

Resident Perceptions of Tourism in a
Rapidly Growing Mountain Tourism Destination

by

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis including any final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

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ABSTRACT

It is generally agreed that tourism results in both positive and negative impacts for residents of tourism destinations. There is a need to study resident perceptions of tourism because local residents are the ones who are most directly affected by tourism (Haywood, 2000; Simmons, 1994; Snaith and Haley, 1999). The study of resident perceptions is also valuable in that it can illuminate the views of those whose views are not otherwise heard. Several dozen studies have examined residents' perceptions of tourism and the vast majority of these studies have been rooted in positivism and apply quantitative methods. Recently a growing body of research has emerged which examine residents' perceptions of tourism from a qualitative research approach.

The intent of this study is to determine residents' perceptions of tourism in a rapidly growing mountain tourism destination. The Collingwood region of Ontario was used as the case study for this research. Specifically, this study examines residents' views on the current rate of growth, the costs and benefits of tourism, tourism as an economic development strategy, and the theoretical frameworks which might help to explain tourism in the Collingwood region.

This study is based on three research approaches which include qualitative inquiry, grounded theory, and explanatory case study research. Triangulation of data sources was used to examine the case from multiple perspectives and include a qualitative content analysis of the local newspaper, semi-structured interviews with residents and semi-structured key informant interviews. This data was analyzed using the constant comparative method.

The analysis resulted in the emergence of four major themes including growth, economic, political, and environmental. Growth was the dominant theme discussed by residents and some of the prevalent sub-themes include the lack of affordable housing, infrastructure problems, residential development, and new amenities and services. Some of the sub-themes include the economic benefits of tourism and economic development. Residents' vision for the future and their views on the Collingwood town council are political sub-themes discussed. The two significant environment issues which emerged were concerns over a new resort and housing development and the rapid rate of golf course development. Additionally, residents were asked what types of tourism they consider desirable and the two dominant forms which surfaced were nature/ecotourism and cultural tourism.

The analysis of the findings revealed that residents interviewed view tourism as one component of a larger system of growth and development within the Collingwood region. It was also revealed that most residents were more concerned about the rate and scale of development rather than the type of growth occurring in the Collingwood region. Furthermore, residents' recognize the complex nature of tourism impacts, and identify several indirect and induced impacts which result from tourism. This analysis also revealed that the lack of affordable housing within the region impacts both permanent residents and seasonal migrant workers. Two theoretical frameworks which were examined in relation to tourism in the Collingwood region include chaos systems theory and growth machine theory.

Three recommendations resulted from the research and include the creation of a tourism and urban growth policy and planning committee, a comprehensive affordable housing strategy, and the targeting of small and mid-sized business development.

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

It is generally believed that tourism generates both positive and negative impacts in host communities. The residents of host communities are the ones who are most directly affected by tourism development; therefore there is a need to study resident perceptions of tourism to determine the impacts of tourism on residents (Haywood, 2000; Simmons, 1994; Snaith and Haley, 1999). Furthermore, the importance of studying resident perceptions of tourism is not solely rooted in altruism, but is also based on residents' involvement in the production of tourism, and their ability to significantly enhance or diminish the product (Ap, 1992; Snaith and Haley, 1999). However, it is important to note that the study of resident perceptions of tourism cannot be used alone as a proxy for determining tourism impacts in general. It cannot be assumed that residents are knowledgeable of all of the potential impacts associated with tourism or that they are viewing them without bias. However, the value in studying resident perceptions is that it is a means of viewing tourism development from their perspective, which may reveal issues not considered or valued by developers, tourism related businesses, planners, or politicians. Furthermore, in many communities where residents are involved in the tourism planning process their involvement is authorized by governments or external agencies who control their degree of involvement and in many cases resident participation is limited to little more than information sessions (Joppe, 1996). Therefore, the examination of resident perceptions of tourism is valuable in that it can give a voice to those who may not otherwise be heard as well as providing a unique perspective on issues that most directly impact residents.

The intent of this chapter is fivefold in scope: 1) to outline a contextual background for this study by highlighting some of the relevant literature; 2) discuss the justification for this research; 3)

highlight the research approach; 4) introduce the case study; and 5) outline the research goal and questions.

1.1 Relevant Literature

In the literature on resident dispositions towards tourism the terms attitude and perception are often used interchangeably to describe resident views on tourism. It is argued by Kurtz and Boone (1984, as cited in Ap 1992) that perception refers to the meaning attributed to an object or subject, whereas attitude represents an enduring predisposition or tendency towards an object or subject. Kurtz and Boone argue that the term perception is more appropriate to describe resident dispositions toward tourism because they are not necessarily referring to static, enduring predispositions, but dispositions which vary over time. Furthermore, Kurtz and Boone state that the term perception is more accurate because it cannot be assumed that residents hold beliefs or have knowledge about tourism impacts. Thus, for the purpose of this study the term perception will be used to describe residents' dispositions towards tourism.

Several studies have examined the implications of tourism in mountain destinations (see Di Stefano, 2004; Getz, 1994; Johnson, Snepenger, and Akis, 1994; Nepal, 2005; Wilkinson and Murray, 1991). Mountain destinations are typically dominated by a ski resort, which acts as the hallmark attraction. Several studies of mountain tourism destinations examine resident perceptions of tourism and some of the most prevalent issues which emerge relate to economic development, transitional economies, and growth management.

The study of resident perceptions of tourism is rooted in early social impact research which sought to examine the social influence of tourism on destination communities. Doxey (1975) and Butler (1980) are two seminal studies within the field and they are examined in this study.

Since the late 1970's there have been several dozen resident perception studies published in the tourism literature. The vast majority of these studies are rooted in positivism, as they use a fairly standard set of survey questions to establish generalizability and test the impact of various independent variables (see Allen, Long, Perdue, and Kieselbach, 1988; Cavus and Tanrisevdi, 2003; Faulkner and Tideswell, 1997; Lankford and Howard, 1994; Long, Perdue and Allen, 1990; Ryan, Scotland and Montgomery, 1998; Snaith and Haley, 1999). There is also a small but growing body of research which is based on qualitative inquiry, which seeks to probe residents using qualitative research methods to gain an in-depth understand of their perceptions of tourism (see Brunt and Courtney, 1999; Davis and Morais, 2004; Shone et al., 2003; Simmons, 1994).

Many of these resident perception studies not only examine the impacts on specific individuals but also community level impacts such as affordable housing, congestion, avoidance, and changing local lifestyles. Some resident perception studies also examine residents' views on tourism as an economic development strategy (see Andereck, Valentine, Knopf and Vogt, 2005; Davis and Morais, 2004). Furthermore, some resident perception studies have examined the impacts of large resort developments, especially those located in remote rural locations and owned by large corporations which have the ability to dominate the local communities (see Davis and Morais, 2004; Flagestad and Hope, 2001; Getz, 1994; Tooman, 1997; Wyllie, 1998).

From a theoretical perspective, the intent of this study was not to test specific, pre-determined theories, as this study is rooted in grounded theory, where theory emerges during analysis stage of the research process (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). In addition, the analysis led to the realization that there were two theoretical frameworks which may help to analyze tourism in the

case study region. The relevance of Molotch's (1976) growth machine theory and McKercher's (1999) chaos theory to tourism in the study region is analyzed.

1.2 Research Gap

The general aim of most studies on resident perceptions of tourism is to determine how residents are affected by economic, social and environmental impacts which result from tourism development. The majority of these studies have taken a quantitative approach, using survey-based methods to test the effect of independent variables such as sociodemographics, economic dependence on tourism, length of residency, stage of tourism development, community size, and rate of tourism development. While quantitative methods are useful for establishing generalized findings for a population, qualitative methods have the advantage of developing a rich depth of knowledge on a smaller sample (Creswell, 2003). Only recently have researchers begun to examine resident perceptions of tourism using qualitative methods (see Ap and Crompton, 1993; Brunt and Courtney, 1999; Davis and Morais, 2004; Shone et al., 2003; Simmons, 1994). For the most part these qualitative studies are emergent in nature as the findings materialize from open ended inquires, while the quantitative studies generally consist of attempts to validate issues based on concepts pre-determined to be of importance by the research or previous studies. Therefore, it can be argued that qualitative inquiry is well suited to an exploratory case study and qualitative studies are more effective when followed by a qualitative study. Since there has been little research on resident perceptions of tourism in Collingwood and the region is experiencing rapid growth, which can generate somewhat unexpected impacts, there is a need to study resident perceptions of tourism from a qualitative perspective.

Very few studies have examined residents' vision for future tourism development and what forms of tourism residents view as desirable within their communities. Simmons (1994) conducted an exploratory study that examined which existing and potential tourism products residents would like to see developed and their perceptions of the resulting impacts. Involving residents in product development is beneficial not only because it can create a tourism destination that is compatible with the community, but because it gives the residents a chance to capitalize on unique traditions, customs, and other characteristics of the community which they can directly benefit from.

1.3 Research Approach

A single case study approach is used for this study. A qualitative research approach was used and involved a sequential research process. This approach was selected because the researcher wanted to conduct an in-depth analysis of a tourism destination in transition. Four research methods were used throughout the research process in order to establish triangulation. The first method used was an exploratory content analysis of the local newspaper. This was followed by semi-structured resident interviews and semi-structured key informant interviews.

1.4 Case Study

The Collingwood region of Ontario was selected because it is a mountain tourism destination experiencing a current phase of rapid tourism and suburban-style growth. While the Collingwood region has been a tourism destination since the late 19th century, the \$500 million investment by Intrawest in 1999 initiated a rapid phase of development throughout the region. This investment involves the creation of a resort village based at Blue Mountain ski hill which consists of a mix of shopping, recreation, hotels, condominiums, and homes. The current wave

of development is not limited to the resort village and has resulted in a myriad of induced impacts throughout the Collingwood region. Some of these impacts include rapid housing growth, affordable housing shortages, congestion, rising property taxes, economic growth and new amenities and services.

1.5 Research Goal and Questions

The goal of this thesis is to determine residents' perceptions of tourism in a rapidly growing mountain tourism destination. While several dozen studies have explored residents' perceptions of tourism very few have used case studies of destinations which are in the midst of rapid growth. The specific research questions which will be addressed are:

- 1) What are residents' views on the current rate of tourism growth and their vision for future tourism development in the Collingwood region?
- 2) What do residents view as the most significant benefits and costs of tourism in the Collingwood region?
- 3) Is tourism the best economic development strategy for the region?
- 4) What, if any, theoretical frameworks emerge to help to explain tourism in the Collingwood region?

These questions are intended to form a foundation for a thesis which analyzes residents' perception of tourism development in a community adjusting to extensive tourism development.

1.6 Thesis Framework

This chapter has introduced the relevant literature, provided justification for this research, outlined the research approach, discussed the case study, and introduced the research goal

and questions. Chapter 2 will examine the body of literature that is relevant to this study. The research methods will be discussed in chapter 3, and the findings will be analyzed in chapter 4. Chapter 5 consists of the analysis of the key findings, how they relate to other studies in the field, and an examination of the applicable theoretical frameworks. Chapter 6 represents the conclusion, which examines how the research questions were answered, evaluates the research methods, discusses recommendations, comments on future research, and assesses the contributions to the field.

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter the literature which is relevant to this study is discussed in order to establish a contextual basis for the research. The research on mountain tourism destinations is addressed first. This is followed by a broad review of early tourism impact studies and an analysis of the impact of various independent variables on resident perceptions of tourism. This chapter also examines community level impacts resulting from tourism and the benefits of collaborative tourism planning for communities struggling to accommodate tourism development. Studies which discuss tourism as an economic development strategy, the impacts of large resort developments, and the application of growth management strategies in tourism destinations are also discussed. The chapter concludes with an examination of the theoretical frameworks which may help to explain some of the complex issues relating to tourism in the Collingwood region. While some of these bodies of literature may seem loosely related or unrelated altogether, the literature from each section will be revisited in the discussion and/or conclusion chapters.

2.1 Mountain Tourism Destinations

The term mountain destination is commonly used to describe tourism destinations which are dominated by a ski resort. Mountain destinations are physically unique from other destinations because they are typically located in mountainous rural areas with highly attractive environments and numerous natural amenities.

In many cases mountain destinations have been used as significant components of a transition from economies based on primary and secondary industries to those based on tourism (see Di Stefano, 2004; Getz, 1994; Johnson, Snepenger, and Akis, 1994; Wilkinson and Murray, 1991).

Because of the rural nature and lack of economic diversity, mountain destinations often dominate the economy of the local community as they create demand for ski related businesses and services, accommodation, restaurants, shopping, housing and generate local tax revenue (Parkinson, 1991; Wilkinson and Murray, 1991). However, these positive economic impacts are often countered by negative impacts as perceived by local residents. Getz (1994) and Johnson et al. (1994) conducted longitudinal studies of resident perceptions of tourism in mountain destinations and it was found in both cases that resident perceptions of tourism were increasingly negative over time. Getz's study of the Spey Valley region of Scotland found that there was a modest negative change in residents' perceptions of tourism; whereas Johnson et al.'s study of the Silver Valley region of Idaho found that residents' perceptions changed dramatically from almost universally positive perceptions to largely negative perceptions. One qualifying variable is that Getz's study began when the ski resort was already open, whereas Johnson et al.'s study examined residents' perceptions before and after the ski resort was built.

Both Johnson et al. (1994) and Nepal (2005) conducted resident perception studies before a new mountain tourism destination was established and it was found in both cases that residents were extremely supportive of tourism development. Johnson et al.'s study of resident perceptions of tourism before a ski resort was constructed found that 94 percent of residents were in favour of tourism development. Nepal's (2005) study of resident views on a proposed mountain resort in British Columbia found that residents displayed feelings of euphoria towards tourism.

In some cases, individual residents of mountain destinations support tourism development despite less than perceived benefits and more than expected social and environmental costs because they realize the community has a collective dependence on tourism (Getz, 1994). In

such cases residents perceive that there are few economic alternatives to tourism and thus support tourism despite the perceived negative impacts. Tourism in mountain destinations is often considered a strategy to diversify the regional economic base (Di Stefano, 2004; Johnson et al., 1994; Wilkinson and Murray, 1991); however, in many cases it appears to merely shift the economic dependency from traditional primary and secondary industries to tourism (Di Stefano, 2004). Di Stefano's (2004) study of resident perceptions of a growing ski resort in Montana found that while residents supported tourism as the only viable economic development option, they identified low wages and rising real estate costs and property taxes as significant negative impacts. Furthermore, Johnson et al.'s (1994) study found that one of the primary factors influencing residents' negative perception of tourism was the dissatisfaction with lower paying jobs and difficulties associated with the transition to service sector skill sets. The high dependence on tourism as well as increasingly negative perceptions of tourism in mountain communities warrants the need to study tourism impacts.

Gill's (2000) study traced the rapid development of Whistler BC and discussed how it represents a classic example of a local growth machine. A local growth machine is a union of local political and business leaders who foster an environment that perpetuates continuous urban growth which can be observed in increased financial activity, industrial expansion, retail growth, rapid land development, and population growth (Molotch, 1976). Growth machine theory is examined in greater detail in section 2.12.1. Gill argues that this is essentially what has occurred in Whistler as a pro-growth political environment facilitated rapid and largely unrestrained growth. Gill also discussed the eventual application of a growth management strategy in an attempt to direct and regulate future growth. Growth management is a planning mechanism that generally sets out a vision for future desired growth within a given region using transportation planning, economic development, and financial incentives and disincentives in addition to land-use

controls (Gill and Williams, 1994). The concept of growth management is explored in greater detail in section 2.11. Gill and Williams' study also examined the application of Whistler's growth management strategy. They identified several information priorities for growth management in mountain destinations including identifying and involving stakeholders, recognizing the stage of development, maintaining the quality of the resource base, and understanding the mountain resort system. Gill and Williams argue that growth management is a valuable tool in mountain destinations because they are generally located in fragile ecosystems with diverse plant and wildlife species which are especially at risk in high growth environments.

2.2 Tourism Impacts

Many of the early studies on the impacts of tourism focused on the positive economic impacts of tourism as the study of tourism was relatively new and was characterized by optimism (Ap and Crompton, 1998; Pizam, 1978). However, during the 1970s research largely focused on the negative social and environmental impacts as previous economic based perspectives were criticized (Ap and Crompton, 1998; Mathieson and Wall, 1982). The 1980s and 1990s witnessed a more comprehensive approach where both positive and negative impacts are assessed and the economic, social, and environmental impacts are evaluated (Ap and Crompton, 1998). Mathieson and Wall (1982) argue that impact research is an indispensable component of tourism planning and works to ensure that the impacts on residents are positive.

2.2.1 Social Impacts

Studying social impacts is a critical component of understanding how tourism affects destination communities. One of the first researchers to advance beyond a focus on economic impacts to examine the social impacts of tourism on destination communities was Butler (1974). Butler

was one of the first researchers to view tourism as an equilibrium between economic, social, and environmental impacts. The model put forth by Butler is significant because it forms the essence of contemporary models used to demonstrate principles of sustainable tourism (see Hunter, 2002). Butler identifies a variety of social impacts on destination communities, both positive and negative. Some of the positive social impacts include improvements in social services, transportation, and recreation facilities. However, there are also a wealth of negative social impacts which include competition for resources (both natural and built), price inflation (for goods and services, rent, and home ownership), and changes in community lifestyles and traditions.

2.2.2 Carrying Capacity

Tourism researchers often discuss the issue of carrying capacity where a point is reached where residents become increasingly opposed to tourism development (see Allen et al., 1988; Cavus and Tanrisevdi, 2003; Getz, 1983; Gill and Williams, 1994; Johnson et al., 1994; Long et al., 1990; Mathieson and Wall, 1982; Mathieson and Wall, 2006; McCool and Lime, 2001). Carrying capacity is defined by Mathieson and Wall (2006: 33) as “The maximum number of people who can use a site without an unacceptable alteration in the physical environment and the social, cultural and economic fabric of the destination and without an unacceptable decline in the quality of experience gained by visitors”. Furthermore, Butler (1980) theorizes that tourism destinations go through a predictable lifecycle and that there is a point where the carrying capacity of a destination is reached which is identified by a point where negative environmental, physical, and/or social impacts intensify. Butler argues that once the carrying capacity is reached the destination will experience slowed growth, stagnation, or even a decline in tourist visitation. Despite widespread agreement that there is some form of tolerance threshold at which point residents become increasingly antagonistic towards tourism

development; discerning the threshold point is extremely hard and it is even more difficult to create a model which could be applied to different communities (Allen et al., 1988; Getz, 1983; McCool and Lime, 2001). While it is difficult to determine at exactly which point a destination's carrying capacity is reached, examining residents' perceptions of tourism is a useful tool for determining how destination communities are affected by tourism (Cavus and Tanrisevdi, 2003; Gill and Williams, 1994). This knowledge can then be used by policy leaders and planners to manage tourism in a manner that is compatible with the views of residents.

Several tourism studies have attempted to determine social carrying capacity using a variety of methods ranging from residents' perceptions to retail sales. Shone, Simmons and Fairweather's (2003) study of residents' perceptions of tourism in Christchurch and Akaroa New Zealand found that tourism development was moderate and that most residents would like to see future tourism development in both areas. This finding was then used to conclude that the social carrying capacity of both study areas has not been reached. Allen et al. (1988) studied resident perceptions of tourism in 20 rural communities in Colorado to determine if there is an absolute carrying capacity beyond which tourism becomes undesirable. They found that residents' perceptions of tourism are more negative in communities with greater tourism development, which they argue confirms the notion of carrying capacity. They also conclude that it is not possible to establish an uniform and measurable carrying capacity due to the variety of unique variables affecting each town such as different social, economic, and environmental conditions, as well as the quality of planning. This finding is consistent with McCool and Lime's (2001) study which evaluated many attempts by tourism researchers to identify an absolute carrying capacity. McCool and Lime argue that attempts to assign a numeric limit ignore the complexity of tourism impacts, which are influenced by a multitude of variables including tourist behaviour, developers, and resident views. They believe that tourism

planners and policy leaders should focus on establishing a framework where those affected by tourism determine a future vision for the destination by analyzing the social, economic, and environmental impacts to determine acceptable trade-offs. Long et al. (1990) sought to quantify carrying capacity across multiple destinations using retail sales as a threshold. They found that when approximately 30 percent of a community's retail sales were obtained from tourism, resident perceptions of tourism became less favourable. This attempt to quantify a universal carrying capacity represented an about face for Long, Perdue and Allen considering their early work (Allen, Long, Perdue, and Kieselbach, 1988) could not identify a uniform carrying capacity and essentially argued that absolute carrying capacities ignore the complexities and uniqueness of communities. Furthermore, while their findings may hold up across similar communities in one state, it is unlikely that a static retail sales percentage could hold up as a proxy for carrying capacity across diverse destinations ranging from remote national parks (where no retail sales may exist) to shopping destinations (where retail sales dominate). Following up on these findings, Johnson et al. (1994) found that tourism carrying capacity appears to be linked to the level of economic activity in the region and they argue that as the economy expands the tourism carrying capacity expands concurrently, especially economic and social carrying capacity which they argue can be mitigated by a strong economy.

2.3 Seminal Tourism Impact Theories

Doxey's (1975) Irridex was one of the first models designed to examine residents' perceptions of tourism and is outlined by Harrill (2004). Doxey argues that residents' perception of tourism change over time in relation to the level of tourism development. The model delineates a predictable progression of resident perceptions towards tourism development through the stages of euphoria, apathy, annoyance, and finally antagonism. Euphoria occurs in the initial stage of tourism development and is characterized by small numbers of visitors, host hospitality,

and little tourism planning or marketing. As tourism grows some community members begin to capitalize on tourism, while others begin to criticize changes in their community and the novelty and enthusiasm begin to diminish, which is referred to as the Apathy stage. Further growth then leads to residents becoming increasingly irritated with the number of tourists as well as the transition from local ownership to large-scale corporate investment in tourist services, referred to as the Annoyance stage. Finally, the community reaches the Antagonism stage as the area has become a mass tourism destination where residents no longer welcome tourists and guest-host interactions range from indifference to hostility. Doxey's (1975) Irridex represents one of the first and most frequently cited studies to examine the impacts of tourism on host populations, and more importantly, from the hosts' perspective.

Doxey's model is often considered to be interrelated with Butler's (1980) Destination Life Cycle as the stages of both models are loosely relatable to each other. Butler's Destination Life Cycle outlines the evolution of a typical tourism destination where destinations advance through predictable stages of exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation, and eventually rejuvenation or decline. The exploration stage is characterized by small numbers of tourists who make their own travel arrangements and have irregular visitation patterns. The involvement stage occurs when visitation increases and some locals begin to provide facilities for tourists. Other characteristics of the involvement stage include a high degree of contact between tourists and locals and pressure on government agencies to provide infrastructure and public facilities. The development stage occurs when the local tourism market is well-defined as a result of significant marketing and local involvement and control of tourism-related facilities begins to decline as international organization move in. Furthermore, other signals of the development stage include when the number of tourists approaches or exceeds the local population and the tourist profile becomes increasingly mainstream. The consolidation stage is

characterized by a decline in the rate of growth (although total visitation still increases), marketing increases to attract new tourists and extend the tourist season, a major economic reliance on tourism, and growing opposition towards tourism among locals. The stagnation stage is reached when visitor numbers peak, the local carrying capacity is reached or exceeded, and the destination begins to lose popularity. In some cases destinations reach the decline stage where a destination is not able to compete with most other destinations and will experience a drop in visitation and tourism-related facilities begin to disappear. At this stage local involvement may increase as international organizations leave the destination and the market declines and land use changes occur with greater regularity. Alternatively, some destinations reach a period of rejuvenation which Butler argues almost always requires a complete change in tourism attractions. This can be achieved by either building a new attraction or taking advantage of an underutilized natural attraction. Butler theorizes that over time the number of tourists increase, the destination changes from novel to mainstream, and local control and authenticity decline. Furthermore, Butler states that with the passing of time destinations become increasingly economically dependent on tourism, and that the social and environmental costs increase while the economic benefits diminish. Butler argues that the predictable progression of resident attitudes presented by Doxey (1975) is in synch with his Destination Life Cycle. Butler believes that as the number of tourists exceeds the local population there is an increasing opposition towards tourism development from permanent residents, especially those not involved in the tourism industry.

2.3.1 Criticisms of Early Tourism Impact Theories

Despite the influence that Butler's (1980) and Doxey's (1975) models have had in stimulating interest in the impacts of tourism on residents, these models have been criticized for treating communities as homogenous entities (see Brunt and Courtney, 1999; Faulkner and Tideswell,

1997; Lankford and Howard, 1994; Mason and Cheyne, 2000; Mathieson and Wall, 2006; Ryan et al., 1998). Most studies examining residents' perceptions of tourism have found that resident perceptions of tourism are generally heterogonous, in that residents' views fall across a broad spectrum (Joppe, 1996; Lankford and Howard, 1994; Mason and Cheyne, 2000; Ryan and Montgomery, 1994). Furthermore, it has also been found that there are significant variations in resident perceptions of tourism development from destination to destination and it should not be assumed that all destinations go through a predictable pattern of development or have similar perceptions of tourism development at the same stages of development (Faulkner and Tideswell, 1997).

Another criticism of both Doxey's (1975) Irridex and Butler's (1975) Destination Life Cycle is that they assume destinations develop slowly over time and don't account for the instant resort phenomenon (Mason and Cheyne, 2000). In cases where communities have had minimal tourism development and a large resort is built it can be argued that the resident's perception of tourism could advance straight to antagonism. This was found to be the case in Johnson et al.'s (1994) longitudinal study of residents support for tourism development in a community with a newly opened ski resort.

Doxey's (1975) Irridex has also been criticized for being unidirectional, in that destinations advance through a predictable sequence and once a certain stage is reached destinations cannot recess to previous stages (Faulkner and Tideswell, 1997; Mathieson and Wall, 2006). However, Faulkner and Tideswell's (1997) research contradicts this assumption as their study of the Gold Coast in Australia suggests that over time residents adjust to tourism and negative perceptions wane.

Some studies have attempted to draw inferences on the progression through different stages of development by studying multiple communities at different stages of development (see Lawson, Williams, Young and Cossens, 1998; Ryan et al., 1998; Smith and Krannich, 1998; Williams and Lawson, 2001). However, this technique is not an entirely valid test because it is predicated on the assumption that all communities are similar and that they advance through the same stages of development.

It should be noted that despite the criticisms directed at both Doxey's (1975) Irridex and Butler's (1980) Destination Life Cycle, these models were not initially empirically tested and their intentions were to stimulate further research on tourism impacts. Furthermore, these models provide a solid theoretical foundation for studies examining residents' perceptions of tourism and there have been very few significant theoretical advancements in the field since these studies were published. More recently, there have been numerous studies which empirically test resident perceptions of tourism development.

2.3.2 Empirical Tests of Early Models

Ryan et al.'s (1998) comparison study of Rangitikei, New Zealand and Bakewell, England tested Doxey's Irridex (1975) to determine if residents' perceptions vary based on their stage in Butler's (1980) Destination Life Cycle. The findings of the study support Doxey's theory, as residents of the community in the involvement stage were highly supportive of tourism, whereas a significant share of the mature destination's residents were antagonistic towards tourism. The most notable finding of this research is that residents' views towards tourism were highly fragmented in the mature destination, with one-fifth irritated and one-fifth highly supportive of tourism; whereas in the destination at the involved stage such clear distinctions did not exist. This is an important finding because it demonstrates the extreme range of perceptions of

tourism which can occur in mature destinations, which may reflect the residents' realization over time that the benefits of tourism are not equally distributed.

Since Doxey's (1975) Irridex there have been very few studies which directly link residents' perceptions of tourism development to a model which can be applied to multiple case studies. Lankford and Howard (1994) argue that there is a need to establish generalized models which can be applied in different cases to establish a valid comparison between destinations. Lankford and Howard designed a two-dimensional tourism impact attitude scale, which they argue is a significant advancement upon scales such as Doxey's Irridex because it accounts for factors such as length of residence, economic dependency on tourism, and resident involvement in decision making.

There have been very few studies which have attempted to validate Doxey's (1975) or Butler's (1980) models using longitudinal data. Johnson et al. (1994) conducted a longitudinal study of residents' perceptions of tourism development in a community with a newly opened ski resort. It was found that residents' support for tourism development declined from 94% when it was first proposed to 82% during the planning process and finally to a low of just 28% after it was opened, which supports Doxey's model. This dramatic decline in support for tourism development may reflect a scenario suggested by Allen, Hafer, Long and Perdue (1993) where communities with a weak economic base are initially enthusiastic about tourism development because there are few alternatives, and thus do not consider, or ignore, the potential negative impacts. Getz (1994) also conducted a longitudinal study of a mature ski destination which measured the change in residents' perceptions of tourism over a 14-year period. It was found that residents had an overall positive view of tourism; however, there was an increase in negative views and dissatisfaction with tourism over time. Getz suggests that the increase in

negative views is attributable to residents' perception that tourism has failed to provide the anticipated benefits of tourism, which is consistent with Doxey's (1975) Irridex.

It is important to note that these studies and others like them examine residents' perception of impacts of tourism rather than actual impacts (Pizam, 1978). Resident perceptions of impacts are examined because it is the residents who are most directly affected by tourism impacts (whether actual or perceived) and the actual economic, social and environmental impacts of tourism are very difficult to actually measure (Simmons, 1994; Snaith and Haley, 1999).

2.4 Variables Impacting Resident Perceptions of Tourism

The vast majority of resident perception studies examine the impact of an assortment of variables that may or may not have an impact on residents' perception of tourism. Some of the most commonly tested variables include sociodemographics, personal economic interest in tourism, length of residency, distance from tourism activity, community size, and speed of tourism development.

2.4.1 Sociodemographics

It has generally been found that there is little relation between sociodemographics and resident perceptions of tourism (Allen et al., 1988; Allen et al., 1993; Ap, 1990; Brunt and Courtney, 1999; Perdue et al., 1990; Ryan et al., 1998). Examining the impact of sociodemographic variables was a significant component of Ryan et al.'s (1998) study as they used three separate tests to analyze the impact of sociodemographic variables such as age, occupation, and gender. The first test applied examined differences in the sociodemographic composition between different clusters of resident perceptions; the second was an assessment of whether different sociodemographic groups have dissimilar scores on different items in the

questionnaire; and the third was a multiple regression analysis to determine of how much of the variance in response is due to sociodemographic variables. All three of these methods found that there was little relation between sociodemographic variables and resident perceptions of tourism.

2.4.2 Personal Economic Interest

Numerous studies have indicated that residents' perceptions of tourism are largely driven by their personal economic dependence on tourism (Jurowski, Uysal and Williams, 1997; Krippendorf, 1987; Lankford and Howard, 1994; Pizam, 1978; Prentice, 1993; Wyllie, 1998; Snaith and Haley, 1999). However, some studies have found that there is no significant difference in residents' perceptions of tourism and their degree of personal economic dependence on tourism (Cavus and Tanrisevdi, 2003; Faulkner and Tideswell, 1997). One possible explanation for this is that both of these case studies are based on mature destinations. Faulkner and Tideswell (1997) believe that residents of mature destinations may be more likely to accept tourism as part of the community and as a necessary means of economic development, therefore their views are not directly based on their personal stake in tourism.

2.4.3 Length of Residency

Many studies have attempted to determine the influence of length of residency on residents' perceptions of tourism. Several studies have found that residents' perception of tourism development are increasingly negative based on the length of time they have resided in the community (Cavus and Tanrisevdi, 2003; McCool and Martin, 1994; Weaver and Lawton, 2001). Weaver and Lawton found that short term residents were more supportive of tourism, had more contact with tourists and viewed tourism as having a more positive social and economic impact

than long-time residents. However, Snaith and Haley (1999) study of York, England found that the longer the period of residence the greater the likelihood of residents becoming indifferent to tourism development and not recognizing both the positive and negative impacts of tourism. Snaith and Haley argue that this suggests that over time people may learn to live with tourism. Other research on length of residency has found that there was little correlation between length of residence and positive or negative perceptions of tourism (Brunt and Courtney, 1999; Mason and Cheyne, 2000). Mason and Cheyne (2000) studied resident perceptions of tourism in the Pohangina Valley, New Zealand and attribute this finding to the concept of long-time residents as well as newcomers of a small town sharing common ideals about preserving the character of the town. These conflicting findings outline the need to study the intricacies of different destinations.

2.4.4 Destination Stage

It has generally been found that residents of mature destinations are more critical of tourism development than those in early stages of Butler's (1980) Destination Life Cycle (Brunt and Courtney, 1999; Lawson et al., 1998; Ryan et al., 1998). This finding has a significant limitation in that these studies only examine one or two destinations and did not directly test these models but came to this conclusion as a secondary finding. However, Smith and Krannich (1998) directly tested these models using four different communities in Idaho and Utah at four different stages of development. It was concluded that in general there was a positive correlation between increased tourism development and negative resident perceptions towards tourism. It was found that residents of communities at advanced stages of tourism development perceived greater negative impacts from both tourism and economic development in general, and desired less tourism development and population growth.

2.4.5 Distance from Tourism Activity

The distance between residents' homes and the centre of tourism development is considered to significantly influence resident perceptions of tourism. Studies which have examined the effect of proximity to the centre of tourism development have found that residents' perceptions of tourism are increasingly negative the closer they reside to the centre of tourism activity (Cavus, and Tanrisevdi, 2003; Faulkner and Tideswell, 1997).

2.4.6 Community Size

Community size has also been considered an influential variable on residents' perception of tourism. It has generally been found that perceptions of tourism development tend to be stronger and more polarized in smaller communities where tourism is highly visible (Mason and Cheyne, 2000; Pearce, Moscardo, Ross, 1996); and conversely, perceptions are less extreme in large communities due to low guest-host ratios, diversified economies, and well developed infrastructure (Lawson et al., 1998).

2.4.7 Speed of Tourism Development

A few studies have found that resident attitudes towards tourism become increasingly negative over time when tourism rapidly develops in a small town (see Davis and Morais, 2004; Johnson et al., 1994). These findings support Doxey's (1975) Irridex which predicts that communities become increasingly antagonistic towards tourism over time. However, other studies have found that communities generally have a positive perception of tourism in mature destinations where tourism is an established and dominant component of the economy (see Faulkner and Tideswell, 1997; Ko and Stewart, 2002). Faulkner and Tideswell (1997) believe that over time communities adjust to tourism through experience and selective migration.

2.5 Community Level Impacts

This section examines some of the many tourism impacts that affect destination communities. Pizam's (1978) seminal study was the first to examine which specific aspects of a community are most positively and negatively affected by tourism development. Pizam measured both residents and business owner's perceptions of tourism and found that responses were similar for both groups. Income for residents, increased standard of living and shopping opportunities were rated as significant positive impacts; while traffic congestion, litter, noise, vandalism, and prices for goods and services were rated as significant negative impacts.

2.5.1 Affordable Housing

Affordable housing is often a significant problem in tourism communities, especially in areas with attractive amenity environment which generate significant in-migration, thus increasing the competition for, and price of, housing. Somewhat surprisingly, while many tourism regions are characterized by localized housing inflation and problems with the provision of affordable housing, very little of the resident perception research focuses on this issue. In the studies that do examine the impact of tourism on housing, it is included as a survey question, but the results and implications are not actually discussed in any of these papers (see Ko and Stewart, 2002; Perdue, Long and Allen, 1990; Pizam, 1978; Weaver and Lawton, 2001). This indicates that the impact of tourism development on local housing markets has not been a significant area of interest in past research and that there is a need to examine it in greater detail.

The few tourism studies that have examined the issue of affordable housing have found that tourism development generally results in the localized inflation of housing, resulting in a shortage of affordable housing. Both Prentice's (1993) and Ryan and Montgomery's (1994) UK studies have found that the vast majority of residents believe that young people can no longer

afford to buy homes in the respective tourism districts. Krausse's (1995) study of a gentrified port town in Rhode Island found that residents feel that there is a lack of affordable housing as a result of tourism development as well as in-migration due to a growing tourism induced retirement community. Gill and Williams (1994) discusses the need for mountain resorts to provide employee housing as a key element in combating the lack of affordable housing. Gill cites examples of Whistler, BC and Aspen, Colorado where employee housing, or funding for housing, has been mandated as a necessary provision for new development. Gill found that the failure of resorts to provide employee housing creates serious employee recruitment and retention problems in tourist communities with an inflated housing market. However, with the exception of these studies affordable housing is not an issue that is examined in any great detail in studies investigating residents' perceptions of tourism.

2.5.2 Property Taxes

Across Ontario, and in many jurisdictions throughout North America, property values are assessed by a method called Current Value Assessment which involves analyzing property sales in the area around one's home to determine an estimated property value which is then used to determine their property tax (Municipal Property Assessment Corporation, 2005). This policy can have a significant impact on residents of tourism destinations and retirement communities as tourism often results in rapidly rising property values which then results in a correspondingly large increase in property taxes. Perdue et al.'s (1990) study of 16 rural communities in Colorado found that one of the most significant impacts of tourism identified by residents was increasing property taxes. Similarly, Di Stefano's (2004) study of a mountain resort destination in Montana found that tourism related development resulted in a 17% increase in residents' property taxes in one year. A rise of this magnitude can have a detrimental impact on retirees and low wage earners living on fixed incomes. Thus, the

municipality implemented a 2% tax applied to bars, restaurants, hotels, motels, and luxury items, and the revenue generated was used to offset rising property taxes and pay for infrastructure upgrades.

2.5.3 Traffic Congestion

The large influx of tourists and vehicles into tourism regions often results in heavy traffic congestion, especially in rapidly growing destinations where the infrastructure was not originally built to accommodate vast numbers of tourists. Several studies of residents' perceptions of tourism have found that residents viewed traffic as a significant negative impact of tourism (see Andereck, Valentine, Knopf and Vogt, 2005; Brunt and Courtney, 1999; Faulkner and Tideswell, 1997; Johnson et al., 1994; Madrigal, 1995; Mason and Cheyne, 2000; Perdue et al., 1990; Ryan and Montgomery, 1994; Wilkinson and Murray, 1991) Wilkinson and Murray's (1991) study of the impacts of tourism on Collingwood, Ontario surveyed businesses and individuals representing local government agencies and found that increased traffic was by far the largest concern.

2.5.4 Avoidance

Brunt and Courtney's (1999) study of a British coastal tourist resort found that some residents altered their shopping patterns to avoid tourists and that some of the older residents would observe a sort of self imposed hibernation on weekends. Furthermore, Shone et al.'s (2003) study of tourism in Akaroa, New Zealand found that many residents altered their shopping and recreational patterns and in some cases had moved away in order to avoid tourists. They argue that these forms of lifestyle modifications threaten the long-term sustainability of the community. Williams and Lawson (2001) studied 10 New Zealand tourism communities and segmented residents into distinct groups and found that one group displayed tendencies to avoid places

where they knew there would be large groups of tourists. These studies exhibit that residents of some tourism destinations adjust their daily lifestyles as a result of tourism.

2.5.5 Local Character and Lifestyle

Many tourism studies have examined the desire among residents to preserve the local character and lifestyle of the community (Davis and Morais, 2004; Di Stefano, 2004; Faulkner and Tideswell, 1997; Getz, 1994; Johnson et al., 1994; Shone et al., 2003; Wilkinson and Murray, 1991; Williams and Lawson, 2001). Wilkinson and Murray's (1991) study of the impacts of tourism growth in Collingwood, Ontario cited the Georgian Triangle Community Futures committee which found that there was a significant desire within the community to maintain the existing lifestyle and essential character of the area. Furthermore, Shone et al.'s (2003) New Zealand study examined the specific features of the community that residents value and found that residents of Christchurch valued the relatively small size and unhurried lifestyle while residents of Akaroa valued the natural setting, peacefulness and village atmosphere. These studies indicate that there is a strong desire among residents of many tourism destinations to maintain the essence of the local character and lifestyle.

2.5.6 New Amenities/Services

It is generally believed that tourism results in a variety of new amenities and services in tourism destinations which often cater to tourists but also benefit local residents. Faulkner and Tideswell's (1997) study found that the vast majority of residents believe that tourism has resulted in improved services in the form of shops, restaurants and other commercial ventures. Krause (1995) also found that residents believe that tourism induced amenities such as increased shopping options are a positive aspect of tourism development. Furthermore,

Andereck et al.'s (2005) study of Arizona residents found that they believed that tourism resulted in an increase in the number of shops, restaurants, museums, and festivals.

2.6 Community Level Views on Tourism

Lindberg, Andersson and Dellaert's (2001) research on residents' perception of the expansion of ski runs at a ski resort in Are Sweden is unique from other studies in that it evaluates whether or not society as a whole benefits from tourism development. This is done by accounting for not only the impacts perceived by residents, but also those perceived by tourists. It was found that despite some residents gaining from expansion, a larger share lose, resulting in a negative net impact on the community. It was also discovered that tourists gain from expansion, but their gains are not great enough to outweigh the losses for residents, resulting in a negative welfare change for society as a whole. This is one of the few studies which examines tourists' perceptions of tourism development in addition to residents' perceptions.

A few studies have attempted to advance beyond just examining resident perceptions of tourism development to analyze how these perceptions affect their level of community satisfaction (see Allen et al., 1988; Ko and Stewart, 2002; Smith and Krannich, 1998). Allen et al.'s (1988) research found that low to moderate levels of tourism development are generally equated to positive perceptions of community life, whereas high levels of tourism development result in more negative perceptions. Similarly, Smith and Krannich (1998) found that residents of communities at advanced stages of tourism development had lower amounts of overall community, economic, and social satisfaction compared to communities at an early stage of tourism development.

While these studies examine the degree of community satisfaction with tourism, Simmons' (1994) research is the only resident perception study to directly examine if residents desire tourism in their community, and if so, what forms of tourism are desirable to them. This study is unique from other resident studies in that it examines residents' vision for the future of their community. Ritchie (1999) argues that the most significant component of tourism planning in relation to the local community is the formation and acceptance of a comprehensive vision for the future of the destination by the local population. Simmons conducted his study in Huron County, Ontario, a region with minimal tourism development, to gauge community opinion on existing and potential tourism products and their perceptions of potential tourism impacts. Simmons found that residents believe that the pre-existing resource base of natural public amenities such as the coastline, trails, and parks should be promoted as a tourism product rather than commercial attractions. Furthermore, there is an apprehension that tourism development will result in an unequal distribution of benefits. This is one of the few studies which examine residents' perceptions of tourism development in a region which is in the exploration stage of tourism development. Furthermore, this study is also unique in that it examines potential tourism products as suggested by residents. This is a key difference from other studies in the field which focus exclusively on examining residents' perceptions of current tourism development. Involving residents in product development is beneficial not only because it can create a tourism destination that is compatible with the community but because it gives the residents a chance to capitalize on unique traditions, customs, and other characteristics of the community. This provides greater opportunity for residents to economically benefit as they have a specialized knowledge of their community's existing and potential attractions.

2.7 Collaborative Tourism Planning

It is often suggested that in many destinations tourism planning is limited to destination marketing or occurs in an ad hoc fashion, with little regard for the views of residents (Haywood, 2000; Page, 2005; Ruhanen and Cooper, 2005). Recently there has been a call by many communities to establish community planning processes which are inclusive and involve members of the local community (Haywood, 2000; Ritchie, 2000). Collaborative tourism planning has been identified by several tourism researchers as a process which has the potential to establish more comprehensive tourism planning which involves a broad range of stakeholders (Bramwell and Lane, 2000; Ritchie, 1999; Ritchie, 2000; Ruhanen and Cooper, 2005). Bramwell and Lane (2000) define collaborative tourism planning as face-to-face interactions between stakeholders who have a vested interest in tourism, which has the potential to lead to discussion, negotiation and the creation of mutually acceptable proposals regarding how tourism should be developed within a community. Bramwell and Lane argue that collaborative approaches to tourism planning have the potential to further the core values of sustainable development on four fronts: 1) Greater consideration for the varied natural, built and human resources within communities; 2) The involvement of stakeholders from a variety of fields and interests may promote more integrative and holistic approaches to policy development; 3) The multi-stakeholder approach should raise awareness of tourism impacts for all stakeholders and may lead to a more equitable distribution of costs and benefits; and 4) The participation of stakeholders in policy making could further democratize decision-making, empower participants and lead to capacity building and skills acquisition among participants and those whom they represent.

Despite the potential for collaborative tourism planning to enhance tourism development, even staunch proponents concede that there are several significant obstacles to successful

development and implementation (see Bramwell and Lane, 2000; Haywood, 2000; Ritchie, 1999; Ritchie, 2000). Haywood (2000) outlines several institutional and systemic obstacles to effective community involvement in the tourism planning process: 1) Tourism planning often falls under the control of multiple levels of government and destination marketing organizations which all share an interest in the destination, yet often have differences in goals and objectives; 2) In many communities comprehensive tourism planning is either absent or ad hoc; 3) Public participation can be viewed as unnecessary, cumbersome, time consuming, and an idealistic dream by developers, businesses, and governments; 4) Concern may exist over adding another complex layer to the planning process and the time, money, and added bureaucracy involved; 5) Worry about the impact of added regulations which may add to the cost of doing business; and 6) The problem of establishing a buy-in from political leaders, who ultimately control the level of community involvement in the planning process.

The application of collaborative tourism planning has been met with mixed success in destination communities. Reed's (1999) study of collaborative tourism planning in Squamish, BC found that the process effectively broke down due to power imbalances. Bramwell and Sharman's (1999) study of collaborative tourism planning in Britain's Peak District National Park found that despite many stakeholders supporting a visitor management plan, there was only a partial consensus. Ritchie's (2000) study examined a tourism visioning exercise in Calgary, Alberta, which was a modified form of collaborative tourism planning in that it first involved a group of residents who crafted a strategic vision which was then paired with local tourism sector representatives to form a larger working group which finalized the visioning process. While Ritchie does not discuss any significant problems during this process, he does concede that it remains to be seen whether the vision will be implemented and also admits that a broader range of stakeholders could have been used.

Several researchers argue that in order to establish effective tourism planning, especially collaborative tourism planning, a clear strategic vision for the future must be developed (Haywood, 2000; Ritchie, 1999; Ritchie, 2000; Ruhanen and Cooper, 2005). Strategic visioning is a bottom-up, democratic, collaborative process which occurs through public involvement where a group of people work to identify their purpose, core values, and vision for the future (Ruhanen and Cooper, 2005). Under the framework of collaborative tourism planning, strategic vision involves bringing together all stakeholders to work towards establishing a degree of consensus on key issues. One caveat that is sometimes overlooked when discussing community tourism planning is that for it to be effective it should enhance the tourism experience for all stakeholders – residents, businesses, employees, developers, governments, and least not, tourists (Haywood, 2000). Considering the broad range and often conflicting perspectives of tourism stakeholder's consensus building is a very difficult challenge, but the aim of the process is to establish mutually inclusive core values which can then be used to establish a common vision (Ritchie, 1999; 2000).

2.8 Tourism as an Economic Development Strategy

Many regions have attempted to use tourism development as a means of economic diversification, especially rural regions (Davis and Morais, 2004; Johnson et al., 1994; Prentice, 1993; Snepenger, Johnson, and Rasker, 1995; Wilkinson and Murray 1991). Snepenger et al.'s (1995) study of the Greater Yellowstone region (containing parts of Wyoming, Montana, and Idaho) found that a well developed tourism industry in an attractive, amenity rich environment can contribute to economic diversification as individuals migrate and relocate or start up new businesses unrelated to tourism. Furthermore, Andereck et al.'s (2005) statewide study of Arizona residents found that residents believed that tourism resulted in increased economic diversity. This study is somewhat distinct as it surveyed residents from both urban and rural

regions, whereas most resident perception studies examine rural regions. This distinction is relevant because tourism in urban areas is likely one industry of many, whereas, in rural regions tourism may be the dominant industry. Davis and Morais' (2004) study of a rural tourism destination in Arizona found that rather than tourism resulting in economic diversification it has resulted in a strong economic dependence on tourism. Tooman's (1997) research on the impact of tourism on the local economy of the Smoky Mountain region of the US found that tourism is more likely to be a beneficial component of local economic development when it is not the dominant sector of the economy. Furthermore, Joppe (1996) argues that unless the positive and negative aspects of tourism are well evaluated within communities it is very difficult to determine whether tourism is a suitable alternative to other forms of economic development.

Allen et al. (1993) argue that the level of non-tourism economic activity is critical to understanding residents' perceptions of tourism development. They found that residents are generally more favourable towards tourism development in communities with minimal tourism development and a poor local economy as well as communities with high tourism development and a successful local economy. Conversely, they found that residents are generally less favourable towards tourism development in communities with minimal tourism development and a successful local economy as well as communities with high tourism development and a poor local economy. Allen et al. explain that residents have favourable perceptions of tourism in communities with poor economies and low tourism development because they have high expectations of tourism development; while those with good local economies and high tourism development have realized the benefits of tourism development. Furthermore, they state that other residents have less favourable perceptions of tourism development in communities with good economies and low tourism development because residents do not see the need for tourism; while those with poor economies and high tourism development are discouraged

because they have not received the benefits of tourism. These findings are generally confirmed by Lawson et al.'s (1998) study of ten New Zealand destinations where it was found that support for tourism development was strongly correlated with the stage of tourism development and level of economic diversity within the community. Furthermore, Johnson et al.'s (1994) study of a region with a poor economic diversity and high tourism development found that there is significant opposition to tourism development also confirming Allen et al.'s (1993) findings.

Some studies which have focused on residents' perceptions of tourism in relation to economic development have found that despite residents' negative views on various tourism impacts, residents support tourism and cope with problems because they are aware it is an essential element of the local economy (Cavus, and Tanrisevdi, 2003; Perdue et al., 1990). Perdue et al. (1990: 597) describe residents' support for tourism as "something of a doomsday phenomenon" as residents appear more likely to support tourism in rural areas with few economic alternatives. Similarly, Lawson et al. (1998) found that most residents believe that tourism is a good thing for New Zealand, especially for the economy and employment; however, far fewer residents believe that they have personally benefited from tourism. This may be explained by the fact that these destinations have a large portion of their economies invested in tourism and residents realize that tourism is essential for the survival of the community.

2.9 Large Corporate Developments

Flagestad and Hope's (2001) study compared two models of mountain destination development, the corporate model, where one large company owns the ski facilities and ancillary services such as food and beverage and accommodation (i.e. Intrawest), and the community model, which consists of independent specialized business units with no dominant ownership (i.e. European mountain destinations). Flagestad and Hope believe that the corporate model may

have an advantage in customer satisfaction, while the community model may encourage greater ecological and social sustainability.

Davis and Morais (2004) argue that when a large, dominant corporate tourism operation rapidly expands in a rural community the development may not be socially sustainable. Davis and Morais conducted a longitudinal study of a small rural community in Arizona which is the base for a tourist railroad connecting to the Grand Canyon. The railway constructed a tourist enclave with a large resort hotel, spa, restaurant, and shops surrounding the train station, which significantly reduced the number of tourists that traveled to the nearby downtown. Over a 15 year period since the railway opened speculation has caused rents to go up dramatically, while the vast majority of the jobs in tourism pay around minimum wage. The town also suffered from less than expected income from tourism as the enclave development around the train station diverted many of the tourists from visiting the town's downtown. This has in turn resulted in community perceptions of tourism to become increasingly negative over time, especially towards the company which owns the train and tourist enclave. Getz's (1994) longitudinal study of a ski resort in Scotland found that although most residents had a positive view of tourism, negative views towards tourism increased. This increase was attributed to an economic downturn, the decline of the main resort facility, the perceived failure of tourism to provide the desired benefits, and the realization of the area's dependence on tourism. Furthermore, Wyllie's (1998) study of a proposed resort expansion to include a golf course in a remote area of Hawaii demonstrates how residents' perceptions of tourism can be polarized by a large corporate development which controls a large share of the community's economic base. These studies illustrate how the presence of a large dominant tourism corporation can result in negative resident perceptions of tourism when the benefits to residents are less than anticipated and/or not equally distributed.

2.10 Urban Field of Influence

Communities located just beyond the boundaries and commuter zone of urban areas are unique in form and function from both urban and rural areas. Dahms (1998) refers to these areas as the edge of the urban field, as they are located beyond the urban-rural fringe between 120 and 160km from the city core. They are unique because they can appear urban in the services and amenities provided, yet still retain a rural environment. According to Dahms, the major criterion for a community within the urban field of influence is interdependency between core and periphery, where integration occurs through flows of people, money, and information. In cases where these communities are located in tourism regions, attractive environments and/or offer a variety of recreational opportunities there is often significant second home development and retirement migration (Dahms and McComb, 1999). Such communities act as magnets for amenity migrants; seeking to escape the city, yet remain within easy driving range of the city where they can access specialty services, meet with business clients, or visit family and friends (Dahms, 1998). Tourism within the outer edges of the urban field has received little attention in tourism literature. Weaver and Lawton (2001) is the only known study that has examined tourism in communities that are located on the urban-rural fringe (defined in most countries as within the commuter zone of a city); and no known studies have explicitly examined tourism beyond the urban rural fringe, but within the urban field of influence. Tourism destinations located within the urban field display complex relationships because of the mix of urban and rural forms and functions and there is a need to examine the impact that these interactions have on host communities.

2.11 Growth Management

Several tourism studies identify rapid growth as a problem, especially in rural settings (Andereck et al., 2005; Davis and Morais, 2004; Di Stefano, 2004; Gill and Williams, 1994; Johnson et al.,

1994; Shone et al., 2003). In situations where regions feel that growth has reached a point of diminishing returns, where the costs of growth outweigh the benefits, some jurisdictions have implemented growth control policies. Growth controls generally function by significantly limiting population growth, housing construction and overall local economic growth using a quota system or in some cases a moratorium on new development (Landis, 1992). Growth controls result in a variety of impacts including preserving the character of a region; however, the limits imposed on growth often artificially inflate the real estate market, resulting in great wealth for land owners, but conversely drive up the cost of housing and by extension property taxes (Brueckner and Lai, 1996; Landis, 1992). Furthermore, growth controls often have the unintended impact of redistributing growth rather than limiting it, as developers often leapfrog into neighbouring communities beyond the growth control boundaries (Brueckner and Lai, 1996). Thus, growth controls address issues of supply, but often neglect to address demand, which is the driving force behind growth in most regions.

Another strategy which has been adopted in many regions to combat rampant growth is growth management. Growth management plans create a system to guide growth based on the vision that a community has for its desired growth (Chapin and Kaiser, 1979, as cited in Gill and Williams, 1994). The premise of growth management is essentially to maximize the benefits of growth while minimizing the costs (Gill and Williams, 1994). Gill and Williams argue that growth management goes beyond land-use controls to include transportation planning, economic development, government finance, and financial incentives and disincentives. Growth management plans have been implemented in eleven US states as well as Whistler, BC (the location of Intrawest's flagship resort destination) (Ibid). Gill and Williams state that growth management plans are negotiated by consensus among a variety of community stakeholders to meet the needs of specific communities (Ibid). While consensus building may be the biggest

strength of growth management strategies it is also its largest impediment due to the challenge of balancing a wide assortment of stakeholders with differing economic, social, political, and environmental interests.

2.12 Theoretical Frameworks

There are several potential theoretical frameworks which may help to explain tourism development in the Collingwood region. Growth machine theory is one framework that has the potential to help illustrate the rapid tourism and suburban-style growth which has been observed throughout the Collingwood region. Growth machine theory has primarily been applied in urban planning contexts; however, it is well suited to tourism studies as destinations are susceptible to a variety of growth pressures. Chaos theory is another framework which may be useful in explaining tourism growth with the Collingwood region. In a tourism context, chaos theory suggests that tourism is not just a system of inputs and outputs but is a system that is complex, constantly evolving, and is characterized by both linear and non-linear change (McKercher, 1999). The theoretical framework which has most often been applied to resident perception of tourism studies is social exchange theory. Social exchange theory suggests that residents evaluate tourism based on the net gain or loss which they perceive to have received from the exchange of resources with tourists.

2.12.1 Growth Machine Theory

Molotch's (1976) seminal thesis on the concept of locations as 'growth machines' may be applicable to tourism development in high growth regions. Molotch defines the concept of growth machine as

The political and economic essence of virtually any given locality, in the present American context, is growth....The clearest

indication of success at growth is a constantly rising urban-area population - a symptom of a pattern ordinarily comprising an initial expansion of basic industries followed by an expanded labour force, a rising scale of retail and wholesale commerce, more far-flung and increasingly intensive land development, higher population density, and increased levels of financial activity (1976: 310).

A central premise of growth machine theory is that a select few land owners, speculators, and developers control the vast majority of land in high growth regions and thus promote localized inflation and control the form and function of current and future development. The growth machine theory also follows that the role of government is to attract and promote development and thus government is essentially in a coalition with the businesses and developers who fuel growth. However, local governments generally have an assumed mandate of paradoxically balancing the promotion of growth with their responsibility of regulating growth, which can be extremely difficult, especially in high growth regions (Madrigal, 1995; Martin, 1999).

The inevitable result of a local growth machine is the fragmentation of the local community, as residents take different positions on growth (Molotch, 1976). Molotch argues that in many cases growth benefits only a small proportion of local residents and that growth does not improve the financial status or quality of life of most residents. When there are conflicting views on growth among residents, developers, business leaders, and government the potential for an antigrowth movement exists (Molotch, 1976). Molotch (1976: 311) argues that these differing views on growth result in the formation of “nested communities” of organized or unorganized groups of individuals who rally around a certain position.

Gill (2000) traced the development of Whistler, British Columbia from its inception as a hamlet of 50 residents in 1965 to a premier international destination attracting 1.54 million visitors per year. During the 1970s and 1980s Whistler represented an extreme example of a local growth machine as a change in provincial government (from a centre-left party to a more right wing party) resulted in a change to the village plan from a public development to a sell-off of crown lands to private developers. Gill used resident and key informant interviews to determine that the views of successive town councils during this time were almost exclusively pro-development, further supporting the concept of a growth machine. Growth occurred at a feverish pace through the late 1980s and early 1990s as plans for development up to 52,000 bed units were approved (Gill, 2000). However, an antigrowth coalition began to emerge as residents were concerned about rampant, generally unrestrained growth. Gill found that this eventually led to a growth management plan which links new development to housing, transportation and environmental needs, and involves residents in the planning process.

Canan and Hennessy (1989) used growth machine theory to help explain community views on growth on the Hawaiian island of Moloka'i. A cluster analysis was used to determine the views of three distinct groups: economic development decision makers who represented the growth machine, local residents supporting diverse development, and local residents opposing development. It was found that the group representing the growth machine generally favoured growth and valued tourism and development. In contrast, the local residents opposing development identified with traditional, rural, and cultural values, and viewed tourism growth as a threat to quality of life. This finding is consistent with Molotch's (1976) theory on nested communities as three groups have highly fragmented views on tourism development.

Madrigal's (1995) study also confirmed the notion of nested communities as he examined two high growth tourism destinations, Sedona, Arizona and York, England and he found that three

distinct nested communities existed in each destination – tourism Lovers, Haters, and Realists. Interestingly Madrigal found that there was greater variance between nested communities than between destinations, which further validates the notion of nested communities.

Martin (1999) tested the application of growth machine theory in Hilton Head, South Carolina, where she examined differences in the views of business leaders, government administrators, retirees, and other residents on tourism development. It was found that business leaders tended to feel more strongly about the benefits of tourism, while retirees were more opposed to current and future tourism growth. The views of government leaders and residents fell within this spectrum. This finding somewhat supports growth machine theory as business leaders were more supportive of development and retirees were more opposed to development, while government leaders balance the two extremes. Harrill (2004) argues that growth machine theory has significant potential as a theoretical framework, but has not received much attention in tourism research. Martin (1999) also believes that it has excellent potential for illustrating the dynamics of tourism development and explaining the various views of different groups within the community on tourism-related growth. Furthermore, while a few studies have tested the concept of nested communities, Gill (2000) is the only known study to comprehensively examine the application of growth machine theory in a tourism context.

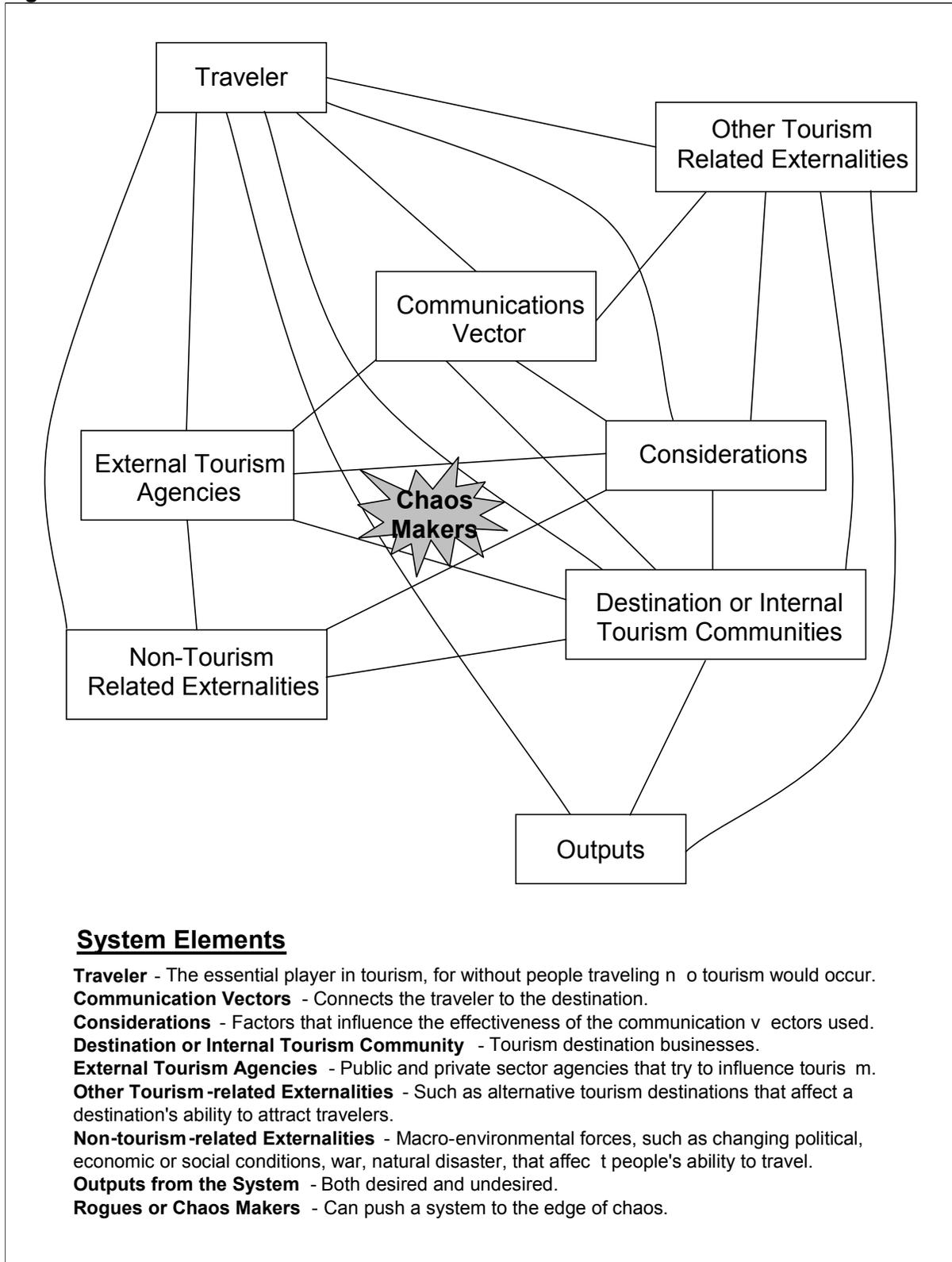
2.12.2 Chaos Theory Systems Approach

There have been many models created to explain tourism from a systems approach (see Carlsen, 1999; Gunn, 1994; Holden, 2000 adapted from Laws, 1991; Jamal, Borges and Figueiredo, 2004; Leiper, 1979). While the aforementioned tourism system models demonstrate the complex nature of tourism and the inter-related relationship of the systems components, they are based on the premise that tourism is linear, predictable, and that it is the sum of its

parts (McKercher, 1999). The problem with this reductionist approach is that it does not account for the byproducts of interactions within the systems as well as external variables such as rate of development. McKercher also argues that tourism is too complex to be explained by a deterministic model, and that these models do not account for power imbalances. Therefore, McKercher has adapted a form of chaos theory to explain the multifaceted interactions that exist within the tourism system.

Chaos theory suggests that systems operate more like living systems where relationships are uneven, subtle, complex, and constantly evolving (Klomp and Green, 1997, as cited in McKercher, 1999) (see Figure 1). McKercher (1999) argues that instability is an inherent characteristic of chaotic systems and their continuous evolution makes it extremely difficult to predict the future form and function of the system. Furthermore, McKercher also states that chaotic systems contain both linear and non-linear change with one or the other dominating depending on the phase of the system. Thus, tourism can evolve in a stable, predictable, and linear fashion, until a trigger stimulates a period of chaotic transformation where non-linear relationships dominate (Ibid). McKercher also notes that while relationships appear random, upon closer inspection, patterns emerge to that help to explain how the system functions.

Figure 1



Source: McKercher (1999)

The key advancements of this theory is that it accounts for external system influences such as changing political, economic, or social conditions, war, and natural disasters, as well as rogues or chaos makers which are large-scale landmark developments or innovations that rapidly transform a destination. McKercher cites Walt Disney's purchase of a massive parcel of land in Central Florida as an example of a rogue that dramatically changed the form and function of the entire region.

2.12.3 Social Exchange Theory

Ap (1990) believes that the primary limitation of studies examining resident perceptions of the social impacts of tourism is that they lack theoretical integration. Ap suggests that future studies could apply social exchange theory to develop a better understanding of the problem. Ap (1992) designed a social exchange process model which provides a theoretical basis of residents' perception of tourism impacts. Ap (1992: 669) argues that "residents evaluate tourism in terms of social exchange, that is, evaluate it in terms of expected benefits or costs obtained in return for the services they supply". Ap's theory follows that tourism impacts are viewed positively by residents when the exchange of resources is high and equitable, or high for the residents in the case of an unequal exchange. Conversely, Ap suggests that residents view tourism impacts negatively when the exchange of resources is low in cases of both equal and unequal exchanges. Thus, those who benefit from tourism are more likely to perceive positive tourism impacts than those who do not benefit from tourism. The social exchange theory can be applied to any exchange within the community, whether it is between residents and tourism businesses, developers, marketers, or between residents themselves.

A few studies have tested the application of the social exchange theory in explaining resident perceptions of tourism and have yielded mixed results. Andereck et al. (2005) found that while

residents who economically benefit from tourism had positive views of tourism, those who benefit also perceived high levels of negative impacts, which contradicts social exchange theory. Getz (1994) argues that there is a need to distinguish between an individual's and community's dependence on tourism. He believes that his longitudinal study of resident perceptions of tourism supports social exchange theory as it was found that the community realized its economic dependence on tourism and as a result residents generally had positive views of tourism, despite how they are personally affected by tourism. If there are no viable alternatives to tourism for a community, residents may continue to support tourism despite low satisfaction with it, even when benefits diminish and costs increase (Ibid). Furthermore, Faulkner and Tideswell (1997: 24) found that residents may be aware of 'altruistic surplus' which is generated when the benefits to the community as a whole outweigh the costs, and the costs to the individual are tolerated in the interest of broader community benefits. These findings are also supported by Prentice's (1993) study of a nature tourism destination in England which concluded that residents generally perceive tourism as a beneficial segment of the economy, despite very few residents actually benefiting from tourism.

All three theoretical frameworks discussed are unique in terms of what phenomenon they attempt to illuminate. Growth machine theory seeks to explain how tourism is influenced by the local political and economic systems, Chaos theory aims to illustrate how tourism is a constantly evolving system where radical change can alter the system in unanticipated ways, while social exchange theory intends to explain how residents' evaluation of costs and benefits impact their perceptions of tourism.

2.13 Summary

This chapter has examined a wide range of literature which may seem disjointed, however each of bodies of literature outline will be referred to in the discussion and conclusion chapters. The relevance of early tourism impact studies will be examined in section 5.2.8. The studies which examine community level impacts will be referred to through the Discussion chapter (section 5.0), while those relating to collaborative tourism planning will be addressed in section 6.3 (Recommendation 1). The literature on tourism as an economic development strategy will be discussed in section 5.3.2 and the implications for growth management will be analyzed in section 5.2.10. The studies relating to chaos theory will be examined in section 5.2.4, while those associated with growth machine theory will be referenced in section 5.2.9

3.0 RESEARCH METHODS

The intent of this chapter is to outline the research approach and methods used in this study. The three research approaches of qualitative inquiry, grounded theory, and explanatory case study research will each be discussed. A detailed outline of the Collingwood region study area follows the discussion on case study research. The three research methods used will also be discussed and include a qualitative content analysis of the local newspaper, semi-structured interviews with residents, and semi-structured key informant interviews. This chapter also addresses potential biases on the part of the researcher and examines the study's limitations.

3.1 Research Approach

Three research approaches were used to guide this study and include qualitative inquiry, grounded theory, and explanatory case study research. Qualitative inquiry was selected as an overriding approach to this study because it is conducive to the examination of somewhat unknown issues within the study region. Grounded theory was used in this study because the researcher had little prior knowledge of the study region and this method allows for theory to emerge from the data rather than from predetermined tests. The third approach applied in this study was an explanatory case study, which was used because it enables the researcher to gain a detailed understanding of the issues which are relevant to a single community.

3.1.1 Qualitative Inquiry

Once the research goal and research questions have been established and the related literature has been reviewed the researcher needs to select an approach which best meets the objective and answers the research questions. Both qualitative and quantitative methods should be examined to determine which method, or mixed methods, is best suited to meet the study's

objectives. Denzin and Lincoln (2000: 8) compare qualitative and quantitative methods of inquiry by stating that qualitative studies “Seek answers to questions that stress how social experience is created and given meaning. In contrast quantitative studies emphasize the measurement and analysis of casual relationships between variables, not processes”. Thus, a qualitative approach has been adopted for this study because the objective of this study is to gain an in-depth understanding of how tourism affects residents and how residents would like to see tourism develop in the future.

Qualitative research is considered emergent as opposed to highly prefigured as the researcher attempts to avoid narrow hypotheses in favour of inductive inquiry (Rossman and Rallis, 1998, as cited in Creswell, 2003). The qualitative research process is intentionally flexible to accommodate new information that is learned which could not have been anticipated due to the often exploratory nature of such research (Creswell, 2003). Furthermore, Creswell describes the qualitative research process as iterative, as data and analysis methods are continuously re-evaluated to reflect new information which is obtained.

3.1.2 Grounded Theory

The methodology of this study is based on grounded theory. Grounded theory is defined by Strauss and Corbin (1998: 158) as “A general methodology for developing theory that is grounded in data systematically collected and analyzed. Theory evolves during actual research, and it does this through the continuous interplay between analysis and data collection”. This methodology is appropriate for this study because it is consistent with this study’s inductive approach where theory is based on information obtained from participants and not derived from pre-conceived notions. One significant theoretical application emerged from this research relating to affordable housing and is discussed in section 5.2.11

3.1.3 Explanatory Case Study

A single case study approach was used to determine resident perceptions of tourism. This method was selected because it allows the researcher to get a detailed understanding of a single community and the issues which are relevant to the community. Yin (1994) states that there are three essential components of a case study, “(1) It investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; (2) when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and (3) in which multiple sources of evidence are used” (1984: 23). This approach is directly related to this study as it intends to determine how a rural mountain destination (context) influences residents’ perceptions of tourism (phenomenon) based on the triangulation of methods (multiple data sources).

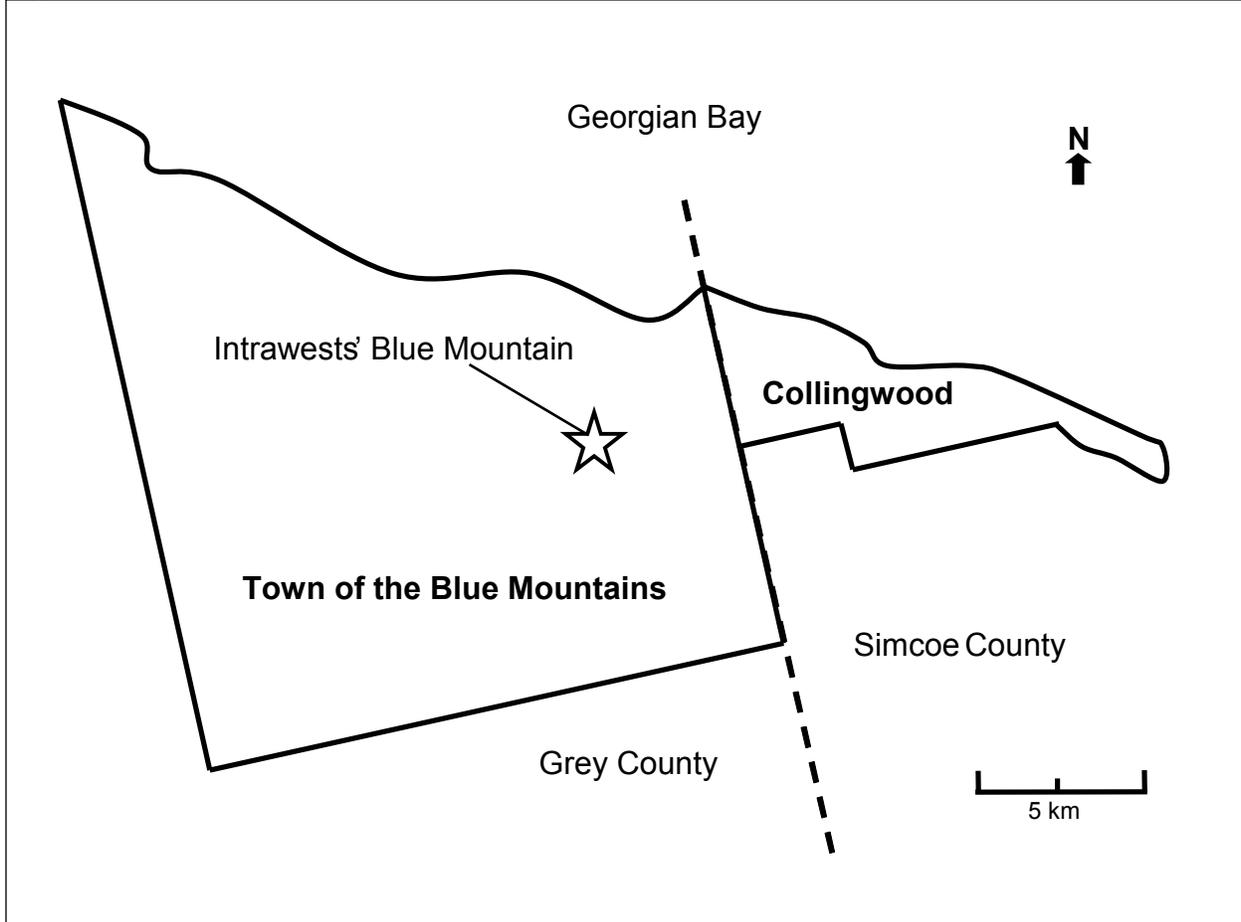
The case study is explanatory in that it aims to develop a detailed understanding of a phenomenon which has developed over time as opposed to examining specific incidents (Yin, 2003). Case studies are conducive to answering research questions based on ‘how’ and ‘why’ (Ibid). Yin argues that case studies should not be considered merely a design feature, but a comprehensive research strategy encompassing study design, data collection techniques and specific approaches to analysis.

The primary disadvantage of case studies is that they do not allow for direct generalization. However, Yin argues that case studies are not intended to produce generalized findings for populations but can be generalized to theoretical propositions. Furthermore, where there is a wealth of literature on a topic other case studies from the literature can be used to draw comparisons, especially when they have similar methods and data analysis procedures.

3.1.3.1 Description of the Case Study Area

The study area for this research is a region encompassing the towns of Collingwood and the Town of the Blue Mountains, Ontario (see Figure 2). This region was selected because it is experiencing rapid tourism growth and is dominated by a large-scale corporate tourism development. Although these two towns are politically independent, they effectively function as one tourism region (Wilkinson and Murray, 1991). Thus, for the purpose of this analysis they will be collectively analyzed and referred to hereon as 'Collingwood region'. The Collingwood region is located approximately 150 kilometers north of Toronto in a natural amenity environment consisting of the Niagara Escarpment and Georgian Bay.

Figure 2



Source: Adapted from the Ontario Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing, 2005.

The Collingwood region has a total population of 22,209 and is located approximately 150 kilometres north of Toronto (Statistics Canada, 2001). The Collingwood region's economy has historically been based on manufacturing and agriculture, however, through the latter half of the 20th century the economic base increasingly shifted towards tourism (Wilkinson and Murray, 1991). Proximity to a large population base is a critical factor driving the growth of tourism in the region as the area is within a three hour drive of seven million people (Russell, 1999). The region's tourism growth is largely attributed to two distinct physical features: the Niagara Escarpment, which is one of six UNESCO World Biosphere Reserves, and sandy beaches on Georgian Bay (Blue Mountain, 2005a; Wilkinson and Murray, 1991).

The Collingwood region has attracted tourists since the late 19th century when it was an elite destination based on mineral springs and beaches (Wilkinson and Murray, 1991). The opening of Blue Mountain ski resort in 1941 was a key development in tourism for the region and developed slowly over time to become Ontario's largest mountain destination (Blue Mountain Resorts Limited, 2005a). Prior to 1999, there were minimal tourist services at the base of the mountain. However, in 1999 Intrawest purchased a 50% share in Blue Mountain and also purchased a 32 acre parcel of developable real estate at the base of the mountain (Blue Mountain Resorts Limited, 2003). Intrawest is the world's leading developer and operator of village-centered resorts, which consist of a combination of retail vendors, restaurants, hotels, condominiums, and houses, built around a flagship attraction, usually a ski hill (Intrawest, 2004). Intrawest has since constructed a resort village at Blue Mountain consisting of 1,000 condo-hotel units, 200 town-home units, and 70 high-end retail units, bars and restaurants (Blue Mountain Resorts Limited, 2003). Intrawest is also actively attempting to brand Blue Mountain as a four season's destination with activities such as golf, tennis, biking, rock climbing, and the resort's private beach (Blue Mountain Resorts Limited, 2005b).

In 1999, prior to Intrawest's resort village development, Blue Mountain was attracting 380,000 visitors per year (Russell, 1999). The number of visitors has increased dramatically since the village was developed and Blue Mountain now attracts greater than 600,000 visitors per year (Blue Mountain Resorts Limited, 2005a). Furthermore, a KPMG study conducted on behalf of Intrawest examined the impact of the Blue Mountain Resort Village predicted that the resort will generate approximately 2 million annual visits upon completion (Vision 2020 Committee and the Town of Collingwood, 2000). This significant increase in visitation indicates a need to study how this rate of tourism development has impacted residents of the Collingwood region.

Despite the dominance of Blue Mountain, there are a number of other attractions within the region that contribute to the collective draw of the area. The Collingwood region has a plethora of nature-based attractions such as caving, rock climbing, hiking, scenic waterfalls, fishing, beaches, and water sports (Georgian Triangle Tourist Association, 2005). Furthermore, there are a number of festivals which are major attractions including the Collingwood Elvis festival and the Blue Mountains Chili Cook-off (Ibid). An opportunity analysis was conducted in the region and found that there are several tourism opportunities which have not been fully explored, including agri-tourism, heritage tourism, nature-based tourism, and specialty recreation centres (such as indoor rock climbing) (Centre for Business and Economic Development and Human Resources Development Canada, 2003). This analysis indicates that there is potential for a wide variety of forms of tourism development in the region based on the unique natural environment.

Recently the Georgian Triangle Tourism Association has been attempting to brand the region as a golf destination in an attempt to encourage a more balanced visitation pattern as golf can be typically played in the area from early April to early November (Adams, 2002). The number of golf courses has grown exponentially in the past few years and there are currently 15 golf courses which have been built or are in various stages of planning in the region (Ibid).

In 1991, Wilkinson and Murray conducted a study to examine the impacts of tourism and leisure on the Collingwood region at a time when tourism was becoming a major component of the local economy and social fabric of the community. The study was based on structured interviews with individuals representing government agencies and public interest groups. The participants were asked what they believed to be serious, current problems and it was found that lack of planning/control of growth (86%), high cost of housing/living (29%), and Tourism (21%) were the

most frequently mentioned responses (Wilkinson and Murray, 1991: 33). Furthermore, these participants were asked what they thought the major changes in Collingwood in the next 5-10 years would be and the primary responses were the growth/domination of tourism (71%), increased conflicts in lifestyle (32%), and increased stress on services (29%) (Wilkinson and Murray, 1991: 34). This study examines the first stage of large-scale tourism growth in the Collingwood region and finds that there are significant concerns about the long-term sustainability of tourism in the community. Thus, there is a need to study resident's perceptions of tourism at the current time to determine how the current stage of large-scale tourism development is affecting the residents.

The Collingwood region's close proximity to the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) has fueled tourism growth and resulted in significant new residential development. While travel statistics were not available at the municipal level, travel statistics at the county level indicate that half of overnight visitors to Simcoe County (Collingwood) live in the GTA and almost half (48 percent) of overnight visitors to Grey County (Town of the Blue Mountains) reside in the GTA (Statistics Canada, 2005). These statistics exemplify the immense influence of Collingwood's location with Toronto's urban-rural fringe. The region has also experienced rapid residential growth as retirees, second home owners, home office workers, and occasional commuters have migrated to the area because of its amenity-rich environment and close proximity to major population centres (Dahms and McComb, 1999; Town of Collingwood, 2004). The Collingwood region is located in the outer edge of the GTA's urban field, is easily accessible by car, and now provides a wider range of employment opportunities including financial and personal services, construction, manufacturing and wholesaling (Dahms and McComb, 1999). There has been an ongoing construction boom in the Collingwood region over the past two decades and there are no signs it will subside in the near future as there are currently development proposals at

various stages of approval which would result in an additional 4,000 homes in the Town of Collingwood alone (Adams, 2005). Therefore, in addition to tourism growth, there is significant residential growth which further elicits the need to study the impacts of growth in general within the region.

The tourism industry has experienced tremendous employment growth over the past decade in the Collingwood region. The number of people employed in the service/tourism industry in the Georgian Triangle (a tourism region encompassing Collingwood region and three smaller communities) increased by 44% from 1994 to 2002, while employment in the other three large employment sectors of manufacturing, construction, and agriculture collectively only increased by 11% (Centre for Business and Economic Development and Human Resources Development Canada, 2003). Furthermore the dominance of the service/tourism industry within the community is exemplified by 61% of full-time and 95% of part-time employees working in the service/tourism industry in the Collingwood region (Ibid). These statistics indicate that tourism is a dominant industry and is growing at a rapid pace. The rapid growth of tourism within the region has created significant development pressures on the municipalities and their residents and there is a need for effective tourism planning (Ibid).

In 1999 the Town of Collingwood struck an initiative called Vision 2020 which was founded out of concerns over the long-term impacts of rampant growth. Vision 2020 was designed to look at growth management issues with the aim of creating a vision for future development (Vision 2020 Committee and the Town of Collingwood, 2000). This exercise involved an extensive survey of residents using a mixed methods approach of quantitative and qualitative methods which was lead by a committee consisting of representatives from the local economic development branch, BIA, chamber of commerce, and town council. The Vision 2020

committee ultimately produced seven key recommendations which were presented to the Collingwood town council. While Vision 2020 was initially considered an important document which would influence policy and planning decisions for years to come, very few of the recommendations were implemented, which was widely criticized within the community (Adams, 2004).

3.2 Methods Used

The research was based on sequential procedures, where the researcher aims to expand the findings from one method to the next (Creswell, 2003). The intent of this structure is to begin with an exploratory method which will be used to collect initial information and will also be used to modify subsequent methods based on new knowledge.

The study design was based on the triangulation of qualitative methods which involves using multiple methods to compare and cross check the consistency of information collected (Patton, 2002b). The intent of triangulation is not to necessarily generate the exact same finding but to test for inconsistencies, which often provides greater insight into the phenomenon (Ibid).

Triangulation is a useful technique for this study because it approaches the same question from multiple perspectives and reflects the realization that different methods can yield different results.

3.2.1 Qualitative Content Analysis

The first method used was an exploratory qualitative content analysis of the local newspaper, the Collingwood Enterprise-Bulletin. The Enterprise-bulletin is published twice-a-week and has a circulation area which covers the entire Collingwood region and reports on community issues that occur throughout the region. The period of study for the analysis ranged from January

1999 to January 2006. The start date was selected because it represents the month that Intrawest's investment in Blue Mountain was first announced, which was followed by a period of significant tourism growth in the region. The intent of this content analysis was to determine the primary tourism developments and issues related to tourism which impact the local community. This method was also selected to enable the researcher to gain a greater understanding of the community considering his status as an 'outsider'. Furthermore, the knowledge gained through this method was subsequently applied to the next stage of the research which involved formulating questions for semi-structured resident interviews.

The newspapers were scanned using a microfilm reader and any articles appearing to relate to tourism were printed. The articles were analyzed based on the constant comparative method. The constant comparative method involved first identifying and separating data units which took the form of a direct quotation, paraphrased concept, or opinion presented by a writer (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, as cited in Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Glaser and Strauss suggest the next stage in the process involved grouping data units together into categories based on the degree which they appear to fit together. This was followed by the formation of rules for classification within each category which was used to define rules for inclusion and exclusion as recommended by Glaser and Straus. This process is important because it represents the transition from classification of data based on initial instincts to a system of classification based on rules (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Once the rules were formed the data units were once again compared against all the categories to ensure category validity (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, as cited in Lincoln and Guba, 1985). After the data was clearly defined within categories it was then analyzed to determine overriding themes within the data as suggested by Glaser and Straus.

3.2.2 Semi-Structured Resident Interviews

Face-to-face, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 14 residents of the Collingwood region. While the vast majority of studies on resident perceptions of tourism have used quantitative surveys to determine resident perceptions of tourism (see Faulkner and Tideswell, 1997; Getz, 1994; Ryan et al., 1998), only a few have used semi-structured interviews (see Simmons, 1994; Brunt and Courtney, 1999; Davis and Morais, 2004). The survey-based studies are generally based on quantitative inquiry and focus on the impacts of independent variables on residents' perception of tourism, while the qualitative studies have utilized semi-structured interviews to establish a detailed examination of residents' experiences. Quantitative research perspectives generally attempt to test specific hypothesis, while qualitative approaches are typically iterative, where theory emerges from the analysis.

Semi-structured interviews were selected as a research method in favour of a quantitative survey because the aim of this study is to establish an in-depth account of resident perceptions of tourism. Furthermore, the researcher is an 'outsider' with limited knowledge of the community, therefore, semi-structured interviews allow for issues to emerge that the researcher did not consider or was unaware of, and allows for the addition of questions throughout the interview process. One of the overriding aims of this study is to examine tourism through the eyes of residents and this method facilitates that form of inductive research. Semi-structured interviews also allow for clarification of questions as well as probing, which can help to establish validity. Patton (2002a) argues that the only way for researchers to understand what another person's experiences is to experience the phenomenon as directly as possible which is best established by in-depth interviewing and participant observation.

Only permanent residents of Collingwood region were included in the study. This was decided because seasonal residents may view the region as just a place of leisure and escape from their daily routine, whereas the permanent residents have to live their day-to-day lives in a region dominated by tourism. Furthermore, the region also has a deeper meaning to permanent residents who share a common history and sense of community.

A newspaper advertisement in the Collingwood Enterprise-Bulletin was used to solicit participants for the study. This sampling technique was employed because the newspaper is circulated throughout the Collingwood region and has a high circulation which reaches 18,300 residents (Town of Collingwood, 2003). This selection method resulted in significant exposure to residents who read the local newspaper and take an interest in issues which affect the local community.

A pilot study was conducted on 5 friends and family members to ensure validity. The pilot study was used to determine if the semi-structured questions are easily understood and logical. Moreover, the pilot study was used to determine if the questions are too broad or narrow and to practice clarifying questions and probing.

A total of 14 Collingwood region residents were interviewed from June to September 2005. This sample size was arrived at through a combination of a lack of additional participants and data saturation. Three advertisements were placed in the local newspaper the Collingwood Enterprise-Bulletin as well as flyers which were posted in several public locations throughout the region during the summer of 2005. Several residents responded to the first two newspaper advertisements and flyers, however there were no responses to the third advertisement or subsequent flyers distributed indicating that most of the potential participants had already

volunteered or were not willing to participate. Furthermore, after approximately 12 interviews it was becoming apparent that data saturation was being reached as many of the same themes as previous interviews were discussed and little significant new information was obtained. This sample size is consistent with what Brunt (1997) considers to provide sufficient data given the method and the single case study approach. Furthermore, the sample size is within the range of past studies examining resident perceptions of tourism, which have examined between 12 and 22 residents (see Brunt and Courtney, 1999; Davis and Morais, 2004; Simmons, 1994).

The majority of resident interviews took place in coffee shops as they provided an environment that was a safe and comfortable location to meet with a stranger. All participants were given an information letter outlining the intent of the study and details regarding their involvement (see Appendix 2). Participants were also asked to sign a consent form which outlined their agreement of participation in the study, tape recording, and the use of anonymous quotations (see Appendix 3). All interviews were recorded and transcribed into text shortly afterward. In qualitative research, data analysis begins from the start of the research process with coding and memos, thus the interviews were transcribed as soon as possible so that non-verbal communication could be accurately interpreted. Furthermore, in many of the interviews there were instances where a participant would make a comment that could be interpreted in multiple ways if one was to examine the transcribed text exclusively, however, by transcribing while the interview is still fresh in the researchers mind helps to more accurately analyze such cases.

The set of questions asked to residents were not identical, however, all residents were asked ten core questions (see Appendix 1). After a couple of interviews the researcher realized that a few of the questions being asked did not relate to the core focus of the research and these questions were subsequently omitted from future interviews. Due to the semi-structured nature

of the interview method some questions were unique to each interview as they resulted from a subject raised by a participant response.

The constant comparative method was used to analyze the resident interviews (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, as cited in Lincoln and Guba, 1985). This process involved first coding the comments of residents with a short summary statement that described the comment (see Appendix 4). In some cases two separate summary statements were written where two different issues were raised in the same comment. The next step involved cutting out these statements and separating them into many categories, initially based on instinct. This initially resulted in 56 categories which were then analyzed for rule formation to determine inclusion and exclusions. Then the categories were compared against one another to refine groupings, combine common categories, and eliminate redundant ones. This ultimately resulted in four themes and 35 sub-themes. Throughout the entire analysis and writing process of the findings chapter the constant comparative method was utilized to reclassify data and refine themes.

Upon completion of the study a summary was emailed to all of the participants. Having participants review the study findings gives the researcher feedback about the accuracy, completeness, and fairness of the analysis and also helps to validate the findings (Patton, 2002b).

3.2.3 Key Informant Interviews

Five key informants were interviewed for this study. For the purpose of this study key informants refer to individuals that have a specialized knowledge of subjects that are considered by residents and the researcher to be relevant to tourism development in the Collingwood region. The intent of using key informants in this study was to balance the views of residents

with that of individuals that have specific, detailed knowledge on many of the subjects that arose in discussions with residents. Key informants were selected from a variety of fields based on a combination of purposeful sampling of individuals with expertise on issues that were continually raised by residents and the snowball method. The snowball method of key informant selection involves asking each key informant to recommend others who are knowledgeable on the subjects discussed (Creswell, 2003). Key informants interviewed work in the following fields: economic development, tourism, local affordable housing provision, municipal planning, and environmental protection.

As a method of evaluating the accounts of residents and to obtain additional information on issues which were raised by residents, key informants were interviewed after residents. The key informant interviews were analyzed using the constant comparative method (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, as cited in Lincoln and Guba, 1985). This involved grouping the data into separate categories using the same procedure that was used to group the resident interview data. Once the data was categorized the constant comparative method was again used to determine common themes and sub-themes between the three research methods of key informant interviews, resident interviews, and the newspaper content analysis, which formed the basis of the findings chapter.

It is important to consider the perspective that key informants bring to the study. In one sense they are representing the views of their respective organizations and their comments may reflect their professional views and not necessarily their views as a member of the community.

However, it is also important to consider that all of the key informants are also members of the local community and thus also bring in their personal views on issues in addition to their role as a representative of their respective organizations.

3.3 Potential Biases

Due to the interpretive nature of qualitative research, it is impossible to escape personal interpretation (Creswell, 2003). Therefore it is vital to address any personal bias brought the study by the researcher as well as bias inherent in the research methods and analysis. A personal bias which the researcher has is the belief that residents should be considered key stakeholders in the tourism planning process. The impact that this may have had on the study is that the analysis may be skewed towards to the views of residents over that of developers, business owners, planners, and political leaders. In an attempt to overcome this potential bias, key informants were interviewed to balance the views of residents with an 'expert' perspective.

3.4 Limitations

One potential limitation of the newspaper content analysis method is that the newspaper may only cover issues which are dramatic and considered 'newsworthy' and not necessarily ones that have a high impact on residents. Furthermore, the role of writers and the newspaper editor in controlling what stories are written is a significant potential bias which needs to be considered. A writer or editor may have a personal bias towards an issue which will have an impact on what gets printed and what does not as well as the degree to which they consider a story newsworthy.

A potential limitation of the recruitment method of the local newspaper is that only people who closely follow local issues by reading the newspaper may volunteer to participate. Furthermore, this recruitment method requires a significant amount of effort in terms of asking for additional information, arranging a meeting place and date, and setting time aside for the interview. This may have lead to the attraction of participants who have strong views (either positive or negative), while those with temperate views may not have volunteered due to the significant

degree of effort required. Another limitation is that the case study area only covers Collingwood and Town of the Blue Mountains, while the study could be more comprehensive if it covered surrounding high growth communities Wasaga Beach and Clearview Township. During the interview process it became apparent that these two municipalities are experiencing similar tourism and growth pressures to that of Collingwood and Town of the Blue Mountains.

There are also a few limitations of the sample. The majority of resident participants were females (ten), while only four males participated. It is unclear why the respondents was so dramatically skewed towards females, it may be a simply a function of the small sample size. Another limitation of the sample is that only 20 percent of participants are employed in the tourism/service industry which is a significantly lower participation rate than the industry participation rate which is 61 percent for full-time employees and 95 percent for part-time employees. Thus, many of the resident accounts of the tourism industry and employment (i.e. income, accommodation, skill sets, etc.) are observational or second hand accounts as opposed to personal experience. The under-representation of tourism and service sector workers is a limitation because tourism has the most impact on those employed within that sector.

The inability of the researcher to interview a representative from Intrawest as a key informant is another limitation as the Intrawest resort village has had a significant impact on the Collingwood region and was discussed by most participants. The researcher made several phone and email attempts to arrange an interview with a representative from Intrawest's Blue Mountain. Initial phone inquiries in July 2005 lead to a planned callback in August 2005 with an Intrawest representative responsible for community relations. When callback attempts were made in August 2005 the researcher was informed that it was a busy period and that an interview would have to put off until a later date. By late September 2005 almost three months of numerous

attempts at setting up an interview and no progress had been made. At this point researcher then sent an email to the contact stating that he was beginning to write up his findings and time was becoming an increasing issue. Furthermore it was stated that while the researcher was still very interested in hearing Intrawest's perspective if something could not be arranged within a reasonable amount of time the researcher would not be able to include Intrawest's views. Shortly after this email the researcher received call from the Intrawest representative who said that she would only do the interview over the phone and wanted to see a list of the questions in advance. At this point the Intrawest representative instructed the researcher to contact another Intrawest representative whom I should email the questions. A list of a few questions was then emailed to the representative in early October 2005 and she stated that she would respond shortly. A follow up email was sent by the researcher in early November 2005 and the Intrawest representative responded that she missed the email and asked if the researcher was still interested. The researcher replied that he was still very interested in setting up an interview. By early December 2005, two final email attempts were made to set up an interview which received no reply. At this point in time the researcher was almost finished his rough draft of the findings and after over five months of attempting to organize an interview it became apparent that Intrawest was not interested in participating. This absence of an Intrawest key informant is a limitation as many opinions on the Intrawest resort village were expressed without being balanced by the views of Intrawest.

3.5 Summary

This chapter has outlined the research approaches which have guided this research process. It has also discussed how and why the three research methods were used, as well as potential biases and study limitations.

4.0 FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the research findings are presented. The constant comparative analysis of resident and key informant interviews resulted in the emergence of four major themes: growth, economic, political, and environmental (see Table 1). A fifth section is also included in the findings called desirable tourism. Residents were asked what forms of tourism they considered desirable and the two dominant types discussed were nature-based and cultural tourism. The growth section examines the sub-themes discussed by residents that relate to both tourism growth and suburban-style growth. It should be noted that when the term tourism is used in the context of this analysis it also refers to tourism induced housing development and other suburban-style growth issues such as retail development. This was decided because participants generally discussed and viewed all of these issues as a by-product of tourism growth in the region. Furthermore, many of the residents interviewed also discussed recreation in the same vein as tourism and thus for the purposes of this study recreation is considered to fall under the umbrella of the term tourism. The economic section examines the sub-themes that emerged from the analysis which relate to the economy in general, employment, economic development, and the distribution of wealth within the region. The political section examines residents' vision for the future, their views on the local town councils, and the impact of municipal boundaries on tourism planning. The environment section examines residents' views on the controversial Castle Glen development, and the potential implications of the growing number of golf courses being constructed in the region. The last section of this chapter examines residents' views on desirable forms of tourism and nature-based/ecotourism and cultural tourism are the two most discussed types of tourism.

Table 1

Theme	Section	Sub-Theme	Number of Participants	Percent of Participants
Growth	4.2.1	Residential Development	11	79%
	4.2.2	Growth Retirement Community	9	64%
	4.2.3	Large Volunteer Base	3	21%
	4.2.4	Affordable Housing	14	100%
	4.2.5	Property Taxes	8	57%
	4.2.6	Employment - Tourism/Development	5	36%
		- Other Industries	9	64%
	4.2.7	Intrawest - Favourable Views	7	50%
		- Mixed Views	4	29%
		- Critical Views	3	21%
	4.2.8	Labour Shortage	3	21%
	4.2.9	Public Transportation	3	21%
	4.2.10	Year Round Tourism Employment	2	14%
	4.2.11	Infrastructure/Congestion	13	93%
	4.2.12	Avoidance	4	29%
	4.2.13	Lack of Respect for Local Lifestyle	7	50%
	4.2.14	Urban Field of Influence	13	93%
	4.2.15	New Services and Amenities	11	79%
	4.2.16	Name Recognition	4	29%
	4.2.17	Community Pride and Passion	3	21%
	4.2.18	Growth Rate - Manageable	3	21%
		- Mixed Views	3	21%
		- Unmanageable	8	57%
	4.2.19	Length of Residency - New	5	36%
	- Long-time	9	64%	
4.2.20	Vision for Future: No New Development	7	50%	
4.2.21	Safety/Health Services	5	36%	
4.2.22	Doxey's Irridex - Annoyance Stage	11	79%	
	- Apathy Stage	1	7%	
	- Apathy/Annoyance Stage	1	7%	
	- Does Not Apply	1	7%	
4.2.23	Development Paradox	5	36%	
4.2.24	Dest. Life Cycle - Development Stage	10	71%	
	- Consolidation Stage	3	21%	
	- Involvement Stage	1	7%	
	Risk Destroying Initial Attraction	7	50%	
Economic	4.3.1	Benefit to Local Economy	10	71%
	4.3.1	Uncertainty over Degree of Benefit	5	36%
	4.3.2	Need Economic Diversification	7	50%
	4.3.3	Eroding Middle of Economy	9	64%
	4.3.4	Benefits Not Equally Distributed	3	21%
Political	4.4.1	Lack of Vision for the Future	6	43%
	4.4.2	Town Council - Critical Views	6	43%
		- Supportive Views	3	21%
	4.4.3	Municipal Boundaries	6	43%
Environment	4.5.1	Golf Course Development	6	43%
	4.5.2	Oppose Castle Glen Development	11	79%
Desirable Tourism	4.6.1	Nature-based/Ecotourism	8	57%
	4.6.2	Cultural Tourism	4	29%

It is also important to note that Table 1 was designed to give the reader a sense of the number of participants who discussed a certain issue; however, this should not be interpreted as a survey-type finding. Many of the sub-themes discussed were not generated from direct questioning but emerged from a variety of open ended questions. Therefore, a sub-theme that is only discussed by a few participants isn't necessarily insignificant, as many issues surfaced without direct questioning through the flow of the interview and may be a more significant issue within the community. Also, due to the emergent nature of qualitative inquiry, especially, semi-structured interviews, issues surfaced from interview to interview which were not previously known or considered by the researcher and thus were incorporated into subsequent interview questions.

For confidentiality purposes the resident participants have each been given identifiers and are referred to with a P and an assigned number from 1 to 14 (see Table 2). Section 4.4.2 will examine the potential significance of the municipality of residence and the relationship between residents' industry/occupation and their views on tourism is examined in section 4.2.6. The influence of length of residency on residents' perceptions of tourism is discussed in section 4.2.19. The significance of the participants' industry/occupation, length of residency, and gender will be also be analyzed in the Discussion chapter (section 5.0).

Table 2

Participant	Municipality	Occupation/ Industry	Length of Residency**	Male/ Female
P1	TOBM*	Housing Development	Long-time	F
P2	Collingwood	Stay at Home Parent	New	F
P3	Collingwood	Retireed Nurse	Long-time	F
P4	Collingwood	Education	Long-time	F
P5	Collingwood	Social Services	Long-time	F
P6	Collingwood	Retired	New	M
P7	TOBM	Tourism	Long-time	F
P8	TOBM	Manufacturing	Long-time	F
P9	Collingwood	Real Estate	Long-time	F
P10	Collingwood	Service/Tourism	New	F
P11	Collingwood	Social Services	Long-time	F
P12	Collingwood	Local Government	New	M
P13	Collingwood	Education	New	M
P14	Collingwood	Sales	Long-time	M

* Town of the Blue Mountains

** New residents have lived in the region less than 10 years;
Long-time residents have lived in the region for greater than 10 years

4.2 Growth

The growth theme was the most dominant theme discussed and as Table 1 demonstrates, it represents 24 of the 35 sub-themes which initially emerged from the analysis. Some of the prevalent themes which surfaced from the analysis include affordable housing, infrastructure problems, residential development, and new amenities and services.

4.2.1 Residential Development

Almost 80 percent of residents who participated in the study identified rapid residential growth as a product of tourism and recreation opportunities within the region. When discussing views on future tourism development one resident said, “I think it’s inevitable it’s going to grow more, I would like it to slow down a bit. I don’t even really think it’s tourism that’s doing it though, it’s the

residential growth that's the problem in this town, but I do think it's tourism fuelled" (P9). One resident was asked about his views on the current rate of tourism growth and he stated,

It's fast. The growth of large subdivisions is the most alarming part and I don't know who's buying them. I'm always talking with people I know in the community and asking them, 'who's buying all these places?', and it's no one I know or my friends know. It's got to be out-of-towners, people from Toronto that are retiring or buying second homes in the area (P14).

Furthermore, another resident discussed the impact of the in-migration of retirees when asked about her views on current tourism growth, "The growth is rapid, I don't know how much is tourism related and how much is early retirement" (P10). Most participants discussed tourism growth and urban/residential growth as interrelated issues, with tourism growth leading to urban and residential growth.

4.2.2 Growing Retirement Community

It is the view of many of the resident participants that the rapid housing growth is largely driven by early retirement and those purchasing second homes who are planning on retiring in the area. One resident who works in real estate said, "This weekend I was in the office and we were getting a lot of people coming in and they were saying 'I've been coming up here for 20 years, we really like it, we want to buy a house', and they may keep it as a seasonal house or move up here full-time when they retire" (P9). Another resident stated, "I think most people that are up here now (retirees) first came up as tourists.....then they decide to stay temporarily on weekends and then they retire here and become permanent residents" (P4). This view is shared by the tourism industry key informant as it was stated,

We are (Collingwood region) what is called a NORC, a naturally occurring retirement community, we never really looked for retirees as part of a growth pattern, but because of the attractiveness of the area people are drawn here, a lot of time people come here as visitors or they have second homes and it's a natural thing to retire to your second home, or come to a place that has every amenity that you could want.

One resident also discussed the positive economic impact of a growing retirement population as he states, “There’s also lots of opportunity for investment up here. Most of the influx of people up here for retirement have sold a house for \$600,000 or \$700,000 in Toronto and have moved up here and bought one for \$250,000 and have (the surplus money) to invest in the community” (P6). Furthermore, the tourism industry key informant discussed the economic impact of retirees on the community, “A lot of people have sold expensive homes in Toronto and retire here so they come up with a lot of cash and TD bank tells me this community is second to Oakville in terms of the amount of investment capital that has come into the community, so that tells you something”. The Collingwood region can be considered a tourism-induced retirement community as many of the current retirees first visited the area as tourists.

4.2.3 Large Volunteer Base

Some participants believe that one of the benefits of the in-migration of residents, especially retirees, is their volunteer contributions. One resident stated,

As much as there’s a lot of tourism, there’s almost more retired people coming here, so it’s changing everything here, the population’s changing, it creates a whole bunch of things, it creates a spectacular volunteer base, people who are enthusiastic, and they have great skills, they’re coming from areas where they’ve done other things and they’re willing to do that (P5).

Furthermore, another resident remarked, “There is a wealth of experience and competence of these people (retirement population) who are lending themselves to the town council and charitable organizations and helping out in a lot of ways” (P6). The tourism industry key informant shared similar views on the impact of new residents on the volunteer base and stated, “There are more ProBus clubs here than in anywhere in Ontario because when people go somewhere else they want that sense of community so they join these clubs and volunteer groups and contribute so much, it’s wonderful”. These statements exemplify some of the

positive contributions being made by the growing retirement population within Collingwood region.

4.2.4 Affordable Housing

The lack of sufficient affordable housing was by far the single largest problem related to tourism identified by study participants. All 14 resident participants mention the lack of affordable housing as a problem within the community as a result of tourism (without direct prompting from the researcher). Resident participants identified both the lack of affordable rental accommodation and the dramatic inflation of the home ownership market as contributing factors to an overall difficulty in finding affordable housing. Many participants view the development of the Intrawest resort village as the driving force behind the dramatic increase in both residential real estate values and the rental market. The impact on the rental market is discussed as one resident remarked “Before Intrawest came in rents around here for a one bedroom, you’re looking at around \$500 (per month).....a one bedroom now a days is \$750 (per month), so you’re looking at pretty much Toronto rates for a village, a little town” (P1).

Another resident discussed the impact of new housing development on affordable housing when he was asked about his view on the current rate of growth in the region,

It’s fast. The growth of large subdivisions is the most alarming part and I don’t know who’s buying them. I’m always talking with people I know in the community and asking them, ‘who’s buying all these places?’, and it’s no one I know or my friends know. Most people that are long-time residents of the area can’t afford new homes that start at \$279,000. It’s got to be out-of-towners, people from Toronto that are retiring or buying second homes in the area. Because of the inflation in the housing market there is a serious lack of affordable housing (P14).

There is a local organization called the Georgian Triangle Housing Resource Centre which has been established to aid residents in their search for affordable housing. Linda Carriere, the former program manager of the Georgian Triangle Housing Resource Centre (GTHRC), was

interviewed as a key informant and commented on the inflated rental market as a result of the housing shortage, "We reckon most people, where they should be paying 30% (of income) for rent, most of our people (people using the housing service) are paying between 60% and 70% of their income for rent in this community". Furthermore, a key informant from the tourism industry commented on the need for affordable housing in order to attract and retain tourism workers, "The problems can be solved but it takes a great deal of will on the part of the community and also on the upper tiers of government to provide affordable housing because in the end, if you can't provide workers with homes and affordable housing you're not going to have those workers". Ellen Anderson-Noel, Mayor of Town of the Blue Mountains discussed some of the contributing factors to the lack of affordable housing, "The cost of housing is very high here, and taxes are high. To purchase a home and pay the taxes on what they (tourism workers) make is pretty much impossible" (Giilck, 2004a). The provision of affordable housing in the Collingwood region is necessary on two fronts, one being to provide accommodation for permanent residents, and the other being to supply housing for seasonal employees working in the service/tourism sector.

The problem of affordable housing in the Collingwood region is multi-dimensional and has several root causes. When Linda Carriere (GTHRC) was asked what the most significant housing problem in the area is, she responded,

We have a lack of good quality affordable housing in the area and the prices, we have a physical lack of housing but also financially, because there is that limited amount and because we have more and more people coming to the area then that also means that the prices are pretty high as well. If you look at somebody that's up here on minimum wage, take a look at some of the rents and you'll see that there isn't much at all that they're going to be able to afford.

Linda Carriere believes that there are two ideas that would help to alleviate the shortage of affordable housing, the first being a plan called Options For Homes which is a project in the

planning stages which uses “A rather unique financing model, combined with other cost saving strategies – such as limiting amenities within a development – the cost of a town home in an Options for Homes project is 15-to-20 percent below market prices” (Adams, 2004). The second idea that Linda Carriere believes would contribute to creating more affordable housing is the provision of season housing for Intrawest employees. She references Intrawest’s Whistler as an example of providing seasonal employees with basic, affordable accommodation as she states,

They understand that they’re a resort area and they do have to bring in people from outside the community and plan to accommodate them. Whistler has been in this situation a lot longer than us and they looked at the problem and they have a certain amount of housing that’s set aside for (employee) accommodation.

Linda Carriere believes that the combination of these two initiatives would provide affordable housing for seasonal employees as well as free up rental units for those seeking affordable accommodation.

Some resident participants are concerned about the lack of affordable housing in the area because it limits the ability of people who have grown up in the community to live and raise families in the area. This is exemplified as one resident remarked, “The cost of housing is prohibitive for anyone who is younger, especially people who are younger, and the people that are here now have to work two or three jobs just to keep things afloat” (P5). Moreover, another resident stated, “That’s the sad part of it, it’s hard to make a living, to raise a family. The price of homes in this area has just skyrocketed, there’s no way a young family can afford to stay here and raise a family” (P8). It is clear that residents who participated in this study believe that the dramatic inflation of the local housing market has negatively affected the ability of long-time residents to afford to live in the community.

Another issue related to affordable housing in the Collingwood region is the conversion of locally owned and rented homes to tourist rental units. According to some resident participants this is a trend that is limiting the supply of rental housing and is discussed by one resident,

People around here are buying older homes and places that are up for rent and they are fixing them up for the tourists so when the tourists come up here they rent them for a high price but people that don't have that kind of income and are looking to rent on a monthly basis or a longer term basis, these properties aren't available (P12).

This trend was confirmed by Shelley Houston, formerly of the Georgian Triangle Centre for Business and Economic Development (GTCBED), who was interviewed as a key informant as she commented, "Landlords are realizing that they can rent their townhouse out for the winter months for as much as they could get for a year, so they're renting out seasonally, which means that there's less available for people that are here year round". This trend is significant because not only does it further deplete the existing housing stock but it also increases competition and subsequently increases prices for the remaining units on the market.

4.2.5 Property Taxes

Another dimension of the affordable housing equation is rapidly rising property taxes. In Ontario property values are assessed by a method called Current Value Assessment which involves analyzing property sales in the area around one's home to determine an estimated property value which is then used to determine the property tax (Municipal Property Assessment Corporation, 2005). Over half of residents interviewed commented that the rapid growth of tourism and subsequent housing boom has resulted in a dramatic increase in property taxes.

One resident discusses the impact of the Intrawest resort village and remarked,

It's (the village) driving real estate prices up, taxes are going up as well which has an impact on the residents that have been here on a long-term basis and even myself moving here, paying higher taxes and not necessarily getting anything for it, because they are

...tied into the assessment value which starts at the base of the hill and has a ripple effect and drives prices up everywhere (P12).

Furthermore, another resident said “The taxes are just getting higher and higher and a lot of people who do own homes in this area are people that have lived here long-term and have retired and can’t necessarily afford the new taxes because of the development” (P7). Linda Carriere (GTHRC) discussed the impact of rapidly rising property taxes on residents as she stated,

People who live in Town of the Blue Mountains, their taxes have went up 40% in the last two years. We’ve got a lot of people who are seniors and that’s their big fear, they’ve worked all their life to be able to retire in this community and they get everything set up and settled now they’re starting to panic and think ‘am I even going to be able to afford to live in this community?’ A 40% hike in taxes is a lot for people to absorb and certainly for people who are on a fixed income and thought that they had planned everything out.

Thus, many participants are concerned that the combination of the dramatic inflation of housing values and the rapidly rising property taxes is reducing the ability of many local residents to afford to purchase homes in the region.

4.2.6 Tourism/Development Related Employment

Five of the 14 residents interviewed can be considered to be employed in the tourism or development field, with three participants being employed in tourism related occupations, one in housing development, and one in real estate. Somewhat surprisingly none of these individuals had a predominantly positive view of tourism and the associated development boom that has occurred throughout the region. Two of the five residents displayed mostly negative views of tourism and related development, while the other three generally expressed a mix of positive and negative views. It was also somewhat surprising that none of the residents interviewed were current employees of Blue Mountain or Intrawest and that only one was a former

employee given the number of Intrawest employees and the profile of the company within the region.

4.2.7 Intrawest

The Intrawest resort village development has been a catalyst for the current wave of development within Collingwood region. According to many resident participants, the Intrawest development has increased the desirability of the region for tourists, new residents, second home owners, and retirees. As might be expected there is a broad range of views on the Intrawest resort village. Half of the residents interviewed generally had favourable views towards the development, almost 30 percent had mixed views and discussed the positive and negative impacts, while just over 20 percent generally had critical views. One resident discussed her favourable views on the Intrawest development as she commented, “I like going up there to the shops and stuff like that, there are nice restaurants. It’s good job-wise, it employs a lot of people and the benefits are better from what I’ve heard” (P9). Another resident discussed mixed views on the development as it was stated,

It’s a good thing, it has brought jobs into the area. But then again, it’s brought more people that have to get from point A to point B, and they have to look at the wages that they’re paying them. How are people that grow up in this community going to stay here and raise a family on those sort of wages? (P8).

The critical views of some participants are exemplified as one resident was asked about her views on the Intrawest development and replied, “Worst thing that ever happened in this area, they were the start. It’s a money making machine and I don’t see them being that concerned about the ecology of the area or the people of the area” (P7). While there is a broad range of views on the Intrawest resort village, more than twice as many residents interviewed had favourable views compared to critical views.

4.2.8 Labour Shortage

A few residents who participated in the study discussed how the rapid rate of growth of the tourism/service sector in combination with generally low wages and high housing costs has led to a labour shortage for the sector in the region. One resident remarked, “Tourism employees tend to be temporary employees and they’re usually paid closer to the minimum wage and those people find it very difficult to find accommodation here so that there’s, generally speaking, a shortage of workers for the tourist trade, the workers that make up the rooms, servers in restaurants” (P6). Moreover, when another resident was asked what the most serious problems associated with tourism are, she replied,

I think from a business point, trying to staff traditionally low paying jobs and having people who need affordable housing. There is no staff housing at the moment and trying to get people of a certain caliber staff-wise to move here when they look at the houses they may as well stay in Toronto, so I think they are going to have a huge problem attracting the right kind of people (P10).

The shortage of labour is confirmed by Shelley Houston (GTCBED) as she said, “It’s (Intrawest’s resort village) certainly going to have its impact on employment, it’s providing employment but we don’t have enough employees so right now there’s Peter stealing from Paul type of thing”. Another factor which may contribute to the lack of a sufficient labour pool for the tourism/service sector is the lack of public transportation between Intrawest’s resort village and the surrounding communities where the majority of its employees reside.

4.2.9 Public Transportation

Some residents interviewed have also discussed how the lack of public transportation between the Intrawest village and the surrounding communities is a significant problem within the community. One resident stated, “A lot of jobs are there (Intrawest village) but we do not have transportation between the mountain and Collingwood and they’re (Intrawest village) sort of assuming that everyone has transportation and that’s ridiculous, of course they don’t, so that

sure sets up a situation” (P5). Another resident commented on the lack of public transportation, “If you’re going to have a job in this town, unless you’re working right downtown, you’re going to need a car and the bus system is totally inadequate” (P11). Shelley Houston (GTCBED) echoed the concern of the resident participants as she stated, “It’s (the employment shortage) created a bit of a problem with bussing, we’ve realized we need bussing to run back and forth for staff, Intrawest looks at drawing its employees from about 45 minutes out so that’s quite a distance so if you’re working in that sector which typically isn’t high paying you need transportation because you can’t afford to live in the area”. Furthermore, Linda Carrier (GTHRC) commented, “We’re really limited as far as (public) transportation here and for many people, even people who do get jobs here up at the hill, their big hope is that they’ll find someone that has a car that they can pay to get back and forth, otherwise they can’t get in”. Employee transportation and/or near site employee accommodation appear to be an issues that some participants feel need to be resolved in order to attract and retain sufficient, quality labour for the tourism/service sector.

4.2.10 Year Round Tourism Employment

Some of the residents who participated in the study discussed the benefit of increased year round employment as the region has become more of a four seasons destination. One resident commented,

If you go back 15 years, the guy who worked in the ski shop, his job ended in April, now the same guy gets a job in the bike shop in the spring, summer, and fall, so he goes directly from the ski shop to the bike shop and back to the ski shop the next year, so that person sees a sustainable income for a year (P13).

Furthermore another resident stated, “I think it’s getting to be a four seasons area and I think for the people here you need year round employment, people don’t want to be working every day in the winter and then off all summer or vise versa” (P10). Shelley Houston (GTCBED)

commented on the trend towards becoming a true four season's destination and its impact on employment as she remarked,

We really only have a very small shoulder season, probably April and November, especially with the growth of golf courses in the area.....we get a lot of people that will work at the ski hills in the winter and some are farmers so that works out well, but others work at golf courses in the summer so that works well too.

The fairly recent promotion of the region as a golf and mountain biking destination has resulted in a reduced shoulder seasons in the fall and spring and this is viewed as a benefit to tourism employment in the region by some participants.

4.2.11 Infrastructure/Congestion

All residents interviewed, with the exception of one, commented on the infrastructure problems which have resulted from tourism. Several of these participants believe that tourism has grown faster than the local infrastructure can accommodate as one remarked, "I think it's (tourism) growing too quickly, the infrastructure isn't able to keep up with the amount of growth. A month ago in the paper (it said) the traffic patterns that they had predicted by 2010 will be achieved by this winter" (P2). Another resident said,

The Intrawest development has doubled the amount of people going up to the mountain.....our roads cannot handle the traffic. The roads that existed 10, 15 years ago are still handling the traffic that is now multiplied two and three times what it was, so that takes a huge toll (P11).

Another resident discussed the planned by-pass and stated, "The highway (by-pass) that was supposed to go through is on hold, there is nothing going on there, and people are not happy, especially with the amount of taxes that they're paying. When you think about Highway 26, that was here 45 years ago and look at the population growth" (P8). The tourism industry informant believes that traffic is a large problem but also cautioned against the potential negative impact of highway expansion,

We're trying to establish and maintain a low key, relaxing type atmosphere and that's why the traffic problem is significant, because you don't want a lot of cars on the road. That's why one of our transportation experts said 'do not build a 4 lane highway into Collingwood because if you do you lose all the character'.

While there are no easy solutions to the congestion problems in the Collingwood region, almost all participants believe that traffic issues need to be resolved.

Along with the transportation problems identified by residents interviewed, some also felt that the basic sewer and water infrastructure has been neglected in favour of new development.

One resident commented on the state of the Collingwood's infrastructure, "Our sewer systems cannot support more than we have right now. The town is in huge financial trouble because our infrastructure was not kept up. I don't think that we can support more tourism than we have right now" (P5). Furthermore, another resident commented on the neglect of municipal infrastructure, "Certain policy makers are increasing new tourist oriented infrastructure while neglecting existing basic infrastructure like roads, sidewalks, old water pipes, and old sewer pipes" (P12). Another resident discussed the difficulty in keeping up with new development, "We're going to have to put a huge amount of money into our sewer system in the next few years because they can't keep up with the demand, there's been so much demand, so much stress put on it" (P6). Peter Tollefsen, Director of Planning for Town of the Blue Mountains (TOBM), was interviewed as a key informant and discussed some of the difficulties in supplying infrastructure,

One of our challenges is that we don't have all of the infrastructure in place accommodate growth, sewers and water, and we don't have it, so we're struggling to not only provide sewer and water for new development for environmental reasons, but we have existing development that's not on water and sewer which is really bad and expensive.

It is the belief of these resident participants that the local municipalities should be focused on infrastructure upgrades before the concentrating on new developments.

4.2.12 Avoidance

As a result of the large temporary population that swells on weekends and throughout the summer months some Collingwood region residents who were interviewed practice various forms of avoidance. One resident discussed how residents adjust their living patterns, “In the winter it’s crazy here, you avoid the grocery store from Friday to Sunday, same with the LCBO, the Beer Store, everything’s got to be done by late Thursday” (P2). Another resident commented, “It (tourism) changes your patterns, in terms of the way you are living, I think a lot of people get bitter about having to schedule their lives around the tourists, so I think that’s where a lot of people get annoyed” (P9). One resident discussed how she will often leave town on busy weekends, “I do a lot of traveling so basically I go out of town to get away, you know, you can enjoy the beach during the week while everyone else is back at work” (P1). Most residents interviewed adjust their living patterns in some way during peak tourist periods and some have accepted it as a necessary part of living in the community, while others express their annoyance.

4.2.13 Lack of Respect for Local Lifestyle

Many of the long-time residents who participated in the study suggested that some tourists display a lack of respect for the local lifestyle. One resident stated, “The people from Toronto don’t adapt to the slower pace of life up here and when they come up they bring their lifestyle up here, it’s like hell on wheels and working in the hospital I saw the downside of that” (P3). Another resident commented on the lack of respect with the remark, “The Toronto tourists tend to bring their lifestyle up to the area, they drive out of control, speed, and do not respect the way of life up here” (P14). Furthermore, one resident stated, “The Toronto people bring their values to this community and are changing this community to make it what they want it to be which is taking away from what it already is that first attracted them up to the area to begin with” (P12).

In addition to demonstrating residents' views on tourists' lack of respect, these comments exemplify the significance of the Toronto market to tourism in the Collingwood region.

4.2.14 Urban Field of Influence

Collingwood's close proximity to Toronto was identified by many residents interviewed as a primary factor in the rapid rate and scale of growth that is occurring in Collingwood region. Every resident participant but one discussed the influence of Toronto and its residents in relation to tourism and growth in Collingwood. Aside from the negative perceptions of tourists discussed in the previous section, the fact that in many cases the term tourist is not even used, as they are simply referred to as 'Toronto people' demonstrates the dominance of the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) market as a source of tourists. This perception is confirmed by data obtained from the Canadian Travel Survey which indicates that roughly half of tourists traveling to Simcoe and Grey counties (which contain both Collingwood and Town of the Blue Mountains) live in the GTA (Statistics Canada, 2005). Furthermore, the proximity of the Collingwood region to the GTA was a primary reason why Intrawest decided to invest in Blue Mountain as Intrawest's CEO Joe Housain commented in the Collingwood Enterprise-Bulletin, "Blue Mountain is a continuation of our strategy to participate in premier regional resorts close to major metropolitan areas. As a market leader in an area within a three-hour drive of seven million people. Blue Mountain is well positioned for growth" (Russell, 1999). In addition to the influence of Toronto's urban field on tourism, it also has a dramatic impact on the growth of home office employment and occasional commuting.

Many residents interviewed discussed the growth of home office workers in the region and their ties to the GTA as one resident stated, "There's a lot of people that work out of their homes in this area and maybe commute to Toronto or southern Ontario a few times a week or month,

there are so many different things that you can do today that you couldn't do before" (P8).

Furthermore, another resident commented, "Some of my daughters' friends are not tourists but they are people who live and work in Toronto but have a weekend home here, or live in Collingwood but a parent commutes to Toronto" (P10). Another resident discussed the lifestyle/commuting trade-off which many residents of Collingwood make,

It is a lifestyle where people are looking for that type of a recreational lifestyle and they can't get that in the urban centres so they're choosing to spend time traveling just to get that type of lifestyle. There's a lot of people that are into commuting that live up that way and will commute into the top of Toronto, some do it daily, some will go down to the larger industrial areas, such as Alliston with the Honda plant (P13).

The tourism industry key informant also commented on the home office/occasional commuter phenomenon, "With computer technology today you have the ability to do business here, and we do have a lot of people who do business here and they may go to Toronto once a week, but they don't have to live there". The apparent growth of home office workers and occasional Toronto commuters further supports the notion of a significant urban field of influence from the GTA.

4.2.15 New Services and Amenities

One of the most significant benefits of tourism in the Collingwood region identified by residents who participated in the study was the development of new services and amenities. Many of these services and amenities have been developed to cater to tourists but also benefit permanent residents. The development of new restaurants was discussed by several resident participants as a benefit of tourism and one resident commented, "Can you image the restaurant choices I have when people come to town, in 15 minutes I could take people to 15 good restaurants, everything from the LCBO to Loblaws, so my quality of life is greatly improved

because of tourism” (P10). Furthermore, another resident discusses the benefits of new tourism-driven services with the comment,

Coffee shops and boutiques are definitely catering to tourists but I mean we all benefit too. Like I never, ever thought that this town would have a sushi place but it popped up and it’s doing really well, so it’s just things like that, that would never be here without the tourists coming up (P9).

Another resident discusses how a tourism induced restaurant has enhanced her lifestyle with the remark, “There is this one French restaurant that we get croissants at every day and we sit out on the bench and have coffee and a croissant and look at the gardens and we say ‘I hope this place doesn’t go out of business’” (P4). Most resident interviewed feel that they have benefited from the many cosmopolitan restaurants which have opened in Collingwood as a result of tourism.

Many of the residents interviewed discussed the variety of affordable recreation and entertainment options which have been developed because of tourism, especially those that are provided at the Intrawest village. One resident commented on the events which occur in the Intrawest village, “I’ve heard young people say that if they’ve got a special event going on it’s worthwhile, in the summertime they have free open air movies and it’s very active socially” (P3). Furthermore, another resident remarked on the affordable ski passes available to residents, “I avoid skiing on Saturdays and Sundays, I use the 5x7 pass (ski pass allowing people to ski at any time except during the day on weekends) and it’s a good deal and it encourages you to get out at the times when the tourists aren’t here” (P12). Linda Carriere (GTHRC) discussed one of the benefits of the Intrawest village for the local residents as she commented,

In summer time I know a lot of people who live in the community who are low income just love the fact that they have the movies under the stars twice a week during the summer, they have free movies up there and give out free popcorn and I know a lot of families that are low income and they are up there with the kids and that’s nice entertainment in the summer for them.

Some residents also discussed the benefits of the newly opened live theatre house as one resident stated, “It’s amazing what we have, for instance I had friends from Kitchener and Hamilton and we were at a concert and what this theatre has offered us, they say ‘oh my goodness, this caliber is great’ so we benefit in that way” (P8). Another resident discussed the benefits of living in the community, “We have access to things on a regular basis that most people only have access to once a year or on a weekend so that’s something that’s a benefit to the community” (P13).

Some of the residents interviewed also discussed how tourism has led to the gentrification of the downtown and this is exemplified as one resident stated, “I’ve never seen this place look as nice. Collingwood has a beautiful main street, but this year the flowers are better than they’ve ever been, the little sidewalk cafes make it look very sophisticated” (P4). Moreover another resident commented,

There really is an emphasis on the place being attractive, retaining its architectural integrity, not using back lit signs on the main street. The municipal leaders are cognizant of having the place look good, creating a good first impression, and really wanting people to stick around and keep coming back, so that’s really a plus for long-term residents (P13).

The region has made a concerted effort to enhance its appearance and this is generally appreciated and viewed as a benefit of tourism by residents who participated in the study.

4.2.16 Name Recognition

A few residents interviewed discussed how tourism growth has led to the benefit of name recognition for Collingwood. The impact of tourism growth on Collingwood’s name recognition is discussed by one resident, ‘We’re on the map, I used to tell people that I’m from Collingwood and they would be like ‘what, where’s that?’ and now everyone’s like ‘oh Collingwood, I go

skiing there' "(P9). Another resident remarked, "Tourism enhances the image of the area, everyone knows about Collingwood and it gives the area a good name. It also makes the area attractive" (P14). One resident discussed how name recognition may lead to new business development, "We get a lot of free advertising as a community, perhaps some of that will ricochet off into new businesses, long-term business development here" (P11). These comments indicate that some resident participants believe that the recognition that the region gains from tourism is a benefit to the community.

4.2.17 Community Pride and Passion

In addition to name recognition, a few residents interviewed discussed how tourism has led to increased passion and pride within the community. One resident stated, "I always feel a certain amount of pride when I see people come in and I deliberately look to see if I can tell where they're from and I think 'yeah, take a look at us, it's not bad'" (P3). Furthermore, one resident who has moved into the community within the last 10 years commented, "I think it's important to note that there's still a lot of pride within the community members as well, and that pride goes into the town itself and what that represents. When I moved up here I really did notice that the community took a lot of pride in itself" (P13). Another resident remarked on the passion of the community, "People that are here are passionate about things, they're willing to do the work needed, it's amazing. The connections because of tourism are spectacular" (P5).

4.2.18 Growth Rate

There is a wide spectrum of views on the rate of tourism growth in the Collingwood region, ranging from manageable to out of control. Three residents interviewed felt that the rate of growth was manageable and that it was being reasonably well accommodated. One resident participant believes that tourism growth has been well managed, "I'm very content and I don't

know whether it's been by good luck or good management but I think everything has been done pretty well, both in the community and the commercial aspect" (P6). Two of the three resident participants had somewhat tempered views on the rate of tourism growth as one resident said, "I think it's certainly rapid, I don't necessarily think that's a bad thing in terms of taxing the Collingwood community, we certainly see a difference, especially on the weekends and in the summer, but not to any great negative degree" (P13). Another resident remarked, "It's a little overwhelming but not unmanageable. I was here for the Elvis Festival last weekend and there are events going on in Collingwood, Blue Mountain and Wasaga Beach and it was very, very, busy but other times it's not so busy" (P12). All three of these residents have lived in the community for less than five years and previously lived in high growth communities which may partially explain why their views on growth differ from those who have been long-time residents of Collingwood region.

Three residents interviewed had mixed views on tourism growth as they discussed both the positive and negative aspects of growth within the region. When one resident was asked to discuss her views on the rate of growth in the region she stated,

I think there's positives and negatives. I think it's positive because we've lost a lot of our industrial base, so that part of it is positive (the employment), the problems that come along with it are negative. A lot of the problems are a result of the disparity between income, housing is a problem, the cost of housing is prohibitive for anyone who is younger, especially people who are younger, and the people that are here now are having to work two or three jobs just to keep things afloat (P5).

Another resident was asked the same question and shared a similar view, "There's pros and cons, the pros are I think that the merchants and communities are anxious for tourists.....the only thing is that there is a lot of traffic going through here, especially the people that are going up to the mountain to Intrawest" (P4). While these residents discussed mixed views on the rate of growth in the region, many residents interviewed believe that it is unmanageable.

Over half of the residents interviewed believe that the rate of tourism growth is too rapid.

Participants were asked about their views on the current rate of tourism growth and one resident stated, "I think it's growing too quickly, the infrastructure isn't able to keep up with the amount of growth" (P2). Another resident was asked the same question and responded, "I personally think it's too high, particularly because what draws people to this area is nature.....I think it's really important for us to focus on maintaining green space and not destroying the area with too much growth too fast and I think that's happening here" (P7). A few of these residents also discussed how they believe that the level of tourism growth is unmanageable but believe that more growth is inevitable. One resident stated, 'I don't think that we can support more tourism than we have right now, I think it's still going to happen though' (P5). Another resident shared a similar view, 'It's growing whether we like it or not. It's certainly at a level where it should really be looked at before it's developed any further' (P8).

Three residents interviewed even mentioned that they are considering leaving the community because of the rate of growth. One resident remarked,

My family has lived in Craigeith (a village within Town of the Blue Mountains) for 75 years and I'm thinking of moving and I don't want to, it would break my heart, but this is not the place that it was even 10 years ago, it's just berserk, it's way beyond anybody's control (P7).

Another resident shared a similar perspective on how the community had changed rapidly in a short period,

I've lived here seven years and it's changed so much, I regularly say I want to leave because I don't like what's happening. The increase in traffic and the big box store mentality and subdivisions and SUVs and getting as many people as we can up at the mountain is what really bothers me (P2).

The tourism industry key informant discussed some of the difficulties in accommodating development in a high growth community, “There’s no easy answer and there’s no right way to do this, you have to be quick on your feet and you have to be really flexible because no one would have predicted the demand on the land use that you are seeing here”. There are various degrees of concern amongst resident participants regarding the rate of development in the region; however, it is clear that a considerable share of them believe that the rate of growth is unmanageable.

4.2.19 Length of Residency

Among the residents interviewed there is a stark contrast between the views of new residents (lived in the community for less than 10 years) and long-time residents (living in the community for greater than 10 years) on the rate of tourism growth in the Collingwood region. Four of the five new residents interviewed had a generally positive view on the rate of tourism growth in the region, whereas none of the nine of the long-time residents interviewed had a positive overall view of the rate of tourism growth. One new resident stated,

The one thing you’ve got to realize is that I’m not a long-time member of this community, I’ve only been here four years, so I was a tourist before, part of the problem when I was a young man coming up here on weekends skiing. I’m sure some of my responses are not the norm compared to some of the long-time residents (P6).

Another new resident commented, “I’m coming from this perspective, they’re (long-time residents) coming from that perspective, so I see weekends as being normal when it gets busier, whereas they see weekends as crazy and they see mid-week as normal and I see it as being a ghost town (laughs)” (P13). There is a clear distinction between the views of new and long-time residents interviewed as it appears that length of residency is a factor which impacts residents’ views on tourism. Moreover, it is likely not just the length of residency, but also that all of the new residents grew up in high growth communities in southern Ontario, where they

were accustomed to high growth. This is a sharp contrast to the Collingwood region which until recently was a slow growth and largely rural and this may help to explain some of the differences in their perceptions of tourism and growth.

4.2.20 Vision for the Future

When resident participants were asked to discuss their vision for future tourism development, half of the residents stated that they believe that the Collingwood region is at a saturation point and that no new development would be desirable. There were no other common visions as the remaining residents all had unique visions ranging from infrastructure improvements to waterfront development to affordable housing. One resident commented on the desire for no new development, “I think we’re at the maximum right now, I think we’re a little bit beyond our sustainability quite bluntly. I think we’ve reached the critical point, and I don’t think we can sustain it for a long period of time. I think we’re at saturation” (P11). Another resident responded, “I think it’s gone far enough, make it stop.....People come and say ‘we came here 10 years ago and it was wonderful, but now there’s all these people here’, and then I say to my friends ‘how does she think that we (the residents) feel’” (P4). Moreover, another resident said, “I think we need a breather, just to get themselves (planners and developers) organized. I’m sitting here looking at the traffic outside of Starbucks and it’s Tuesday at noon and it looks more like downtown Toronto” (P10). These comments demonstrate the strong feelings among residents interviewed that the growth within the region has become unmanageable and that there is a desire to limit future development.

4.2.21 Safety/Health Services

Since the Intrawest resort village opened the number of skiers and snowboarders per season have almost doubled and some residents interviewed believe that this added congestion has led

to a disproportionate increase in injuries and decrease in safety. The impact of the Intrawest development was discussed by one resident, "I think it's really spectacular, the problem is that we do not have the medical facilities to support this number of injuries, and the injuries at Blue Mountain are disproportionate to the size of the hill" (P5). The crowding on the hill was discussed by another resident, "Now when we send our kids out skiing we're all paranoid because people are getting run into all the time. One of the biggest causes of accidents is getting hit by other skiers" (P2). Furthermore, another resident remarked,

I've been up there a couple of times on weekends lately and it's dangerous, there's a lot of people up there that can't ski. Most people up there used to be fairly decent skiers but it's to the point now where you're always checking where other people are around you and I think they've gone over capacity. They have added a bunch of triple and quad high speed lifts so you are bringing that many more people up the hill at a higher rate so you are just putting more people on the hill, and you can accommodate more (going up the hill) but the hill hasn't gotten any bigger so it's dangerous that way. The ambulance actually parks at the bottom of the hill because there are so many injuries (P9).

Some residents also discussed how tourism can stress local health services, especially in the Collingwood region with several ski hills. One resident commented,

Tourism affects the hospitals and emergency services and it's the peaks and valleys (of seasonality) which make it hard to staff. As a solution they came up with the idea of an after hours clinic to take care of some of the minor injuries, but that doesn't really solve the problem because many times I've heard people say 'I knew that we were coming up for the weekend so we waited until we got up here to take little Johnny to the clinic' (P3).

Furthermore, Catherine Durrant, Collingwood's economic development officer and member of the doctor retention and attraction committee discussed the impact of a large part-time resident population on health services, "Collingwood is not understaffed - we have enough doctors. It's our part-time residents who are using our doctors (which is causing the problem)" (Bowe, 2003).

Thus, the rapid rate of tourism and residential growth in the region appears to have had an adverse impact on ski safety and has strained the local health services.

4.2.22 Doxey's Irridex

Doxey's (1975) Irridex was outlined to residents who participated in the study and they were asked which stage or in between stages they believe that the Collingwood region is current experiencing. The vast majority of residents interviewed (almost 80 percent) believe that the region is currently in the Annoyance stage, while one resident believed it was in the Apathy stage, another believed it was in between Apathy and Annoyance, and another believes that the model does not accurately reflect the complexities of the community. Many of the residents comments centred around the provision of tourist-related infrastructure at the expense of resident services which is a characteristic of the annoyance stage as one resident commented, "I think that the many changes to the Official Plan to suit big business, the loss of our waterfront to tourists, and the exploitation of what are/were local hangouts such as Sunset Point - a place to get away from the tourists, have many full time residents annoyed" (P2). Another resident discussed the resentment of tourists that sometimes occurs, "There's that whole little bit of resentment, 'you're coming up here and putting our lives into a bit of chaos', so I think that's a serious problem right now" (P9). One resident criticized both Doxey's Irridex and Butler's (1980) Destination Life Cycle as he stated, "Neither model recognizes the multi-dimensional aspects of communities; just because tourism may be one aspect of a community or destination does not mean that it is the focal point, primary or most important aspect or that it can exist on its own" (P12). This criticism has been expressed by academics in the past; however, it remains clear that most residents are concerned about the level of tourism development in the Collingwood region.

4.2.23 Development Paradox

Over the past few years there has been fierce debate over various proposals for the construction of big box stores in Collingwood. One resident discusses the heart of the debate,

What's happened here is that the town council didn't want big box stores because they didn't want to look like every other community and worried that it would stop people from coming. The problem with that is the majority of our citizens don't shop in Collingwood anymore, they go to Barrie or Owen Sound (P5).

Furthermore, many residents argue that the big box stores are necessary because of a combination of the downtown stores catering to affluent tourists and low services sector wages.

This is exemplified as one resident stated,

A lot of people that live in town don't have a lot to do with it (downtown Collingwood) because there's a certain amount of specialty to it and that's why our western sector has a lot of big box stores and there's more coming. The common person is going to shop out there simply because they don't want what's downtown and they can't afford what's downtown because they're earning wages in the tourism industry that are not particularly great (P3).

It appears that tourism has led to the gentrification of downtown Collingwood as high end specialty retail has replaced basic shops and services. The Collingwood region is in a 'catch-22' in the sense that many local residents cannot afford to shop downtown, therefore, new discount big box stores are the logical alternative, especially considering the relatively low wages tourism/service sector employees earn. However, the presence of generic chain stores and restaurants risks destroying the region's small town charm.

4.2.24 Risk Destroying Initial Attraction

Butler's (1980) Destination Life Cycle was outlined to resident participants and they were asked which stage they think the Collingwood region is currently experiencing. Greater than two-thirds of residents interviewed believe that the Collingwood region is currently in the Development stage while three residents believe it is in the Consolidation stage, and one resident believes that it is in the Involvement stage. Many residents interviewed discussed their concern that that current wave of rapid development may ultimately transform the region to the point that it may diminish what initially attracted tourists to the region such as the pristine environment and small

town feel. One resident commented, “In our attempts to keep up with tourism are we losing what brought them here in the first place, the small town flavour, unique architecture, easily accessible recreation?” (P13). Another resident remarked, “I think we need to focus on why people started coming here and what the attraction to the area was, it’s not that you can come and party at some club at the mountain, it’s that you’ve got this beautiful nature up here, and if we don’t protect it it’s gone and once it’s gone it can’t come back” (P7). Moreover, one resident who is often in contact with tourists stated, “People come and say ‘we came up here 10 years ago and it was wonderful, but now there’s all these people here’” (P4). Shelley Houston (GTCBED) shares a similar concern as she said, “It’s nice to have the development because it does bring money into the area, but are we depleting what people are coming up here for, people are moving here to get out of the city because they’re tired of concrete and they want trees, we have to be careful with how much we’re developing”. Furthermore, the tourism industry key informant also expressed a degree of concern regarding overdevelopment and commented on some of the initiatives in place to combat overdevelopment,

There will be a point where the whole profile of the area is changed and that’s a concern. We’ve been urging our municipal councils to establish good planning principles, which I think they are trying to.....They (Georgian Triangle Economic Development Institute) had a conference called Saving The Goose and that conference was an excellent one because they brought in consultants from all over who showed the peril of overdevelopment and rampant development with no real planning behind it.

Peter Tollefsen (TOBM) discussed the need for advanced planning to ensure that the nature of the region is maintained, “We have policies in our Official Plan to try and preserve the natural environment because that’s why people are coming up here, if you pave it with houses they’re going to say this is like Toronto, why did we come up here?”. There is significant concern among both resident participants and key informants regarding the need to preserve the

character of the region. While key informants believe that good policy and planning should ensure this, residents are somewhat skeptical.

4.3 Economic

This section examines the sub-themes which relate to the local economy. Specifically, residents' views on the economic benefits of tourism will be examined as well as their perceptions of tourism as an economic development strategy. Furthermore, this section will discuss the views of some residents who believe that the middle of the local economy is eroding and others who argue that the economic benefits of tourism are not equally distributed throughout the community.

4.3.1 Benefit to Local Community

When residents were asked what they believe are the most significant benefits of tourism the majority of residents interviewed (ten) believe that the community has economically benefited in some way from tourism. These residents identified a wide range of economic benefits including spending by tourists, job creation, and improvements to the tax base. The additional spending by tourists within the community is discussed by one resident, "People come into Collingwood to go to the drugstore, the grocery store, the LCBO.....when people live in the city they don't have time to go shopping so they do a lot of their shopping when they come up on weekends" (P2). Another resident shared similar views on the economic benefit to local retailers, "When these people flow through they're going to stop in town, go to the LCBO, Loblaws, they might think we're very charming and they may want to come up for an additional holiday" (P11). Most residents interviewed believe that local businesses benefit from tourism development with the region.

Many residents discussed the importance of tourism in providing jobs for local residents as the service sector is the dominant economic sector within the local economy. One resident stated,

Home Depot has just said they're considering opening up out here and Wal-Mart is coming in, so these things will help the community, it will bring in more employment for the locals and that's one thing we're short on up here, our industrial base has eroded very dramatically the last few years (P6).

While employment at big box retailers such as these may not directly be considered tourism jobs, most of the residents interviewed consider these to be tourism jobs because these retailers wouldn't locate in the area without the presence of tourists and seasonal residents.

Another resident discussed the importance of tourism to the employment base of the region,

The amount of jobs it (tourism) provides for the community, the amount of spin-off benefits for the community too, people don't initially realize these. Half the town is employed by tourism and as much as we grumble about it we can't say we don't want it because that is where everybody works, the town could not survive without it, I just don't think everything should be based upon it (P9).

Furthermore the employment benefits of tourism are outlined by Shelley Houston (GTCBED) as she states,

If you look at the economy, and like I said we have three tier one auto manufacturers which employ about 900 people at full capacity, Blue mountain employs 1,200 people and that's before Intrawest really got going, now most of those are part-time or seasonal, if you figure 600 going from one season to the next, there's way more people working in the service sector than in any other sectors combined so all of the construction jobs that have come, all of the restaurants, stores that have opened, all the people that have businesses catering to home maintenance and security and rental companies, so there's tones and tones of jobs that wouldn't be here if it wasn't for the tourism.

The tourism industry key informant discussed the indirect and induced economic impacts generated by tourism development. When asked roughly how the tourism economic impact dollars are distributed throughout the community it was stated,

Well it's everything, on the supply side we have people here that can supply the tourism industry, everything from food and

beverage, suppliers for the hotels, the restaurants and so on, that's just one example. Someone has to supply the linens, someone has to supply other inputs to tourism business, there are suppliers here that are doing that. So they are the suppliers to all of the tourism business, they are the suppliers, they sell goods, they create jobs, so that trickles down and if you are a wage earner of a tourism business or tourism supplier than that trickles down because you are going to buy a car or buy clothing and the trickle down effect is amazing.

While tourism jobs are typically considered low wage employment, some resident participants and key informants believe that there a few economic alternatives and tourism/service jobs are better than no jobs.

Some residents interviewed discussed how tourism has aided in the transformation of the region's economic base from a diminishing industrial sector to a thriving tourism/service sector. One resident said, "A lot of people that were previously employed in the shipyards segued directly into trades and building companies in the region as tourism development began to take off" (P11). The tourism industry key informant shared a similar view as she commented,

When the Collingwood shipyards closed, it employed around 1,500 people in its heyday and about 600 at the end. When it went out of business there was just a huge feeling that the local economy would collapse, but it didn't because at that point tourism was coming on more strongly and it captured a lot of those people and I think it really showed politicians that tourism was something to cherish.

Peter Tollefsen (TOBM) also discussed the importance of tourism in the wake of the shipyards closing, "With the closure of the shipyards in Collingwood in 1986 which was the main industry in town, and many of the other main industries in town as well, but if it wasn't for the tourism up here we wouldn't be having that much economic activity". The benefits of employment created by the Intrawest development was discussed by one resident, "It's a great thing Intrawest, you know obviously because there are more people, more jobs, being that there's only a few factories in the area. The high school kids, they need a job so basically that's their winter, up at

the ski hill” (P1). Some resident participants and key informants strongly believe that tourism has provided a viable and timely economic strategy in the wake of major industrial closures within the Collingwood region.

It is believed by some resident participants and key informants that significant new business development has resulted from the growth of tourism in the Collingwood region. One resident commented on the spin-off opportunities generated by tourism, “Year round tourism provides offshoot opportunities for small businesses such as hospitality, things like restaurants and bars, you get smaller retailers that support the particular activities such as equipment for skiing, snowboarding, biking, boating, and those types of things” (P13). Furthermore, Shelley Houston (GTCBED) also discusses the variety of business creation that has occurred because of tourism, “All of the construction jobs that have come, all of the restaurants, stores that have opened, all the people that have businesses catering to home maintenance and security and rental companies, so there’s tons and tons of jobs that wouldn’t be here if it wasn’t for the tourism”. The tourism industry key informant discussed the growth of small businesses which are not necessarily related to tourism, but may be the result of the amenity environment, “I think a lot of them are already up here, the communications industry and small businesses and there are a lot of them. If you took a tour of the industrial park at the east end of Collingwood you’ll see a lot of very interesting businesses that you’d never realize were there”. The business development spin-offs that result from tourism provide a variety of opportunities for local entrepreneurs as well as the potential for significant job creation.

In addition to the business benefits, some residents who participated in the study feel that tourism benefits the local tax base. One resident stated, “It (tourism) certainly helps the local tax base and pays for a lot of services that the community uses” (P6). Another resident, when

asked about the largest benefits associated with tourism replied, “Probably the help to the tax base because that makes a difference and it’s developing our area because of that” (P5).

Despite the views of most residents interviewed that tourism has generated a variety of economic benefits, several participants expressed uncertainty over the degree of economic benefit tourism has on the community because of the perception of tourism as an industry of low wage, low skilled employment. When discussing the impact of the Intrawest resort village one resident stated, “It’s a good thing, its brought jobs into the area. But then again you have to look at the wages that they’re paying them. How are people that grow up in this community going to stay here and raise a family on those sort of wages?” (P8). Another resident also shared a view of uncertainty when asked if the community as a whole has economically benefited from tourism, “Well yes because it picked up the jobs that we lost in industry, so it has helped in that sense and if you think minimum wage jobs are ok, then yes it has helped, but there are a lot of minimum wage jobs” (P5). One resident was asked the same question and responded, “The short answer is yes, the long answer would be that we’ve really compromised ourselves to benefit because the low skilled jobs that are involved with tourism, the front desk staff, housekeeping” (P11). Another resident had a similar response, “I would have said that at one point but not now, no. Just because of the problems that have arisen from tourism. I know people here that are working two and three jobs just to keep their heads above water so it’s not a good situation that way” (P7). Collingwood Labour Council president Murray Doupe echoed the concerns of residents as he stated in the Collingwood Enterprise-Bulletin, “All of the problems we’re facing with infrastructure, old sewers, all of that it’s going to come down to the taxpayer to pay for these things, and if we don’t have good-paying jobs, we’re in trouble. Tourism jobs are welcome, but they are low paying” (Holden, 2006). While most residents interviewed discussed the employment growth as a result of tourism as a benefit, many

expressed a degree of uncertainty over the overall benefit to the community, often citing the caveat of low wage employment.

4.3.2 Economic Development

Many residents who participated in the study do not believe that tourism is the best economic development strategy for the region, despite its dominance of the local economy. In fact, the opposite is true in Collingwood - many residents interviewed believe that the region needs economic diversity because it is too dependent on tourism as a means of economic development. Resident participants were asked if they believe tourism is the best economic development strategy for the region and only three residents believe that it is the best, another three argued that while it may be the best, it has significant limitations, while half of the residents stated that the community is over-reliant on tourism as a form of economic development and that the region needs greater economic diversity.

One resident who believes tourism is the best economic development strategy commented “It’s ideally situated geographically, we’ve got the Escarpment and the Great Lakes” (P6). Another resident argued that tourism is the only viable economic development option as she commented, “If we don’t have it, we’ll be dead. It’s necessary” (P5). Three residents interviewed believe that tourism is the best economic development strategy for the region but with caveats. This is exemplified as one resident remarked “Tourism could be number one right now but we do need a backup. Weather is a big factor” (P1).

Despite these views in support of tourism as an economic development option, half of residents interviewed argue that the community needs greater economic diversity. When one resident was asked if tourism is the best economic development strategy for the region he replied, “No

and we definitely need another form of economic development whether it be industry or high tech. There are minimal work options for kids (when they grow up), unless you're really skilled, and those jobs are very few, most of the jobs are minimum wage" (P14). When another resident was asked the same question she replied "Well it can't be the only, the area isn't going to survive on tourism, we need to have other employment. Let's face it, there's always a lull in tourism and you can't do it without other industries" (P8). Another resident shared a similar concern about the over reliance as it was stated,

Our whole economy is tourism based; we need to diversify a bit, we still need that middle income group. If there's an economic downturn in tourism, with tourism gone, you're dead. If we have another Nortel, a lot of people are going to lose their second homes and there's spin-offs from that, a lot of people have landscaping businesses and things like that which would be negatively affected too (P10).

While many residents interviewed believe that the Collingwood region needs greater economic diversity, an even greater number of residents believe that the region's reliance on tourism has led to the loss of the middle segment of the local economy.

4.3.3 Eroding Middle of Economy

Almost two thirds of residents interviewed expressed concern about the shift within the local economy from relatively high paying, secure manufacturing employment to typically low wage, unstable tourism jobs. One resident remarked,

I think things have happened that they said would happen (a group of local town councilors and citizens that went to examine the impact of another Intrawest development) they went down to Mont Tremblant and found that there are really rich and really poor people and the middle class all moved out, they said that is what would happen and I think that is basically what has happened (in the Collingwood region) (P4).

Another resident discussed concerns about the local economy in relation to tourism, "We perpetuate low cost, low wage employment, there's very little in the middle and less at the top in

this town” (P11). Furthermore, when one resident was asked what the most serious problems associated with tourism were he remarked,

Wal-Mart is supposed to open in a few months and they are probably going to hire 200 people, but again it will largely be part-time, low wage jobs. Over the past 10 or 15 years we’ve had many factories close so we are losing good paying jobs and getting low wage jobs instead (P14).

It is apparent that there is significant concern among resident participants that the transition from a manufacturing to a service based economy has resulted in a net loss to the local economy.

4.3.4 Economic Benefits Not Equally Distributed

Residents who were interviewed for the study were asked if they believe that the community as a whole has economically benefited from tourism and some stated that they believe the average person has not benefited. One resident stated, “I don’t think that people that are actually working for tourism area benefiting, being that minimum wage is \$7.85. OK, yeah, I don’t think tourism is doing very well economically, if they’re expecting to pay their full-time staff such a minimal amount for what they’re reaping” (P1). Another resident commented, “I think it’s very specific who’s benefiting, it’s the rich getting richer and the poor getting poorer. The developers are certainly making their money” (P12). The economic benefit of tourism is questioned by another resident with the remark, “The whole community is not getting rich from it (tourism), it’s the developers who are getting rich, not the residents” (P2). This group of residents clearly believe that the average resident in the community is not economically benefiting from of tourism.

4.4 Political

In this section the political issues which relate to tourism in the Collingwood region will be discussed. Residents' visions for the future as it relates to tourism development within the region will be examined, as well as their views on the Collingwood town council. Moreover, this section will present residents' views on the municipal boundary which politically separates the town of Collingwood and Town of the Blue Mountains.

4.4.1 Vision for the Future

Some residents interviewed expressed concerns about the lack of a future vision for tourism development within the community. One resident stated,

I think one of the problems here is that there hasn't been a grand vision, I'm sure that each councilor has their own, what they want to see happen, but each person's only one voice and because they change every four years you get something in place and then that changes. Our town council is pretty good I think about trying to keep along a path but I feel that at the moment it's getting out of hand (P5).

The need for community visioning was stated by one resident, "What needs to first be decided is who are we as a community and what do we need in order to become who we want to be" (P13). Another resident said, "We're great at promoting the area but we're not great at making sure it's (growth) done properly and unfortunately it just isn't happening, so we've got to be smart about what's going to happen in the future" (P8). Rick Moore, a spokesperson for the Georgian Triangle Development Institute, a local group of planning and development professionals dedicated to promoting sustainable development, discussed the need for a regional plan,

We don't have one overall plan for this particular area, it's a series of independent pieces, and we don't want Collingwood and the township (Town of the Blue Mountains) to meet in 20 years and say how could this have happened. Such an important area should have a coordinated vision (Giilck, 2004c).

There was a clear sense among residents interviewed that the region needs a long-term vision for tourism development within the region.

In 2000, there was a community visioning exercise called Vision 2020 which sought residents' vision of how they would like to see the town of Collingwood develop in the future. Residents interviewed generally viewed Vision 2020 as a useful exercise; however, some thought that it was ineffective because the ideas generated were impractical. One resident said, "Years ago there was a one year study done called vision 2020 and basically they (Collingwood town council) haven't followed any of the recommendations and all the residents took the time to fill out the surveys and send them back and put in their input" (P2). The benefits of resident involvement in the Vision 2020 process was discussed by one resident,

I thought they had a good idea, there were a lot of good ideas but they (Collingwood town council) sort of lost track of a lot of the ideas, most of the stuff was good. I think they should do more with those ideas, and at least it was something where people had some input, the community was asked for their opinion (P4).

Furthermore, another resident commented, "That was a spectacular plan and that's happened to a few things here, where they've done the research and nothing's happened. There's a lot of pressure from a lot of different corners, it's a touchy subject here" (P5). The concern of resident participants regarding the lack of implementation of many of the Vision 2020 recommendations was mirrored by Morgan Ian Adams, editor of the Collingwood Enterprise-Bulletin as he commented in an editorial, "Vision 2020 became a bit of a political football when council didn't act as fast as it should have, and then it didn't act at all when questions were asked about why the heck nothing was happening with the document" (Adams, 2004). While some residents interviewed call for the implementation of many of the Vision 2020 recommendations; other resident participants have reservations about the effectiveness of Vision 2020 as several recommendations have been criticized as unrealistic. This is exemplified as one resident

remarked, “They haven’t really figured out how to sustain the ideas into the future, such as the expense involved in maintaining many of the expensive ideas” (P3). Shelley Houston

(GTCBED) discussed her views on the two different Vision 2020 initiatives in the past 5 years,

I was on the original Vision 2020 and it was a lot of blue sky, wouldn’t it be great if..... Some suggestions are still pretty out there but there are some good valid ones, and people that were on Vision 20/20 were pretty knowledgeable people, and even the second group, were well thought out decisions.

The tourism industry key informant commented on some of the reasons why she believes that the Vision 2020 initiatives have had mixed results,

Vision 2020 was a very good process but it was a wish list, and a lot of it is not feasible, but there were some basic things that could be done and I think the council looked at the things they could do. One of the problems with the project was that it led to an expectation on the part of the people that participated that something would happen and a sense of resentment when it didn’t. But I think that if residents were to attend a focus group where the reality and the limitations of what is possible are shown to them and if there is a way to get around it somebody will find it, but if you can’t, you’ve got to work with what you have and there are limitations to what municipalities have and can do and I think residents have to understand that.

Most residents interviewed feel that the Vision 2020 process was a positive exercise as it gave residents a direct voice on community issues, while key informants discussed the limitations of implementation.

Many of the residents who participated in the study believe that the Collingwood region is in a state of flux as it is in the process of transforming from a town to a city. This is a concern for residents because there is a sense of uncertainty about the future of the region. One resident stated,

When I see development I see it as a potential trend that alarms me, in terms of the big box stores, the Wal-Mart that’s going up, the big Canadian Tire, and once that starts do we have a handle on what it’s going to be like? A good friend of mine said ‘Collingwood needs to determine what it wants to be when it

grows up, does it want to be a small resort town or does it want to be a city?' (P13).

Furthermore, another resident discussed concern over the future of the region, "Collingwood is no longer a town, now it's a city, with Wal-Mart and Home Depot.....Five years ago it (tourism growth) wasn't that bad, now I don't know what it will be like five years from now" (P14). There is a distinct sense of uncertainty over the future of the community with respect to development as many residents interviewed feel that the Collingwood region is at a cross-road and that this is a critical point in time requiring comprehensive planning for the future.

4.4.2 Town Council

The Collingwood town council has been criticized by some residents who were interviewed for catering to developers before its citizens. One resident discussed how the town council has given in to development pressures,

Recently a developer tore down our former Collegiate and proposed a six story condo/retail establishment despite the fact that this building was in the heritage district which has a height limit of three stories. It would appear that the council is more receptive to the wants of developers than of the citizens (P4).

Another resident remarked, "The town council of Collingwood have squandered and continue to waste large quantities of taxpayers dollars, municipal resources, and public assets on tourism and development to the detriment of Collingwood's residents" (P12). One resident stated, "I think town council has tunnel vision, they tend to look at the short term and not long-term, they don't look around the corner, down the road" (P14). Len Popp, a board member of the Blue Mountain Watershed Trust Foundation (BMWTF) (local environmental organization), was interviewed as a key informant, discussed the disadvantage that councilors are at when they are working with developers,

A developer knows every inch of his business and he's working with people on council that don't necessarily have any particular knowledge on anything that he's talking about and they have to

depend on advice from their specialists in their departments and the provisions that are made by committees and outside organizations. That's a very clumsy way of trying to deal with someone who is really focused on something they know a lot about, and it is an unfair relationship in that respect.

Some residents interviewed feel that the Collingwood town council has given in to development pressures at the expense of local residents. Somewhat surprisingly, the Town of the Blue Mountains town council was not discussed by any of the residents interviewed. This may be because only three of the 14 resident participants reside in Town of the Blue Mountains. Furthermore, this could be attributed to greater development pressures within the town of Collingwood and its higher profile, as the newspaper content analysis revealed that the vast majority of articles addressing local politics focus on the Collingwood town council.

Despite the negative views of the Collingwood town council, other residents interviewed argue that being a municipal politician is extremely difficult during high growth periods and that they are doing a decent job. One resident stated, "I would never want to be a politician here, I don't know how they do it, they take nothing but slack from people. The people that want the services complain and people that don't want them complain, it's coming at them from both sides" (P7). Another resident discussed how the Collingwood town council has done a good job of preserving the character of downtown Collingwood, "As much as people complain about the town council they have done a good job of maintaining the decor of the town and the true nature of the town.....the town is very structured in what they will allow and what they won't allow" (P9). Furthermore, the tourism industry key informant remarked, "The Town of Blue Mountains has issues that they're dealing with right now that you couldn't even imagine, the residents think it's all black and white and the politicians are wrestling with 100 shades of grey and it's extremely difficult to be in municipal government during growth phases". There is a clear

dichotomy of views on the effectiveness of local government in managing the high rate of growth which the region is currently experiencing.

While residents interviewed generally discussed issues relating to both municipalities within the study area for issues relating to growth, the economy, and the environment, when it came to political issues many residents viewed such issues exclusively from the perspective of their own municipality. This is likely because residents have an indirect say in political issues as they are represented by councilors who make decisions on their behalf. Therefore, when residents have a view or problem with an issue within the political realm they generally reference it within the context of the narrowly defined political boundaries, despite the agreement that the boundaries do not represent wider social, economic, and environmental relationships within the region.

4.4.3 Municipal Boundaries

Some residents identified the municipal boundary between Collingwood and the Town of the Blue Mountains as a problem for planning within the region. One resident stated,

They (political boundaries) are a problem because it's not just two townships in one county, it's two counties and I think that's a problem because they (Town of Blue Mountains and Grey) get all the taxes for this stuff (tourism related) and we (Collingwood) get all the traffic going through here to get to the mountain (P4).

Another resident commented, "One of the problems as far as development goes is that because there are different planning regulations from one municipality to the next developers will just go to whatever municipality will help them the most" (P9). Peter Tollefsen (TOBM) discussed how both towns are cooperating to reduce boundary problems and how the municipal boundary is not a significant problem,

The Town of the Blue Mountains and Collingwood have formed a joint municipal services board to look at the use of joint services, for example we're going to be using Collingwood's water, road improvements related to the ski development that happens to be

in our town but the roads coming in go through Collingwood so the transportation issues have been looked at on a regional basis and from a planning perspective there has been talk of having a joint planning authority for the two municipalities and through the joint municipal services board planning issues have been discussed quite regularly.

Shelley Houston (GTCBED) believes that the county boundaries, not the municipal ones are the larger problem as she stated,

It's not so much a problem between Collingwood and Town of the Blue Mountains, it's getting much better and they actually have a joint municipal services board now. In terms of getting consistent planning and consistent signage that's a problem, but where the real problem is the county boundaries. That's the biggest issue, because the municipalities can work together but you throw in a whole other upper tier, it's much more difficult.

While there is some concern among resident participants regarding the ability to plan for tourism and development in general, the key informants believe that the joint municipal services board is an effective means of inter-municipal planning.

A few residents who participated in the study believe that amalgamating Collingwood and Town of the Blue Mountains would benefit tourism planning as well as planning in general. One resident stated, "I think if there was a joint council with everyone involved, it would take a lot of effort because everyone would bicker, but that would probably be a better way of dealing with growth issues" (P9). The desire for amalgamation is expressed by another resident, "Blue Mountain is basically part of Collingwood, basically when you're driving up there you don't see a difference, so I think they need to redefine the borders of what's Collingwood and Town of Blue Mountains" (P10). Another resident commented, "Wouldn't it be great in the best case scenario to see Collingwood and Town of the Blue Mountains develop a tourism plan together" (P11). One resident argued against amalgamation and said, "The trend is to sort of unite communities for the common good and I don't know whether it actually does the common good, I think it's more of tax grab than anything because communities are unique" (P6). Despite this view, many

residents interviewed feel that it would be easier to manage tourism growth in the region if Collingwood and Town of the Blue Mountains amalgamated or had a joint planning body.

4.5 Environment

This section will examine residents' perceptions of the impacts of tourism on the local environment. The two dominant themes which emerged from the interviews include concerns over the proposed Castle Glen development and the rapid rate of golf course development.

4.5.1 Castle Glen Development

The resort and housing development known as Castle Glen is an issue of concern for most residents interviewed as almost 80 percent oppose the development, while one individual was in favour and two stated that they didn't know enough about the development to comment. The development has been partially approved and if fully approved would include 1,800 housing units, 3 golf courses, retail stores, and one hotel. The vast majority of residents who participated in the study were opposed to the development because of environmental concerns. One resident commented, "It's supposed to go on the escarpment which is a biosphere. I know the area (where the development is planned) and it's beautiful. That's going to compromise the whole environment up there so much" (P11). Another resident stated, "That (Castle Glen) to me has got to be looked at very closely, again you're on top of the escarpment and that's a jewel that we have and it has to be preserved" (P8). Furthermore, when discussing the proposed development one resident said, "I think it's a horrible thing to have happen to the escarpment. I know a great deal about it and the fact that it has a big history of grandfathering of approvals for development I think is a poor excuse to put development up on the escarpment" (P12). There is also opposition to the Castle Glen development from a local resident group, the Castle Glen Ratepayers Association, who's concerns are voiced by Michael Robins, "I can certainly state

that we still have a fundamental problem with a development of this size and scope going on such an environmentally sensitive site on the escarpment, a World Biosphere Reserve' (Gillick, 2004b). Len Popp (BMWTF) shared similar concerns regarding the development of Castle Glen,

Silver Creek has at its mouth a big wetland and that is what our big concern is currently and its headwaters are right up at Castle Glen and the guys building Castle Glen didn't even know it and they had planned on building a golf course right across the headwaters of Silver Creek and it's considered the best trout spawning stream in all of Georgian Bay and they didn't even know it was there, and they didn't even know after their environmental experts had gone in to do their assessments, it tells you a lot.

In addition to opposition of the large housing component of Castle Glen, many residents interviewed expressed concern over the golf courses proposed as part of the development.

Some residents who participated in the study are concerned about the impact that the proposed golf courses on the Castle Glen site would have on the fragile escarpment topography and the local water table. One resident discussed her concern over the proposed development, "I think the concern with Castle Glen is now-a-days everyone is very aware of where water is going, where it is coming from and the golf courses use a lot of fertilizers" (P3). Moreover, a local resident activist group called the Castle Glen Ratepayers Association (CGRA) has been fighting against this development at the Ontario Municipal Board. The CGRA argues that the Castle Glen site is located on karst topography, which contains highly porous limestone rock formations with fissures and underground caves which could allow pollutants from golf courses to seep into the water table (Loopstra, 2004).

4.5.2 Golf Course Development

Due to the rapid growth in the number of golf courses in the Collingwood region several resident participants are concerned about their impact on the local environment. One resident remarked,

“The amount of golf courses that we have in this area, it’s coming to the point where you hear about another course being built and you think, ‘oh my gosh, how many do we need’, it doesn’t make sense really when you’re talking about the environment, the herbicides, the water that’s needed” (P8). Furthermore, another resident stated,

They’re planning something like 30 golf courses for this area and that’s something that’s very bad for the environment..... There are some people who want to develop a golf course in a wetland down here and we’ve been fighting it for years and the town doesn’t want it, the resident’s don’t want it, the developers keep going to a higher and higher court and they are not giving up and this results in a high cost to the local people through tax dollars to fight that, and it’s the last remaining Class A wetland on Georgian Bay (P7).

The rapid development of several golf courses in the Collingwood region is a cause for concern among some residents interviewed as they are worried about the environmental impacts of the number and location of new golf courses.

4.6 Desirable Tourism Development

The forms of tourism which residents consider desirable will be discussed in this section.

Understand the forms of tourism which residents view as desirable is important because local residents are typically the entrepreneurs who start up tourism related business and have a good knowledge of the local market. Specifically, this section will examine the views of residents who believe that nature-based and/or ecotourism and cultural tourism are desirable forms of tourism development.

4.6.1 Nature-based/Ecotourism

Residents who participated in the study were asked what forms of tourism they consider desirable for the Collingwood region and more than half stated that nature-based and/or

ecotourism is the most desirable form of tourism for the area. One resident commented that he would like to see,

The kind of tourism that is not noisy, can take place unobtrusively, probably relates to nature and the environment, because we have nature trails and the kind of people who enjoy nature and trails and the water and wetlands, so I think that's one kind of interest that I think would benefit this community more than perhaps any other because these people don't have many demands on the community. (P6).

When another resident was asked what types of tourism is desirable it was stated, "I think ecotourism, I think that's probably one of the most important opportunities and I don't think that we've really marketed that very well" (P11). Another resident had a similar response to the same question and said, "I think nature tourism and adventure tourism, with the scenic caves and the walking bridge and a lot of people come hiking and mountain biking and that's great and people aren't really bothering anyone so that kind of tourism is great" (P9). The majority of residents interviewed believe that activities that relate to the natural features of the region are the most desirable form of tourism which should be promoted in the future.

Some resident participants stated that they would like future tourism development to be equally rooted in preservation in addition to the promotion of the region's nature-based attractions. One resident remarked, "I would like to see them focus on the natural features of the area, protecting what we have" (P7). Another resident stressed the importance of preservation of nature-based attractions with the comment,

On the nature side of tourism, they don't need to promote or develop anything, people know it's here. They need to leave the scenic caves the way it is, leave Castle Glen the way it is, leave other parts of the escarpment the way they are and let passive tourism, not adventure tourism. Canoeing down the Beaver River, you take the canoe home and no one even knew you were there (P12).

Furthermore, another resident stated, “I would like to see more tourism based on nature. I just had a walk yesterday on the Georgian Trail and I saw woodpeckers, the most beautiful butterfly, a frog – that has to be maintained, we have to have these wetlands to have this for the next generation” (P8). These residents believe that the preservation of the natural attractions is critical to the future of tourism in the Collingwood region.

4.6.2 Cultural Tourism

Some of the residents interviewed believe that there is potential for cultural tourism in Collingwood region and that it would be a desirable form of tourism to promote. When residents were asked what forms of tourism they consider desirable five of fourteen residents interviewed discussed the potential for cultural tourism. One resident said, “We’ve got a great theatre here and artistic programs and there’s a lot of musicians and painters that live in the area, so I think we could definitely do packages where there’s some plays and art and dining and stay at a B and B, more cultural tourism” (P2). Another resident discussed the lack of exposure of some of the regions cultural attractions, “We have a spectacular museum, our library showcases a lot of art, we have lots of music, and I’m not sure how much people know about that” (P5).

Furthermore, another resident discussed the lack of exposure for cultural activities, “We’ve got a lot of heritage in this area, we’ve got the depot (historic train station and museum), we’re part of the underground railroad, there’s just a million things and cultural tourism is pretty much overlooked” (P11). Another resident discussed the large potential market for cultural tourism, “I see a lot of people who are 40 and up, early retirement, from Toronto and that’s who you’re getting so cultural things tend to be a little more important at that age than the younger group” (P10). These residents believe that there is potential for the region to capitalize on cultural tourism because of the potential attractions already present in the area in combination with the growing baby boomer and early retirement population.

4.7 Summary of Findings

This section has examined a wealth of findings on resident's perceptions of tourism. Issues related to tourism growth and suburban-style growth made up a large share of the sub-themes which emerged from this research. The economic section examined a variety of economic impacts related to tourism, while the political section addressed residents' views on the influence of local politics and political boundaries on tourism. The environmental section looked at issues where tourism impacts the local environment, and the section on desirable tourism examined the forms of tourism which residents believe are more desirable. The next chapter contains the discussion and will examine the implications of these findings.

5.0 DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

The intent of this chapter is to analyze the key findings and examine them in relation to past research to determine consistencies and discrepancies. This chapter will also illustrate how the various themes are interrelated, the significance of these relationships, and the over-riding conclusions which have emerged from the analysis. The first section discussed in this chapter is growth implications and it will follow up on the findings discussed in the growth section of chapter 4 and relate them to the literature on resident perceptions. The growth section will also highlight how growth machine theory and chaos theory are related to the findings. This is followed by the economic implications section which will revisit the findings discussed in the economic section of chapter 4 by examining the implications of residents' perceptions of the economic benefits of tourism, economic development, and economic diversification. The final section of this chapter will analyze residents' views on desirable forms of tourism. One of the intents of the discussion chapter is also to establish connections between the various themes and sub-themes in an attempt to gain a greater understand of Collingwood region's tourism system, therefore, some of the findings are discussed under different themes and sub-themes. Furthermore, this chapter will also discuss a few over-riding conclusions which have emerged from the analysis, which were not based on one theme or sub-theme, but from the collective analysis of all of the findings in combination with the relevant literature.

It is recognized that the Collingwood resident sample is not a representative sample and the vast majority of cited studies are based on representative survey data, thus making direct comparisons to most previous studies difficult. Therefore, comparisons between this study's

findings and previous research discussed in this chapter are based on similar topics of study, not necessarily methods of study.

This research produced several unexpected findings when considering the literature on residents' perception of tourism. Many residents interviewed discussed the impact of tourism on health services, big box development, residential development, tourism employee shortages and transportation issues, and the risk of destroying the character and the initial attraction of the region; all of which are issues that were not addressed in most resident perception studies.

Many of these issues surfaced from open ended questions which allowed residents to express the issues that were especially relevant to them. This is one of the advantages of conducting semi-structured interviews over the use of a questionnaire, where responses are limited to the prior knowledge of the researcher in combination with standard questions that have been used in other studies. The semi-structured interview method allowed for a broad range of responses and probing which resulted in breadth and depth of findings which likely would not have been discovered if a survey was used as the primary research method like most resident perception studies.

After concluding discussions with both residents and key informants it became clear that residents' views on tourism were complex, in that everyone interviewed discussed both positive and negative impacts of tourism in the Collingwood region. Many residents would discuss a positive impact of tourism, yet in the same breath discuss a related negative impact. For example, when one resident was asked if the community as a whole has economically benefited from tourism she replied, "Well yes because it picked up the jobs that we lost in industry, so it has helped in that sense, and if you think minimum wage jobs are ok, then yes it has helped, but there are a lot of minimum wage jobs" (P5). Furthermore, the vast majority of residents

interviewed neither fully supported tourism nor were completely against it. There was only one resident who could be considered a staunch supporter of tourism development and only one resident who was strongly opposed to tourism development.

Most residents interviewed recognize that there are few black and white issues relating to tourism and that there are both costs and benefits of tourism in the region. Many of the quantitative, survey based studies of residents' perception of tourism have asked residents a question similar to 'do you feel that the benefits of tourism outweigh the costs?' or vice versa (see Cavus and Tanrisevdi, 2003; Getz, 1994; Johnson et al., 1994; McCool and Martin, 1994; Ryan et al., 1998; Snaith and Haley, 1999; Weaver and Lawton, 2001). The researcher felt that this type of all encompassing, black and white question is not the best means of determining residents' perceptions of tourism because it encourages a cut and dry evaluation of a complex issue. Furthermore, it is extremely difficult for one to analyze all of the past, present, and future costs and benefits of tourism and ultimately quantify a clear, unequivocal conclusion. Therefore, one of the primary intents of this study was to determine what residents' view as the costs and benefits of tourism in the Collingwood region.

5.2 Growth Implications

The number of sub-themes which emerged under the growth theme (25 of the 37) exemplifies how significant growth issues are to residents who participate in this study. This section will follow up on some of the growth themes and sub-themes identified in the previous chapter, especially those related to chaos theory and growth machine theory. Furthermore, this section will also examine the significance of growth issues which relate to multiple themes and sub-themes which exemplifies the systemic nature of tourism.

5.2.1 New Era of Growth, Same Issues as Past

While residents and key informants alike discuss how tourism, and development in general, has rapidly accelerated since Intrawest invested in Blue Mountain in 1999, many of the same issues that existed in 15 years ago prevail. Wilkinson and Murray (1991) examined the problems and opportunities resulting from tourism in the Collingwood region and many of the problems identified then still persist today. These issues of continued concern include balancing the existing lifestyle with development and growth, affordable housing, and planning and land use controls. While these issues were a concern in the past, they are likely even more pressing now because of the amplified rate of growth which has been initiated since the Intrawest development. The fact that problems relating to tourism and development identified 15 years ago appear to still be prevalent is evidence that supports the need for a long-term regional vision. This point is examined in greater detail in section 5.2.9.

5.2.2 Urban Field of Influence

The influence of the close proximity of Collingwood to the GTA is obvious in many of the comments made by residents. The connections between the GTA and Collingwood were exemplified by resident participants as all but one resident mentioned Toronto in relation to tourism and growth within the region. When residents speak of tourists, many of them do not even use the term tourists, as they often generalize using a phrase such as “Toronto people”, which exemplifies the significance of the close proximity to the GTA. Data collected from the Canadian Travel Survey indicates that approximately half of travelers to Simcoe and Grey counties (home to Collingwood and Town of the Blue Mountains) reside in the GTA, which confirms the influence of the Toronto market (Statistics Canada, 2005). Furthermore, Wilkinson and Murray’s (1991: 43) study of the Collingwood region reports on the strong connection with Toronto with by stating,

While peripheral areas with a traditional leisure industry base have long had strong connections with Toronto, it is only in the last few years that the demand for recreational resources has exploded, resulting in a rapid escalation of changes with which such areas are not capable of dealing. In this sense, Collingwood is similar to other areas (e.g. Muskoka, Kawarthas, Haliburton), but it is the multi-season nature of Collingwood's recreational resource base that makes it unique and the prime example of this situation.

Dahms and McComb's (1999) research on the influence of Toronto on Simcoe, Grey, and Bruce counties found that this region, which is home to Collingwood and Town of the Blue Mountains, is part of the outer edge of Toronto's urban field and is a major source of migrants to the region. These studies also found evidence that migrants were making a 'clean break' from the GTA, as most people who reside in these counties do not commute to the GTA. This finding is somewhat inconsistent with this study's finding in that residents discussed both commuting and non-commuting who have moved into the region. It was reported by residents that many individuals within the Collingwood region work from home offices and commute occasionally to the GTA, while many others have moved into the region and found new work or retired there. This inconsistency may be attributed to several factors which differ between the studies including the data used in Dahms and McComb's (1999) study which was based on data from 1971 to 1991, which was before the Internet was a mainstream business tool which has enabled more people to work from home. Furthermore, the study period was well before the Intrainvest development and the current phase of rapid growth which is fueling migration and the three county study area used in Dahms and McComb's (1999) study is much, much larger. Lastly the Dahms and McComb's (1999) study covers mostly rural areas as well as Bruce county which is much further from Toronto, which are factors that may contribute towards more of a 'clean break' form of migration. The Collingwood region study clearly indicates that there are significant ties between the GTA and Collingwood in terms of both tourists and migrants.

5.2.3 Urban-style Growth

Most of the residents interviewed discussed tourism as a significant component of the larger issue of urban-style growth and development. When residents were asked about their views on the rate of tourism growth in the region they would often discuss their views on the housing development boom, the growing retirement community, and the introduction of big box stores. This was also found to be the case in Shone et al.'s (2003) study of resident perceptions of tourism in two growing New Zealand destinations as many of the impacts identified by residents were related to development in general rather than tourism specifically. Many residents participants and key informants believe that tourism has been a dominant, contributing factor in the growth of the region, as many people that have retired or built second homes in the area first came up to the area as tourists and have chosen to settle in the area because of the vast number of recreational opportunities. Furthermore, the development of big box stores such as Wal-Mart and Home Depot has occurred as a result of the combination of a growing permanent and seasonal population in addition to the enormous growth in tourist visitation. Tourism directly or indirectly impacts many aspects of community life such as housing, taxes, healthcare, transportation, utilities (sewer, water, and electricity), retail, food and beverage, entertainment, and the local amenity environment. Thus, tourism in Collingwood cannot be studied as a single entity; it needs to be analyzed from a systems approach. McKercher's (1999) tourism chaos theory is a systems approach that may be able to illustrate the complexities of tourism in Collingwood region.

5.2.4 Chaos Theory

McKercher's (1999) tourism chaos theory can be used to explain the rapid evolution of tourism within Collingwood region. Chaotic systems contain both linear and non-linear change with one or the other dominating depending on the phase of the system (McKercher, 1999). Thus,

tourism can evolve in a stable, predictable, and linear fashion, until a trigger stimulates a period chaotic transformation where non-linear relationships dominate (Ibid). This form of chaotic transformation seems to have occurred in the Collingwood region as many residents interviewed commented on how the IntraWest development initiated the rapid phase of change within the region. Chaos makers dramatically shift the structure of the tourism system, resulting in a number of anticipated and unanticipated impacts. These impacts can be observed in the Collingwood region as some of the expected impacts include job creation and congestion, while some of the unanticipated impacts include the large volunteer base and health and safety concerns. Therefore, McKercher's tourism chaos theory is a model that is applicable to tourism in Collingwood region because it recognizes the complexities of interactions as well as the impact of external variables which dramatically transform the system.

One of the key characteristics of Chaos theory is that abrupt change within the system creates a power imbalance where some benefit while others are adversely affected (Ibid). This is somewhat applicable to the Collingwood region as some residents interviewed believe that the benefits of tourism have not been equally distributed. Furthermore, McKercher argues that power can be exerted at the commercial or political level and that multinational organizations and government agencies generally exert a disproportionate amount of influence over tourism destinations. Some residents who were interviewed believe that there has been a shift in power as many developers have had little opposition from local political leaders. This is exemplified as one remarked, "There have been many changes to the Official Plan to suit big business" (P2), and another comment, "The International presence is being felt and the locals are fighting to maintain some involvement with those factions" (P3). Thus, chaos theory can be applied to this case study to help explain power imbalances.

One limitation of McKercher's application of chaos theory to tourism is that it doesn't account for destination residents, only destination businesses. Residents are only discussed as a potential output – the desired and undesired impacts of tourism. However, residents are an essential component of the system as they are in constant interaction with tourists as well as a critical component of the tourism product as they provide human capital. Despite this limitation, analyzing tourism from a chaos theory approach can be a useful tool in tourism planning as it can lead to a better understanding of the relationships and impacts of the tourism system.

5.2.5 Direct, Indirect, and Induced Impacts

While tourism impact studies have traditionally focused on direct impacts, with the exception of economic impact studies, few studies examine indirect impacts in any great detail. This is especially the case with studies examining residents' perception of tourism. These studies (see Brunt and Courtney, 1999; Faulkner and Tideswell, 1997; Getz, 1994; Johnson et al., 1994; Mason and Cheyne, 2000; Prentice, 1993; Ryan et al., 1998; Smith and Krannich, 1998; Snaith and Haley, 1999; Williams and Lawson, 2001) focus on obvious direct impacts such as personal economic impacts, congestion, cost of living, quality of life, crime, and the environment.

However, these studies do not capture the multitude of indirect and induced impacts such as those found in the Collingwood region including big box development and the large volunteer base. The large volunteer base is considered an indirect impact because it is a product of the growing retirement community which has developed as a result of tourism and recreational opportunities in the region. Furthermore, the majority of past resident perception studies have not been able to capture less obvious direct impacts because they have primarily relied on questionnaire based survey data. Their questionnaire based studies require the researcher to predetermine impacts based on past research and personal knowledge for residents to rate,

which does not allow for unknown impacts to emerge. Some of the unexpected direct impacts found include health service issues and tourism employee transportation issues.

5.2.6 IntraWest

Many residents interviewed view the development of the IntraWest village as the catalyst for the accelerated rate of growth within the region and they argue that the current rate of growth is not sustainable. This finding lends support to Davis and Morais' (2004) suggestion that the rapid expansion of a large, dominant tourism operation in a rural community may not be socially sustainable. However, it is important to note that many residents interviewed do not necessarily identify the development of the IntraWest village as unsustainable; they believe that the development that has occurred in the wake of it is largely unsustainable. Twice as many residents had favourable views of IntraWest's resort village than those with critical views indicating that the IntraWest development is not the primary issue of concern for many of these resident participants.

5.2.7 Rate of Development

Generally residents interviewed did not have a problem with the type of development that has occurred in the Collingwood region, they were primarily concerned about the rate and scale of development. Concern over the rate of tourism development is not a new issue in the Collingwood region as Wilkinson and Murray's (1991) study found that lack of planning/control of growth was identified by local businesses and government agencies as by far the most serious problem affecting Collingwood. Similarly, Gill's (2000) study of tourism growth in Whistler found that the vast majority of residents believe that there should be limits to growth and that their quality of life would deteriorate if development continued at the current rate. This finding is also consistent with Johnson et al. (1994) and Davis and Morais (2004) as both

studies found that the rapid rate of development was a significant factor in residents' negative perception of tourism. The rapid rate of development in Collingwood affects almost every aspect of community life including: rapidly rising housing costs, corresponding property tax increases, congestion, lack of quality labour, increased corporate investment, big box development, and ultimately increased profitability for businesses and especially developers. The rapid rate of development in Collingwood region further supports the chaos model of tourism development because it is the only tourism model that directly accounts for rapid change.

It was found that the majority of new residents (lived in the community less than 10 years) interviewed generally had a positive view of the rate of tourism growth in the region, while none of the nine long-time residents (lived in the community more than 10 years) had a positive overall view of the rate of tourism growth. While previous resident perception studies had conflicting findings regarding the impact of length of residency on residents' perception of tourism, this finding is consistent with that of several studies (see McCool and Martin, 1994; Weaver and Lawton, 2001; Cavus and Tanrisevdi, 2003). There are likely two key differences between new and long-time residents interviewed which lead to this dichotomy: 1) the majority of new residents grew up and spent most of their lives in large urban centres and are used to high rates of growth whereas long-time residents of Collingwood are accustomed to relatively low rates of growth; and 2) the new residents first visited Collingwood as a tourist during peak times such as weekends and the summer months and were only exposed to Collingwood as a tourist destination, whereas long-time residents grew up in Collingwood during a time when it was a small, quaint, and relatively unknown town. One implication of this finding for tourism planning is that the views of both new and long-time residents should be addressed in an effort

to acknowledge the views of an evolving community. This issue will be examined in greater detail in the Recommendations section (see Recommendation 1 in section 6.3).

5.2.8 Carrying Capacity

While it is extremely difficult to quantify the point at which a destination has reached its carrying capacity; examining the views of residents can be used as an indicator of a destination's ability to accommodate tourism as residents are both active participants in the tourism product and the group that are most directly impacted by tourism. Cavus and Tanrisevdi (2003) recommend that despite the difficulty in determining carrying capacity of destination communities researchers should focus on this analysis to better determine how residents are impacted by tourism. The analysis of residents' comments on the rate of growth in the Collingwood region indicated that half of the residents interviewed believe that the growth is approaching, or has crossed, a point of saturation and that no new growth is desirable. Comments such as "I think we're a little bit beyond our sustainability" (P11), "I don't think we can support more tourism than we have right now (P5), and "It's way beyond anyone's control" (P7) indicate residents participants believe that the Collingwood region is nearing or at carrying capacity. While several studies have used proxies such as residents' positive or negative perceptions of tourism or retail sales figures as indicators of carrying capacity (See Allen et al., 1988; Johnson et al., 1994; Long et al., 1990); only Shone et al. (2003) applies a direct measure of carrying capacity by examining residents desire for future tourism. The Collingwood region case study represents an even more direct measure of carrying capacity in that not only were residents asked about their future vision of tourism in the community, but it yielded specific comments on carrying capacity. Gill and Williams (1994) argue that despite the difficulties in precisely identifying carrying capacity; the establishment of a community-defined carrying capacity can be practically applied to a growth management planning process.

The views of study participants on where they believe the Collingwood region is positioned on Doxey's Irridex and Butler's Destination Life Cycle also sheds some light on the region's carrying capacity. The fact that almost 80 percent of residents who participated in this study believe that Collingwood is currently in the Annoyance stage of Doxey's Irridex indicates that there is significant concern about the ability of the region to accommodate increasingly large volumes of tourists. Furthermore, greater than two-thirds of residents interviewed believe that Collingwood is in the development stage of Butler's Destination Life Cycle and many of these residents discussed their concern about the region experiencing decline in the future as the initial appeal of the region is being compromised. Collectively, these findings indicate that there is significant concern among residents over the long-term sustainability of the Collingwood region.

5.2.9 Growth Machine

Only a few studies have examined the application of growth machine theory in tourism destinations (see Canan and Hennessy, 1989; Gill, 2000; Madrigal, 1995; Martin, 1999). While growth machine theory has received little attention in tourism literature, Harrill (2004) and Martin (1999) argue that growth machine theory has significant potential for illustrating the dynamics of tourism development. Molotch argues that the political and economic nature of virtually any given location in the American context is growth. It was clearly identified by residents interviewed that tourism cannot be discussed as an entity in itself; it is a component of a larger system of growth and development within the Collingwood region. The fact that many resident participants considered continued growth within the region inevitable, regardless of the negative impacts, contributes to the notion of the Collingwood region as a growth machine.

Furthermore, the tourism industry key informant discussed the current rate of growth in the region,

It's called progress, you don't stop it and you don't mandate the way in which it grows, because we are a very attractive four seasons area.....Every small town in Ontario right now is experiencing growth if they are in any kind of attractive area, including Muskoka and development is going to meet the demand.

The sense among many resident participants and key informants that growth is inevitable supports the growth machine theory.

Molotch (1976) argues that there is a clear pattern of development in cases where growth machines are prevalent as he believes that there is an initial expansion of basic industries followed by an expansion of the labour force, a rising scale of retail development leading to widespread and intensive land development ultimately leading to higher population density and increased financial activity. This pattern of development essentially explains Collingwood region's growth pattern as tourism is the dominant industry of the region and the development of the Intrawest resort village represented a major expansion within the industry which has led to a significant expansion of the tourism/service sector labour force. Furthermore, the Intrawest village development contains a large retail component and numerous big box stores and chain restaurants have been developed. The widespread land development and increasing population density is exemplified by the 4,000 housing units currently in various stages of development in the town of Collingwood alone, not to mention the rapid growth in tourist visitation (Adams, 2005). Moreover, the increasing financial activity in Collingwood region can be observed on several fronts ranging from the 500 million dollar Intrawest development to the fact that, according to the tourism industry key informant, Collingwood region has the second largest amount of investment capital in Ontario behind only Oakville. This pattern of

development mirror's Whistler's development which Gill (2000) argues represents a classic example of a local growth machine.

The business plan behind Intrawests' resort villages is predicated on the growth machine philosophy, where development occurs in stages and each stage creates more demand for future development (see Figure 3). The first three stages of Figure 3 outline how Intrawest first creates demand for tourism by constructing an amenity village which leads to more visitors and increased revenues. Stages four through six represent the transition towards creating demand for real estate and addition development around the village. The real estate component of their business model is the key to their financial success as Intrawest typically owns a large swath of land surrounding their villages. Intrawests' resort villages are designed to generate a real estate boom where they develop condo-hotel units and housing as the value of real estate increases. Thus, the localized inflation of real estate values is a pillar of Intrawest's business plan as it allows them to build additional condo-hotel units and permanent homes over time as the value of real estate continues to escalate. The use of condo-hotel units is a key component in creating demand for not only tourism but future real estate sales as condo owners are forced to have their units available for rental for several weeks throughout peak season.

Figure 3

Intrawest's Success Formula	
1.	We start with a resort and enhance the experience.
2.	Then build an animated village so people stay longer.
3.	All this attracts more visitors who come more often, spend more money and bring their friends.
4.	More real estate is built and attractions are added, drawing yet more people.
5.	More people, more often, leads to the expansion of year-round facilities, maximizing use of shops, hotels, convention facilities and restaurants.
6.	As occupancy and room rates climb, so does demand for resort real estate, creating a surge in real estate sales.
7.	All this results in a total resort experience which brings year-round destination visitors, generating financial critical mass which...
8.	Leads to more resorts. Network synergy results in a compounding effect on the company's revenue streams and growth through time.

Source: Intrawest (2005).

The localized inflation is not just restricted to the immediate area around the village; it has also contributed to the dramatic increase in housing costs throughout the Collingwood region. This is illustrated as one resident remarked,

The price of the (housing) unit's right at the base of the village is astronomical; you'd have to have some pretty heavy pockets to even think about getting in there, \$250, \$300 per square foot. Now certainly prices have tended to have gone up, not to the extent of the mountain, but it's creeping up. When prices ripple out and increase throughout the community, that's when people are going to get caught in that wave and be pushed out of the community (P13).

This statement exemplifies the impact of the Intrawest development on real estate values on their developments as well as the ripple effect which has inflated values throughout the region.

According to Molotch (1976) the clearest indication of growth is population growth. Anticipated growth in tourist visitation as well as population growth exemplifies the impact of the growth machine in Collingwood. A study conducted by KPMG on behalf of Intrawest projected that the Intrawest resort village will ultimately result in an increase of visits from approximately 650,000 to 2 million when the village is complete (Vision 2020 Committee and the Town of Collingwood, 2000). This figure just represents Intrawest visitors, not to mention non-Intrawest visitation throughout the region. Furthermore, the population of Collingwood region is projected to almost triple in the next 20 years, from 22,115 in 2002 to 60,000 in 2020 (Centre for Business and Economic Development and Human Resources Development Canada, 2003). Gill's (2000) analysis of Whistler's growth machine found that the most notable indicator of growth in Whistler was the rapid growth in residential population. The projections of dramatic increases in both visitation and residential population in the Collingwood region are evidence of a local growth machine.

Local governments face a difficult and somewhat paradoxical mandate of balancing the promotion of growth with their responsibility to regulate growth (Madrigal, 1995; Martin, 1999). However, Molotch (1976) argues that in growth machine environments governments often concede to development pressures, effectively functioning in coalition with businesses and developers. Some residents interviewed questioned the ability of the local town councils to balance development pressures with the desires of many residents to preserve the character of the region by limiting growth. This finding is consistent with Gill's (2000) analysis of the Whistler growth machine where a history of pro-growth political leaders facilitated a phase of rampant development. Therefore, the apparent pro-growth policies of both Collingwood and Town of the Blue Mountains are consistent with the growth machine theory.

The views of resident participants on the current rate of growth in the Collingwood region are quite varied, as just over half believe the current rate of growth is unmanageable, while others interviewed argue that current growth is being adequately managed. Molotch (1976) argues that growth machines inevitably result in the fragmentation of the local community, as residents adopt various stances on growth. Significant anti-growth views exist among resident participants as greater than half believe that the current rate of growth is unmanageable and half stated that their vision for the future is no new growth. This finding is consistent with Molotch's thesis as he argues that in cases where there are conflicting views on growth between residents, developers, business leaders, and government the potential for an antigrowth movement exists. Furthermore, the antigrowth movement is developing an organized structure in the Collingwood region as a group of residents and ratepayers called Voices of the Electorate was developed in the Fall of 2005. The mandate of this group is to "Encourage good local governance that respects and promotes our quality of life by understanding the unique and special character of Collingwood should guide growth decisions rather than having growth affect the character of the town" (VOTE Collingwood, 2006). Significant antigrowth sentiments also exist among resident participants for the planned Castle Glen development as almost 80 percent of residents interviewed opposed the development and two formally organized community groups also opposed the development. Gill's (2000) study also found that strong antigrowth sentiments exist in Whistler as 90 percent of residents believed that there should be limits to growth and development and 66 percent believed that if growth continued at the present rate their quality of life would deteriorate.

One key issue Molotch (1976) does not directly discuss is the role of demand within the growth machine. While Molotch extensively examines the supply side of the growth equation, in terms of land and by extension developers; he largely ignores the role of demand in fueling growth.

This oversight is also apparent in his theory that anti-growth movements should provide a counter-balance to unrestrained growth leading to the implementation of growth controls which limit population growth, ultimately resulting in the destruction of the growth machine. However, this theory largely ignores the role of demand as limiting the supply of land often merely redistributes development into surrounding jurisdictions, rather than limiting it. Furthermore, growth controls often result in even greater inflation of land values and home ownership costs. As a result of the limitations of growth controls, many jurisdictions have implemented growth management policies in an attempt to better manage development pressures.

5.2.10 Growth Management

The belief of many residents interviewed that the rate of growth within the region is unmanageable and that limits to future growth is desirable indicate a need for some form of growth management. Some tourism destinations such as Banff, Alberta have attempted to manage rapid growth by implementing growth controls (Dearden and Dempsey, 2004). While such strict restrictions on growth limit the supply of land they do not address demand side issues and they often result in rising real estate costs which limits affordable housing and increases property taxes. The lack of affordable housing and rising property taxes have been identified by most resident participants and key informants as significant negative impacts within the Collingwood region, therefore a form of growth management may be an attractive option in managing growth. Growth management is an attractive option for residents of rapidly growing tourism destinations because it involves a multi-stakeholder approach where resident input is considered an essential component of the planning process (Gill and Williams, 1994). Somewhat surprisingly Gill's (2000) study is the only resident perception of tourism study which discusses growth management. Whistler, BC operates under a growth management strategy that has evolved from an initial goal of create a world class resort destination to a current

mandate of providing facilities and affordable housing for residents (Gill, 2000; Gill and Williams, 1994). Perhaps the greatest strength of growth management plans, the ability to constantly update and revise when new considerations emerge, may also be their greatest weakness as new leadership and/or shortsightedness may neglect long-term visioning. However, the implementation of a growth management policy in combination with community visioning and long-term planning should provide Collingwood with solid foundation to guide future growth. While the Town of the Blue Mountains discusses growth management in its Official Plan, it does not have a specific growth management plan; it simply states that its Official Plan also acts as a growth management plan. Furthermore, the town of Collingwood does not have a growth management plan. Therefore, there is a strong need for a regional growth management plan that directs growth for Collingwood, Town of the Blue Mountains, and other high growth communities in the region such as Wasaga Beach.

5.2.11 Affordable Housing

The relationship between tourism growth and affordable housing is critical to understanding residents' perception of tourism in the Collingwood region as all 14 residents interviewed discussed affordable housing as a negative impact of tourism. This finding is consistent with previous studies which have examined the impact of tourism on affordable housing (see Krausse, 1995; Prentice, 1993; Ryan and Montgomery, 1994). The issue of affordable housing is not a new issue in the community as a Wilkinson and Murray's (1991: 36) study found, "The escalation of housing prices means that some local people are being priced out of the market. There is potential loss of service sector employees because of the cost of housing. Affordable housing is in everyone's best interest". This study also recommended that the local municipalities consider requiring all new major resort developments to provide employee accommodation which some resident participants as well as Linda Carriere, former Support

Manager of the Georgian Triangle Housing Resource Centre, discussed as an important step towards solving the affordable housing issue. Affordable housing is a longstanding concern within the community, which is not only a social concern but also an economic one, as those who cannot afford housing will not be able to fill job openings in the growing local tourism/service sector.

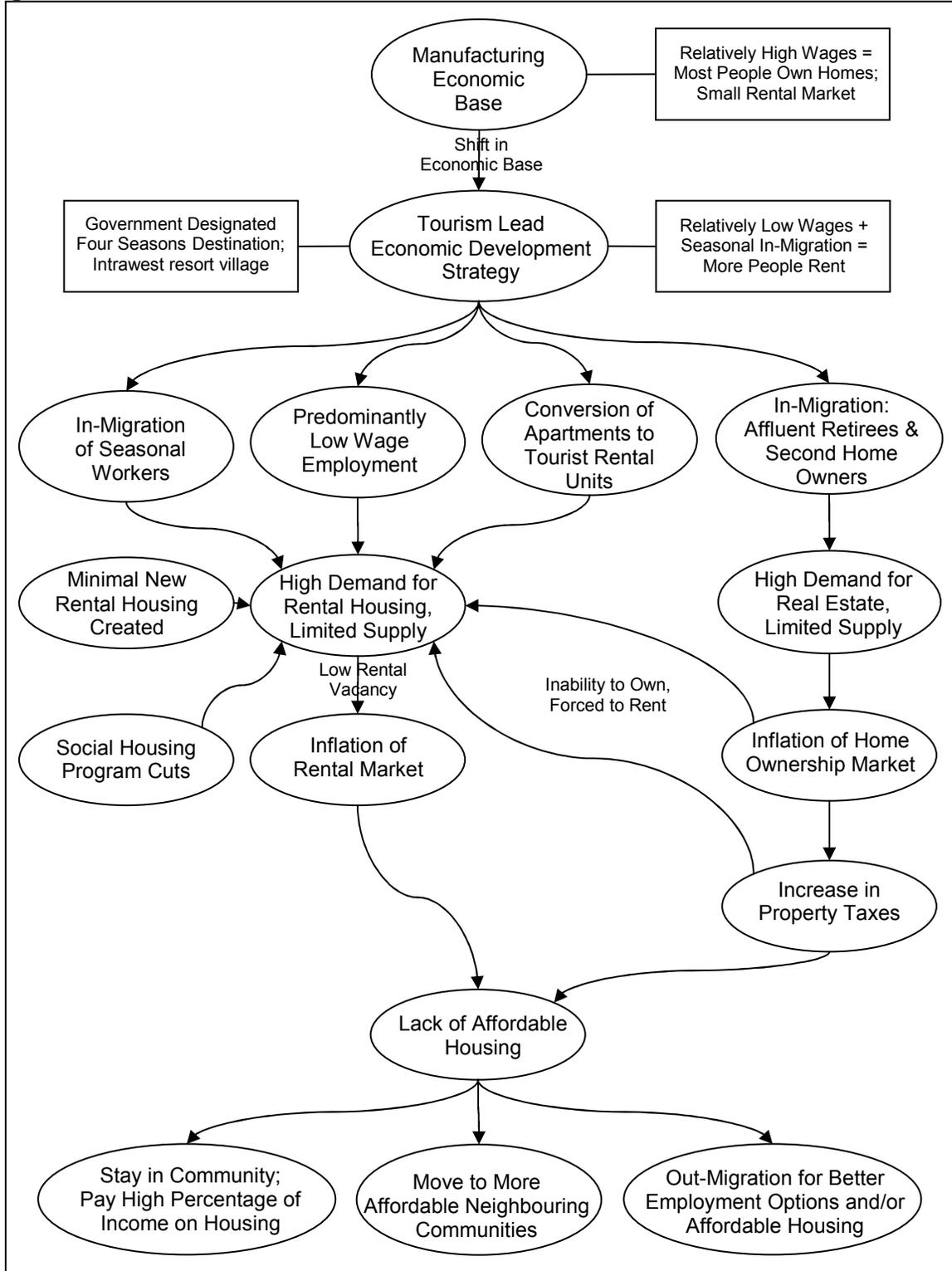
The lack of affordable housing in the community has resulted from several circumstances which have arisen in the wake of the transition of the region's economy from a manufacturing to a tourism/service based economy (see Figure 4). The evolution of both the home ownership and rental markets has played a role in the decline of affordable housing. On the home ownership side of the equation, the in-migration of retirees and affluent second home owners in combination with the conversion of former residential units into tourist rental units has led to a shortage of residential real estate. This has inflated the cost of housing, ultimately contributing to the lack of affordable housing. In the past when manufacturing was the dominant economic base of the region, the relatively high industrial wages enabled the majority of residents to own homes, and subsequently resulted in a small rental market. However, the decline of the manufacturing base in combination with the rise of the tourism/service sector has resulted in a surge in demand for rental accommodation due to predominantly low wage employment and seasonal in-migration. These two factors in combination with the lack of new rental housing, various government social housing cuts, the inability of some to own homes due to the inflation of the local home ownership market, and the increase in property taxes (as some on fixed incomes can no longer afford property taxes and are forced to rent) has led to a shortage of rental housing stock. Thus, the demand for rental accommodation far exceeds supply predictably resulting in the inflation of the rental housing market. Therefore, the inflation of the rental market in combination with the inflation of the home ownership market and the

corresponding increase in property taxes has lead to a lack of affordable housing. By extension there are three primary options for residents of the community who are struggling to find affordable housing:

- 1) Stay in the community but pay a higher percentage of income on housing (in some cases as much as 70% of their income);
- 2) Continue to work in the Collingwood region but move to more affordable neighbouring communities; or
- 3) Leave the Collingwood region all together in search of better employment opportunities and/or affordable housing.

This analysis of affordable housing further supports the argument that the Collingwood region. Collingwood's growth machine has likely played a significant role in not only driving up housing costs but has lead to in-migration which has increased competition for housing, and collectively have resulted in a significant shortage of affordable housing. The issue of affordable housing will be revisited in the Recommendations section (see section 6.3, Recommendation 2).

Figure 4



5.2.12 Lack of Labour

Some resident participants as well as Shelley Houston (GTCBED) remarked on the lack of a sufficient tourism/service sector labour pool. A few residents remarked that the service at many of the regions' restaurants is poor as a result of the shortage of quality employees. This shortage is the product of the combination of a shortage of affordable housing and generally low wages. This finding is supported by Gill and William's (1994) study of the resort communities of Whistler, BC and Aspen, Colorado which found that resort communities that do not provide employee housing suffer from employee recruitment and retention problems. IntraWest's Blue Mountain has 1,300 seasonal winter workers and 275 seasonal summer employees with no form of employee housing which has a enormous impact on the local housing market (Aschaiek, 2005). Since the IntraWest resort village is a new development which is still growing the local housing market has not been able to provide a sufficient number of new units to accommodate new residents therefore the local rental market has inflated dramatically as demand has far exceeded supply.

5.2.13 Property Taxes

Many residents interviewed discussed rapidly rising property taxes as a significant problem for long-time residents, especially retirees and low income earners on fixed budget. The problem with the Ontario property assessment system is that residents are taxed by a percentage of the value of their property, so property taxes rise as property values increase, yet residents who do not intend to sell their homes do not benefit from the increased value. Similar to Collingwood, Perdue et al.'s (1990) study of 16 rural tourism communities in Colorado found that rapidly rising property taxes were also a significant problem. Furthermore, the ski resort town of Whitefish, Montana experienced a similar dramatic increase in property taxes as a result of an inflated local housing market and the town used an innovative approach to mitigate the problem (Di

Stefano, 2004). The town asked the state for a resort classification which was granted and then Whitefish voters approved a 2% tax applied to bars, restaurants, motels, and luxury items and the tax revenue was then used to lower property taxes and improve infrastructure (Ibid). This is one possible strategy that tourism destinations may examine as a strategy to counteract rising property taxes.

5.2.14 Infrastructure/Congestion

Similar to the way affordable housing is examined in the literature on resident perceptions of tourism, this body of research gives superficial treatment to the impact of tourism on local infrastructure. While it is generally agreed that in most cases tourism results in infrastructure problems in tourism regions, especially those experiencing rapid development, very few studies give more than cursory treatment of these impacts on residents. Several resident perception studies contain a question examining the impact of tourism on local infrastructure and traffic (see Brunt and Courtney, 1999; Faulkner and Tideswell, 1997; Johnson et al., 1994; Ko and Stewart, 2002; Madrigal, 1995; Perdue et al., 1990; Williams and Lawson, 2001), however, very few address the implications of this issue in their findings, discussion, or conclusion (see Ryan and Montgomery, 1994; Weaver and Lawton, 2001). This may be because tourism researchers just assume that there will be infrastructure and traffic problems and that resident views on it are inconsequential; or it may be that it's not a groundbreaking issue and it is glanced over. The vast majority of these studies found that residents believe traffic is a significant negative impact of tourism development in their community which makes it surprising that it hasn't been examined in more detail. The Collingwood case study indicates a similar finding as every resident interviewed, with the exception of one, discussed traffic congestion as a negative impact of tourism. Congestion is not a new issue within the region as it was identified in Wilkinson and Murray's (1991) study as the single largest concern relating to tourism

development in the Collingwood area. Many residents interviewed feel that infrastructure to support new development has priority over upgrading much needed resident infrastructure such as the sewage system, which has had chronic backup problems. This finding also supports the growth machine theory, where residents question the government's ability to balance development pressures and resident services. Traffic congestion is a product of the larger system of rapid development and is likely to increase at a rate equal to the rate of development within the region.

5.2.15 Growing Retirement Population

While the number of tourists visiting the Collingwood region is growing at rapid rate, most residents interviewed discussed the impact of the growing retirement and commuter population as having an equally significant impact on growth in the region. This finding is consistent with the finding of the Opportunity Analysis of the Georgian Triangle which found that the influx of retirees is one of the primary factors likely to drive growth and change within the region (Centre for Business and Economic Development and Human Resources Development Canada, 2003). A few studies have examined the phenomenon of tourism induced retirement communities similar to that of the Collingwood region, where people are initially introduced to a destination as a tourist and then over time decided to retire to the area (see Brunt and Courtney, 1999; Getz, 1994; Shone et al., 2003). Tourism induced retirement leads to a variety of impacts on destination communities, such as increased volunteerism and various economic spin-offs from many fairly wealthy retirees spending money within the community. A growing retirement community can also lead to the need for appropriate health services, the potential inflation of the local real estate market which indicates that there is a need to consider and plan for these implications.

In many ways the growing retirement population can be considered a form of 'permanent tourists'. This is because a) they are not native to the region; b) they likely first experienced the region as a tourist; c) they have generally chosen to relocate to the area for recreational purposes; and d) they generally entertain visiting friends and relatives from outside of the region by taking them to various attractions. However, in other ways the term permanent tourists is misleading because as many resident participants commented, many of the retirees are well integrated into the community through recreation and volunteer work. One implication of the growing retirement community is the need to take into account differences in perspectives, ideals, and vision for the community between long-time residents and retirees during the planning process.

5.2.16 Large Volunteer Base

It was somewhat surprising that residents interviewed discussed the large volunteer base of the community as a benefit of tourism, but this was because many residents believe that the growing retirement community is a product of tourism and thus by extension tourism has contributed to the large volunteer base. The fact that residents mentioned this when asked about tourism exemplifies a myriad of impacts that tourism has on the community. Furthermore, this finding demonstrates that residents recognize indirect impacts associated with tourism and that they view tourism as a system rather than just an industry or sector.

5.2.17 Avoidance

Some residents interviewed discussed displeasure about having to adjust their lifestyle because of tourist crowding and congestion. Some of these participants talked about avoiding going out on busy weekends or leaving the region altogether because of tourist crowds. This is consistent with Brunt and Courtney's (1999) study of a British coastal resort which found that some

residents practice a sort of self imposed hibernation on weekends to avoid tourists.

Furthermore, the adjustment of shopping patterns by Collingwood region resident participants to low peak times in order to avoid tourist congestion is consistent with two New Zealand studies which found that residents modified their lifestyles because of tourists (see Williams and Lawson, 2001; Shone et al., 2003). While avoidance of tourist crowds in an expected lifestyle adjustment in tourism destinations, it is extremely difficult to determine the threshold where avoidance goes from a minor irritant to a detriment to the local lifestyle.

With the exception of a few interviewed residents discussing their beliefs about tourists not respecting the slower paced local lifestyle and issues of avoidance, tourists themselves are not directly discussed as a significant problem. The primary negative impacts discussed by residents are related to the inability to adequately accommodate tourism, the inequitable distribution of costs and benefits, and the changing character of the region. Thus, while Doxey's (1975) Irridex may be an effective measure of residents' perceptions of tourists, it is not necessarily an effective measure of residents' perception of tourism.

5.2.18 Tourism Related Employment

While only three of 14 residents interviewed work in the tourism/service sector, none of the three expressed overly positive views of tourism. This finding is in contrast to the majority of resident perception studies which have found that those employed in a tourism related industry generally have more positive views of tourism (see Pizam, 1978; Prentice, 1993; Jurowski et al., 1997; Krippendorf, 1987; Lankford and Howard, 1994; Snaith and Haley, 1999; Wyllie, 1998). One possible explanation for finding may be that residents employed in tourism related occupations while personally benefiting from tourism also recognize the costs. Moreover, the rapid growth of the region may more visibly demonstrate change, which may then lead residents

to more easily recognize both the costs and benefits of tourism. This finding is consistent with the findings of Cavus, and Tanrisevdi (2003) and Faulkner and Tideswell (1997) who both found that there was no significant difference in residents' perception of tourism based on their economic dependence on tourism. It should be noted that the very small number of participants who are employed in the tourism industry makes it extremely difficult to comment on the significance of this finding. The more relevant question is why have no Intrawest employees and only three people employed in the tourism/service sector volunteered for the study? Just over 20 percent of participants are employed in the tourism/service fields when 61 percent of full-time and 95 percent of part-time employees work in the tourism/service sector alone (Georgian Triangle, 2003). Furthermore, one would think that those employed in tourism related fields would be more interested in this type of study than those who are in unrelated fields prompting them to volunteer for this study. It was also surprising that there were no participants who were employed at Blue Mountain or at any of the big box retailers or chain restaurants, especially considering the number of people that these companies employ. One reason for the under-representation of tourism/service sector participants may be the recruitment methods of newspaper advertisements and flyers placed in local grocery stores. It may be an issue of lack of exposure and that tourism and service workers are less likely to read the local newspaper or pay attention to community bulletin boards. The under-representation may also be attributed to the high rate of young migrant workers in the tourism/service sector, who may only live in the community for few months and might not take an interest in local community issues. Another possible explanation could be an issue of time and priorities where those employed in the tourism and service sector are working more than the average person and might not have the luxury of time that others have. It is likely a combination of these factors which have collectively contributed to an under-representation of tourism/service workers participation in this study.

5.2.19 New Amenities/Services

When resident participants were asked to discuss the benefits of tourism within the region, a common theme that emerged was the creation of a variety of amenities and services. Most residents interviewed discussed the many restaurant and shopping options that have been created by tourist demand, which was also found to be a significant benefit of tourism in other studies (see Andereck et al., 2005; Faulkner and Tideswell's, 1997; Krausse, 1995). However, Collingwood region residents who were interviewed discussed a variety of less obvious amenities and services which have resulted from tourism which have not been discussed in past studies. The free open air movies and the very affordable ski season passes are examples of benefits that are unique and less obvious benefits to residents resulting from tourism.

5.2.20 Risk Destroying Initial Attraction

Some residents interviewed were concerned that the big box development and suburban-style residential development takes away from the quaint, small town feel of the region. They are especially concerned that this transformation may destroy some of the initial attraction of tourists as the community starts to resemble a generic modern suburb. This appears to be a longstanding concern in the Collingwood region as Wilkinson and Murray (1991: 43) describe the views of a panel of residents,

The fear is that growth and development, if not managed properly, can destroy that special asset. And their concerns extend beyond the biological to include the social environment. They believe people are attracted to the area by a certain quality of life which they attribute to the size and density of the population and buildings. They see the quality of people's lives being threatened, if growth and development are not managed more than in the past.

A similar study by Shone et al. (2003) in New Zealand found that there is a strong desire among residents of Akaroa to preserve the natural setting, peacefulness and village atmosphere which they believe are attractive to both residents and tourists.

5.3 Economic Implications

In this section the findings relating to the local economy will be analyzed and compared against those of related literature. Specifically, this section will address residents' perceptions of the economic benefits of tourism and economic development.

5.3.1 Economic Benefit

While greater than two-thirds of residents interviewed agree that tourism economical benefits the community; many of these residents are uncertain of what degree tourism is benefits the average tourism sector employee. There was a clear disconnect in the minds of many residents interviewed between the perceived positive economic impacts that are created by the flow of tourism dollars into the community and the prevalence of generally low wage employment.

While many resident perception studies found that tourism has economically benefited the local community (see Faulkner and Tideswell, 1997; Mason and Cheyne, 2003; Ryan and Montgomery, 1994; Weaver and Lawton, 2001); a few studies found that the economic benefits have only been realized by a select few community members (see Davis and Morais, 2004; Johnson et al., 1994). The Collingwood findings are consistent with both Johnson et al. and Davis and Morais studies as many residents believe that the average resident is not benefiting economically from tourism. Furthermore, both of these case study destinations are dominated by a large-scale resort development which is also the case with the IntraWest development in Collingwood. This finding may be attributed to the contrast between the perceived economic windfall of a large 'outside' foreign corporation and the prevalence of low wage employment.

While many residents interviewed focused on the pervasiveness of low wage jobs typical of the tourism industry other residents and key informants identify the development of various indirect and induced economic spin-offs. The tourism industry informant as well as some resident

participants argue that tourism not only benefits the owners and employees of tourism and service sector businesses but creates and supports suppliers and results in additional trickle down spending throughout the community. Some resident participants and the tourism industry key informant argue that without tourism there would be no major employment industry and that many residents would have to leave the community in search of work. This argument is countered by other resident participants who believe that the majority of jobs created by tourism are low skill, low wage occupations and this in turn creates a culture of servers within the community. Ultimately most residents interviewed believe that tourism is a permanent and necessary component of the community, but argue that the distribution of the wealth, costs, and benefits accrued from tourism are highly inequitable. One strategy used in some destination communities in an attempt to balance the costs and benefits of tourism is collaborative tourism planning (see Reed, 1999; Bramwell and Sharman, 1999; Ritchie, 2000). The potential for the application of collaborative tourism planning in the Collingwood region is discussed in section 6.3 (Recommendation 1).

5.3.2 Economic Development

It is somewhat ironic that while many economic development officers initially desire to use tourism as a means of creating economic diversity within the local economy, many destinations, such as Collingwood, ultimately become over dependent on tourism as a form of economic development. Davis and Morais (2004) found this to be the case in their study as tourism was initially viewed as a strategy to diversify the local economy, however, this ultimately resulted in the over-reliance on tourism as a large resort development has benefited while many small businesses have not realized the economic benefits of tourism. While it is generally agreed that small businesses in the Collingwood region have benefited from the Intrawest development, the economic development concern among residents interviewed lies in the vulnerability of tourism

to a variety of economic, social, environmental, and political threats that have historically inhibited the effectiveness of tourism as a consistent, long-term economic development strategy. Furthermore, Tooman's (1997) study of a nature tourism destination in the Smoky Mountain region of the southwestern US found that tourism has the largest benefit to a local economy when it is a complementary industry rather than the dominant economic base.

Some studies have found that despite negative views on tourism, residents support tourism development because it is an essential component of the local economy (see Cavus, and Tanrisevdi, 2003; Perdue et al., 1990). This finding is not supported in the Collingwood region as most of the residents interviewed do not believe that tourism is the best economic development strategy for the region, despite its dominance within local economy. In fact, the opposite is true in Collingwood as many resident participants believe that the region needs economic diversity because it is too dependent on tourism as a means of economic development.

While many residents interviewed consider tourism/service sector jobs to be largely low skill, low wage jobs, the economic development and tourism key informants and a few residents discussed the management positions which are created and many opportunities for new business development for local entrepreneurs. Furthermore, the growing affluent residential and retirement population within the community leads to employment opportunities in financial services and health services among others. Some argue that tourism/service sector job creation is a poor substitute for the declining industrial base. However, the reality is that the new employment within the region provides an option for residents who otherwise would be forced to leave the community or compete for even fewer employment opportunities. This is not

to say that tourism is the most desirable form of economic development, far from it, but that as many residents pointed out it is the only significant option at this point in time.

Despite the consensus among most residents interviewed that the Collingwood region is in need of economic diversification, some residents and key informants discussed the business development which has occurred because of tourism in the region. As many people have permanently relocated to the region because of its amenity rich environment, they have also started to open new businesses, many of which are unrelated to the tourism industry and thus, are businesses which diversify the local economy. Snepenger et al.'s (1995) study of travel stimulated entrepreneurial migration (people who have relocated to amenity rich areas and moved or opened new businesses there) in Montana found that 40% of business (of all types of industries) were owned by entrepreneurial migrants. Snepenger et al.'s study also found that travel stimulated entrepreneurial migration contributed to a variety of economic sectors indicating that this phenomenon enhances economic diversity. Another key finding of Snepenger et al.'s study was that when entrepreneurs were asked to rate why they located their businesses in the region, entrepreneurs did not consider business climate values (i.e. tax structure, cost of doing business) to be as important as community setting (i.e. small-town atmosphere, good place to raise a family), natural environment, or recreational opportunity values. This somewhat surprising finding indicates that there is a significant niche market of business owners that place lifestyle values ahead of maximizing profitability.

5.4 Desirable Tourism Development

This section examines the forms of tourism which residents believe are desirable. While most resident perception of tourism studies examine residents' views on current tourism development (see Brunt and Courtney, 1999; Davis and Morais, 2004; Faulkner and Tideswell, 1997; Getz,

1994; Johnson et al., 1994; Mason and Cheyne, 2000; Prentice, 1993; Ryan et al., 1998; Smith and Krannich, 1998; Snaith and Haley, 1999; Williams and Lawson, 2001), very few examine residents' vision for the future of tourism within the community (see Simmons, 1994). Similarly, with the exception of Simmons no resident perception of tourism studies have examined what types of tourism residents would and would not like to see promoted in the future. Knowledge of residents' desires for tourism development is valuable in a variety of contexts: 1) Local knowledge, as long-time residents have an extensive knowledge of local history, culture, lifestyle and the environment; 2) Product development, as local residents know what the area offers and what has the potential for further development; and 3) Issues of sustainability, as they are generally concerned about developing tourism in a manner that is congruent with the conservation of the local lifestyle, environment, and economy.

When resident participants were asked what forms of tourism they would like to see developed more than half suggested the further promotion of nature tourism and the potential for eco-tourism. Most of these residents favor nature-based forms of tourism that are unobtrusive and result in minimal environment impacts such as hiking, cycling, and canoeing. This finding closely mirrors Simmons' finding that residents believe that the pre-existing resource base on public natural features such as the coastline, parks, and trails should be promoted rather than commercial attractions.

Some residents interviewed also suggested that cultural tourism's a desirable form of tourism which has potential for further development within the Collingwood region. The recent development of a local live theatre facility was discussed by a few resident participants as extremely popular among both tourists and residents. Furthermore, many residents interviewed believe that the promotion of these activities is desirable because they involve minimal new

infrastructure and/or facilities and they capitalize on the existing amenity environment with minimal impacts. However, while these activities themselves may be perceived as having little impact on the community, the further promotion of these activities would result in a variety of impacts such as further congestion which most residents who participate in the study deem undesirable. It should be noted that residents were asked what forms of tourism they consider desirable for the region, not necessarily if they desire more tourism in the region.

5.5 Summary

This chapter has analyzed a wide range of the themes and sub-themes by comparing them to related literature, establishing relationships between them, and discussing how they relate to theoretical frameworks. The implications of residents' perceptions of tourism as it relates to growth and the local economy have been examined as well as the forms of tourism that residents consider desirable.

6.0 CONCLUSIONS

The intent of this chapter is to highlight this study's key findings and outline the significance of this research. The research objectives are reviewed and the findings for each are summarized to confirm that each has been adequately addressed. The chapter also evaluates the effectiveness of methods and examines several recommendations based on the study's findings. Furthermore, the potential for future research related to this study is explored and the contributions that this research makes to the field are considered.

6.1 Research Objectives

The intent of this study was to determine residents' perceptions of tourism in a rapidly growing mountain destination. Several research questions were outlined in the Introduction chapter to guide the research process and the following is a summary of the research questions and the key findings:

1) What are residents' views on the current rate of tourism growth and their vision for future tourism development in the Collingwood region?

As in most tourism destinations, residents' views on the current rate of tourism growth fell across a broad spectrum from those who believe it being well managed to those who argue that it has become unmanageable. Specifically, over half of residents (eight) interviewed argue that the current rate of growth has become unmanageable, while three residents have mixed views, and three believe that growth is being adequately accommodated. Furthermore, when asked about their vision for the future the predominant view among residents was that they viewed no new development as desirable, at least in the short term. Many residents interviewed believe

that tourism and development in general is currently unsustainable and would like to limit future growth.

2) What do residents view as the most significant benefits and costs of tourism in Collingwood region?

The open ended nature of this question resulted in an expansive range of responses. Some of the dominant benefits or positive impacts which emerged from the research were employment, amenity entrepreneurial migration, name recognition, community pride and passion, a large volunteer base, and new services and amenities such as retail shops, restaurants, and free outdoor movies. Some of the dominant costs or negative impacts identified by residents interviewed included the lack of affordable housing, inflated property taxes, infrastructure problems and congestion, tourists' lack of respect for the local lifestyle, safety and health service concerns, the risk of destroying the initial attraction of the region, and the environmental impacts of overdevelopment within a fragile ecosystem.

3) Is tourism the best economic development strategy for the region?

When residents were asked about their views on the effectiveness of tourism as an economic development strategy half of residents interviewed discussed their belief that the region needs greater economic diversification and that tourism should not be the primary economic base. A few residents interviewed believe that tourism is the only major economic development option available to the region and as a result has to be promoted, largely by default. Almost two thirds of residents discussed the erosion of the middle of the local economy as good paying manufacturing jobs are being lost while hundreds and eventually thousands of generally low wage tourism/service sector jobs are created.

4) What, if any, theoretical frameworks emerge to help to explain tourism in the Collingwood region?

Consistent with the emergent nature of qualitative research, specific theories were not tested and grounded theory was used to explain tourism and development in the Collingwood region. One significant theory which emerged from the grounded theory perspective was the housing model which was generated by examining relationships between various findings which collectively produced this theory (see Figure 4). This theory examines the various inputs which contribute to the shortage of affordable housing within the Collingwood region and also outlines the potential outputs which represent the housing options available to Collingwood region residents.

In addition to the grounded theory perspective, upon review of the findings it was realized that two previously developed theories helped to explain tourism in Collingwood region.

McKercher's (1999) application of chaos theory to tourism is rooted in a systems approach, where a large-scale change within the system results in instability and makes it extremely difficult to predict the future form and function of the system. Chaos theory is applicable to tourism development in the Collingwood region as the development of the Intrawest resort village represented a change within the region, as it ignited a rapid phase of growth resulting in a variety of expected as well as unanticipated impacts which pose a significant challenge to planners and policy makers.

Molotch's (1976) growth machine theory is also largely applicable to the Collingwood region. Growth machine theory is based on the premise that fundamental political and economic structures of North American society make growth inevitable under certain circumstances. Molotch argues that in cases where a select few land owners, speculators, and developers

control the majority of land in high growth areas they can exert significant pressure on political leaders to fuel development. This then predictably leads to subsequent growth phases, effectively generating a form of self-perpetuating growth. Based on the views of many interviewed residents and key informants, the Collingwood region functions as a growth machine as developers and large corporations effectively work in coalition to produce a pro-growth environment.

6.2 Evaluation of Methods

The triangulation of data sources in this study proved to be valuable as the methods generally corroborated one another; however, each method provided a slightly different perspective. While the qualitative newspaper content analysis was an effective exploratory method considering the researchers lack of knowledge about the community, it had a limited role in its contribution to the findings. This was because many of the issues that received attention in the local newspaper were not considered significant issues by many of the resident participants or key informants during the interview process. One possible explanation is that some of the issues raised in the newspaper are quite dated, going back as far as 1999, therefore, they were not centre of mind. Despite this limitation, the newspaper content analysis provided valuable data on many relevant tourism-related issues such as the Intrawest resort village, the Castle Glen development, affordable housing, and the Vision 2020 initiative. The data obtained from the content analysis, in combination with information from the literature review was used in forming the core interview questions. The semi-structured resident interviews provided an even wider breadth of data as issues such as inflated property taxes, safety and health services, the growing retirement community, and the large volunteer base emerged. These issues were not expected based on the researcher's assumptions, the initial literature review, or the newspaper content analysis. The key informant interviews were used as a method of validation and

confirmed many of the issues raised by residents. Therefore, while each method performed a somewhat unique function (newspaper analysis – exploratory; resident interviews – explanatory; key informant interviews – validity); they collectively provide triangulation of data, which enhances the reliability of the study.

Qualitative research is sometimes criticized for being too subjective and there is the danger of bias affecting the data selected to present in the findings. In the cases such as this study where a limited sample was used the researcher may unknowingly use a disproportionately large number of quotations from one individual whose views most strongly align with the views of the researcher. Furthermore, another key component of qualitative research is giving a voice to those whose voice might not otherwise be heard. Therefore, it is important to include the views of all participants in the findings and one means of ensuring this is to examine the number of quotations used by each participant. An analysis of quotations used in the findings section determined that there were two outliers as one resident was cited 15 times while another was only cited five times, while the remaining residents were each cited between eight and 13 times. The one resident that only had 5 quotations in the findings section was under represented largely because a significant share of the comments was hearsay, and the researcher felt that some of this material was inappropriate to include. However, this resident's views were still accounted for in the analysis as all views are valid; it was just a matter of some not being appropriate for an objective presentation of the findings. This fairly even distribution indicates that each resident's views were important and presented in the findings which works to minimize bias.

6.3 Recommendations

The findings and discussion of this research point to several recommendations which address some of the concerns raised by residents who participated in the study. These recommendations include the creation of a tourism and urban growth policy and planning committee, a comprehensive affordable housing strategy, and the targeting of small and mid-sized businesses development.

Recommendation 1: The formation of a tourism and urban growth policy and planning committee to oversee development in both Collingwood and Town of the Blue Mountains

The committee should involve the following group of individuals:

- Two residents (selected by a resident sub-committee)
- Two town councilors (one from each town)
- A representative of the Georgian Triangle Housing Office
- A representative of the Georgian Triangle Centre for Business and Economic Development
- A representative from the Georgian Triangle Tourism Association
- A representative from the Blue Mountain Watershed Trust Foundation
- The head planner from each town
- A transportation consultant
- A representative from a large business – Intrawest
- A representative from a mid-sized business
- A representative from a small business

This committee is designed based on the principles of collaborative tourism planning, whereby residents, local governments, planners, developers, businesses, and local NGOs share in the decision-making process (Haywood, 2000). The first objective of this committee is to craft a vision for the future. It is generally agreed that in order to establish effective tourism planning, specifically collaborative tourism planning, a clear strategic vision is required to guide the process (Haywood, 2000; Ritchie, 1999; Ritchie, 2000; Ruhanen and Cooper, 2005). Designing the vision will involve three stages adapted from Haywood (2000): 1) Participants brainstorm a

vision for tourism in the community to produce a variety of different ideas based on what is and is not desirable and new opportunities and threats; 2) The right brain brainstorming stage is then balanced by a left brain rational, analytical stage that evaluates alternatives and estimates the probability of any anticipated impacts to alert the community of opportunities and dangers; and 3) Consensus building among stakeholders to establish community-wide goals and values which will help direct future growth and development. One critical aspect of the visioning process recommended for the Collingwood region not discussed by Haywood is that the vision will not be limited to tourism, but will be a comprehensive vision for the future of the community. This committee would be responsible for making joint decisions between the two municipalities regarding urban planning regulations approvals, and amendments. Some resident participants and key informants were critical of the town of Collingwood's Vision 2020 as they viewed it as 'pie in the sky' idealism which was largely ignored by the town council. The fact that this committee directly involves town councilors and planners and also involves both Collingwood and Town of the Blue Mountains would increase the odds of implementation for this committee and the visioning process. The committee would operate under the mandate of growth management, that is the aim to accommodate growth while trying to balance social, environment and economic goals.

The committee's second objective would be to develop a comprehensive growth management plan for the region that would develop a vision for tourism and development within the community. The growth management plan will be shaped by the region's vision for the future and will involve consulting with residents, tourists, and local businesses using surveys and interviews. This data would be used in conjunction with the views of the committee members to determine the community's social, environmental, and economic goals. This information would then be used in combination with professional direction (urban planners) to create the regions

growth management plan. This regional tourism growth plan would outline a growth strategy for the next 25 years. Maybe more importantly than the design of the growth management plan will involve the constant monitoring and re-evaluation of development and growth within the region to ensure that the core elements of the plan are implemented over time.

The involvement of two residents is intended to empower residents from outside the political and development fields and to generate new ideas and look at issues from a different perspective. According to Gill and Williams (1994) growth management is an attractive option to residents because it is based on a multi-stakeholder approach where resident input is considered as essential component of the planning process. One resident from each municipality (Collingwood and Town of the Blue Mountains) will be selected. Resident participation is limited to two because, while there is a need for adequate representation of residents, committees do not generally function well when there are a large number of members (Haywood, 2000). Furthermore, it is unrealistic to assume that local governments are going to agree to the formation of a committee whereby resident representation is higher than the town councils. The two residents will be 'elected' by members of a resident sub-committee which will consist of representatives which will project the views of the sub-committee. These two resident representatives will also co-chair the resident sub-committee. This sub-committee will consist of approximately 10 volunteer residents from the Collingwood region and the co-chairs will be responsible for selecting a balance of both long-time residents (lived in the community longer than 10 years) and new residents (lived in the community less than 10 years) as committee members. A balanced representation of new and long-time residences is important to work towards as section 5.2.7 indicated that the views on growth of new and long-time residents may be quite different.

Recommendation 2: Implement a multi-dimensional affordable housing strategy

The issue of affordable housing is a multi-dimensional problem which requires a multi-faceted solution. A three pronged strategy is recommend to counter the problem of affordable housing and is discussed below.

1. The local governments could negotiate with Intrawest in an attempt to develop a policy requiring the provision of employee housing similar to the policy that has been developed at Intrawest's Whistler resort. The Resort Municipality of Whistler requires the provision of housing or funds for housing as part of the development approval process, which is a policy that could be implemented in the Collingwood region (Gill and Williams, 1994). The housing could be provided in the form of dormitory style residences considering the lower construction costs and potential rent charges as well as the temporary nature of seasonal employment. The creation of affordable housing for seasonal residents would have the benefit of freeing up rental units currently occupied by seasonal residents and as a result of the increased availability could potentially lower rents or at least prevent the further inflation of the rental market.
2. Local political leaders could attempt to negotiate with the Ontario government to implement a resort classification similar to the one legislated in Whitefish, Montana. In Whitefish the local government negotiated with the state government for a resort designation which allowed for the implementation of a local tax on housing developments, hotels, bars, restaurants, and luxury items (Di Stefano, 2004). The revenues generated from this tax were then used to mitigate rising property taxes and fund infrastructure improvements. This form of tax would function as a mechanism to redistribute the benefits of tourism across the local population.

3. Examine the viability of implementing a rental control policy to prevent the rapid localized inflation of rents. A form of local rent control would ensure that residents on fixed incomes would be able to anticipate and plan for housing costs from year to year. Rent controls may also enable some individuals to break the rent cycle as they will be able to put aside more money to eventually put towards home ownership.

Recommendation 3: Target small and medium size business development

The Collingwood region should market the region as an attractive destination for small and medium sized businesses, especially the high-tech industry. Snepenger et al. (1995) found that tourism destinations with amenity-rich environments attract new and relocated small business development, especially considering technological advancements that accommodate satellite work environments. Furthermore, the high-tech industry is generally a fairly mobile industry, in that they do not necessarily need to locate in major cities, and often elect to locate in amenity environments. The attraction of high-tech and other non-tourism related businesses would help to diversify the local economy and provide a stabilizing force during downturns in the tourism industry.

6.4 Future Research

This study opens up several avenues of potential future research both in terms of this specific case study and the methods applied.

A logical progression from this study would be a quantitative study using a detailed survey based on the findings of this research to establish a finding that can be generalized across the Collingwood region's population. The wide breadth of data obtained by the semi-structured

interviews provides a great basis for further investigation as many key issues relevant to the community have emerged which could be used to design a survey.

Another research project which would complement this study would involve a purposeful sample examining the views of tourism/service employees and local tourism business owners and managers to gain a first hand account of the views of front line tourism sector workers. This would provide information on the inner workings of the tourism industry and Collingwood. This would also provide a more comprehensive analysis of the impacts that tourism has on those employed in the industry.

It would also be interesting to do a comparative study of the findings of this research with a study that examined tourists' perceptions of tourism in the Collingwood region. While the resident perception study is primarily useful as a community development tool, a tourist perception study would be valuable as a product/service development tool and as a means of evaluating changes in consumer tastes and demand. A tourist perception study of Collingwood region would provide insight into tourists' views on the current rate, form, and function of development. Collectively, both the resident perception and tourist perception studies would then allow planners and policy makers to make decisions with a comprehensive knowledge of the views of both the market and resident perspectives. For example, if it was determined that the majority of tourists' felt that Collingwood's rapid growth is diminishing the attractiveness of the destination, this finding in combination with similar findings from the resident study, might motivate policy leaders and planners to adjust their vision for the region.

6.5 Contributions to the Field

While the majority of resident perception of tourism studies focus on the direct impacts of tourism (see Brunt and Courtney, 1999; Faulkner and Tideswell, 1997; Getz, 1994; Johnson et al., 1994; Mason and Cheyne, 2000; Prentice, 1993; Ryan et al., 1998; Smith and Krannich, 1998; Snaith and Haley, 1999; Williams and Lawson, 2001); very few studies focus on indirect, and induced impacts. This is a somewhat interesting omission within the literature considering that tourism studies focusing on economic impacts have long preached the importance of indirect and induced impacts. While the initial intent of this study was to examine the direct impacts resulting from tourism, the semi-structured nature of the interviews led to the emergence of a wide range of indirect and induced impacts. It was soon realized that this study was not exclusively a tourism study, as it evolved into a broader analysis of tourism-induced suburban-style development within the community. The vast range of impacts discussed by residents led to the application of chaos systems theory to help explain the complex relationships within the region. While McKercher (1999) examined the application of chaos theory to tourism, this is the first known study to apply chaos theory, to a specific case study. Furthermore, while a few tourism resident perception studies have examined the nested communities aspect of growth machine theory, no known tourism resident perception study has examined the application of growth machine theory holistically.

6.6 Conclusion

This study has exemplified the benefits of examining residents' perceptions of tourism as it outlined the complexities of a community experiencing rapid growth. It was surprising to find that residents were not concerned about the type of development which is occurring, their concerns largely relate to the rate and scale of development occurring in the Collingwood region. Furthermore, the fact that half of residents interviewed stated that their vision for the

future is no new development also supports the notion that the rate of development is significant concern.

One of the most significant findings which emerged from this research is residents' view that tourism can not be examined in isolation, and should be analyzed as one component of a larger system of growth and development. Furthermore, this research has revealed several significant tourism impacts such as the lack of affordable housing which have not received much attention in previous resident perception studies.

In many cases the goals of tourists and residents are not mutually exclusive as they both desire a community that is unique, esthetically pleasing, amenity rich, and relaxing; the key is finding a framework that facilitates this often elusive and inevitably difficult task. The one mitigating factor in establishing an equilibrium between tourists and residents is demand. The ski hill at Blue Mountain in combination with its close proximity to Canada's largest population base provided demand for a resort destination which is being met by Intrawest's resort village. The Intrawest resort village in combination with the region's amenity rich environment then spawned a period of extremely high demand for tourism, recreation, second homes, and retirement homes. This demand is then supplied by a variety of developers, businesses, entrepreneurs and local governments looking to capitalize on the growth opportunities with new developments. These new developments have generated further demand which has been met with the growth of residential developments, hotels, big box stores, and chain restaurants. This cyclical growth pattern facilitated by pro-growth local governments further supports the notion of Collingwood as a growth machine. Therefore, there is a need to establish a growth management strategy which operates under the principles of collaborative tourism planning to provide a long-term plan to

guide future growth in a manner that accommodates the concerns not only of residents, but all relevant community stakeholders.

Some argue that growth management plans are merely status quo development plans masquerading under a new name designed to placate voices of dissent. While this may be true in some cases, in terms of tourism destinations, growth management has significant potential because, unlike urban cases where growth almost always benefits developers and big business, tourism destinations need to maintain the 'goose that laid the golden egg'. This was a significant concern among residents interviewed, as they recognize that the attractiveness of the region is based on its plethora of recreational opportunities and small town charm. While continued demand for growth is virtually a given in high growth urban areas, tourist demand is highly fragile as it depends on the destination's attractiveness and appeal to visitors. If all stakeholders are educated on the perils of overdevelopment, there is a chance that the development community will realize that overdevelopment is not just bad for a nested community of residents, but for growth advocates as well. Therefore, while the interests of residents, tourism-related businesses, and political leaders may seem dichotomous, they share some mutual objectives, which could be worked towards under a collaborative tourism planning process and result in a strategic vision for Collingwood region that is mutually inclusive.

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APPENDIX 1: CORE RESIDENT QUESTIONS

1. What do you think about the current rate of tourism growth (prompt: too rapid, about right, too slow)?
2. What do you view as the largest benefits of tourism in Collingwood region and what do you view to be the most serious problems associated with tourism? Why?
3. What are your views on the Intrawest development?
4. What are your views on the Castle Glen Development?
5. What is your vision for future tourism development in the Collingwood region (prompt: should it grow, contract, or stabilize and why)?
6. Is tourism the best economic development strategy for the region? Why or why not?
 - If not, is there another type of economic development which might be suitable to the region?
7. What forms of tourism do you consider desirable for your community and what forms do you consider undesirable?
8. Do you feel that the community as a whole has economically benefited from tourism? Why?
9. Describe Doxey's (1975) Irridex using a descriptive diagram - What stage best describes your feelings about tourism?
10. Describe Butler's (1980) Destination Life Cycle using a descriptive diagram – What stage do you believe the Collingwood region is current in?

APPENDIX 2: INFORMATION LETTER

Tourism Policy and Planning
University of Waterloo
September 7, 2005

Dear Participant,

This letter is an invitation to consider participating in a study I am conducting as part of my Master's degree in the Department of Tourism Policy and Planning at the University of Waterloo under the supervision of Professor Judith Cukier. I would like to provide you with more information about this project and what your involvement would entail if you decide to take part.

It is generally believed that tourism generates both positive and negative impacts in host communities. The residents of host communities are the ones which are most directly affected by tourism development; therefore there is a need to study residents' perceptions of tourism to determine the impacts of tourism on residents. The purpose of this study is to determine residents' perceptions of tourism development and their vision for future tourism development in the Collingwood region.

Participation in this study is voluntary. It will involve an interview of approximately 45 minutes in length to take place in a mutually agreed upon location. You may decline to answer any of the interview questions if you so wish. Further, you may decide to withdraw from this study at any time without any negative consequences by advising the researcher. With your permission, the interview will be tape-recorded to facilitate collection of information, and later transcribed for analysis. All information you provide is considered completely confidential. Your name will not appear in any thesis or report resulting from this study, however, with your permission anonymous quotations may be used. Data collected during this study will be retained for one and a half years in a secure location. Only the primary researcher will have access to the data. There are no known or anticipated risks to you as a participant in this study.

If you have any questions regarding this study, or would like additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about participation, please contact me by email at jmcurto@fes.uwaterloo.ca or by phone at (519) 886-9863. You can also contact my supervisor, Professor Judith Cukier by email at jcukier@fes.uwaterloo.ca or phone at (519) 888-4567 ext. 5490.

I would like to assure you that this study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the Office of Research Ethics. However, the final decision about participation is yours. If you have any comments or concerns resulting from your participation in this study, please contact Dr. Susan Sykes of this office at (519) 888-4567 Ext. 6005.

I hope that the results of my study will be of benefit to future tourism development within the Collingwood region by bringing attention to the views of residents.

I very much look forward to speaking with you and thank you in advance for your assistance in this project.

Yours Sincerely,

Justin Curto

APPENDIX 3: CONSENT FORM

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by Justin Curto of the Department of Tourism Policy and Planning at the University of Waterloo. I have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study, to receive satisfactory answers to my questions, and any additional details I wanted.

I am aware that I have the option of allowing my interview to be tape recorded to ensure an accurate recording of my responses.

I am also aware that excerpts from the interview may be included in the thesis and/or publications to come from this research, with the understanding that the quotations will be anonymous.

I was informed that I may withdraw my consent at any time without penalty by advising the researcher.

This project has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo. I was informed that if I have any comments or concerns resulting from my participation in this study, I may contact the Director, Office of Research Ethics at (519) 888-4567 ext. 6005.

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree, of my own free will, to participate in this study.

YES NO

I agree to have my interview tape recorded.

YES NO

I agree to the use of anonymous quotations in any thesis or publication that comes of this research.

YES NO

Participant Name: _____ (Please print)

Participant Signature: _____

Witness Name: _____ (Please print)

Witness Signature: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX 4: CODING SAMPLE

Resident #5

Q: What are your views on the current rate of tourism growth in the area?

A: I think there's positives and negatives. I think it's positive because we've lost a lot of our industrial base, so that part of it is positive (the employment) – Tourism employment replaces losses in manufacturing, the problems that come along with it are negative. A lot of the problems are a result of the disparity between income – Local economy lack middle, housing is a problem, the cost of housing is prohibitive for anyone who is younger, especially people who are younger, and the people that are here now have to work two or three jobs just to keep things afloat. – Lack of affordable housing, especially for young people

Q: What do you view as the largest benefits associated with tourism?

A: Probably the help to the tax base because that makes a difference and it's developing our area because of that. – Benefit: help to the tax base In our area tourism is the main industry here and things expand because of it so the benefits of it are the things that we're getting like we don't have to leave town to shop (getting services that you wouldn't normally have). – Benefit: increased services because of tourism

Q: What are the most serious problems associated with tourism?

A: The most serious problem is that young people are not able to stay here, they have to have more than one job or they're working minimum wage, almost all jobs are minimum wage, no benefits, that kind, not a good thing. – Problem: Young People Have To Move Because Most Employment Options Are Low Paying When I first moved to Collingwood in 1969, all of our industries were just starting here, there was great government funding, almost all of those are closed now. People who came out of high school have worked since then at very high paying jobs and in Collingwood we've lost 600 jobs in the last few months.

Q: Is there another form of economic development that you think might be suitable for the area?

A: Our industry is difficult because we don't have a highway to support that type of transportation, we don't have the rail system needed. I don't know the option here.

Q: Is there advanced planning for tourism in the area?

A: I think that one of the problems here is that there hasn't been a grand vision, I'm sure that each councilor has their own, what they want to see happen, but each person's only one voice and because they change every four years you get something in place and then that changes. Our town council is pretty good I think about trying to keep along a path but I feel that at the moment it's getting out of hand. – Lack of long-term visioning What the town council may consider affordable housing is not affordable housing, like \$249,000 is not affordable housing for people who are making minimum wage, that's a struggle. – Lack of affordable housing; tourism leads to retirement