Growth Management Options for Tourism-Led Community Development in Squamish: The Case of Brohm Ridge Ski Resort

by

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Abstract

At the broadest level the intent of this thesis is to make a contribution to the increasing body of research on planning for sustainable tourism development. At a more refined level, this thesis advocates a growth management approach for tourism planning for sustainable development in rural communities.

The community of Squamish, British Columbia will provide the context for this study. As Squamish enters a phase of economic transition, planners and local residents have been evaluating what role tourism might play in enhancing the local economy and in sustaining the community's quality of life. The proposed establishment of a ski resort at Brohm Ridge would easily represent the largest tourism-based development initiative experienced by the community of Squamish. The economic, social and environmental impacts from such a project can be expected to be significant. This thesis explores how a growth management approach could establish a guidance system of proactive incentives and controls for development form and pace in a manner that recognises the importance of conserving the community's social, environmental and economic resources in the pursuit of local development objectives.

The Resort Community of Whistler provides the case study for this enquiry. Whistler is widely heralded in the tourism planning literature as a preeminent example of successful tourism growth management planning. The close proximity of Whistler to Squamish also provides a informed context from which to analyse potential development impacts.

The findings of this case study analysis were extrapolated and applied to the Squamish context so as to explore potential opportunities for the development of growth management strategies based on the community development objectives identified in the District of Squamish's Tourism Development Plan. It is hoped that this research will suggest an array of opportunities for the community of Squamish, as well as interested resort developers, to promote the establishment of a successful ski resort that will contribute to broader community development objectives in a sustainable manner.
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Chapter 1: Scope and Purpose

1.1. Purpose

At the broadest level the intent of this thesis is to make a contribution to the increasing body of research on planning for sustainable tourism development. A new era of tourism development planning based at the community level is being heralded as providing a clearer understanding of tourism-led development and how it might be realised. This thesis will explore the opportunities for the community of Squamish to adopt a growth management approach for sustainable, tourism-led community development. It is hoped that this thesis will be of use to planners and private sector tourism developers, as well as to communities interested in promoting sustainable tourism development.

1.2. Problem Statement

Many rural communities in British Columbia have maintained a relatively high standard of living as a result of economies based on natural resource exploitation. However, it is now clear that past levels of resource exploitation have in many cases been unsustainable and therefore cannot be relied on to sustain the standards of living and quality of life currently being enjoyed in many of these communities. Consequently, many communities with a high resources dependency are faced with a challenge of making an economic transition if they are to avoid economic decline. In many instances, tourism is being considered as an alternative or a supplementary component of local economies.

For many years tourism was regarded, if at all, by planners and developers as being relatively benign, both socially and environmentally. Current research has shown, however, that, like any other resource-based activity, tourism often has consumptive demands on the resources upon which it is dependent. Often the tourism resources, in addition to the natural environment, also includes such social components as local culture and even community members. Research indicates that when properly developed and managed, tourism can create positive social, environmental and economic impacts that
contribute to broader community development objectives. However, for these benefits to be sustaining for a community the inevitable negative impacts of tourism must be managed so as not to exceed local carrying capacities.

The planning problem that emerges from this context is: How can tourism development be planned and managed so as best to contribute to community development objectives in a sustainable manner?

In addressing this problem at a more refined level, this thesis will advocate the adoption of a growth management approach for tourism planning to establish a guidance system of proactive incentives and controls for development form and pace in a manner that recognises the importance of conserving an area’s or a community’s social, environmental and economic resources.

1.3. Context and Scope

The community of Squamish, British Columbia will provide the context for this study. Squamish is a community of approximately 14,000 people located 60 km north of Vancouver, the major urban centre of the province. Despite its close proximity to Vancouver, Squamish has for close to one hundred years been a community with an economy largely dependent on transportation and natural-resources-based industries. In recent years, however, largely as a result of diminishing access to natural resources, Squamish has been approaching a period of economic decline or forced transition. Tourism has thus far played a minor contributing role in the local community and local economy. Traditionally, tourists have been drawn to the region by its spectacular natural beauty and opportunities for nature-based outdoor recreational activities. In recent years, an increasing number of tourists and recreationists have been attracted to the region by its world-class rock climbing and windsurfing opportunities. The potential for increased tourism development in Squamish has long been recognized as relatively underdeveloped. As Squamish enters this phase of economic transition, planners and local residents have been evaluating what role tourism might play in enhancing the local economy and in sustaining the community's quality of life.

The largest tourism influence in the region to date has been the successful
Whistler/Blackcomb ski resort development located 60 km north of Squamish. The greatest impact felt in Squamish from the success of Whistler Resort has been an increase in drive-through traffic. So far only a few modest attempts have been made to capitalise on this traffic flow, mostly in the form of fast-food restaurants, gas stations and shopping malls.

In 1994, the District of Squamish produced a Tourism Development Plan which includes a tourism development vision statement and a number of related action plans. This study indicated that citizens and community planners alike are interested in the opportunities to capitalise on the community's underdeveloped winter tourism potential to help balance the expanding summer tourism component of their economy. One of the highest profile opportunities for increasing winter tourism in the area is the development of a nearby ski resort.

In June 1995, the provincial government issued a call for proposals for the development of a ski resort at an area known as Brohm Ridge, located 22 km. north of Squamish. Such a call is conducted as standard practice when a party expresses interest in development of a commercial tourism development on Crown Lands. Establishing a ski resort at Brohm Ridge would easily represent the largest tourism-based development initiative experienced by the community of Squamish. The economic, social and environmental impacts from such a project can be expected to be significant. At this pre-development stage it is important to recognise that these impacts can be both positive and negative.

From this scenario, the planning problem statement that arises is "How can the community of Squamish realise maximum benefits from the development of a ski resort at Brohm Ridge?" There are a few particular characteristics of this issue that merit particular attention. Squamish has existed for close to a hundred years as a community whose economy and community identities have been closely linked to the forestry and transportation sectors, while tourism has played a relatively minor role. The introduction of such a large-scale tourism facility could potentially produce many "transitional growing pains" for the community. There exists in Squamish a very strong and coherent identity as a "small town community". The introduction of a large scale, "non-traditional"
development could well have an unsettling effect on this identity. Another concern arises from the fact that Whistler-Blackcomb, a major international resort that will very likely remain the largest tourism influence in the region, exists within close proximity to Squamish. The dominant influence of Whistler must thus be carefully considered by Squamish in its tourism development planning.

In light of these characteristics, a growth management approach for tourism planning is particularly appropriate for Squamish for a number of reasons. In order to retain a small town community character as Squamish enters tentatively into a phase of economic transition, controls will be needed for both the pace and form of development. Additionally, given tourism's heavy resource dependency, the emphasis on resource conservation of a growth management approach is particularly appropriate for this context.

The community of Squamish is fortunate in having an opportunity to develop a tourism growth management strategy in a proactive fashion. The advantages of proactive planning can be realised in increasing both the effectiveness and efficiency of local development. However, striking the right balance between tourism growth fostered through private sector incentives, and tourism-led development created through locally developed controls, is a delicate and complex challenge. This thesis proposes that, for these impacts to be managed in an equitable and sustainable manner, local level development of a tourism growth management strategy is highly desirable.

With the preparation of their Tourism Development Plan, Squamish has already taken the critical first step towards sustainable tourism development. In addition to creating a tourism development vision, together with accompanying action plans, this process has helped to foster both community discussion of tourism development and citizen involvement in the community planning process.

While a growth management study for sustainable tourism development would ideally be broad and comprehensive, the focus of this study will be restricted, due to time and space limitations, to the proposed development of a ski resort at Brohm Ridge. Although the focus of this study will be on this particular proposal, the discussion will not be so narrow as to preclude the analysis and findings from being applied to other
tourism development initiatives, or to a broader and comprehensive community development perspective.

1.4. Methodology

The methodology employed in this study will involve the analysis of a case study from which the findings can be extrapolated to the context of the community of Squamish. The resort community of Whistler will be referred to as an example of tourism growth management planning from which Squamish can learn and benefit. Whistler has been chosen for this case study role for a number of reasons. Firstly, Whistler is widely heralded in the tourism planning literature as a preeminent example of successful tourism growth management planning. Secondly, the close proximity of Whistler to Squamish provides an informed context from which to analyse potential development impacts. Lastly, the recently passed Mountain Resort Association Act, which will likely influence the development of a resort at Brohm Ridge, was strongly influenced by the Resort Association Act of Whistler (1976), which facilitated the successful development at Whistler.

The findings from this case study will be extrapolated and applied to the Squamish context. The thesis will then explore potential opportunities for the development of growth management strategies based on the community development objectives identified in the District of Squamish's Tourism Development Plan. It is hoped that this research will suggest an array of opportunities for the community of Squamish, as well as interested resort developers, to promote the establishment of a successful ski resort that will contribute to broader community development objectives in a sustainable manner.

1.5. Overview

Chapter 2 will provide a context for the problem statement. The chapter will start with a brief history of the development of the community of Squamish to provide the necessary background for understanding the community's current situation. The current development context for Squamish will be discussed with particular attention paid to
opportunities for tourism-led community development.

Chapter 3 will start with a discussion of the opportunities, challenges and responsibilities of tourism in relation to the objective of sustainability. The discussion will summarize the history of tourism development in rural communities, provide an overview of tourism resources, and impacts review various planning and management approaches for tourism development.

Chapter 4 will discuss the growth management approach to development planning. The chapter provide an overview of the tools and techniques, process, and principles of the growth management approach. The chapter will conclude with a rationale for the adoption of a growth management approach for sustainable tourism-led development for rural communities.

Chapter 5 will provide case study material relating to the resort municipality of Whistler. The history of the community and of the resort's development will be traced, along with an account of the evolution of the tourism growth management strategy currently employed.

Chapter 6 will examine how Squamish might best proceed, in light of Whistler's experience, to create a growth management strategy for the development of a ski resort at Brohm Ridge. The thesis will conclude with a discussion on what limitations and opportunities exist for implementing the findings and suggestions developed from this research.
2.1. Location

Located 66 kilometers north of Vancouver (the largest city in the province of British Columbia), the District Municipality of Squamish lies at the head of Howe Sound in a spectacular setting surrounded by mountains, forests, lakes and rivers. The town has a population of 14,000, the largest in the so-called "Sea to Sky corridor" and serves as a regional service center. The Sea to Sky corridor stretches from Britannia Beach to Lillooet with a total population of 22,000. The resort community of Whistler is located 58 kilometers along highway 99 north of Squamish.

2.2. History

Ancestors of the Squamish Nation have inhabited the area now called Squamish for at least 5,000 years. They lived along the Squamish and Cheakamus Rivers and called the area Sko-mish. The first documented encounter between Europeans and native people dates from when Captain George Vancouver explored Howe Sound in his quest for a Northwest passage in 1772. The captain noted that the Sko-mish people were eager to trade fish, garments, bows, spears and copper ornaments.

In 1858 John McKay travelled to the area while he was surveying land for the federal government. He was the first to suggest that a road could be built from the top of Howe Sound to the gold mining town of Lillooet. However, the government of the time considered the idea too dangerous and did not support the proposal. At about this time, gold was discovered in the Squamish Valley, resulting in a modest gold rush. However, it was not until 1870, when the Cariboo gold rush had begun to diminish, that a trail from Squamish to Lillooet was reconsidered. The cattle ranchers who supplied beef to the mining camps started to push for a cattle-trail to be built from Lillooet through to Pemberton and Squamish and on to Burrard Inlet in order to transport their herds to Moodyville (now Vancouver). The trail was constructed in 1877, but after one cattle drive the trail was considered too dangerous and was abandoned. In 1891 the trail was reopened again and used for travel to Pemberton.
The first western settlers in the area came from Norway in 1885. They settled in the low-land areas of Squamish but later left for Bella Coola after their homes were washed away in a flood. In 1888 the Robertson family from Manitoba travelled to Squamish and established themselves as the first permanent white settlers in the area. Soon others, mostly farmers, followed. Mr. George Magee established a hay ranch in the area that today is downtown Squamish. By 1893 the first school was built. A government wharf was also built around this time.

2.3. Economic History

The town's first store was opened by Mr. Mashiter, who also became Squamish's first post-master. In 1891 the S.S. Saturna began sailing to Mashiter's Landing twice a week. During the early 1900s a Mr. Bracken moved into the area that was to become known as Brackendale. In 1902 he built a luxury hotel called the "Bracken Arms" on the old dock, but this unfortunately burned down in 1912. A Mr. Thorne established a hop farm which became the first industry in the area and proved to be very successful. Thorne shipped hops to Vancouver, then on to England to be used in making beer. The hop farm was shut down in 1917 when it ran into financial troubles largely as a result of the start of the First World War.

a) Logging

Commercial logging in Squamish the area began around the mid 1880s with logging camps established in 1889. A sawmill was built near the turn of the century with oxen used to haul logs to the mill. These animals were subsequently replaced by steam donkeys and later by a rail system. Construction of the Woodfibre Mill begun around 1910 under the name "B.C. Sulphite Fibre Company". In 1912 the first pulp machine was installed with employee residences built in 1917. These were not phased out until 1973. In the 1930s a small mill was built in Squamish which was later taken over by Empire Mills and is now a Weldwood operation.

The Forest industry has undergone several major technological changes and today helicopters are used to log in remote areas. Despite gradual reductions in the Annual Allowable Cut in recent years, forestry related industries are still the major
employers in the Squamish area.

b) The Railway

In 1877 a civil engineer named Marcus Smith examined the area as a possible route for the Canadian Pacific Railway. Jim Gill undertook construction of what would become the first railway in the area in 1909, and by 1910 his railway was operating on ten miles of track between Squamish and Cheekeye. He named his railway the "Howe Sound and Pemberton Valley Northern". In 1912, the McBride government bought the line, renamed it the "Pacific Great Eastern", and expanded the track through the Cheakamus Canyon. By 1915 trains were running to Lillooet and by 1921 the line extended north to Quesnel. During this time the original B.C. Rail shops were built (and were not replaced until the 1970s). In 1954 the rail line was finally opened from Squamish to Vancouver. This was a major benefit to the people living in Squamish as they previously had to rely on biweekly boats to carry people and supplies to Vancouver. B.C. Rail's works yard in Squamish employs approximately 300 people.

c) Road Access

In 1929 the Squamish and Howe Sound Board of Trade began to lobby the provincial government for a road from West Vancouver to Garibaldi Park. These efforts continued until the 1950s when a delegation travelled to Victoria with a petition for the highway link. Road building had been held up due to concerns over possible contamination of Vancouver's water supply, the dangerous terrain, and the high annual costs of snow removal. In 1958 the highway was finally opened as the "Seaview Highway" providing vehicle access from Vancouver to the Sea to Sky region.

Over the last twenty years the highway has been the focus of ongoing improvement efforts. Despite such improvements, this highway remains one of the more dangerous stretches of road in the nation. Recent growth of tourism within the region has put even greater stress on this highway, which is shared by a variety of users including daily commuters, residents, tourists, and industrial traffic such as logging trucks and road maintenance equipment. These multiple demands are not always compatible, causing problems such as congestion and often serious accidents.
d) **Industry**

The Squamish Industrial Park was developed in an effort to attract industrial enterprises to both diversify and complement existing industrial activity in the area. Currently in Phase 1, the industrial park area occupies 45 acres. Services are being expanded for Phase 2 development that will increase the site's area to 110 acres. The site has failed to meet original expectations in terms of the number of new businesses attracted.

e) **Tourism**

The first major attempt at tourism development in the area dates back to 1925 with the "Sea and Rail" excursions offered by Pacific Great Eastern and Union Steamship Company. Tourists would travel to Squamish by ship, then go by rail to Brandywine Falls and Alta Lake where they could stay at Rainbow Lodge, an area known today as Whistler. During this period and until 1938 Alex Monroe Sr. and his sons George and Alex Jr. conducted fully-outfitted horseback tours into Garibaldi Park. In the late 1950s the Squamish and Howe Sound Board of Trade sought to capitalize on the tourism potential they saw in the Squamish area, and Squamish was promoted as the "Gateway to the Famous Alpine Meadows of Garibaldi Park". Another advertisement during this period invited tourists to "Come and relax in the famous Squamish Valley, playground of the Pacific Coast." More recently, Squamish has attracted an increasing number of summer tourists, drawn by the area's world-class rock climbing and windsurfing opportunities. To date, however, tourism has played a minor role in Squamish's development.

f) **The Current Economy**

Squamish's current economic base is well defined by a few major manufacturing and transportation industries. These are:

- The Empire Lumber sawmill (a division of Weldwood of Canada)
- The Woodfibre pulp mill
- Squamish Terminals, a pulp and lumber export terminal
- B.C. Railway's yards in Squamish
- Log handling activities (sorting, trucking, logging equipment service)
1988 data show that 60% of Squamish's work force is employed in the manufacturing of lumber products, transportation or logging. The industries that currently form the backbone of Squamish's economy are high wage jobs affording Squamish residents an average household income of $45,097 that matches the provincial average. As a result of these industries, a complementary service infrastructure has been able to sustain itself. This service sector economy is mostly confined to the Squamish area itself with little reliance on markets outside of the Squamish area. The one exception is services that have established links to the rapidly expanding, tourism-oriented economy of Whistler.

2.4. Current Context - A Town in Transition

As a result of the isolation created by the area's physical geography and the late arrival of transportation, Squamish has developed in relative independence from Vancouver. Consequently, certain themes of this development history are identifiable in the town's current charter. Despite its close proximity to the major urban center of Vancouver, the community of Squamish still retains a small town character similar to other natural-resource-based communities in the province's hinterland. The community's dependence on the area's natural resource and transportation history is strongly evident in the identity of many local residents.

In recent years, however, Squamish has developed increasingly stronger economic and social links with Vancouver. Squamish has expanded as a "bedroom community" for residents who work in Vancouver or Whistler. The population of Squamish has increased from approximately 10,000 in 1981 to approximately 14,000 in 1996 with a projected population of around 20,000 by the year 2001. It has been estimated that approximately one third of the work force residing in Squamish commutes to work in either Vancouver or Whistler. Less expensive housing, a small town atmosphere and a spectacular natural setting are among the attractions that contribute to this growth. There have been some social frictions resulting from the town's changing demographic character in regard to the emerging new identity of the community. Many residents of Squamish who wish to retain the small-town-logging-community aspects see
these latest growth-driven characteristics of urban folks with differing values and concerns as an affront to their traditional lifestyle (Vancouver Sun, Aug. 5, 1995).

This social transition has been accompanied by evidence of an emerging economic transition. Much of the primary forest resource potential of Squamish area has already been accounted for by previous and existing logging and sawmill activities. Increased or continued harvesting at current rates is unlikely, as the Annual Allowable Cut in the area has been substantially reduced in recent years. In August 1995 the chief forester announced a 13% reduction in the annual timber harvest for the Soo timber supply area (twice as high as the provincial average cut-back) and this is expected to severely affect the economies of both Squamish and Pemberton. The situation faced by Squamish today is typical of many rural communities in British Columbia and elsewhere in North America whose economies had previously been based on primary resource extraction and which are now entering a phase of economic decline as access to these resources has begun to diminish.

As Squamish enters into a phase of economic and social transition, the question for planners is: How can Squamish diversify and expand its economy while maintaining and enhancing the qualities of life enjoyed in the past? An Economic Development Strategy Plan was commissioned by the District of Squamish to identify opportunities for economic development and diversification. This report identified two principal opportunities. First, port facility expansion to accommodate freight ships was suggested in light of projected increased demand for port facilities in the region. This proposal has met with opposition from both groups concerned with the environmental impacts of such expansion and from others concerned with lost opportunities for alternative waterfront developments. The second recommendation was an increased emphasis on exploiting the area's tourism potential.

Other development options being considered include two major shopping centre proposals. B.C. Rail wants to build a shopping center, Garibaldi Plaza, on its property. Gulf Pacific wants to build an even larger center further north along highway 99. Both these development proposals have been criticized for their potential effect of drawing business away from downtown Squamish. A U.S.-based company has also expressed
interest in starting a scheduled airline service between Seattle and Squamish to service U.S. and Asian skiers en route to Whistler. This proposal and other airport expansion proposals have met with much resistance from community members concerned with the impacts of such developments on the bald eagles that annually congregate in record numbers near the airport site.

2.5. Tourism Development in Squamish

Fishing, hunting, backpacking, mountaineering and cross-country skiing are long-established tourism/recreation activities in Squamish. While Squamish has enjoyed a reputation for quality outdoor tourism and recreation opportunities for the people of Vancouver, only recently has it attracted significant numbers of tourists from outside the region.

As mentioned previously, the two internationally recognized tourism magnets in this area are the opportunities for world-class rock climbing and windsurfing. A report commissioned by the community to determine the local economic impacts of these two activities found that nearly one million dollars are spent directly in the area. With economic multipliers estimated at 2.4 this dollar figure quickly rises to over two million dollars per year generated locally through these two activities alone (Sea to Sky Economic Commission and Festivals B.C., 1993).

A variety of other high calibre outdoor tourism resources exist in close proximity to Squamish. Alice Lake Provincial Park and Mount Garibaldi Provincial Park provide a seasonal flow of campers, hikers and other associated outdoor enthusiasts. Large expanses of wilderness area, such as the Tantalus Range and the recently established Stoltmann Wilderness Area, provide stunning natural settings with abundant wildlife that attract naturalist and photographers as well as back country hikers and skiers. The Squamish, Mamquam and Cheakamus rivers provide excellent opportunities for fishing and whitewater rafting.

In an effort to make the community more aesthetically attractive to tourists and residents alike, Squamish underwent a downtown revitalization project in 1991 to repair the sidewalks, moved hydro lines underground, and provided lamp-style street lights,
planters and public benches. This effort demonstrates a community commitment to a future that includes a strong tourism component. Several other attractions and festivals have also been established to promote tourism. Squamish's heritage is celebrated with the annual Squamish Logger Days festival and the B.C. Rail Museum, opened in 1989. The annual "Brackendale Bald Eagle Count" was established to celebrate a record count of over 3,701 bald eagles that congregated near the town in January 1994, establishing Brackendale as the bald eagle capital of the world. Bird spotters and tourists from all over North America now come to view the bald eagles. In addition to generating tourism activity, these attractions and festivals based on the area's history and heritage contribute to the reinforcement of the community's pride and self identity.

There is evidence to indicate that the range and quality of the area's tourism resources are becoming increasingly recognized. Tourists spent more than $13 million on accommodation alone in Squamish in 1994, a 34% increase from 1993.

While Squamish's summer tourism has maintained a healthy pace of growth, the winter tourism potential is widely recognized as underdeveloped. Both the community of Squamish and various private sector groups have shown interest in expanding Squamish' winter tourism products and services through development of a ski resort at Brohm Ridge, an area 22 kilometers north of Squamish. This resort would easily represent the largest tourism development initiative to be undertaken in this community.
Chapter 3: Tourism and Development in Rural Communities

3.1. Sustainable Development and Tourism

The most pressing challenge currently facing planners in today's world is encompassed in the phrase "Sustainable Development": how can we provide quality livelihoods for ourselves in a manner that will in turn allow future generations to do the same? While the concept of sustainable development in an operational sense is not currently not well understood, it is generally accepted that sustainability is fundamentally related to the impacts of human activity on the environment. Traditionally, in this context, the term "environment" has been applied almost exclusively to the natural environment. Recently, however, a more holistic interpretation of the term has expanded its general meaning and application to include social and economic, as well as natural environmental implications. This broader interpretation is gaining popularity as it is becoming evident that these three components are inseparably interconnected. Attempts to address any one component in isolation from the influence of the others leads to results that are incomplete and misleading.

As we enter a new era of analysis and policy planning defined by sustainable development, we need to consider what may be required of tourism development in this regard. Gunn (1994) suggests that the definition of sustainable development offered by Rees may be most applicable to tourism planning.

Sustainable development is positive economic change that does not undermine the ecological and social systems upon which communities and society are dependent. Its successful implementation requires integrated policy, planning and social learning processes; its political viability depends on the full support of the people it affects through their governments, their social institutions, and their private activities. (Cited in Gunn, 1994, p. 85)

The definition of sustainable development provided by Rees highlights some of the fundamental aspects of tourism's potential impacts, contributions and responsibilities to sustainable development, as well as the contribution that growth management planning can have in fulfilling these objectives.

Tourism is perhaps unique among resource-dependent industries in that a
symbiotic relationship exists between successful tourism development and resource conservation. If tourism development is to be successful and sustainable, it is of critical importance that tourism must work to conserve the resources upon which it is dependent. The higher the quality maintained in these resources (whether bio-physical, ecological, or social), the higher the quality of the tourism product that can be provided over time. Tourism's vested interest in maintaining the quality of the resources upon which it is dependent underscores its great potential to contribute to sustainability objectives.

While such a "conservation ethic" may have sound logical and theoretical foundations, tourism development in many instances has resulted in seriously detrimental environmental and social impacts. At Globe '90 (a conference on Global Opportunities for Business and the Environment held in Vancouver in March 1990) sustainable tourism development was highlighted as a major theme. A report issued at the conference described the resource management challenges of sustainable tourism development as:

.... the management of all resources in such a way that we can fulfill economic, social and aesthetic needs while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity and life support systems (Globe '90, 1991)

The same report challenges governments at all levels to adopt new tourism planning approaches that recognize tourism's intrinsic links to the environment.

The environment is tourism's base. Tourism shapes and affects the environment. A widely acknowledged problem is the extent to which ill-conceived and poorly planned tourism development can erode the very qualities of the natural environment that attract visitors. Recognition of this problem is required at the national and regional levels. Particular attention must be paid at the local level where impacts and concerns are most apparent. (Globe '90, 1991)

This statement can be fairly criticized as being too narrowly focused on tourism's concerns as an industry. In addition to eroding "the very qualities of the natural environment that attract visitors," more importantly, ill-conceived and poorly planned tourism development can destroy the overall potential for establishing sustainability in the society and the natural environment accommodating this "development". Ultimately, sustainable tourism development must consider not only what is required to sustain itself
as an industry, but also how it, as an industry, can contribute to broader sustainability issues. Theobald (1994) provides such a broader interpretation of tourism's responsibilities in contributing to global sustainability.

The concept of sustainability is central to the reassessment of tourism's role in society. It requires a long-term view of economic activity, questions the imperative of continued economic growth, and ensures that consumption of tourism does not exceed the ability of a host destination to provide for future tourists" (Theobald, 1994.)

The responsibility for promoting sustainable tourism falls equally on those who promote, provide, manage and "consume" tourism.

This preamble is intended to provide a broad working context for this thesis, asking how tourism can be planned and managed so as to contribute to the achievement of sustainable development. It is important, however, not to assume that exact measures required for sustainability are understood or available. As humankind struggles to understand what "sustainability" requires, we are forced to admit how incomplete our understanding of the concept has thus far been. The inevitability of unforeseen events and conditions that prevent all planning efforts from being perfectible requires a management approach that is adaptable and conservative in respect to resource consumption. It is also clear that sustainability requires a shift from short-term to long-term planning in recognition of the limits of our resource base, and the need to plan for inter-generational equity.

In summary, what is needed is a resource management perspective that acknowledges the inevitable imperfections in planning, and advocates an adaptive, prudent, conservationist approach to phased growth as a means to promote development that is socially, economically and environmentally sustainable. The following chapter will discuss how such a growth management approach can be applied to tourism planning so as to contribute to sustainable development in rural communities. The remainder of this chapter will provide an overview of some of the key elements, trends and concepts important in understanding what is required for planning sustainable tourism development in rural communities.
3.2 Describing and Defining Tourism

Tourism is somewhat unique among agents of development and deserves some preliminary investigation to more fully understand what is involved in tourism planning. The term tourism is capable of instigating a multiplicity of interpretations. These many interpretations are indicative both of the complexity and breath of tourism's influences, and of the differing perspectives that can coexist regarding the purposes of tourism development.

Tourism is sometimes described as an export industry, supplying a product to non-local markets. However, tourism is unique among export industries in that consumers must travel in order to acquire this commodity. Most market-based descriptions of tourism comprise supply, demand and market components. The demand component is composed of the tourists themselves. The supply component are the tourism attractions. The geographical separation of the supply and demand components creates a realm for tourism's marketing and travel components. The marketing component involves an information distribution network comprising of travel agents, government tourism facilities and local and private sector promotions that attempt to bridge the gap between the supply and demand components. In this capacity they also attempt to trigger the latent demand into realized demand through advertisements and other promotional devices.

While tourism does involve an industrial or market-based component, any attempt to comprehensively define tourism by these models is inherently inadequate. Such models usually fail to recognize tourism's important environmental and social components. Many current tourism planners have adopted a systems approach in order to define, analyze, plan and manage the various components and aspects of tourism in an integrated manner. Gunn (1988), for example, incorporates traditional supply and demand components into a tourism system theory context. The supply side of Gunn's model is comprised of the various modes of transportation, attractions, facilities and services for the tourists, as well as tourism information and promotion. He refers to the demand side as a "population" consisting of people with an interest in, and an ability to travel to, the tourism area. Gunn's perspective is that there are a number of elements,
functioning as a system, that influence the relation between these two components, including natural resources, cultural resources, entrepreneurship, finance, labor, competition, community, government policies, and organization/leadership.

Mill and Morrison (1985) also expand on the traditional supply and demand models in their description of a tourism system comprised of four major inter-relating parts: 1) the market (tourists), 2) travel (transportation), 3) destinations (attractions, facilities and services), 4) marketing (information and promotion). Their model holds that these parts are sequentially linked in a circular system. In his description of tourism as a "socioeconomic activity or sector", Inskeep (1991) explicitly emphasises the importance of tourism's social and environmental as well as economic dimensions. This interpretation recognizes that tourism is sometimes developed for reasons that are not solely economic, as its benefits are often social (for example, educational and recreational activities, cross-cultural learning opportunities, and learning about different geographical and historical environments).

Commonalities among these approaches include the description of tourism functioning within open and dynamic systems, characterized by its exchange relations with its environment. Such systems based approaches make it possible to analyze, describe and synthesise different aspects of tourism within an overall perspective. Rather then being single-sided and isolated, these descriptions are particularly well suited to tourism planning in that they employ the broad view required for addressing the full range of tourism influences.

Tourism can also be interpreted from a phenomenological perspective. This approach includes aspects such as researching, planning, anticipation, travel, reflection as important components of the complete tourism experience.

In defining tourism, it is important to understand that it means different things to different people. Interpretations regarding the purpose of tourism tend to differ depending on what role tourism is seen to play in people's lives. In light of this, tourism needs also be understood from three main perspectives. The first perspective is that of the tourist, for whom tourism fundamentally involves activities based on travel as a means to obtain a desired condition. The conditions sought through tourism run the gamut from stimulation
to relaxation in the pursuit of intellectual, spiritual, physical and artistic rewards. As such, tourism can be seen as a vehicle for fulfilling some of the higher stages of Maslow's hierarchy of needs towards self-actualization. In this sense, tourism should be understood as a luxury, for its pursuit requires opportunities created through the availability of time, money and other means. The second perspective is that of the recipient of tourism, commonly referred to in tourism literature as the hosts. At the broadest level, hosts can be generically defined as the people, communities and natural environment that provide the conditions in which tourism takes place. From the host's perspective, tourism represents the cumulative effects of accommodating people who are partaking of tourism and related activities. The third perspective is that of the agents of tourism growth. Such agents can be host communities, private sector and public sector interests. From this perspective, tourism represents the opportunity to capitalize on people's interests in travel-related activities.

In order to effectively plan tourism development in a comprehensive and integrated manner, a definition is needed that is broad enough to encompass all of these elements and their inter-relationships. The definition offered by Matherson and Wall (1986) works well in this regard:

Tourism is the temporary movement of people to destinations outside their normal places of work and residence, the activities undertaken during their stay in those destinations, and the facilities created to cater to their needs (cited in Gunn, 1994, p 5.)

Gunn (1994) points out that such a simple and all-encompassing definition "dramatizes the complexity of the task of planning tourism".

3.3. Tourism in Rural Communities

There is a long history in many areas of rural communities hosting, accommodating and dealing with tourism. Many of the earliest forms of tourism involved urban elites escaping the city environs for rest, relaxation or stimulation in rural or non-urban settings. In addition to the wealthy urban elites, these early tourists included people with more specific intellectual or artistic pursuits such as natural historians and
anthropologists seeking discoveries of ancient settlements, or painters and poets seeking inspiration. The focus of their interests often led them to rural and non-urban settings.

During the 17th and 18th centuries tourism became more formalized, including what were known as "the Grand Tours". These Grand Tours, for example, would bring young British aristocrats, primarily to France or Italy, to pursue various educational disciplines in preparation for employment in public office. A subsequent stage in the evolution of tourism would prove to be of much greater consequence. In the mid 18th century, Thomas Cook of London began organizing excursions for his fellow workers as a means of obtaining relief from the "demon drink". His excursions quickly gained popularity among the socially mobile middle classes emerging from industrial affluence. Cook's early destinations were typically the rural areas of Switzerland and Italy. These early "Cook's Tours" were significant in that travel and tourism was no longer confined to the privileged elite but had been brought into the realm of "ordinary people". The socio-cultural effects of this movement were also significant in establishing in our culture the perceived requirement for an annual holiday.

As tourism developed and expanded its range of influence, so it has played a pivotal role in the development of many rural communities and regions. The evolutionary changes brought about by tourism are often based upon changing or finding multiple values for local or regional resources. Fishing villages, for example, have evolved into or accommodated beach resorts, while mining towns and agricultural communities have accommodated ski or health resorts. The values ascribed to an area's resources by tourism has also led to the conservation and protection of many areas with important or spectacular natural resources or settings. Increasingly over the last century, tourism has played both an instigating and a responsive role in the development of rural areas and communities. Even major disruptive events such as the World Wars have only temporarily discouraged tourism growth. In fact, these wars have even facilitated a growth in tourism through improving the means of long-range transportation and an increasing understanding of, and motivations to travel to, foreign destinations. According to one source, tourism today has established itself as the world's largest industry with an estimated US $3.1 trillion spent globally in 1992 (World Tourism and Travel Council,

Of the many forms of tourism development, some have experienced relatively faster rates of growth. Especially notable in this regard are rural and nature-based tourism. Recently adopted terminology used to describe and define these activities include: adventure tourism, ecotourism, nature tourism, ethnic tourism, cultural tourism, alternative tourism, and rural tourism. Hunt has noted that, despite the novel appeal of such terms, they all can be understood as attempts to embrace an emerging "back to basics" or "nature" ideology (Western Wildlands, Fall, 1992, p.2). The growth in rural tourism can also be further explained through two separate but complementary contemporary trends. As unspoiled natural environments are becoming more scarce as a result of resource over-exploitation, there is an increasing demand by tourists and recreationalists seeking to visit undeveloped, natural areas. Through an extension of this trend, tourism is being recognized as a means through which unique natural and cultural environments can be protected and preserved. Secondly, many primary resource-dependent communities are being forced into economic transitions due to diminishing access to the natural resource base that had previously provided the backbone of their economies. Livelihoods in other communities with primary resource-dependent economies are typically dictated by boom-and-bust cycles resulting from global market conditions and decisions made in faraway multinational corporate head offices. In consequence, many communities facing the uncertainties of such conditions are considering tourism development as a locally-controlled component of their economy to help promote sustainability in their communities.

3.4. Evolution of Tourism Planning and Management Approaches

Traditionally, tourism planning has tended to focus on facilitating tourism growth as a means for stimulating economic opportunities. Public sector tourism planning in the 1950s and 1960s was characterized by "top-down" government policies that viewed tourism as a service-oriented economic sector, emphasizing growth and promotion as opposed to development and management. This approach was widespread and consistent among both tourism developers and operators, and politicians and planners alike. During
this period private sector interests played a dominant role in tourism planning and
management, often supported by government policies with investment decisions
dominated by considerations of profit maximization. In order to maximize the economic
returns, developers and operators sought to attract large numbers of tourists. Politicians
and planners likewise supported the attraction of large numbers of tourists in
"boosterism" efforts to maximize the economic benefits accruing to their community,
region or nation.

This maximization trend in tourism planning facilitated the emergence of a form
of tourism that has earned the title "mass tourism". Mass tourism is characterized by large
volumes of tourists involved in short term visits with relatively high demands on local
resources. During this era of tourism development, both the planning and marketing of
tourism was primarily oriented to meeting "the needs of the tourist". Tourism was
regarded by planners as a relatively benign, "smokeless industry", the impacts of tourism
typically being considered only in economic terms (Theobald, 1994).

While the state continued its role as a catalysis of private-sector-led tourism
development until the early 1970s, a wider perspective and vision had also started to
develop. The environmental and social movements of the later 1960s and early 1970s
increasingly focused the attention of tourism planners first on the environmental and then
the social impacts of tourism. During this period our understanding and appreciation of
tourism impacts expanded as a varied range of negative impacts not previously
anticipated became evident. In recognition of the destructive impacts of some tourism
activities, the state started to take a more interventionist role in applying new regulations
to tourism development. Much of the pioneering work done in this policy area in North
America was conducted by the United States Parks Service. The adoption of licenses for
and restrictions on, consumptive activities such as fishing and hunting were early
examples of attempts to limit or manage the impacts of recreation and tourism. This trend
towards managing the environmental impacts of tourism was later extended by attempts
to address the social impacts of tourism. Much of the pioneering work here was
conducted in areas that had endured heavy tourism activity for extended periods, such as
Hawaii and the Mediterranean countries of Europe.
It has proved to be very difficult, however, to moderate the inertia of historical perspectives in tourism development. The legacy of the expansionist, growth oriented approach to tourism planning and development is still evident today in many initiatives. As a result of such ill-conceived or poorly planned development, the tourism industry has been criticized (and often rightly so) for creating more negative than positive impacts for local or "host communities". History has shown that, when left to develop on its own within a free-market system, tourism tends to serve mainly those who stand to make short-term monetary gain from it. These economic benefits frequently accrue outside the host community. Too often, it is the broader community that bears the environmental and social costs associated with the economic gains obtained by the few. In the worst case, tourism can be a net economic burden for host communities.

In response to the increased understanding of the form and distribution of tourism impacts generated by previous tourism planning and management approaches, a new paradigm in tourism planning is emerging. This new perspective is exemplified in the recent work of a number of tourism planners who have advocated models of tourism development that incorporate a focus defined by the principles of sustainability (Murphy 1985, Inskeep 1991, Gunn 1994, Theobald 1994). The common objective of these tourism development models is the maximization of benefits in an equitable fashion, while managing the negative impacts so as to best ensure a healthy natural environment, an acceptable quality of life, and a fair degree of inter-generational equity. The common understanding behind these objectives is that for tourism to be both sustainable and sustaining, it not only has to be economically viable but environmentallly and socially viable as well. Proponents of this sustainability perspective generally advocate a comprehensive and integrated approach to tourism planning and management that enhances the opportunities for local community-level input. Local level tourism planning is becoming recognized as beneficial for local residents, tourists, and tourism operators alike. As Murphy points out in his landmark book *Tourism: A Community Approach*.

One of the key components of this approach is that in serving the needs of the local community so can the needs of the tourist be better met (Cited in Hall, p 85).
Increasingly, attempts have been made by the tourism industry and public planning agencies and operators to recognize and incorporate this new perspective. In recent years, governments have started to adopt a partnership role with the private sector to encourage sustainable tourism development. Recognizing that tourism development is still predominantly driven by private sector interests, many governments have adopted policies and initiatives that enhances the incorporation of local interests into the tourism planning process.

3.5. The Planning Environment of Tourism in Rural Communities

The planning context of tourism development is inherently problematic. Williams and Gill (1994) suggest two factors in this regard that need to be considered in tourism planning. First is the diversity of stakeholders. The range of tourism influences is reflected in the diversity of the stakeholders with interests in tourism planning. Typically these stakeholders include tourists, tourism developers, planners, politicians, environmentalists, regulatory and resource management agencies, and local community members, all with their own perspectives on what tourism development signifies. These often conflicting perspectives have been acknowledged as a contributing factor explaining shortcomings in the implementation process of tourism management policies (Gunn, cited in Burr and Walsh, 1989). This context tends to be accentuated in rural communities where these stakeholders interests are of relatively greater influence.

Secondly, the stage of tourism development must be considered from two perspectives. Consideration must be given to whether one is developing a new tourism community or one is introducing tourism into an existing community. The latter perspective concerns what stage in tourism's evolutionary cycle defines the planning environment. Butler (1980) has developed a model to describe the evolutionary process of tourism's product life cycle. The progression runs from exploration to involvement to development to consolidation to a point of stagnation, at which point the tourism product can undergo one of five transformations: rejuvenation, reduced growth, stabilization, gradual decline, or immediate decline. Different development and planning approaches will be required depending on which of these factors and contexts apply.
3.6. Rural Tourism Resources

It must be emphasized from the outset that tourism is fundamentally resource-based. Although tourism development does not adequately fit into standard industrial classifications, it is similar in some ways to resource dependent industries. While tourism requires the maintenance of a high resource quality, like all other resource-dependent activities it has its associated impacts. "Tourism resources" can be defined as the properties or qualities of an area that provide for tourism activities. In contrast to other resource-dependent industries, tourism resources tend to be more complex and interrelated. In addition to tourism facilities, tourism resources typically include the culture and character of the local community as well as the quality of the surrounding natural environment.

3.7. Tourism Carrying Capacities

Implicit in the concept of sustainable tourism development is the concept of carrying capacities. In a tourism planning context "carrying capacity is a relatively straightforward concept - in simple terms it refers to a point beyond which further levels of visitation or development would lead to an unacceptable deterioration in the physical (and social) environment and the visitor's experience" (Getz, 1983; O'Reilly, 1986, cited in Theobald, 1994, p. 74).

When considering tourism carrying capacities, it should not be anticipated that definitive and clearly discernible limits of a quantifiable nature can always be identified. As each tourism development context will have its own characteristics, values, activities etc., so will each community have its own unique tourism carrying capacities. As a result, tourism carrying capacities are not readily transferable between different communities and contexts. Similarly, carrying capacities are not static within one community or environment. Where a carrying capacity lies is the product of social, environmental and economic characteristics of a community and the nature of the tourism product and its associated impacts. Manipulation or change in any one of these components will in turn likely affect the carrying capacity. Additionally, as these components are inter-related and inter-dependent, changes in one will likewise result in changes in the others. The
complexity of these component relationships and the subtle nature of tourism impacts makes identifying (let alone predetermining) carrying capacity extremely difficult. Unfortunately, where a carrying capacity exists is typically discovered some time after it has been surpassed.

Other obstacles of a more technical nature remain to be considered in adapting a carrying capacity approach to tourism management. There is currently a lack of indicators that accurately reflect and measure all of tourism's impacts. Other problems exist in incorporating various quantitative and qualitative impacts into composite indicators. A less than complete understanding of the relationships between tourism activities and the resultant impacts further complicates the accuracy of establishing impact indicators.

In light of these difficulties, it is perhaps more important to focus on the processes through which these impacts can be managed than to attempt to identify quantifiable carrying capacities as targets for tourism planning. Because of these difficulties, perhaps the most important role for carrying capacities in promoting sustainable development is to provide the parameters within which the negative impacts associated with growth must be maintained. The objective here would to manage impacts within a realm of carrying capacity, with a conscious bias towards conservation in recognition of the incomplete nature of information and management techniques involved.

As a result of the complexities involved in describing and defining tourism, the nature of tourism impacts, the tourism systems and the tourism planning environment, traditional, sectoral management approaches are difficult to apply in the planning and management of tourism development. As the nature of tourism impacts, the planning environment of tourism, and the dynamic and integrated character of the tourism system are not yet fully understood, a precautionary, incremental and iterative development process also seems appropriate. Through such a process planners should be able to gain a fuller understanding of how tourism development is being adopted and adapted locally and to make adjustments as these are needed in a timely manner. Such a process can be found in the growth management approach to development planning.
Chapter 4: Rationale for a Growth Management Approach for Sustainable Tourism Planning in Rural Communities

4.1. The Growth Management Approach to Community Development

The term "growth management" first appeared in planning literature in the mid 1970s. The term as originally used was often synonymous with rigid growth control, especially "no-growth" or "slow-growth" efforts. However, growth management is neither "pro-growth" nor "anti-growth". Rather, growth management seeks to redistribute growth and development in a way that minimizes negative environmental, social and fiscal impacts but not necessarily to reduce the overall amount or rate of growth. Growth management properly defined and understood has at its foundation a commitment to plan carefully for growth so as to achieve a responsible balance between the impacts of development and the interests of the local community and natural environment. The intention of growth management planning is not necessarily to limit the amount of growth, but rather to control the quality of growth that does occur while promoting various community objectives through the development process. Through seeking such a responsible "fit", it has been suggested that growth management is closely linked to, and necessary for, the achievement of "quality of life" concerns (DeGrove, 1991). As an extension of this perspective, growth management planning's ability to guide development towards the cautious and efficient use of resources in achieving community development objectives supports what is necessary to promote sustainable development.

Growth management from a community tourism-development planning perspective asks "How do we effectively manage changes brought on by tourism to achieve community goals?"(Williams and Gill, 1992, p. 213). In answering this question the objectives of tourism growth management planning should provide "a comprehensive, rational, coordinated manner to meet public objectives for balancing economic growth (or diversification) with the protection and preservation of our natural and man-made systems" ( Stein, cited in Williams and Gill 1994).

Traditionally growth management planning has involved the adoption of a regulation in response to a particular problem. This is unfortunate in that by isolating one
element the interdependency of the problem's components is ignored. "What is different about current growth management planning is the integration of traditional, fragmented tools into a comprehensive development program" (Borrows, 1978). Such an integrated and comprehensive approach constitutes what is known as a growth management program. The growth management program itself is a system which consists of a statement of community goals and mission, a comprehensive plan and related refinement plans and the mechanisms employed to achieve community goals, called strategies, tools, and techniques (Beatley, Brower and Brower, 1988).

To be successful a growth management program must fit the particular situation of the community's political, physical, social, historical, and economic needs. As no generic solution is available, the work of professional planners, with the support of concerned community groups and the proponents of development is essential. The growth management program developed should be tailored by the local communities in conjunction with tourism developers in a collaborative manner. If all interested parties are involved, the greater the likelihood that a growth management program will be developed that provides benefits in a sustainable and equitable manner.

4.2. The Growth Management Process

A number of processes for developing, implementing and managing a growth management program have been suggested (Brower et al., 1984, Mantel, Harper and Propst, 1990, Williams and Gill 1992). Most of these include the following steps.

1. Determination of community goals, objectives and policies: Together these form the development vision of the community. This development vision serves as a policy guide for the implementation of land use regulation and other growth management strategies that affect community development.

2. Analysis of the community's existing or de facto growth policies: The de facto growth management system consists of current land-use regulations, zoning bylaws, tax systems etc. that make up the existing system of growth management. Analysis here seeks to determine what influences are currently affecting community form and the consequential direction of growth.
3. Identification of probable impacts from significant development initiatives: This step should be included if a future development proposal is of such a scale or form that its anticipated impacts are significant enough to warrant special consideration. Although such causal relationships are not always clear and fully understood most forms of major development initiatives have some predictable related impacts. Identification of both the positive and negative impacts as well as their probable causes should be noted.

4. Identification of potential growth management tools and techniques: This step involves listing all the tools and techniques available that can be used to influence development impacts in order to achieve each of the community development goals. Existing federal and provincial programs that potentially contribute to the achievement of community development goals and objectives should also be listed at this stage.

5. Adaptation of tools and techniques to the community: This step is conducted to determine which of the previously identified tools and techniques are most practical for local use. This step is of critical importance for if any of the tools or techniques are unacceptable to the community, or beyond the community's capabilities, the system will not be successful.

6. Synthesis of selected tools into a growth management system: This step involves amalgamating and incorporating the selected growth management tools and techniques into existing planning legislation or developing new legislations as required.

7. Continued monitoring, evaluation and refinement to the system: Once the growth management system has been implemented, some means for monitoring and evaluation the system's effectiveness must be developed. With monitoring and evaluation the community can recognize deficiencies in the implementation of a growth management strategy or select new management techniques as required.

Although these steps are described in a sequential fashion, in practice many of these steps overlap and can be undertaken simultaneously (Brower et al. 1984).

4.3. Tools and Techniques of Growth Management

The application level of growth management involves the implementation of various tools and techniques in a strategic manner, with the intent to tailor the pace and
form of growth in accordance with previously identified community development objectives. Growth management tools and techniques are commonly discussed in terms of four categories: development regulation, public spending, land acquisition and taxation. The tools and techniques listed here are not intended to be a complete summation of what is available, rather the intent is to provide insights to some of the various options available.

a) Development Regulation: conventional zoning, exclusive agricultural or non-residential zones, minimum/maximum floor area/lot size, height restrictions, conditional and contractual zoning, adequate public facility ordinances, bonus and incentive zoning, floating zones, performance zoning, planned unit development (PUD), cluster zoning, heritage zoning, zoning for environmentally sensitive areas, subdivision regulation, development agreements, total population provisions, annual permits limits, mandatory low-income housing construction ordinance, regional fair share housing agreements, building codes, municipal enforcement of restrictive covenants, local environmental impacts statement

b) Public spending: capital programming, urban and rural services areas, annexation.

c) Land Acquisition: Fee simple acquisition, less then fee-simple interests acquisition, advance site acquisition, land banking, transfer of development rights.


(Source: adapted from Brower et al., 1984, and Mantell et al., 1989)
(See Appendix 1 for a detailed description of these tools and techniques)

In addition to the more conventional growth management tools and techniques listed above, a number of more tourism specific growth management tools and techniques have been developed and successfully applied. Williams and Gill (1992) discuss these tourism growth management tools and techniques in terms of their being either direct or indirect.
1) Direct Tools and Techniques

Direct growth management tools use a relatively high level of control to regulate development form and tourist behaviour. Here overt restrictions are made on the individual tourist's freedom of choice to prevent the occurrence of negative impacts. Direct tourism growth management tools include:

a) Activity Restriction. Restriction on the types of use, length of stay, timing of activity, etc. are often employed in tourism growth management strategies. Examples include the closure of sites or prohibition of certain activities.

b) Restrictions on Use Intensity. These tools are not used to stop use altogether, but rather to limit use in order to keep impacts within acceptable limits. Growth management strategies for tourism development have seen rationing policies employed to limit the use of specific facilities/sites, or access routes. For example, where there is a heavy tourist demand, reservation systems are often employed.

c) Enforcement Policies. These are somewhat similar to laws as they are enforceable. Penalties are typically put in place to discourage violation of these policies. Included here could be increased surveillance (formal or informal), fines, and formal bylaws.

2) Indirect Tools and Techniques

As opposed to the restrictive nature of direct tools, indirect growth management tools are overtly more permissive. The emphasis of these tools is to modify impacts of development and tourism behaviour using as little control as possible, maintaining a broad freedom of choice for tourism developers and tourists alike. In addition to influencing the form of development, these tools also aim to influence tourist behaviour so as to minimize negative, and enhance positive, impacts. Indirect growth management tools typically fall under one of three categories:

a) Physical Alteration. Design practices can be applied at tourism sites to alter behaviour and lessen tourism impact. Examples include tourism sites designed to funnel tourist traffic towards desired locations, or away from sensitive areas.

b) Information Dispersal. Disseminating information to both tourists and
residents can be effective in minimizing many of the misunderstandings common in tourism encounters. Information dissemination can be used for a number of purposes including: information on appropriate behaviours for tourists, residents and tourism operators. The distribution of low impact activity guidelines or advertisement of alternative tourism locations are also typical applications of this technique.

c) Economic Incentives and Eligibility Requirements. "Local rates" are often established so that locals can partake at subsidized cost, and not feel excluded from tourism activities. Off-season rates can prolong the tourism season, while reducing impacts incurred during peak periods. Eligibility requirements such as proof of expertise or experience can also minimize negative impacts from inappropriate tourist behaviour. Locally offered in-store coupons can also be effective in retaining or increasing local tourism expenditures.

There are thus a variety of tools and techniques available. "Although these tools commonly appear as discrete options, most successful growth management programs in fact combine several separate tools and techniques" (Mantel, Harper and Propst, 1984). Creative selection and development of these tools should reflect the ideals and values of the community, as well as the interests of the tourism developers. "Successful communities continually experiment with adapting various complementary strategies and techniques to meet their particular needs which are continually evolving." (Mantel, Harper and Propst, 1984). For these tools to be most effective, they must have the support and involvement of the local community, as well as those involved in tourism development. It has also been suggested that the effectiveness of these tools will be enhanced if resources and a trained staff are available capable of implementing the tools; if the tool is legally defensible; and if steps are taken to ensure that the tool is applied fairly and predictably (Pivo, 1992).

4.4. Principles of Growth Management for Rural Tourism Development

A synthesis of the sustainable tourism planning and growth management literature reveals a few common themes that provide a set of guiding principles from which growth management planning for rural tourism development should be approached.
a) Public Input and Interactive, Open Dialogue

A fundamental requirement of successful growth management planning is public involvement. Opportunities for public input are an important requirement in all phases of a growth management strategy planning process, including the stages of development, implementation, monitoring and adaptation. This is recognized as being particularly relevant in rural settings. "Where most decisions pertaining to community development readily affect every member of the local populace, interactive planning and decision making is imperative" (Long and Nuckolls, 1994).

Providing opportunities for dialogue between the local community members and developers throughout all stages of the development process not only creates an atmosphere of open communication, but facilitates the emergence of a development plan that meets the needs of both these interests groups in a balanced manner. To accomplish this a transactive planning (Friedman 1973) orientation has been suggested by McLaughlin (cited in Long and Nuckolls, 1994). It is desirable that communication and cooperation exist between residents of the local community, the planning department, and the developers or proponents of growth.

b) Comprehensive and Integrated Planning

A comprehensive perspective is required in acknowledgment of the relationship between growth impacts and all other quality-of-life aspects, both within the community and the surrounding region. A growth management strategy must therefore fit into, and complement, all aspects of the community's development plan in a comprehensive manner. While local decision-making is a central feature of growth management, to be effective it must also be embedded in larger regional or provincial growth management systems. As the application of a growth management strategy often comes down to the use of policy instruments such as covenants and zoning, it is important that the tools that are chosen and designed be integrateable at both the community and regional levels.

c) Iterative and Adaptive Planning

In recognition of the fact that unforeseen circumstances and contingencies will inevitably arise and prevent all forms of planning from being perfectible, the provision for adaptability in growth management planning is essential. Through an iterative process
of reevaluation, growth management strategies can be adapted to adjust to current and emerging future conditions and changing development objectives. Adaptability of a growth management strategy requires monitoring, evaluation and realignment plans, as well as planning structures and processes that permit such adaptations to be made over time.

d) Fiscal Responsibility

Fiscal responsibility recognizes the likely limitations of private and public funding. Examples of public sector fiscal responsibility include the requirement that all governmental agencies (whether local, provincial, or federal) use existing infrastructure to its fullest capacity wherever possible before new development is extended into areas that are essentially undeveloped.

e) Environmental Conservation

Environmental conservation requires that areas of ecological, aesthetic or other resource value should remain undeveloped as long as possible, with certain areas remaining altogether and permanently undeveloped and protected. This principle recognizes the irreplaceability as well as the existence values of particular natural environments.

f) Phasing of Growth

In concert with the preceding principles is the phasing of growth. Phasing of growth allows communities to make rational, well-conceived decisions for cost effective growth that are protective of sensitive resources. Phased growth provides a "feeling out" process for new development directions that can help ease the growing pains of communities in economic transition. The cautious and monitored approach involved in phased growth helps to minimize adverse impacts resulting from hasty development and their costly, retroactive mitigation.

4.5. Rationale for a Growth Management Approach for Sustainable Tourism Planning in Rural Communities

The growth management approach is particularly well suited to facilitating sustainable, tourism-led development in rural communities and is recommended here for
a number of reasons:

1) Phasing of growth is an inherent property of the growth management approach that is particularly well suited to the planning context under consideration here. Given the uncertainties involved in this context, robust planning initiatives would be extremely tenuous. This, in turn, suggests that the development and management of a tourism system requires provisions for adaptability if it is to be sustainable. Here, an incremental development process would appear to be more pragmatic. Such phasing of growth impacts allows intermittent and iterative adjustments to be made so that unanticipated negative impacts can be mitigated in a timely and efficient manner. Likewise, such phasing also allows for unanticipated opportunities can be pursued as they become evident in the development process.

Through the phasing of growth, communities are also afforded "pauses" during the development process in which they can evaluate its success, as well as being given an opportunity to reassess their values and interests in relation to the development initiative. Such pauses provide a "feeling-out" process for new development directions that can help to ease the growing pains of communities in a phase of economic transition. The benefits available through the phasing of growth also include a minimization of potentially adverse impacts resulting from hasty development, including costly retroactive mitigation of the unforeseen impacts. Through on-going monitoring and reevaluation, adjustments can be made in an adaptive manner, through refinement plans, as insights will be gained as to how a particular tourism system influences its hosting environment's current circumstances and carrying capacity.

2) The growth management approach is strongly influenced by the importance of environmental conservation. Environmental conservation requires that areas of ecological, aesthetic or other resource value should remain undeveloped as long as possible, with certain areas remaining altogether and permanently undeveloped and protected. This principle recognizes the irreplaceability as well as the existence values, of particular natural environments. Environmental conservation is also particularly relevant in a rural tourism planning context given the critical importance of maintaining a high quality resource base and maximizing the potential for future development opportunities.
3) The purpose and direction of a growth management program is locally determined. The growth management approach is inherently community based, relying on locally established development goals to direct planning initiatives. As residents of rural communities make up part of the tourism resource, their input is not only ethical but capable of generating development and policy options that are innovative and effective as well as locally appropriate.

4) As opposed to more formalized and structured approaches, the growth management approach provides a flexible and adaptable "tool box" of instruments, strategies, approaches, and techniques. A growth management strategy can be adapted to capitalize on local conditions and expertise. Likewise, elements of successful experiences of similar projects in other communities can be imported.

5) The growth management approach provides a strategic, directive pursuit of previously identified objectives and goals. This strategic planning perspective can readily incorporate community development and sustainability objectives in designing a growth management strategy. A growth management strategy can be focussed on both short-term growth issues, as well as on the need to support long-term objectives.

6) The growth management approach can readily be incorporated into existing planning structures. There is a strong reliance on zoning and other existing planning instruments that make the growth management approach readily applicable within a range of planning legislation.

4.6. Concluding Comments

Growth management approaches for tourism development have been utilized in a number of different contexts around the world including Bali, the European Alps, as well as in various parts of Canada. In the majority of cases, however, tourism growth management strategies have been applied retroactively in response to negative impacts incurred as a result of unplanned or poorly planned tourism developments. Growth management strategies have proven to be particularly effective, however, when employed in a proactive way. Most of these proactive tourism growth management strategies are based on the experiences of other communities working to mitigate the negative effects
of rapid and poorly planned growth.

The following chapter will illustrate how growth management approach to tourism development planning has evolved and been applied in the community of Whistler, British Columbia. This case study serves as an excellent example of how tourism can be managed so as to serve the needs and demands of various interest groups, from community residents and visitors to commercial tourism operators. The Whistler project has particular relevance for the focus of this study -- Squamish's consideration of a ski resort development at Brohm Ridge -- as it exists within the same regional district and provides similar tourism attractions.
Tourism planning in mountain environments involves certain distinguishing environmental, economic and social conditions and characteristics that differentiate it from other forms of tourism planning. The first section of this chapter will provide a generic overview of these conditions and characteristics as well as highlighting some of the typical impacts of mountain resort development. The remainder of the chapter will provide a case study of how a growth management strategy has evolved and been applied at the mountain resort community of Whistler, B.C. The intention is to see what lessons from Whistler can be extrapolated and utilized in development of a proactive growth management strategy for the community of Squamish.

5.1. Characteristics of Mountain Resort Development

The physical characteristics and climatic conditions of mountain environments present particular obstacles to tourism development planning. Making the often harsh climates hospitable to tourists on a year-round basis requires significant investment of energy and capital for infrastructure development alone. Limiting physical factors require that shelter, transportation, heat, light, and water generally need to be imported from outside regions in order to support tourism activities. Williams and Gill (1992), note that "in the early stages of resort development a high investment in tourism facilities and infrastructure is necessary in order to reach a 'critical mass' of attractions, services, facilities and visitors whereby the community can sustain a tourism economy" (1992, p. 38).

Along with large capital investments, mountain resort development initiatives frequently involve considerable risk. Consequently, encouraging investment is often the primary objective in the early stages of development. In some cases the interests of resort developers have been elevated above those of local residents in order to attract or retain the developers' interest and investment. While such actions may be justifiable in the short term from an economic perspective, possible severe negative repercussions of these
impacts can have long-lasting effects that later will require major efforts to rectify, often involving substantial costs with limited effectiveness.

Mountain resort developments are typically of a scale that significantly influences social and economic characteristics of the host communities. Generally, these influences tend to be greater when mountain resort developments are incorporated into communities with narrowly defined economies and no previous tourism experience.

5.2. Common Impacts of Mountain Resort Development:
Implications for Growth Management Strategies

Each tourism development context will involve different conditions and planning considerations, requiring different growth management strategies. A review of typical tourism impacts in mountain resort environments, however, does reveal some commonalities. The list of impacts discussed in this section is not intended to be complete, but seeks to offer insights into some of the more common features of mountain tourism development impacts.

a) Traffic

An increase in traffic as a result of tourism development can have particularly significant impacts in mountain communities for several reasons. The narrow geographical confines of mountain valleys often make it difficult to accommodate the infrastructure requirements for a large numbers of cars. Impacts such as congestion, pedestrian-vehicle conflicts, and parking area sprawl are often conspicuous outcomes. Environmentally, automobile traffic is also a source of many problems in mountain settings.

Accommodating automobiles promotes the expansion of hard surfaces that, in addition to being aesthetically displeasing, interrupt flows of water, often resulting in excessive erosion and flooding. Mountain valleys are prone to temperature inversions in which automobile emissions and other atmospheric pollution become trapped, resulting in serious human and environmental impacts. Noise pollution from vehicles disturbs wildlife and the serenity of the local community. In addition to car traffic, tourism development may also result in an increase in heavy vehicle traffic needed to supply the
b) Housing

Expansion of housing requirements for both tourists and tourism employees is another common aspect of tourism development in mountain regions. In many mountain valleys, space for housing is limited. When housing is forced to higher elevations, due to limited valley space or for more advantageous views, the natural aesthetics of the area will often be very negatively changed. Inappropriate housing design can dramatically alter the "feel" of an area. Increased levels of housing can impose stress on a community's sewage, power and other service infrastructure.

The increased demand for housing influences the price of both real estate and of rental housing in the area. Where housing is not made available for employees, illegal and often unsafe alternatives are often sought. Williams and Gill (1994) note that "While the cost of providing employee housing acts as a disincentive to early investors, failure to do so has created serious problems in many communities once land values have increased (i.e. developers and local businesses have to pay disproportionately high rates to help rectify employee housing shortages)" (Williams and Gill, 1994, p. 218).

c) Natural Environment

While tourism development has the potential to protect and conserve natural areas, many other tourism impacts on the environment tend to be negative. Forcing more people into an area with natural geographic and environmental limitations can have significant impacts on the local environment. Due to harsh climatic conditions, alpine ecosystems are among the most fragile. Alpine soils tend to be thin, fragile and susceptible to erosion. Any disturbance or damage can take decades or centuries to heal.

Mountain tourism developments typically require high per-capita inputs of resources such as energy and water. These resources tend to be limited in supply in alpine areas, particularly in certain seasons. Often what is available is already in use by local plant and animal communities. Redirecting such resources for human use can result in displacement or elimination of plants and wildlife. Trees, fauna, and wetland reserves are often removed for building sites, ski runs and golf courses, resulting in the elimination of wildlife habitat. If not properly treated, sewage from resorts can pollute rivers and
streams, injuring fish and wildlife and creating health hazards. In situations where water is removed from streams to serve tourism demands, problems associated with the sewage assimilating capacities of these streams are often exacerbated.

d) **Social and Economic Impacts**

As mountain communities tend to be developed in somewhat isolated situations, many are close knit communities with a special identity of independence and self-sufficiency. An increase in the number of people in a small and often relatively isolated community can result in considerable social impacts. Crowding of public areas and facilities affects the everyday activities of local residents, often alienating them in their own community. The different atmosphere created by tourism development can adversely affect a host community's collective identity.

The economic structures of these communities tend to be narrowly defined as either agricultural or single industry communities. In situations where tourism development is not carefully managed, tourism growth can result in the disintegration of traditional economies and societies, and the cultural traditions that hold them in place. "Tragedy of the commons" scenarios can also prevail, as an unsustainable level of residents rush to cash in on tourism that utilizes common property resources.

e) **Fiscal and Financial Impacts**

The large capital investment and operating requirements of mountain resort development can often exceed the limited public funding available in smaller mountain communities. Consequently, tourism development in mountain areas is often financed privately by "outside" interests. As a result, much of the revenue generated through these developments is not retained in the host community. Furthermore, public funds are often required for the mitigation of unaccounted negative impacts of tourism development. Public expenditures to cover these impacts generally involve the removal or reduction of funding for other community services. In the worst case scenario tourism development can actually result in an economic liability for a host community.

In light of the diversity and complexity of these impacts and the environmental, economic and social characteristics of mountain communities, managed tourism growth in mountain environments is essential. As summarized by Williams and Gill (1994),
Mountains are by their very nature limiting environments. In a physical sense alpine areas are constrained by the availability of suitable land for buildings and infrastructure, challenging climatic conditions, fragile alpine and wetland ecosystems and slope instability. In a social/psychological context these environments are limited by the expectations of both tourists and residents concerning the quality of their experience and the mountain environment. That there are limits to growth is inherently recognized (Williams and Gill, 1994, p. 212).

Many mountain tourism communities are adopting growth management approaches for tourism development. Examples from the United States include Boulder and Breckenridge in Colorado, and Stowe in Vermont. A somewhat longer history of tourism growth management planning for mountain resort communities exists in Europe, where communities such as St. Gallen, Switzerland, and Serfaus, Austria, have employed growth management strategies to deal with traffic, seasonality issues and housing. Perhaps the preeminent example of tourism growth management planning for mountain resort communities is to be found in British Columbia. The remainder of this chapter will look at the development of the growth management strategy at the Mountain Resort Municipality of Whistler as providing an especially pertinent case study.

5.3. The History of Tourism Development at Whistler

Originally called Alta Lake, the area now known as Whistler started out as a fishing retreat in 1914. The resort was initially accessible only by train or horseback. Soon mining and logging joined summer recreation as components of the area's economy. The Whistler valley area was transformed from a summer into a winter recreation area in 1965 with the opening of serviced ski runs at Whistler Mountain. Recreation-led growth accelerated with the paving of the road from Vancouver in 1969. Despite attempts made in the late 1960s and early 1970s by the Squamish-Lillooet Regional District to remedy the much needed planning controls, resource use conflicts and uncontrolled growth characterized Whistler during this period (Inskeep, 1991).

A major development transition occurred when Whistler was incorporated as a Resort Municipality and granted special provincial planning powers by the Resort Municipality of Whistler Act 1975 (RMW, 1986). The origins of this Act began with a
study commissioned by the provincial government in 1975 to evaluate the overall potential for ski resort development in this area. The report, prepared by Sno-engineering (1974), concluded that the area had the potential to become a major destination resort capable of attracting skiers from around the world. The report also recommended that a local government and town site be established for Whistler, and that a community development study be prepared. As a result of this study, the Resort Municipality of Whistler Act (RMW Act) was drafted by the Ministry of Municipal Affairs and passed into law in 1975. The explicit intentions of the Act were to facilitate the development of a tourism/recreation-based community at Whistler. In addition to the typical powers granted to municipalities under the Municipal Act, the RMW Act granted the newly created Resort Municipality of Whistler (RMW) additional regulatory and discretionary powers seen as necessary in developing a resort community.

The RMW completed their first Official Community Plan (OCP) in 1976. The plan stated that:

...recreation is recognized as the resort Municipality of Whistler's prime resource.... the Community Plan should provide for the best use of this resource for the most people at the least cost. Costs here include social, environmental and dollar costs to both the local community and the province.
(Resort Municipality of Whistler 1976, p. 2)

The policy objectives of this OCP were clearly recreation-focused, with an emphasis on controlled development and careful resource management. Maintaining the water quality in the development area was identified early as an essential priority, and a sewage collection and treatment system was installed in 1975. By 1978, the planning objectives of the Municipality began to change from those of a "regional ski area" to those of a "major destination resort "(Webster, 1987). In order to accomplish this development objective, a new image and different facilities were required. While there were some scattered and disorganized settlements in the area at this time, a new village center was envisioned to become the new town center of a tourism-based community. In response to these new planning objectives, the site for a new village center was announced. In 1978, the Whistler Land Corporation was incorporated through an
amendment to the RMW Act as a wholly-owned subsidiary of the Resort Municipality of Whistler with a specific mandate to develop and regulate the town-site.

In 1979, the Whistler Resort Association (WRA) was formed by the RMW as a private sector tourism organization comprised of owners, agents of owners, and occupants of resort land. The planning mandate of the WRA at this time was to promote Whistler through marketing efforts as a world class, international ski destination.

By 1980, the village center and ski facilities were fully operational, seven years before any formal growth management strategy was to be employed. In the interim, the resort and community of Whistler experienced extremely rapid development. During this period, the emphasis of development objectives often favored the WRA and their promotion of the area as an international ski destination. This shift in planning objectives away from community needs was exemplified by the adaptation of what had previously been designed as a community center into a convention center (Mellville, 1988).

During the 1980s there was continuing conflict between tourism and logging interests. However, the early success of the ski developments at Whistler had secured tourism and recreation as the primary economic activity to be promoted in the area. Tourism-led growth accelerated through this period. As ski developments expanded, infrastructure was upgraded to support this expanded and predicted future growth. In the mid 1980s, after achieving international acclaim and status by successfully hosting the World Cup of Skiing, the path of development shifted again, this time towards developing Whistler into a "four-season" resort. A professional golf course designed by Arnold Palmer opened in 1983 and the Whistler Convention Center opened in 1986 were among the first facilities to be developed to implement this change.

Today, it can be argued that Whistler has successfully met the development objective of becoming a successful four-season resort. There are now three signature golf courses, a tennis center, and numerous hiking and biking trails. Other summer tourism activities available at Whistler include inline skating, kayaking, whitewater rafting, horseback riding, paragliding, and a relaxed resort atmosphere conducive to passive pursuits such as shopping and "people watching". Figures compiled by the Whistler Resort Association show that hotel and condominium occupancy totalled 61,000 room
nights in July 1995, and 66,000 in August, a 15% increase in summer visits over the previous year. Only in January, February and March were higher numbers recorded, at 68,000, 71,000, and 75,000 room-nights respectively. In addition to successfully establishing itself as a summer tourism sector, Whistler has also secured its status as a major winter tourism resort. Whistler/Blackcomb was recently rated by *Snow Country* magazine as the Top Ski Resort in North America for the fourth consecutive year, and this year *Ski* magazine selected Whistler as the best resort on the continent. These figures provide clear evidence that the area is being successfully marketed around the world as a both a summer and a winter tourism destination.

There is also evidence that, in conjunction with successful tourism promotion, the RMW has maintained a high standard of living for the local community residents. Although the relationship between the resort and the community is dynamic and tends both to flow back and forth in favor of one or another set of interests, they more often complement each other, as a relatively high level of community development has resulted in a pattern of carefully managed, tourism-led growth.

5.4. Growth Management Planning at Whistler

Prior to the development of a growth management policy the primary goal guiding development in Whistler was to achieve a level of development that would secure the municipality's position in the world-class resort market. During this period, priority was placed on attracting investment to develop infrastructure and facilities to serve visitor needs. As it became evident that the resort of Whistler was attaining these initial development objectives, it was recognized that in order to sustain this success planning efforts would be needed to provide a suitable quality of life for the community's residents, as well as maintaining a high quality natural resource base. To address these concerns, a growth management approach to community development planning was adopted in 1987. The remainder of this section will review the legislative and institutional structures within which Whistler's growth management strategy has been developed as well as the tools and techniques used in its implementation.
a) The Resort Municipality of Whistler Act

The RMW was born from the provincial Resort Municipality of Whistler Act 1975. Under the RMW Act local government is entitled to the same powers as other municipalities in the province under the Municipal Act, as well as additional discretionary and taxing powers seen as necessary in fostering the development of a successful resort community at Whistler. These powers allow the RMW to effectively control development on all land parcels and provide development rights only on projects that meet specifications established by the municipality. Local authorities, through the planning department and related services, strictly control development through the use of building permits, zoning, and provisions of utilities, all in conformance with the Official Community Plan and the community's Comprehensive Development Plan.

b) The Whistler Resort Association

Drawing on the experiences of similar organizations in Snowmass and Vail, the RMW formed the Whistler Resort Association (WRA) in 1979 "to promote, facilitate, and encourage the development, maintenance and operation of the resort land" (Resort Municipality of Whistler). In 1980, the RMW sub-divided its land area into Resort Lands and the Resort Municipality of Whistler. The WRA was granted the requisite powers through an amendment of the RMW Act to acquire and dispose of real and personal property on resort lands. As the marketing agent for the resort community, the primary objective of the WRA at this time was to market Whistler as a year-round international resort area. Membership in the WRA is compulsory for all businesses operating on resort lands. The WRA is also partially funded through a 2% hotel tax established by the RMW.

By separating the interests of the community from those of the resort of Whistler, the RMW was freed from the responsibilities of promotion and marketing of the resort. This distancing has been effective in that it recognizes the need for differentiating the interests of the commercial operators from those of the community residents. The WRA and the RMW often wrestle with this intrinsic mutual dependency related to tourism development and quality of community life. Targeted community development within the municipality is dependent on successful tourism promotion. Simultaneously, successful tourism promotion is reliant on the support of the community in delivering a high quality
experience for visitors (Williams, Hainsworth and Dossa, 1995). While these two groups are strongly mutually-dependent upon the "success" of the other, the direction of their development "visions" are not always in accord. A dynamic balance has thus existed as the RMW and the WRA seek to define themselves and direct development towards mutually desirable ends.

c) Planning

The role of comprehensive planning has been a central feature of Whistler's development since the first Comprehensive Development Plan (CDP) in 1978. Under the provisions of the RMW Act, the Municipality's elected council is required to create a CDP. As a product of community and commercial interests, the CDP acts as the strategic planning guide for development at Whistler. The adoption of a growth management approach has been recognized as fundamental in attaining both the resort and the community development objectives. As stated in the municipality's literature:

"The quality of the natural environment, the caliber of the resort experience, and the livability of the community are all dependent on the management of growth and development: how much, what type, in what location and over what time period. (The Whistler CDP 1988)

The CDP is a council policy statement and in itself has no legislative powers. However, the contents of the CDP do provide the direction upon which the Official Community Plan (OCP) is based. The OCP serves as a directive statement with which all bylaws must be in accordance, thus providing the legal framework for implementing planning objectives in accordance with the development vision set out in the CDP. The role and importance of the OCP in planning for Whistler is summarized by the municipality as follows:

"The Official Community Plan articulates the policies and objectives outlining the kind of resort and community Whistler aspires to. The Plan summarizes and coordinates all major Municipal policies and initiatives in guiding and regulating development, providing services, offering a high quality resort experience and maintaining a high quality of life in the community." (Resort Municipality of Whistler, 1988).

The OCPs are up-dated every five years through a process based on research, analysis, and active community involvement. The OCPs have varied over the years
reflecting the development concerns of the municipality. Of the four OCPs completed to date the two most recent have increasingly reflected the concerns of the community of Whistler as opposed to the second OCP's strong bias in favor of the goals of the resort developers.

d) Build Out Limits

The growth management strategy employed at Whistler is developed around setting limits on the rate of growth and the eventual size of the community. These limits are intended to be reflective of what the community deems desirable given the community's development goals. This philosophy involves a careful assessment of the ramifications of current growth before committing to further expansion (Williams and Gill, 1992).

The primary unit used as a measure of growth employed in development control at Whistler is expressed in terms of "Bed Units". As a measure of accommodation capacity, one bed unit provides sleeping quarters for one person, whether in a hotel, a leased condominium or a private residence. The premise behind using bed units as a development measure is that the environment has a natural limit in its capacity to accommodate the impacts of human accommodation. Expressed in bed units, this capacity in turn sets a ceiling for growth known as the "Build Out Limit". This build out limit was set roughly according to the community's desired density of development, and the estimated sewage assimilating capacity of the area. The build out limit is set in each OCP. The original limit was set at 30,000 bed units. Subsequent improvements in both treatment and discharge per unit levels have permitted this limit to be expanded several times since then, and it now is set at 52,000. The current number of beds available today is 33,000, or around 66% of this limit.

It has recently been estimated that, with improvements, the sewage treatment capacity for the area can provide for approximately 70,000 bed units. Consequently, the RMW has been under strong pressure from development interests lobbying for an increase of the current build out limit.

e) Design Guidelines

The planning provisions granted under the RMW Act allow the RMW to subject
all building development applications to design guidelines. The municipality has
developed a design blueprint for the entire village centre that controls the floor area of the
buildings, their height, shape, size, footprint, area, orientation, landscaping, and
appearance. The RMW has established these guidelines and exercises the degree of
control it does for specific reasons, including: to maintain light and solar access, to ensure
architectural compatibility, to ensure new buildings do not block views, to promote
energy conservation, and to ensure that landscaping is natural and compatible with the
surrounding environment. These guidelines also seek to maximize efficient use of space,
while minimizing the amount of resources required for the construction and operation of
buildings. A mixed use approach has been adopted to help maximize the efficient use of
space, while contributing a "community feel" to the development. As a result of these
guidelines, as much natural vegetation as possible has been left intact.

Design guidelines have also been developed for the Village Center area. Most
buildings in the village have at least one common wall with adjacent structures. The
street level is retail commercial, with upper stories dedicated to housing. No commercial
development is allowed outside the village or the secondary commercial center in nearby
Whistler Creek. In order to minimize negative impacts, a significant amount of open
space and numerous trails have been incorporated into the village design. The Village
Center, with its large underground parking garage, was designed for pedestrian use only
and is located within walking distance of the ski areas hotels, shops, restaurants and a
pedestrian mall.

Private residents outside the village center must also meet specific design criteria
pertaining to building style, height, material, colour, parking provisions, etc. While these
guidelines are not specifically legislated, all development permits must pass the approval
of the Design Review Board. A number of additional zoning and other bylaw
mechanisms have been employed by the RMW to maintain and protect environmental
quality. For example, to protect delicate environments and impact on views, development
is restricted to lands below 750 meters.

f) Monitoring and Evaluation

A comprehensive monitoring program has been established at Whistler to
evaluate current growth management strategies, and to assess the sustainability of the resort. The program annually compiles information on a number of key indicators. The intent is to provide advanced warning of undesirable trends, and to allow priorities to be identified and actions taken.

The monitoring program uses historic data and is regularly updated with new information to help establish acceptable limits for these specific factors. As part of the growth management strategy, this monitoring and evaluation program will be used in conjunction with a detailed land use inventory and capability study. Together, these components form the information base from which opportunities and constraints for future development will be assessed. A more recent adaptation of the OCP calls for a more detailed evaluation of development proposals based on the comprehensive monitoring system. The results of the new monitoring program are also intended to be used at the community's annual meetings to allow the community as a whole to help set policy direction.

g) Community Facility Issues

Development of community facilities are regarded as a necessity for providing and safeguarding an enhanced quality of life for residents, in an effort to offset the negative impacts associated with increased growth. Through the special taxing powers provided under the RMW Act, the RMW imposes charges on various forms of developments. Moreover, developers of hotels and other properties are frequently required to provide extractions, or in-kind facilities or services, to secure the rights to develop in Whistler. These development charges have afforded the opportunity for the municipality to create community facilities in excess of those of many other communities of a similar size in the province. A Community Facilities Requirement study was recently completed to identify community needs. As a result of this study, a recreation centre with an ice arena, a swimming pool and community meeting rooms have been provided, along with medical, police, and library facilities. Other community facilities being planned include an elementary school, and a new secondary school, which will be equipped with a commercial kitchen, and which will also be used to provide adult education and training for workers.
h) Housing Issues

As the community has evolved from an area of second homes to a sustained year-round community and resort, significant housing shortages have occurred. A number of strategies have been employed to help alleviate low-cost, or employee, housing shortages. As part of the development approval process, commercial developers are now required (by covenant) to provide lower-income/employee housing, or funds towards that end to the Resort Municipality of Whistler. The RMW has established the Whistler Valley Housing Society to manage and monitor housing rental use in the area.

i) Traffic

Free transit is provided throughout the core area of the village by the urban transit system. Additional satellite parking facilities along the highway at the outskirts of town are currently being considered that would be served by public transportation. The impact of proposed developments on highway access is considered during the approval process, with preference given to proposals that avoid adding to peak traffic flows (Williams and Gill, 1994). Traffic volumes and patterns are monitored as an input into determining the amount and type of development that can be accommodated.

j) Operational Characteristics

Another opportunity for controlling the volume and form of growth is available through municipal control of the water supply, as ninety percent of the water supply system is municipally owned. The Municipality has instituted a water conservation program, implemented principally through building codes, educational programs and technical assistance. Water quality is maintained through a sewage treatment system that provides primary, secondary and tertiary treatment. The municipality also provides recreation, fire, park maintenance, and bylaw enforcement services to the community.

k) Public Participation

As noted in the CDP, the community's approach to managing growth and development is a reflection of the unique characteristics of the community at a particular time. As a result, public input is regularly solicited through workshops and community surveys. Public participation in the planning process was enhanced through experiments to complement the more traditional public meetings. In 1990, an alternative forum for
public involvement in the form of "living room" group meetings was used to encourage community building and elicit response to planning proposals (Williams and Gill, 1994). Not only has growth management been a mainstay in Whistler's planning process, it has established itself as a community priority. At the 1994 annual community meeting a principal topic of discussion was raising the 52,000 bed unit limit. The community decided to retain the cap at its current level, indicating a determined commitment to conserve the quality of the community's environment (Williams and Gill, 1994).

As the community has grown, so have the number and strength of interest groups concerned about the direction of growth. The difficulty of reaching a consensus among these groups has likewise become more intractable. The recently established Whistler Symposium, an annual community meeting, has been promoted in an effort to share understandings and to seek agreements between Whistler's various interest groups.

5.5. Conclusions

Almost ten years of steady tourism growth had passed before Whistler's growth management program was formally developed and operative. Consequently, these strategies had to deal with the impacts that had already incurred from previous development approaches that had not explicitly addressed the community or environmental needs. The experiences of Aspen Colorado served as a model for the growth management strategies developed at Whistler. Contemporary planning principles supplemented the Aspen model, such as the inclusion of public participation in the planning processes, and additional environmental and social impact assessments. The outcome of this approach was a more comprehensive and adaptive system of growth management (Williams and Gill, 1992). As with Aspen, growth management at Whistler has focussed on establishing a high quality of life for community residents and a high caliber experience for visitors, along with a strong focus on maintaining the integrity of the natural and built environments. Over it's one decade of existence, Whistler's growth management program has developed in an evolutionary manner, adapting so as to address both unanticipated development impacts and emerging community interests. This adaptability, the utilization of a variety of tools and techniques, and high degree of local
participation, are hallmarks of the success of Whistler's experience with growth management.

By most measures, the municipality has been successful, both financially and in preserving environmental and social values and the quality of life in the community. Despite its successes, concerns such as traffic congestion in the village centre and the shortage of affordable housing remain as controversial development issues. There are also some local groups that feel tourism in Whistler has already reached, or exceeded, its maximum acceptable limit, or carrying capacity. The basis for their concerns include high coliform levels in local water, and loss of wetlands to development projects such as housing and golf course construction.

The success and rapid growth of Whistler has also created both positive and negative impacts beyond the jurisdiction of its growth management program. Whistler's success has contributed to an expansion of tourism and recreation facilities in the region. For example, the community of Pemberton has recently established a second professional golf course in an effort to capitalize on Whistler's promotion as a summer golf resort. Although Whistler has arguably done a creditable job in managing growth at the municipal level, it has failed to recognize some important regional implications. For example, in maximizing local assimilation capacity of the Cheakamus River, Whistler has limited additional downstream assimilation capacity, in effect reducing the potential for down-stream growth. Other negative externalities associated with Whistler's success that have been off-loaded onto other communities in the region are of a more direct nature. Communities along the "Sea to Sky" corridor have had to deal with increased traffic volumes on Highway 99, already considered to be seriously above-capacity at many times of the year. Success at Whistler has also been partially responsible for increasing housing prices in the region.

Population growth at Whistler has been rapid, averaging over 14% per year with construction increasing at 10% per year over the last decade. Strict land-use regulations and design guidelines at Whistler have not deterred growth, but rather have facilitated development of a high overall quality and involving the most expensive building permits in Canada. Whistler's development has reached a stage of maturity such that many of the
community's earlier development objectives have been largely achieved. Growth is expected to continue, with the size of the commercial center expected to double in the next 10 years (Tourism and the Environment Report, 1995). As the municipality is now seeking to move into a more stable phase of development, managing rapid and continuous growth remains Whistler's most important planning issue. (Williams and Gill, 1992).
Chapter 6. Opportunities for Tourism Growth Management Planning in Squamish

The primary objective of this thesis is to suggest how a growth management approach can help guide tourism development (more specifically the development of a ski resort at Brohm Ridge) towards fulfilling community development objectives in a sustainable manner for the community of Squamish. This concluding chapter will start with a description of the process and product of the District of Squamish Tourism Development Plan, 1994. The chapter will then look at what growth management tools and techniques might help in the achievement of the development objectives identified in this plan and how a growth management program might be developed. Lessons learned from the Whistler case study will be used to draw conclusions.

6.1. The District of Squamish Tourism Development Plan 1994

Having recognized the potential for tourism development in its community, the District of Squamish sought a "coordinated, community-based approach to tourism" development. In an effort to involve all levels of the community in addressing tourism issues, a workshop/symposium on tourism development was held in Squamish on January 20, 1993. This workshop/symposium was organized by the Ministry of Tourism (Community Tourism Action Program), the District of Squamish, the Howe Sound Community Futures Society, the Sea to Sky Economic Development Commission, and the Squamish and Howe Sound Chamber of Commerce. During this workshop, more than 100 people from the community worked to generate a list of assets, concerns and development opportunities in regard to tourism and its relationship to their community.

From this workshop, the Citizen's Tourism Advisory Committee (CTAC) was formed consisting of volunteers from a cross-section of the community. The Howe Sound Community Futures Society was selected as the lead agency to oversee this initiative. The general public was encouraged to participate in this plan's development to ensure as representative a product as possible. In addition to the workshop/symposium, public participation was promoted through working advisory committees and an open house. A draft was distributed to other community groups that did not sit on the Advisory or Coordinating Committees to elicit their opinions and expertise. The product of this
process was the District of Squamish Tourism Development Plan, 1994. The intention of this plan is to help guide tourism development toward fulfilling community development objectives.

a) Community Values

In creating a development vision, the CTAC sought first to identify the values and attributes the community wished to retain. This was done by building a consensus around the answers to two questions. The first question sought to elicit perceived attributes to be enhanced or retained during development:

*What do Squamish residents want to maintain or preserve?*

Answers generated by this question included: a) Heritage: logging, fishing, farming, mining, Squamish Nation, recreation and rail; b) Small-town (open, friendly) atmosphere: small-town architecture; c) Diversity: cultural, economic, and demographic; d) Minimal transportation disruptions; e) Healthy community and life style, and a healthy natural environment.

To elicit community values on particular features to be promoted through development, another question was asked:

*What do Squamish residents want to enhance or encourage?*

Answers generated included: a) Growth of the arts, heritage and culture; b) Hospitality to tourists; c) Safe and secure community; d) Higher standards of tourism services; e) Public participation in planning; f) Compatible development; g) Communication and awareness of the tourism strengths and assets; h) Community identity and pride; i) Transportation alternatives; j) Cultural, economic, demographic and recreational diversity, and; k) Healthy lifestyles. (source: The District of Squamish Tourism Development Plan, 1994)

b) Community Goals

The values elicited from the previous answers were reformulated into eight Common Community Goals, and were ranked as follows:

1. Preserve heritage resources: logging, mining, fishing, farming, rail, Squamish Nation, recreation and natural.
2. Encourage diversity in: economy, industry, business, education, culture, demography, recreation, arts, and transportation.
3. Retain small-town atmosphere by encouraging compatible development, architecture and transportation; by promoting open, friendly down to earth hospitality; and by minimizing local disruptions.

4. Encourage community identity, pride and awareness of local diversity through public participation, education and communication.

5. Encourage high standards of tourism services.

6. Encourage a safe and secure environment for tourists.

7. Encourage a healthy community.

8. Encourage healthy lifestyles.

(source: The District of Squamish Tourism Development Plan, 1994)

c) Vision Statement

After meeting for three months in separate committees (Marketing, Promotion, and Community Education/Infrastructure, Services, and Attractions), the volunteers came together to jointly work on a tourism development vision statement. While the potential for tourism development was widely acknowledged by all participants, their opinions as to what form of development should take place was varied greatly. The final consensus reads as follows:

**Build and strengthen a diverse, four season tourism sector while maintaining our small town character and preserving our heritage.**

(The District of Squamish Tourism Development Plan, 1994)

Through this process, the District of Squamish Tourism Development Plan was successful in initiating community-wide discussions on the topic of tourism development, and what this will involve from the community. During this process, a sub-committee of the CTAC was formed to look specifically at opportunities for developing more winter tourism activity. The "Winter Tourism Development Committee" planning focus was to reduce the seasonallity of a tourism system that is currently dominated by summer activities. One of the more influential options considered by this group, in terms of potential impacts, is the development of a ski resort at Brohm Ridge.
6.2. Brohm Ridge

The proposal of a ski resort at Brohm Ridge, 22 km. north of the community, and 35 km. south of Whistler and approximately a one-hour drive from Vancouver is currently the most significant tourism development initiative in Squamish. Brohm Ridge is an area of approximately 2600 hectares adjacent to Mt. Garibaldi Park. In addition to downhill skiing and snowmobiling, the area is also suitable for other tourism-recreation activities such as cross country skiing, hiking and mountain biking.

The first attempt to establish a ski area development on Brohm Ridge was initiated in 1969. This effort included the installation of ski tow towers and several small buildings. The project failed due to financial backing problems. Since the original development, a number of expression of interests have been received by the Province, but none has proceeded to the request stage of a Formal Proposal. In June of 1995, the Ministry of Environment, Lands and Parks issued a Call for Expression of Interest for Mountain Resort Development at Brohm Ridge. The deadline for this call was August 5, 1995. At the point of writing, the province is considering proposals from two private sector developers and a decision is imminent.

6.3. Planning Context

A few important considerations help define the planning context for the development of a ski resort at Brohm Ridge. The concept is essentially a resort-based tourism initiative. However, this initiative has to be incorporated into the structures and atmosphere of an existing community with an established economic and social system that already contains a low-impact, environmentally-based tourism component. Within the challenges of capitalizing on this winter tourism development opportunity is the challenge of maintaining the integrity of the larger community and its other tourism assets. Depending on the scale and form of the ski development at Brohm Ridge, Squamish will become either a mountain resort community, or a community with a mountain resort. From the community's articulated development vision and objectives, it would appear that the latter is preferable to most local residents.

The regional context needs to be appreciated in order to fully understand what is
involved in tourism development planning for Squamish. Of the nine provincial tourism regions, the Southwest Region of British Columbia has experienced the most rapid growth over the last ten years. This growth has occurred primarily in Vancouver and Whistler, with Squamish remaining in the shadow of these two tourism growth poles. However, as Squamish is located between the two, it is in a favourable position to capitalize on tourism growth in this region.

6.4. Opportunities for Developing a Growth Management Strategy

This section will address how Squamish might proceed in the creation of a growth management program given its current situation. The process outlined in section 4.3 will provide the framework for this discussion. Analysis will be conducted within a general context of tourism-led development, with specific reference to a ski resort development at Brohm Ridge and the nature of the probable impacts of this form of development in acknowledgement of the discussion in section 5.2. The three principal community development objectives embedded in the Tourism Development Vision Statement will provide the focus for this exercise:

1) Building and strengthening a diverse, four season tourism sector;
2) Maintaining the present small town character of the area; and
3) Preserving the area’s heritage.

6.4.1 Identification of Potential Growth Management Tools and Techniques

For each of these three aspects of the Vision Statement a number of growth management tools and techniques will be suggested. The following suggestions are not intended to be a complete list; rather, the intent is to display some of the many options that are potentially available.

1) The broad cultural diversity of the community is acknowledged here. Opportunities for increasing diversity have been classified into two categories: a) the education sector (formal, informal, artistic, recreation, and natural history), and b) the economic sector. The main objective articulated is “to make more use of the diverse
natural and cultural resources" (District of Squamish, 1994). Diversity in the education sector could be facilitated with the provision of community facilities through ordinances, taxing programs, bonus or incentive zoning, extractions or impact fees. The establishment of education programs would also support this objective. Training could be made available so that local people can acquire the qualifications necessary to take advantage of the employment opportunities created through tourism development. Information services that provide education regarding employment/entrepreneurial opportunities associated with the resort's development would also be beneficial. Strengthening economic diversity might be encouraged through a point system to reward development that contributes to off or multi-season activities or the provision of long-term, steady employment opportunities. Local hiring standards regulations, and establishment of a small-retail floating zone could also be established to help serve this objective.

A ski resort development at Brohm Ridge would in and of itself contribute significantly to the area's economic diversity. The greatest concern here perhaps is the potential of the resort's domination of the regional economy to the extent that it limits other tourism development initiatives. In light of this possibility, an integrated tourism development plan that recognizes and protects the interests of other tourism opportunities could prove prudent.

2) The small-town character is seen as both a tourism asset and an intrinsic value of the community. In order to retain this valued character, the District of Squamish Tourism Development Plan suggests: a) compatible development be encouraged in architecture, transportation, and industry, b) promotion of friendly, down-to-earth hospitality and c) efforts to minimize local disruptions.

A number of land-use regulations could be employed to support compatible forms of development. The establishment of heritage areas, or a floating heritage zone, with specific development approval requirements, can help protect the community's small town character. The creation of special development districts, and local improvement areas can also help facilitate compatible types of development. Other zoning ordinances potentially available here include the establishment of designated use areas, permissible densities, minimum lot sizes, and maximum floor area requirements, and height
restrictions. Design guidelines and review procedures could help ensure that development form is compatible with community character in terms of size, use of materials, architectural design, use of signs, landscaping and similar design aspects. Compatibility standards can be built into the development code to ensure that all new buildings, and changes to the exterior of existing buildings, complement the desired small town character. Development performance requirements and a supplemental point systems could also be employed to reward development that is compatible with the community character, as well as to enhance other attributes that support this development objective. Regulation of commercial land-use can be useful in protecting community character and promoting "friendly, down to earth hospitality". Altering existing zoning bylaws, for example, to permit bed and breakfast operations, could be one way in which this development goal would be facilitated; the intent would be to avoid an atmosphere of extreme commercialization, while protecting and capitalizing on the small town character.

Capital programming and moratoria on development permits or utility connections can be effective techniques in limiting the pace of growth to ensure that the desired community character is not lost "overnight".

In order to minimize local disruptions, alternative transportation routes and forms could be promoted through development extractions, impact fees, subdivision regulations, incentive or performance zoning measures. Land use regulations can be established to create designated tourism areas that isolate restaurants, lounges, and tourism activity centers that may otherwise cause disruptions to the local community. Local surveys conducted at regular intervals can also be used to monitor community reaction to tourism-induced changes.

3) Squamish's heritage is appreciated as being multi-dimensional. Included in the community's heritage are: a) the natural endowments, b) the First Nation's culture, c) the historical recreational, railroad and forestry background of the community. A desire to "build on the past, to protect and enhance what is already here" has been articulated as a favoured course for development. (District of Squamish Tourism Development Plan, 1994)
Some land-use regulation tools and techniques that could aid in preserving the natural heritage include: zoning for environmentally important and sensitive areas, including overlay zones for habitat protection (i.e., trees and wetlands), establishment of locally-customized environmental impact assessments, and specific environmental protection regulations such as pollution controls. Conditional or contractual zoning, performance zoning and a related point system to promote resource conservation through habitat preservation, recycling, low resource consumption, and utilization of local materials are other means through which the natural environment could be protected during development. Here absolute and relative standards could be set for air and water quality and conservation (i.e. low flush toilets), as well as for other desired criteria. PUD can be used effectively in concentrating development impacts in appropriate areas, thereby reducing "sprawling" impacts of development. Likewise, urban growth boundaries promote compact and contiguous forms of growth, while controlling the rate and form of growth. Land banking, transferable development rights, and advance site acquisition are all effective land acquisition techniques that operate to protect natural environments.

A design approval process for the resort's Master Plan can be used in preserving all aspects of Squamish's heritage. A First Nation theme could be promoted within the development approval process. A cultural/crafts center that accents the community's heritage could be provided through public facility provision ordinances, extractions, impact fees or fees in lieu.

During this stage, the focus of the investigation should be to explore a broad range of opportunities, and need not involve any attempt to analyse social, political, economic or environmental characteristics of the planning context. Although some of the tools reviewed at this stage may initially seem beyond the capabilities of the community, local adaptation may convert what can appear as exotic techniques into becoming a key element in the growth management system (Gleeson et al., cited in Brower et al., 1984).

6.4.2. Adoption of Tools and Techniques to the Community

Once a range of growth management tools and techniques have been identified,
the community must attempt to limit its considerations to those tools that are compatible with the local situation. In choosing the tools and techniques that are most appropriate Brower et al. (1984) suggested that the community review each one in relation to several factors:

1) Technical and administrative expertise available: Smaller communities need to consider what local planning resources are available. Management techniques that require extensive planning studies, technologically complex environmental monitoring and design evaluation may prove ineffective due to a lack of adequate local resources.

2) Local political situation: Community residents are sometimes suspicious of growth management planning, as it is seen as a threat to private property rights. However, while a majority of a community may accept a particular tool or program, opposition by special interest groups may impede implementation. Such misunderstandings and conflicts can, however, be avoided if citizens are involved in the process of developing the growth management system.

3) Legal status of the tool or technique: While current enabling legislation may give clear authority for the use of some tools, others that are of uncertain legal standing should be held in reserve until new enabling legislation is adopted.

4) The community's growth situation: The characteristics of existing growth identified in the assessment of the de facto growth management system along with the community's development goals and objectives, provide the context of the community's current growth situation. These conditions need to be considered collectively in the selection of tools and techniques from the inventory.

5) The community's fiscal reserves: Different tools have different demands on public funds. The cost of using a particular tool needs to be considered both in terms of its effectiveness and the availability of public funds required to support its implementation.

Other criteria suggested for evaluating tools and techniques include: consistency with management objectives, ease of implementation, ability to achieve management objectives, effects on tourists, effects on residents and potential tradeoffs or problems created (Williams and Gill, 1992).
Variation and adaptation of tools and techniques not initially viewed as acceptable should be considered in an attempt to modify them to meet locally acceptable standards. Again community workshops are an excellent means of acquiring this information. Tools seen as unacceptable at this stage should be put on reserve in case they are needed for future consideration.

The product of this process should be a "short list" of the tools most likely to promote community development objectives in a manner that is compatible with the community's desires and capabilities. In most cases, this list will contain several appropriate tools and techniques for achieving each of the community development objectives (Brower et. al. 1984).

6.4.3. Synthesis of Selected Tools into a Growth Management System

Once the short list of growth management tools and techniques has been developed, the next step involves incorporating them into an effective and efficient management system. The first step of this process should be to review the currently available opportunities for implementing these tools and techniques. Adaptations to the de facto growth management system which accent contributing or mitigate detracting influences should be considered. Modifications to the existing system are generally easier, less disruptive, more readily acceptable, and more cost-efficient than developing and implementing new planning legislation. The capacity for incorporating growth management tools and techniques into existing federal and provincial programs should also be considered at this stage. Utilization of a provincial or federal program as a vehicle for implementing elements of a growth management strategy may preempt the need for local action. Currently available programs applicable to this context include: the Commercial Alpine Ski Policy, the Growth Strategies Act, the Federal and Provincial Environmental Assessment Acts, and the Mountain Resort Association Act.

After these existing programs have been considered, attention should be shifted to incorporating the previously identified short list of growth management tools and techniques into the planning system. Systems with fewer tools to coordinate tend to be easier to administer and are often more effective. Therefore, tools that lend themselves to
accomplishing several goals should be preferred over "single goal tools". For example, bonus or incentive zoning ordinances can be designed to address a number of development concerns under one piece of legislation. However, some single goal tools (e.g. mandatory low-income housing provisions) may be required to address specific development goals. Consideration should be paid to using tools and techniques that supplement and complement each other. While such complementary tools can be helpful in system development, discretion should be exercised when using in combination those techniques that affect the same characteristic of growth in the same manner as this may obscure and confound system monitoring.

6.4.4. Implementing, Monitoring, Evaluation and Refinement of the Growth Management System

The phasing of the adoption of a growth management system is also an important consideration. Growth management systems are frequently adopted incrementally, focussing on just a few aspects of growth initially, and adding other techniques later. Such an incremental process can provide insights into how each component influences the operation and outcomes of the system. Additionally, excessive planning (over-planning) can be avoided.

In formulating and implementing a growth management system, a community should consider both the effectiveness and efficiency of its operation. The main question in gauging effectiveness is whether or not the system will achieve community goals and development objectives. The standard for system efficiency varies among communities, and may involve a review of the cost of implementation, the time required for development approval under the system, and the number of personnel required for implementation.

Although the planning staff will have some expertise in predicting the effectiveness and efficiency of a particular combination of techniques, the actual selection of a growth management system should be done through the political process. Public consultation and participation at this stage cannot only yield innovative suggestions, but will also add credibility to the process from the perspective of the local
community.

Once a community has implemented the growth management system, it must develop some means for monitoring the system's effectiveness. In its simplest form, this evaluation may involve periodically determining whether or not the community's goals are being achieved. Where resources are available, a more in-depth evaluation should also be considered. The collection and analysis of various data including housing prices, traffic flows, resident and tourist satisfaction and crime statistics can be used to monitor and evaluate the effectiveness of the growth management program.

A system may fail to produce the desired results due to misjudgements in system development, or because the pressures for development and community goals change over time. With appropriate means of monitoring and evaluation, the community can recognize system deficiencies and either make adjustments or select new management techniques.

6.5. Conclusions

Based of a review of the literature pertaining to sustainable tourism development and growth management, the Whistler case study, and taking into consideration Squamish's historical development and current situation, several tentative recommendations appear worthy of consideration in planning for the future.

In developing a tourism growth management program, Squamish is fortunate in being able to benefit from the experiences of its regional neighbour, Whistler. Squamish shares certain similarities with Whistler that make comparisons valid and informative, including the role of tourism as a major agent of growth and change, and the availability of similar planning legislation. However, important differences also exist. While Whistler was developed specifically as a resort community some twenty years ago, Squamish has existed for over one hundred years as a community strongly dependent upon forestry and transportation-related activities. As such, Squamish can be expected to have a different tourism development vision than that which characterizes Whistler. The growth management strategies to be developed in Squamish must reflect the particular concerns, values, opportunities, and resources of this community. It is therefore important to
emphasize that decisions made in Whistler's development may not be altogether appropriate for the community of Squamish. However, having said this, there are components of Whistler's growth management program that are worthy of consideration by Squamish. These include:

1) Strong emphasis should be placed on public participation in the planning process. In light of Squamish's need to define its own tourism product, local participation in the development planning process should continue to be encouraged. It is very important that the momentum of the Citizens Tourism Advisory Committee and the Winter Tourism Development Committee be maintained. Opportunities for other community groups to become involved in the development, implementation, and management of the growth management program should be promoted. In addition to enhancing opportunities to develop innovative growth management alternatives, such groups provide an invaluable grass-roots perspective that helps to ensure growth management strategies that accurately and fully reflect local needs and concerns. These groups can also aid in disseminating information regarding the benefits of, and the preparedness requirements for, tourism-initiated growth.

Public forums, open houses, workshops, and educational campaigns are effective ways to keep local citizens informed and comfortable working and living with tourism-based development, and the process of growth management planning. It would also prove prudent to take systematic steps to involve development interests in the planning process. An open, public process can be effective in reconciling the array of differing opinions on development forms and directions within the community, while adding political credibility to the whole planning process. This is critical in a growth management context where local landowners and developers may view their property rights as being infringed upon. While potentially difficult and time consuming, public involvement and consultation are capable of producing many important benefits, and are indeed a prerequisite of effective growth management planning.

2) Explicit mention should be made in local planning legislation of tourism's role in community development. If tourism is to be employed as a vehicle for community development, its role in the community's future deserves explicit mention in both the
Comprehensive Development Plans and the Official Community Plans. While not being legally binding documents, these plans do serve to influence zoning, bylaw ordinances, and other local planning legislation. Once given explicit recognition, not only will tourism development be better served, but its ability to serve the community will be enhanced and better recognized as beneficial. Through such measures, a clearer understanding can be created throughout the community regarding the benefits and requirements of tourism-led development.

3) A comprehensive and integrated approach should be taken to managing tourism. Resort development at Brohm Ridge will require a significant amount of infrastructure development. As such, due consideration must be given to this new development in relation to current planning concerns. For example, a recently conducted survey rated expanding or providing alternative transportation to Highway 99 as the community's highest development concern (Gill and Read, 1996). If this suggestion were to be implemented, the inevitable increase in traffic volume resulting from a resort development at Brohm Ridge would have to be dealt with in a proactive manner. The impacts of a resort development at Brohm Ridge should also be considered in relation to broader community development objectives. Past development planning has permitted extensive commercial sprawl along Highway 99. Measures to counter the proliferation of this form of development should be put into effect as it severely detracts from the small-town character and the scenic resources of the community, directly contradicting the sentiments expressed in the community's development vision. Without controls on this form of commercial development, congestion will be further exacerbated with the introduction of a major commercial venture at Brohm Ridge. Ideally, a tourism growth management program should be developed in conjunction with a comprehensive, master growth management program. This master growth management program would act as the primary policy document guiding and balancing tourism growth and development in Squamish, and its relationship with other development "engines".

4) An effective monitoring program should be designed and implemented. Despite its relatively late development, Whistler intends to rely heavily on the results of its monitoring program in the future adjustment and adaptations of its growth
management program. In a context in which new and influential forms of development are being introduced, monitoring, in conjunction with proactive planning measures, is perhaps the most important aspect of a growth management program. A monitoring system that provides accurate and reflective information on development impacts enhances opportunities for timely and effective adjustments and adaptations to the growth management strategy. The extent of such a monitoring program would be largely determined by the amount of locally available resources. To offset public spending on such a system, NGOs with local concerns, local business operators, community and special interest groups could be asked to voluntarily provide and update data for this system. A recently conducted community survey, focusing on residents' quality of life concerns and opinions on development options (Read and Gill, 1996), could provide important baseline data needed for a tourism growth management monitoring program.

In spite of its many successes, there are elements of Whistler's growth management program that have not met the initial expectations and consequently also deserve consideration.

5) Provision should be made for adequate, low-income housing. Whistler's requirement for the provision of employee housing has proven to be insufficient, as adequate low/moderate income housing is still in short supply at certain times of the year. Although Squamish's Tourism development Plan did not mention affordable housing as a development goal, this issue did rank high as a community concern in a recent survey (Read and Gill, 1996). Given the low-moderate incomes of many tourism related jobs, set within a broader context of economic transition that could entail short-term increases in unemployment, more aggressive provisions for affordable housing at Squamish deserves serious consideration.

6) A Regional Tourism Development Strategy should be negotiated. Another shortcoming of Whistler's growth management strategy is its failure to anticipate and address growth related impacts outside its jurisdictional boundaries. Such impacts provide strong evidence that effective management of large-scale tourism development requires a comprehensive, regional approach to growth management planning. Such concerns could potentially be addressed through the province's new Growth Strategies
Act. The requirement of this Act that the OCPs of all municipalities within a region be in accord with regional development objectives could help to limit the off-loading of negative externalities by one community on others.

Another strategy that would address these needs could be the creation of a Regional Tourism Development Strategy to facilitate the coordination of a regional tourism development vision. As the communities in the region are likely to have different values, objectives and expectations regarding tourism's role in development, it is important to realize that different forms and levels of tourism development may be expected. In light of these differences, a Regional Tourism Development Strategy could encourage a regionally diverse, and locally-appropriate, regional tourism system. Such an initiative would require the participation and cooperation of all interested municipalities within the region, and should be supported by the Ministry of Tourism, Small Business and Culture, the Ministry of Municipal Affairs and/or the Ministry of Economic Development. Such a strategy could utilize Whistler's drawing power to create a diversity of tourism development opportunities within the region. Other communities in the region could fill these development niches in a manner compatible with local concerns and development objectives, promoting a regional tourism vision, while avoiding having to compete directly with Whistler. A coordinated regional tourism development and growth management strategy could go a long way in enhancing both the sustainability and profitability of tourism in the region, and for each of its constituent municipalities.

It is clear that there are both advantages and disadvantages associated with Squamish's current situation in regard to its future development options. On the potentially negative side, rapid growth of any form will invariably be accompanied by changes in the make-up of a small community. It is therefore inevitable that Squamish will have to endure certain growing pains associated with incorporating substantial tourism growth into its economic, social, and natural environments. There exists in Squamish a diverse range of stakeholders, with differing opinions and interests in the community's development path. The diversity of interests among these stakeholders must be recognized if tourism promotion is not to occur at an unacceptable cost to any particular local group. As there are indications that some residents hold the view that
tourism is responsible for significant negative changes in their community, the
development planning process should continue and improve its community-based
approach in order to minimize or mitigate socially disruptive conflicts or
misunderstandings.

On the positive side, the opportunity exists for Squamish to develop a relatively
proactive tourism growth management strategy. This is particularly advantageous as
growth management strategies have proven to be more effective when employed in
anticipation of, rather than in reaction to, rapid growth and development. The efforts of
the Community Tourism Advisory Committee have gone a long way in establishing
community development goals and objectives, and a vision statement upon which a
growth management program can be developed. The long history of tourism in Squamish
suggests that tourism development may provide a familiar and attractive avenue of future
development for local residents. Findings from the previously mentioned survey support
many key components of the development approach that has been advocated here. The
survey results indicate a favourable attitude toward controlled growth, toward tourism as
a vehicle for development in general, and, more specifically, toward the development of a
ski resort at Brohm Ridge.

The District of Squamish appears poised to take advantage of the growing tourism
reputation of the Sea-to-Sky corridor, including its own fascinating history and its superb
natural location. With the establishment of a growth management program at this
opportune time, Squamish residents can maximize the potential to achieve their
development objectives in a sustainable manner through implementing an appropriate
tourism growth management strategy.

6.6. A Concluding Note

At the time of writing, two development proposals for a ski resort development at
Brohm Ridge are under consideration. Without knowing the details of the successful
proposal, robust recommendations are difficult to make. Once this decision has been
made, the successful development proposal would have to pass at least a Provincial, and
more than likely, a Federal Environmental Impact Assessment process. Through such a
process, many local concerns regarding environmental, social and economic impacts can be addressed. The results of this process could alter many aspects of the context within which growth management planning would then have to take place.

A second issue unresolved at the time of writing, with major implications on the concluding chapter, is whether or not the Brohm Ridge area would be consolidated into the jurisdictional boundaries of the Municipality of Squamish. Such an extension would be considered by Squamish if a cost-benefit analysis indicates it to be economically favourable to do so. If this extension were to take place, the Master Plan of any development initiative at Brohm Ridge would be subject to the District of Squamish's planning legislation. Consequently, whether or not the resort will be included within the municipal boundaries would significantly affect the growth management tools and techniques potentially available.

To be consistent with the community-based approach currently advocated for sustainable tourism development, and the efforts undertaken to date by the community of Squamish, this thesis would have benefited from a local workshop. Here a more in-depth understanding of local conditions, understandings, opinions and ideas regarding the alternative growth management tools and techniques could have been solicited. Additionally, in a workshop component, a visioning process could potentially yield important and interesting information relating to features of a locally-desirable form of tourism development. Without this information, the author was obligated to take a somewhat tenuous stance in offering suggestions and making recommendations regarding the interests and preferences of the community of Squamish.
Appendix 1 Growth Management Tools and Techniques

1) Development Regulations:

i) Zoning: The most commonly used device for regulating land use. Numerous permutations exist, some of the more commonly applied techniques include: conventional zoning ordinances, conditional and contractual zoning, development agreements, bonus and incentive zoning, exclusive agricultural or non-residential zones, performance zoning, zoning for maximum/minimum floor areas/lot size, floating zones, heritage areas, environmentally sensitive areas, and other special planning areas.

ii) Height Restrictions: Limiting building heights has been effective in preserving the natural aesthetics and natural resources in mountain communities.

iii) Cluster zoning and Planned Unit Development (PUD): The intent of these techniques is to allow flexible design and clustering of development in higher densities on the most appropriate portion of land, thus providing open space in the rest. Both are effective in preventing low density sprawl.

iv) Subdivision Regulations: Subdivision regulations are effective means through which to provide facilities and to ensure quality in development. Regulations commonly apply to quality of infrastructure, adequacy of services and facilities, design standards and other quality of development issues.

v) Development Extractions and Impact Fees: These are mechanism through which communities require the dedication of land or facilities (or payment in lieu of these provision) as a condition of development approval. Extraction can require developers to provide on-site infrastructures such as roads, green space, sewer lines etc.. Fees in lieu are typically ear marked for the creation of these requirements on other parcels of land. Impact fees are imposes on developers to compensate for development-related impacts through providing affordable housing, public parks, transportation and sewer improvements.

vi) Adequate Public Facilities Ordinances: Such ordinances would subject development approval to the provision of public services for the proposed development that comply with preset standards.
vii) Mandatory Low-Income Housing Ordinances: Under such an ordinance developers are required to include a predetermined number of subsidized or lower cost housing in their development projects. In addition to providing housing for people of lower incomes such ordinances help to promote the establishment of mixed income neighbourhoods.

viii) Total Population Provisions, Annual Permits Restrictions or Mortitoria: These techniques can substantially restrict development. Total population provisions limit the number of people or houses based on an estimation of an area's capacity to accommodate projected growth. Through limiting or halting development permits a community can effectively control the pace of growth.

ix) Regional Fair Share Housing Agreements: This technique involves a region's local governments to voluntarily supply lower-income housing required in an equitable manner. As many land use and environmental regulations may have the effect of reducing the supply of lower income housing such agreements are often required to prevent discrimination against people in these groups.

x) Building Codes and Design Guidelines: Building codes and design guidelines are an effective means through which to control the quality and form of development. It is essential that standards and guidelines be explicit and available so that developers can be fully informed before they submit their applications for approval.

xi) Restrictive Covenants: Restrictive covenants are private agreements between a landowner and a person to whom the land is sold or transferred. Generally restrictive covenants create negative easements governing how the land may be used. Restrictive covenants are generally used to govern the appearance and other aspects of construction quality. This technique could be used to prevent environmental damage if landowners agree to covenants restricting the uses of their property or incorporating design or simplified impacts statements.

2) Public Spending

Fiscal measures can have significant impacts on land use and development. Some of the more common techniques here include:
i) capital improvement programming: The provision of local services is an important growth management tool. A community's decision to expand services strongly influences the feasibility of development projects. How much improvement spending scheduled over a period of time will in turn influence the amount of development permitted.

ii) Urban and Rural Services Areas: As an effort to generate taxes in a more equitable fashion in the face of growth, a municipality may levy higher taxes on areas slated to receive infrastructure or services. This technique distributes the costs of services only to those who receive the services. A municipality's decisions as to where to rezone for urban services permits control over the timing of growth in those areas.

iii) Annexation: Annexation is a means through which a municipality increases its land area and is usually considered when an area perceives the need for improved governmental services, including planning and land-use controls. Annexation can be used as a bargaining tool in order to extract agreements from developers to provide required facilities or services.

3) Land Acquisition

Public bodies (either local governments or land trusts) acquire land through purchase or condemnation. Land acquisition can be in the form of fee simple acquisition or the acquisition of easements.

i) Fee simple acquisition involves the full "bundle" of property rights and the greatest level of control.

ii) Less than fee simple easements are distinct property rights that can be acquired independently from the "bundle". The acquisition of selective easements can produce the same results as fee simple acquisition at a lower cost.

iii) Advance Site Acquisition: Advance site acquisition involves the purchase of land for public facilities in advance of actual need. This technique has enabled local governments to delay rising land prices caused by inflation and to preempt private interests from developing sites better suited for public use. Although the primary intent of such programs is to reduce the costs of acquiring land in the future, advance acquisition
may also affect the development options of a particular site and it may influence the
direction of growth as proposed facilities often attract adjacent development.

iv) Land Banking: Land Banking for the purpose of managing growth involves
the public acquisition of land for eventual use by a local government or for resale in order
to influence both the character and timing of growth. By imposing restrictions on the land
it resells, a land bank can affect the density and quantity of growth and the major types of
development. Similarly, use restrictions can limit the development options of a particular
site or assure that new development has the attributes or quality level that locality deemed
appropriate, especially effective in imposing environmental and aesthetic standards.

v) Transfer of development rights: The right to develop land is one of the
"bundle" of property rights. If the owner wants to forgo the right to develop a parcel of
land in the future, this right can be transferred or sold on the open market to an interest
desiring increased development on another parcel of land.

4) Taxing Policies

i) Special assessment: A method of raising revenue in which all or part of the cost
of a facility is charged to the land owner who derives special benefit from the
development initiative, i.e. road improvements, sewers, lighting.

ii) Preferential Assessment: Here property taxes are based on the use of a parcel
of land rather than its estimated market value. Reduced property taxes can reduce the
economic pressure to sell in a market of escalating property values.

iii) Land Gains Taxation: A land gains tax applies to gains realized from the sale
of land that the seller held for a short period of time. The land gains tax serves two
related growth management objectives. First it tends to make land speculation much less
attractive, and thus may slow the rate of development. Second the tax removes the
injustice of individuals benefitting at the expense of the community. The land gains tax
distributes to the community the increase in property value attributed to the community.

iv) Improvement districts: Land owners within a special (i.e., historic) district are
levied taxes which are used to make public investments that benefit the district.

(Source: adapted from Brower et al., 1984, and Mantell et al., 1989)
Bibliography


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