Views About Industrial Tourism Pressures in Canmore, Alberta

Barbara J. McNicol
Department of Geography
University of Calgary, 2500 University Dr. N.W.,
Calgary, Alberta T2N 1N4

The Town of Canmore, Alberta, situated in the Canadian Rockies approximately 90 kilometers west of Calgary, is facing increasing pressure for tourism resort development due to the promotion of industrial tourism within, and in close proximity to, the townsite boundary. Currently, there is a complexity of issues surrounding concerns about both existing and proposed changes associated with industrial tourism, and, to date, very little of the proposed tourism facility development is in place. Conflicts between major tourism resort projects and conservation of areas of outstanding landscape beauty and wildlife habitat accentuate between-group attitudinal differences and often emphasize disparity of public and private values. At the same time, rapid tourism resort development, accompanied by up-market residential housing development, tends to advance social concerns and emphasize community vision differences. This comparative evaluation identifies residents' concerns and describes, from varying perspectives, attitudes about Canmore's changing tourism and community environments.

Introduction

At an elevation of 1700 meters, the Town of Canmore is a small mountain community nestled in the middle of an outstanding physical landscape. As a gateway town to the Canadian Rockies and the major international tourist destination of Banff National Park, Canmore is best known for winter outdoor recreation activities such as cross-country skiing and dog-sledding and summer activities such as hiking, climbing, mountain biking, and nature-sensitive activities such as wildlife viewing and photography. The Town of Canmore...
figured prominently in the 1988 Winter Olympic Games when cross-country skiing and biathlon events were held at the Canmore Nordic Center.

The Bow Corridor of Alberta includes the Town of Canmore, the Town of Banff, Banff National Park, and some of the most impressive land for outdoor recreation and accessible mountain scenery in all of Canada. Coupled with proximity of Kananaskis Country to the southeast and easy access to the city of Calgary along the major route of Highway 1, the Bow Corridor represents an attractive area for increased tourism use and tourism facility development (Figure 1). Recent interest in expansion of the tourism industry in the Bow Corridor has promoted local concern about community preservation and protection of the natural environment.

Within the Bow Corridor, the rural community of Canmore is undergoing rapid change and growth as a result of industrial tourism promotion and facility development. Promoted changes associated with industrial tourism include the private development of tourism resorts, some accompanied by residential housing development. This type of rapid tourism development with residential expansion, partially motivated in Canmore by a lucrative housing market, often places an emphasis on economic objectives while ignoring environmental protection goals and excluding an examination of social concerns. In Canmore, proposed tourism and residential changes create opportunities for associated negative environmental and societal outcomes.

Promotion of industrial tourism for Canmore and the surrounding area includes the marketing of Canmore as an international resort destination. Resort destinations may be defined as large land areas which usually contain several destination resorts or resort properties and services (Peat Marwick Stevenson and Kellogg 1990). Through the promotion and marketing of the combined attributes of a number of tourism resort and residential properties, both tourists and prospective second-home owners are being invited to experience the tourism and recreational opportunities provided by Canmore’s unique natural setting.

**Industrial Tourism and Resort Development in Canmore**

Five tourism resort developments and active development proposals are at various stages of completion within the Town of Canmore and in close proximity to the Canmore townsit within the Municipal District of Bighorn. Extensive and controversial tourism resort developments include two large tracts of land: Three Sisters Golf Resorts Inc. on private lands and an approved develop-
ment project by Stone Creek Properties Inc. on both private and leased public lands. At the time of this study, both of these companies had no tourism resort development in place but were actively constructing residential and estate properties. Other tourism developments and development proposals are Limestone Valley Resort, Mt. Lady MacDonald Teahouse, and Alpine Resort Haven. Lime-
stone Valley Resort and Mt. Lady MacDonald Teahouse are tourism development proposals located in close proximity to the Town of Canmore boundary within the Municipal District of Bighorn. These two proposals have received local criticism for possible interference with wildlife habitat and animal migration routes. Mt. Lady MacDonald Teahouse has one helicopter pad and a lookout deck constructed and is flying in tourists on a limited basis while Limestone Valley Resort remains at an approval stage, with no resort development in place. Alpine Resort Haven, an established development, is actively marketing time-shares of resort chalets. The five developments and active development proposals, accompanied by descriptions of associated tourism and residential facility development, are presented in Figure 2.

Many of the studies initiated for the Canmore portion of the Bow Corridor, both by government and development interests, have focused on expert opinion to the neglect of resident populations. Where resident input was included, the effect was considerable. For example, resident participation and concern for the protection of wildlife corridors and habitat in the Wind Valley was at the forefront of the 1992 Natural Resources Conservation Board hearings (NRCB 1992). The hearings resulted in the removal of the environmentally sensitive Wind Valley from the Three Sisters Golf Resorts Inc. development (see Figure 2).

In addition, the General Municipal Plan for the Town of Canmore and recent research documents stress the need for Canmore to be managed as ‘a balanced community’ (IBI Group 1992; Town of Canmore 1995a; Draper 1995). The formation in May 1994 of a community-driven Growth Management Strategy, with the inclusion of residents and representatives of special interest groups on the committee, was intended to incorporate residents’ views and values into the Town of Canmore planning procedures (Draper and McNicol 1997). The final Growth Management Committee public report gives definition to issues of environmental and social concern and will help identify future planning and development requirements and constraints (Town of Canmore 1995b).

**Views About Tourism and Tourism Development**

Geographers have sought to understand the different environmental, economic, and societal consequences of tourism activities and development for local areas and have conducted case studies of particular communities in a variety of locales at given times (for example: Belisle and Hoy 1980; Sheldon and Var 1984; Dearden 1991; Kariel 1993; Ringer 1993). The influences of tourism and tourism
Map Key

1 Three Sisters Golf Resorts Inc.
   • proposed major four season resort complex
   • will include hotels, multi-family residential and single family residential development
   • may include interval ownership, retail stores, camping, RV park, and other recreational facilities
   • two 18-hole golf courses
   • the development is on private land
   • lands exchanged or leased for Wind Valley land are represented by this symbol * on the map
   • Wind Valley land exchanged is delineated by - - - on the map

2 Limestone Valley Resort
   • proposed 18-hole golf course
   • will include a 150-unit RV park and campground
   • may include a 100-room lodge and day-use facilities
   • the development is on private and public lands

3 Alpine Resort Haven
   • will include 48 time-share chalets and about 40 RV sites
   • the development is on public land

4 Mt. Lady MacDonald Tea House
   • proposed 35-seat tea house with lookout deck
   • will include a gazebo site and two helicopter landing sites
   • development is located at the 7600 foot level accessed by helicopter or foot
   • the development is on public land

5 Stone Creek Development Company
   • proposed 500-room Hyatt hotel and convention center with 200 units of staff housing
   • will include multi-family and single-family residential development
     • one 18-hole golf course
     • the development is on private and public lands

Figure 2  Proposed Tourism Resort Developments for Canmore and the Surrounding Area
facility development on rural communities and rural life-styles are a constant research area for geographers interested in the consequences to communities of societal and environmental impacts (for example: Pizam 1978; Cook 1982; Lawrence et al. 1988; Long et al. 1988; Ap 1992; Lankford 1994). Recommendations by tourism and resource researchers focus on sustainable tourism planning and policy objectives that emphasize project justification and policies for tourism development which encourage human activities that do not maximize negative local environmental and community concerns (Sadler and Jacobs 1991; Butler 1993; Lane 1993; Sunderlin 1995).

In Canmore, controversy associated with rapid development indicated a need to evaluate the relationships between involved groups and to define sources of possible conflicts. For instance, the nature of the proposed residential developments—up-market condominiums, duplexes, single family dwellings and estate properties, as well as employee residences—suggested rising population numbers would be accompanied by a changing socio-economic and socio-demographic community profile. As changes occur in the socio-economic makeup of the community, full-time permanent residents of the town may fear the introduction of urban values into a rural quality of life. For example, in 1994, 13.7% of Canmore households consisted of part-time nonpermanent residents who owned second homes in Canmore and resided elsewhere on a permanent basis (Calgary Regional Planning Commission 1994). During this study, interview discussions and personal communication with nonpermanent residents suggested some second-home owners resided in Germany and the United States while many resided in large urban areas such as Calgary and Edmonton.

Although developers are often sensitive to the need for social and ecologically responsible tourism facility development, problems remain (Keogh 1989; Getz 1993). While developers of tourism resorts and facilities often acknowledge the need to mitigate social and environmental impacts, economic considerations and short-term goals remain strong motivations (Walker 1993). With regard to controversial resort development in Canmore, Hal Walker, President of Canmore Alpine Development Company Ltd. (now Stone Creek Development Company) stated:

When contemplating tourism development and the environment, we try to think of all the environmental considerations. But we also have to look at the economic considerations and think about the advantages of building something of this nature. Over its development period our project is going to generate 11,500 person-years of construction
employment and over $1 billion worth of construction. That is about $525 million of direct development cost from our project. The spin-off development that will occur as a result of this development is significant as well. We have to consider what that contribution is to the province of Alberta, including the tax dollars the development will generate (Walker 1993:47).

It is difficult to ignore large economic benefits as noted, yet even outstanding local and regional economic benefits must be measured against a potential for local social and environmental disruption.

Different views about tourism and tourism resort development may become important when considering resource decision-making that has the potential to create negative environmental and socio-cultural consequences for a host community. Controversial tourism facility development, such as proposed development for the Canmore tourism scenario, usually involves many groups and multifaceted considerations. Significant differences in perspectives of resource use may occur among groups of residents, special interest groups, developers, government officials, or expert groups such as resource managers and planners (for example: Craik 1970; Sewell 1971, 1974; Penning-Rowsell 1974; Kaplan 1977; Murphy 1983; Smardon et al. 1986; Dearden and Berg 1993; Madrigal 1995).

Residents’ Attitudes about Tourism Development and Community Life

A majority of tourism impact research has concentrated on tourism activities as they affect the host community (Murphy 1985). Many of these studies focused on residents’ perception of tourists and tourist activities. Various studies documented overall positive attitudes of host community residents (Pizam 1978; Rothman 1978; Sethna and Richmond 1978) while others focused on negative perceptions by residents of tourism activities (Bryden 1973; Jud and Krause 1976; Cook 1982; Lui et al. 1987). However, numerous studies have emphasized tourism’s capacity to generate both negative and positive attitudes and negative and positive impacts. Jaffari (1982) noted that emphasis on negative aspects of tourism often subverts positive social and economic contributions. Alternately, McKercher (1993) stressed fundamental truths about tourism activities are inherent and that the creation of negative impacts is unavoidable.

In recent years, studies examining residents’ perceptions of the impacts of tourism development on the host community show resi-
Dents may be influenced by a number of factors (Lankford and Howard 1994). These factors include economic considerations such as personal economic reliance on tourism, personal economic gains from tourism activities, the importance of the industry regionally and other factors such as the type and extent of resident-tourist interaction, and level and type of tourism development (Murphy 1985). Independent variables such as length of residency, economic dependency, socio-demographic characteristics, resident involvement in decision-making, or the level of knowledge about tourism activities and development can further influence residents' attitudes toward tourism activities and development (Long et al. 1990; Lankford and Howard 1994; Madrigal 1995). Some studies report generally positive attitudes while others note mixed or negative attitudes toward tourism based on similar variables (Long et al. 1990).

Destination areas may exhibit a wide range of social, cultural, and environmental impacts linked to overuse of the resource base. Tourism’s impact on the physical environment is well-documented. The construction of tourism developments in areas of fragile ecosystems can cause permanent damage to the environment and the biodiversity of the area, often destroying the original ecosystem (Singh et al. 1989). Air and water pollution, increases in traffic flows, parking and traffic congestion, rising land and house prices, and changes in social structure of host communities are just a few documented negative impacts from high tourist use and tourist development pressures (Inskeep 1991). Cheng (1980) noted possible negative impacts to the Canmore community might be intangible stresses of perceived threats such as the perception of increased crime or the perception of loss of quality of life and environment. These types of threats and perceived impacts are difficult to document although Cheng’s observations suggested their importance to residents. Duffield and Long (1981) noted intangible social, cultural, and environmental ‘disbenefits’ aroused the strongest complaints from residents.

Understanding different perspectives about controversial tourism development and the associated consequences of tourism activities is important for understanding the roles that resident groups and other interest groups have in decision-making processes and subsequently how environments may be used or protected. For research at the community level, residents’ attitudes should predominate, yet equally important is how residents’ perceptions differ from other groups such as business sectors and government interests. Each interest group is subject to a different paradigm (Farrell 1977) and significant differences in perception and attitudes will indicate possible areas of conflict over tourism land use and the consequences of perceived environmental and social impacts.
Research Purpose and Methodology

The purpose of this study was to contribute to an understanding of the issues of conflict about proposed tourism resort developments in Canmore as these were perceived by key interest groups of full-time permanent residents, part-time, weekend, and seasonal non-permanent residents, government officials and planners, and individuals and groups with expressed development interests. Data collection for the study included a three-part methodology: (1) an initial mail questionnaire that defined problem areas and issues of concern, (2) semi-structured interviews that uncovered key issues and variables and, (3) a final formal questionnaire that evaluated between-group differences about the priority of issues and attitudes toward tourism and tourism resort developments occurring in Canmore.

Emphasis was initially placed on resident-defined information to establish issues of concern and sources of possible between-group conflicts from a local perspective. This emphasis on resident-defined information required that parts one and two, the initial questionnaire and the interviews, be confined to resident groups only. Part one, the initial questionnaire, provided identification and categorization of issues of concern associated with the tourism resort developments in Canmore by residents. Part two, the semi-structured interviews, provided personal views by residents about the tourism resort developments which were used to create attitude statements specific to the Canmore tourism development scenario. Therefore, information received from parts one and two, the initial questionnaire and the interviews, provided the categories of residents’ concerns and attitude statements evaluated on part three, the final closed-answer questionnaire.

The initial questionnaire was a mail survey randomly distributed to 100 Canmore residents listed in the Banff/Canmore telephone directory. Without follow-up, the initial questionnaire resulted in a 31% response rate with 6.45% of these respondents being non-permanent residents. Next, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 33 resident volunteers to elicit personal views about industrial tourism development occurring in Canmore. A decision was made to use volunteer interviewees for two reasons: firstly, in a town that is being ‘examined to death’ it was felt that posting notices inviting volunteers would be less obtrusive than actively soliciting them; and secondly, even though self-selection may inject bias, the interviews were intended for understanding and clarification of issues ensuring inclusion of key concerns and variables on the final questionnaire. The interviewees were assured confidentiality. Finally,
part three of the research methodology, the final closed-answer question-naire, evaluated categories of concerns and attitude statements identified through the first two procedures of the methodology. The final questionnaire was distributed to all sample groups. Groups included 40 government officials and planners, 54 individuals with development interests in Canmore, 297 full-time permanent residents, and 47 part-time non-permanent residents.

Government officials and planners and those with development interests were the total individuals of these sample groups available and were considered 100% samples. Government officials and planners represented a range of positions from town, city, provincial and federal levels of government. Respondents with development interests included individuals from the local Canmore/Kananaskis Chamber of Commerce, the Canmore Urban Development Institute, tourism resort developers and employees, and individuals involved in the construction or marketing of tourism and residential properties in Canmore and the surrounding area. Government officials and planners and those with development interests were first contacted by telephone. Upon agreeing to participate, each government official or planner or individual with development interests was mailed a questionnaire with a self-addressed stamped envelope included for random mailback.

Questionnaires distributed to residents constituted a systematic random sample of residences based on location and residential land use zonation. Resident sample groups were based on a known household population of N=3272 and a desired sample size of 344 questionnaires where 13.7% of the responses should represent nonpermanent residents (Calgary Regional Planning Commission 1994). Permanent residents returned 168 questionnaires with a response rate of 56.56% and nonpermanent residents returned 32 questionnaires with a response rate of 68%. Of 32 nonpermanent resident respondents 25, or 78.1%, of these noted weekend resident status. Government officials and planners returned 25 questionnaires with a response rate of 62.5% and those with development interests returned 25 questionnaires with a response rate of 46.29%.

Resident-Defined Issues of Concern

Residents’ diverse range of concerns solicited on the initial questionnaire were categorized by the frequency of responses. Residents were asked to list concerns giving no particular order to responses. Consequently, categorization of residents’ concerns based on the frequency of responses initially did not reflect the importance given each concern. Residents’ concerns spanned a continuum from gen-
eral to specific. Issues of concern ranged from opinions about the rapid rate of tourism development in general to other comments about individual tourism resort developments or personal concerns. These concerns were placed into nine categories with subgroups used for ranking on the final questionnaire (Table 1).

Table 1  Final Categories of Resident’s Concerns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rate of Growth</th>
<th>Crime and Security</th>
<th>Wilderness/Environment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• limits to growth</td>
<td>• feeling secure</td>
<td>• wilderness/green spaces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• size of developments</td>
<td>• transient worker crime</td>
<td>• environmental impacts/damage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• residential vs. touristic presence</td>
<td>• traffic/congestion/parking</td>
<td>• wildlife concerns</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Development</th>
<th>Land and House Prices</th>
<th>Planning/Management</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• commercial development control</td>
<td>• affordable prices and taxes</td>
<td>• proper future planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• architectural/landscape standards</td>
<td>• housing for low-wage earners</td>
<td>• short-term vs. long-term</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• fear of becoming “another Banff”</td>
<td>• rising cost of living</td>
<td>• growth management vision</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infrastructure/Services</th>
<th>Transient Workers</th>
<th>Community and Culture</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• sewer/water</td>
<td>• transients vs. residents</td>
<td>• quality of life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• roads and traffic</td>
<td>• employment needs</td>
<td>• community identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• pedestrian and bicycle trails</td>
<td>• support staff housing</td>
<td>• develop cultural services</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Categories of residents’ concerns were ranked by each sample group on the final questionnaire. Priority was indicated by ranking from the first most important concern through to the ninth most important concern. All nine categories of concerns were considered important by initial questionnaire respondents and an indication of ‘lesser importance’ did not mean ‘unimportant’. Forced ranking of the categories ensured respondents indicated priority, however, the process did not differentiate between concerns that were given equal values. While missing values were low, some missing values may have reflected an inability by respondents to assign importance to categories of concerns perceived as having equal or similar value. Based on valid frequency counts, tables 2 through 5 indicate the
rank ordering of residents’ concerns by members of each key sample group. The use of valid percentages excluded the integration of missing values into the final percentages presented (Tables 2-5).

**Tables 2** Important Given Categories of Resident-defined Concerns by Group

**Table 2** Permanent Residents (n=168). Valid n range, 148 to 149.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First</th>
<th>Second</th>
<th>Third</th>
<th>Fourth</th>
<th>Fifth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wilderness/Environment</td>
<td>Wilderness/Environment</td>
<td>Type of Development</td>
<td>Rate of Growth</td>
<td>Infrastructure and Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 (19.5%)</td>
<td>30 (20.16)</td>
<td>30 (20.1%)</td>
<td>24 (16.1%)</td>
<td>22 (14.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land and House Prices</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 (19.5%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sixth</th>
<th>Seventh</th>
<th>Eighth</th>
<th>Ninth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Infrastructure and Services</td>
<td>Infrastructure and Services</td>
<td>Transient Workers</td>
<td>Transient Workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 (17.6%)</td>
<td>30 (20.3%)</td>
<td>29 (19.6%)</td>
<td>90 (60.8%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3** Nonpermanent Residents (n=32). Valid n range, 31 to 32.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First</th>
<th>Second</th>
<th>Third</th>
<th>Fourth</th>
<th>Fifth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Planning/Management</td>
<td>Rate of Growth</td>
<td>Wilderness/Environment</td>
<td>Community an Culture</td>
<td>Rate of Growth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 (25.0%)</td>
<td>9 (28.1)</td>
<td>8 (25.0%)</td>
<td>7 (22.6%)</td>
<td>6 (19.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning/Management</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Planning/Management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6 (19.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infrastructure and Services</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Infrastructure and Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6 (19.4%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sixth</th>
<th>Seventh</th>
<th>Eighth</th>
<th>Ninth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type of Development</td>
<td>Land and House Prices</td>
<td>Transient Workers</td>
<td>Transient Workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 (25.8%)</td>
<td>9 (29.0%)</td>
<td>9 (32.3%)</td>
<td>15 (48.4%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4  Government Officials and Planners (n=25) Valid n=24.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First</th>
<th>Second</th>
<th>Third</th>
<th>Fourth</th>
<th>Fifth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wilderness/Environment</td>
<td>Wilderness Environment</td>
<td>Rate of Growth</td>
<td>Planning/Management</td>
<td>Type of Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 (31.8%)</td>
<td>5 (22.7%)</td>
<td>6 (27.3%)</td>
<td>6 (27.3%)</td>
<td>5 (22.7%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sixth</th>
<th>Seventh</th>
<th>Eighth</th>
<th>Ninth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Infrastructure and Services</td>
<td>Crime and Security</td>
<td>Land and House Prices</td>
<td>Transient Workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 (22.7%)</td>
<td>9 (40.9%)</td>
<td>5 (22.7%)</td>
<td>12 (54.5%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5  Development Interests (n=25). Valid n=24.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First</th>
<th>Second</th>
<th>Third</th>
<th>Fourth</th>
<th>Fifth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Planning/Management</td>
<td>Community and Culture</td>
<td>Wilderness/Environment</td>
<td>Type of Development</td>
<td>Infrastructure and Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 (50.0%)</td>
<td>7 (29.2%)</td>
<td>6 (25.0%)</td>
<td>8 (33.3%)</td>
<td>6 (25.0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sixth</th>
<th>Seventh</th>
<th>Eighth</th>
<th>Ninth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rate of Growth</td>
<td>Crime and Security</td>
<td>Crime and Security</td>
<td>Transient Workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 (20.8%)</td>
<td>5 (20.8%)</td>
<td>9 (37.5%)</td>
<td>13 (54.2%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comparative frequency results showed trends about the importance given specific concerns by members of specific key interest groups. Results indicated the highest numbers of permanent residents and government officials and planners responded that ‘wilderness and environment’ was a first area of concern associated with tourism activities and tourism facility development in Canmore. In fact, concerns about ‘wilderness and environment’ dominated both first and second categories of importance for permanent residents and government officials and planners (Tables 2 and 4). ‘Wilderness and environment’ was ranked third by the highest number of nonpermanent residents and respondents with development interests (Tables 3 and 5). Concerns about ‘wilderness and environment’ were important to all sample groups although greater numbers of permanent residents and government officials and planners prioritized these issues than did nonpermanent residents or respondents with
development interests (Tables 2–5).

The highest number of nonpermanent resident members and the highest number of respondents with development interests indicated that ‘planning and management’ was an important concern (Tables 3 and 5). In contrast, concerns about ‘planning and management’ were ranked fourth by many government officials and planners, suggesting specific concerns about ‘wilderness and environment’ and ‘rate of growth’ perhaps overshadowed general planning and management concerns for many members of this professional group (Table 4).

A high number of respondents with development interests placed ‘community and culture’ as a second concern and a high number of nonpermanent residents placed ‘community and culture’ as a fourth concern (Tables 3 and 5). Research suggests that many nonpermanent, weekend, or seasonal home owners may seek rural residency to attain a small-town community atmosphere and perceived rural characteristics of living (Phillips 1990; Gartner et al. 1996). Many nonpermanent resident respondents also identified ‘rate of growth’ as a second area of concern (Table 3). This view may have reflected the perspective by these respondents that continued rapid growth of population and development would degrade attractive natural and community characteristics nonpermanent residents sought by moving to Canmore. It is possible some respondents with development interests and some nonpermanent resident respondents also placed a priority on the retention of small-town cultural and community features as important to future home buying or investment markets.

Many permanent residents considered ‘land and house prices’ an important concern (Table 2). Most members of other groups did not consider ‘land and house prices’ as a highly important issue. The highest number of nonpermanent resident respondents placed concerns about ‘land and house prices’ seventh and the highest number of government officials and planners placed this concern eighth (Tables 3 and 4). Presumably, the general resident population found rising real estate prices indicative of a huge investment for people considering settling and raising families in Canmore. For resident groups with home ownership, such as nonpermanent residents or some long-term permanent residents, rocketing house prices could be considered a blessing due to rising market values.

Type of development’ was ranked third, fourth, fifth, or sixth by many members of various sample groups (Tables 2-5). This indicated that concerns about the type of developments occurring were given moderate emphasis by many respondents in all sample groups. Concerns about ‘infrastructure and services’ and ‘rate of growth’
were ranked fourth, fifth, sixth, or seventh by the highest number of members of various sample groups (Tables 2-5). While the placement of these resident-defined concerns varied by rank and by sample group, the tendency was for concerns about ‘infrastructure and services’ and ‘rate of growth’ to be given less priority than concerns about ‘type of development’.

Past research about Canmore has tended to place an emphasis on concerns by residents about possible transient labour problems and associated crime and security issues (Cheng 1980; Andressen 1983). Research results from this study indicated that an emphasis on transient worker problems and crime and security issues have decreased over time while an increasing emphasis has been placed on other characteristics related to the rapid rate of growth and the type of industrial tourism development occurring in the area. Categories of ‘crime and security’ and ‘transient workers’ were given less priority by the highest number of respondents in all sample groups (Tables 2-5). Many respondents from all groups agreed that transient workers and associated problems were less important than the eight other categories of resident-defined concerns. Results suggested a shift over time of the importance of certain local concerns associated with growth and development in Canmore. While transient worker problems and crime and security issues remained important, the rapid rate of growth and development and the large-scale industrial tourism projects proposed for construction magnified residents’ concerns about other environmental, community, and tourism outcomes.

Attitudes About Industrial Tourism and Tourism Resort Developments

Attitude statements were developed specific to the Canmore tourism scenario. Key problem areas emerged regularly during interviews. These problem areas related to: the influx of weekend residents to the area; the proximity of Banff National Park to the town and the need for responsible nature-sensitive planning; the rapid rate and type of tourism development occurring; the quality of tourism employment for local residents; the amount of residential housing development occurring; the development of a high number of golf courses; and the possible displacement of full-time residents to other nearby towns due to rising local housing costs. Other attitude statements evaluated public participation, the recent Growth Management Strategy process, and general tourism concerns.

Lankford and Howard (1994) suggested a need for standardized measurement of resident attitudes toward tourism develop-
At the same time, many local tourism development issues are case-specific and directly dependent on local natural and community environments. Broad tourism-generated attitude statements may not always address environment-specific and often controversial issues associated with local tourism developments and general attitude statements may define tourism issues from other than resident perspectives. This study attempted to balance both attitude statements about general tourism issues and statements addressing local problem issues defined by residents. For example, the determination of attitudes about employment from tourism is a generally tested research area (Murphy 1985) while the determination of attitudes about the proximity of Banff National Park is case-specific and locally-defined.

As input into decision-making procedures, the evaluation of attitude statements gives evidence of group values and an indication of collective beliefs, ideals, and group preferences. Thirteen attitude statements specific to the Canmore tourism scenario were rated by respondents on the final questionnaire. The percentage of agreement or disagreement to these attitude statements by sample group is shown in Figure 3. Frequencies of response ratings for the thirteen attitude statements were evaluated for group differences using Kruskal and Wallis’ test (Kruskal and Wallis 1952) for unmatched independent samples at an alpha level of .05. The definition of significant between-group differences for twelve of the thirteen statements indicated use of Mann-Whitney U tests was appropriate. Mann-Whitney U tests for pair-wise comparison were next employed using a more stringent alpha level of .01. Significant between-group differences, as results of Mann-Whitney U comparative test results, are presented noting alpha levels of .05 and .01 (Table 6) and, where appropriate, are supplemented by a descriptive comparison of frequencies of agreement or disagreement by group.

**Significant Between-group Attitudinal Differences**

Significant attitudinal differences existed between all sample groups for various attitude statements reflecting varying levels of agreement and disagreement, however, attitudinal differences were more pronounced between certain groups than others. For example, between-group attitudinal differences were emphasized between permanent residents and those with development interests as well as between government officials and planners and those with development interests. Measures of significant difference (at $p=.01$) existed for ten of thirteen attitude statements between permanent residents and respondents with development interests and between
government officials and planners and those with development interests (Table 6).

Between-group attitudinal differences were less pronounced for comparisons between other sample groups. Significant differences occurred for eight of thirteen attitude statements between nonpermanent residents and respondents with development inter-

---

**Table 3** Percentage Agreement of Disagreement to Attitude Statements by Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ATTITUDE STATEMENT</th>
<th>PERCENT DISAGREEMENT</th>
<th>PERCENT AGREEMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The development of tourism and tourism facilities will improve the appearance of the Canmore community.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increasing the number of tourists visiting the Canmore area will improve the local economy.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The development of tourism and tourism facilities will create quality employment for local residents.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The community should try to attract more weekend residents to the area</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The closeness of Banff National Park should influence the planning and management of tourism development.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The development of golf courses is a desirable feature of tourism development in Canmore.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Growth Management Strategy process has been beneficial for Canmore residents.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism facility development is more desirable when accompanied by residential housing development</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The development of tourism and tourism facilities will enhance the quality of life of Canmore residents.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public participation by residents is important when planning and developing tourism services and facilities.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The development of tourism and tourism facilities will degrade the quality of the natural environment.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Canmore community should limit and control the rate of population growth.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The development of tourism and tourism facilities will cause the displacement of residents to other communities.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*On a 5-point Likert Scale the respondents disagreeing with statements are placed at 4 and 5 and the respondents agreeing with statements are placed at 1 and 2. Uses valid percentages and excludes responses of ‘no opinion’ which are placed at 3 on the 5-point scale.*
ests (Table 6). Mann-Whitney U test measures indicated the least pronounced attitudinal differences existed between government officials and planners and resident sample groups. Comparison of nonpermanent residents and government officials and planners

Table 6  Between-Group Attitudinal Differences
(Mann-Whitney U tests)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitude Statement</th>
<th>Permanent vs Nonpermanent</th>
<th>Permanent vs Nonpermanent</th>
<th>Permanent vs Nonpermanent</th>
<th>Permanent vs Nonpermanent</th>
<th>Permanent vs Nonpermanent</th>
<th>Decel vs Planners</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The development of tourism &amp; tourism facilities will improve the appearance of the Canmore community</td>
<td>$z = -0.514$ $p = .9590$</td>
<td>$z = 2.103$ $p = .8334$</td>
<td>$z = 4.5934$ $p = .0000$</td>
<td>$z = -1.301$ $p = .8695$</td>
<td>$z = 3.7187$ $p = .0002$</td>
<td>$z = 3.3145$ $p = .0009$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increasing the number of tourists visiting the area will improve the local economy</td>
<td>$z = -5.634$ $p = .5732$</td>
<td>$z = -0.3190$ $p = .7497$</td>
<td>$z = 4.296$ $p = .0000$</td>
<td>$z = -1.414$ $p = .8876$</td>
<td>$z = 3.7235$ $p = .0002$</td>
<td>$z = 3.5042$ $p = .0005$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The development of tourism &amp; tourism facilities will create quality employment for local residents</td>
<td>$z = 1.4026$ $p = .1607$</td>
<td>$z = -0.4708$ $p = -.6378$</td>
<td>$z = 4.701$ $p = .0000$</td>
<td>$z = -1.5381$ $p = .1240$</td>
<td>$z = -28.526$ $p = .0043$</td>
<td>$z = 3.5246$ $p = .0004$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The community should try to attract more weekend residents to the area</td>
<td>$z = -2.6786$ $p = .0074$</td>
<td>$z = -1.6741$ $p = .0941$</td>
<td>$z = 3.8590$ $p = .0001$</td>
<td>$z = -3.0205$ $p = .0025$</td>
<td>$z = 1.3410$ $p = .1799$</td>
<td>$z = 3.7945$ $p = .0001$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The closeness of Banff Nat’l Park to Canmore should influence the planning &amp; management of tourism development</td>
<td>$z = -3.4177$ $p = .0006$</td>
<td>$z = -2.8530$ $p = .0043$</td>
<td>$z = -1.2152$ $p = .2243$</td>
<td>$z = -0.274$ $p = .9781$</td>
<td>$z = -1.8436$ $p = .0652$</td>
<td>$z = -1.6395$ $p = .1011$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The development of golf courses is a desirable feature of tourism development in Canmore</td>
<td>$z = -0.6622$ $p = .5053$</td>
<td>$z = -1.847$ $p = .2361$</td>
<td>$z = -0.1999$ $p = .0001$</td>
<td>$z = 1.2595$ $p = .2078$</td>
<td>$z = -2.8783$ $p = .0040$</td>
<td>$z = -3.4748$ $p = .0011$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Growth Management Strategy process has been beneficial for Canmore residents</td>
<td>$z = 2.5559$ $p = .0106$</td>
<td>$z = -2.5230$ $p = .0116$</td>
<td>$z = 0.1130$ $p = .001$</td>
<td>$z = 3.8303$ $p = .0001$</td>
<td>$z = 5.4936$ $p = .0000$</td>
<td>$z = 2.7378$ $p = .0062$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism facility development is more desirable when accompanied by residential housing development</td>
<td>$z = 2.2439$ $p = .0248$</td>
<td>$z = -0.5635$ $p = -.3731$</td>
<td>$z = 2.2117$ $p = .0270$</td>
<td>$z = -1.9265$ $p = .0540$</td>
<td>$z = 3.8679$ $p = .0384$</td>
<td>$z = -1.8432$ $p = .0653$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The development of tourism &amp; tourism facilities will enhance the quality of life of Canmore residents</td>
<td>$z = 5.4830$ $p = .5835$</td>
<td>$z = -0.3873$ $p = -.6985$</td>
<td>$z = -4.1939$ $p = .0000$</td>
<td>$z = -0.349$ $p = .9722$</td>
<td>$z = -3.2399$ $p = .0012$</td>
<td>$z = -2.9332$ $p = .0034$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public participation by residents is important when planning &amp; developing tourism services &amp; facilities</td>
<td>$z = -0.5735$ $p = .5663$</td>
<td>$z = -1.8990$ $p = .0576$</td>
<td>$z = -1.4388$ $p = .1502$</td>
<td>$z = -1.1090$ $p = .2674$</td>
<td>$z = -1.473$ $p = .1407$</td>
<td>$z = -2.9030$ $p = .01608$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
resulted in only two significant attitudinal difference measures while comparison of permanent residents and government officials and planners produced only one measure of significant difference (Table 6). Also, the comparison of permanent residents and nonpermanent residents indicated values of significant differences for only two attitude statements (Table 6).

Group Attitudinal Differences

Based on these results, respondents with development interests possessed differing attitudes about many Canmore-specific tourism issues than did other sample groups. Major attitudinal differences occurred between respondents with development interests and the various other sample groups for attitudes about whether: the development of tourism and tourism facilities would improve the appearance of the Canmore community; increasing the number of tourists visiting the Canmore area would improve the local economy; the development of tourism and tourism facilities would create quality employment for local residents; the community should try and attract more weekend residents to the area; the development of golf courses was a desirable feature of tourism development in Canmore; the Growth Management Strategy process was beneficial for Canmore residents; the development of tourism and tourism facilities would enhance the quality of life of Canmore residents; the development of tourism and tourism facilities would degrade the quality of the natural environment and; the Canmore community should limit and control the rate of population growth (Table 6).

As previously shown, ‘wilderness and environment’ was an important concern of many full-time permanent residents and gov-
ernment officials and planners (Tables 2 and 4). When asked if the
development of tourism and tourism facilities would degrade the
quality of the natural environment, most permanent, nonpermanent
residents and planners agreed while most with development inter-
est interests disagreed (Figure 3). Mann-Whitney U measures of significant
differences occurred for this attitude statement between respond-
ents with development interests and all other sample groups (Table
6). Given these results, respondents with development interests
possessed very different attitudes about possible effects from the
development of tourism and tourism facilities on the physical envi-
ronment than did other sample groups.

Attitude statements that received high responses of agreement
from development interests and comparatively lower responses of
agreement from all other sample groups were (1) the development
of tourism and tourism facilities would improve the appearance of
the Canmore community, (2) the development of tourism and tour-
ism facilities would create quality employment for local residents,
(3) the development of golf courses was a desirable feature of tour-
ism development in Canmore and, (4) the development of tourism
and tourism facilities would enhance the quality of life for Canmore
residents (Figure 3). Development interests tended to indicate agree-
ment with statements that promoted industrial touristic benefits to
residents and the community. Also, development interests tended
to disagree that the Canmore community should limit and control
the rate of population growth while most respondents in other sam-
ple groups tended to agree (Figure 3).

A number of attitude statements received general agreement
from all sample groups. These included statements about: increas-
ing the number of tourists visiting the Canmore area would improve
the local economy; the closeness of Banff National Park should in-
fluence the planning and management of tourism development; and
public participation by residents is important when planning and
developing tourism services and facilities (Figure 3). Mann-Whitney
U measures of significant differences between development inter-
est interests and other groups for these statements indicated differences of
the strength of agreement along the evaluation scale. For example,
when considering whether increasing the number of tourists to the
area would improve the economy most respondents with develop-
ment interests strongly agreed while the majority of respondents in
other sample groups solely agreed (varying levels of agreement and
disagreement have been grouped together in Figure 3).

The recently completed Growth Management Strategy left a high
number of permanent and nonpermanent residents with no opin-
ion about the process, although government officials and planners,
and those with development interests, agreed the process had been beneficial for Canmore residents (Figure 3). One reason for agreement by these groups may be greater inclusion in the process by government officials and planners and those with development interests than by the general resident population. At the time of final questionnaire distribution, Growth Management Strategy recommendations (Town of Canmore 1995b) were not yet available to the general public. High responses of ‘no opinion’ by resident groups indicated a possible lack of knowledge about the process and the committee’s recommendations.

Conclusion

Although small samples in this study excluded statistical certainty, the use of non-parametric tests such as Kruskal Wallis and Mann-Whitney U are reliable for analyzing non-normal distributions and give significant measures of comparison. Also, frequency statistics about resident concerns and attitudes toward tourism development in Canmore revealed perceptual trends of the four sample groups. The analysis revealed group variations, similarities, and differences among full-time permanent residents, part-time non-permanent residents, government planners and officials, and those with development interests for views about industrial tourism pressures and tourism resort developments proposed for Canmore and the surrounding area.

Results indicated that groups evaluated were varied and diverse in their views of tourism and future tourism resort developments proposed for the Town of Canmore, Alberta. Between-group differences existed among all sample groups yet varied by emphasis on specific concerns or attitudes. For example, individuals with development interests placed less importance on wilderness and natural environment concerns than did many permanent residents and government officials and planners. Also, the majority of respondents with development interests disagreed with the attitude statement suggesting tourism and tourism facility development would degrade the quality of the natural environment while other group members tended to agree that degradation of the natural environment would occur. In contrast, all sample groups agreed concerns about crime and security issues and transient worker problems were of less importance than the other eight resident-defined categories of concerns.

Between-group attitudinal differences occurred between all study groups yet were pronounced between private and public groups. Mann-Whitney U tests revealed significant differences of attitudes between private development interests and groups of per-
manent residents and government officials and planners. Significant differences existed between development interests and all other groups for between eight and ten of the thirteen attitude statements tested. Most respondents with development interests indicated agreement with attitude statements that promoted industrial touristic benefits to residents and the community. For example, those with development interests tended to agree that the development of tourism and tourism facilities would improve the appearance of the Canmore community, that tourism and tourism development would create quality employment for residents, and that tourism and tourism facilities would enhance the quality of life of Canmore residents. In contrast, permanent residents tended to disagree with these perspectives (Figure 3).

Results indicated that development interests’ attitudes during decision-making procedures about tourism and tourism development concerns in Canmore may vary considerably from other key sample groups. A few group attitudinal differences between permanent residents and government officials and planners were present, as were a few attitudinal differences between permanent residents and non-permanent residents, as well as between government planners and nonpermanent resident members. These results suggested, that during decision-making procedures all sample groups would find at least one problem area about which to argue and create conflict with another sample group.

All groups agreed that public participation is desirable during tourism planning and development processes. Concerns about Canmore’s future as a resort destination will ensure that public participation processes continue into the future. It is during public participation and decision-making procedures that findings from this study become useful. With many viewpoints involved, public input can be costly and time-consuming if between-group differences are not identified prior to procedures such as environmental assessments or the formulation of planning and management considerations. Key issues and themes can be targeted for discussion and resolution when between-group differences are identified prior to public and private input procedures.

References


Lane, B. (1993) Sustainable tourism: A philosophy for tourism, the environment, and the community. Rural Tourism Unit, Department of Continuing Education, University of Bristol, England.


Minister of Supply and Services (1986) *In trust for tomorrow, a management framework for four mountain parks*. Parks Canada, Environment Canada, pp.80.


Pizam, A. (1978) Tourism impacts: The social costs to the destination community as perceived by its residents. *Journal of Travel Research*, 16(Spring):8–12.


**Acknowledgements**

The base map of Figure 1 was produced by Hans Reisenleiter of the Canadian Parks Service, Banff National Park. Figure 3 was created by Robin Poitras of the Department of Geography, University of Calgary.