by extending the application of Deleuzoguattarian terms to the beach and coastal zone, making the case that it is a set of concepts particularly suited to the coastal zone manager and natural resource professional. Second, through the lens of the beach, this thesis emphasizes the fluid relationships between smooth, striated, and holey spaces. Rather than simply utilizing the terms as synonyms for binaries - developed/undeveloped, urban/rural, law/anarchy – as they are sometimes portrayed, the beach and beach town highlight the dynamic in which smooth spaces and striated spaces are constantly *becoming* the other (and in the process also forming and destroying holey spaces).

In an environment as dynamic as the beach and intertidal zone there is already a conceptual understanding that space is fluid (Beatley, Brower, & Schwab, 2002), the adoption of a professional lexicon that embraces dynamism has the potential to reconfigure approaches to environmental policy and management. This appreciation of

the dynamic spatial functions of the marine environment is evident in the works of social scientists addressing misconceptions of the ocean as a void ([Steinberg, 2001](#)), how power shifts in relation to ocean-dependent trade ([Trist, 1999](#)), and challenging notions of spatial volume ([Steinberg & Peters, 2015](#)). In its capacity to document and describe spaces as changing Deleuzoguattarian notions of smooth, striated, and holey space are an excellent addition to these mature notions of space.

As academic and professional understanding of the complexity and dynamism of the ocean as a social space deepens it is not inconceivable that simple divisions of space (read, *separation of uses*) based solely on positivist principles will prove inadequate at addressing problems of management, conflict, and competition. Just as urban planners and geographers in the second half of the twentieth century adopted new methods to research, document, and confront problems arising in terrestrial social space, the future of coastal zone management, coastal development and marine conservation may need to incorporate more qualitative and multi-method approaches to compliment traditional research methods so as to effectively address complex issues.

Future Research

The methods used in this thesis - elite interviews and PGIS - are expensive, time intensive and dependent on the quality of participation. Future research on this topic could gather data from a greater swathe of beaches by employing more participant driven mapping functions, such as community mapping ([Corbett & Rambaldi, 2009](#)). By covering more beaches in depth a multi-case embedded case study could be generate which may facilitate more generalizable results in the future. A more quantitative approach to mapping social striations on the beach would be to use remote sensing, such as cameras or a drone, to repeatedly capture iterations of spatial distribution amongst beachgoers over the course of a day, weekend, and/or season. Remote sensing has proven effective at gathering large quantities of data for use in studies researching recreation conflict ([Janowsky & Becker, 2002](#)) and managing multi-use areas ([Arnberger & Eder, 2007](#)) in popular forest destinations; similar techniques could easily be extrapolated to coastal destinations.

Under the HANS framework this thesis has focused solely on the relationship between the beach, the on-site community, and associated artifacts. In a dynamic world where accelerated sea-level rise is anticipated to dramatically change the shape of our coastlines and beaches, future research could analyze how spatial competition and recreation will respond to that change in beaches and the transformation of subtidal artifacts (e.g. ridgelines and reefs which create good surf breaks). The changing nature of coastal communities as a result of increased urban density is also creating demographic shifts along socio-economic, generational, and racial lines; understanding the perceptions and preferences of changing user groups could help elucidate how future policy can effectively address the needs of citizens, and the demands of tourists, while preserving and protecting the beach.

Furthermore, this thesis has observed only one beach town community. Pacific Beach functions as an ideal nuclear beach town, but it also shares a deep network of connections with the greater populous of Southern California that fell outside the scope of this research. The relationship between beach communities, and the beach dependent economic and cultural exchanges between them, almost certainly contribute to larger regional attitudes (for example, the power of the California Coastal Commission). Future research would do well to document the smoothing significance of beaches in providing spatial unity, and in promoting the functional duality of cultural diffusion and cohesion.

Finally, the application of smooth and striated spatial concepts is not limited to the field of marine tourism planning and development. The marine environment is itself a highly dynamic and transformative space, and the concept of *becoming* is embedded within that understanding. Further studies of the process by which spaces become smooth or striated – as well as the socio-spatial, cultural, economic, and management consequences - could be conducted in fields such as coastal zone management, marine spatial planning, marine shipping and transportation, marine protected areas, protected destination systems, sustainable development, and coastal resilience.

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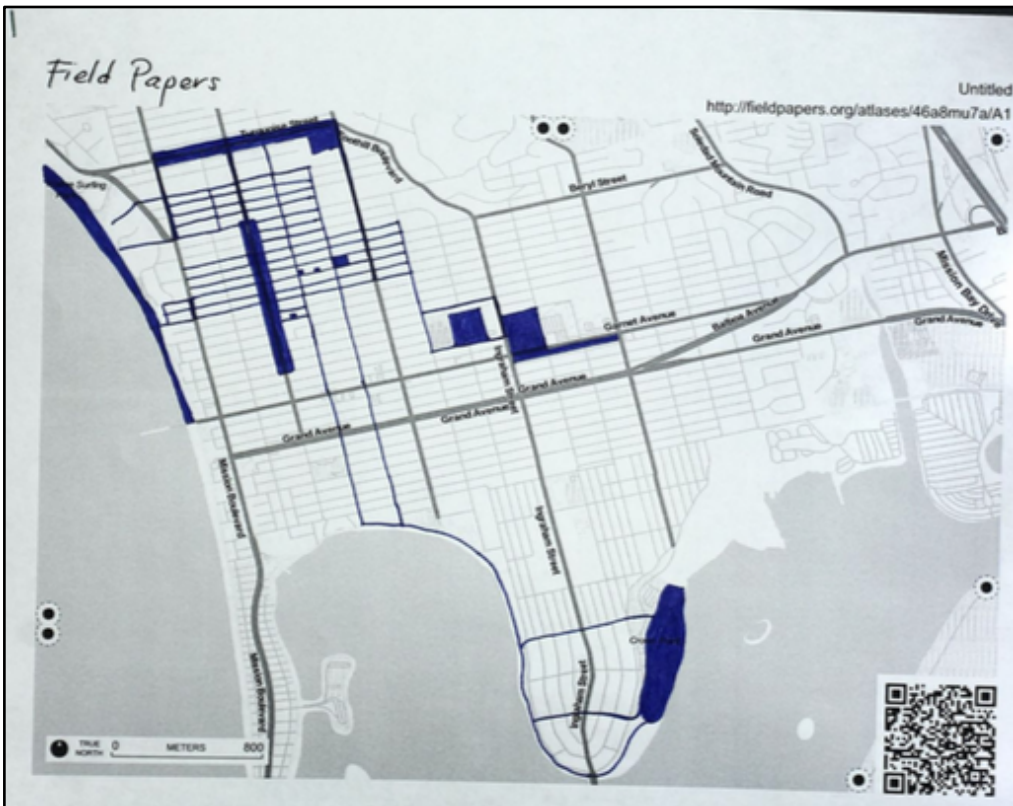
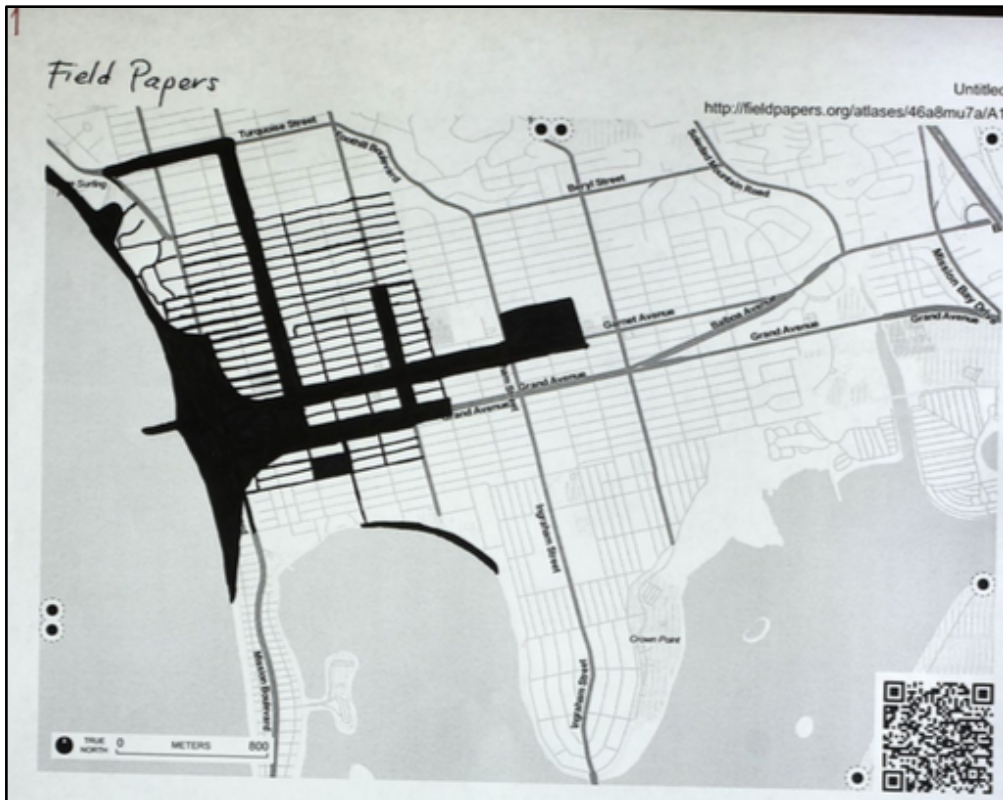
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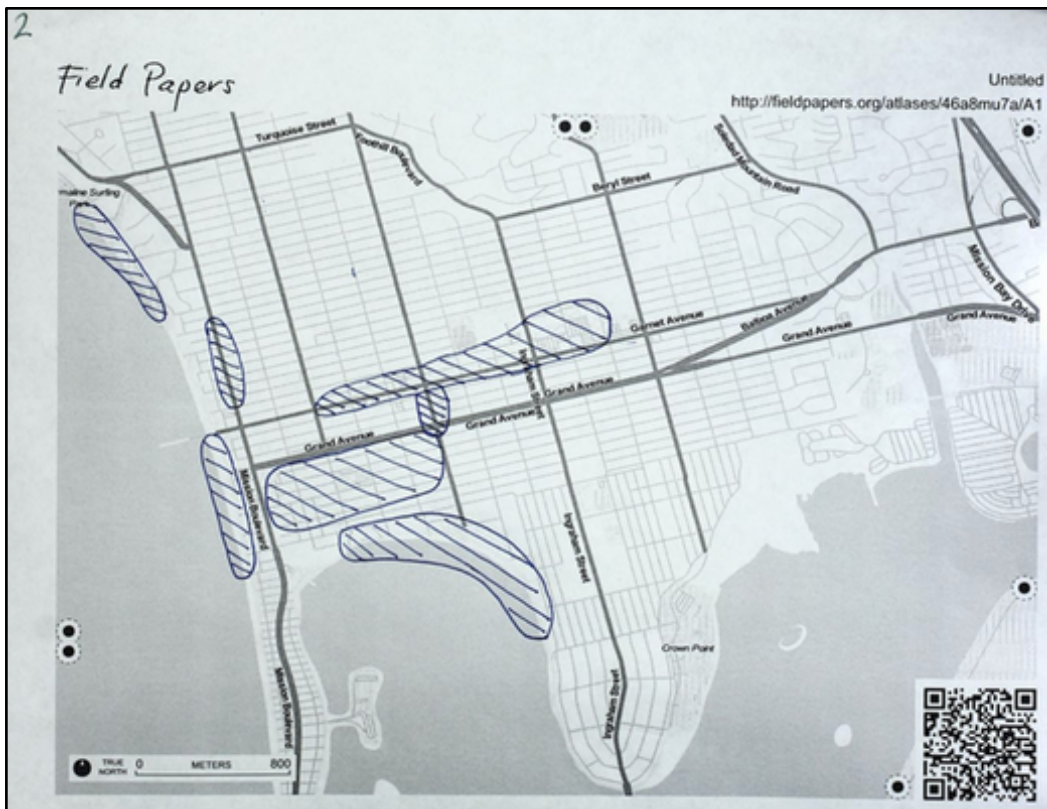
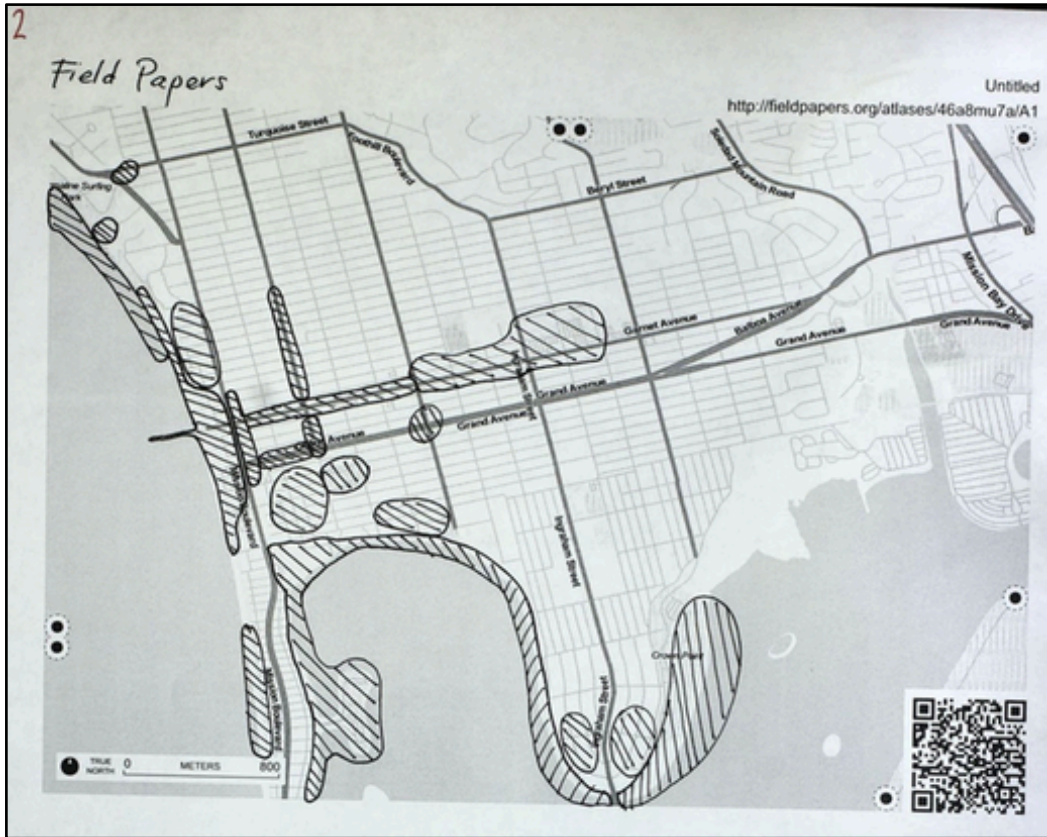
Field Papers Appendix

The following appendix includes data generated during 22 days of research in Pacific Beach, from 28 August through 20 September, 2017 consisting of the field maps conducted during interviews with Pacific Beach locals. Individuals were given two maps, on the first they were asked to draw areas where they experienced or interacted with tourists in Pacific Beach in black pen. On the second map subjects were asked to draw areas that they frequented or recreated in Pacific Beach using a blue pen. Subjects were free to fill in information however they saw fit, although it was requested that they refrain from wordy explanations drawn on the map. Many participants drew large circles to indicate areas, in these instances I subsequently added hash marks inside those areas to improve recognition when uploaded to Field Notes. A PDF version of the map used is available at <http://fieldpapers.org/atlasses/46a8mu7a/A1>. The field papers below are presented as the sets provided by each subject along with a subject ID number and basic information about the subject.

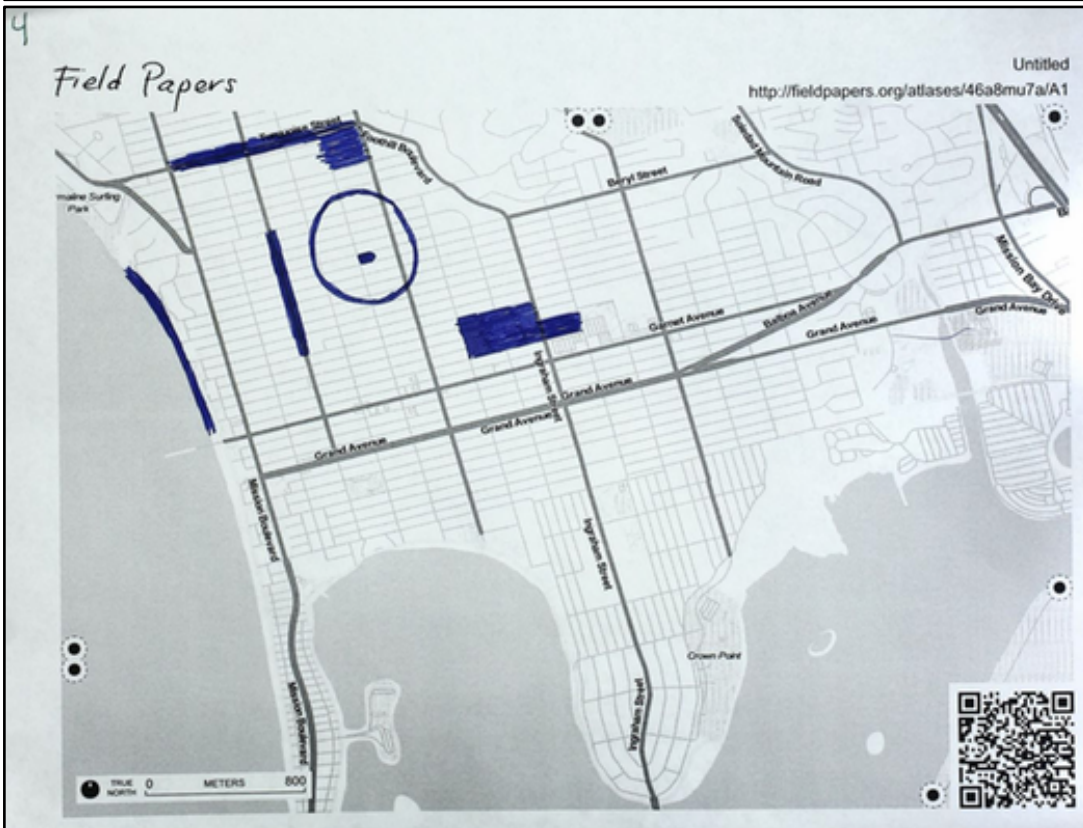
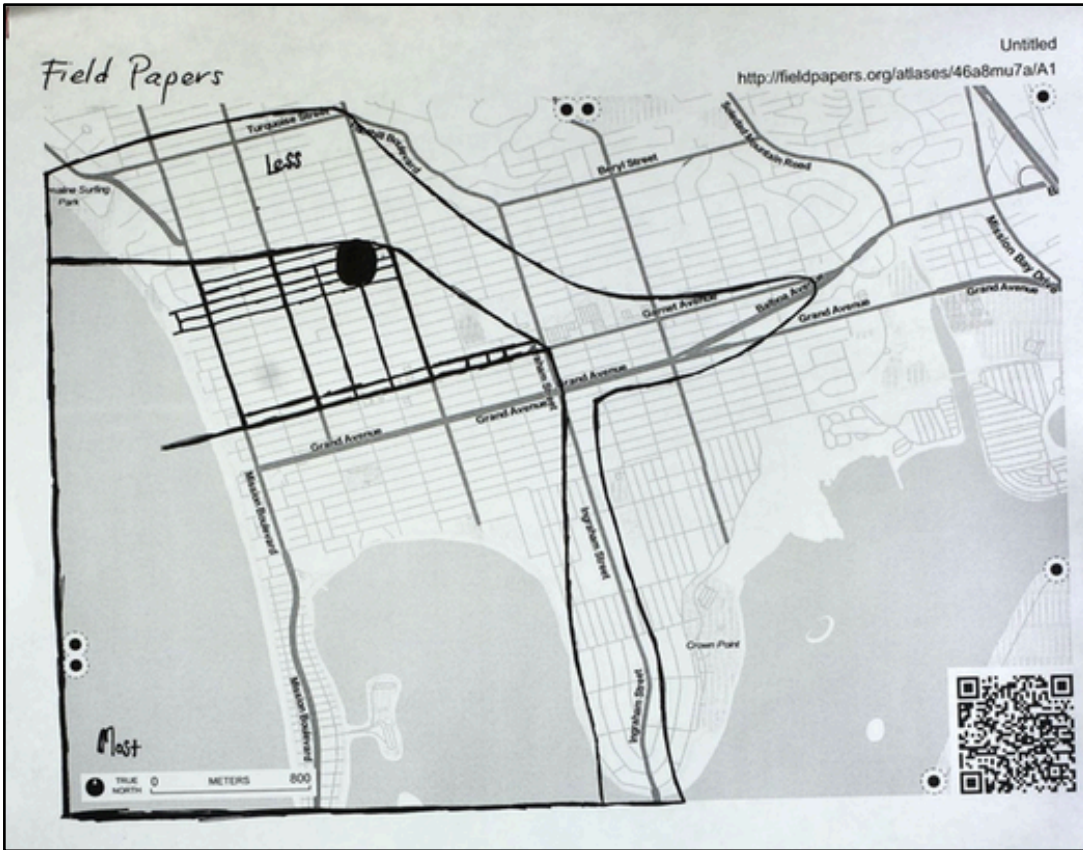
1. Daniella: Homemaker. Resident for 7 years. 30-40 YOA. 2 Children.



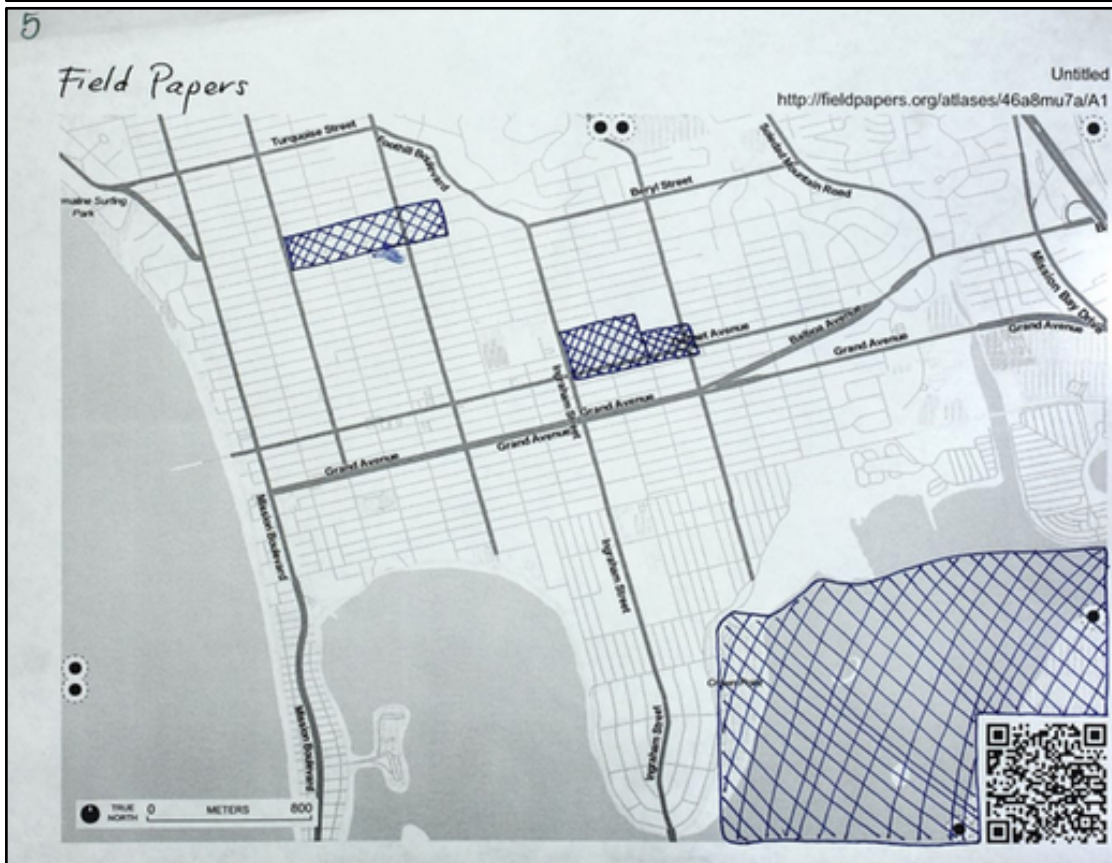
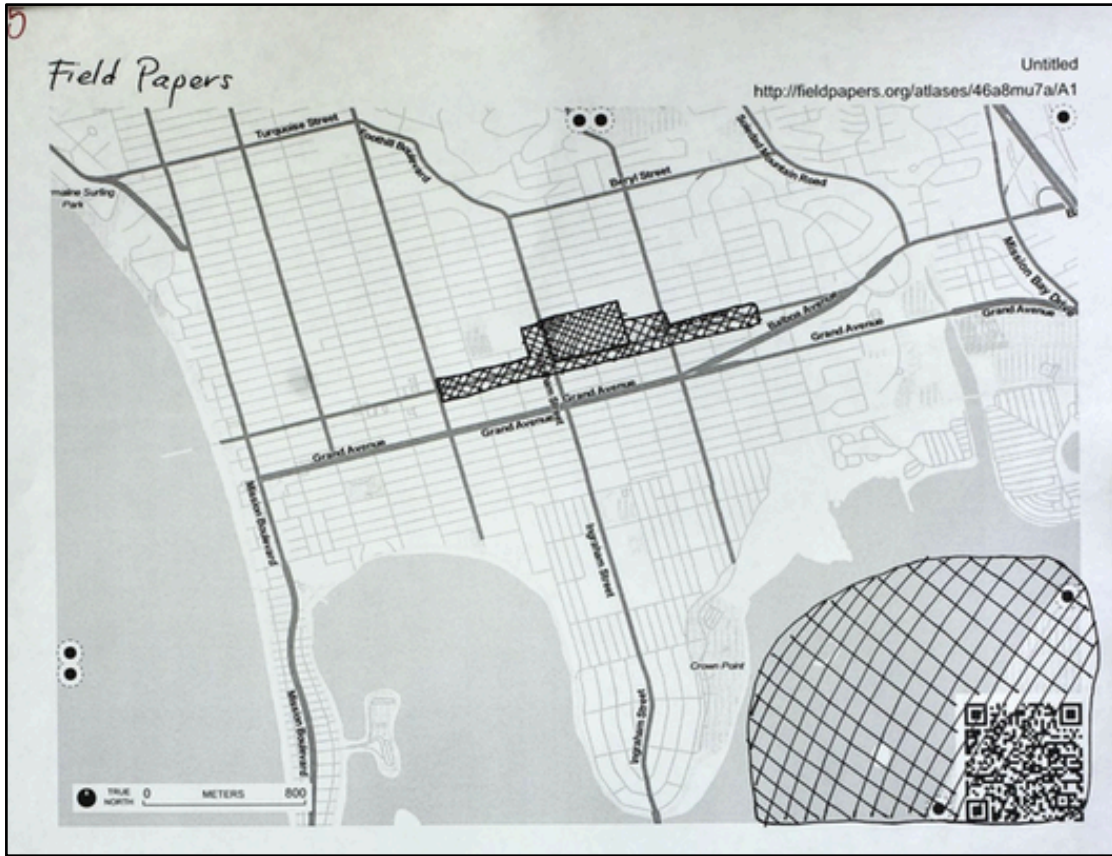
2. Craig: Student. Lifelong Resident. 22 YOA.



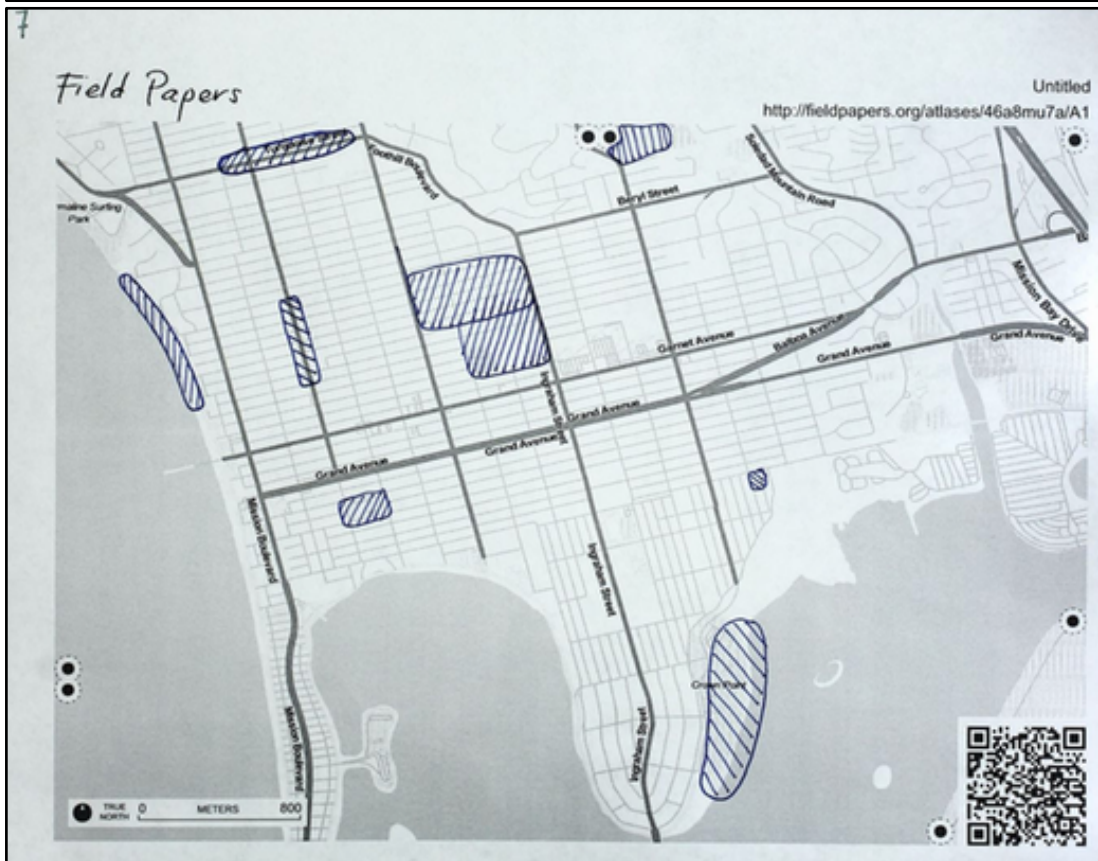
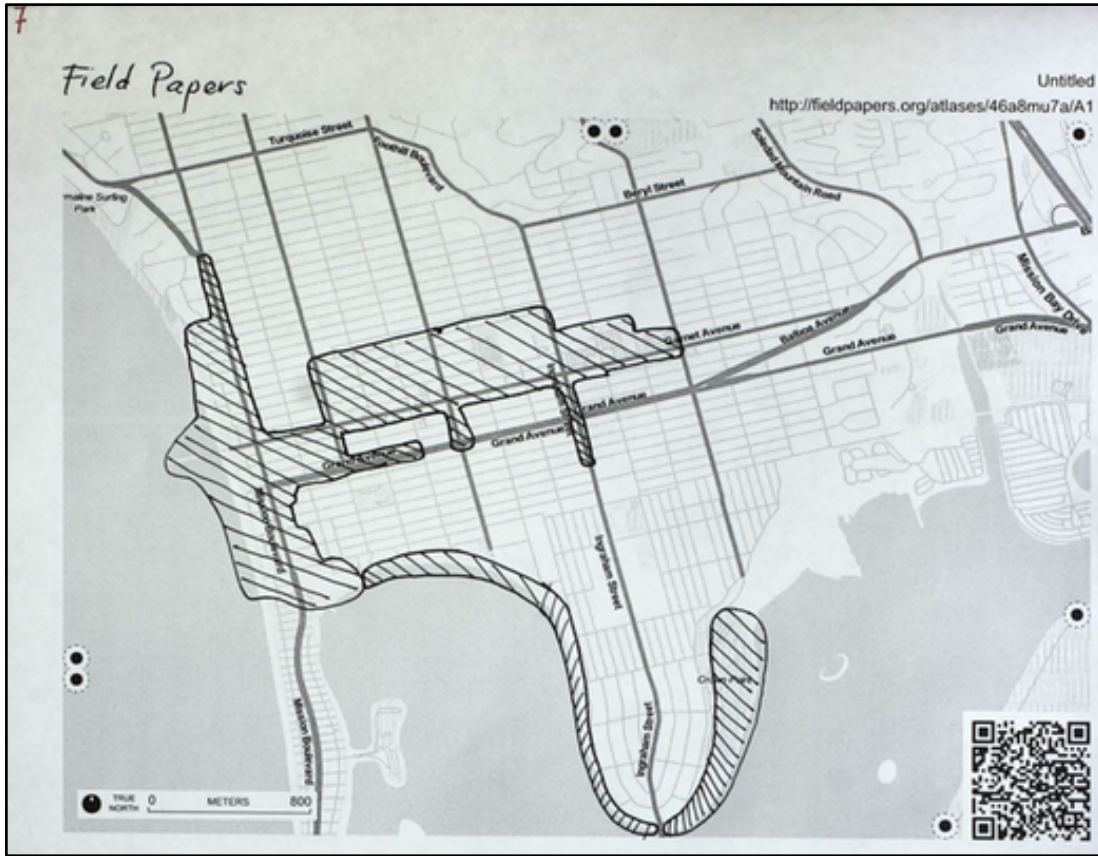
4. Mike: Contractor/Foreman. 11 Years Resident. 40+ YOA.



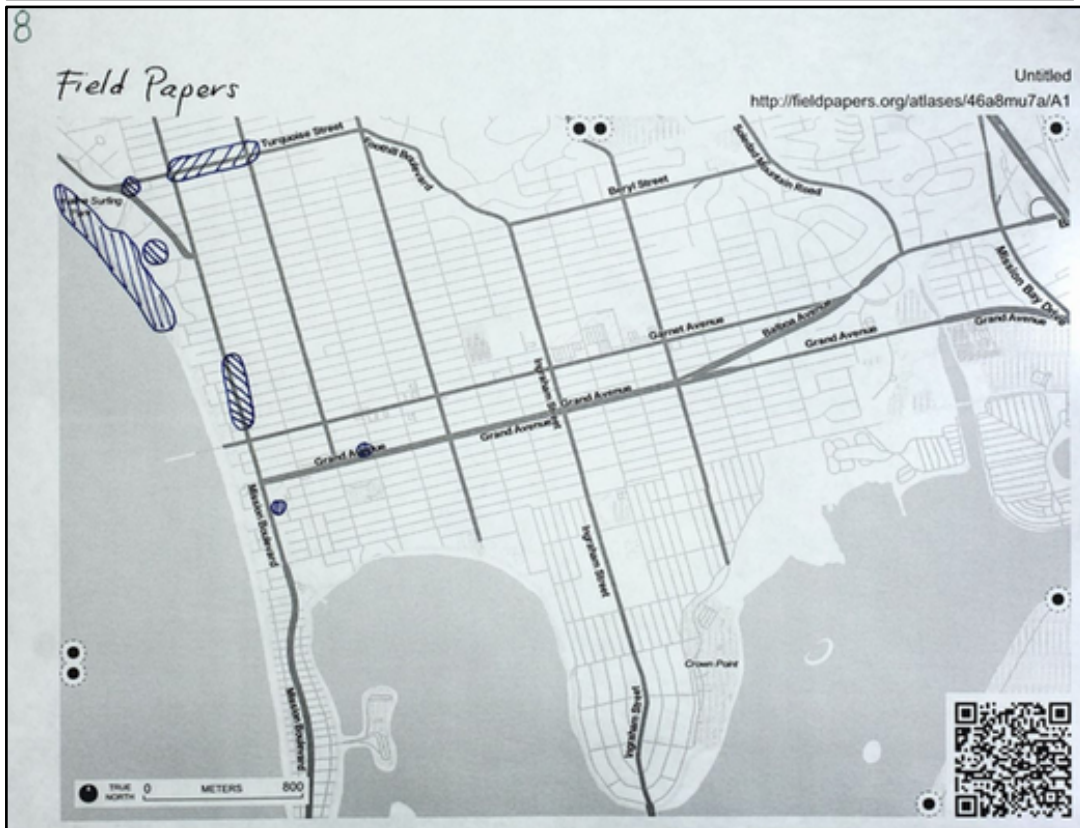
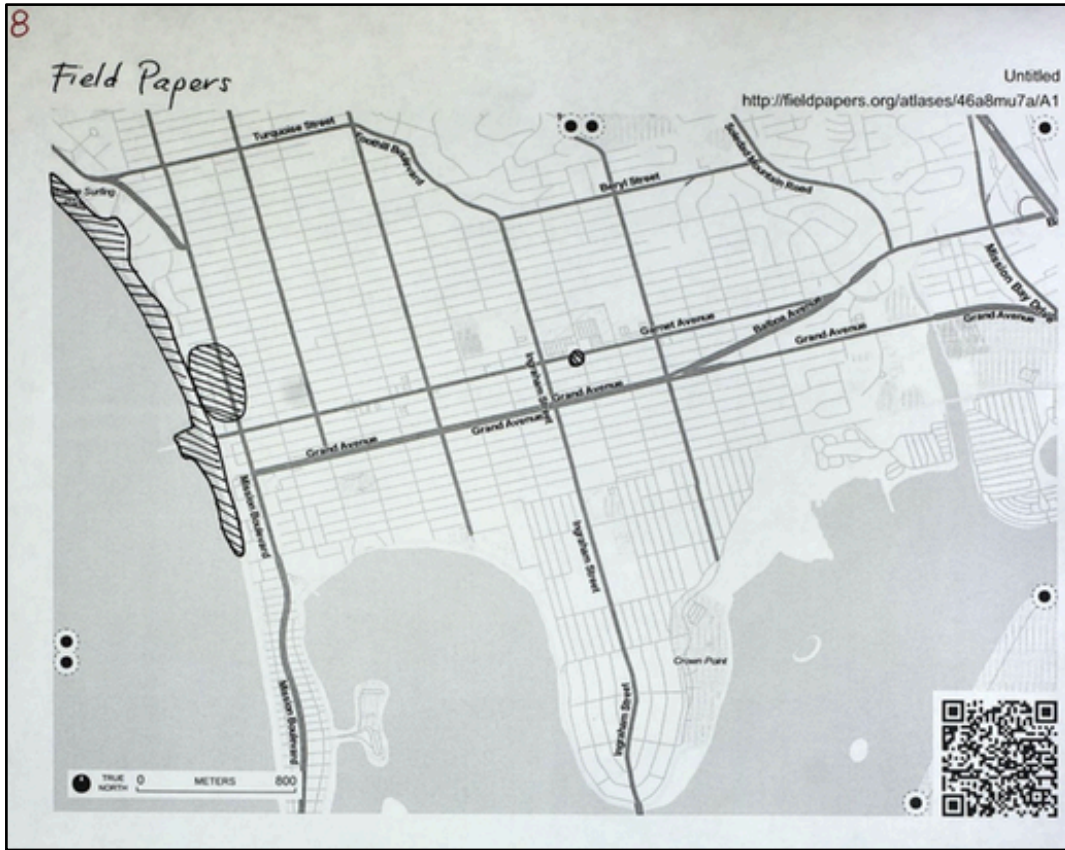
5. Luis. Programmer. 4 Years Residence. 32 YO.A.



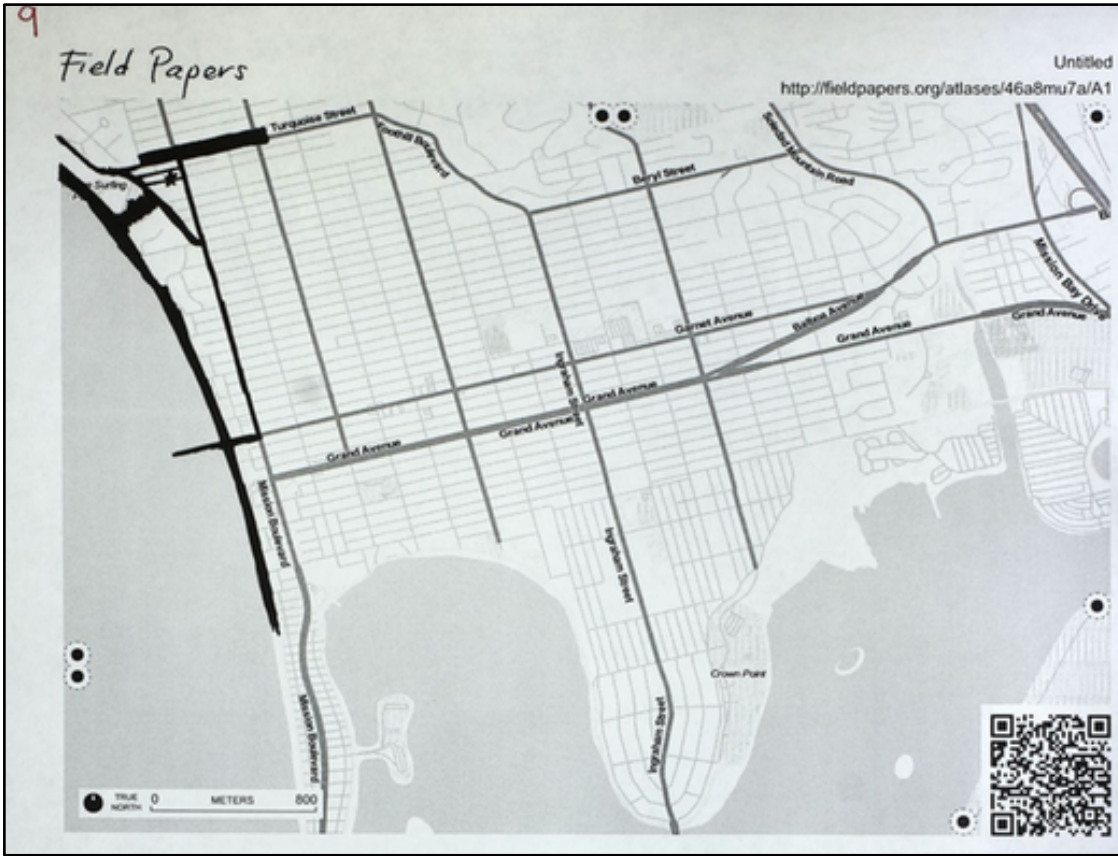
7. Mary. Nurse Practitioner. Resident 8 years.



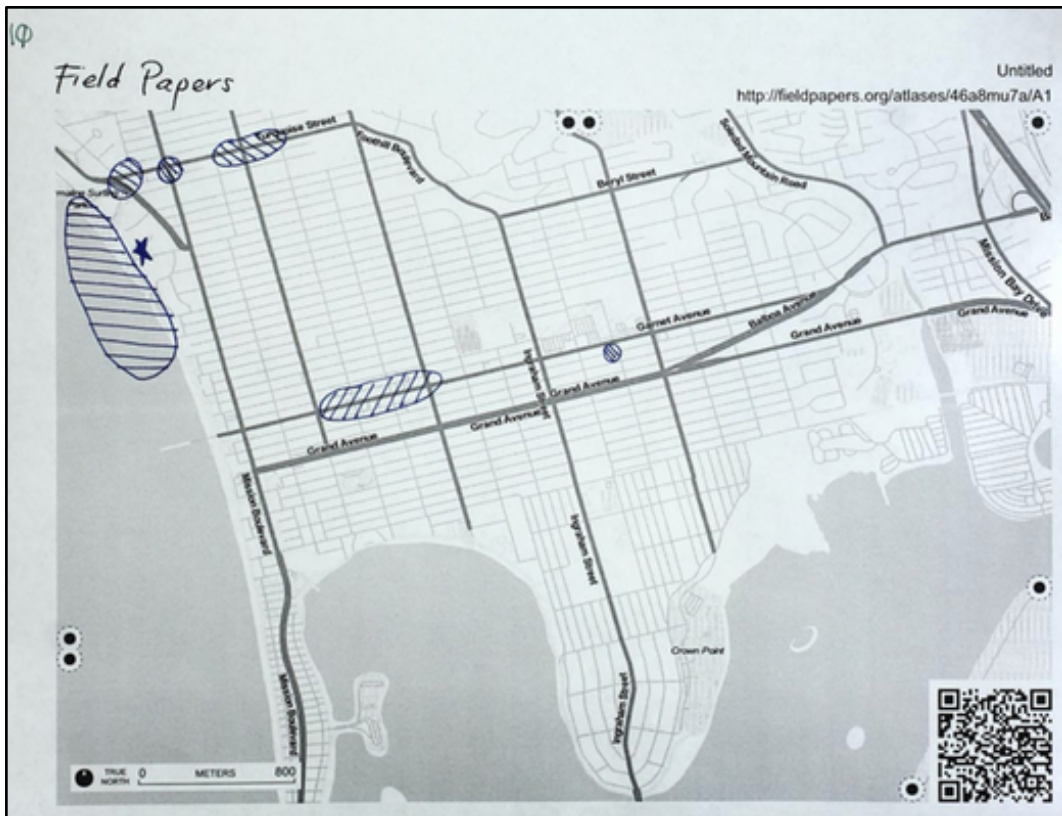
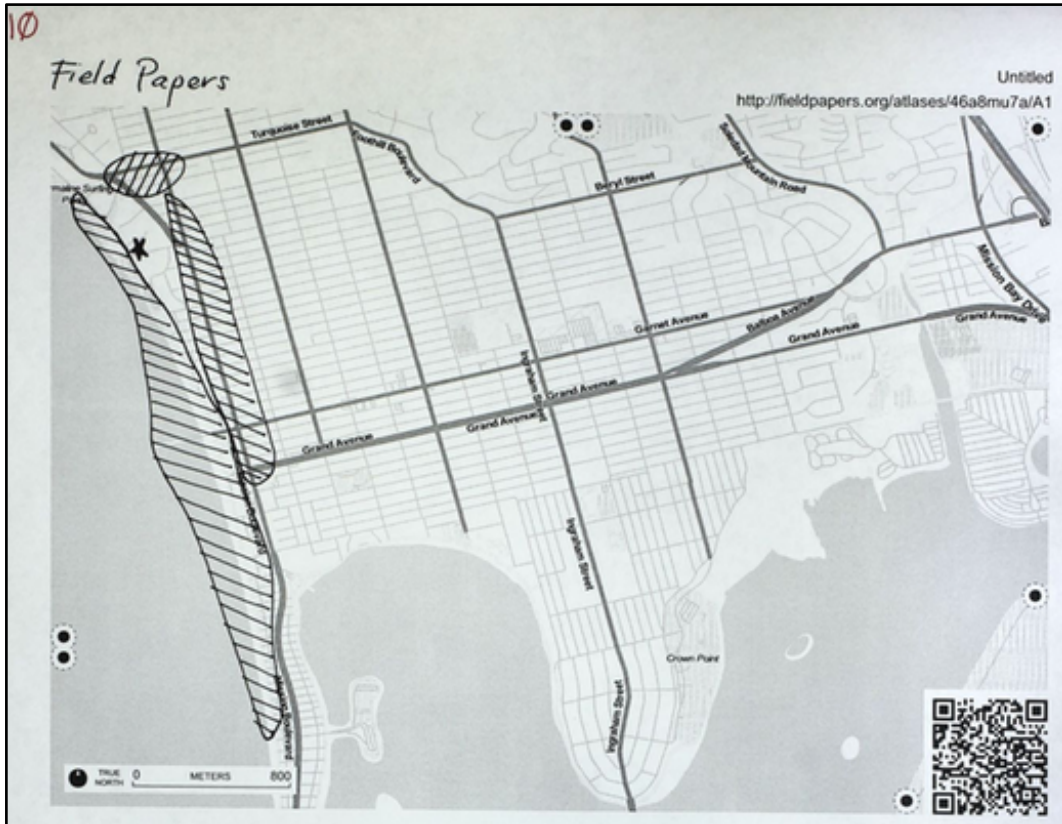
8. Chris. Insurance Claims Adjuster. 2 years residence. 26 YOA.



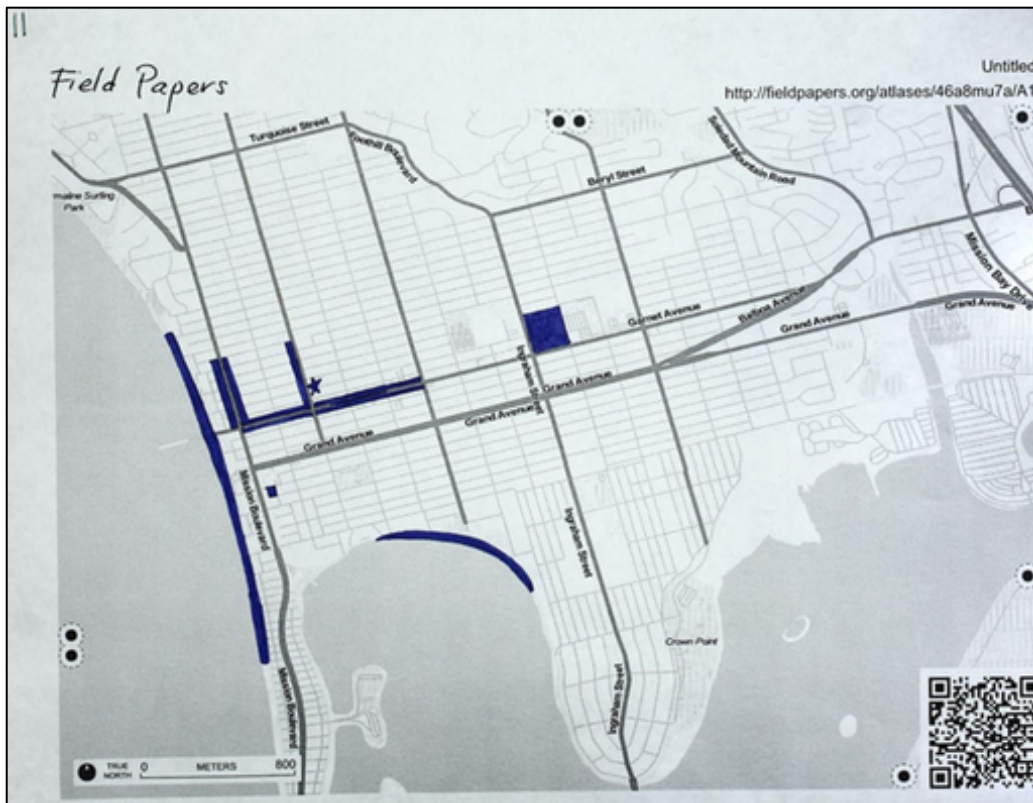
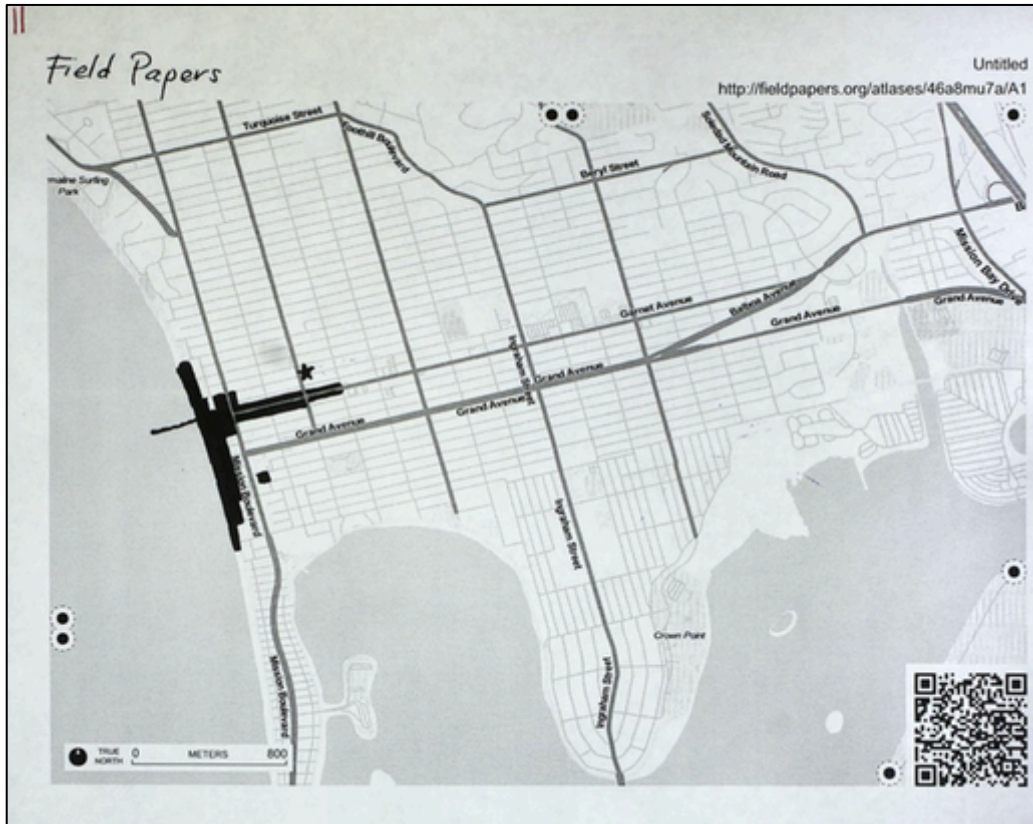
9. Dana. Retired. 33 Years Residence. 69 YOA.



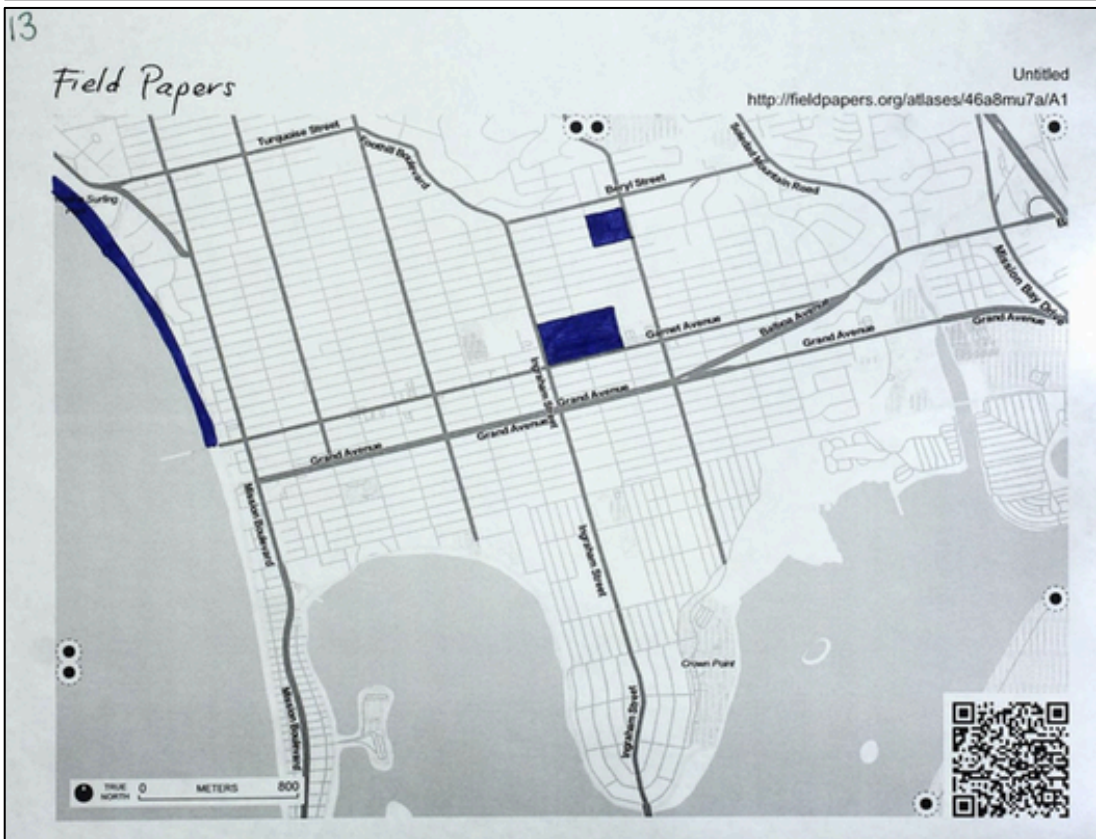
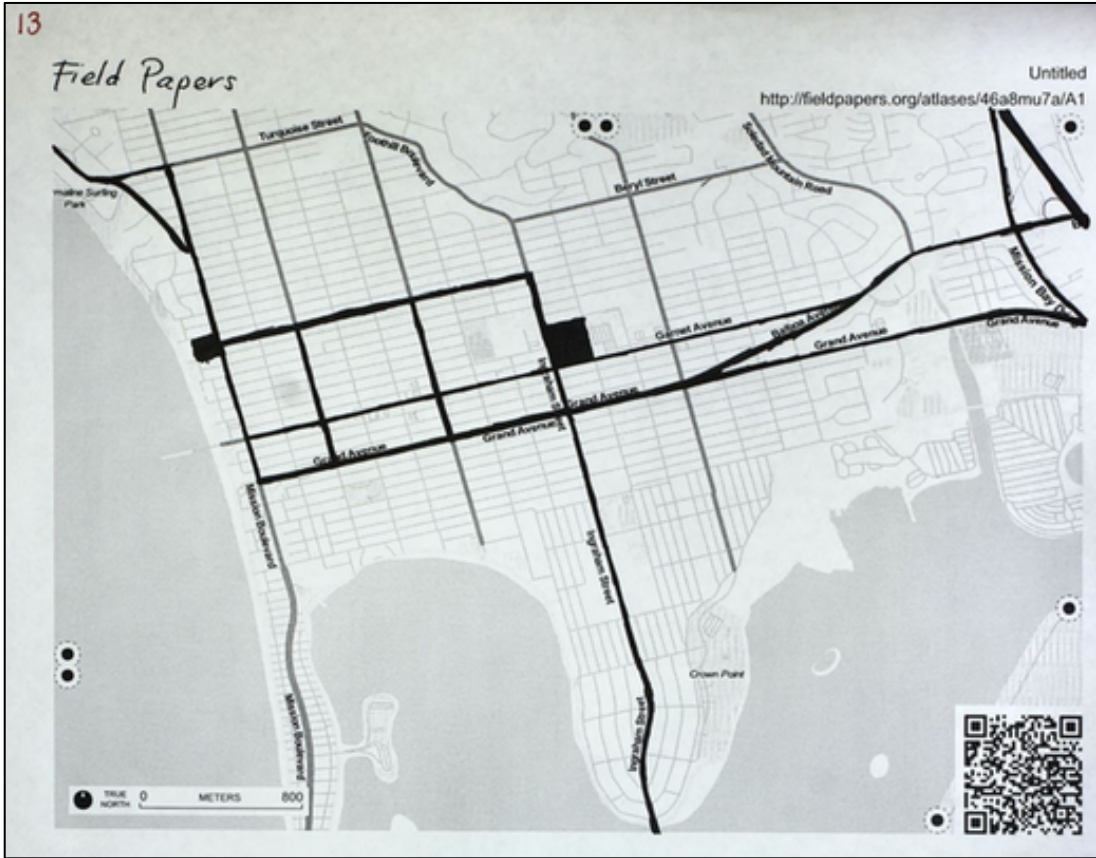
10. Brittany. Barista, Bartender, Part-time Student. 2 years residence. 24 YOA.



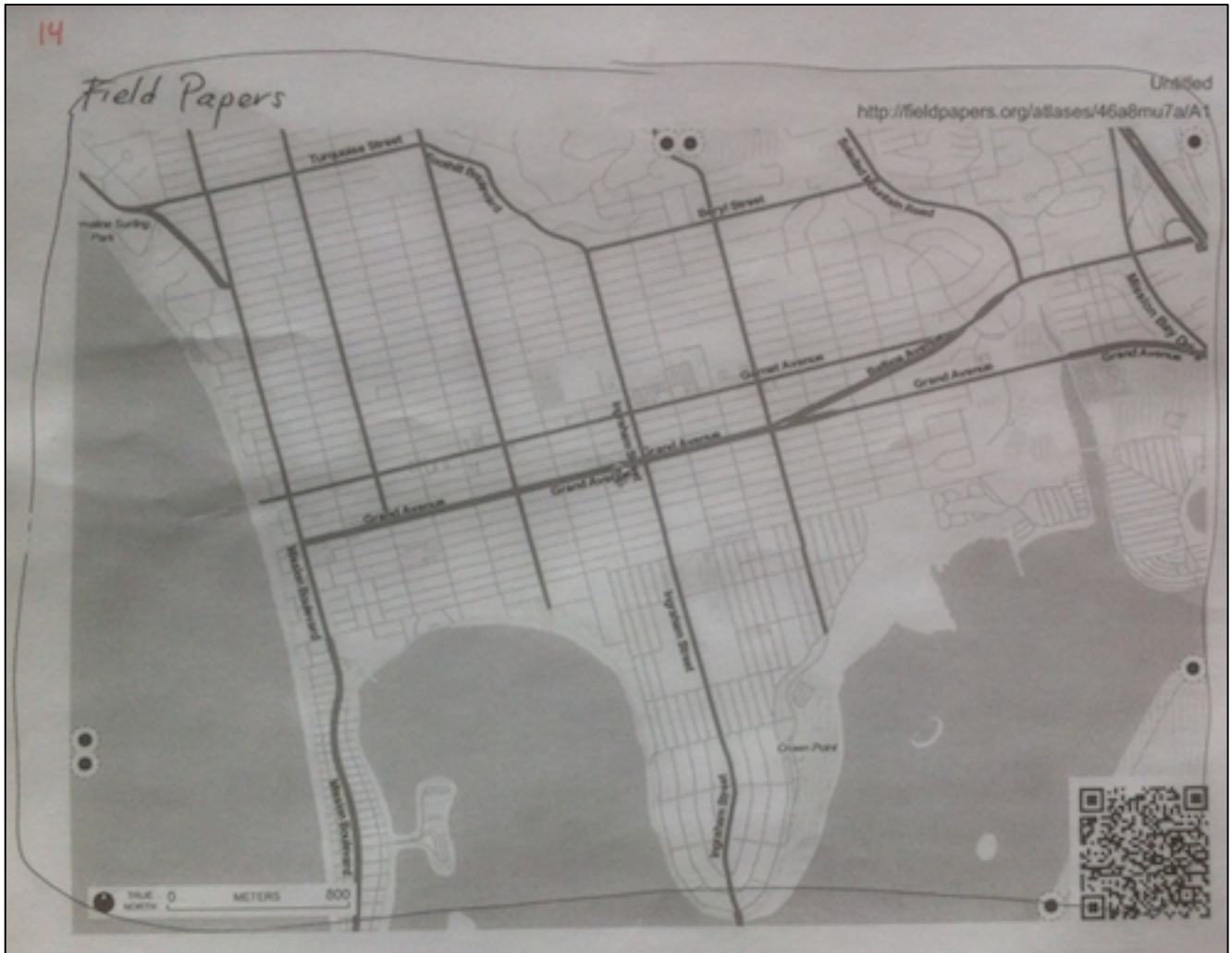
11. Cris. Surf Instructor, Bar Tender, MBA-Student. On/Off Resident 10+ Years. 32 YOA.



13. Greg. Attorney. 17 years residence. 55 YOA.

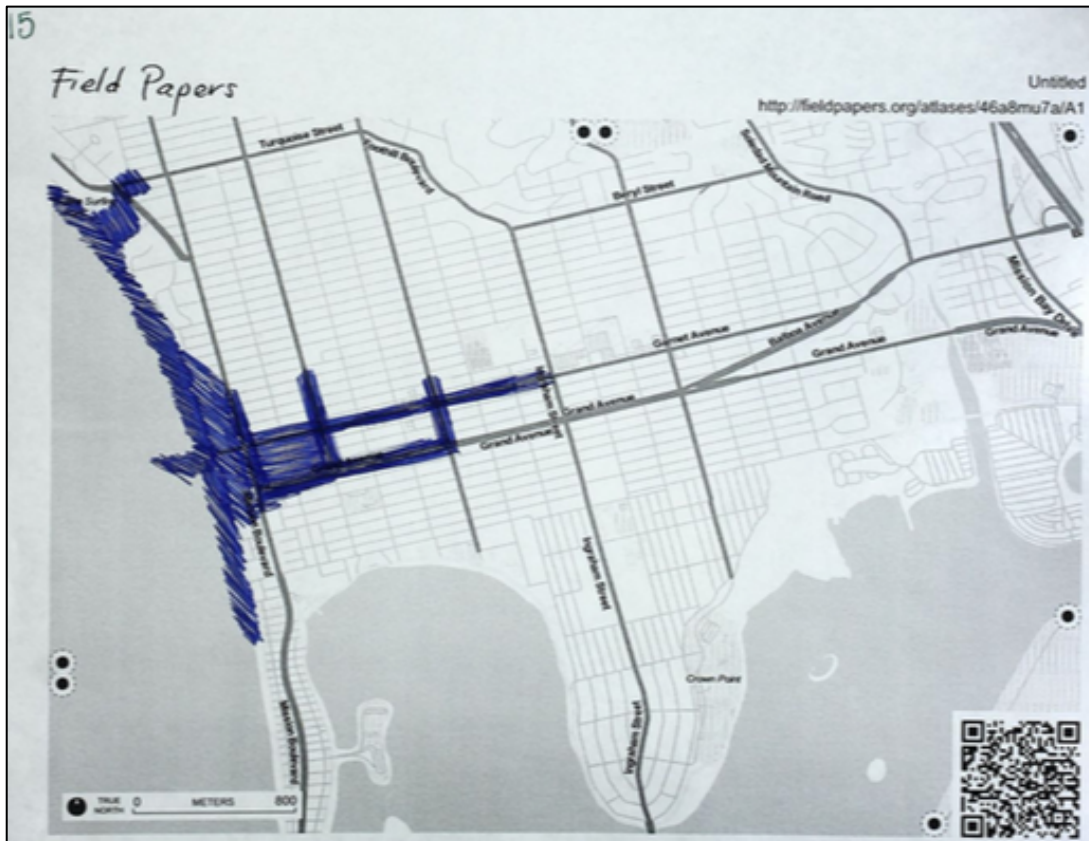
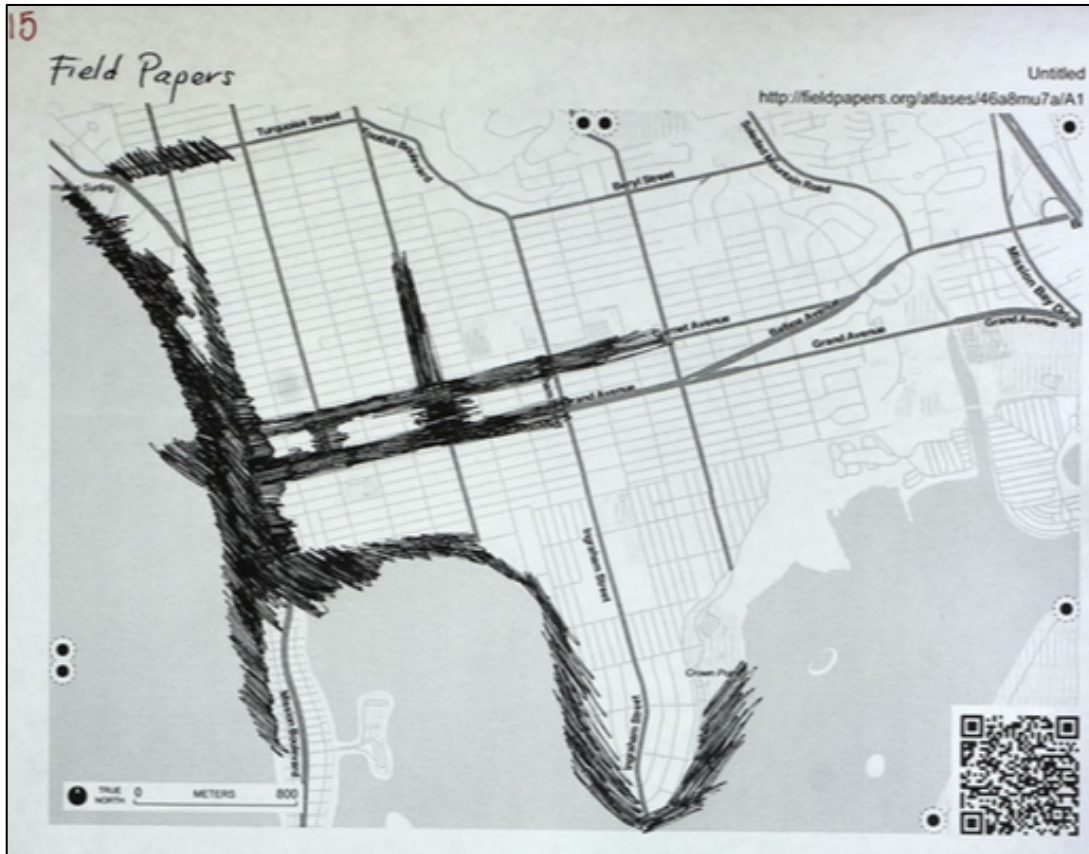


14. Jim.

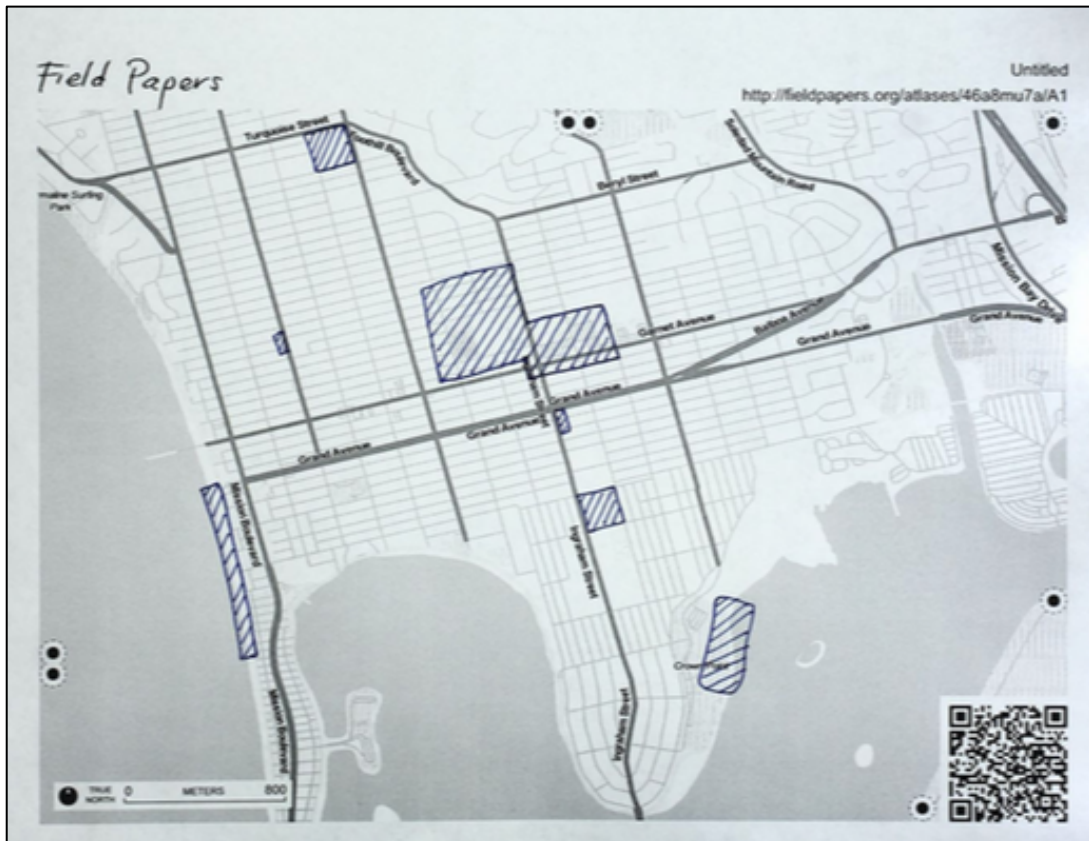
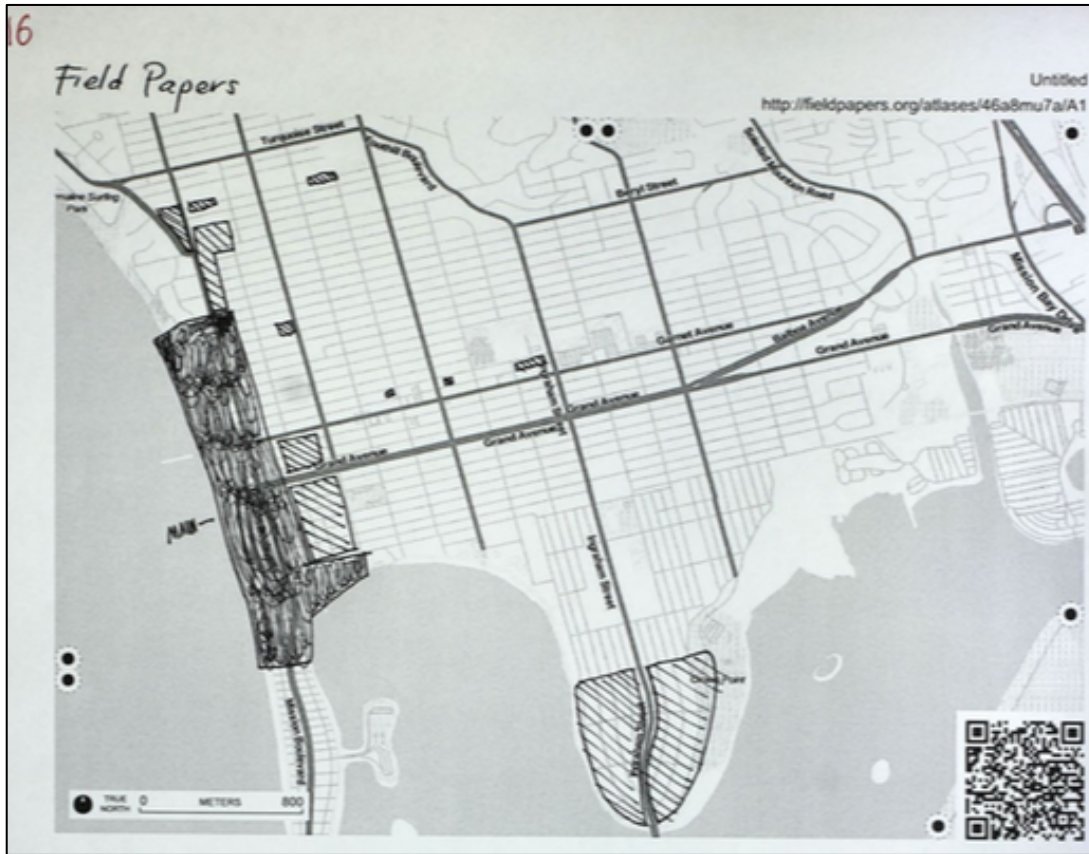


Jim did not want to talk about tourism, note the hole in the center stabbed with the pen!

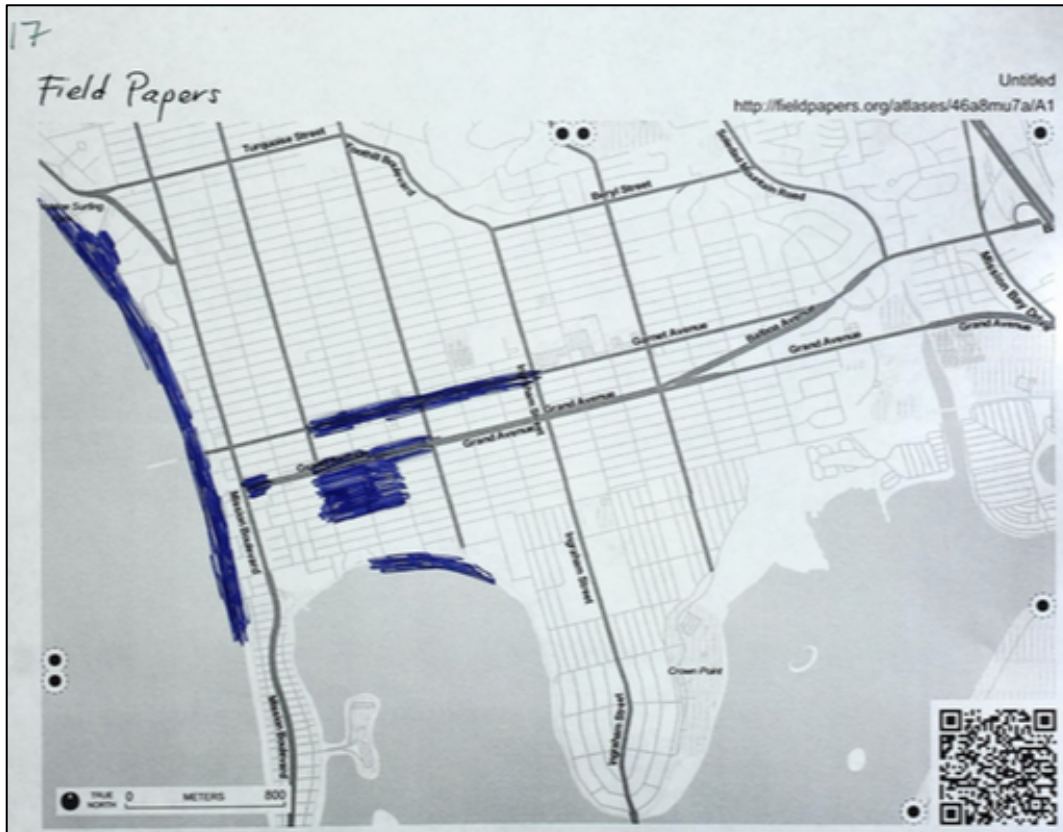
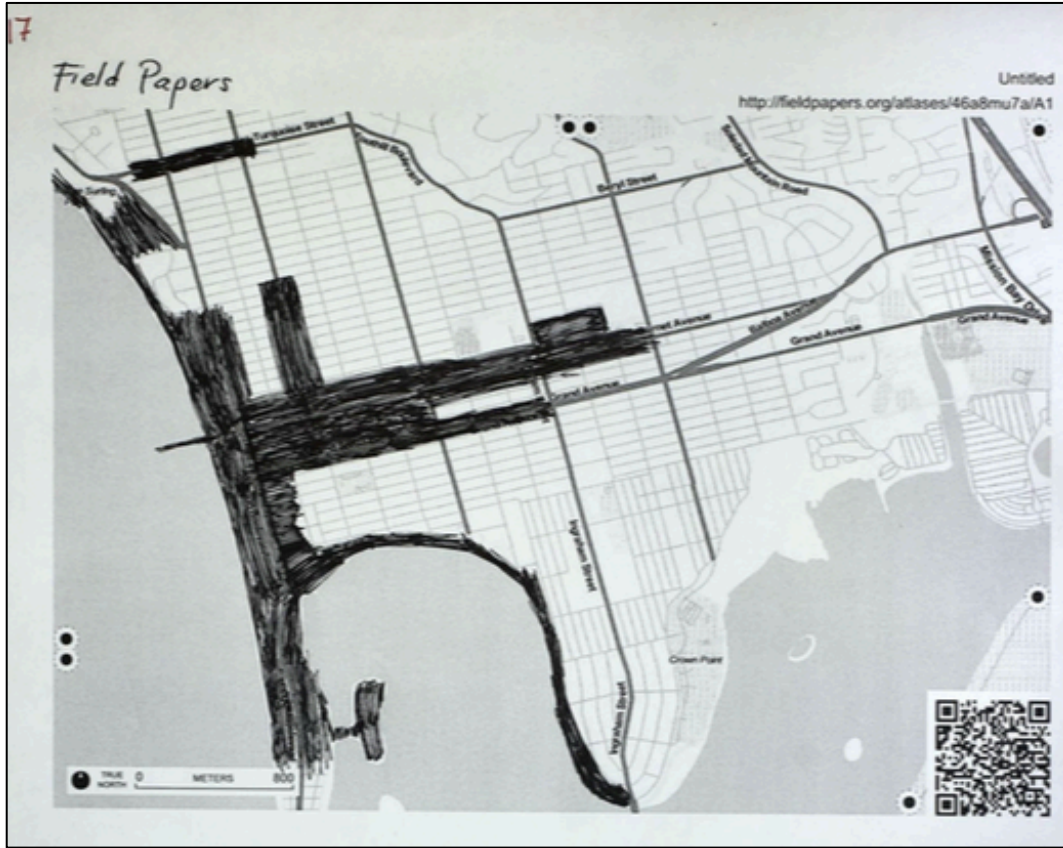
15. Grayce. Marketing Representative. Lifelong resident. 26 YOA.



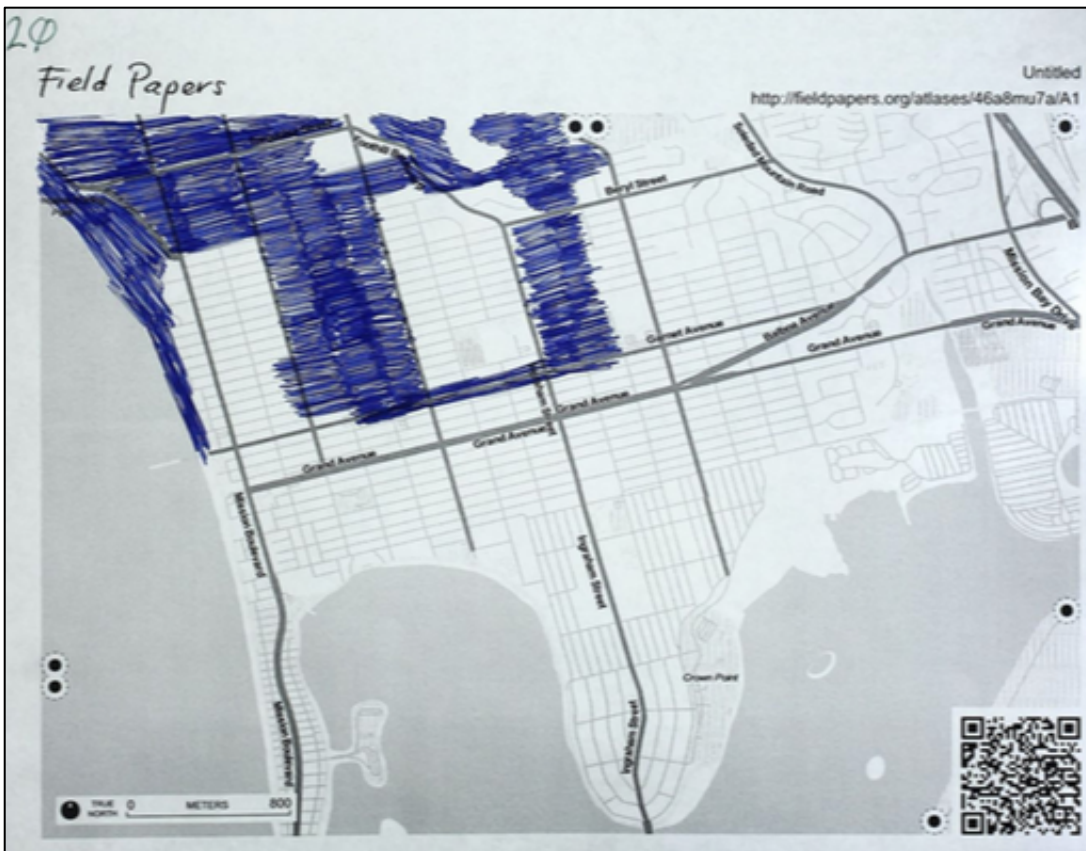
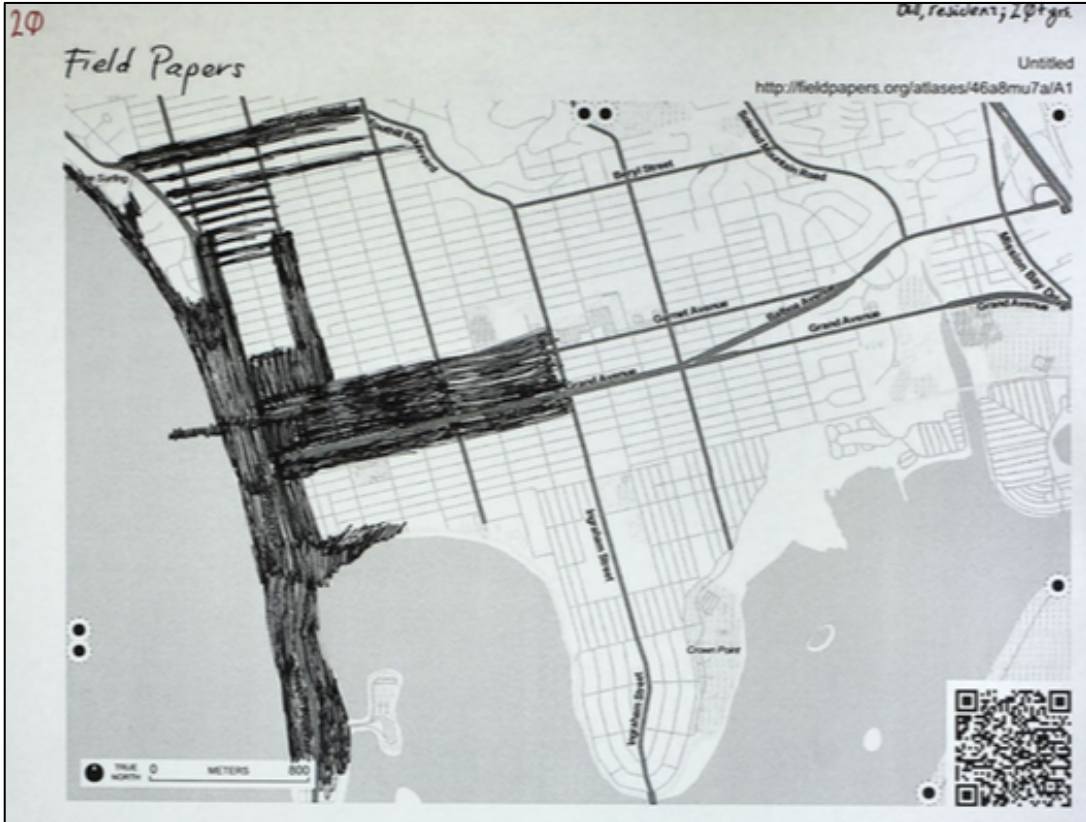
16. Tom. Bartender & Author. 7 years residence. 44 YOA.



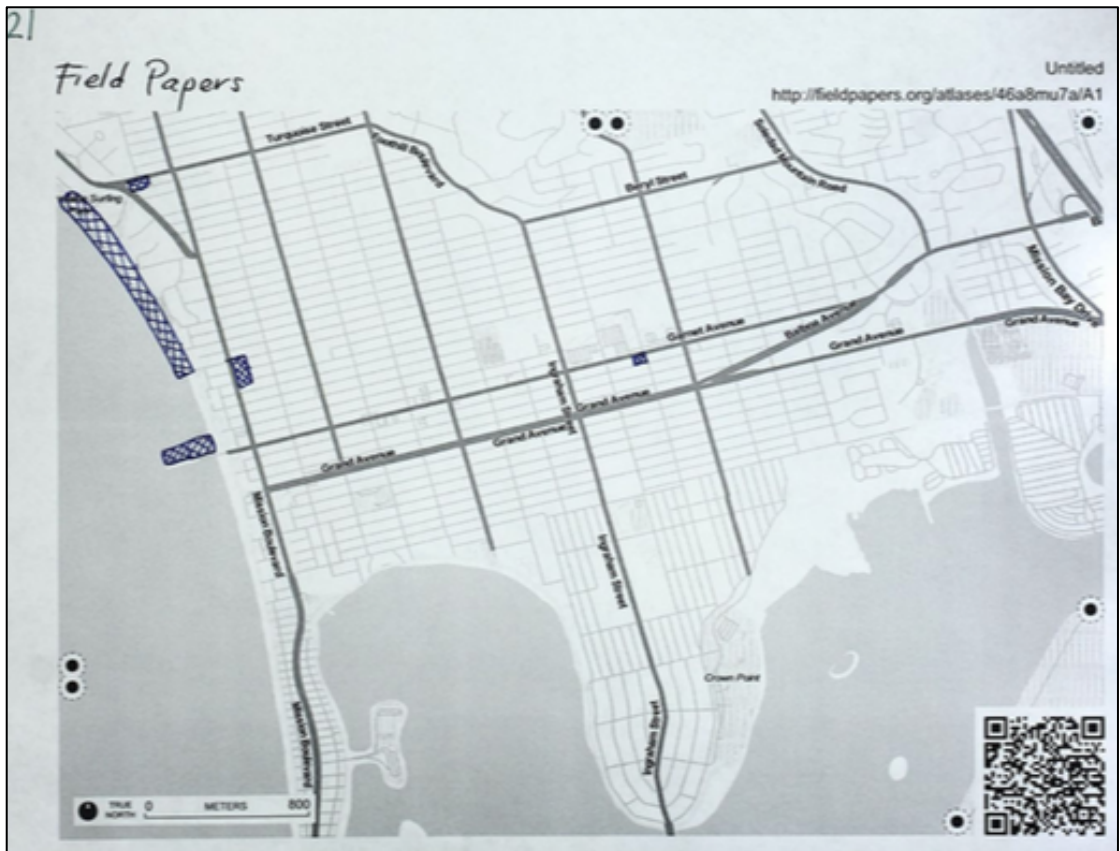
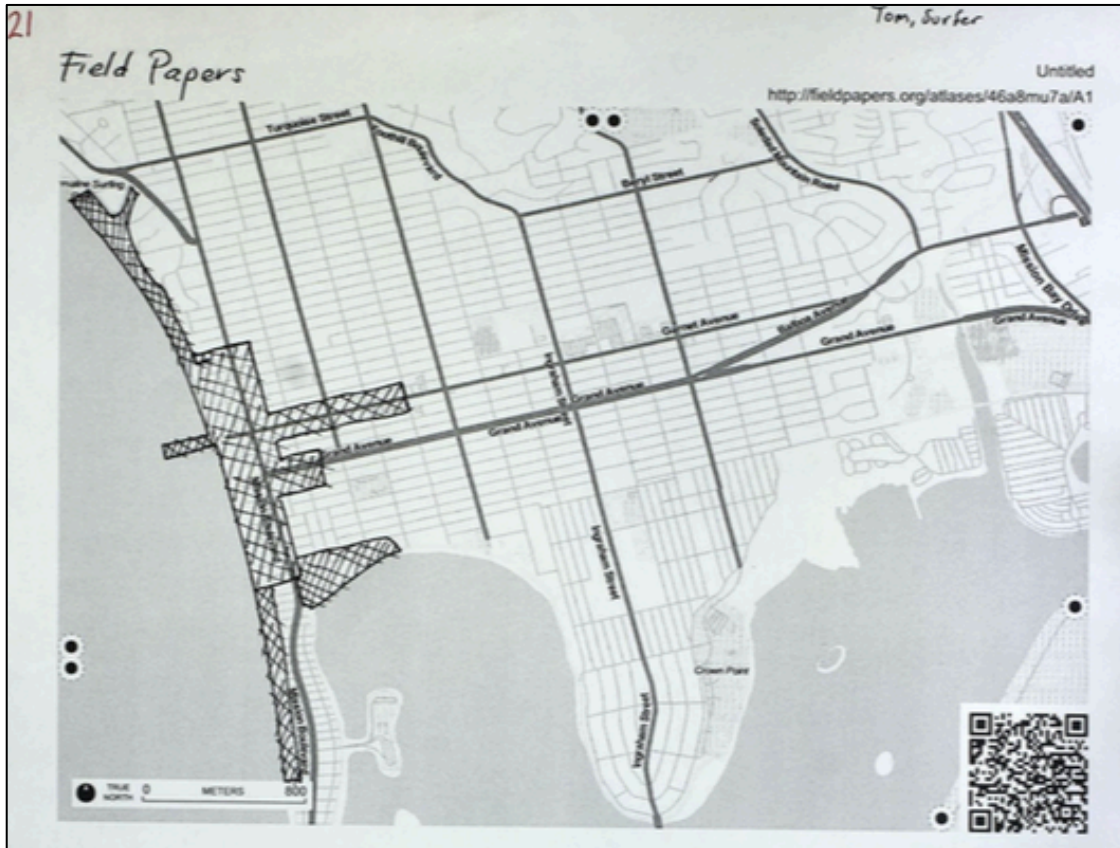
17. Lee. Naval Officer. Lifelong San Diego Resident. 29 YOA.



20. Bill. Retired & Local Historian. Grew up in PB, returned 22 years ago. 74 YOA.



21. Tom. Regular Surfer at Tourmaline for 20 years. 44 YOA.



22. Kathy. Art Teacher & Foster Mom. 21 Years Residence. 59 YOA.

