POLICIES TO MITIGATE THE SOCIAL PROBLEMS CAUSED
BY THE TOURIST INDUSTRY: APPLICATION TO PENTICTON

By

DAVID BRIAN ANDERSON

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David Anderson

Department of Community and Regional Planning
The University of British Columbia
1956 Main Mall
Vancouver, Canada
V6T 1Y3

Date February 27, 1987
ABSTRACT

Tourism has excellent potential for further development in the provincial, national and world economies. However, tourist activity also has the potential to be a socially disruptive force.

The purpose of this study is to find workable policies which planners can employ to mitigate the social problems caused by tourism in small cities. Such policies will allow growth to take place in the tourism sector of the economy while reducing resident intolerance or hostility. Before policies can be developed, it must be established that such problems exist and may become critical.

This thesis examines the tourist industry and its benefits and costs. The literature makes it clear that there are social costs involved in tourism and also social limits to tourism development. A guideline for evaluating the social performance of tourism development is used.

"Saturation" is defined as the level of tourism activity at which the residents in general feel that any
further increase in tourist numbers and tourist-related development would be undesirable. The social saturation level is the point at which the number of tourists causes residents to become intolerant to tourists.

Since the measurements of saturation found in the literature are unsatisfactory, vague, and not operationally defined, this study uses indicators that suggest capacity is being approached. These indicators are based on questions for evaluating the social performance of tourism development found in the literature, in particular the specific areas of concern which Young (1973) thought led to "psychological saturation" of residents.

Chapter 4 discusses the literature on policies for mitigating the adverse social effects of tourism. These effects result from inadequate facilities and services, undesirable environmental characteristics, low levels of public acceptance of tourism, and little planning to attract or expand tourism.

Once these general strategies have been listed, they are applied to Penticton, British Columbia. Penticton has had a lengthy history as a tourist destination and today the tourist industry is the mainstay of the local economy.
According to D'Amore (1980), the major prospect for future economic development in Penticton is the further expansion of a year-round tourist trade. Yet, by examining the factors listed by Young (1973) leading to saturation, and reviewing the question list from Chapter 2, it would appear Penticton is approaching saturation.

Chapter 6 applies the strategies developed in Chapter 4 to the situation in Penticton. The policies for Penticton include:

- the addition of extra services and facilities to service a much larger population during tourist seasons;

- improvement of beach areas;

- separation of tourist areas and development from the mainstream of the city;

- better aesthetic standards in building architecture;

- public relations programs to convince residents that tourism is beneficial to them and their city;

- more public input at all planning stages for tourism policy and development;

- special projects funded by tourism revenue;

- greater expansion of the tourist season into the fall, winter, and spring months to better utilize existing facilities and gain wider acceptance of the industry as a year-round job producer.
There has been an implicit assumption that the ends of tourists and investors are more important than public welfare. Recently, various forces have been acting to place increasing importance on environmental goals instead of strictly economic goals. If future tourism development is to be both economically and socially viable, it must be intentionally planned.

Considering the vital nature of the industry to cities like Penticton and the equally vital need to prevent the development of negative resident-visitor interactions, methods have been investigated to maintain a balance between the impacts of tourism and the ability of locals to deal with these impacts.

In conclusion it was decided that plans should be consistent with the existing situation in terms of traveller facilities (supply), of the market (demand), and of social attitudes. Plans should have some regard to saturation levels beyond which the realization of economic, social or environmental objectives would be jeopardized.

Further work needs to be done in several areas:

- finding ways of funding tourist industry research;
- organizing tourist industry offices in tourist areas to centralize all aspects of development, promotion and planning;

- designing a resident survey to accurately appraise resident attitudes;

- improving methodology to increase local participation in the planning process of all aspects of the tourist industry.

Planning for tourism can be done by private entrepreneurs by means of facility development and promotion; by government planning, such as land use controls, public developments, and overall promotion of a destination; or by a combination of government agencies and private enterprise.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

| Abstract | ................................................................. | ii |
| Table of Contents | ............................................................. | vii |
| List of Tables | ............................................................ | xi |
| List of Figures | ............................................................. | xii |

## Chapter 1 Introduction .................................................. 1

1.1 Purpose ................................................................. 5
1.2 The Context ........................................................... 6
1.3 Justification .......................................................... 9
1.3.1 Realworld ......................................................... 9
1.3.2 Academic ......................................................... 10
1.3.3 Public Policy ................................................... 17
1.4 Methodology .......................................................... 18
1.4.1 Macro-philosophy .............................................. 18
1.4.2 Techniques ....................................................... 19
1.5 Scope and Limitations ............................................. 21
1.6 Organization of the Thesis ..................................... 23
Summary ................................................................. 24

## Chapter 2 Tourism ......................................................... 26

2.1 Definition ............................................................ 26
4.2.1 Policies to Mitigate Problems of Inadequate Facilities and Services .......... 99

4.2.2 Policies to Mitigate Problems of Undesirable Environmental Characteristics ... 106

4.2.3 Policies to Increase Public Acceptance ..................... 109

4.2.4 Policies to Attract or Expand Tourism ...................... 119

Summary ............................................................... 124

Chapter 5 Tourism in Penticton ................................. 126

5.1 Location ....................................................... 126

5.2 Brief History .................................................. 130

5.3 Economy ....................................................... 133

5.4 Penticton's Population ......................................... 135

5.5 Origin of Tourists ............................................. 137

5.6 Community Plan ................................................ 137

5.7 Adverse Social Effects of Tourism in Penticton .............. 141

5.7.1 Land Use .................................................... 142

5.7.2 Employment Levels ......................................... 147

5.7.3 Urban Infrastructure ........................................ 149

A. Police and Fire Service ....... 149
B. Hospital and Health Services ... 155
C. Water Supply and Environmental Quality ............... 156
D. Transportation ....................... 158

5.7.4 Special Population Groups .......... 159
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.7.5 Psychological Saturation</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.8 Penticton - Approaching Saturation</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.8.1 Review of the &quot;Questions for Evaluating Social Performance&quot;</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 6 Policies to Mitigate the Adverse Social Effects of Tourism in Penticton</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1 Policies to Mitigate Problems of Inadequate Facilities and Services</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2 Policies to Mitigate Undesirable Environmental Characteristics</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3 Policies to Increase Public Acceptance</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4 Policies to Attract or Expand Tourism</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 7 Summary &amp; Conclusions</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1 Suggestions for Further Investigation</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Accommodation Figures for 1953, 1974, and 1986</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Labour Force Statistics</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Police Incidents For Penticton: 1985 - June, 1986</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Fire Department Calls, 1985</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Hypothetical Evolution of a Tourist Area</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mexico sets out to woo tourists</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tourist Lure Set Abroad</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>New tourism image needed, Murta says</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Poor tourist planning cited</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Tourist industry needs planning</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Bennett touts tourist trade over forestry as job creator</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Thesis Conceptualization</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Letter from Hawaii's Reef Hotels</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Major Population Centres Within a 400 Mile Radius of Penticton</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Penticton's Location Relative to the Rest of British Columbia</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Penticton</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Community Plan of Penticton</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Tourist Resources of Penticton</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Mob hurls rocks, bottles at Mounties in Penticton</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Rioting youths stone traffic</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Riot torn city to get tough</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>160 jailed in Penticton</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Skaha Area Improvements</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Locations of Needed Improvements in Penticton</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Tourism essential city business</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Tourism revenue reached $2.3 billion in British Columbia in 1984, and is the third largest revenue generating industry in British Columbia (Province of British Columbia, British Columbia: Facts and Statistics, 1986).

The tourist industry in British Columbia has excellent potential for further development, especially considering the quality and variety of natural and man-made attractions that are available. Tourism is considered clean and renewable compared to other resource-based industries. However, tourist activity has the potential to be a socially disruptive force. Wherever tourism develops, local residents may be expected to exhibit a certain sensitivity to the pace and scale of tourist activity. As tourism grows, resident-visitor tensions or conflicts may develop. Eventually, tourism may level off and decline if tourists perceive a deterioration of the experience. Tourism is an industry which uses the community as a resource, sells it as a product, and, in the process, affects the lives of everyone.
The saturation level in the growth of the tourist industry occurs when the costs of tourism to the residents outweigh the benefits. Exceeding this level will have detrimental effects upon the host population, the visitor population and even upon the industry in general, since an unfriendly atmosphere will reduce an area's attractiveness. The concept of saturation, to be discussed in more detail later, is important because it identifies social limits to tourism development. At, or before this limit, steps are needed to control tourism. Of course, if the industry in any area could be developed knowing the conditions which could lead to saturation, then an orderly and healthy growth would be more possible.

Visitors initially come to an area in small numbers, restricted by lack of access, facilities, and knowledge about the area. As facilities are provided and awareness grows, visitor numbers will increase. With marketing, information dissemination, and further facility provision, the area's popularity will grow rapidly. Eventually, the rate of increase in visitor numbers will decline as levels of saturation are reached. These levels can be identified in terms of environmental factors (e.g., transportation, accommodation, other services), or of social factors (e.g., crowding, resentment by the local population). As the
attractiveness of the area declines relative to other areas, because of overuse and the impacts of visitors, the actual number of visitors may also eventually decline (Butler, 1978), as shown in Figure 1.

FIGURE 1: HYPOTHETICAL EVOLUTION OF A TOURIST AREA

The tourist industry can introduce other problems that stem from the very nature of the industry: it has a short, two month season with a peak summer period which prevents fullest utilization of capital investments; it provides mostly supplementary employment which is intermittent and of
low pay; it is sensitive to the ups and downs of the continent's economy and even to weather; and its returns are uncertain.

The problems are more noticeable in small towns where tourists significantly increase the population size at any time of the year. In a city the size of Victoria, large numbers of visitors can be easily absorbed into the city. The largest concentration of hotel rooms in the world is in New York City; tourism is a sizable part of the city's economy (Lundberg, 1976, 150). Yet, there are never more tourists in New York City than residents, so the residents never get that "over-run" feeling.

One city in British Columbia where the saturation level might be near is in Penticton. Situated in the heart of the Okanagan Valley, with a population of about twenty-three thousand persons, it has had a lengthy history as a tourist destination area. Today, the city is economically dependent upon the industry. The inflow of visitors has had numerous effects upon resident lifestyle and there is increasing evidence that the saturation level is near.
1.1 Purpose

The overall purpose of this study is to find workable policies which planners can employ to mitigate (make less severe) the social problems caused by tourism in small cities. These policies will then be illustrated using the specific situation in Penticton.

Put simply, the underlying thesis is:

Social problems can be caused by the tourist industry. What are the problems and how can they be mitigated?

These problems are felt by tourists, residents, investors, and government officials (elected officials, planners, policy makers). The main concern of this thesis is to develop a thriving tourist industry that will cause the least discomfort to residents, with a maximum economic gain and healthy growth potential.

To develop policies to stop the problems from occurring or increasing, discussion will include the following:

a) the concept of "tourism", including costs, benefits, and their measurement;

b) methods employed to deal with the social problems caused by tourism in other areas of the world;

c) the concept of "saturation." This is important because saturation is what must be avoided. It will be explored as a measurement of the upper limits of local tolerance
to tourism.

An understanding of Penticton as a city in a social, economic and environmental sense is essential to this study. It is in this way that the saturation point for the citizens of Penticton can be understood, since it is a combination of factors which leads to the limits of local tolerance to tourism. Once it has been ascertained that there are problems caused by tourism in Penticton, and that the resident saturation level is being approached, then the general policies developed from the literature can be employed to alter the situation.

A major contribution to this study will be an organization of the literature on tourism impacts and saturation. This has not been done in a clear, concise manner in any of the available literature. It will not be necessary in this study to prove that the saturation point has been reached, only that it is being approached.

1.2 The Context

The areas covered by this thesis have been touched on in numerous other studies found in the literature. There are studies of tourism (some of which mention costs and
benefits), tourists, and marketing and development strategies. The subject of saturation levels in tourism planning is seldom mentioned and needs further research. Another area lacking research is in the solution to many of the negative impacts cited as being evident in the tourist industry.

This thesis will gather existing knowledge on tourism and saturation conditions and refine it in a clear and concise manner. The result will be to offer policy proposals to aid in the development of socially appropriate tourism development for small towns experiencing large influxes of tourists. Penticton will be used as an example of such a city.

A study done in 1980 by L.J. D'Amore concluded that saturation was being approached in Penticton and offered some general guidelines to be followed for socially appropriate tourism development in British Columbia. However, D'Amore did not deal specifically with improving the tourist industry in Penticton nor did he offer an overall plan of tourist development. Specific policies which might help Penticton and other small tourist towns will be developed in this thesis.
An emphasis will be placed on social problems, rather than environmental or economic, though the latter two will greatly affect social conditions. Social impact is defined as "the change in the activity, interaction, or sentiment of a unit... as it responds to the changes on it from the surrounding environment and the resultant changes which occur due to the inter-dependent relationships of the system.... A project will alter one or more of these elements in the units to differing degrees, and those changes will in turn alter other elements and units" (Soderstrom, 1981, 11).

Various social indicators can be used to measure social impacts. They can be both qualitative or quantitative. Determining the significance of impacts is ultimately a political decision, but social justice tells us that those reaping benefits should bear the costs.

The D'Amore study was the closest attempt found in the literature of dealing systematically with the problems of tourism. This study will build on this and earlier studies.
1.3 Justification

1.3.1 "Realworld"

The work in this thesis deals with a real problem. Rajotte (1982, 76) explains "resident friendliness is an important determinant of both destination selection and post-visit satisfaction by tourists. Even more impressive to many is the power of resident hostility to destroy an established visitor industry." For example, Clevendon (1979, 74) writes, "it is abundantly clear that the reasons why misunderstanding of, or by, tourists may lead to resentment on the part of some of the host population is imperfectly understood." Rajotte (1982, 256) felt that "urgent research is needed to establish the critical ratio between tourists and residents, beyond which point hostile reactions are generated among residents."

Tourism is very important to the City of Penticton but there are problems associated with it as evidenced by resident surveys, a government study (L.J. D'Amore, 1980), and several "riots." In this study, suggestions will be made to enhance the efficiency and socially appropriate growth of the tourist industry.
More importance is placed on the tourist industry in general, as its economic importance increases (Figures 2, 3, 4 are examples of this). It is clear that planning is needed to guide it. The newspaper articles on the following pages illustrate this point (Figures 5, 6, 7).

1.3.2 Academic

A problem has been identified (lack of policies to mitigate social problems caused by the tourist industry), various impacts will be studied, research through literature and interviews will be undertaken, and policies will be developed to help ease the problem and provide some rational planning for tourism development. The concept of tourist saturation levels and their measurement in the field of tourism research is relatively new. A study of saturation is helpful in order to know what would happen if the problems of tourism (overcrowding, local intolerance, etc.) were simply ignored.

This study will gather information from international and domestic literature and make a list of impacts. From this, a list of questions will be developed to aid in evaluating socially appropriate tourist development.
Mexico sets out to woo tourists

Newhouse News Service
MEXICO CITY — President Miguel de la Madrid of Mexico recently proclaimed a revolutionary, no-holds-barred policy to attract more visitors to his country.

He is trying to stop the nation's terrible economic slide, which has been greased by falling international oil prices.

It probably was the first time in history that the leader of so substantial a country, in a nationally televised speech, publicly placed tourism among his top priorities.

Here is what de la Madrid's "Tourism Action Program" could mean to travelers:

• Less expensive vacations.
• Expanded air service from more gateways and to more destinations in Mexico.
• More vacation packages to more places.
• More security and aid for visitors.
• More gas station services for motorists driving their own cars.
• Upgraded services at hotels and restaurants.

"This is the most significant, comprehensive and far-reaching policy concerning tourism in our country's history," said Guillermo Grimm, Mexico's under-secretary of tourism, in spelling out de la Madrid's new program.

One of the first government orders was for its national air carriers (Aeromexico and Mexicana) to come up with a wide range of promotional programs, including hotel as well as airfare rates, that will result in 20-per-cent to 40-per-cent price reductions.

While much of the new program concerns the air, land and sea haven't been overlooked.

"We're going to correct one of the major problems motorists driving across the border have been running into — the lack of unleaded gasoline," Grimm said. Now more than 100 gas stations, "strategically located" along main tourist roads, will have unleaded gasoline available.

Other improvements include:
• Increased service by the Green Angels Highway Patrol to help motorists in distress.
• A faster response system for the current tourist hotline, which offers 24-hour-a-day aid anywhere in Mexico for visitors who telephone 250-0123.

Mexican government wants to make the country more appealing

Figure 2.
TOURIST LURE SET ABROAD

The federal and provincial governments will join in a $375 million campaign to sell Canada to the rest of the world.

The campaign, along with the creation of an advertising council, involving the private sector, to advise on a coordinated approach to marketing Canada internationally, was announced here Wednesday by federal Tourism Minister Jack Murta.

The announcement came at the close of a conference of tourism ministers.

The agreement sets out the basis for co-operative roles and responsibilities in the public and private sector.

The industry, which had a bad year in 1983, now generates $20 billion annually and employs 600,000 people. It has been growing at an annual rate of eight per cent for the past decade.

"It's not that the industry is declining," Murta said. "It's not growing as fast as it can."

A year ago, the federal government took a look at the tourism industry and felt it needed more direction, greater cooperation and more focus on advertising of specific product lines, Murta said.

The $375 million in subsidiary agreements will help the private sector develop a broader range of tourism attractions over the next five years, he said.

Murta said a budget of $19 million is earmarked to promote tourism in the U.S. on three major campaign themes of Canada as an old world, a wild world and a new world.

"Largely, the Americans don't see us (as a tourist destination) at all," Murta said. A market survey of 9,000 people interviewed for an average of 30 minutes showed only one in 50 Americans who planned to travel indicated they'd come to Canada.

"We have to beef up our advertising. They like our culture and they see us as comfortably different. But they have no idea we have safe world-class cities and restaurants and Canada doesn't generally promote the difference in the dollar," he said.
New tourism image needed, Murta says

OTTAWA (CP) — Americans are not as thrilled with our moose and mountains as the Canadian tourism industry once thought and that means a whole new marketing strategy is needed to lure them north on holidays, says Tourism Minister Jack Murta.

"They are not as taken up with our wilderness experience, you know the Rockies and the mountains and all this, as we had once thought," Murta said in an interview Monday.

These findings — the results of a study based on 9,000 in-home interviews with Americans — will be available to tourism industry members starting today when a huge computer database full of market information is unveiled at a federal tourism conference.

Murta said the database represents the first time people have had access to such a huge source of tourism information and it will help the $20 billion a year industry grow. More than 600,000 people are directly employed in about 60,000 tourism businesses, most of them small, in Canada.

He said the results of the U.S. pleasure travel study show some of the old assumptions Canadians had about their country's attractions have been wrong.

"One of things we've found out is that they don't think a lot about us at any time, which is a problem," said Murta. "When they do, they have a tendency to think we're a bit dull. We're friendly but dull."

Details of the study will be made public at the conference.

The federal tourism department, in cooperation with provincial governments, will analyse the study results to come up with better advertising strategies designed to sell Canada to the American market.

"An attribute we've got that we're going to be marketing in a more positive way is the fact that we've got cosmopolitan cities, world-class cities up here in Canada. That's not generally thought of by the Americans. And the cities are safe, which is a very big attraction for many many tourists at the present time."

Murta said most of the large federal tourism marketing budget will be spent in the United States and he will travel extensively there in the next few months to market Canada.

Although Canada's tourism industry has had respectable growth over the last decade — it grew eight per cent from 1975 to 1985 — it has lagged behind the world tourism industry which grew 13 per cent during the same period, he said.
CONSULTANTS REPORT TO VICTORIA
Tourist Trade - BC

Poor tourist planning cited
SUN APR 1 1980

VICTORIA (CP) — Poor planning by the provincial government and low quality accommodation and services are hampering the B.C. tourist industry says a report on the industry prepared by three consulting firms.

The study says that if tourism, touted as B.C.'s third industry after forestry and mining, is to keep growing, the current emphasis on the automobile-oriented traveller will have to change.

The report was prepared by Marshall MacKinnon Monaghan Ltd., Stevenson and Kellogg and L.J. D'Aoumour and Associates, who were asked last April to come up with a development strategy for the next 20 years and to draft plans for nine tourist regions.

The provincial government has not given tourism the attention it deserves, the study says.

The B.C. government has bounced the tourism portfolio from ministry to ministry, deprived it of staff and had it concentrate mostly on research, marketing and promotion while neglecting long-term planning and development, the firms say.

After noting that most tourist attractions are either on Vancouver Island or in the southwestern corner of B.C., the report says services and accommodation elsewhere is generally not good.

"The accommodation base of the remainder of the province, with the exception of the regional urban centres such as Kamloops and Prince George, can best be described as fragmented, unorganized and substandard in relation to other competing areas of North America."

"Similarly, the visual appeal of several urban centres throughout the province is very low due to haphazard or poorly planned main highway routes," it says.

The report says much of B.C.'s existing tourist facilities developed in response to the automobile-based market that developed in the 1950s and 1960s and thus is concentrated along major roads.

It says the highly competitive tourism industry demands a stronger approach to planning and development.

The study says that because vacation preferences are changing, it may be unwise to concentrate on improvement of existing facilities. Instead, integrated all-season resorts are the type of facility needed for the future.

The study says tourism provides 5.4 per cent of the gross provincial product, compared to seven per cent for mining and 20 per cent for forestry.

There are about 10,000 tourism businesses in B.C. employing about 64,000 people. The industry paid about $200 million in provincial taxes in 1978.
If tourism is to become a full-fledged, reliable part of the Canadian economy, government had better start taking it more seriously. Too little attention is paid to proper funding of tourism ministries or to integrated planning with other departments.

The Vancouver Board of Trade has told Ottawa that national tourism promotion should be taken out of government hands and given to private enterprise. Whether private enterprise could do a much better job is open to speculation. Much more is involved than promoting scenery or sports or festivals.

We are running a huge travel deficit and being thrashed in the competition of world tourism. And that seems to us to call for government involvement.

The British Tourism Authority in private hands is doing a good job. Yet only last month the Confederation of British Industry complained that government efforts on tourism have not kept pace with its growing importance.

That's the problem in Canada, especially B.C. Tourism is B.C.'s second or third largest private sector industry. Yet the tourism ministry has an $8.5 million budget — 0.1 per cent of the provincial budget.

There seems to be no hand on the tiller. Take a simple example. Much road signing in B.C. is confusing to travellers. Turn-off arrows are often found beyond the actual turnoff, too late for the unwary driver.

Other similar problems could easily be listed.

Tourism involves economic planning, tax policy, transportation, promotion and development of entertainment and cultural policy and, not least, firm supervision of the travel agency business to protect tourists. Those imperatives cover a number of ministries, yet there is little sign of coordination either in Ottawa or Victoria.

It's too big a job for private enterprise alone. What is needed is more government guidance on what to do about the problems in tourism.

Japan has integrated tourism through an inter-ministerial council covering construction, environment, agriculture, forestry, labor, international trade and industry and economic planning. As in so many other ways, the Japanese have shown the way with tourism too.
Bennett touts tourist trade over forestry as job creator

By LISA FITTERMAN
Sun Victoria Bureau

WHISTLER — Tourism will soon overtake forestry as the province's "number one industry," Premier Bill Bennett said Wednesday.

It is time, he said, to turn B.C. into a world-class "destination resort" that is known for more than just the timber industry and undeveloped scenery.

The premier made his comments during the signing of a partnership agreement with the municipality of Whistler. It was the 50th agreement the provincial government signed since introducing the partnership program last March.

Bennett, here to attend cabinet and caucus meetings and to open the Whistler convention centre on the weekend, said the prediction of first spot for tourism doesn't bode ill for the forest industry. "I wouldn't read anything negative into what I said."

But even highly-industrialized, wealthy countries such as Japan have recognized that tourism will be the money-making industry of the future and the answer to a high demand for employment, he said.

Tony Shebbeare, vice-president of forests and environment for the Council of Forest Industries of B.C., agreed B.C. should not rely on one industry. But he said it is too early to write off forestry.

"I wish him all the best. I have absolutely nothing against tourism. But we've done our best to keep the forest industry a viable one. Through the recession, we have become more efficient. Don't count us out. We will continue to be an important industry for a long, long time."

The whole question of job creation was a hot topic for conversation during the 11-hour Socred caucus meeting, said caucus chairman Doug Mowat.

"What we are seeing is the government looking at jobs as a No. 1 priority," he said. "There will be job creation programs announced in the next year and these will be long-term permanent jobs."

Caucus said they also discussed the timing of a provincial vote, although the premier said Tuesday he hasn't thought about an election.

It has been widely speculated the Socreds will try to capitalize on publicity surrounding Expo 86, despite having more than 2% years remaining in their mandate.

There is also speculation Bennett might shuffle his cabinet before a brief fall sitting of the legislature. Several senior ministers have hinted that they might not seek re-election and some caucus members say this would be a good time for the premier to give new cabinet members some exposure before the election.
The study of saturation will show how the concept has been adopted for tourism planning from work in recreation planning. A method for measuring saturation will be examined.

Some general policies will be derived from the literature. These policies will then be applied to the situation in Penticton. From this, some comments on the entire tourism industry and its social problems can be stated.

Though planning for tourism is not undertaken to a great degree in this province, the topics of concern covered in this study could help to form a basis for further academic study of the tourism industry.

1.3.3 Public Policy

It has been recognized from the literature, by events in Penticton (seasonal overcrowding, resident attitudes), and government commissioned studies (D'Amore, 1980), that there are problems associated with the tourist industry. Methods of alleviating these problems could lead to policies useful to planners and other affected groups in promoting a healthy tourist industry for visitors and residents alike.
These policies could be used for other tourist situations in British Columbia, or further afield, especially where visitors outnumber local residents.

Since tourism is such an important and growing part of the British Columbia economy, research and planning for this industry should be greatly strengthened to give the province more of a competitive edge.

1.4 Methodology

1.4.1 Macro-philosophy

Though very little specific work has been done on the subject of social problems caused by the tourist industry, some help is available from the literature. The idea that major problems could be caused by the tourist industry was overlooked in most studies because of the great economic expectations.

For the most part, the methodology will be a deductive narrowing of problems identified through observations and interviews, with an application of some planning policies that could at least partially resolve or mitigate problems.
Physical and social problems are very much interrelated, as described below:

We are coming to comprehend the city as an extremely complex social system, only some aspects of which are expressed as physical buildings or as locational arrangements. As the parallel, we are coming to understand that each aspect lies in a reciprocal causal relation to all others, such that each is defined by, and has meaning only with respect to its relations to all others.

As a result of this broadened conception of the city system, we can no longer speak of the physical city versus the social city or the economic city or the political city or the intellectual city. We can no longer dissociate a physical building, for example, from the social meanings that it carries for its users and viewers from the social and economic functions of the activities that are conducted within it. If distinguishable at all, the distinction is that of constituent components, as with metals comprising an alloy.... Planning for the locational and physical aspects of our cities must therefore be conducted in concert with planning for all programs that governmental and non-governmental agencies conduct (Webber, 1968, 299).

The interrelatedness of a city's components is the basis of the methodology of this thesis. Structures, high densities, economic conditions, and a changed environment can affect the social well-being of a community, leading to social problems and "psychological" saturation.

1.4.2 Techniques

The techniques which will be employed include:
a) a literature review to find background to the subject of tourism, its problems, and any applicable programs which have been tried to enhance the potential of this industry.

b) interviews with people employed in potential problems areas, including police, hospital, fire, and environmental spokesmen. Planners from the Regional District of Okanagan-Similkameen will also be interviewed. Since it is often "lay" views that are important in terms of psychological costs, interviews with "the man on the street" will also be conducted.

c) two surveys have already been done in Penticton. In 1971, and again in 1975, questions were posed regarding the future of tourism for the area. The results of these were not thorough but are included as additional evidence of resident attitudes.

d) a programme of planning policies will be determined from interviews, the literature, historical data, and observation.

This study was conceptualized by realizing there were problems with tourism in Penticton. A general look at
tourism was then followed by a look at the problems of tourism (impacts and saturation). From this, some general policies will be developed to mitigate the social problems caused by tourism. A specific study of Penticton's problems with the tourist industry is then followed by an application of the general policies to the situation in Penticton (Figure 8).

**FIGURE 8: THESIS CONCEPTUALIZATION**

![Diagram showing the flow from Penticton to Tourism to Problems and then to General Policies, with Specific Policies for Penticton and Problems in Penticton]

Sources: Literature
Interviews

1.5 **Scope and Limitations**

This study draws together information on international and domestic tourism problems and develops policies to
mitigate the social problems. Since social problems are interrelated with environmental, physical, and economic, all of these areas must be examined. Once the policies have been developed, they can then be applied to the specific situation in Penticton. The general policies for socially appropriate tourism development should be applicable province wide at the minimum, and possibly throughout North America and even beyond.

At present there is no tourism development plan as such for Penticton or British Columbia. This study could provide some input into such a plan.

There are two basic limitations to this study. The first is that there has not been a recent, comprehensive survey done in Penticton on resident attitude towards tourism. Such a survey would be costly and time consuming. The questions would have to be very pointed in order to discover the exact reasons for the feelings (positive or negative) that a resident might have.

The second limitation to this study is the general lack of specific information on alleviating tourist caused social problems. It would appear to be an area conveniently unrecognized by all levels of participants.
1.6 Organization of the Thesis

This thesis will begin by examining tourism, including its costs and benefits. The literature study will differentiate between international and domestic tourism.

Chapter 3 will examine the concept of saturation. Can saturation be measured? What happens when the costs to the residents exceed the benefits?

Chapter 4 will look at policies or methods of mitigating the adverse social effects of tourism from the literature, both domestic and international. Some general policies will then be proposed.

Chapter 5 will deal with tourism in Penticton, including its present facilities and programs. A brief history of Penticton will be included to aid in understanding economic and social patterns of growth up until the present. The adverse social effects of tourism in Penticton will be examined, with an estimation of the level of saturation.

Chapter 6 will apply the policies developed in Chapter 4 to the situation in Penticton.
Chapter 7 will summarize and conclude the thesis.

Summary

Chapter 1 introduced tourism as an important, growing industry with immense potential and promise. However, there are problems associated with it that are not very well understood or not well documented. These problems have to do with tourism as a socially disruptive force.

The overall purpose of this study is to find some workable policies which planners can employ to mitigate the social problems caused by tourism in small cities. In order to address this purpose, several contributory items will have to be studied:

a) the description of "tourism", tourism's impacts, and how these impacts are to be measured;
b) the concept of "saturation" and how it is to be measured;
c) the development of some general policies to avoid negative tourism impacts and saturation;
d) the testing of these measurements and policies on a city with a tourism industry.
The techniques used to develop these policies and explore the contributory concepts will be literature reviews, interviews and personal observation.
CHAPTER TWO: TOURISM

Before studying problems caused by the tourist industry, it is essential to understand what "tourism" is. The objective of this chapter is to review the work of various researchers in order to accumulate an overall view of the problems associated with tourism. Some of the researchers' proposals for successful tourism are also included; however, these will be dealt with in more detail in Chapter 4.

Chapter 2 begins by defining "tourism" and then reviews literature on international and domestic tourism. A list of benefits and of costs due to tourism are then derived from the literature. Finally, a list of questions is developed as a method of organizing some of the social impacts of tourist development. The list can also be used as a guideline to establish the social performance of the tourism industry in tourist destinations.

2.1 Definition

The concept of tourism is distinct from recreation in that recreation does not necessarily imply travel.
Tourism in all cases involves two elements: a dynamic one - the journey; and a static one - the stay. This implies the removal of a person away from his habitual place of residence and his stay in another location. This stay or removal is temporary and is motivated by a search for personal pleasure in the shape of rest, relaxation and self-improvement (Matley, 1976, 2).

From the above criteria, it is clear that all movement does not constitute tourism. Anyone taking up permanent residence or paid employment in another town or country is not a tourist but a migrant. Migrant or seasonal labor is also clearly distinguished from tourism. Elements of recreation and of travel are, thus, contained in tourism.

There are two basic distinctions drawn in tourism. In domestic tourism, people travel outside their normal domicile to other areas within the country. They normally find it easy to do so because there are usually neither language (Canada is one of the exceptions) nor currency nor documentation barriers.

"When people travel to a country other than that in which they normally live, and which is a separate national unit with its own political and economic system, they are involved in international tourism" (Burkart and Medlik, 1981, 43). The difference between domestic and foreign tourism depends on the extent to which the country visited
has a different language, a different currency, and whether obstacles to free movement exist between the country of residence and the country visited. Both varieties are quite similar in problem areas. Domestic tourism is harder to control and involves greater seasonality.

2.2 Literature

For purposes of organization, the literature study of tourism problems will be divided into international and domestic sections. Since the problems are very similar, pertinent information on impacts can be extracted from either section.

As there is more literature on international tourism, it will be organized into three sub-sections. The first sub-section will identify and discuss the impacts of tourism. The next part will discuss some of the factors of concern to tourism development and reasons for resident resentment. The final sub-section will document some ideas for successful development.
2.2.1 International Tourism

Until perhaps twenty years ago, tourism was seen as a positive economic step, especially in Third World countries. It provided needed currency but more subtle social changes were not addressed. Authors such as Young (1973), Bosselman (1978), and Turner and Ash (1975) popularized discussion of tourism impacts and the possibility of controlling negative effects. Young discussed tourism capacity explicitly by arguing that emphasis should be placed on how many visitors want to, or can be, persuaded to come to an area.

A. Identification of Impacts

An example of some impacts caused by the tourist industry are evident in Fiji (Rajotte, 1982). Tourism placed environmental demands on the land, foreshore, freshwater supplies and on the capacity of the environment for waste disposal. To control coastal resource allocation in Fiji, local planners recommended an inventory of land resources be undertaken including alternative uses. "Setback lines" for coastal development were encouraged as were construction phase guidelines. It was felt, in this example, that control of the physical environment would cause fewer social problems and a healthier tourist industry.
Bosselman (1978) also takes this physical approach. In Jerusalem, tourism officials, seeking to achieve numerical goals, persuaded municipal authorities to give away public parks to hotel developers who were allowed to destroy the appearance of the city. The changes were caused by the random scattering of subsidies and incentives together with the effective removal of planning controls. Bosselman felt that well-planned tourism could, in fact, help both to justify and safeguard the quality of the environment.

Aside from both the positive and negative economic aspects of tourism, there are external diseconomies created. These can be tangible (i.e., pollution, congestion, strain of amenities) and intangible (i.e., corrosion of local values). Bryden (1973) feels that the possible growth of resentment towards tourists could develop from residents feeling deprivation compared to visitor consumption patterns.

While tourism can provide substantial economic benefits above and beyond the economic costs, numerous social costs or externalities are imposed on people who are penalized for benefits accruing to others. Desirable effects might include generation of scarce foreign exchange (in the national economy), increased economic and development
growth, and increased employment. These benefits could be offset by damage to the environment (i.e. erosion, pollution, destruction and mismanagement), misallocation of resources, uncontrolled and disruptive social change, local instability, minimization of social welfare, and negative effects on local culture (International Geographical Union Working Group, 1974). Although the intended purpose and use of tourism development is generally positive, the social benefits and costs of tourism development must be determined in order to evaluate its performance.

The development of a resort within or adjacent to an existing population centre could result in major changes in the social situation over time.

Acquisition of land, development of accommodation, transportation and other tourist services, possible relocation of, or restrictions upon local people, significant employment of locals, and penetration into local markets can be expected to take place. Spatial penetration, and thus frequent contact with locals because of the presence of large numbers of tourists staying for considerable periods, and travelling over wider areas, are also likely. Local involvement in, and dependence upon, the tourist industry are likely to be at a high level, and reaction and change in the social arrangements almost inevitable (International Geographical Union Working Group, 1974, 85).

A committee in Honolulu (Farrell, 1982) identified two categories of major problems for Waikiki: inadequate
facilities and services (e.g., streets, transport, recreation, beaches and social services) and undesirable environmental characteristics (e.g., crowding, lack of open space and poor aesthetics). The problems, the 1970 committee said, arose from inappropriate zoning, inadequate planning, political inaction and error.

Farrell emphasizes that since the residents have a much greater commitment to the Hawaiian Islands than either investors or visitors, a careful study of their needs is much more important than those of the others. The resident must deal with the lasting consequences of poorly planned development while visitors and the industry enjoy a mobility that allows them to escape an unpopular situation.

In the future, current problems on Maui may illustrate this point. Hodge-podge development, over-reliance on tourism, sewage system problems, lack of affordable housing, an inadequate water supply, mounting crime levels, congested roads, and the problem of energy might eventually drive tourists and investors away.

The encounter between tourist and host is characterized by its transitory nature, constraints in time and space, and relationships that are both unequal and lacking in
spontaneity. For the tourist, the tourist-host encounter is not only brief but it is also a unique event in the year. Whereas for the host, it is simply one of a series of encounters that follow one another almost throughout the whole year — all of them equally brief and superficial.

Residents are more likely to build up a general liking or disliking for tourists than are tourists for residents. This is because first-time visitors often do not have enough time to decide whether they like residents as a class.

The most friendly behavior would be expected from people who feel they have something economically to gain from the tourists, but who do not fear the complete loss of their livelihood by an occasional display of honest, personal dislike for particular individuals.

B. Factors of Concern

This section reviews the literature on factors which may cause some of the negative impacts of tourism. Factors encouraging or discouraging friendly interactions are (Rajotte, 1982):

a) scale of tourism — mass tourism has impersonal encounters;

b) types of tourism — if the resident people themselves — their culture or history — are a major tourist
attraction, a larger proportion of the tourists will arrive with interest and respect for local people;

c) physical isolation of tourists - this acts as a barrier to any type of interaction;

d) length of stay - short-term visitors do not cultivate an interest in their hosts;

e) novelty of tourists - residents grow less interested as they grow used to having tourists around;

f) tourist transience - there is little motivation to adapt behaviour if tourists do not expect to return;

g) social norms of the particular country on friendliness to strangers.

The largest single cause of local, anti-tourist feelings, according to Rajotte, is resentment over the gradual appropriation of economic benefits and decision-making by externally based corporations or national government agencies.

The process of social change induced by tourist development is related to the tourists themselves and their activities, and those involving the destination area and its population. The following lists explain the characteristics of the visitors and the destination area that affect social impacts in a community. These characteristics are important factors as a basis for recognizing and categorizing impacts.
a. Visitor Characteristics

1) Number of visitors - a small number of visitors in a large local population will have relatively few, if any, impacts and result in little change. Actual numbers of visitors as a percentage of residents, both at any one time, and over a holiday season, is therefore a major variable;

ii) Length of stay of visitors - the longer any one visitor is in an area, the greater the likelihood of his making a deeper penetration into the local area - spatially, economically and socially;

iii) Racial characteristics of visitors - the impact will be greater with increasing differences in race, culture, religion and appearance between the tourist and the local population;

iv) Economic characteristics of tourists - "the greater the difference in economic levels between the tourists and the local population, the greater is likely to be resentment and desire for equality, possibly resulting in demands for economic and political, if not social, change in the local area" (International Geographical Union Working Group, 1974, 85);
v) Activities of tourists - the amount of contact between tourists and the local people is often determined by tourist activities. Water activities and sunbathing might result in minimal contact, while touring, sight-seeing and activities needing local assistance may result in extensive contact.

b. Characteristics of the Destination Area

i) Economic development of the area - an area in an advanced state of economic development will experience less impact of tourism than an area with a primitive economy. In addition to its impact on incomes, tourism affects the range, price and quality of goods and services available for consumption.

ii) Level of local involvement in tourism - there may be minimal economic benefit for locals if the development has been conducted by outside agencies or companies. The opportunity for contact with tourists might also be reduced.

iii) Spatial characteristics of development - opportunities for contact between locals and tourists will be greater where the tourist development is part of, or contiguous with, local settlements rather than separated from them.
iv) Strength of local culture - an area with a strong local culture, including its own language, is potentially better able to withstand the impact of a foreign culture than an area with few unique or clear cultural traits. The strength of local culture is greatly affected by the degree of isolation from other cultures (e.g., remote Pacific islands).

v) Other characteristics - distance between the destination and origin areas has been identified as an additional factor in explaining the level of impact of tourism with the hypothesis suggested that the shorter the distance involved, the less likelihood of cultural conflict or change.

The process of social change, induced by characteristics of visitor and destination area, is felt by the residents of the destination area. The process can be altered by changing certain characteristics (such as economic development and the level of local involvement). This is easiest to do with the characteristics of the destination area since a relatively stable population and a fixed area would be more convenient to deal with than changing the type of visitor.
A study of Hawaii by Farrell (1982) concluded that continuing agriculture is essential to a healthy tourist industry; that the public, the government and the operators are together co-equal components of the tourist industry; that successful tourism can be expected in the future only if the public is deeply involved in every facet of planning and discussion; and that baseline research, continuous monitoring and the setting of limits must be done now.

Loukissas (1982), in a study of the Greek Islands, concluded that factors such as the local institutional capacity to absorb development and the potential interaction of locals and tourists should be considered in the making of tourist policy.

Clevendon (1979) found that the lower and middle classes were supportive of the promotion of tourism development because of its economic gains. On the other hand, the upper class tends to be against excessive and uncontrolled development because of its socio-cultural and environmental costs. He also suggests that more attention should be paid to factors such as the local capacity to absorb development, the potential interaction between locals and tourists, and the integration of the tourism industry with the rest of the economy.
Hovinen (1982) feels that the magnitude of possible future decline is influenced by relative location, diversity of the tourist base, and effectiveness of planning.

The report by UNESCO (1976) points out the ease with which the economist can deal with the quantification of the advantages of the social impact of tourism. These advantages include jobs created, the circulation of income from tourism, the development of community infrastructure and facilities, the favourable effects on the standard of living, and the improvements in working conditions. However, as soon as this social impact enters the non-economic spheres, it is only possible to evaluate it qualitatively.

When discussing future development of tourism, or problems of existing tourism development, the literature clearly points out four main factors of concern:

a) economic - seasonal employment, higher prices for residents on land and commodities, distribution of income;

b) environmental - pollution, wildlife habitat destruction, construction effects on the land and scenery;

c) public concern
   a) access to recreation and amenities - congestion;
   b) infrastructure - utilities, transportation;
d) social values - erosion of local tradition;
- housing;
- transient (tourist)/resident interaction;

The tourist/resident interaction and overall resident attitude to tourism are shaped by all the other factors in addition to some dependent variables on the resident. These might include the resident's ability to interact, motivation to interact, and perceptions of tourists (Rajotte, 1982, 81).

C. Successful Developments

Bosselman (1978) explains that the two goals established for Mexican tourism were (1) increased economic yield from tourism; (2) a higher quality of life for the rural peasantry. These efforts involved land-use planning, policy co-ordination, control of development and integrated regional social and economic strategies. This strategy was tried at Cancun and was largely successful. The Mexicans did not want another unplanned Acapulco.

The Riviera of southern France is renowned for tourism, but is too expensive, crowded and polluted. Untreated sewage is dumped into the sea. There are massive traffic jams and little parking. Bosselman compared two regions in
France where communities were planned as alternatives to the Riviera.

Languedoc, on the Mediterranean, west of the Rhone River, shows that even when there is planning for tourist development, it does not ensure a harmonious relationship between development and environment. Bosselman feels this lack of harmony can often be attributed to pressure put on the planners to produce quick visible results.

The Aquitaine region of France, on the southwest corner of the Atlantic coast, was developed on a small scale consistent with the type of development that had existed in the past. Development was directed to the least ecologically sensitive areas and water quality of lakes was protected by strict regulation. The plan strongly encouraged multiple use of the national forests for recreational purposes.

The Aquitaine example shows that a successful development must simply be sensitive to local environmental and social concerns. Farrell (1982, 54) lists Waikiki, Poipu Beach, Kailua - Kona and Hilo as examples where "no complex is planned in relation to its neighbours and, overall, the entire district usually lacks manageable
coherence. Such regions make for high building and human densities, unaesthetic design, and limited recreational facilities."

Farrell feels that, except for location and associated physical amenities, there is a degree of sameness which may stifle character in large-scale projects. In small-scale developments, no matter how big, local people circulate as a matter of course because it is all part of their town. This does not happen to the same extent in large, planned unit developments.

Hudman (1978), ignoring the element of character mentioned by Farrell, proposes a strategy for tourist growth involving the development of specific and planned areas as tourist development centers. This protects other areas from adverse tourist impact. The results of this strategy are the limitation of cultural impact to a few areas, and a relatively stable, growing economy in areas not directly affected by tourism which provide goods and services to the tourist development centers.

Some research shows that leisure communities will be divided into competing groups, one which favors the expansion of recreational facilities ranged against those
who seek to limit commercial activity. These conflicting views are likely to be articulated in elections, annexation, zoning actions, referendum, and land-use decisions. The outcomes of these decisions will determine the scope and nature of growth in the community.

2.2.2 Domestic Tourism

Research related to the social effects of domestic tourism, especially in North America, has been limited. This may be due to a concentration on the more dramatic effects seen in exotic destinations.

A study by Brian Archer (1978) explored the political, cultural, social and moral, environmental and conservational, and economic effects of domestic tourism. Archer felt that by travelling to other parts of the same country, people could begin to experience pride in their national heritage, then a sense of national unity could help to prevent regional fragmentation. One of the social effects which Archer mentions is that many of the social conventions and constraints imposed upon tourists in their home areas are absent when they visit another region and, as a consequence, their moral behaviour can deteriorate without undue censure.
Archer found that many of the problems associated with domestic tourism are related to the degree of intensity of tourism development. Overcrowding reduces the value of the holiday experience and creates additional strain for the resident population. In extreme cases, local people may be barred from enjoying the natural facilities of their own region. Archer felt that sound planning could overcome these problems. In many countries, for example, beaches remain largely under public ownership and private development is severely restricted. In other areas, streets have been closed to vehicular traffic during the daytime and turned into pedestrian areas for visitors and residents alike.

Excessive and badly planned tourism development also affects the physical and cultural environment of the holiday areas.

In many areas the uncontrolled commercial exploitation of tourism has produced unsightly hotels of alien design which intrude into the surrounding cultural and scenic environment. In such cases, the architectural design has been planned to meet the supposed wishes of the visitor rather than to blend into the local environment (Archer, 1978, 130).

Many of the disadvantages of tourism can be offset by high quality planning, design and management and by educating
tourists to appreciate the environment. Some of the money spent by tourists in the region can be used to conserve and improve the natural man-made heritage.

From the point of view of a region's economy, Archer explained that domestic tourism is a form of invisible export. The expenditure of money by visitors from other regions creates a flow of money into the area. This is analogous to the flow of foreign currency received by a national economy from international tourists. The money spent by tourists creates additional employment and higher incomes within the holiday area, and, in most cases, through the multiplier effect, the benefits are diffused widely through the regional economy. To provide facilities for visitors from other areas, investment in infrastructure is required and much of this may benefit visitors and residents alike. The growth of tourism may also provide a monetary incentive for the continuance of many local crafts, while the tourist hotels may create a market for local produce, particularly milk and vegetables.

A 1980 study by Cheng points out some social implications of too much tourism development. It offers lessons to Canmore, Alberta from Banff's experience. Adverse change has been felt in Banff owing to continued
tourism development. In response, more tourists and residents have been seeking accommodations in Canmore.

Some centres become known as tourist towns; others are towns with tourism because the tourist industry is only one of many industries that may be accommodated in a population centre. Its relative importance to the local economy determines its degree of impact on the physical and social environment and on the way of life. Therefore, gradual expansion in the number of tourist services and facilities has the potential to alter subtly the social environment, owing to the influx of people, both staff and visitors, that it engenders. As the population shifts, community values and objectives may change (Cheng, 1980, 73).

Cheng goes on to say that change is often difficult to pinpoint because tourist developments are of varying magnitude, and new services and facilities may be phased in incrementally as they are completed. The changes in the social environment may not be tied to a specific development but may result from the cumulative effect of incremental change. Control or co-ordination could control incremental change with a management body (i.e., public agency, private alliance or a combination of people from the public and private sectors) empowered to make decisions on overall tourism development.

Cheng discusses changes that have occurred in the social environment of Banff without distinguishing specific
tourism impacts from those that accrue to growing population centres with tourism development. Tangible changes include:

a) Congestion - a "no-hurry" mood by the tourists accentuates the frustration for people with errands or time constraints. Banff residents have learned adaptive behaviour patterns. They reduce their journeys downtown, time their necessary trips to coincide with rhythmical lulls in visitor use, use lanes and back streets for faster access by car or foot, and park in restricted zones.

b) Commercialization - this manifestation of too much tourist development may be recognized by "an abundance of souvenir shops; sales of "junk" which, as Banff shopkeepers admit, outstrip the sales of other items in volumes of sales; conspicuously high prices for accommodation and other goods and services; and the double price system in which a commodity has a regular price for tourists and a discounted price for known residents" (Cheng, 1980, 78).

c) Transience in the population - businesses in Banff rely on a transient labor force to provide seasonal staff. When a high proportion of the residents of a community
are transients (i.e., temporary or not permanent), community institutions, organizations and activities may be difficult to maintain due to rapid turnover of role players or a low level of participation. Since the tourist industry is a heavy employer of young, transient labor, disproportionate growth in this sector could result in the creation of a highly unstable economy.

d) Loss of discretionary time - as increased tourism development brings more tourists, service personnel expect to lose leisure time. They are, thus, less able to enjoy the facilities which attracted them to the area in the first place.

Intangible changes that can occur are:

a) Development of a resort atmosphere - when tourists tend to adopt behaviour patterns such as drinking, cruising in cars and holding loud parties, they disrupt the community oriented lifestyle.

b) Lack of "real people" in town - permanent residents feel that they are not among "real people" when large numbers of tourists and transients are in town. The experience
for them is too superficial.

c) Loss of feelings of security and trust - as more transients and tourists fill the town, a sense of security is lost as petty theft and vandalism grow. This has happened in Banff.

d) Growing impersonality - the friendly, personal service experienced in a small town can become impersonal with an increased use of transient staff rather than rooted proprietors and permanent staff.

e) Development of unhealthy attitudes towards tourists - in Banff, tourists "are not always treated with courtesy by the local community" (Cheng, 1980, 79). Prolonged exposure to masses of disoriented people in unfamiliar surroundings, "stupid" questions and uneven temperaments may be partly accountable, but the attitude is, nonetheless, learned.

Cheng concludes that congestion and commercialization are the most conspicuous traits of tourism growth, but transience in the population seems to be an important negative impact to residents. Not only does transience interfere with community stability but it also seems to
relate most directly to changes in resident attitudes and behaviour. She points out that "host communities are home environments, as well as recreational environments, and it cannot be assumed that unco-ordinated growth will be an unalloyed blessing to everyone. Community values and goals need to be evaluated against these values and goals" (Cheng, 1980, 79).

Bosselman (1978) examined Torquay, an English seaside resort originally receptive to tourism. Then residents began to change. New structures were unattractive or interfered with traditional views. Planners saw modernization as a tonic for the tax base but failed to anticipate the side effects stemming from the loss of community character. Citizens saw new development as benefitting outsiders and the municipality at their expense. It was concluded that improved communication between planners and the citizens was needed.

Rothman (1978) studied community reaction to seasonal visitors in two U.S. east coast resort towns. He found that the residents felt a heightened tension during summer months and perceived an increase in crime. About half the residents in each community felt that the overall pace of life became less satisfactory during the period in which
vacationers were present. Residents also noted traffic and parking problems in the summer. As well, they also reduced activities such as driving in town, shopping, using the beach and dining in restaurants.

Pizam (1978) felt that the residents' attitudes towards tourists and tourism would be a function of the residents' economic dependency on tourism. He examined this theory with an attitude questionnaire in Cape Cod, Massachusetts. Pizam found that a resident's economic dependency on tourism, his income and his occupation were the best predictors of his attitude towards tourism. The findings of Pizam and Rothman were confirmed by Thomason, Crompton and Kamp (1979) in a study of winter visitors in Corpus Christi, Texas.

In the study by D'Amore (1980) and a subsequent paper in 1983, seven communities throughout British Columbia were selected and an attempt was made to identify the local social sensitivity to existing and anticipated future levels of tourism. An interview program was designed to assess resident perceptions of tourist and the tourism industry within the community. This information was evaluated to determine whether tourism was approaching the limits of social carrying capacity.
The conclusions arising from D'Amore's case studies were used to make generalized statements about "socially appropriate" tourism development. Two potential avenues were developed: one suggesting those conditions associated with positive, community enhancing development; the second suggesting conditions associated with inappropriate development. On the basis of these paradigms, a number of guidelines were developed to indicate how tourism development might proceed in a manner that is socially responsive to the community.

D'Amore used two basic techniques in his study. The first was a literature review in which inferences were drawn from previous research. The second technique was a field work interview programme using a selection of representative community residents. The most important guideline developed in the D'Amore study was to have as much public input into the planning process for tourism as was possible.
2.3 Tourism Impacts

There appears to be three distinct views on the tourism industry's impacts on development. According to the traditional view, tourism brings socio-economic change and encourages development. According to the second view, tourism brings hordes of invaders to small communities, destroying the indigenous culture and environment (Turner and Ash, 1975). The third view sees tourism as a form of direct economic exploitation and neo-colonial domination (Mathews, 1974).

These views examine the same phenomenon from different political orientations. They also look at different social processes under varying conditions.

In order to study the impacts created by tourism development, the impacts need to be identified and measured in a quantitative way, where possible. The following lists of benefits and costs have been derived from the literature.

2.3.1 Benefits

The primary benefit of tourism follows from the fact that it is an export. Export of "invisible" services (such
as tourism insurance and shipping) is not qualitatively different from export of material goods. The rental of a hotel room to a foreign resident has the same economic effects as the rental of a freighter to a foreign shipper.

There are many benefits derived from tourism besides just economic ones. The introduction of many innovations and improvements in lifestyles could be a direct result of tourism development. Improvements in such social services as medical care, fire and police protection, and transportation may be made to meet the needs of large numbers of tourists (especially where tourism is a year-round industry) and local residents as well.

Factors operating against economic benefits from tourism development are multi-national corporations, foreign labor, package tours and imports (food for tourists, for example).

Well-planned tourism can also help both to justify and safeguard the quality of the environment.
Possible Benefits of Tourism

2. Increased economic and development growth.
3. Increased employment and income.
4. Increased standard of living.
5. Innovations and improvements in lifestyles.
6. Increased understanding of different people and cultures.
7. Improvements in social services:
   - quality of fire, police and health services;
   - availability of recreational facilities.
9. An established infrastructure from tourism for development of other industries.

2.3.2 Costs

One difference between a normal export activity and tourism as an export activity is that tourism produces many side effects that are not exported with the product, but stay in the country. This means that the community is left with the physical and sometimes social by-products produced by the industry itself. While tourism can provide substantial economic benefits above and beyond the economic costs, numerous social costs or externalities are imposed on people who are penalized for benefits accruing to others.
Unlike many other economic activities, the success of tourism depends on maintenance of those environmental qualities which attract tourists.

**Possible Costs of Tourism**

1. Damage to environment - erosion, pollution, noise, litter.
2. Misallocation of resources - acquisition of land.
3. Uncontrolled and disruptive social change:
   - vandalism, drug abuse, alcoholism, crime.
4. Seasonal unemployment.
5. Local instability.
7. Negative effects of local culture.
8. Costs to locals for increased services.
9. Loss of amenities and facilities to residents:
   - congested roads, sewage system problems, water supply, parks.
10. Loss of affordable housing.
11. Increased prices for goods and services.
12. Diminished open space.
2.3.3 Measurement of Impacts

The economic effects of tourism are relatively easy to measure quantitatively. Many theories and methods of measurement have been proposed in benefit-cost studies. The measurement of economic and environmental impacts (pollution, water and sewer use, erosion) is important because these impacts help to create the ensuing social problems. Though there might be many changes caused by tourism in a community, it is the changes to the social environment for local residents which is of most interest. This social change is the hardest to measure in a quantitative way. There are indicators to the growth of resentment towards tourism mentioned in the literature.

Bryden (1973) mentions indications that there may be a relationship between tourism density (expressed in the annual numbers of tourist as a proportion of the population or as a proportion of the land area) and the growth of resentment towards tourists. The inference is that tourism density is an indicator of the degree of confrontation between tourists and residents, and this confrontation gives rise to resentment of tourists. This resentment may occur because of "corrosive" effects of tourism on the native culture and value system.
Clevendon (1979) attempts to identify and measure the impacts created by tourism development and to isolate the extent to which the change can be attributed to tourism. He found four indicators:

a) change in community size as measured by the rate of growth;

b) attitudes of resident population towards tourist development;

c) the degree of segregation of local uses from tourist uses and the degree of interaction between tourists and locals;

d) the development of controls, measured by the degree to which man-made environments in the city have been declared as preserved national monuments and the extent of local participation in making that possible.

Clevendon felt that the average number of beds per hotel would indicate the size and complexity of development while the rate of growth of hotel beds indicates the dynamics of development. The percentage of upper class hotel beds over total beds characterizes the quality of accommodations. The integration of tourism development with the local economy is shown by classifying the ownership of hotels and tourist shops as local or non-local.
2.4 Questions for Evaluating the Social Performance of Tourism Development

After reviewing the literature on international and domestic tourism and listing the costs and benefits of tourism, it is now possible to construct a guideline (in the form of a question list) for evaluating the social performance of tourism development. These questions are not meant to provide measurement in any exact way. They are included as a way of summarizing the information in this chapter. They can also be used to review some of the impacts of tourism in any particular area. Themes or concerns that indicate any sort of social change will be included. Though there are four "players" involved in tourism (local residents, government, tourist, and investors), these questions will only involve indicators of social change to the residents.

These questions are:

a) What is the proportion of tourists in relation to the resident population?

This can indicate the degree of confrontation between tourist and residents.

b) To what degree does the number or type of tourist affect the environmental destruction of:

- water;
- air;
- living or recreational space;

59
- food production space?

c) To what degree does the number or type of tourist degrade or upgrade the local culture:

Tourism could enhance the preservation of local culture (i.e., Polynesian Cultural Centre, Hawaii) or destroy or hinder it (i.e., Spanish tradition of conservatism on the Spanish "Riviera").

d) To what degree does the type of development affect:

- aesthetics of the area;
- architecture?

If tourism development has not been properly planned, "strip" developments could occur, as well as unattractive buildings and sites. This tends to make residents less favourable to further developments.

e) To what degree does tourism development enhance or detract from:

- local stability;
- usual lifestyles?

f) Is the urban infrastructure adaptable enough to handle extra loads placed on it as a result of tourism? For example:

- roads, parking;
- hospitals, clinics;
- fire service;
- police;
- water, sewer;
- recreation facilities.
Summary

This chapter has defined tourism and reviewed some of the pertinent literature on the impacts of tourism. There is a definite scarcity of literature dealing specifically with the impacts of tourism and methods of controlling the negative effects.

The impacts of tourist development on a region can be diverse and of considerable magnitude. Possible results of such impacts may be changes in the social, cultural and political arrangements of the destination area.

Changes in the social milieu are likely to take place much more rapidly and on a larger scale where development is rapid, where it involves large numbers of tourists, and where local or non-local contact is frequent.

Some of the benefits from tourism include increased economic and development growth, improvements in social services, and increased employment and income. Costs include disruptive social change, damage to the environment and seasonal unemployment. Residents can become resentful of tourists and develop negative attitudes towards the tourist industry.
A method of listing these impacts is with the "Questions for Evaluating the Social Performance of Tourism Development." By reviewing this list, an indication of the social performance of the tourist industry in any location should be possible.
The previous chapter discussed tourism and its impacts. It also provided a qualitative framework for assessing the social performance of tourism development. If the social performance is found to be less than adequate for local residents, two questions arise: what should be done about it and what would happen if nothing were done? This chapter will study the second question.

The concept of saturation is being studied as a method of gauging when the social problems of tourism become critical. If a formula for measuring saturation can be found, it can be used to control and properly plan for tourist industry growth.

The purpose of this chapter will be to review the literature on saturation and its alternate term, "carrying capacity." Carrying capacity has been the term usually used in recreation planning, and subsequently in tourism planning. Saturation is the point when the carrying capacity has been reached. Saturation will be the term used in this study to describe the carrying capacity concept as applied to tourism planning. In this way, it will be easier to differentiate
between carrying capacity as used in recreation planning, and as used in tourism planning.

3.1 Definition

3.1.1 Carrying Capacity and Recreation Planning

There are several concepts which need to be discussed in this section. Before discussing each concept, however, a definition will be given.

CARRYING CAPACITY is the level of use beyond which impacts exceed acceptable levels specified by evaluative standards (Shelby, 1984, 433).

The determination of carrying capacity involves two separate components. The descriptive component documents the observable workings of the recreation system (e.g., types of use, amount of use, site factors), while the evaluative component integrates value judgements into the capacity determination. Value judgements are based on personal satisfaction. The relationship between personal satisfaction and use levels in any environment is dependent upon the activities in which an individual participated, and the needs or desires that activity was to fulfill.
"Whatever the method used to determine carrying capacity, ultimately the measures are based on value judgements" (Jaakson et al., 1976, 360).

Satisfaction of visitors to any area can be explained by expectations and personal norms.

EXPECTATIONS are the quality of experience visitors are looking forward to. They influence the perception of a recreation experience at several levels (i.e., stress release, autonomy, achievement, learning, etc., or, more specifically, with pristineness of the environment or the number of other visitors to the area).

PERSONAL NORMS signify self-expectations for specific action in particular situations that are constructed by the individual (Graefe et al., 1984, 398). Personal norms are simply the normal type of reactions an individual carries with him into any situation.

The principle of capacity management is common in all sorts of facilities. The number of seats determines the capacity of a conference centre and of an aircraft. A finite capacity for these facilities is easy to understand. The concept becomes more difficult to accept and to apply in
public spaces, which have conditioned people's minds to regard them as unrestricted and unlimited in capacity.

The concept of carrying capacity is used in planning but there is no generally accepted definition of it and no standard approach of how it should be calculated. The most widespread application of carrying capacity is in outdoor recreation planning and in natural resources management.

The concept of carrying capacity has evoked mixed feelings. On one hand, it catered to the need to limit and control threats to the resource (synonymous with recreation). On the other, it ran counter-intuitively to the fundamental assumption that one maximizes benefits by maximizing output of the product (Schreyer, 1984, 387).

Carrying capacity is based on an analogy drawn at least twenty years ago between biological carrying capacity and the effects of user density on visitor satisfaction in natural areas. Important studies have been done by Wagar (1964), Lucas (1964), and Stankey (1973, as cited by Becker, Jubenville and Burnett, 1984).

The term "carrying capacity" is borrowed from wildlife ecology and range management where the term has a precise, and sometimes measurable use. Its definition in this area is "the largest number of organisms of a particular species that can be maintained indefinitely in a given part of the
environment" (Wilson, 1975 in Burch, 1984).

The following are other concepts that pertain to use and over-use in capacity planning.

DENSITY refers to a measure of a physical space condition (Reynolds, 1984, 9), like the number of individuals in a particular setting.

CROWDING is the negative evaluation of a certain density - a value judgement which specifies that there are too many people (Graef et al., 399). In general, the number of contacts influences perceived crowding.

OVER-CROWDING in a negative, emotional term, often used, though erroneously, to indicate an excessive and harmful density level; it is a separate and distinct term from "crowding"; it is a lay term not used by scholars in this field (Reynolds, 1984, 10).

There needs to be a situation of high density for crowding to be experienced. However, crowding will not occur in every high density situation unless there is disruption to the individual, which creates stress.
STRESS is an emotional strain which can influence elevated blood pressure, urinary tract disorders, hay fever, asthma, etcetera. There are indications that human needs and stress response best explain the chain of events which interrelate density and crowding (Reynolds, 1984).

A term used to describe conditions of high density is CONGESTION. Congestion can be thought of as "mutual interference among people using a common facility. The interference can be of a physical type where people physically obstruct each other.... The interference can also take the form of negative psychological effects from proximity of people even when physical movements are in no way interdependent. The prime example would be the degradation of the perceived quality of a wilderness recreation experience caused by the sighting or passing of other persons" (Howe, 246).

Congestion could occur in the form of well-attended beaches, accommodation facilities, and services. A negative impact would be felt on the utilities of the users, on their enjoyment, and on their willingness to pay for such recreation.

Whether or not an area is crowded is a subjective
judgement of an individual, not an objective fact. It varies from individual to individual depending on a variety of social and psychological factors. Individuals can modify their expectations and preferences as a means of reducing the negative effects of perceived crowding.

Environmental and ecological constraints limit the amount of human activity that any given area can efficiently accommodate. There is also an acceptable density of people engaged in any activity, as perceived by users themselves. This is where the concepts of satisfaction, expectations and personal norms, and stress and crowding are concerned.

There are generally four types of carrying capacities used in recreation settings (Shelby, 1984):

a) ecological capacity - concerned with impacts on the ecosystem (plants, animals, soil, water, air).

b) physical capacity - the amount of space in undeveloped natural areas.

c) facility capacity - involves man-made improvements intended to handle visitor needs. These can always be increased by spending more money.

d) social capacity - involves impacts which impair or alter human experiences. Social carrying capacity is the level of use beyond which social impacts exceed acceptable levels specified by evaluative standards. Social capacity is most concerned with the impact of people on people.

Graefe et al. (1984, 423) have concluded in their study
on carrying capacity, that "there is no single capacity inherent to any given area. There may be as many potential capacities as there are combinations of impacts and types of experiences to be offered."

Early applications of recreational carrying capacity sought to determine levels or types of use which could be tolerated, and limits beyond which the resource base would be destroyed or unacceptably altered. A later interpretation of the carrying capacity concept (Godschalk and Parker, 1975) found it useful in identifying thresholds beyond which action must be taken to avoid or correct problems. As well, the use of capacity thresholds can help in focusing the attention of users, managers, or the general public on key issues (Schreyer, 1984).

Graefe et al. (1984, 396) sum up the later interpretations: "virtually all relevant recent articles suggest that carrying capacity is not an absolute value waiting to be discovered, but is rather a range of values which must be related to specific management objectives for a given area." After this relationship has been established, some form of planning action must be proposed to remedy the situation.
3.1.2 Saturation and Tourism Planning

As Chapter 2 explained, tourism is not exclusively an economic phenomenon, it also involves social, cultural, political and environmental aspects. Social and cultural impacts of tourism are the ways in which tourism contributes to changes in value systems, individual behaviour, family relationships, collective lifestyles, moral conduct, creative expressions, traditional ceremonies, and community organization. In other words, these impacts are the effects that the people in host communities experience, after direct or indirect association with tourists.

SOCIAL SATURATION is the point in the growth of tourism where local residents perceive, on balance, an unacceptable level of social disbenefits from tourism development. The saturation level is the limit of local tolerance to tourism (the equivalent of social carrying capacity in recreation planning).

The concept of saturation planning is to try and establish, in measurable terms, the number of visitors and the degree of development that can take place without detrimental effects on resources. The negative factors become predominant when the number of visitors reach a particular threshold after which benefits progressively
decrease. This threshold is the saturation level.

In tourism, the potential for resident-visitor stress increases proportionately to the volume of tourists. Greater numbers of visitors produce more congestion, require more facilities and services, and invade the privacy of the daily life of residents.

The idea of saturation in tourism planning is based on the fact that there is a finite supply of a given resource. Most tourism planning is concerned with demand (i.e., number of tourists anticipated over a given period). Few studies begin from the supply side or even consider limiting factors. Other components of the supply side of tourism resources are the attitudes and behaviour of the hosts, since these qualities form a significant part of the tourist experience.

L.J. D'Amore (1983) explains that the capacity concept is useful for two purposes:

a) The recognition of a saturation level for tourist activity emphasizes that there is a limit to tolerance, to the supply of positive and friendly interaction or goodwill toward visitors;
b) The concept of saturation provides a framework within which to assess the relative social impacts of tourism on a given community. If social limits to tourism development could be identified, then it would be possible to judge whether this limit was being approached and whether steps should be taken to control tourism to some extent.

Saturation planning can be used to enable governments to plan ahead in order to avoid future saturation problems in developing tourist areas, and to overcome the disadvantage where saturation already exists or is being approached.

Saturation levels are determined by, among other things, the amount of land suitable for hotel development, availability of labor, and the capacity of the roads or of the main tourist attractions of the region. "It is easy to demonstrate the concept of saturation for tourist facilities such as restaurants, beaches and scenic areas, but more difficult for cities or regions...there are four main ways in which saturation of a locality of a region can take place" according to Young (1973), though the fourth way is simply the result of any of the first three. These four ways are:
a) The diversion of land to tourist uses denies its use for other purposes, such as schools, residential housing, or open space.

b) The adverse effect of the tourist industry on the local employment structure. A growing proportion of the labour force being employed in the tourist industry can have a depressing effect on regional economic growth because of the lower productivity potential of work in the tourist industry. Employment in hotels and motels is largely seasonal with low-skilled and low-paid workers. The impact depends entirely on the opportunity costs of labor. If there are no other jobs for labor to enter anyway, then the effects on the local employment structure could be positive.

c) Pressure on the urban infrastructure, such as water supply, electricity, police, hospital, waste disposal, fire protection, and especially the transportation system.

d) The combination of the preceding factors can cause a "psychological saturation" level among the local residents. This can lead to negative feelings towards the tourists since residents have to compete with
tourists for a given supply of services. This saturation level is the limit of local tolerance to tourism. This way for saturation to occur fits the definition of saturation used in this study. Individually, the preceding three ways would lead to physical or facility saturation (as explained in Chapter 3.1.1).

Getz (1983) identifies six concepts of capacity to absorb tourism:

a) Tangible Resource Limits:

This method of determining capacity to absorb tourism involves conducting inventories of existing resources and identifying obstacles to development, such as poor transport links or a lack of services. These obstacles can theoretically be overcome so that the capacity of a tangible resource might be seen as merely an obstacle.
b) Satisfaction of Visitors:

The attitudes and experiences of visitors, if negative, can act to restrict the growth of tourism or cause a decline in the popularity of a destination area. Visitor satisfaction can be related to the attitudes of a host population and crowding, although for some leisure pursuits, crowding is actually a positive factor.

Assessing visitor satisfaction is very difficult since, usually, only a small sample of the yearly visitor population is available at any one time. Therefore, time will change the characteristics of the destination. As well, visitors might have preconceived ideas of a holiday. Problems might be indicated by reduced starts on tourism development or reduced numbers of visitors.

c) Excessive Rate of Growth:

The rate of growth or change is a factor which can influence all other variables, but rapid change in itself can have detrimental impacts (de Kadt, 1979). The receptiveness of host populations can be adversely affected if change is rapid, or if it is believed that there exists little or no local control over
development. Also, the social interests of host communities are probably better served by facilities that are small in scale (single building or site developments) and widely dispersed, than by developments at a large scale (de Kadt, 1979 as cited by Getz).

d) Capacity Based on the Evaluation of Costs and Benefits:

Since it would be unusual for any one factor to lead directly to the application of limits on growth or change, some form of cost-benefit analysis might be required in the context of established goals and objectives.

Getz lists three considerations linked to costs and benefits. The first is to determine if a limiting factor to tourism growth can and should be overcome. The second consideration is whether or not certain costs or problems are to be tolerated in pursuit of objectives (i.e., should social problems be tolerated in pursuit of economic growth). Third, an attempt can be made to find the best possible alternative of all costs and benefits.

e) Tolerance by the Host Population:

Many factors can determine the attitudes of host populations, and it can be suggested that at some point,
there might arise a predominantly negative reaction which will threaten the tourist industry. Outright hostility towards the visitors can ruin their experiences and discourage potential tourists (Rajotte, 1982). Once a friendly attitude has soured, it is enormously difficult to remedy the situation. Doxey (1975) suggests resident annoyance and outright antagonism will always result unless active monitoring and counter measures are taken. Residents are more likely to build up a general liking or disliking for tourists than are tourists for residents since first time visitors often do not have enough time to decide whether they like residents as a class.

The most friendly behaviour would be expected from people who feel they have something to gain economically from tourists, but who do not fear the complete loss of their livelihood by an occasional display of honest, personal dislike for particular individuals.

Doxey (1975) constructed an index of the level of irritation ("irridex"). Doxey's "irridex" covers four levels of expression of reactions on the part of the host population:

a) euphoria - initial phase, both visitors and
investors welcomed.

b) apathy - transition to this stage varies in length depending on the speed and amount of development. A gradual formalization of contacts takes place. Tourists are seen as stereotypes and are taken for granted.

c) annoyance - host population begins to express doubts.

d) antagonism - overt expression of irritation where all social and personal problems are attributed to the tourist.

The causes of irritation are numerous and are interrelated - social, economic, cultural and environmental. According to Doxey, some of the variations giving rise to the irritations are:

a) fear that hosts are being treated as second class to tourists.

b) fear of threat to local values and culture;

c) loss of access to facilities (crowded transportation, private beaches);

d) dislike of tourists' dress (particularly that of women) and behaviour.

Although mere numbers of tourists do not, by themselves, constitute the reason for the speed and intensity of the development of resentment on the part of local residents, there is a point at which irritation grows rapidly. Clevendon (1979) feels this happens because of:
a) contrast of lifestyles and cultures;
b) socio-economic disparities between tourist and host;
c) land mass of receiving country;
d) historical background;
e) language;
f) structure of economy;
g) level of dependence on tourism.

There are problems involved in using attitudes to set limits on development. Attitudes themselves are difficult to measure and are likely to change over time (Cheng, 1980). Other problems stem from the fact that imperfect knowledge and biased perceptions often shape attitudes.

Residents should be given adequate input into the decision-making process and a forum provided to sort out conflicts.

f) The Role of Capacity in a Systems Approach:

This is an approach which emphasizes comprehensiveness, the assessment of costs and benefits through ongoing analysis and prediction of impacts, and the establishment of explicit goals for planning and management. One of the major differences from the other interpretations of capacity already mentioned, is that
it does not entail an exact imposition of limits, although it does allow for the use of limits as one form of control on the system.

It is the level of user activity that best achieves the given purposes of the system. Goals are often more diverse, and the system broader. As well, the perspectives of hosts and visitors, and regional, national, and international interests must all be evaluated. In a systems approach, capacity thresholds must be seen as part of a dynamic process aimed at overcoming barriers where possible, but one in which it is also possible to exert controls (such as limits) when necessary to satisfy objectives.

Getz sees capacity not as "a formula or as a mechanistic approach to determining the inherent or optional limits on growth and change. Rather, capacity is useful within a comprehensive, systematic planning process as a means to identify thresholds which require attention, and as an optional form of controlling the system through the imposition of partial or complete limits" (Getz, 1983, 250).

Hovinen (1982), as Getz, feels an area's saturation level consists of different elements, each of which may have its own population limit. For purposes of analysis, Hovinen feels saturation can be subdivided into various categories:
biophysical and behavioural; physical and psychological; physical, ecological, facilities and social; and physical, biological and managerial.

A useful distinction to make is between, on the one hand, an area's physical space, ecology, and man-made facilities (such as motels and parking lots), and, on the other, the area's behavioural or psychological capacity, or the threshold at which visitors, as well as residents, feel displeasure. The psychological threshold may be lower than the physical carrying capacity of the countryside.

Wall (1983), taking an opposing view to the carrying capacity concept, feels research has shown that only tenuous relationships exist between crowding and the quality of recreational experience. He feels the term has little meaning in the absence of clearly specified goals. The number of visitors, the activities which are acceptable, and the qualities of the experiences which are obtained, can be manipulated to meet planning and management goals.

Wall argues that while capacity implies a fixed limit, the notion of resort cycles (as explained by Young in Chapter 1) implies change. Such changes might include the numbers and types of visitors and the experiences which they
seek; the receptivity of permanent residents to tourists, the origins of investments; the landscape of resorts; and the nature of the experiences which they can provide. Thus, there are a number of cycles which may or may not be linked to varying degrees. There are likely to be differences of opinions concerning the desirable number of visitors, appropriate experiences, and planning and management problems both within and between groups of hosts, guests, and investors at any stage of development. Questions might arise, such as, whose capacity is to be paramount, and, if capacity is exceeded, exactly what is to be done about it?

Wall concludes that if the use of the concept encourages tourism planners and managers to give greater consideration to environmental matters, to the qualities of the experiences available to both hosts and guests, and to specify their goals and objectives, then it will serve a useful purpose. This echoes D'Amore's feelings that the concept of social constraints to tourism development must be recognized, especially in the critical early stages of development.

From the literature available, it would seem that Wall might be correct in his assessment of the concept of an area's saturation level for tourism. As the next section
will indicate, there is no reliable measuring concept for the saturation point.

3.2 Measurement of Saturation

The volume of tourism is one of the several factors leading to resentment towards tourists by local residents. Bryden (1973) feels tourism density is an indicator of the degree of confrontation between tourists and residents. Young (1973) states that rather than simply stating the number of tourists, or the number of nights they spend, tourists' numbers should be expressed as a percentage of residents. Another method would be to calculate tourist densities by expressing the number of tourists per square mile.

The simple volume technique does not take into account the seasonal pattern of highs and lows of tourism density, nor socio-economic and cultural factors.

A formula cited by Clevendon (1979) attempted to calculate the optimal ceiling of tourism, after which adverse social impact occurs. The basic elements in the formula are the number of tourists (t) and the host
country's population (p), area in square kilometers (a), and per capita income measured in dollars (c):

\[ S = \frac{t}{p^{0.19} \times a^{0.36} \times c^{1.79}} \times 10^4 \]

Where \( S \) is the level at which adverse social impact occurs. Of seventy-one countries examined in 1970, the average value was 189. The highest or worst countries were Rwanda (456) and Grenada (326).

This formula is not very effective for analyzing domestic tourism since per capita income will not usually vary as much within a country as between countries. It is not relevant to tourism in British Columbia. Also, there is no explanation given as to how the exponents in the equation are determined.

Another proposal for determining the carrying capacity of tourist destinations was proposed by P. Stanev in Bosselman (1978). His formula was:

\[ K = \frac{S \times k_o}{N} \]

where \( K \) = the maximum capacity of the tourist area;
\( S \) = the total area;
\( k_o \) = the correction factor, which varies between
0.5 and 1, and is determined as a function of hypsometric (elevation measurements) characteristics, taking into account engineering, geological, hydrological, landscape and other considerations;

\[ N = \text{the standard area per person in m}^2 \text{ per person.} \]

The total capacity of the area in question must satisfy the following requirements:

\[ \xi K > t \]

where \( \xi K \) = the total capacity of individual tourist areas;

\( t \) = the volume of the stream of tourists (number of tourists to the area).

Not only is Stanev's formula subject to "hypsometric" correction, but he notes in his commentary that there is "no accepted method" of determining the "standard" area required per tourist.

Both these formulas fail because they do not consider values such as ecological balance, urban aesthetics, community cohesion, resident attitudes, etcetera. Both models are vague, have unexplained exponents, and relate unmeasurable variables, giving them little value.
One particular difficulty in determining an area's saturation level, especially the psychological/behavioral component, is that different individuals and groups are affected by congestion in various ways. Visitors have different expectations and perceptions; what satisfies one person will not satisfy someone else. Visitors' tolerance for greater numbers may also become greater over time as expectations are altered as a result of changing circumstances or shifts in visitor type. Defining the psychological threshold, and even the physical capacity, is of necessity an arbitrary decision based in part on a value judgement about how many visitors and facilities are enough.

Some research shows that leisure communities will be divided into competing groups, one which favors the expansion of recreational facilities, ranged against those seeking to limit commercial activity. These conflicting views are likely to be articulated in elections, annexation, zoning actions, referendum, and land-use decisions. Outcomes will determine the scope and nature of growth in the community.
3.3 Measurement of Saturation Used in this Study

It has been shown that there are several approaches to capacity planning, but this study will concentrate on the limits of local tolerance to tourism, or the social saturation level. The point at which the capacity is reached will be termed the saturation level. As explained by Young (1973) and Getz (1983), it is usually when other sectors (for example, physical infrastructure or recreation services) in the community begin to approach saturation levels that the social saturation level begins to rise. It responds to the events taking place in the community as a result of tourism. Exceeding the saturation level can cause a decrease in tourism as a result of negative host-guest interaction.

While there does not seem to be any accurate quantifiable approach to carrying-capacity planning, the best possible solution might be to incorporate some subjective values into the analysis. By observing and measuring the use and over-use of certain facilities, services, and the environment, along with public opinion surveys taken at such times, the physical conditions in existence when the surveys indicate a negative attitude to tourism can be used for future forecasting of approaching
resident saturation points. Impact studies are seen as complementary rather than as an alternative to saturation evaluation.

By studying physical and environmental problems occurring, indications of rising social intolerance might be observed. The saturation concept is considered to be an important concept to understand because it simply shows that there are upper limits to social tolerance of tourism. It is a method for gauging when a critical point has been reached for problems related to the tourist industry. Since the measurement of saturation found in the literature is unsatisfactory, vague, and not operationally defined, this study will use indicators to show that capacity is being approached. These indicators will be based on the "Guidelines for Evaluating the Social Performance of Tourism Development" in Chapter 2, and by reviewing Young's (1973) reasons for social saturation.

It is not critical to this thesis, however, to operationalize or adopt "saturation" planning as a method of tourism planning. It is not necessary to prove that saturation has been reached, only that such a situation could occur. The concern central to this thesis is: if capacity is exceeded, exactly what is to be done about it?
Summary

This chapter reviewed the concept of saturation, in hopes of using it as a measure to control and properly plan for tourist industry growth. Though no workable formula was found to measure such a saturation level, the concept is still considered important in order to emphasize the fact that there are limits of local tolerance to tourism. If a general methodological approach to the study and measurement of tourism's social impacts is developed in later studies, it would enable a better analysis and make comparative studies possible.

Carrying capacity, as defined in recreation planning, involves many concepts based upon personal perceptions of satisfaction, expectations, and crowding. The latest studies on carrying capacity seem to indicate it is a range of values which must be related to specific management objectives.

Since no acceptable formula has been found to measure saturation, indicators of approaching saturation will be based on the guidelines developed in Chapter 2, and on a review of the specified areas of concern which Young (1973) thought led to "psychological saturation" of residents.
This chapter examines available literature for specific policies that have been used to mitigate impacts of tourism. The previous two chapters examined tourism and its impact, then studied how these impacts could cause a saturation level to be reached. When this happens, the limit of local tolerance to tourism will have been reached. Chapter 3 did not find a suitable measurement of saturation but two methods of indicating impending saturation were mentioned (Young's reasons for saturation occurring, and the list of question from Chapter 2).

Though no measurements for saturation were found, the definition of saturation can be a useful tool in tourism planning. One must keep in mind, then, that there are limits to the amount of tourists and tourism development that a host population will tolerate.

This chapter will discuss the goals of planning for tourism and the roles that planners and government should play. It will also present the three players involved in the tourist industry (i.e., investors, tourists, and residents) and will outline their goals. This section of
Chapter 4 is necessary in order to understand who makes the policies, with what tools, and for whom these policies are made.

This discussion will consider the methods that have been employed to mitigate the negative impacts of tourism (Chapter 2) and to avoid saturation (Chapter 3). The purpose of this chapter is to categorize the problems related to the tourist industry and then list the strategies designed to alleviate the problems.

4.1 Planning For Tourism

To begin the discussion of planning for tourism, it should be made clear that local aspirations and needs must be incorporated into the planning process, since it is vital for a community to preserve its identity, lifestyle, and needs and priorities in the face of tourism development. In order to be effective, overall tourism planning must foster the accomplishment of several goals at the same time. These goals are:

a) rewards to owners - profits, fair taxation, fair development guidelines;

b) better user satisfactions - present a good product for
tourists;
c) social and physical environmental balance - tourism development must not progress at the expense of the social and physical environment.

To do this, the divergencies between social benefit and private benefit must be controlled. Social benefits are the benefits (or costs) accruing to the population at large as opposed to owner/investors.

It is the role of the planner to promote a better fit between behavioral needs and the environment. Public planning for tourism is done by federal, provincial and municipal agencies and involves two main elements:

a) regulation and control of tourist development - these measures include the setting of some areas off limits to tourist development, imposition of restrictions on the maximum number of tourists in an area, control of land-use and building activities in tourist localities, regulation of type, height and appearance of tourist accommodations, and prevention of over-commercialization of tourist sites and over-exploitation of tourist resources. Though such measures are not usually aimed to prevent tourist development, they nevertheless put restrictions on its unhampered growth.
The pricing mechanism, as an instrument of strategy and as a means of ensuring a return for the cost of providing facilities, offers obvious scope for regulating demand in tourism, as elsewhere. Price can be adjusted to stimulate or restrain demand to an acceptable level. The pricing mechanism can be affected outside the market by costs to developers or investors of increased business taxes, license fees, and development costs.

b) general protective measures - these are for the protection and conservation of amenities such as beaches, forests, and wilderness areas. This type of action does not impose real restrictions upon tourist development and actually protects the environment for tourism. It simply sets aside areas of preservation for general public use or future government development.

The role of government, besides its input through the planning process, is to provide infrastructure and utilities, help set up staff training and promotional activities through tourist boards and hotel/recreation schools, and regulate fiscal policies governing various components of the tourist industry (i.e., tax incentives to hoteliers). For example, since 1958, government loans have
supplied some 44.5 percent of the total investment in tourism in Israel. Of Israel's hotels built during that period, 90 percent have received such loans, in amount up to 67 percent of the net investment, at an interest rate of as low as 6.5 percent. In contrast, because of the high rate of inflation, Israeli banks have charged up to 36 percent interest on loans (Bosselman, 1978).

The development of the tourist industry could take three directions. In the end, each need must be modified by the others, but the following will present an optimal course of development for each sector:

A) Investors - these are the people whose businesses set out to attract, accommodate, and service the tourist. Their interests are profit oriented with a natural aim to please their clientele, not necessarily local residents or government agencies. The priorities of investors are tourist-oriented. They must be allowed enough room to operate by regulatory agencies in order for growth to occur in this industry. The social and economic performance of tourist development can increase or decrease the vitality of competition by inducing changes in tourist locality preferences, affecting length of stay of tourists, and influencing accommodation attraction.
A good environment can be created for investors in the tourist industry by:

a) Creating a positive and efficient development process within local government. If developers are encouraged by a lack of red-tape in the development stage, they will feel encouraged to return for future projects.

b) Providing some form of financial assistance at the provincial or federal level where the needs could not be covered by financial institutions in the private sector. The existence of these special financial needs prompted the introduction of the Development Corporation of British Columbia at the provincial level and two separate measures at the federal level, the Small Business Loans Act and the Industrial Development Bank Act.

In Bosselman's study of Israel, public land is often sold or leased to hotel developers at reduced rates. Grants are given for purchase of Israeli-made equipment (15 percent of value) and infrastructure (10 percent of cost). Income tax, property tax, customs duty, purchase tax, excise
levies - all are substantially reduced. As well, the government often builds new roads and sewers to facilitate hotel construction. They view tourism as a business, the largest single item in the world's foreign trade.

Basically, private sector requirements for investing funds in any area is a product (which the Penticton region has), demand (people want nice vacation experiences), the right investment climate (created by attitudes towards development by local government and residents), and a labour force capable and willing to be employed in the tourist industry. If it has all these things, with a profit potential, then development should occur.

B) Tourists - people will travel to areas where they can have fun, feel safe, where there are attractive physical features, both natural and man-made (sun, beaches, shopping, casinos), and where they feel welcome.

All the man-made features are usually provided by investors or local government. A welcome feeling from the residents is also required.
C) Residents - the benefits of tourism accrue to many people in varying degrees, but the social costs are borne by the residents. In order not to affect residents of Penticton (as an example) but still bring in needed revenue, self-contained tourist resorts would have to be developed along the more remote shores of Okanagan or Skaha Lake, much like the Lake Okanagan Resort near Kelowna. However, at this stage in the evolution of Penticton and the tourist industry, such development would not ease Penticton's present situation given the amount of its tourist accommodation and services.

Whatever plans investor/developers have to "improve" the industry for themselves and their ultimate clients, the "tourists", must be carefully studied by planners for the city and/or region to allow a harmonious co-existence at all levels. Without appropriate zoning, adequate planning, and political action, existing problems could become more severe.

Local and foreign investor/entrepreneurs involved in tourism can be expected to be engaged in aggressive promotion, while a small, vocal group can often be expected to lead aggressive opposition to tourist induced change.
The majority of the population can be expected to fall into the categories of silent or resigned acceptance of change, either because of some benefits such as employment or new markets, or because they see no way of halting or reversing a trend.

4.2 Literature

The literature provides some scattered efforts at improving the social situation around tourism destination areas. No one has dealt with this problem in any great detail or in a concise form. The efforts generally fall into four categories.

4.2.1 Policies to Mitigate Problems of Inadequate Facilities and Services

This category of problems includes streets, transport, recreation, beaches, facility location and social services. If problems at this level and the environmental level are dealt with, then resident acceptance of tourism will become more possible.
Rajotte (1982, 96) mentions a physical planning approach to affect the nature of interaction between residents and tourists. He acknowledges that the location of hotels, tourist attractions and linking transportation routes can have a major impact on long-run resident attitude.

The usual solution is to isolate tourists in resort 'ghettoes', but this runs counter to the tourists' desire to see the destination area and also increases the risk of negative local stereotypes springing from non-contact.

He feels that in terms of resident-visitor interaction, "small scale and family type accommodation is preferrable to the development of the 'sunny playpen' catering to mass tourism" (p. 253).

In Hawaii, the physical impact that Rajotte discussed has been recognized and addressed.

To prevent "helter skelter" development ("Proposed Goals and Objectives for a Long-Range Comprehensive Plan for Maui County," (1977) as cited by Farrell, 1982), a proposal on Maui called for a guided development, continued excellence and resort development that maintained the social, economic and physical environments of the county. Certain guidelines and strategies, which would hopefully
achieve these goals, are outlined as follows (p. 151):

- destination areas should be clearly defined to prevent overflow to undesignated areas;
- obstructions to ocean views should be prevented;
- landscaping should be required; lighting and heights would have limitations imposed;
- an architectural review board should review construction to ensure excellence and quality;
- no direct mainland flights to Maui should be permitted;
- construction should blend with the environment;
- education and training for the visitor industry would be provided to residents; and
- charges and fees would be assessed on new development for the provision of water.

Farrell felt that a uniform high quality could be maintained in large-scale projects which are likely to respond to community views and to local government direction. The large-scale development would be appropriate in destination areas with a small base population. A large-scale development could be segregated from the community, be largely self sufficient, and not increase pressures on local systems. If these developments were in an area where culture was not a major attraction, then these designated tourist areas could work to alleviate some of the visitor-resident stress. This is the view shared by Hudman (1978), mentioned in Chapter 2. If local/non-local contact is less
frequent, less friction will be created.

Bosselman (1978) has written about the planning strategy for Lake Kinneret in Israel. Only a certain amount of the hotel development was permitted in the two existing cities along the lake shores. In this way it was assured that the hotels would not proliferate along the entire shoreline. At the same time this made more visitor-resident interaction necessary. In this case the environmental effects of the development took precedent over the possible social effects.

Other problems of facilities and services and some possible solutions are listed below:

a) Transportation - tourist vehicles put added strain on street traffic and parking facilities.

Solutions include better use of alternative forms of transit (buses, taxis), efficient traffic flow patterns (by-pass roads, one-way streets) and overflow parking facilities. Also, pedestrian and bicycle traffic can be encouraged by walk-ways, bike paths, and the location of recreational facilities.
b) Recreational Facilities - the only way to satisfy the needs of tourists and residents is to have enough facilities to satisfy peak demand periods. Since tourists usually have some reason for arriving at any particular destination, these attractions should be expanded, developed, or controlled to gain their most efficient use.

Any new, large-scale developments should be encouraged to provide some form of recreational facilities and services to their customers and residents of the area.

c) Infrastructure

i) Police and Fire Services - an increase in population brought by tourists would be expected to bring at least a proportionate increase in police and fire protection requirements. This increase would probably be more than proportionate because of the reduced constraints on tourists as mentioned by Archer (1978) in Chapter 2.

A seasonal bolstering of police and fire protection services could be achieved by the use of
auxiliary staff, altered holiday scheduling procedures, or transfers from quieter areas.

Rothman (1978) found that residents in two east coast resort towns did not feel police protection was less adequate in the summer despite the fact that most residents perceived summer to be a period of more crime. Rothman explained this apparent contradiction as the residents' awareness of the hiring of a large contingent of seasonal police officers who were concentrated in highly visible activities such as foot patrols and traffic control. These activities constantly remind residents of the physical presence of police protection.

A recurring problem for police in tourist destination areas is the transients in the population. These are people who remain for a short time, then move on to no where in particular. Cheng (1980) also notes that they are a sore point to permanent residents. This could be changed by either attempting to add to the permanent population by helping to persuade transients to settle in the area, by pricing them out of the area, hiring local residents first, or simply learning to live with
them.

ii) Hospital and Health Services - these facilities would certainly be overtaxed with a seasonal population fluctuation.

A seasonal or permanent clinic could be set up using part-time or student help. This would ease any congestion of facilities for local residents.

iii) Water Supply and Sewage Disposal - water supply must be considered when expanding services for tourists as it must fit into an overall water-use strategy.

An adequate sewage system is essential whether it is for a constant tourist population as in Hawaii or a seasonal peak tourist destination such as Penticton.

D'Amore (1983) felt that attempts to mitigate general growth problems in a given community should precede the introduction of tourism or any increase in existing levels of tourist activity. "Otherwise local people tend to associate growth problems with tourism and to feel some resentment of the tourism industry" (p.157).
4.2.2 Policies to Mitigate Problems
of Undesirable Environmental Characteristics

Examples of undesirable environmental characteristics include crowding, lack of open space, and poor aesthetics.

a) Crowding (high density) - this can be a negative or positive condition (as discussed in Chapter 3), depending on the expectations of the people involved. Usually, people will come to an area like Waikiki, Acapulco, or Penticton, and expect crowds. This does not give the residents of the destination area any such choice.

Residents who feel the effects of crowding should have the choice of shopping and leisure facilities within a neighbourhood or residential enclave, or going into the tourist zone.

Beaches could be handled as in Europe (Bosselman, 1978), where fences are erected and spots can be reserved. Season passes at reduced rates could be sold to residents.

b) Lack of Open Space - it is important for a city to maintain open space. It provides the parkland needed
for a city's people to maintain health, enjoy the greenspace and for recreational facilities.

Bosselman (1978) felt that the quality of the environment was greatly reduced in Jerusalem when public parks were given away to hotel developers.

c) Aesthetics - reasons for desiring good aesthetics are explained by Porteous (1977, 231):

adults, infants, and laboratory animals have a fundamental perceptual preference for ambiguous, complex, visual patterns. Second, both lack of work on the other senses and experiments comparing several senses suggest that vision is dominant in human perception. Third, and most important, Rappoport and Kantor have put forward the notion that for each individual there is an optimal perceptual rate. Too few and too simple stimuli lead to saturation and chaos in comprehension.

If the optimal perceptual rate varies with the individual, then buildings and townscapes must be sufficiently complex to provide a variety of stimuli, only some of which are perceived by any one individual.

There should be a range of meanings and possibilities for an individual to perceive, select and organize to his satisfaction in architecture. Variation, novelty, surprisingness, and incongruity are needed.
Optimum design occurs when the "design is sufficient to permit a choice of behaviors on the part of the user, and enhances rather than hinders the choice made, satisfaction on the part of the user may result. If this occurs without reducing the satisfactions of other users or potential users, then good design has indeed promoted human welfare" (Porteous, 1977, 310).

As Farrell (1980, 80) explains, "in Hawaii unrestrained investment in real estate, tasteless design, and thoughtless development can destroy the physical and human resources on which tourism is based." What Farrell feels is needed is enough understanding of aesthetics to allow building and design to be compatible with surroundings and in accord with the cultural traditions of long-time residents. His views are seconded by Archer (1978), who found that some building designs were created for visitors rather than for the residents who had to look at them year-round.

Quality new tourist development should be required to have design appeal. This requirement should be detailed at the time of development application. Landscaping should be an integral part of the aesthetics of a development. It should also be used to hide parking lots and service areas.
Other environmental impacts might include coastal and marine resources and air quality. Unlike many other economic activities, the success of tourism depends on maintenance of those environmental qualities which attract tourists. This was done in Fiji (Rajotte, 1982) by:

- control of dredging;
- protecting coastal wetlands;
- controlling run-off from building sites;
- controlling pollution, such as sewage;
- avoiding destruction of coral reefs;
- regulating hunting, fishing and collecting;
- establishing reserves or national parks.

4.2.3 Policies to Increase Public Acceptance

There are several ways of increasing public acceptance of the tourist industry.

a) A public relations program needs to be undertaken to increase resident awareness. This has been mentioned in studies by Rajotte (1982), and D'Amore (1983), Farrell (1982) and Lundberg (1976), to name only a few. This
program could approach the problem in several directions. First, by simply making the public, through the media, more aware of their role in the industry and the importance of tourism to the economy, residents would be put in a more participatory mood. Improvement in the destination's legibility could be useful in improving the citizens' quality of life through enhanced awareness, increased interaction, and reduced stress.

Improvement in the community from tourist development could happen by increasing the exposure of people to a variety of environmental settings and potential interactions, by facilitating and stimulating exploration throughout the city, and improving the potential for personal attachment to places. This counteracts rootlessness, improves choice, and enhances the possibility of environmental manipulation by the individual.

The legibility or 'feel' of a city can be improved for example by:

i) enhancing the quality of the citizens' image of downtown;
ii) improving personal mobility;
iii) "orientation and pathfinding within the city are fundamentally necessary skills which might
be enhanced by improvements in transport system legibility and the imageability of areas and nodes" (Porteous, 1977, 126).

A second approach is to involve the visitors in a program that gives them input into their vacation experiences and also makes the residents more aware of what is happening in their city (Rajotte, 1982). An example of this is the following letter (Figure 9) appearing in the rooms of a hotel chain in Hawaii.

b) There are without a doubt certain amenities existing in many tourist destination areas which are there because of the tourist industry. These are also enjoyed by the general population, who should be informed of these benefits.

Special taxes from tourist projects, parking, and recreational facilities should be put into a fund to finance community projects. If residents saw these facilities and were aware of the source of funds, they could see how the tourist industry was benefitting them. This might increase resident tolerance of otherwise annoying problems.

Porteous (1977, 219) explains that "a given stimulus may at first produce a strong response. When the same
To Our Guests:

We take pleasure in welcoming you to Hawaii and wish you a pleasant stay on our enjoyable islands.

We want you to know that the owner and management of your hotel is desirous of insuring the enjoyment of your stay by making sure Waikiki remains attractive and desirable. We are actively involved in efforts to guarantee that our visitors are free from nuisances on our streets. However, like everywhere else we sometimes experience temporary setbacks.

A law prohibiting street peddling has been upheld by the courts but the law cannot be put into effect at this moment. Due to this legal technicality, you may presently experience the unfortunate nuisance of street peddling on Kalakaua and other Waikiki streets.

Because of our concern for your vacation, we wish to alert you to this possibility as well as to apologize for any inconvenience imposed upon you by such activity. We fully expect to restore the proper "Aloha Spirit" to our streets in the very near future.

In the meantime, we suggest that you exercise discretion in any contact you may have with street peddlers or solicitors. They pass out handbills which litter our streets; some promote what appears to be a "free" meal, show or tour which can turn into an unwanted extended sales pitch. Others gain your attention by giving you a flower in order to sell plaques or solicit monetary contributions for their "religious" organization.

We believe that as vacationing guests in the State of Hawaii, you should be free of any personal imposition of this kind.

You can also help us abate these practices by voicing your opinion on this matter. This can be done by writing a personal letter to:

Judge Samuel P. King
Senior Judge
U.S. District Court
Prince Kuhio Federal Building
Honolulu, Hawaii 96813

If you are so inclined, a letter to the Editor of either of Honolulu's daily papers would also be helpful. Their addresses are:

Editor
Honolulu Advertiser
605 Kapiolani Blvd.
Honolulu, Hawaii 96813

Editor
Honolulu Star Bulletin
605 Kapiolani Blvd.
Honolulu, Hawaii 96813

We appreciate your assistance in helping to keep Waikiki and Hawaii a special place known for its Aloha Spirit!

Mahalo,

The Management of the Reef Hotels

Figure 9.

November 1983
stimulus is repeatedly presented, the original response may eventually decrease or disappear. The individual is then said to be habituated to the stimulus."

In regards to tourism, this could be interpreted two ways. First, residents should become habituated to the problems of tourism, so saturation would subside or not be attained. This does not seem to occur, since enough time elapses between the summer stimuli each year (in seasonal destination areas) that year-long habituation does not occur.

Secondly, in the case of benefits, publication of benefits would appear to be a good policy. Porteous goes on to explain that meaning and value of the stimulus are other factors. Experiments have been done in which children were asked to estimate the size of poker chips. When the chips were given as a reward for performing a task, and could then be used to buy candy, their size was greatly over-estimated. When the rewards ceased, size over-estimation decreased, rising again when the rewards were re-instated. The size estimations of control groups which did not receive rewards did not vary significantly.
c) Residents would accept tourism easier if there were no policing problems associated with it. Earlier closing hours for pubs and night clubs would reduce potential for late night drinking parties.

The tourist is often seen as an easy crime victim. Hawaii (Farrell, 1982) has started a program where it supplies funds to bring witnesses back to Hawaii for trials.

d) If the public had more input into the planning and policy-making process (not just at the implementation and employment stage), it would ease some negative resident attitudes (Bosselman, 1978, Loukissas, 1982, and Clevendon, 1979). Several techniques have long been in use for assessing public preferences. These include public opinion polls, referendums, voting at several government levels, public hearings, letters sent to newspaper editors or public officials, and the statements of a variety of pressure groups.

In planning terms, individual and group enlightenment may be achieved by discoveries that perceptions of both problems and solutions differ between individuals and groups. Knowledge of a particular individual's or group's attitudes and values, and their antecedents, may be a powerful input into planning. At the very least, it may
result in a more humanistic approach to planning for others on the part of sensitive designers (Porteous, 1977, 232).

In this statement, Porteous indicates the importance of understanding and allowing a group, like anti-tourism residents, to be heard. People have the right to be consulted about plans and decisions which not only may profoundly affect their way of life, but which they are also paying for through public funds.

A drop-in centre, where citizen-generated planning ideas could be worked out, and where decisions might be made about zoning, densities, housing, and open space, as well as tourism planning, would be beneficial. The technical skills of a planner would be needed at such a centre, especially since information derived solely from tourist associations and the Chamber of Commerce are often viewed as slanted (Thomason, Crompton & Kamp, 1979). Though there is a chance that self-interest groups could control such a centre, and that such a concept could delay decision-making, planners would at least be more aware of the public they are planning for. Planning must stress public control of private investment and development decisions.

Ideas are transmitted within a culture by agencies
including: education systems and religious institutions; diverse interest groups, both political and nonpolitical; and the mass media and the persons who select the ideas and ideals they transmit.

Clevendon (1979) feels it is the development of mass, institutionalized tourism, where control of decision-making and ownership of tourism facilities passes out of the hands of the host population, which creates the circumstances where a rift occurs between tourist and local resident.

He feels there are "three essential elements for the balanced growth of tourism free of deleterious social and cultural effects (p. 6):

i) the number of tourists must not grow at a rate beyond the capacities of the local population to manage and cater to them;

ii) the country's tourist attractions (natural and man-made) should already exist to meet local needs so that tourism supplements local demand;

iii) planning must be undertaken in co-operation with
the local population. Such an approach to planning will allow the tourist sector to be developed in close alignment with other sectors and in close harmony with local culture; it will facilitate the protection of physical resources, the organization of training and research programmes and the gauging of the correct pace of development, i.e., the optimal level of tourist flows."

Of course it is not just residents who must be considered. If tourists are not treated to a good product, in addition to a friendly welcome, they will not be back. Effective planning must be based on a constant assessment of problems as perceived by resource specialists, visitors, and residents alike. Effective planning to improve the quality of the environment and to meet the needs of a variety of groups can help to stop a major permanent reduction in tourist activity.

e) Public acceptance of the tourist industry would be better if problems of inadequate facilities and services and undesirable environmental characteristics were dealt with. Often normal growth problems are blamed on tourism, so it is essential that local people's needs
are addressed before any increase in tourist activity.

Alienation of residents towards tourists could be reduced by organizing more opportunities for community participation in tourist events and activities. Residents will view tourists in a friendlier manner if personal rather than commercialized relationships can be developed.

One way of involving more residents would be to encourage "bed and breakfast" accommodations. This would allow more resident-visitor interaction, ease hotel/motel overcrowding during peak periods, and help the average resident economically. Although this recommendation might seem to contradict a policy of segregation of visitor and resident, it is probably the best possible strategy. If large, spacially separated or zoned developments were allowed in regions of little historical or cultural interest, it would reduce the potential conflict by reducing the amount of contact. Bed and breakfast style accommodation would allow small-scale interaction to occur, making the tourists seem more human. Economic involvement between tourist and resident is tolerated much more than a sharing of facilities and neighbourhoods.
f) Improving employee training and working conditions (Rajotte, 1982) would encourage employees to be friendly and aware of the various forces affecting the industry. A tourism industry school would also help in the development of technical and associated skills.

Tourism employment is usually self-selecting in that friendly, outgoing people are most likely to want, and to keep, jobs involving direct contact with visitors.

4.2.4 Policies to Attract or Expand Tourism

Since the tourist industry is an integral part of the economic, physical, and social environment of any tourist destination, it is inevitable that growth will take place. This growth can occur:

a) with the same facilities but increased utilization in the off-seasons;

b) with increased infrastructure and facility growth; and

c) by a combination of physical facility growth and better utilization.

Increased utilization could be achieved by a promotional campaign for off-season travel. Technical and
financial assistance could be provided for co-ordinating arrangements for publicity, promotion, and reservations to help small, local hotel/motels and other tourism enterprises. Since the type of promotion determines the type and number of visitors who will be attracted, and what their expectations will be, a process should be established to enable interested citizen groups to act as critics of advertising and promotional campaigns. The marketing effort should be related to the capacity to absorb tourists.

Few tourist areas have a management body, be it a public agency, a private alliance, or a combination of people from the public and private sectors, which is empowered to make decisions on overall tourism development. It is more common to find mechanisms to deal with specific applications. For example, zoning and building regulations govern the forms of development in specific areas, and development approval processes establish opportunities for parties other than the proponent of a project to make environmental and social interventions. Overall planning and management, however, rarely exist.

The second way for growth to occur - expanding the facilities for tourism - would probably occur naturally if better year-round use were made of present facilities.
If tourism is part of an area's industry, it might as well be healthy for the benefit of all players, due to the many spin-off effects. The use of local capital, entrepreneurial ability and labor should be encouraged in the tourist industry (D'Amore, 1983, 155). This allows a degree of local control over the direction of tourism development and increases employment and economic benefits to the community.

Expanding or attracting more tourism can raise the employment opportunities within a city, and create a feeling of vitality. The saturation level could be lowered at the same time by properly introducing new development into the city while continuing to try some of the other policies designed to mitigate negative social impacts. In other words, if there is going to be new development, it should be done sensitively with the knowledge that saturation must be avoided.

Certain problems, related to the tourist industry, are beyond governmental control (high construction costs, credit difficulties) while others can be solved by orderly tourist planning and development. Strategies to solve some of these problems have already been discussed. These include:
Facilities and Services:
- bolster police force, make them very visible, deal with transients;
- tourist health clinics;
- improved sewage disposal;
- traffic and parking improvements;
- increase organized tourist/resident sport and leisure programs;
- better co-ordination of accommodation sector;
- designated tourist areas or near self-sufficient large-scale developments are preferred.

Environment:
- development of neighbourhood shopping areas so residents do not have to compete with tourist crowds;
- preservation of open space;
- improved aesthetics in architecture and landscape;
- pursuance of a programme of total land use planning and land use controls, zoning, and regulatory measures to ensure a quality environment;
- preservation of water quality at beaches and privacy options for residents at beaches.

Public Acceptance:
- a public relation program to increase public acceptance and awareness of tourism;
- facilities provided or funded by tourism should be advertised as such;
- an upgrading of facilities and services would improve public acceptance;
- improve policing problems;
- public input into the planning process for tourism
and overall development should be a priority;
- proper employee training classes should be given.

Attracting or Expanding Tourism:
- lengthen the tourist season;
- encourage visitors to stay longer and to spend more money per day;
- ensure good land use and high quality facilities;
- raise the profitability of the industry by improved management in government and industry;
- promotion and advertising by a single agency;
- educating local people for employment and involvement;
- a "theme" for tourism could be developed;
- legalization of gambling.

This entire list of strategies does not necessarily apply in all contexts where there is tourism development. Each issue should be applied as appropriate. For instance, some tourist destination areas might not be able to assemble group sport programs. This would be the case in Kihei, Hawaii, where hotels are spread at intervals down the beach and quiet, tranquil, low-density holidays are offered.
Summary

The main purpose of Chapter 4 was to categorize the problems related to the tourist industry and then list some policies to mitigate the problems.

The categories of problems fell into four groups. These were: Problems of Inadequate Facilities and Services; Problems of Undesirable Environmental Characteristics; Problems of Public Acceptance; and Problems of Attracting or Expanding Tourism.

Available literature was reviewed for methods that could deal with the adverse social effects of tourism. It was found that public acceptance of tourism would be greater if there were fewer problems related to facilities and services, and the environment. This can be accomplished most easily with large-scale development that is segregated from the community.

After dealing with facilities, services, and the environment, the most important way to avoid saturation is to increase resident awareness of the tourism industry and involve residents at all levels.
The list of strategies developed can be used (where appropriate) to improve the tourism industry in developing tourism areas, or areas where saturation is already being approached.

The general policies developed in this chapter can now be applied to a situation in British Columbia where tourism is a major factor in the local economy.
CHAPTER FIVE: TOURISM IN PENTICTON

The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate the feasibility of the policies developed in Chapter 4 by applying them to a community experiencing substantial tourism impacts.

Penticton is a small city where tourism is very important, especially in the summer months. It has been selected for this study because of the amount of tourist activity within the city and the surrounding area, because of its reputation as a tourist destination, and because there are problems associated with Penticton's tourism industry.

In order to understand Penticton in a social sense, it is necessary to have an economic and historical background of the city.

5.1 Location

Penticton is located in the Okanagan Valley, 398 kilometres from Vancouver, 676 kilometres from Calgary, 370
FIGURE 10
MAJOR POPULATION CENTRES
WITHIN A FOUR HUNDRED MILE RADIUS OF PENTICTON

PRINCE GEORGE

KAMLOOPS

VANCOUVER

VICTORIA

SEATTLE

TACOMA

PENTICTON

SPOKANE

CALGARY

EDMONTON
FIGURE 11:
PENTICTON'S LOCATION
RELATIVE TO THE REST OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

Source: Penticton community profile, 1986.
kilometres from Spokane and 476 kilometres from Seattle (Figure 10). Other major towns in the region include Kelowna, Vernon and Summerland (Figure 11).

Penticton is situated between two lakes - Okanagan and Skaha - with five miles of sandy beach. The city, built on an alluvial plain, comprises 8,101 acres and is 1,150 feet above sea level (Figure 12). East and west of the city are fertile benchlands dotted with orchards and subdivisions. Beyond these are rolling hills that shelter the city from storms.

5.2 Brief History

A brief history of Penticton and its urbanization process is essential in order to understand the evolution of the city's economy.

The first white men travelled through the Okanagan on the Hudson's Bay Fur Brigade Trail in 1813. However, it was not until 1865 that the first settler, Thomas Ellis, arrived. Ellis acquired 650 acres and built it into a cattle empire of 30,000 acres. He built his home near the heart of present-day Penticton (named for the Indian word
"Pen-tak-ten" meaning a place to live forever).

The Southern Okanagan Land Company was incorporated in 1906 with a capitalization of five hundred thousand dollars. The objective was to purchase land from Tom Ellis and develop it into a townsite subdivision and for use as farmland. In 1872, Ellis planted the first orchard and the Land Company realized that, provided with an adequate supply of water, the Penticton district could become one of the finest fruit-growing areas in Canada. To this end, a large-scale gravity irrigation system, complete with intake dams and storage sites, was developed.

Penticton was incorporated as a District Municipality in 1908. In 1915, the Kettle Valley Railway, a subsidiary of C.P.R., completed a link to the mainline and tri-weekly service to Vancouver established a profitable market for Okanagan produce.

Transportation of fruit required packing cases and more industries began to develop, including sawmills and woodworking plants. Packing houses and canneries were established to process surplus products which were not immediately saleable. Lumbering and sawmill industries were stimulated to greater production by the building needs of
new settlers and new business enterprises, as well as the continued demand for railroad ties by the still expanding railway system (historical data from *Economic Development Commission*, 1983).

In 1949, completion of the Hope-Princeton Highway effectively opened the south Okanagan to tourist traffic from the populated centres of the coast. The tourist industry overtook the fruit-growing industry in economic importance. However, there was still a dwindling 2,300 acres of orchards within city limits.

With the transportation improvements after World War II, and the resulting increase in the number of tourists, auto courts began to take over favourable locations along the main roads and along the shores of the Okanagan and Skaha Lakes. This added to the ordinary residential ribbon growth. The opening of the Roger's Pass section of the Trans-Canada Highway brought the Okanagan within comfortable driving distance of Calgary and Edmonton. The resulting increase in tourist trade was comparable to that occasioned by the opening of the Hope-Princeton Highway.
5.3 The Economy

Although the service industry is the backbone of the economy, other industries are of considerable importance. The forest industry employs about four hundred local people (Statistics Canada, 1981) in logging and sawmilling.

With four plants in the area producing mobile and modular housing units, Penticton has become the centre for mobile home manufacturing in British Columbia. Additional manufacturing activities include fruit processing and canning, a winery, and concrete products.

Agriculture continues to contribute to the economy of the area. Apples, pears, peaches and cherries are grown, as well as grapes for wine production.

Penticton's beaches and climate are the main attraction during the summer. Efforts are being made to promote conventions in spring, and fall and winter skiing at Apex Alpine (twenty-three miles west of Penticton). Skiing is also available at Big White (Kelowna) and Silver Star (Vernon).
The convention facilities offered by Penticton are impressive. The Peach Bowl Convention Centre contains almost thirty thousand square feet of flexible meeting space, with a main hall capable of seating two thousand people. A $2,500,000 expansion is planned for the near future in order to accommodate up to 4,500 delegates. Eighty-six percent of convention delegates arrive in months other than July and August. In 1985 convention attendance was 16,000, down from the peak year of 1978 in which there was 23,500 delegates.

Another self-contained convention area, capable of handling groups of ten to five hundred people, is located in the Delta Lakeside Hotel. In 1986, the Delta and the Sandman Inn had forty smaller conventions booked with fourteen thousand delegates. The convention industry has grown in importance making Penticton the third most attended location after Victoria and Vancouver (Corporation of the City of Penticton, 1986).

Other attractions provided by the city and region include the Okanagan Game Farm, where visitors can drive through acres of land to view a variety of animals in a natural setting; the Continuing Education Centre at Naramata, which sponsors an annual Summer School of Art; the
Peach Festival, held in late July; the September Wine Festival; two water slides; the Dominion Radio Astrophysical Observatory; three eighteen-hole golf courses; three Par-3 golf courses; two marinas; a yacht club; a curling rink; the Okanagan River Channel for raft rides; and two ice arenas.

5.4 Population

The population of Penticton (23,400 in 1981) experienced an increase of eight percent between 1976 and 1981 (Figure 13). One authoritative forecast, by B.C. Research (as cited in Corporation of the City of Penticton, 1986, 7), projects a 1.2 percent annual rate of increase between 1981 and 1991, to a 1991 population of about 26,000. The largest population increase between 1976 and 1981 in Penticton (for ten-year age group) was in the sixty to sixty-nine age group, reflecting the popularity of Penticton as a retirement area. Fifteen percent of Penticton's population in 1976 was sixty-five years of age and over. By 1981, this had risen to eighteen percent while the population over sixty-five years in all of British Columbia was 10.8 percent up from 9.8 percent in 1976 (Statistics Canada, 1981).
In 1978, there were 370 persons living on the Penticton Indian Band reserve (Regional District of Okanagan-Similkameen, 1983). A sawmill located on reserve property provides employment for many band members.

Sometimes during the summer months there are as many tourists as permanent residents in Penticton. For example, during the July 1st long weekend in 1979 (when the permanent population would have been around 22,000 people), there were sixty-five to seventy thousand people in the city (D'Amore & Associates Ltd., 1980). Though the accommodation sector could not handle this many visitors, it is probable that
many visitors were staying with resident friends or were there for a day visit only.

5.5 Origin of Tourists

The majority of tourists coming to Penticton have been other British Columbians, Albertans, and some United States citizens (22%). The business created by tourism for the Okanagan-Similkameen Region in 1981 was 230,000,000 dollars in revenue and 1,600,000 person-trips or overnight stops (Province of British Columbia, Tourism Highlights, 1983).

5.6 Community Plan

The official community plan for Penticton was prepared by the Planning Department of the Regional District of Okanagan-Similkameen and was adopted in 1982. The plan sets out goals and livability standards as directed by the citizens and community leaders, and serves as a basis for municipal land use by-laws which regulate development. A list of thirteen goals is included in the plan. Only one of these goals mention tourism directly - "...encourage visitors to the city during off season months by providing
The plan includes other socially important goals:

- Implement a phased program of development projects to ensure orderly growth.

- Maintain a high quality of living environment through the protection of natural assets, beautification of roadways, improvement of recreational opportunities and promotion of the commercial and industrial base.

- Preserve industrial land to accommodate anticipated demand. Attract new industries and promote existing ones.

- Provide a choice of locations and a variety of residential accommodations, (including new residential) such as Campbell Mountain-Eastern Hillside.

- Secure an open space system of greenbelts and walkways linking neighbourhoods with parks, community facilities and natural assets.

Within this set of goals are fourteen planning objectives coupled with development policies for each. Some
of these are for the protection and preservation of productive farmland, and for lands which are capable of agriculture, for the provision of cultural and recreational opportunities, services and facilities, and for ensuring compatibility among the various land uses.

The commercial areas of Penticton are divided into seven different types. Tourist commercial areas "meeting the projected short-term accommodation, service and recreational needs of visitors" are provided for in the Central Business District; in areas related to the arterial road network; and in other locations desirable because of their proximity to recreation and convention facilities and/or the airport terminal. To secure flexibility in design and visually attractive development, and in keeping with promoting the city as a competitive tourist centre, development permit area designations will be provided for along major arterials and lakeshores (Corporation of the City of Penticton, 1982, 14).

Another division is Tourist Commercial-Sales Lots. This recognizes the existing mix of auto-oriented land uses of motels, service stations, drive-in restaurants, and interim uses such as sales lots for automobiles, recreation vehicles and mobile homes. As some uses are of an interim
FIGURE 14:
COMMUNITY PLAN
OF PENTICTON

Source: Penticton
Official Community
Plan, 1982

LEGEND

Tourist Commercial
Comprehensive
Development Area
- Tourist
Commercial Base
nature, and are situated along the main through-route, in order to secure visually attractive development and protect the more permanent uses, development permit areas will be designated along the through-routes (Figure 14).

Tourist Commercial-Residential are areas catering to resort condominiums or holiday apartments.

5.7 Adverse Social Effects of Tourism in Penticton

The major prospect (because of the province-wide growth of this industry and the potential of using the existing facilities during months outside of July and August) for future economic development in Penticton is the further expansion of a year-round tourist trade (i.e., promotion of tourism attractions that are outside of July and August or promotion to markets that tend to travel in other months). July and August at least would appear to be approaching a saturation level (as explained by Young (1973) in Chapter 3).

By following Young's indicators for saturation occurring (changes in land use, employment levels, and pressure on the urban infrastructure), and applying them to
Penticton, the saturation problems of tourism can be illustrated. Study of these problem areas will show that tourism in Penticton is approaching saturation for the residents. It is not necessary for saturation to occur before implementing policies for socially appropriate development of the tourist industry. However, in the absence of development policies in the past, tourism as an industry has not evolved in a planned manner. Therefore, it is necessary to determine if there are any existing problems in the industry. In the future, if the tourist industry in any location is properly planned using policies similar to the ones developed in this thesis, it may be possible to avoid some of the social costs felt by the residents. A simple awareness of the possible problems will be a benefit to tourism planners.

5.7.1 Land Use

The evolution of land use in Penticton indicates a growing proportion of land being used by the tourist industry. Since the development of auto-courts in the 1940's, tourist accommodation has increased substantially. Not only have they taken over favourable locations in the city, but they have added to the ribbon growth along Main Street and Skaha Lake Road as well (Figure 15). In 1953, Penticton had six hotels with 276 units, and twenty-eight
auto-courts with 335 units (Wahl, 1955). In 1974, there were nine hotels with 246 units, fifty-eight motels with 1,333 units, and fourteen campsites with 1,302 units (Corporation of the City of Penticton, 1974). By 1986, these figures had expanded to include eight hotels with 752 units, fifty-two motels with 1,410 units, and fifteen campsites with 1,416 units (Province of British Columbia, Accommodation Guide 1986). This represents an increase of 697 units since 1974 even though there were six fewer establishments (Table I). This indicates a trend to fewer but larger hotel and motel units. Prime sites along both Skaha and Okanagan Lakes are taken by such establishments.

Table I: Accommodations for 1953, 1974 and 1986

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NUMBER OF ESTABLISHMENTS</th>
<th>UNITS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HOTELS</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOTELS</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAMPGROUNDS</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Units - sleeping rooms in hotels, single rooms and suites in motels, and individual campsites or RV pads in campgrounds.

"Accommodation Guide 1986."
In addition to the short-term accommodation use of land, there are also large tracts of land being used for the service and recreational needs of tourists. Examples include the many (over fifty) restaurants and shops, convention centres, thirty-six service stations, and two waterslide developments. Other areas of the city have resort condominiums or holiday apartments that cater to visitors staying for a longer period.

The population of Penticton (23,400 in 1981) is itself not large enough to support the number of services and facilities it has created. As a result, many restaurants and motels shut down in the off-season.

The land utilized by the tourist industry takes up a large portion (Figure 15) of Penticton. This land may otherwise have been used for continued agriculture or as living space.

However, the residents do benefit from having extra recreational facilities provided by the tourist industry. The city of Penticton is constrained in its growth potential by its physical setting. Unable to expand north or south by the two lakes, or west because of the Penticton Indian Band Reserve, development must take place on the eastern slopes.
above the city. This area has limitations for development because of its steep topography, and because of the land taken up by the Agricultural Land Reserve.

Industrial land is concentrated in two large areas: the East Penticton Industrial Area, and the industrial area running along the east side of the Okanagan River Channel from Fairview Road to the vicinity of the Hastings Avenue-Railway Street junction. There are additional isolated sites scattered around the city. There are about forty-eight hectares (120 acres) of vacant industrial land available in Penticton with suitable topography, drainage, and access (Economic Development Commission, 1983). The industrial land is situated well away from tourist-oriented uses but still utilizes land that is suitable for residential property.

It seems clear that land development in Penticton, now and in the future, is being largely affected by current tourist-oriented land development. It shows the relatively large area of land zoned in Penticton as "tourist commercial." Other areas of land are also used for tourist purposes. These include, parks, commercial areas, and even residential areas where visitors stay with friends or relatives.
5.7.2 Employment Levels

A growing proportion of the labour force having employment in the tourist industry could indicate a depressing effect on regional economic growth (Chapter 3). Table II shows employment trends indicated by census data for 1961, 1971 and 1981.

**TABLE II: LABOUR FORCE STATISTICS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total Labour Force</th>
<th>Service Employment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.C.</td>
<td>423,929</td>
<td>157,466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>O.S.</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penticton</td>
<td>3,375</td>
<td>1,409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.C.</td>
<td>602,335</td>
<td>307,755</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>O.S.</td>
<td>11,435 5,995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penticton</td>
<td>4,710</td>
<td>2,640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.C.</td>
<td>822,645</td>
<td>566,565</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>O.S.</td>
<td>26,070 16,755</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penticton</td>
<td>6,135</td>
<td>4,585</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

% - is compared to total M/F in labor force

B.C. - British Columbia
O.S. - Okanagan-Similkameen
Penticton - Penticton

*Source: Statistics Canada*
Table II shows the labor force statistics for 1961, 1971 and 1981 for British Columbia, the Okanagan-Similkameen, and Penticton. Service employment as a percent of total labor force has declined for males in Penticton and in British Columbia in both intercensal periods, and for the regional district in the decade for which data are available. For females there was outstanding growth in service sector employment between 1961 and 1971 in British Columbia and Penticton. This proportion has declined slightly in the more recent decade. The Province newspaper reported June 2, 1983, that "the service sector — including restaurants, hotels, motels, resorts, dentists, and thousands of other personal and business services — now accounts for 66 percent of total wages and salaries." In addition, "women filled more than half of all new jobs created in B.C. during the past 20 years." A large proportion of these new jobs were created in the service sector. Penticton has a higher percentage of its total labour force employed in the service sector (especially amongst women) than the province as a whole.

Other 1981 statistics show that occupations in lodging and accommodation accounted for 15.8 percent of male service sector employment (6.9 percent provincially) and 19.7 percent of female (13.9 percent provincially). Also,
accommodation and food services accounted for 58 percent of service locations in Penticton (40.7 percent provincially). Though there is a great proportion of Penticton residents employed in the service sector, the figures in Table II indicate that growth in the service sector (if it occurred) was not reflected in service employment as a percentage of labor force during the 1970 intercensal decade.

5.7.3 Urban Infrastructure

A. Police and Fire Services:

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (R.C.M.P.) in Penticton provide law enforcement within the boundaries of the city, to the southern boundary of Trout Creek, and to the northern boundary of Okanagan Falls. There are fifty members stationed in Penticton, fifteen of which form the rural detachment. There are also twenty-six auxiliaries (Corporation of the City of Penticton, 1986). Table III below shows the number of incidents for 1985 and the first half of 1986.
TABLE III: POLICE INCIDENTS FOR PENTICTON

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>865</td>
<td>1,045</td>
<td>1,012</td>
<td>1,132</td>
<td>1,337</td>
<td>1,011</td>
<td>1,465</td>
<td>1,566</td>
<td>1,315</td>
<td>1,266</td>
<td>969</td>
<td>937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>1,019</td>
<td>944</td>
<td>1,093</td>
<td>1,085</td>
<td>1,250</td>
<td>1,337</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total incidents in 1985 - 14,720
*Source: Penticton R.C.M.P.

It shows the greatest number of incidents occurring in June, July, and August when the population of Penticton can more than double. Statistics show that most crimes, including assault, breaking and entering, and vandalism, increase in the summer (these statistics do not compare similar size communities with little or no tourism impact; this is because the statistics are just pointing out a heavier workload for the R.C.M.P. in the summer because of any number of reasons). The R.C.M.P. have taken preventative measures to reduce problems: beaches and parking lots are closed after midnight; beach areas are patrolled by police; and auxiliary staff add to the force's effectiveness (D'Amore & Associates Ltd., 1980). Two particular problems are associated with tourism: thefts from tourist campsites and recreational vehicles; and wild parties or riots which
attract hundreds of young people. The two Vancouver Sun newspaper articles of 1974 (Figure 16) and 1976 (Figure 17) indicate the severity of these disturbances. One article from The Province newspaper (August 12, 1986) report recommendations for action following a riot in Kelowna (Figure 18), an Okanagan city near Penticton; another article (August 5, 1986) reports police actions during Penticton's Peach Festival (Figure 19).

The Penticton Fire Department (P.F.D.) consists of twenty full-time firefighters and forty volunteers in two firehalls. Protection is provided to industries outside the city by contract. The number of calls for 1985, including both fire and rescue operations, is listed in Table IV.

**TABLE IV: FIRE DEPARTMENT CALLS, 1985**

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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>100.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Penticton Fire Department*
Mob hurls rocks, bottles at Mounties in Penticton

By Staff Reporter

PENTICTON — Twelve persons, most of them from the Lower Mainland, will be charged with unlawful assembly and causing a disturbance following a Sunday morning fracas in which an RCMP tactical squad was pelted with rocks and bottles.

A police spokesman said Monday the persons to be charged — one from Penticton, one from Alberta and the rest from the Lower Mainland — have been issued appearance notices for July 15.

He said the melee occurred shortly after midnight Saturday on Highway 97 at the south end of the town when about 300 persons blocked traffic in both directions, resulting in lineups several miles long.

Twelve officers suffered “minor cuts and bruises” from thrown bottles and rocks, the spokesman said.

He said the rocks and bottles were thrown mainly by persons in an additional crowd of about 400 who took advantage of nearby camp sites and motel roofs to pelt police.

The spokesman said the 24-man tactical squad, supported by an additional 15 officers, went in response to motorists complaining of broken windshields and headlight.

“The problem began at about 1 a.m. Saturday when about 200 persons blocked traffic,” the spokesman said.

A handful of police cleared the road,” the spokesman said.

He said there were numerous incidents during the day Saturday climaxing in the disturbance early Sunday morning.

The spokesman estimated the town’s population over the weekend at about three times normal. The 35 regular police was bolstered by 12 extras, mostly from Chilliwack.

Many persons were believed to have been in town for a rock festival held Sunday about two miles east of Penticton.

At the peak of the festival, police estimated there were about 2,000 persons attending. Numerous narcotics arrests were made over the weekend.

Okanagan Similkameen Regional District acting chairman J. B. Shaw said today the matter will be discussed at the next regional board meeting July 18.

The regional district had earlier denied a permit for the festival because of concern about a forest fire hazard, overcrowded parking facilities, crowd control and noise.

Traffic on the narrow road to the fair site became hopelessly snarled when several cars stalled and motorists abandoned them to continue on foot.

Police reported no major incidents at the fair, which featured eight bands from Eastern Canada playing from noon to about midnight.

No trouble was reported from a band of motorcyclists, including members of the 101 Knights, the Gypsy Wheelers and the Satan’s Angels.

RCMP at Osoyoos, who were supported by additional officers brought in from other detachments, said the bikers spent the night Saturday on private property near Osoyoos and left without incident in the morning.

The spokesman, who said the tactical squad was wearing crash helmets and carrying batons during Sunday morning’s melee, said police were in actual confrontation with the crowd for about eight minutes.

“Af ter that, we stood back and they finally got tired of standing around and watching us watching them,” he said.

Figure 16.
PENTICTON — Motorists were forced to run a gauntlet of rocks and beer bottles early Saturday when about 150 youths went on a rampage just south of here.

When RCMP sealed off traffic, the mob pelted police cruisers with missiles and built a large bonfire on the highway with fences, signs, picnic tables and benches. It took police 90 minutes to quell the melee but no injuries were reported.

Two men, both from the Lower Mainland, have been charged with obstructing police as a result of the disturbance. They were scheduled to appear in Penticton provincial court later today.

Fig. 17.

Jones described the incidents as "near riot" and said it was the worst since a similar incident two years ago, when RCMP donned riot gear to disperse a mob of youths on the highway.

Col. Ken Jones described the incident as a "near riot" and said it was the worst since a similar incident two years ago, when RCMP donned riot gear to disperse a mob of youths on the highway.

Two men, both from the Lower Mainland, have been charged with obstructing police as a result of the disturbance. They were scheduled to appear in Penticton provincial court later today.

Jones said the incident began about 11 p.m. Friday near a privately-owned campsite on Highway 97 just outside the city limits. It was almost the same site as the 1974 riot, he said.

He said the majority of the youths were from the Greater Vancouver area, and were spending the long weekend here. Most were in their early 20s, he said.

Figure 17.
KELOWNA — Edgy civic officials hope a beefed-up show of force will be enough to defuse trouble at future Kelowna Regattas.

A committee appointed by Kelowna Mayor Dale Hammill investigating last month's regatta riot has called for more RCMP foot patrols in the downtown area during the summer.

During the early hours of July 27, drunken vandals smashed windows and looted stores, resulting in more than 100 arrests.

Damage was estimated at $250,000.

Hammill read the Riot Act after rioters threw bottles and clashed with police, who dispersed the crowd with tear gas.

The committee, made up of police, citizens, businessmen and aldermen, also called on the liquor board to conduct tougher ID checks on its customers.

Other recommendations by Hammill's committee called for cabarets and beer parlors to sell beer only in cans.

For the long term, council was asked to seek a provincial government review of liquor legislation with a view to giving police more authority to deal with such incidents.

The city has already increased police patrols since the riot and Hammill said there have been no more problems.

---

By IAN AUSTIN

Penticton RCMP made sure the Peach Festival wasn't the pits.

With last week's Kelowna riot firmly in mind, police arrested 160 people during the three-day weekend test.

But not one of them was charged, and Penticton lawyer Wilson Ruth erford said suits probably will be filed.

"I've already heard a couple of people mention it."

Police could be liable if persons were detained with no reasonable or probable grounds for arrest, he said.

"They could be charged with false imprisonment and unlawful arrest."

"Or a civil suit could be filed for embarrassment or loss of a day's holiday."

Penticton RCMP Corp. Brian Sarnecki was pleased that things never got out of hand.

He said total damage for the weekend was less than $100.

In Kelowna, about 1,000 people rampaged through the downtown area a week earlier causing thousands of dollars in damage.

About 60 officers were on duty in Penticton each night, including some from other centres.

"We learned from Kelowna," said Sarnecki. "Any that got out of line, we took them in and sobered them up. They slept it off."
From Table IV, and from an interview with Fire Chief B. Hodgins (P.F.D.), there seems to be no specific tourist related problem. The dollars lost, due to fire, shows no seasonal patterns. However, the potential for life threatening occurrences increases as the population density per building (house, hotel or motel) increases.

B. Hospital and Health Services:

The Penticton and District Regional Hospital currently has 201 acute care beds, 63 extended care beds, plus 85 extended care beds, plus the facilities for a further 45 beds to be added at a later date. Sixty-seven physicians and thirteen dentists have hospital privileges (Corporation of the City of Penticton, Community Profile, 1986).

The hospital emergency services are greatly affected in July and August. In response to this, and to the problem of tourists being unable to get appointments with local doctors, the hospital established a tourist clinic. A rotating team of doctors deal with about ninety tourist patients each day. Although most tourist ailments are minor, they do increase the workload for the hospital (D'Amore & Associates Ltd., 1980).
C. Water Supply and Environmental Quality:

During the summer, the increased population of Penticton (due to tourists) overtaxes the sewage disposal system (Ian Stout, Mgr. - Sewer & Water, City of Penticton). With a capacity of 1,800,000 gallons per day, the sewage treatment system serves approximately 23,000 residents and 3,600 tourist accommodation units. Casabello Wines is the only major industry served by the system. The sewage is given advanced, activated sludge treatment (primary, secondary and tertiary) at the Penticton Water Quality Control Centre. It is then discharged into the Okanagan River Channel about two miles south of Okanagan Lake. A new "Beneficial Water Re-Use" system is in the planning stages for the city.

Penticton's water supply is taken from Penticton Creek with Okanagan Lake as the secondary source of supply. There appears to be no problems with maintaining an adequate water supply. Treatment is by screening and chlorination. The average daily consumption is ten million gallons of water.

The public participation programme conducted for the Canada-British Columbia Okanagan Basin Agreement (A Survey of Resident Attitudes Towards Water & Related Resource Management in the Okanagan Valley, 1973), showed that
environmental pollution was felt to be the single most important problem in the Okanagan. A concern to protect the unique physical environment and the water quality of the lakes was also expressed. Agriculture, storm drainage, and weed growth (Eurasian milfoil) serve to degrade water quality, as does gasoline and oil spills by the many pleasure boats.

The survey of resident attitudes also indicated that shoreline recreation is a major factor in the economic and social lifestyles of Okanagan residents and tourists. High quality water and the availability of clean, uncrowded beaches were identified as the key factors contributing to the enjoyment of beach recreation. Constraints, such as traffic, parking, accommodation availability, and urban crowding, were identified as limiting factors to tourist growth. Public attitudes towards beach crowding are diverse. Users often accept increasingly crowded conditions provided these occur gradually and are accompanied by other experiences in crowding - in urban environments or in traffic. It was found that residents comprise thirty-six percent of beach users, with the average resident spending twenty days at the beach during the summer. Increasingly, residents are coping with beach crowding by constructing swimming pools in their back yards. About thirty-three
percent of all homes in the area have swimming pools ("Swimming Pools add home zest," Penticton Herald, April 29, 1982, p. 3c).

D. Transportation:

The increased local traffic caused by tourists puts a strain on roadways, parking and congestion. To cope with congestion, the city has designated several downtown streets as one-way. On the road into the city from the south, Highway 97 (which turns into Skaha Lake Road), there are 35,000 vehicles per day in July and August with an average of 10,000 in the other months of the year (Dave Gold, Traffic Manager, City of Penticton). The Department of Highways controls the main road through the city. A partial by-pass along the Okanagan River Channel has helped downtown traffic congestion a great deal.

Parking is often a problem along the beaches. Two more areas are being sought along Skaha Lake for parking. No parking is permitted along beach areas between midnight and six o'clock in the morning.
5.7.4 **Special Population Groups:**

The retirement population is one group that may be affected by tourism. At least nineteen percent (1981) of the city's residents are sixty-five years of age or over. Penticton, and the entire Okanagan valley is becoming a major retirement centre for British Columbia and Alberta. A recently constructed retirement centre houses 255 persons and has about 2,000 members who use the facilities and participate in courses and events. Though benefitting from many tourist facilities, such as the wide range of shopping and restaurant establishments, seniors could view extensive tourist development as a threat to a sought after, quieter, more relaxed way of life.

The teenage population of the city could also be affected by tourism, especially if they are influenced by the lifestyles of young tourist groups which arrive each summer. The many pubs, lounges, night clubs and parties create a carnival style atmosphere. The only real evidence of problems is the fact that local young people get involved in petty crimes against tourists (Penticton R.C.M.P.). They also, like a similar minority of kids elsewhere, get involved in petty crime against residents and their property. Crimes against tourists are a higher profile item because of the bad publicity that ensues.
The Penticton Indian Band leases some waterfront lots for private campsite developments but otherwise is not involved in the tourist industry. Tourists do cross reserve land on the way to Apex Mountain and the Band appears opposed to any other intrusions. Recent claims by the Band for cut-off lands have meant they will receive 13.2 million dollars from Ottawa and one million dollars from British Columbia. As well, it will get 4,991 hectares (12,335 acres) of mostly vacant land near Penticton (The Province, March 7, 1984, p. 4).

5.7.5 Psychological Saturation:

The combination of the preceding factors can cause residents to turn against tourists and the tourist industry.

Two community wide surveys were undertaken in Penticton, posing questions regarding the future of tourism. In 1971, roughly four hundred households throughout the Okanagan Valley were surveyed. The data were not dissaggregated by cities, but the majority of South Okanagan residents polled preferred no restrictions on the development of the tourist industry (Canada-British Columbia Okanagan Basin Agreement, 1974, 81). However, in 1975 the
Regional District conducted a household survey in Penticton and asked "are you in favour of encouraging more tourism development in Penticton?" Some 887 persons (41%) responded "yes," 1,120 persons (52%) responded "no"; and 145 (7%) did not answer. These results suggest a changing attitude and perhaps a growing sense of caution towards development for tourism. A more extensive survey is needed so as to pose questions that determine the underlying causes of such negative responses.

An important distinguishing feature of tourism is the fact that tourists have to come to the attraction in order to consume the product. This is in contrast with other exporting activities, and indeed most exchange relations, where producers and consumers are separated and rarely confront each other in person. This confrontation in Penticton has become indifferent due largely to the commercialization of the industry. Individualized contacts, then, cannot be maintained because the tourist population is too large, the season too long, and the social impacts too extensive. The result is apathy towards tourists and disinterest towards the tourism industry as a whole. Few local people are involved in overall planning for tourism (e.g., land use, development planning), or in the organization of events and attractions that take place at
the small business level of the tourism sector.

5.8 Penticton - Approaching Saturation

On the basis of available data, it would appear that saturation problems are emerging in Penticton. It is difficult to conclusively state that a saturation level has been reached as different variables may give different answers. Specifics such as weather conditions, time of year, age and occupation of respondents on attitude questionnaires, age and behaviour patterns of visitors, state of policing, and so on, all have a bearing on the response. However, once an attitude has developed among local residents, it will be slow to change despite decreasing levels of physical saturation (Rajotte, 1982).

Evidence of emerging saturation problems include:

a) The sheer numbers of tourists attracted to the areas by the climate, orchards, and beach-related activities nearly doubles the population of Penticton during July and August. During the July 1st long weekend in 1979, there were 65,000 to 70,000 people in the city, with a resident population of about 22,000 (D'Amore &
The potential for resident-visitor stress is related to the volume of tourists. Greater numbers of visitors produce more congestion, require more facilities and services, invade the privacy of residents' daily life, and tend to adapt less readily to the local standards or customs.

The quality of interaction between host and guest suffers from the monotony of catering to visitors (this is different in tourism than in similar services to residents because of scale), and from the tendency for commercialization of the industry to dehumanize contacts.

b) Employment levels in the tourist industry are rising, thereby affecting the employment structure of the city.

c) Increasing amounts of land are being devoted to tourist-related uses in a city with a limited land area. This limits potential growth, or even non-growth preservation (parks, natural areas, orchards) in other land areas.

d) Pressures are being felt on the urban infrastructure,
including police and fire services, hospital and health services, water and sewer, environmental quality, and transportation.

e) Certain groups within the population, including retired people and teenagers, are being affected by tourism.

f) Surveys which were conducted showed a majority of people did not want more tourism development.

g) Criticism of tourism is growing. For example, "many local people feel that tourists are catered to ahead of residents through the support of such developments as lakeshore motels or campsites, which may deny locals access to beaches. There is also widespread hostility toward a specific tourist group, namely young transients. It is clear that resident tolerance of transients has been exceeded because there is a lack of support for the construction of a youth hostel as well as a policy prohibiting singles from camping in private campsites" (D'Amore & Associates Ltd., 1980, 103).

The research carried out by L. J. D'Amore and Associates Limited also came to the conclusion that saturation was being approached; that is "the influx of
visitors has had numerous effects upon resident lifestyle
and there is increasing evidence that the limits to social
carrying capacity are being approached" (D'Amore &

5.8.1 Review of the "Questions for
Evaluating Social Performance

The question list for evaluating the social performance
of tourism development (developed in Chapter 2), also points
to the potential for problems in Penticton. The preceding
section has answered most of the questions. As a check on
this point, however, some of the major points will be
reviewed.

In reviewing the question list for local residents and
environmentalists, and evaluating them subjectively, it is
concluded that Penticton is likely in the danger zone of
social performance.

a) What is the proportion of tourists in relation to the
tourist population?

Penticton has been estimated to have doubled its
population at certain times in the summer, and probably
has a tourist-resident ratio greater than 1:1 for most
of the summer. This situation is not as marked during other seasons.

b) To what degree does the type of development affect aesthetics and architecture?

Due to the past unplanned development, much of the accommodation sector is unattractive, small-scale, and often with little greenspace in between sites. Strip developments have occurred with traffic problems and unplanned looks.

c) To what degree does tourism development enhance or detract from local stability and lifestyles?

Tourist development in Penticton does detract from local stability as the "riots" discussed earlier indicate. People are also concerned about transients and the adoption of a "vacation" lifestyle by Penticton's younger adult population.

Although all indications may point to the exhaustion of the tolerance of the local population or its capacity to adapt, this may never happen because of:
- a resigned acceptance of the way things are;

- implementation of some policies, discussed in Chapter 6, which should mitigate some of the adverse social effects of tourism;

- a realization of the economic importance of tourism to the city and its residents. Since the economic recession of 1982-1984, many residents have changed their opinions of the "tourist hordes" (Keith Bevington, President - Penticton Chamber of Commerce, August, 1986).

**Summary**

Chapter 5 has reviewed the tourism industry in Penticton. This review included a brief look at the city's history, economy, and population. By investigating areas of concern regarding problems of saturation, as voiced by Young (1973), it would appear that there are adverse social effects caused by tourism in Penticton. This conclusion is supported by the most recent survey from Penticton, and by research carried out by L. J. D'Amore and Associates Limited. As well, a selective review of the question list
for evaluating the social performance of tourism development, developed in Chapter 2, also points to an approaching saturation point for local tolerance to tourism.
CHAPTER SIX:
POLICIES TO MITIGATE THE ADVERSE SOCIAL EFFECTS
OF TOURISM IN PENTICTON

Assuming the saturation level has been reached or is approaching in at least certain times of the year in Penticton, the next most important step is to formulate some policies to mitigate this problem for the areas of society affected.

Strategies to help reduce the levels of saturation have been discussed in Chapter 4 and will now be applied to the situation in Penticton.

These strategies should help to reduce the negative resident feelings towards tourism. They will also help to create a better atmosphere for the continued, socially appropriate growth of tourism in Penticton.

Most of the policies require organization and initiative by a central tourism office. Other policies, which require financial capital to implement, must either receive financial support from the city or the province. In some cases (e.g., the tourist clinic), a "user pays" system would work.
6.1 Policies to Mitigate Problems of Inadequate Facilities and Services

a) Any new tourism project should be integrated with the planning of additional local services and facilities. As well, such projects should be paid for principally by the investors or developers. Penticton must have facilities and services capable of handling a city at least twice its size (to forty-eight thousand at any one time) in the summer months. During peak weekends, this figure is much higher but it is hard to justify major expenditures for only several days of the year.

In Penticton's case, extra manpower is needed by the police during the summer months for beach patrols and possible wild parties. The visibility of police can often stop possible problems from even beginning. The problems of breaking and entering, and vandalism, could be dealt with by stricter control of campground areas by owners and more awareness programs for visitors. Earlier closing hours for pubs and night clubs might also reduce problems.

Citizen groups similar to the "Guardian Angels" could also be initiated during the summer months, allowing local people to become more involved in local issues. The Guardian Angels is an association begun in the United
States, in which groups of citizens patrol trouble areas in a city and report disturbances to the police.

The committee of civic officials in Kelowna, who were appointed to investigate the Regatta riot (Chapter 5, Figure 18), called for more R.C.M.P. foot patrols in the summer months, tougher identification checks in liquor stores, and the sale of canned beer only from cabarets and beer parlors. These measures should also be adopted by Penticton.

b) The tourist clinic for health services at the Penticton Regional Hospital seems to be a good method of dealing with the summer influx of visitors. This would be a good time to utilize medical students needing summer work. Also, some visible and well-equipped first-aid stations could be used at the beaches.

c) The sewage disposal system in Penticton should be a state-of-the-art system. Since Penticton depends on the water quality of its lakes for economic survival, all attempts should be made to ensure that the lakes are not polluted. A thirty-three million dollar land disposal system has been planned (The Penticton Herald, April 29, 1982, p. 8a) to prevent any increase in the amount of discharge into the lake system. Existing levels of
discharge should also be reduced.

d) The transportation problems in Penticton have been partially alleviated by the Okanagan River by-pass, which allows traffic to be diverted away from the downtown area. An even more efficient route for the highway would be along the westernmost edge of the city through the Indian Reserve (Figure 20). If this alignment is possible, it would divert traffic away from the city centre area, and would free the road along Skaha Lake for slower local traffic. An actual road setback (in the marked area on Figure 20) would allow more parking and greater potential for use of the beach area in the airport section of Skaha Lake. Another less expensive alternative would be the use of several pedestrian overpasses. This beach area is wide, sandy, and currently under-utilized. More parking is planned for the eastern portion of Skaha Lake. This parking should be set back from the beach area by a set of vacant lots which could be converted into parkland. In this way, a buffer zone could be created between the beach and parking area (Figure 20).

In the downtown area, the system of one-way streets is an effective means of channelling traffic to avoid congestion.
Public transportation is provided by the Penticton Transit Service, which is a joint program of the City of Penticton and the Provincial Ministry of Municipal Affairs. During the summer months, a special bus operates between the beach areas of Skaha and Okanagan Lakes.

e) The recreational facilities in Penticton are generally good. More programs and better organization for visitors could be planned. The most popular beach is on South Beach Drive on Skaha Lake. Many young people, residents and visitors, frequent this beach. Volleyball and tennis tournaments, with on the spot sign-up or inter-hotel, inter-campground tournaments, would be good for organizing youths and burning off energy.

There are also many hotel/motel swimming pools, as well as other recreational facilities, which should be made available to Penticton residents.

Quiet recreation opportunities are in short supply (Collins, 1981). Nature walks, deserted beach areas, and wildlife trails would enable residents to have an alternative to the congested tourist areas.
f) The beach areas of Penticton could use some improvements. The under-utilized, western portion of the beach at Skaha Lake could be made more accessible to the public. One way of doing this would be to re-align the road (Figure 20) as mentioned in Chapter 6.1(d).

The Okanagan Lake Beach is too shaded along the Lakeshore Drive portion. The beautiful trees lining this beach should be thinned out and wider expanses of sand added at the eastern end to create a good suntanning area.

The Okanagan River is an excellent recreation possibility. It is used by many people to float down on air mattresses or inner tubes from Okanagan Lake to Skaha Lake. If the river was cleaned up, benefitting the lakes in the process, and the riverbanks made visually pleasing, this leisurely route would become a major attraction. Some improvements have already been made but much more could be done.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce has constructed a wide stairway into the water at each end of the river, along with a parking lot. The river bank along the entire route could feature a walkway and/or cycle path with picnic areas and small parks. Excellent opportunities also exist for
FIGURE 20: SKAHA AREA IMPROVEMENTS

LEGEND
- New Parking
- New Park
- Pedestrian Overpass
- Highway Bypass
riverside restaurants and entertainment.

g) There appears to be adequate amounts of accommodation facilities during most times of the year in Penticton, although the aesthetics (to be discussed later) of the facilities are often substandard.

Conversion of some tent and trailer parks to private membership, coupled with the closing down of a few campgrounds, due to inadequate supervision, and conversion of some grounds to other uses, have led to overcrowding at the remaining campgrounds. This has resulted in illegal camping, frustrated visitors, and alarmed affected landowners and residents.

This problem illustrates the need for a co-ordinated accommodation agency within the city, with service centres at either city entrance. During the peak season, tourists would be able to obtain accommodation if there were any left in the city. If none were available, they could then be directed to an overflow facility which could be situated at one of the three golf courses around Penticton. With the use of protective netting, this could be the marriage of two very compatible land uses. Since campers do not add to the economy as much as other accommodation service users,
FIGURE 21: LOCATIONS OF NEEDED IMPROVEMENTS IN PENTICTON

LEGEND
1. Tourist Info. Booth
2. Beach cleanup & expansion
3. Tourist Health Clinic
4. Neighbourhood Shopping Area
5. Organized Beach Sports
6. Okanagan River Recreation potential
7. Golf course accommodation
8. Possible Tourist Resort Development Zone
allowing such camping only as a last resort would reduce the industry's problem of a high proportion of campers.

h) If further large or medium scale development is to be allowed, it should be in an area slightly removed from the city, or in strictly zoned "Tourist Commercial" areas. These areas should even be enclosed with a "gateway," landscaped fencing, or in some other way to show a clear demarkation.

Figure 21 shows the locations of some needed improvements that have been discussed.

6.2 Policies to Mitigate Undesirable Environmental Characteristics

a) Crowding occurs in Penticton during the summer months. This does not appear to be much of a problem to tourists, as they are still attracted to the area. In fact, the crowding, which occurs in the leisure areas (beaches, waterslides, etc.), seems to be an attraction in itself. If people are pleasant, or if they expect the situation to be pleasant, their presence can add to the stimulation and excitement of the moment.
However, crowded beaches can be a concern to residents. Beach areas known mainly to residents allow them the option of attending the crowded tourist beaches, or more secluded, less known beaches, such as Sonoco Beach, Three Mile Beach, or Okanagan Falls. Another option would be to erect fenced areas (as mentioned in Chapter 4.3) for residents or pass holders only.

b) Lack of open space is getting to be a problem, though not a severe one. Without appropriate planning now, it will be too late to preserve areas of open space in the downtown area, along the southern portion of Main Street and Skaha Lake Road. Orchard areas on the east and west benchlands are presently preserved by the Agricultural Land Reserve (ALR). An area of parkland should be developed along the Okanagan River Channel and pedestrian and cycling paths should be used to join up different areas of the city.

c) Aesthetics is a major issue in Penticton. Many of the accommodation establishments were built in the 1950's and 60's for small numbers of visitors. "Strip" style development and architecture developed, resulting in a poor visual perception of the city for tourists and residents alike. Residents, however, must live with the design of tourist architecture year-round. Until the building of the
Delta Lakeside Hotel, there was no quality accommodation to attract a wider range of clientele.

As mentioned in Chapter 4.3, any new tourist development, whether for recreation, accommodation, or dining, should be appealing in design. This should be taken into account at the time of the development application under a policy guideline developed by the city politicians and planners. This guideline could call for any number of items, including hidden parking, pleasing landscaping, unique building design, public access, and size regulation.

Some cities have a theme for their new developments. For example, Kimberley has a Bavarian theme, and San Antonio, Texas has a Spanish theme. This is not to suggest a theme should be developed for Penticton, but it does draw attention to design strategies.

6.3 Policies to Increase Public Acceptance

a) An on-going public relations program is needed in Penticton to increase public acceptance and awareness of tourism. Several programs have already been tried in Penticton and have been quite successful (Keith Bevington,
A "People Pleaser" program was run in the spring of 1986. It was initiated by the Chamber of Commerce and involved businesses which catered to tourists. The campaign taught employees the benefits of being friendly and gave weekly prizes to people who were extra friendly and helpful.

Another program, which ended in the spring of 1986, was the provincial "Super Host" program. This was basically a training program for those involved in the hospitality or tourism industry. "Partners in Tourism" is another provincially funded program. It cost shares (fifty percent) marketing strategies with private industry through, in this case, the Okanagan-Similkameen Tourist Association.

A program like "People Pleaser" should be run every year. Good media coverage of the program is essential. The involvement of seniors and young people is also necessary.

The following newspaper article (Figure 22) shows an example of good public relations for Penticton's tourist industry.

b) Penticton gains a great deal of revenue through taxes on tourist establishments. A portion of these taxes should be put to use for special projects that would directly
SOMETIMES HARD TO ACCEPT

Tourism essential city business

Directors of the Penticton Motel Association say it is sometimes difficult for Penticton residents to accept that the tourist industry is an essential factor in the economy of the city. The directors said in a news release that this is particularly true during certain times of the year when the residents' lifestyles are interrupted considerably by the influx of holidaymakers.

Directors say the accommodation aspect of the tourism business is probably the most misunderstood and misrepresented facet of the industry that employs about 550 people in Penticton. A good percentage of the people operating motels, hotels and campgrounds in Penticton have been dealing with the public for many years, they said.

Most owners make their homes in Penticton and contribute to community life extensively in many areas outside the tourist industry. Because these people directly involved with tourists are also residents, they feel it is essential that a good rapport be maintained between operators and residents.

Directors say it takes a certain kind of person to work the long hours required to keep people coming to Penticton and that the upkeep and maintenance of rooms in Penticton is generally very good.

The members of the association all agree that pride of ownership is responsible for their good condition and the friendly atmosphere that prevails at their businesses. The industry is catering to holidaymakers who are in Penticton to enjoy the beautiful facilities that Penticton is proud to offer. The association is working hard to maintain a good reputation for its members and the community.

At the annual general meeting of the association held recently, Ursula Uh was elected president. Barry Wilson is vice-president and Beth Wilson, secretary-treasurer. Directors elected for two-year terms were Al Webert and Jim Campbell. Elected for single-year terms were Linda Lawrence and Ray McCormick.

With the election of the new officers, the association will endeavor to continue to maintain a good relationship with the residents of Penticton and to offer the tourist industry maximum efficiency in accommodation.

The association has a representative on the Penticton Chamber of Commerce and the Convention Bureau and many of the association's members are supporters of the Okanagan-Similkameen Tourist Association.
benefit the residents. Projects might include park facilities, a theatre, walkways, or even a property tax reduction.

Downtown beautification would also be a worthwhile project. Improvements to the streetscape might include the use of awnings, paving stone sidewalks, landscaping, storefront upkeep, extra litter baskets, and bus shelters.

Projects of any kind, funded with tourist revenue, should be mentioned by the media and on ceremonial plaques describing where the funding was obtained.

c) Public acceptance of tourism would be easier if there were no policing problems (Chapter 5.7.3) associated with it. These incidences give tourists, in general, a bad name.

d) The most important policy proposal is for more public input into the planning process. This should occur at every stage of development and be co-ordinated through a central tourist industry office.

This study recommends a permanent office be established with a directing committee made up of possibly the mayor, representatives from the Chamber of Commerce, Peach Bowl, Hotel/Motel Association, Merchants Association, and a
planner from the regional district.

The public should be encouraged to drop into the office and offer their opinions. It should be up to the directing committee, with input from public meetings and public opinion surveys, to formulate some policies for this important industry. Then, in true democratic fashion, these policies should only be adopted after a city-wide referendum vote.

A tourist industry office could also handle many of the day-to-day operations of co-ordination in all facets of the tourist industry in Penticton. This would include collecting the statistics needed to formulate future policy.

e) Improving employee training should also be undertaken. In addition to the provincial "Super Host" program, a hospitality course has been offered through the Okanagan College. This course would not only help people to qualify for jobs in the tourist industry but could create another specialty for Penticton to offer outside areas - a specialty education program.

f) Programmes should be initiated in Penticton to involve more resident participation in tourist events and
activities. These programmes could involve the resident retirement community, sporting activities and competitions throughout the year, education programmes with out-of-town students, and enhancement of current, successful programmes, like the annual square-dancing jamboree.

6.4 Policies to Attract or Expand Tourism

Better utilization of existing facilities could occur by promoting more tourism in the fall, winter, and spring. This would entail promoting areas of attraction that are not as well known to tourists as Penticton's hot summer sun and beaches. Efforts are being made in the fall to promote "Septober" ("Swirling, sniffing and sipping." 21 August 1983), a time when conditions are uncrowded, accommodations are offered at reduced rates, and the fruit and wine industry are at their busiest. The winter months are being promoted for skiing at Apex Alpine, where the development of resort facilities to attract skiers has been ongoing since 1979. The mountain capacity will eventually be able to accommodate 3,425 skiers a day.

Because of the on-hill expansion and increased advertising, Ski Penticton was organized. It looks after
the new destination skier market by booking ski packages into Penticton hotels and motels. Promotional material was sent to every travel agent in British Columbia, Alberta, and Saskatchewan.

Events being promoted in the spring include the Mid-Winter Breakout Party and the Spring Blossom Festival. The impact of convention activity on the travel industry is accentuated by the fact that eighty-six percent (Province of British Columbia, 1973, 52) of the delegates arrive in months other than July and August.

In order to increase tourism in the off-seasons, it would appear that a promotional job needs to be done by a single Penticton agency in major market areas surrounding the city. These areas might include Vancouver, Seattle, Portland, Spokane, Calgary, and Edmonton. In collaboration with Tourism B.C., this promotion could extend to other areas of the United States, eastern Canada, and Japan. Various components (Ski Penticton, the hotel/motel association, etc.) of the industry will have to organize, together, an attractive package for vacationers. An organization like the Penticton Chamber of Commerce (or a tourist industry office, as mentioned in Chapter 6.3) might make an effort to package and sell Penticton and its
facilities in conjunction with the Tourist and Convention Bureau.

Facilities which would attract more tourists might include some first-class hotels and dining establishments, weekend hideaways (for example, small, quaint hotels, or bed and breakfasts along the lakeshore), additional beach areas created by reclamation of shallow foreshore areas, and specialty areas. Specialties could include a large number of a particular type of sporting facility, like squash, curling, waterslides (indoor and outdoor), racquetball, or tennis. If such facilities were available and promoted, Penticton could become known as the "Racquetball Capital" of British Columbia, for example, and host of many tournaments. The city has hosted a triathlon ("Iron Man") for the last three years. As well, the city also bought the rights from the Hawaiian Iron Man event and expects massive international coverage starting in 1986.

Another specialty area which Penticton could promote is education. The Penticton centre of the Okanagan College enrolled about 4,400 students in 1982 ("Penticton college centre seeks to expand on range of courses." 29 August 1982). By adding courses on business and vocational programs, especially to do with tourism, recreation and
hotel/motel management, Penticton could attract students from a wide area. The motel industry could be helped in the winter months by offering rooms as dormitories to students. Students could also provide a seasonal labour force in the summer.

An area of expansion which the city of Penticton could consider to round out its tourist industry, is the addition of legalized gambling. This would, of course, involve not only careful consideration on the part of local residents, but also much government red-tape. The results of this crowd-attracting formula could well be worthwhile to Penticton and the province of British Columbia. Penticton is situated in a naturally bordered area, with a desert-like climate, close to several large population centres. It would make an attractive Canadian alternative to Reno or Las Vegas. The example of Atlantic City and the resort cycle of development shows the possibility of legalized gambling.

Atlantic City had an apparent cycle of resort development: expansion, transition, and eventual decline. The social and economic plight of Atlantic City spurred a variety of efforts to revitalize the city. A 1976 referendum to legalize casinos was passed when it was promised that state revenues from casinos were to be devoted
to property tax and utility bill relief for the elderly and poor. The creation of twenty-one thousand permanent new jobs was also involved. Stansfield (1978, 250) concludes that "the revitalization of Atlantic City can be accomplished by emphasizing a unique (for the region) political/cultural location advantage which will attract the necessary capital for major modernization as well as the return of the golden hordes of affluent tourists...the artificial amenity will supplement the natural amenities in attracting vacationers."

Penticton could legalize gambling for six months of the year, when the draw of natural amenities is at its lowest. In this way, facilities and economic returns could be spread at a high level throughout the year.

Summary

Chapter 6 has taken the work of Chapters 2 and 3, and the policies developed in Chapter 4, and applied them to the situation in Penticton.

It is recommended that extra facilities and services be added to handle the large tourist population in the summer.
These could be utilized more efficiently by promoting more tourism during other times of the year. Any large-scale development should be done outside the city to reduce impacts on the residents.

Aesthetics is a major issue in Penticton. Developments in the past have left the city with many poorly designed buildings and little character.

By improving physical and environmental characteristics, it will be easier to convince residents that tourism is good for them and their city. This can help to ease conditions of saturation and make for easier growth in the tourist industry of Penticton.
CHAPTER SEVEN: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This thesis has set out to develop some policies to mitigate the social problems caused by the tourist industry, using Penticton, British Columbia as an example. In order to do so, several questions had to be answered:

a) What is tourism? What are the impacts of tourism? How are these impacts measured?

b) Is there a point when tourism begins to decline and residents grow intolerant? If there is a social limit to tourism development, how could this be identified? If there is no limit to the amount of tourism development that can be tolerated in any area, then there would be no point in making policies to ease the problems.

Once these ideas were discussed, general policies were developed from the literature to ease the social effects of tourism, and to allow for socially appropriate tourism development. These policies were then applied specifically to Penticton, a city where saturation in the tourist industry might be approaching.
The purpose of this approach to planning for tourism is to improve the planner's ability to enhance the quality of life in tourism destination areas, especially in small cities. The livability of tourist destinations for residents has been left largely to chance. The policies developed here will help to ensure a more livable environment for residents and present the opportunity for growth to a socially sensitive tourism industry.

To know which direction a community wishes to take, it must be decided:

a) whether the community wishes to become an important tourist destination, and what are its options;
b) how to maximize the economic and other advantages of tourism;
c) how to meet the problems presented by the growth and development of tourism.

The work in this study concentrates on the problems that tourism presents.

In this study, it was found that, in order to maintain a healthy resident social attitude, three things are necessary. First, the physical environment of the residents must be cared for so they have few or no complaints that can be blamed on the tourists. This includes problems of
facilities and services, aesthetics, and undesirable environmental characteristics. This would also enhance the environment for tourist satisfaction. Second, any benefits accruing to residents from tourism should be publicly acknowledged so residents realize they are benefiting from tourism. In other words, the costs to the residents must be reduced and/or downplayed, while the benefits should be increased and/or acknowledged. Third, and most important, is to involve the residents in every possible stage of the industry, from initial proposals for new developments to helping with implementation.

Most tourism development studies measure the potential for development in terms of resource availability, physical capacity, and accessibility to markets. The findings of this study suggest that more attention should be paid to additional factors, such as the local capacity to absorb development, the potential interaction between residents and tourists, and the integration of the tourism industry with the rest of the economy.

In developing tourism as a major industry, care must be taken not to exceed critical tourist-resident ratios, beyond which limit hostile reactions are generated among residents, both towards tourism as an industry and towards tourists as
people. Plans should have some regard to saturation levels beyond which the realization of economic, social or environmental objectives would be jeopardized.

Though the measurement of a saturation level seems unattainable, methods have been developed in this thesis that have given an indication of approaching saturation problems in Penticton. These methods include an examination of the factors leading to saturation as explained by Young (1973) and a review of the guideline for local residents developed in Chapter 2.

This study began by introducing the importance of tourism to the British Columbia economy. The concept of saturation and social limits to tourism was also mentioned. Chapter 1 noted that more planning is needed to guide the tourist industry.

The methodology was developed on the basis that a city's components are very much interrelated. Physical, environmental, and economic factors can affect the social well-being of a community. It was decided that a programme of planning policies could be developed from interviews, the literature, historical data, and observation.
Chapter 2 examined the concept of tourism and listed possible costs and benefits of tourism found in the literature. Some of the costs include disruptive social change, local instability, diminished open space and "eyesore" development.

A method of gauging these impacts was developed in the form of "Guidelines for Evaluating the Social Performance of Tourism Development."

Chapter 3 studied the concept of "saturation." It was a concept developed in recreation planning where it was termed "carrying capacity." The methods found in the literature for measuring saturation were found to be unsatisfactory because of vagueness and the use of immeasurable variables. It was concluded that the best use of saturation for this study would be to realize that such a situation could happen and should be avoided. As well, it could be predicted as to whether or not a town was approaching saturation by studying the factors that Young (1973) listed as leading to a "psychological" saturation.

Chapter 4 once again examined the literature and categorizes some policies that will mitigate the adverse social effects of tourism. These policies deal with
facilities and services, the environment, public acceptance, and future expansion of tourism.

Chapter 5 introduced the City of Penticton and then reviews the situation there in terms of Young's saturation criterion and the guideline for evaluating the social performance of tourism development. Evidence of emerging saturation problems include pressures on the urban infrastructure, growing criticism of tourism, sheer numbers of tourists in relation to the resident population, and increasing use of land for tourist-related uses.

In Chapter 6, the policies developed in Chapter 4 were used for the situation in Penticton. Measures used to mitigate the adverse social impacts in Penticton include:

- planning of any new tourism projects should be integrated with the planning of additional services and facilities;
- improving sewage disposal and transportation systems;
- more recreational activity involving tourists and residents;
- large-scale tourism development should be largely self-sufficient and segregated from the city;
- new tourism development should be pleasing in design;
- a central tourism planning office should be established to handle planning, promotion, and public involvement;
- special projects should be funded by tourism taxes;
- more public input into all phases of the tourism industry;
- promotion of year-round tourism to better use facilities.

7.1 Suggestions for Further Investigation

The methodology of this thesis was difficult to develop as saturation and social impact mitigation for tourism are not well documented. It is hoped that this study will make it easier for future researchers.

Further work needs to be done in designing a resident survey to get an accurate appraisal of resident attitudes. Work also needs to be done to organize a tourist industry office in tourist areas, and to find ways of funding tourist industry research and special developments.

If future tourism development is to both economically and socially viable, it must be intentionally planned. Planners and planning policy must stress public control of private investment and development decisions rather than simply civic beautification and public investment in monuments and parks. Penticton has the potential to have a healthy, thriving tourist industry if it is developed in
conjunction with the wishes and goals of the residents. The mitigatory policies developed in this thesis can be applied to towns similar to Penticton, where tourism is a major factor in the local economy.
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204


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