LANDSCAPE CHANGES AND THE DECISION MAKING PROCESS IN THE WHISTLER MOUNTAIN AREA

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Landscape Changes and the
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ABSTRACT

The changes a landscape undergoes are often the outcome of man's actions within his physical and cultural environment. One way through which the forces bringing about such changes can be identified is to study and analyse those decision makers who are responsible for those changes and to analyse the decision processes employed by them. Much has been written with regard to decision making and location theory, but little which relates decision making and its agents to specific area development. This study attempts to trace the consequences of decision making on a particular landscape and to identify what variables were instrumental in this process. The decision maker's perception of his socio-cultural environment, his field of knowledge and his choice among perceived alternatives are recognized as essential principles in the decision making process. These principles not only influence decisions to be made, but are also part of an interacting relationship which influence decision making to varying degrees according to individual circumstance. In making decisions, man reflects his perception of his fellow man

and the influence organizations and institutions have upon him and his environment. Through identifying the decision making process by the changes a landscape undergoes, a decision maker, by his actions, can be seen in a spatial context which can be identified on a map.

The changes the landscape in the area selected for study has undergone are so recent that it was possible to trace certain aspects of the decisional process and its effects on the landscape and to substantiate them through first-hand investigation of the decision makers responsible for these changes. Decision making in its spatial context can be seen as a reflection of the socio-cultural experiences of a decision maker and his response to them. Landscape changes also are an outcome of the dominating influences of some decision makers over others.

Decision making is an essential aspect of land development analysis and the effects of decision making on the landscape should be of interest to the geographer. The aim of this study is to gain added insight into this problem and to suggest an explanation of how changes on the landscape occur as the result of man's actions.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Existing land use patterns are primarily the outcome of man's work within his physical and cultural environment. Accordingly, the physical character of the landscape undergoes changes for a variety of reasons. Among the predominant factors of such changes are those which are identified as entrepreneurial foresight and the demand for recreational areas, combined with the existing desire to make use of an area's amenities. Additionally, and although they may not always be identifiable, such forces as a changing demographic structure, market expansion, government control and changing transportation systems may also have influence upon an area's development.

This paper is an attempt to study a particular area and to analyse the specific forces that were at work in bringing about the changes the landscape in that area has undergone. One way in which these forces and their effects may be identified is to study and analyse the decision making process employed by the various agents involved in an area's changing landscape. Assum-

ing that artificial landscape changes are always preceded by a decision making process in which one or several decision making agents have a direct influence upon the changes a landscape undergoes, decision making becomes one of the most important aspects of spatial development.

Geographers have made many attempts to describe processes of change as they can be observed on the landscape. Geographic literature offers locational theories with respect to behavior and decision making; while the economic literature offers many explanations and theories in the field of decision making processes.[1] There have, however, been few detailed attempts by geographers to examine the processes whereby decisions are arrived at and specify which individuals were responsible for particular features of the changing landscape. Thus, while the literature offers pertinent data as to decision

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[1]See: P.R. Gould, "Man Against His Environment: A Game Theoretic Framework," A.A.A.G., LIII (Sept., 1963), 290-97; M.L. Greenhut, "The Decision Process and Entrepreneurial Returns," Manchester School of Economic and Social Studies, XXXIV (Sept., 1966), 247-67; W. Isard and M.F. Dacey, "On the Projection of Individual Behavior in Regional Analysis," Journal of Regional Science, IV (Sept., 1962), 1-34; Alan Pred, Behavior and Location, Lund Studies in Geography, No. 27, (Lund: The Royal University of Lund, Dept. of Geography, 1967). For economic literature, see: Y. Aharoni, The Foreign Investment Decision Process, (Boston: Div. of Research, Grad. School of Bus. Admin., Harvard, 1966); K.J. Arrow, "Utilities, Attitudes, Choices: A Review Note," Econometrica, XXVI (January, 1958), 1-23; H.G. Berkman, "The Game Theory of Land Use Determination," Land Economics, XLI (Feb., 1965), 11-19; W. Edwards and A. Tversky, eds.

making processes, and behavioral and locational theory, there is a lack of information and emphasis on the actual effects of the decisional processes and their agents in specific area development.

Statement of the Problem

It is the purpose of this study to identify which individuals gave rise to which changes in the natural and artificial landscape in the Whistler Mountain area. Careful consideration is given to the decision making process of those individuals. A primary concern of this study is to trace the decision processes employed by the decision makers, show how their decisions brought about changes on the landscape, and identify trends or specific characteristics of this landscape which are the direct or possibly indirect result of the decision makers' actions. One essential aspect of this study is to try to indicate what particular set

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Decision Making, (Harmondsworth, Eng., Penguin Books Ltd., 1967); H. Hax, Die Koordination von Entscheidungen, (Karl Heyman's Verlag, K.G., 1965); R. J. Hudley, et. al., Decision Making, (London: The British Broadcasting Corp., 1967); R. D. Luce and H. Raiffa, Games and Decisions, (New York: Wiley and Sons, 1957); H. A. Simon, "Theories of Decision Making in Economics and Behavioral Science," The Am. Ec. Rev., XLIX (June, 1959), 253-83; P. Vathavikul, Decision Theory and Regional Economic Growth: A Model Resource Utilization in the Context of Regional Opportunity Loss, (Ph.D. Dissertation, Cornell Univ., 1966).

of values were evoked in the decisions made, and what information was available. This study also seeks to establish the degree of influence of the various decision makers and indicate why some were more influential than others in the area's development. In addition, an attempt will be made to analyse several of the components involved in the decisional process and to gain specific insight into the functions and results of this process as evidenced in the development of the research area. In summary, it is the aim of this study to illuminate certain factors of the changes the area investigated has undergone by documenting why some decision making agents were doing what they were doing and why they were doing it.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In general, decision making may be seen as a process of choice between a set of alternatives where these alternatives are being determined by the perception the decision maker, as an individual or as an aggregate group, has of the real world.[2] The process of decision making thus implies that a decision maker, after careful consideration of all perceived aspects of a particular problem, after weighing all perceived possible alternatives against each other and after debating all perceived probable consequences, has come to a satisfactory conclusion. The resulting decision is therefore "assumed to be a final product of a logical process, at the end of which doubts end and action begins."[3] The choice a decision maker has made among a set of available alternatives is that choice which

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[2]Vathavikul, op. cit., p. 22.

[3]Aharoni, op. cit., p. 14.

ranked highest with him, recognizing that some alternatives were limited to him as a result of economic, political, physical or other limitations.[4]

In the past, social scientists tried to account for the behavior of and choices made by individuals. Psychologists and economists have produced a large body of theory in an attempt to explain human choice and decision making. These theories may be divided into two major categories: (1) Those called "normative," referring to the quality of decision as an act; and, (2) those called "behavioral," dealing with the context of the action and the location of the actor within the system of action.[5]

The application of decision theory to the problem-solving situation encountered within economics and geography and its application on the physical landscape demands a cognitive approach by the decision maker in order to enable him to respond satisfactorily to the demands of the normative and behavioral aspects of decision making. That is, the decision maker is not only limited by the range of possible alternatives,[6] but he must also be aware of "his value system and the way he internalizes the values of the various outcomes" and

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[4]Arrow, op. cit., p. 2.

[5]R. Duncan Luce and Howard Raiffa, op. cit., p. 13, cited in Vathavikul, op. cit., p. 24.

[6]Ibid., p. 25.

"his subjective attitude towards risk or more generally, towards uncertainty."[7]

Suggestions have been made in the literature to analyse decision problems through various elements, steps or characteristics.[8] Accordingly, the basic elements of decision problems are identified as sets of possible decisions or actions, outcomes or results; a network of relationships between decision and outcome; and the various costs involved with every outcome.[9] The elements of the logical model of decision making are explained in four stages--those of doubt, enquiry, alternatives, and verification.[10] The basic structure of decision making is defined as the result of analysed processes between two or more decision makers and from outside sources, taking into consideration the degree and possible exchange of information, the associated cost, and the evaluation of the results by the decision maker.[11]

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[7]Ibid.

[8]See R.J. Hudley, op. cit., for a discussion of the basic decision making elements; Aharoni, op. cit., for an outline of the elements of the logical model of decision making; and H. Hax, op. cit., for an outline of the basic structure of decision making.

[9]Hudley, loc. cit., p. 62.

[10]Aharoni, loc. cit., pp. 18-19.

[11]Hax, loc. cit., p. 19.

One assumption which is certainly predominant in the economic literature is that of "Economic Man." This economic man assumption has three properties: (1) Economic man is completely informed--he not only knows all sources of action but also knows the outcome; (2) he is infinitely sensitive--all alternatives to an individual are continuous functions; and (3) he is rational and is able to maximize.[12] These assumptions are severely criticized, however, and labeled as "preposterously omniscient rationality"[13] and, as a result, have been substituted with the principle of bounded rationality.[14] This, mainly because population was found not to behave according to the economic man assumption and because of some spatial implications,[15] market behavior and time factors which make it impossible to make decisions toward optimum location and maximum profit.[16]

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[12]Edwards and Tversky, op. cit., p. 14.

[13]H.A. Simon, Administrative Behavior, (New York: 1957, 2nd. ed.), p. xxiii, cited in Pred, op. cit., p. 8.

[14]Pred, loc. cit.

[15]Julian Wolpert, "The Decision Process in Spatial Context," A.A.A.G. LIV (Dec., 1964), p. 537.

[16]Pred, loc. cit.

Within the framework of decision making theory a decision maker (according to the economic man assumption) is confronted with a set of alternatives from which he selects one or more courses of action through a "rational selection process."[17] The more complex framework of decisional theory--that dealing with "adaptive" or "learning" models and associated with behavior, either rational or non-rational--is that which is incorporated in the theory of bounded rationality.[18] This theory replaces the concept of optimal processes with economic behavior in which the decision maker classifies various alternatives, satisfactory or not, ranks them and acts in accordance with his desired standards of achievement and status. A decision maker, whether an individual or a group, is not only influenced by "facts of the choice situation, he is also a product of his environment--the set of social, political and economic forces around him."[19] The economists' theories of decision making in this respect agree with those of the social psychologists since the "role" a decision maker plays within the social system is the result in

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[17]Wilson and Alexis, op. cit., p. 214.

[18]Arrow, op. cit., pp. 1-23.

[19]Wilson and Alexis, loc. cit., p. 215.

part of the environment's influence on his decision making by his perception of the environment, his beliefs and knowledge which characterize his personality.[20]

In making decisions man reflects his perception not only of people but also of the roles his fellow man plays, the influence organizations and institutions have upon his environment and the effect these influences have on his emotions.[21] In his role as a decision maker man must therefore be viewed as being influenced by his personality and character, his environment and culture. The process of decision making becomes even more complex when a decision maker is influenced by adapting the behavior of other individuals and thus creating a multi-personal behavior which in turn influences his decision making.[22] Moreover, "perception and cognition intervene between the decision maker and his objective environment" complicating the decisional process.[23] In addition, since the decision maker is only aware of "a minute fraction of all relevant characteristics of the real environment, and his references extract only a minute fraction of all the information" of his decision model, his perception of the real situation will be distorted.[24]

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[20]Simon, op. cit., p. 274.

[21]Wilson and Alexis, op. cit., p. 226.

[22]Arrow, op. cit., p. 18.

[23]Simon, loc. cit., p. 272. [24]Ibid.

This element of the decision process applies equally to group and individual decision making. In group decision making a group of individuals represents a subset in which the individuals play a role according to their individual personalities and characters and thus are "mutually influencing each other through a continual process of interaction."[25] Every individual of this subset is intimately associated with a "variety of other systems of which he is a part" and thus has his own strategies and goals to which the organization or group must adapt.[26] As a result, the goals or ends the decision maker tries to reach may in some instances be clearly defined while in others may create difficulties depending upon whether or not these choices or decisions were influenced by past choices and outcomes.[27] Furthermore, decision makers are affected not only by "the socioeconomic status of the locational actor," but also "by his private information field," thus influencing the "quality of information in his possession.[28]

One other aspect decision makers must take into consideration is that which is implied within the concept of "intervening opportunities." According to this concept,

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[25]Aharoni, op. cit., p. 32. [26]Ibid., p. 33.

[27]Wilson and Alexis, op. cit., p. 215.

[28]Pred., op. cit., p. 34.

the distance people are willing to move is "directly proportional to the percentage increase in opportunities at that distance." This theory thus points to a relationship between opportunity and mobility over space as the result of "historical, geographic, economic, political, and social factors" varying from space to space and over time.[29] This may be illustrated by the value of land, whereby land value is a function of its accessibility--i.e. of price and commuting. That is, the quantity of land used or purchased is in direct relationship with other goods purchased or with the distance and the price of the land.[30] Hence, land use is directly controlled by market behavior. Any spatial distribution, therefore, or any array of economic features on the landscape are an aggregate reflection of individual decision making;[31] and any "pattern of spatial interaction, is an aggregate manifestation of individual decisional acts made at a personal and/or firm level."[32]

Finally, "in any given situation, each locational decision making unit or actor, be it a single person or

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[29]S.A. Stouffer, "Intervening Opportunities: A Theory Relating Mobility and Distance," American Sociological Review, V (June, 1940), pp. 846-47.

[30]Berkman, op. cit., pp. 11-19.

[31]Pred. op. cit., pp. 10-11. [32]Ibid., p. 21.

firm, can be thought of as jointly having a real spatial attribute (site and situation, land use or path of movement) that is reproducable on a map."[33]

The foregoing outline of the decision making literature has been designed for its applicability for research into the influence of decision making on the changes a landscape undergoes. As such, it may be helpful in giving a better understanding and insight into the processes and forces which are at work in changing the land use, the character of the landscape and the directional growth of an area.

Limitations of the Study

The economic as well as the geographic literature is replete with examples of decision making studies. Consequently, for any particular area, a number of decision making theories may apply, the implementations of which may have influence upon an area in varying degrees. The analysis of such development as to the influence of the decision making processes requires that a very carefully selected test be employed to determine which if any of the theories offered in the literature are or were at work in the area to be analysed; what type of decision making agents did in fact bring about identifiable changes; and to what degree individual agents were responsible

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[33]Pred., op. cit., p. 24.

for these changes. To stay within the framework and scope of this research it became necessary to compare the impact of the decision makers influential in the research area and then choose those who appeared to be the most important for the analysis of the influences of decision making processes within the research area. Rather than identify all the decision making agents who could be determined, it was felt that a detailed analysis of the most important decision processes and agents and their influence would be of greater value in the understanding of the study area's development. By carefully weighing the influence of all the decision making agents, only those were chosen who were found to be not only influential upon the landscape itself, but also in varying degrees influenced other decision makers or were in some way responsible for the present character of the landscape of the research area. In order to keep the study within manageable limits, the case study area was confined to a region where the more important decision makers are identifiable.

Introduction of Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were selected because it was felt that they allow for the broadest possible interpretation of the influence of decision making upon the landscape in the research area and still remain within the scope of this paper.

1. The changes a landscape will undergo are a reflection of the total information available to the decision maker and the various social and economic motivations which have influence upon him.
2. Some decision makers are more influential than others and the resulting effects can identified on the landscape.
3. Some decision making processes are influenced by other decision making processes and their ensuing effects on the landscape can be identified.

Within the wide spectrum of forces which bring about changes in the landscape and which are the result of decision making factors, changes may occur which are the result of the varying degrees of influence a decision maker has within a given area. These changes may be the result of entrepreneurial foresight, the need to satisfy economic goals, role-playing by the decision maker, or they may be the result of social aims and role-playing of the decision maker which in turn may be consequent of the various cultural influences acting upon him. The changes a landscape undergoes may thus be the result of a single or a multitude of such forces.

The necessary data for the investigation and its applicability to the hypotheses suggested was mainly derived through fieldwork. An interviewing procedure was employed and the results have been combined with the information gained through personal observations in the research area. These findings were supported through information gained and collected from miscellaneous sources.[34]

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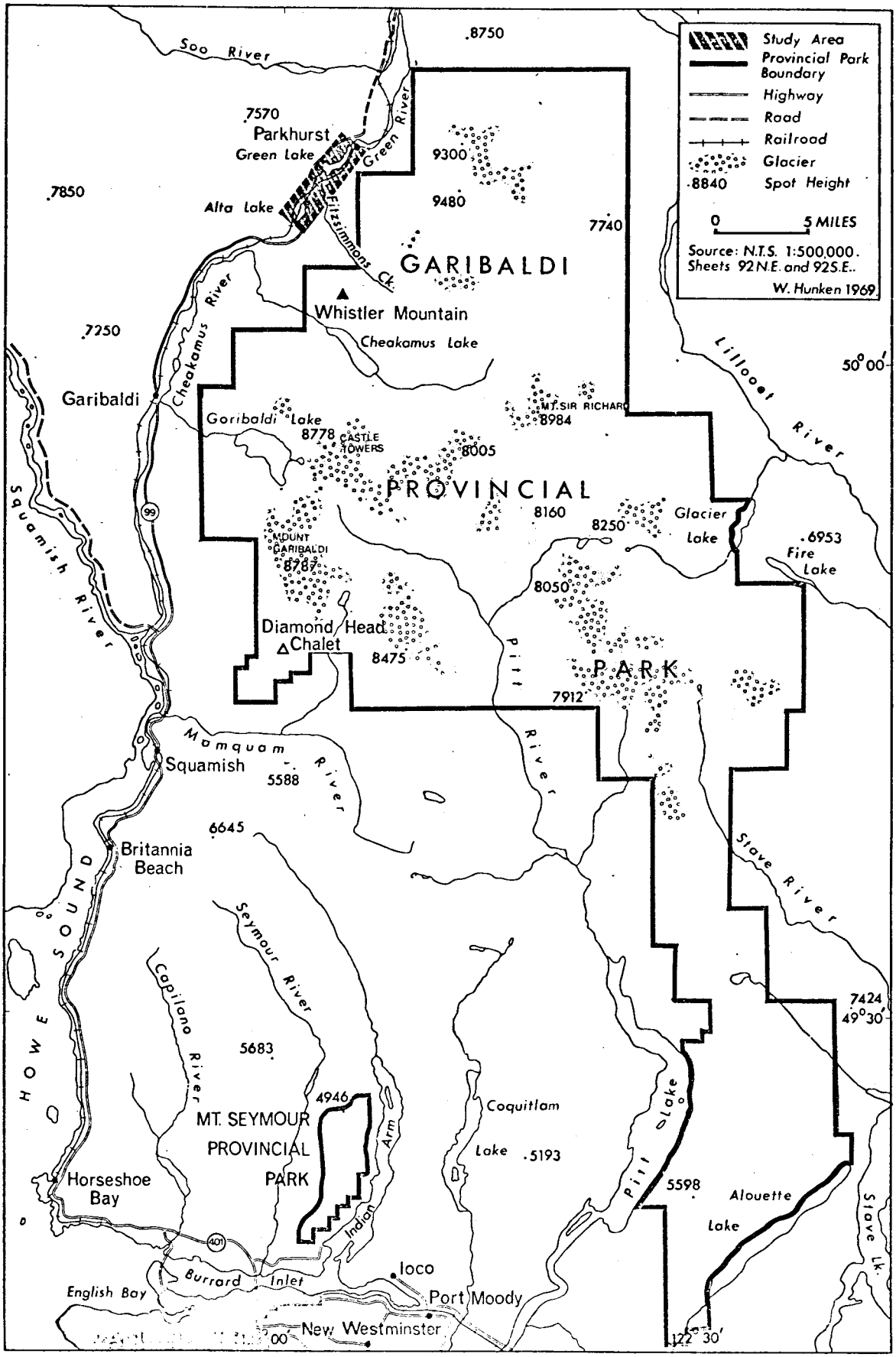
[34]All pertinent information available has been considered for its applicability to the research undertaken. To this effect, government publications, ski and weather reports, newspaper articles and other studies undertaken by firms or decision makers not directly involved in this study were consulted whenever applicable.

CHAPTER III

THE STUDY AREA

Description of the Study Area

The area in which this study was conducted lies north of Howe Sound in the Strait of Georgia, along the Squamish-Pemberton Highway, fifty-eight air miles and seventy-five road miles from Vancouver, British Columbia. The physical landscape is dominated by the southern end of the Coast Range Mountains, whose dominant features are Garibaldi Mountain (8787') and Black Tusk Mountain (7598'). The research area itself is bounded by the northern tip of Green Lake, approximately 50°10' latitude; the western boundary of Garibaldi Park, approximately 122°50' longtitude; the southern tip of Alpha Lake, approximately 50°05' latitude; and to the West, along the Pacific Great Eastern Railway line which runs in a south-west direction from 123°01' to 122°50' longtitude (see Map 1, page 18). The valley floor, which incorporates the research area, contains four lakes --Alpha, Nita, Alta and Green--the first being comparatively small, while the latter three are large enough to provide opportunities for watersports, boating,



Map 1. LOCATION OF STUDY AREA

sailing and for excellent fishing. The dominant mountain within the research area itself is Whistler Mountain rising 7118 feet. The area contains several long and wide valleys and large protected bowls in its higher altitudes, providing the opportunity for recreational activities and development.

In general, with its diversified topographic features such as the valley and alpine lakes, alpine meadows, rivers, and the mountains themselves, the area may be described as one of exceptional beauty. The climate prevailing in this area is especially amenable to recreational activity since the area is sufficiently removed from the unfavorable conditions prevailing on the coastal mountains, yet is closely located to the interior dry belt. As a result, the annual snowfall in this area allows for a skiing season from early November till June. At the same time, the climate is equally conducive to summer recreational activities.

Reasons for Choice of the Area as a Study Base

The Whistler Mountain area was chosen as a base for this study because it provided a good opportunity for an analysis of the effects of decision makers and decisional processes on a landscape. The changes the landscape has undergone are so recent that it is possible to trace the decisional processes which were at work and to

substantiate these processes through investigation of the actions of the decision makers involved. Except for a very few early pioneers, most of the people involved in the area's growth and development and who were involved in the decision making process could be identified, located and interviewed to analyse the parts they played in this process. Because the area is still in the formative stage of development, the individual decision processes and their effects on the physical landscape could be much more readily isolated and explained. It was also felt that the interrelationships of the various decision making processes in an established region would have been so intricate and involved that no clear and decisive conclusion or description of the processes could have been drawn.

Despite its close proximity to a major urban centre, the area's development was, until recently, limited. At the present time rapid development is occurring as a site for year-round recreational activities. With the lift system acting as a catalyst, the region developed surprisingly fast as a wintersport centre, in addition to its increasing popularity as a summer recreation site. New hotels and motels were constructed and residential housing followed the trend of rapid development. The value of land rose enormously over a very short period of time. To date, all the available land is held largely under private and corporate ownership and still to a large extent by the British Columbia Government.

CHAPTER IV

METHOD OF ANALYSIS

When the idea to analyse the problem of decision making was first conceived, it was planned to conduct a questionnaire survey by which the decision makers were to answer a series of identical questions. This method was found to be unworkable after the first few interviews were conducted. The initial experience with the decision makers revealed that a standard questionnaire interviewing technique did not provide satisfactory results because the answers given did not give any clear statement from which conclusions could be drawn. As a result, a series of personal interviews was conducted. A comparison of the information collected from these interviews revealed a definite lack of agreement between some of the answers and reasons given with that information which was obtained through personal observation and other dependable data.[35]

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[35]The personal observation consisted mainly of the physical changes the landscape has undergone--such as, for example, the type of construction found in the various decision makers' areas; and the range of influence of one

For example, decision makers tended to explain some part of their decisional processes and their effects on the landscape without giving full detail as to those decisions made which were not implemented, or were proven to be unworkable or unsuccessful. A different method of interviewing was then employed through which the interviewees were not only asked to answer questions concerning their own decision making, but were also encouraged to provide as much information as possible about the actions and decisions of the other decision makers involved in the area's development. This procedure proved to be quite satisfactory since, during repeated interviews, all the information collected from other decision makers could be put to one individual decision maker for verification, clarification and/or justification.

During these interviews it became obvious that some of the decision makers had more influence upon the physical and artificial landscape of the research area than did others. From the decision makers involved in the area's development, six were selected for analysis in this research on the basis of the degree of their influence on the landscape and/or their responsibility for the

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decision maker in the research area in general such as could be identified through the form and character of housing, the building of roads, etc. Other data was collected through such sources as the office of the Squamish-Lillooet Regional District.

directional growth and the location of the urban development within this area.

Once the decision makers had been selected, the interviews with them were continued until such time as enough information had been gathered which would allow for a better insight into the processes of decision making and the degree of involvement of the decision makers in the area. The data collected was also used to permit an analysis of the decision makers' actions in respect to the type of decision making processes employed and as to whether they were applicable to the theories outlined in the literature.

Most of the decision makers were approached through personal contact and, except for one, were very cooperative in giving the required information. In some instances it was impossible to contact the actual decision making agent involved in a particular process and the information was gathered from people who appeared to be qualified and appeared to have sufficient insight into the decisional process involved to give a satisfactory explanation. Where group decision makers were involved, as many members of these groups were interviewed as was necessary to assure an explanation of the group's involvement. Whenever possible, development plans, feasibility studies or other written information were consulted to verify the data.

Identification of the Decision Makers

Decision Maker "A". The decision maker identified as Decision Maker "A" is a husband-wife business team. For the purpose of this paper they are identified as one decision maker because they operated as one unit. This decision maker built the first lodge in the research area and was partially responsible for its future development and directional growth as well as the opening up of the area in general.

Decision Maker "B". Decision Maker "B" is undoubtedly the most influential decision maker in the area. This company, which operates the lift system, was mainly responsible for the rapid growth and development in the region and the changes the physical landscape has undergone. This decision maker has also been most influential as a catalyst for the ensuing land and real estate developments. The directional growth of the urban developments in the area has largely been determined by the site chosen for the construction of the lift system.

Decision Maker "C". Decision Maker "C" is a real estate and land development company and the largest land holder in the research area. This decision maker at present holds or has applied for option on three thousand acres of land, part of which is already developed. Plans are presently underway for the creation of a townsite and

year-round residential-recreational facilities for either seasonal or permanent occupancy.

Decision Maker "D". Decision Maker "D" is one man who had at various times several groups of people affiliated with him. His dominant influence on the area derives from his ideas, activities, and decisions which helped in shaping the character of the area's development and its residential and commercial structure.

Decision Maker "E". This decision maker consists of a group of associates (five people) whose activities and decisional processes are dominated by the originator of this association. This decision maker is responsible for a large condominium type of development with definite plans for expansion of residential and commercial, hotel and convention facilities. As a result, this decision maker is predominantly responsible for the character of the area's physical development as well as for the directional growth of the area.

Decision Maker "F". Decision Maker "F" may be classified as a man who, over a period of time, has associated himself with various groups of people. He has control over one of the most strategic properties in the research area. His involvement has had very definite effects on the area's development.

CHAPTER V

THE DECISION MAKERS

The following analysis is an attempt to tie some of the basic aspects of the decision making employed by the decision makers selected and to indicate how they were responsible for the changes the landscape has undergone. This analysis is concerned basically with those decision making aspects associated with the decision makers' awareness of alternatives; the processes involving choice, ~~risk and decisions;~~ their field of knowledge; and especially with the influences of the socio-cultural, economic and physical environment of the decision makers and their perception of that environment. The decision making literature as discussed in Chapter II has thus been employed as a guideline from which some basic concepts were taken and applied to the investigation of the decision makers.

This analysis is preceded by an account of the historical development of the research area to provide a better understanding of the involvement of the decision makers and the subsequent changes the research area has undergone.

Historical Development of the Area

Around the turn of the century the Garibaldi-Whistler Mountain area was virtually unknown to the general public. Except for a few trappers, prospectors and timber cruisers, few knew about this vast mountainous region which was devoid of easy access or even rough trails. The first known exploratory trips into the area were made in 1906 and 1907 by Vancouver mountaineers who, in 1907, made the first ascent of Garibaldi Mountain. By 1910, members of the Vancouver Mountaineering Club (later the British Columbia Mountaineering Club), and members of the Alpine Club had discovered Garibaldi Lake and the Black Tusk alpine meadows. The discovery of these beautiful areas led to further exploration and eventually to the mapping of the area.[36] The building of a railroad line from Newport (now Squamish) by the Squamish Railway and later, by its successor the Pacific Great Eastern Railway, provided a somewhat easier approach to the area. In 1912, the first trail to and campsite in the Black Tusk area were built. During this same period, the government of British Columbia developed a pack trail leading into the Black Tusk area.

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[36] Garibaldi Park and Contiguous Area. A Report for the Honourable, the Minister of Lands, British Columbia, December, 1932, pp. 8-9.

Through the early efforts of alpine and mountaineering clubs and the spirit of some pioneering men enough interest had been fostered within the general public to bring about the enactment of the Garibaldi Park Act in 1917, an act whose importance can only now be fully appreciated by the general public.[37]

Rainbow Lodge, the first in the area, was built in 1917 on the west side of Alta Lake. During this period a few attempts at farming were made, but the climatic and geomorphic conditions of the area hindered this type of enterprise, and Rainbow Lodge remained as the only dominant building in the area. The many visitors who filled this lodge to capacity throughout the summer seasons, and the many hikers who came to the area helped spread the knowledge of its beauty. In the 1930's, Jordan's Lodge was built, followed in the 1940's by the construction of Hillcrest Lodge--both catering mainly to the needs of summer recreationists and fishermen.

Except for the logging industry which was in operation in the area during this period, no other development of importance which would have affected the landscape or the use of the area had occurred. Even the building of a powerline in 1948 by the British Columbia

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[37]Ibid.

Electric Company (now the British Columbia Hydro and Power Authority), did not affect the area's development since no service road had been constructed in connection with the powerline. Not until 1956, when the British Columbia Electric Company completed a service road for its powerline, and not until a dam was constructed during this period did the area undergo noticeable changes. Despite the fact that this road was very rough and narrow, it was the first road link between Squamish and the Garibaldi-Whistler Mountain area making it possible to reach the area by automobile and enabling a much larger number of people to enjoy the scenery and the recreational potential the area had to offer. Once a hard surface from Horseshoe Bay to Squamish had been completed, thus eliminating the ferry trip, the impact on the area and the number of visitors to it was even greater, attracting more people who returned convinced of its exceptional quality and recreational potential. The outcome of this would be seen only a few years later when the knowledge some people had of the area was to bring about drastic and rapid changes. As a result of their earlier experience, many visitors conceived of the idea of buying property in the area either for developments such as the construction of a chalet or possibly for speculation or for the

purpose of subdividing for later developments.[38]

Until the early 1960's, the main attraction of this area was still the beauty of the lakes in the valley, the mountains, and the alpine meadows. The dominant recreational activities were still hiking and fishing, while skiing was limited to ski touring. Thus, the area served predominantly a public seeking summer recreational activities. While the area had become more widely known, not much had changed in its physical landscape. Despite the construction of the three lodges mentioned before, only a very few homes were built during this early period. The permanent population at that time was estimated to be approximately fifty people.[39]

The only industry active in the area--logging--had undoubtedly changed the landscape in the sense that large areas had been deforested opening slopes for wintersport activities and thus indirectly aiding the later developments. Also, the many short logging roads increased the accessibility of some of the mountain regions and peaks.

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[38]This was substantiated through the many interviews conducted with the people presently holding land in the area.

[39]This figure is an estimate made by several of the permanent early settlers of the area. No official data are available.

Little development occurred until during the Winter Olympic Games in Squaw Valley, California, in 1960, when Sidney Dawes, President of the Canadian Olympic Association, suggested that it might be possible that the next Winter Olympics would be held somewhere in the Vancouver area.[40] The ensuing enthusiasm and the immediate action on the part of the Canadian communications media at Squaw Valley, the Vancouver press, and especially some of those people familiar with the recreational possibilities of the Garibaldi-Black Tusk area, resulted in the Whistler Mountain area being suggested as the Winter Olympic site for 1968.[41] The result of these suggestions was that the area's recreation orientation shifted from being primarily of a summer to one of a winter -oriented recreation site. This shift in turn led to discussions for the construction of a lift system in 1960. By 1964, as a result of a

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[40]Many conflicting stories exist as to when the first decision was made to bring the Winter Olympics to the Whistler area. From the many stories regarding this decision, it appears to the writer that Mr. Dawes actually was the first man to suggest the possibility of holding the Winter Olympic Games in British Columbia. The suggestion was made to Mr. Dave Mathews of Vancouver who was at the 1960 Games in Squaw Valley as a free-lance reporter.

[41]Actually, the first site selected and investigated as a possibility for the Winter Olympic Games was that of the Diamond Head area. That was found to be unsuitable and was replaced by the Whistler Mountain area.

commitment by the British Columbia Government to build a hard surface two-lane highway once the lift system was under construction, the area had not only a good lift system but also a good road allowing access to the area from Vancouver in two hours. Rapid changes followed and the landscape underwent a marked change of character almost overnight. The completion of the road and lifts brought thousands of skiers to the area every weekend, intensified the need for weekend and holiday accommodations and for service facilities and further road developments.

The research area thus developed in two different directions: one to satisfy, as before, the need for the summer and year-round visitors; and another to cater specifically to the needs of wintersport activities. The fact that these new recreational opportunities lay within comparatively easy reach of the Lower Mainland and could now compete with other already existing winter recreation sites had a dramatic impact on the research area. To date, almost all the previously privately owned land is subdivided for either residential land use or for commercial use. Thus, since 1960, and especially since 1964, the research area has changed in its settlement morphology and its character. These changes become evident in the enumeration of public facilities and construction of the

many buildings for residential or commercial use and the accommodations provided for tourists and visitors. (A comparison of Maps 3 and 4 illustrates these changes. Also see Appendix A).

Decision Maker "A"

Decision Maker "A" is a married couple who came to the area for the first time in 1911 on a fishing holiday. This young couple came from a social background which had prepared them for the enjoyment of the outdoors. Their families, as well as their circle of friends, were enthusiastic about outdoor life, providing the incentive for them to explore the area on a two week holiday. At that time the only way to reach the Garibaldi area was via a boat trip to Squamish from Vancouver, from there by buckboard or stage to Brackendale and then along a narrow trail by either foot or packhorse to the lake area.

For the duration of their holiday this couple stayed with one of the very few people who lived in the area--an oldtimer who owned a roadhouse. Using this as a base camp they explored the lake area and discovered its beauty and excellent fishing. The area's virgin forest, with its tall timber stands, the beauty of the unspoiled wilderness and the splendour of the mountains impressed them so much that they returned the following summer for another holiday.

During the second trip in 1912 this couple for the first time discussed the possibility of fulfilling a dream which had been with them for several years --to build and own a fishing lodge. During the course of their stay they met a trapper who lived in the area and who owned 120 acres of land on the west side of Alta Lake. They discussed with him the possibility of buying some land but for financial reasons and indecision to build at that particular time no agreement was reached. When the couple returned again to the area one year later, survey crews were surveying the area for the construction of a railway line from Squamish to Pemberton. This indication of an opening up of the area brought about new talks and negotiations with the trapper, culminating in a purchase of 10 acres for the price of two hundred dollars. With this unexpected windfall the trapper broke camp and left for Vancouver to enjoy his newly found riches in the big city, where he became easy prey to those who were eager to share his fortune. Totally broke, he returned a few weeks later to sell his remaining 110 acres for a much cheaper price. The opportunity to buy this land so cheaply was the main reason for its purchase by the couple since they really had no idea as to what to do with such a large parcel of land.

Thus, the opening up of the area by rail, the proposition to buy land at a very reasonable price and the opportunity to fulfil their dream to own a lodge brought about the construction of the first prominent building and first lodge in the study area.

During the months which followed the decision to buy this property, this couple faced the problem of financing; where to find the necessary labor; how to transport the building materials; and especially what form the construction would take. The outcome of this was that the couple had to depend upon the wife's father for financial assistance and help in the construction and upon one horse as the sole means of power to transport the logs needed. Having thus made the decision to build, the couple returned in 1914 to start the building of "Rainbow Lodge" completing the construction of the main building in 1915, and completing the additional buildings in the years following. Since its opening season, Rainbow Lodge has provided recreational facilities for many thousands of people who helped spread the knowledge of the beauty of this area and its excellent fishing opportunities.

As a result of the decisions made by this decision maker, the landscape began to change from that of a region of virgin forest into a recreational area. This decision

making process resulted in the location and construction of a lodge; the establishment of a recreational site; the construction of several short trails; the location of a train station built to accommodate the many visitors; a small boat launch; the opening up of the area to many thousands of visitors; and the beginnings of a directional growth of economic and recreational developments.

While these developments seem insignificant when compared with the present state of development in this area, they were, nevertheless, the initial steps of the area's growth. Had Decision Maker "A" located elsewhere, the development of the area might have taken a quite different form.

Decision Maker "B"

Human thinking and decision making may be influenced and indeed is sometimes dominated by motivational agents. Such was the case with Decision Maker "B" who was influenced in his decision making by the desire to succeed in establishing a new recreational area. This intent, in fact, appears to have been a predominant aspect of the decisional processes involving this decision maker. Unlike the others discussed in this paper, Decision Maker "B" must be classified as an "organizational" or "firm" decision maker since all the decisions were made by a group of individuals, at times divided into various subsystems according to their individual role playing within the organization, whereby each member played a role according to his own economic, social or political experiences.

The appearance of this decision maker, Garibaldi Lifts Limited, created an entirely new direction of growth and development within the research area. The history of this decision maker's involvement gives evidence not only of the dominating role he played in the changes the landscape has undergone, but also of the influences he had over other decision makers involved in the research area. The involvement of persons associated with this firm dates back as far back as the 1920's when the area was already known to them. The ever increasing

number of people familiar with the area also brought about an increase in the discussions among them concerning possible future developments and the opening up of the area for recreational purposes. No definite plans were produced to this effect, however, until the mid 1950's.[42]

Decision Maker "B," in analysing the economic potential, realized that one of the major reasons for the increasing interest in the development of this area was a general awareness by the public of the need for more and better recreational facilities for the Lower Mainland.[43] This lack of recreational facilities, especially for skiing, and the awareness that thousands of people in the Vancouver Lower Mainland travelled to resort areas in the United States, thereby causing a substantial dollar outflow; combined with the ever increasing number of skiers in North America in general and British Columbia in particular brought about serious considerations and suggestions

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[42]During the 1950's the first concrete plan for a year-round recreational site was proposed by a Vancouver real estate and land developing firm. Plans for winter recreational developments were also proposed. Both these plans are discussed in regard to Decision Maker "C" and "D" respectively.

[43]Decision Maker "B" expressed the company's interest in those "two collateral and complementary considerations: the intense and growing interest in skiing in the Pacific North West and the limited areas which have been developed thus far" in the company's prospect. Prospect of Garibaldi Lifts Limited, (Vancouver, B.C.,1964).

among the skiing population in Vancouver for new recreational developments and the opening up of new areas serving the Lower Mainland and the West Coast.[44] For these reasons alone, the research area, with its tremendous potential, would undoubtedly sooner or later have undergone some form of development. The one factor, however, which provided the catalyst for the appearance of Decision Maker "B" were the events of the Winter Olympic Games of 1960 in Squaw Valley.

The actual decision making process involving this decision maker began when Sidney Dawes, then President of the Canadian Winter Olympic Association, suggested to a Vancouver reporter that if a suitable site for the Winter Olympic Games could be found in the vicinity of Vancouver, the Games could possibly be held there in 1968. This idea found encouraging support especially by those familiar with the general area of the Whistler-Garibaldi Mountains and who recognized this as an opportunity to

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[44]Studies undertaken by the Foundation of Canada Engineering Corporation Ltd. (Fenco), in a Report to the Canadian Olympic Association on a Canadian Site for the 1968 Winter Olympics, in March, 1961, showed that in 1961 the total possible capacity for skiers in the Lower Mainland was that of 7,000 skiers. A survey undertaken in 1957 by the British Columbia Department of Recreation and Conservation showed that at that time, already 64,000 skiers lived in the same area. The dollar outflow to the U.S.A. for weekend and skiing vacations was estimated by Fenco as being close to one million dollars annually without any counterbalance to British Columbia because of the lack of facilities. This general trend is also substantiated in Colin Campbell's An Analysis of the Relationships Between the Urban-Based Skier and his Recreational Hinterland, (Unpublished Master's Thesis, The University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., 1967).

open the area for general recreational activities.

The weeks succeeding the Winter Olympic Games in Squaw Valley brought about a series of discussions and propositions by a number of interested men in Vancouver. Talks were held with representatives of the British Columbia Government in an effort to seek its support. Several influential Vancouver business men, all familiar with the Whistler-Garibaldi area, discussed the general possibility of holding the Winter Olympic Games there.[45] With the help of the Vancouver press, a general enthusiasm and favorable attitude towards the Olympic idea was created in the public. As a result, a group of influential professional and business men formed the Garibaldi Olympic Development Association (GODA) in 1960 with the purpose of bringing the Winter Olympic Games to the Garibaldi area in 1968 and, at the same time, open up the area for recreational activities.

To understand the decisional processes involving Decision Maker "B" this background and the early history of GODA is essential. Much of the later decision making stems from this early history and from the familiarity

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[45]During an interview, D. Mathew, then the President of the British Columbia Amateur Athletic Union gave evidence of the many discussions which took place during those weeks. Among others, S. Dawes, President of the Canadian Olympic Association; G.L. McPherson, President of Okanagan Helicopters met with the Honourable L. Peterson and R. Bonner and Mr. L. Wallis, members of the provincial government. Talks with Premier W.A.C. Bennett through the Provincial Secretary assured the enthusiastic support of the Premier.

and the many years of experience in the area of those who later became involved in the decision making concerning Garibaldi Lifts Limited.

It was quickly realized by the members of GODA that the only feasible way to open Garibaldi's great recreational potential was by the installation of a lift system. To develop such a system, however, meant that funds for the necessary feasibility studies and the eventual construction had to be secured. Since GODA had no funds available for such purposes at that time, it became necessary to form a separate organization whose aims were to find the needed finances. Thus, from the Garibaldi Olympic Development Association, a new company was formed--Garibaldi Lifts Limited--whose purpose was to: (a) finance and supervise the required studies for a lift system; and, (b) erect and operate lifts and related facilities on the land adjacent to Garibaldi Park. This group, once formed, was entirely divorced from GODA and functioned as a separate entity. The board of directors of the company was made up of twelve business and professional men who saw in their association with this development an opportunity for participation in a commercial venture, not to serve their own personal or financial ambitions, but rather to partake in providing an opportunity for the creation of a new recreational area. That this group, despite the various social, economic and recreational backgrounds of its members, succeeded in the initial step

towards the formualtion of ideas and suggestions for a lift system was predominantly due to the strong minded and very capable leadership of its president.

This original group of directors soon changed in its make-up and a new directorate under the same president was formed. This new group, formed partially from members of the former directorate, had known each other for many years, had skied together in the Garibaldi-Whistler area, and shared the conviction of the tremendous potential of the area.[46] This group of directors undertook the task of studying the feasibility of constructing a lift system in the area.[47] The problems to be solved were quite definite: (1) an enterprise capable of financial success was to be created; (2) a suitable location

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[46]Some of the directors identified by the Vancouver press were: F. Wilhelmsen, President of Garibaldi Lifts Ltd. and previously associated with the shipping business; B.M. Hoffmeister, President, B.C. Council of the B.C. Forest Industry; C.N. Woodward, Woodward's Stores Ltd.; F.C. Wilkinson, Wilkinson & Cole Steel and Metals; P. Bentley, Director, Canadian Forest Products; G.L. MacPherson, Okanagan Helicopters; J. Nichol, President, Tormac Transmissions; J.S. Shakespeare, Lawyer; D. Mathews, Dental Laboratory; L. Laing, Member of Parliament, Ottawa. The Vancouver Province, June 19, 1963.

[47]Each of the directors put up $4,000 to permit the undertaking of feasibility studies and to assure that the necessary operations could be conducted before the actual decision to build and finance the lift system was made. Some of the directors also spent many days and weeks surveying, planning and travelling without remuneration.

both for the planned Olympic as well as for a recreational development had to be found; and (c) once 1 and 2 were solved, the entire venture had to be financed. All this, it should be remembered, was to be achieved at a time when there was no highway leading to the proposed development site, nor were there any commitments from any source which would have assured any form of assistance. The main function of the directorate thus became the study of all possible factors involved in such an undertaking. For many months, research was undertaken to study the financial probabilities and to investigate and survey the area for the best possible location. Experts in the field of ski resorts and lift systems were consulted and their suggestions analysed.[48] Also during this time, the lift company took out an option to buy and purchased a parcel of land to assure future developments, such as possible subdivision of the land to create an alpine village, parking purposes, or any future need which might arise.

Concurrently, the British Columbia Government had to be consulted and its cooperation secured to help solve the problems of land lease, the use of park land, and

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[48]Willy Schaeffler of Austria, an internationally known ski-area consultant, was brought to the Whistler-Garibaldi area to find the best possible location for the planned lifts and to suggest the best technical systems for the lift construction. His suggestions were eventually implemented.

especially to assure the construction of a hard surface highway to the area. It is to the credit of the foresight of some members of the British Columbia Government who recognized the opportunity to open a new recreation area and build a long-promised highway, and the hard work and excellent presentation by some of the directors of the lift company to members of the government in Victoria that this cooperation was achieved and, as a result, the problems solved.

After many months of surveying the area, of meetings and discussions, and of analysing the many proposals made, the decision to build a lift system was made by the directorate in 1963. This decision came as the result of the genuine belief of the directorate in the purpose of this venture and their personal sacrifices in time and money. But foremost, it was the result of the extraordinary efforts of the president of the lift company who guided the many meetings, discussions and proposals through often difficult and trying times.[49]

With the decision to build made, the many apparent problems now had to be overcome. To this effect and to gain more insight into the commercial aspects of such

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[49]In many interviews conducted it was repeatedly expressed that without the efforts of the president of the company the lift system would never have been built.

operations, other similar lift operations and resort areas were investigated. To study the financial and general commercial aspects of such operations, the president of the company went to Europe to investigate lift operations and ski resort areas there.[50] At the same time, experts in lift construction were brought to the site for consultation.[51] A first plan for a lift system called for the construction of the lifts in the Fitzsimmons Valley. This plan later was changed for technical reasons and the lift system was built at its present site. The original plan also called for a two-stage sedan lift, but had to be altered because of financial reasons. Otherwise, the lift system was constructed and located as planned without further changes.

Before the completion of the construction, however, the most difficult and important problem which had to be solved was that of financing the system. Regular channels of financing, such as through private sources, banking houses, or the government could not be utilized either

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[50]Some of the directors went to the Sun Valley, Idaho and White Pass, Washington resorts to study their operations and to discover the suitability of various lift systems for the research area.

[51]It was a very convenient coincidence that during this time, engineers of a Swiss lift company were employed at the B.C. Hydro Company construction site and thus were readily available for consultations regarding the type of lift system to be built and for cost analysis.

because of lack of interest or lack of funds and thus a new scheme had to be devised through which the financing of a $800,000 lift system could be secured. The ingenuity of the president of the company who devised a scheme of offering shares to the general public with the option to buy these shares on an installment plan secured the success of this endeavor. As a result, Garibaldi Lifts Limited became a publicly owned company whose offered shares were fully subscribed by July, 1965.

Obviously, many of the events and factors leading to the construction and operation of the Garibaldi Lifts had to be omitted in this very brief and sketchy history of this decision maker. Against this background of Decision Maker "B" his influence upon the landscape can now be summarized.

Any consideration in retrospect of the impact of a decision maker locating in an area will always leave doubt as to what the consequences might have been had he not entered the area. This uncertainty is inherent in the case of this decision maker. During the course of interviewing people involved in this area, some views expressed the belief that the area would have developed in a similar manner and time even without the appearance of Decision Maker "B": mainly because it was felt that other decision makers would have taken his place. Based

on the research undertaken, however, it is the opinion of this writer that if Decision Maker "B" had not appeared at the time and under the circumstances he did, the research area would not have experienced its phenomenal growth, at least not for several years to come. The widespread influences of this decision maker have been most dominantly exposed in the direction and growth of the area, the speed with which the area developed, the character of the developments, the general activity pattern of the economy of the area, the land value and the real estate developments, and the construction of roads, highways and service facilities. This plainly indicates that there is scarcely an agent or factor involved in the decision process of the research area which to some degree has not been influenced by Decision Maker "B."

The pattern of development in the area began to change from the moment the area was mentioned as a possible site for the Winter Olympic Games, resulting in an increase in land sales and interest in the area on the part of the general public. However, the real impact of change did not come until the actual decision to build the lift system was made. This step immediately attracted other decision makers to the area, especially those interested in building hotels or other recreational or tourist facilities. The land values, the sale of single lots and

of parcels of land increased substantially. The completion of the lift construction was responsible for the opening up of the area to thousands of weekend skiers and tourists, thereby creating a need for recreational, tourist and service facilities.

Equally important, other decision makers have been attracted to the area and changes occurred in the plans of decision makers already there.[52] These decision makers appeared mainly as land developers, hotel or motel owners, contractors, or tourist and service-industry-oriented operators. The influence of Decision Maker "B" often dictated to a certain extent to those decision makers what form their development would take. Thus, for example, the site of hotels and motels was greatly influenced by the location of the lift.[53] In some instances, the distance of lots from the lift influenced the type of development since greater distance from the lift meant increasing inconvenience to the user through increased travel time to and from the lift. The type of residential housing constructed, as the result of the lift construction, was more wintersport oriented than would otherwise have been

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[52]The analyses of Decision Makers "C" and "D" in this paper verifies this fact.

[53]Several plans exist at the present time for the location and construction of tourist accommodation and commercial establishments in the vicinity of the lift station.

the case. Also, ski and mountaineering clubs were encouraged to participate and build their lodges in the area. The activities initiated by the lift construction created a new market attracting new business to the area. The lift system provided more skiable areas and easier access to the mountains, thereby encouraging a greater participation in many fields of recreational activities. In addition to this, the decision making brought immeasurable value in publicity to the area through publications and activities held there.

The changes on the landscape which were the result of this decision maker can be summarized and mapped relative to: the construction of the chairlift system, auxiliary lifts, service buildings, the clearing of land for recreational activities (e.g. skiing-parking), the completion of the Squamish-Pemberton highway, the construction of many roads and service facilities in the general area, a heliport, and most important, the many residential areas either as the result of private or firm development, the commercial establishments and the land uses in general.

Decision Maker "C"

Decision Maker "C" is a real estate and land developing firm whose major function is the subdivision and development of land for recreational-residential land use.[54] In addition to its involvement in the Whistler Mountain area, this firm owns and manages fourteen associated companies. The decision making of this company is divided among its three owners, two of whom are largely responsible for most of the decision making in the research area, while the third is consulted for major decisions only. The association of these three is based on a strictly business-like partnership devoid of social ties past and present.[55] Of the two dominant decision makers, one has a background in real estate, finance and administration; while the other was a manufacturer before joining the firm. The latter's attitude towards land development becomes apparent in view of his statement that: "land development is in a sense the same as manufacturing since the land is changed from a raw product to a saleable merchandise." The difference of

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[54]The term "recreational-residential land use" is used in the context of the subdivision of land for the construction of residential accommodations such as those predominantly used as second homes, for weekend and holiday use or mainly for recreational purposes.

[55]To facilitate analysis, the two prominant decision makers will be referred to as a single decision maker.

their backgrounds has led to a division of the decision making in that one is concerned mainly with the sales, financial and administrative aspects; while the other's foremost concern is with the physical situation and such problems as design, surveying, engineering and planning. Although most decisions are made by the two decision makers, sometimes in consultation with the third partner, some are made by the entire directorate of the firm, including those who manage the firm's other companies. Consultation is also sought, whenever necessary and possible, from experts in such fields as planning, surveying, architecture, and finance.

Decision Maker "C" has been active in the research area since 1962, when a personal friend offered one of the owners a parcel of land at Green Lake (see Map 4). Recognizing its recreational potential, he decided to buy and hold the land for possible future development. Six months later another opportunity presented itself whereby he could and did buy more property in the area. Thus, holding two pieces of land in close proximity to one another, the decision maker sought to connect them. At this early stage, he had already envisioned the development of residential subdivisions which would incorporate the land from the northern tip of Alta Lake to his property on the

western side of Green Lake. These plans included a series of artificially constructed canals which would regulate the flow of water between the two lakes thus providing an opportunity to create a unique residential-recreational complex.

During this time a feeling of excitement had been generated by the news of the recommendation of the Garibaldi region as the Canadian choice for the 1976 Winter Olympic Games and the promise of the completion of a highway from Squamish to Whistler Mountain. Land prices rose rapidly as a result of these events and land became a speculative commodity, creating difficulties for the decision maker in acquiring the desired properties. Other than difficulties encountered in the purchase of land, however, the development plans of Decision Maker "C" were not directly affected by the Olympic situation since he acted in realization of the potential of the area as a recreational-residential site--a potential based and substantiated by the area's nearness and its access to Garibaldi Park; proximity to a large population centre; and the relatively easy accessibility to the area by train and by automobile in the near future.

In 1964, the decision maker applied to the provincial government for the lease of land which would allow for the connection of his two properties and make possible

his proposed development scheme. During this period, however, several people had already approached the government for land lease in the same area. The granting of land lease rights to the decision maker under these circumstances would have proved unsatisfactory. He therefore applied for all the land including that on which options were held. To satisfy the individuals involved and to prevent future difficulties, an arrangement was made whereby those having option on portions of the decision maker's property would receive a lot for one dollar apiece. Recognizing that these plans represented a feasible and practicable development of the area the Department of Lands and Forests granted the land lease to the decision maker.

Decision Maker "C" plays a dual role in the decisional process--as a land developer; and as an actor involved in the future of the entire valley through his advocation of an overall planning schema. As a land developer, his plans call for the construction of residential subdivisions and the creation of a "New Town". His "Emerald Estates" on Green Lake is oriented towards recreational-residential land use, whereas his proposed "Alpine Meadows" subdivision and townsite is a very complex development including the creation of a village which is expected to develop as a regional core providing

higher services for a series of service centres foreseen in the near future. In his role as an actor concerned with the future development of the valley, Decision Maker "C" percieved the Squamish-Pemberton Valley as a region "unified by geography, history and a common economic future based on recreational developments. This all-pervasive unity...coupled with a unique transportation corridor, clearly demands a comprehensive plan for the region."[56] Unlike other decision makers in the research area who were concerned mainly with their own decision making processes--that is, with the completion and the success of their own endeavours, Decision Maker "C" went beyond the decision making process concerning his enterprise and involved himself with a comprehensive program encompassing the entire valley with its economic, physical and human aspect.

The concept of a planning framework and regional development scheme was first introduced by this firm to a group of residents and business men of the research area in 1964. A more inclusive development plan was later presented to the Minister of Lands and Forests of the Provincial Government in 1965, who, agreeing to the

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[56]The writer gratefully acknowledges the materials made available to him by the decision maker, especially the outline of the planning and development concept prepared by his planning consultants. A Planning Framework and Development Concept of Squamish/Pemberton Valley Region of B.C.(Prepared by the Community Planning Consultants Ltd., Vancouver, B.C., 1969), p. 3.

concept induced actions by the provincial Departments of Highways, Health, and Lands and Forests. This planning concept was based on a framework concerned with the expansion of the economic base of the region, the need for the establishment of urban settlement patterns, the necessity for the preservation of the environment and a consideration of the relations between the character of the region and its ready access to metropolitan Vancouver. The decision process thus envisioned a year-round recreational activity and the associated support facilities far beyond those provided by the ski-lift system alone and would include activities such as fishing, (ice-fishing), sailing, swimming, boating, hiking, ski-dooing and most important, the opportunity for recreational living in the country. The establishment of an urban settlement pattern is seen as serving both the local communities and the concentration of urban populations in predetermined areas. The environment, the greatest and in a sense most fragile resource of the region, would be conserved by preselecting the sites suitable for urban development leaving intervening space open with only limited and specific recreational services as dictated by the topography or other special considerations.[57]

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[57] Ibid., p. 4.

The overall regional planning scheme conceives of an imaginative plan for the creation of a totally new urban development. This "New Town" concept arose from the application of a basic development concept for existing and proposed settlements through land subdivision at selected centres "designated for the comprehensive development of a variety of urban activities."[58] The decision maker envisioned the growth of an urban service centre which would function as a housing and commercial support centre for a variety of surrounding regional activities. In the development scheme a new town located at Green Lake would thus be located approximately half-way between two urban centres--Squamish and Pemberton--and would be situated on the topographically most suitable location, a broad, flat area in the valley. This concept also envisions a pattern of related land uses supporting each other and compatible in a unified urban design.[59]

That Decision Maker "C" placed emphasis on the development of the entire valley rather than restricting planning to his property alone indicates that he, more than any of the other decision makers in the area, is involved with the valley's growth potential. He believed that a comprehensive plan would ensure not only a more

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[58] Ibid., p. 5.

[59] Ibid., p. 8.

successful development for his own company, but for the valley as a whole.

At present, this firm is the largest landholder in the research area controlling approximately 3,000 acres of land under ownership, lease, or option. A large portion of this land is already subdivided, gravel roads have been constructed, utilities supplied and many residential homes completed. To date, over 600 lots have been put on the market with another 250 becoming available in 1970.

The irony of this situation is that, despite the comprehensive development plans of Decision Maker "C," he cannot at present be considered as the most influential in the area, mainly because the "New Town" is only in the land-clearing stage and the residential subdivisions are just now beginning to be occupied. The attraction of other decision makers to the research area as a result of the activities of Decision Maker "C" are comparatively small since the development in the Green Lake area is autonomous and therefore not conducive to the participation of others. This situation will likely be reversed in the future since the magnitude alone of the involvement of Decision Maker "C" will be a predominant factor in the area's development and direction of growth and, once completed, this development scheme would rank him highest

in the degree of influence in the research area.

At present, one other decision maker has a notable influence on this firm's activities. This is especially evident through the impact of the construction of the ski lift system. Not only was the size of his development influenced by this construction in that there was a higher demand for his land but also the number of lots sold were, according to one of the directors, "fifty to sixty per cent" the result of the lift system and the associated winter recreational activities. Further, the construction of the road to Squamish, a direct consequence of the lift construction, facilitated access and thereby created a higher demand for residential-recreational land.

The research area's recreational potential and available facilities, coupled with the Olympic nomination, has focused national and international attention on the region and has intensified the pressure for land development and real estate speculation.[60] Yet, despite the advantages of the area, there are also disadvantages which, if not checked in the very near future, may prove to be of such consequence that the future of the area as an outstanding tourist town may be doubtful. Because the area was built up in such a haphazard fashion without any form of overall planning or regulations except those enforced by the Health and Highways Departments, (and some

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[60] Ibid., p. 2.

of those came too late), some of the present developments, from a planning point of view are most undesirable urban developments. In part, these problems stem from the fact that "much of the land area's surrounding existing and potential centres of development are either topographically restricted due to terrain or limited bodies of water, and lack of ready access," and in part because "multiple and splintered ownership" present considerable difficulties in planning for a mutually acceptable comprehensive development.[61] The lack of planning and regulation is especially evident in the present state of the area's development. Already, there are three major and several smaller commercial areas proposed by individual developers in separate locations within the research area, all trying to attract the pull or the direction of the area's growth towards their own development sites. The existing commercial buildings, including the hotels and motels, are equally haphazardly located. Even the residential areas are widely spread apart and located in such a fashion that their servicing will eventually create serious difficulties. Many of these developments are located along the highway traversing the settlement and result in severe traffic hazards especially during the winter months. Also, the residential areas themselves are often poorly planned,

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[61] Ibid., p. 7.

their lot sizes too small and the quality of housing often leaves much to be desired. On the other hand, there are those developments which not only provide aesthetic satisfaction through their design and general layout but are also of high standard and a definite credit to the area and their developers.

Decision Maker "C" at present is the only decision maker and land developer in the area in the position of being able to satisfy the area's growth potential because: (a) he already owns enough land to allow for the construction of his planned townsite; (b) his land is located along both the highway and railroad; (c) his land is the only suitable location for a townsite since it commands the only suitable site on the only large enough and broad, flat part of the valley in the research area; (d) he has the awareness of the required physical and socio-economic needs and the financial and technical ability to complete such a development scheme; (e) his development to date and residential subdivisions are the most satisfactory developments from an overall point of view; and (f) he has eliminated the problems which would arise out of multiple and splintered ownership.[62]

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[62]These assumptions were based mainly on the quality of past and present performances by this decision maker and were supported by several other decision makers in the area as well as by certain government officials associated with land development in the province.

The decisions made by Decision Maker "C" have resulted in significant changes on the landscape. At present his two subdivisions, Alpine Meadows and Emerald Estates, are well established. Many gravel roads have been constructed, lots cleared, residential homes built and utilities provided. The extension of these subdivisions is well underway, as are his other smaller land holdings and enterprises (including Whistler Estates, Lakeshore Estates, Empire Gravel). All of these developments have exerted a noticeable pull in the direction of growth of the valley.

The regional plan and "new Town" scheme which is developing at present has not yet brought about many visible changes, except for land clearing, but have had effects in other areas such as, for example, in the pattern of the residential development and the area's changing character.

Full implementation of the present plans call for the construction of commercial facilities, such as hotels, motels, service stations, post office, police station, and various shops and restaurants. Recreational facilities included are: tenting and campgrounds, public parks, lakes, golf-course, boat basin, and the necessary parking facilities. The plans also include provision for a community centre, schools, and train station.

During the course of the research undertaken, many development plans proposed by other decision makers became apparent. It soon became obvious, however, that these plans were neither as comprehensive, nor backed with positive action such as those undertaken by Decision Maker "C". For this reason his plans have been included in this analysis while others have been omitted.

As far as the present influences of Decision Maker "C" over other decision makers is concerned, these are mainly indirect and are identifiable through the increased demand for and use of recreational facilities such as the lifts, restaurants, the store and service station. In addition, this decision maker has set a high standard which may influence future developments.

Decision Maker "D"

Like most people involved in the research area's development, Decision Maker "D" had a background which was conducive to his involvement in the area's growth and development.[63] This decision maker was for seventeen years the proprietor of three ski and wintersport equipment stores and was consequently familiar with many

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[63]Decision Maker "D," although at various times associated with several groups of people, is in this analysis referred to as one person. Over limited periods of time and to various degrees he has shared the decision making process with others, but always remained a dominant figure in the decision making process.

people connected with skiing in Greater Vancouver and the surrounding areas. Skiing, both socially and economically, became a way of life--a fact which becomes evident in a discussion of his activities and actions. This influence is also seen in his collaboration in the construction of the Grouse Mountain Chairlift in Vancouver's local mountains. Decision Maker "D" was also responsible for the construction of a T-bar in Lac Le Jeune near Kamloops, British Columbia. Thus, before he became involved in the research area, his interest in providing recreational facilities for winter sports, his economic activities and his associations with people connected in this field provided him with a clearly suitable background for the role he played in the research area.

In 1954, Decision Maker "D," long before any residential or commercial developments appeared, came to the research area in the company of two partners who supported him in his attempt to investigate the possibility of erecting a T-bar on the east side of Alta Lake. The economic feasibility of such a plan was dependent upon the ability to bring enough people to the area. With the road still rough and unpaved, the plan required bringing a sufficient number of skiers to the development site. While these plans were being discussed, however, one of the two partners died in a skiing accident, cutting

short the first attempt by this group to develop the area. Decision Maker "D" did, nevertheless, retain his ambitions throughout the following years. The events of the Winter Olympics in 1960 in Squaw Valley rekindled these ambitions to become once more involved in the economic development of the research area. The possibility of hosting the Winter Olympic Games in the Whistler area in 1968 began to find general and serious support thereby providing greater opportunities for the entrepreneurial ambitions of this decision maker.[64] This possibility was enhanced through the planned construction of a lift system to the top of Whistler Mountain. Realizing the potential of this development, Decision Maker "D" once more went to the area in 1960 to discover opportunities for economic involvement. His return was due partially to the influence of friends and acquaintances.[65] Another major influence was that of the decision

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[64]When the research area was first recommended as an Olympic site the first possible date on which the Olympics could have been held there was 1968. However, the research area only became a serious contender for the 1972 Games and has now been officially sanctioned by the Canadian Olympic Association as the site for the 1976 Winter Olympic Games. The various dates referring to hosting the Olympic Games in the research area as they appear throughout this study thus vary in accordance to the time of the involvement and the activities of the various decision makers.

[65]Decision Maker "D," as well as others, was greatly influenced by Dave Mathews during this period. Mathews, a freelance reporter during the 1960 Winter Olympic Games in Squaw Valley and then President of the British Columbia Amateur Athletic Union, was one of the most influential people in the development of the research area.

maker's familiarity with the mountains, and with the operation of a mountain skiing lodge.[66] This combination of entrepreneurial desire, new and better opportunities, advice, familiarity with the environment, and in addition, a long existing ambition to one day "have my own lodge or hotel" was a contributing factor to the renewed involvement of Decision Maker "D" in this area.

When the opportunity arose to buy some property in the close vicinity of Alta Lake and the proposed Olympic site, this decision maker bought this parcel of land in partnership with a land developer. The initial plans for this property had called for the construction of a hotel, but both partners, after weighing the advantages and disadvantages of such a plan, discarded the idea because they felt that a hotel development would be premature at that time. In the search for a suitable development for the acquired property, their plans turned towards a condominium type of residential development.[67] The

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[66]Decision Maker "D" was quite familiar with the operation of a ski lodge, especially through his close association and long friendship with the people operating Diamond Head, a lodge in the general vicinity of the research area (see Map 1).

[67]Condominiums are a new concept in housing developments where a number of housing units are built on a plot of land. The buyer of a unit will have title to the structure but the developing company retains title to the land. Usually, buyers are issued shares in the company according to the total land occupied by the building. A monthly service charge is collected covering maintenance of communal facilities.

original idea for this type of structure stemmed from a personal experience by the decision maker in recalling a housing development he had once seen being constructed in Honolulu. To further investigate the feasibility of this type of development, both partners went to Crystal Mountain, Washington where a prototype was then under construction. After viewing this development they felt it could be successfully repeated in their own plans. Thus, as the result of the experiences collected through travel and the studies undertaken for economic feasibility, both partners decided to go ahead with the creation of Alpine Village, a fifty-two unit condominium-type residential development. Alpine Village became the first condominium development in Canada and marked the first large scale residential development for the area. Located on a prominent hill along the highway it instantly became the most dominating feature in the beginning urban development of this region, contributing to the growth of a residential centre and, through its original architecture, helped to shap a new landscape morphology.

For various reasons, this decision maker dissociated himself from the Alpine Village development shortly after its completion.[68] He next appeared in the role of a

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[68]The reasons given by the decision maker were: the dissatisfaction with the role as a landlord; the desire to undertake new and different kinds of activities and the opportunity to become involved in a commercial venture in the research area.

decision maker in the area's commercial development. Partially as the result of his influence, an oil company built the area's first service station on the highway near the lift site. In combination with this service station, the decision maker built a general store and a laundromat to service the needs of the increasing number of visitors and residents.[69] After a brief period as the operator of the service station and proprietor of these stores, the decision maker again decided to leave this particular business venture mainly because of difficulties in its operation and lack of financial success. The construction of the store, however, marked the first commercial development of this nature in the research area, again indicating this decision maker's influence in the type and in the direction of the area's growth. Decision Maker "D's" next major involvement came in 1967 when he appeared in the role of a hotel and land developer. By this time, the road from Vancouver to the research area had been completed and the chairlifts were operating. This gave him the opportunity to fulfill his long standing ambition of having his own hotel. In disregard of the

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[69]Both these enterprises were not very impressive in size or the volume of business conducted, but were the first commercial establishments in the area, excluding those directly connected with the lift system.

advice of many of his friends, and others connected with the area's development, he proceeded to construct a hotel on the waterfront on the east side of Alta Lake. (This hotel included rooms, a dining room, licensed premises, a bar, swimming pool, boat landing, facilities for fishing, boating and sailing, a beauty parlor and a gift shop). Again, he found interested partners to help in the construction of this project. This venture was very much the result of his intuitions borne from his social experience rather than the result of economic feasibility or otherwise economically sound planning. At the same time, this decision maker continued to subdivide fourteen acres of land which he had acquired in the same land deal. Like the hotel, the sale of the subdivided lots appeared to be a financial success. This subdivision provided forty-four lots, all of which were sold in a very short time. This, in combination with the hotel construction led to another development just north-east of this area. The buildings erected on some of these properties have, through their form and architecture, also contributed to the unique character of the area.

Throughout the years of this decision maker's involvement in the research area, he has been influential

in its economic development through the creation of both residential and commercial enterprises. But he was also influential as the result of his impact upon other decision makers who took his advice and assistance or became involved in development activities themselves.[70]

The change the landscape has undergone is clearly evident on the maps of the area and point toward a directional growth of development (see Map 4). This change is evidenced in the area's physical characteristics and is represented by its architecture and land use. The influences of this decision maker over other decision makers in regard to landscape change is particularly strong since his social and economic activities and associations are very firmly entrenched in the general area. As a result, the influences of Decision Maker "D" are recognizable in many other decision making processes and the results these processes had on the landscape.

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[70]The influences of Decision Maker "D" in the research area were evidenced directly or indirectly through the social role he played in the area. Being familiar with the area for many years, he knew most of the people involved. The development and character of some of the area's subdivisions, commercial ventures and private residential development were influenced by him in varying degrees.

Decision Maker "E"

This decision maker is one of five partners in a company which owns one of the prime properties in the research area (see Map 4). His company at present is engaged in the subdivision of their property and the construction of a series of condominiums for family-residential occupancy.

Decision Maker "E" first appeared in the research area in 1950 on a ski-touring trip to Diamond Head. Impressed by the magnificant beauty of the mountains and lakes, he returned to the area many times. As an ardent skier and outdoorsman he became increasingly aware of the recreational potential of this region and developed an interest in acquiring land on which he could, in time, construct a hotel.

By 1960, when the general excitement of the Olympic plans were drawing so much publicity to the area and with it people wanting to take advantage of this situation, Decision Maker "E" shifted his passive exploration to active investigation and concentrated his efforts on the search for available land. His first attempts failed, however, when he found land prices unreasonably high. Failing to secure private land, he then investigated the possibility of acquiring government land. These efforts were successful when he discovered a 7-1/2 acre tract of land which until then had neither been mapped nor was

its availability known. The discovery of this property, adjacent to that of the lift company, aroused the interest of several other people resulting in a public auction at which the decision maker successfully outbid his competitors. When the lift company later wanted this piece of land to facilitate its own development, he relinquished his rights to the property. Again, he found himself searching for land which would meet his requirements--that is--ease of access, close vicinity to recreational opportunities, and aesthetic beauty. He found a combination of these requirements in the land he presently holds.

Thus, the prevailing forces which brought Decision Maker "E" to the research area may be recognized as those of his appreciation of the outdoors (responsible for his initial visit to the area); his awareness of the area's potential for year-round recreation activities; and his ambitions to become actively involved in the role of a developer. This suggests two forces contributing to the decision making process involving this decision maker: those of a social influence, related to his experiences as an ardent outdoorsman and his role as a developer in a recreational milieu; and those of an economic nature, related to his seeking financial gain.

The initial plans for the development of his newly acquired property envisioned the construction of a large hotel complex. This project coincided with the proposed construction of two other hotels--the Cheakamus Inn and the Highland Lodge--both in close proximity to Decision Maker "E's" property. This situation led to a change in his immediate plans. The decision maker had in the past studied the hotel market, particularly with regard to the demand for recreational accommodations. As a result, he considered himself qualified to judge the demand for such a development in the research area. Aware that the market situation would not warrant a third hotel, he withdrew his development scheme for the time being.

Having thus more time available to expand his development plans, the decision maker's proposals in time became more and more ambitious. These plans were based on his awareness of the growth potential of the Squamish-Pemberton Valley. In this respect, one of his major considerations was that concerning the eventual completion of the highway to Pemberton and subsequently to Lillooet. The completion of this highway would reduce the road distance to Lillooet by one hundred miles, thereby causing a considerable increase in traffic flow and with it the tourist trade. Decision Maker "E" also

expected a general rapid growth for the valley which would in turn generate a demand for which a larger hotel complex would be justified. At that time, he conceived of a plan calling for "a large hotel and convention centre which would compete with Harrison Hot Springs, B.C. --even better." In his attempt to assess whether the area could support such a project, he consulted studies made for the lift company, but did not himself undertake any feasibility studies. His personal analysis of the situation made him realize, however, that at that time, a development such as he proposed would involve too much risk and once more he postponed his development scheme.

During the course of his investigations the decision maker had focused his attention of a new trend in land developing which had become popular in the United States and had recently been successfully employed in the research area--that of the construction of condominiums (Decision Maker "D"). Considering the risks involved with hotel developments and the chances of economic success for a condominium development, he decided on the latter because, as he stated: "I just followed the United States' Trend where people are looking for a second home and condominiums are the ideal place to do so."

Until this time, the concern of Decision Maker "E" was mainly that of what land to buy and what type of develop-

ment to pursue. With these decisions completed, the main problems then became the extent of his financial involvement and the character the development would take. By early 1967, he had made concrete plans for the subdivision of his property and for the construction of condominium-type residential structures which were to be built in stages according to demand. At this stage, he realized that the completion of such an undertaking with regard to both construction and financing was more than he himself could handle. To overcome these difficulties, he formed a company with four partners including an architect, a lawyer, a contractor and a silent partner. With the formation of this company, the decisions made were now the results of the combined decisional process of all partners. It appears, however, that Decision Maker "E" is the most active and dominant among them.

This group produced a comprehensive plan for the subdivision whereby each of the members contributed according to his particular field of knowledge. This development scheme was to provide a residential area designed to be of high standard and oriented towards a market of well-established tenants. Rather than build for seasonal accommodations only, the subdivision was designed for year-round recreational living and activity.

The first thirteen units were built in 1967, all units being sold before the construction was completed. The next twenty-one units were built in 1968 and again were sold much more quickly than anticipated (within three weeks). Twenty-five units are at present in the construction stage or have been completed.

Decision Maker "E" can be considered as one of the more influential decision makers in the research area because his actions have led to a unique residential development in the area. That he is aware of this role is evident in his planning schemes and the regulations and codes governing his subdivision which are designed to preserve the special character of his development.

The attitudes which have influenced his actions are also apparent in his approach towards the proposed Olympic Games and their attendant commercial developments planned for the area. He very emphatically expressed his opposition to the Olympic Games and its associated forms of commercial enterprise because he felt: "The Olympics will bring too much commercial development which would have to be maintained after the Games are over and we do not have enough population to support them." Thus, he expressed the fear that through these types of developments, the aesthetic value of the area would be depreciated. "People came here to enjoy life away from

urban living and to enjoy a relaxing life in the outdoors." This attitude on the part of this decision maker has in fact affected his decision making in that he is attempting to achieve and preserve a special atmosphere for the area in general and his development in particular.

The recent developments in the valley and the increased potential of the area as a recreational and tourist site has revived his earlier plans for a convention centre. The plans for this development have been taken over by a firm which has obtained land rights in association with Decision Maker "E" for the creation of a convention centre including a two hundred roomhhotel and year-round multi-recreational activities. This new firm at present is committed to a feasibility study but the development has not yet reached the planning stage.[71]

The decision making involving Decision Maker "E" has had a marked effect on the landscape in the research area. This consequence finds attestation in the character of his development and in the way it sustained the growth of a residential sub-area within the general

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[71]The Squamish-Lillooet Regional District has recently established zoning regulations whereby the property involved is zoned for residential development only and this new scheme involving this firm is therefore in doubt.

region. His company has succeeded in creating a subdivision whose general layout and functional purpose is generally accepted by the population of the area as being of good design and high standard. The condominiums themselves, designed by the firm's architect, are of a striking architecture. Built with a wood frame of cedar siding and shake roofs, the appearance of these units is one of aesthetically blending into the landscape, marking the special character of this development. The location of this subdivision, close to several other condominium developments and many single-family residential homes (see Map 4) have created a residential subarea which has a direct influence on the area's direction of growth. This residential subcentre has at present the highest density of residential occupation in the area and will most likely retain this function in the future.

Because the tenants of this decision maker can obtain title only to the structure but not the land, the company, retaining all the land, is responsible for the communal services and utilities including a swimming pool and other recreational facilities within the subdivision, thereby assuring a unique development whose character is determined by the decision maker himself rather than by the individual tenants.

Through his development and especially through his associations with others in the area, Decision Maker "E" has had influence on other decision makers. This is evident in the relinquishing of his land to the lift company and through the quality and character of design of his own developments from which other decision makers have taken example. He has in turn also been influenced by his associations and friendships with other decision makers and has adapted to some extent to their ideas and development plans.

The physical changes the landscape has undergone as a result of this decision maker's activities were those directly involving the construction of fifty-nine condominium units, the utilities and service areas associated with them, and the overall landscaping including a network of roads. His development scheme, while by no means complete has, nevertheless, made a substantial impact on the landscape and the development of the research area.

Decision Maker "F"

When a landscape is altered as the result of decision making, this will ideally result in desirable standards and landscape expressions. The decision makers discussed in the foregoing chapters have attempted to

adapt their development plans to the physical environment of the area and by doing so have attempted to maintain its aesthetic qualities. This has been achieved by adopting development schemes in which the landscaping of the subdivisions and the architecture of the residential and commercial structures have been designed to blend with the environment and to integrate the individual developments with the development and character of the area as a whole.

The valley which incorporates the research area allows for a wide range of opportunities for development. A decision maker can thus employ a diverse range of development possibilities. Although there exist a few guidelines for development such as those suggested by the provincial Departments of Health and of Highways, the decision makers were not obligated to develop in accordance to any specific standards or regulations in their undertakings. They have, nevertheless, to varying degrees set their own standards of quality and design, thereby establishing a trend which has become characteristic for the research area. The developments of Decision Maker "F" present an exception to this general trend and have been included in this analysis to exemplify the trend established by the others.

The analysis of this decision maker is limited to a discussion of the developmental aspects of his

involvement in the research area. This writer's efforts to gain sufficient insight into the decisional process were handicapped largely due to the fact that the decision maker was unavailable for extensive interviewing and also because data concerning this decision maker were often inconsistent and therefore unacceptable. Thus, the following represents an attempt to show how the owner of one of the most strategic properties in the research area has influenced the area's development.

The initial involvement of Decision Maker "F" in the research area emanates partially from his personal associations with other decision makers in the area and partially from the fact that he had become familiar with some of the area's problems through his law office. In the aftermath of the excitement of the 1960 Winter Olympics and the expectation of the area's nomination as an Olympic site, this decision maker frequently visited the area in the company of some of the other decision makers. At that time, choice land was still available and the economic climate for land development seemed excellent. Rightly or wrongly, the oversubscription of the "Alpine Village" (Decision Maker "D") was taken by Decision Maker "F" as an indication of the existing demand for recreational land.

During the days of the decision maker's first visits to the area, the owner of "Jordan's Lodge" offered his lodge and 140 acres of land for sale (see Map 4). Before the sale was finalized, however, the owner died and his son took over the management of the property and the family's affairs.

This son envisioned a resort-type development on this property and collaborated with six others in order to implement this plan; but lack of monies forced its cancellation and the property was again put on the market. Both the lift company and Decision Maker "F" were interested in acquiring the property but the latter, in association with five other people, successfully outbid the lift company. This group of six, under the guidance of Decision Maker "F" then formed a development company with the aim of developing the land for multi-purpose land-use. The firm went out of business shortly after its inception; however, Decision Maker "F" retained control over the property and formed a new company. A different group of people was involved at this time but for various reasons did not remain associated with the company and Decision Maker "F" thus became the sole owner of the property by paying for the land ten times the amount paid in the previous sale.[72]

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[72]This property is not held in its entirety by the decision maker. Small portions are also held by other landowners.

When asked why he became involved in the development in the Whistler Mountain area, Decision Maker "F" replied with: "To make money," but went on to explain that he felt that this was a chance to become involved in "a worthwhile venture" which would enable him to achieve something of value and which would present a challenge to him. He also saw this as a change from the usual problems associated with a law office, which would allow him an opportunity to create something "extra-ordinary" as a developer.

At the early stage of his involvement in the research area, this decision maker had visualized a village development which was to include hotels, motels, commercial facilities, condominiums, residential subdivisions, as well as recreational facilities such as skating, curling, and apres-ski activities. The plans for this scheme were drawn up by an architect but the development never went beyond the planning stage.

The background of Decision Maker "F" did not particularly prepare him for his role as a land developer. This was revealed by the fact that no specific survey or feasibility studies, which would have provided him with specific knowledge into the problems involved or which might otherwise have proven beneficial in such a large development scheme, were undertaken by him. This lack of

"know-how" in land developing is further evidenced in one of his earlier plans calling for residential subdivisions through a legal-joint-lease arrangement. In this project, a group of fifty people were to lease a parcel of land whereby each individual lessee would be provided with a lot the size of a circle fifty feet in radius, staked out by placing a pole into the ground and then describing circles with a rope to mark the boundaries for all fifty lots. The joint ownership arrangement would also have required the lessees to pay the cost of the necessary utilities. This plan had to be dropped when not enough people were willing to participate.

At another stage of Decision Maker "F's" involvement with this property, he associated himself with another real estate company for the purpose of subdividing part of his land for multi-purpose land use. Several weeks later, however, the company dissociated itself from the development.

The decision maker's original plans for a village development were dropped and replaced with plans for a residential subdivision. Parts of the property were cleared for that purpose, roads built and a few residential cottages constructed. Difficulties with the development increased when, because of the physical terrain (mostly bedrock), sewage became a serious problem

decision maker was not prepared to eliminate at that time because of the high cost involved and was thus holding back the residential development. Additional trouble ensued because a large portion of the area required extensive drainage before further subdivision could take place--a problem which was compounded, according to the decision maker, through the presence of beaver dams.

The decision making involving this decision maker led to changes in the development of the research area when the lift company attempted to buy from him fifty acres of land needed for additional parking space for a planned parallel lift. The sale did not materialize when Decision Maker "F" asked for what the lift company described as an exorbitant sum, thus forcing the lift company to find property elsewhere.

At present, another real estate company is involved in the sale and development of part of the property held by the decision maker. In addition, another part of this property has also been taken over by a well-known Vancouver business man whose plans call for the development of a hotel, motel, youth hostel, condominiums, and commercial area. This development is at

present only in the planning stage.[73]

From this brief outline of Decision Maker "F's" involvement, his influences on the landscape in the research area can now be summarized. The land owned and controlled by this decision maker has, because of its strategic location, many advantages which make it one of the most desirable properties in the area. This property is adjacent to the hub of recreational activities--the lift station; it contains waterfront property on both Alpha and Nita Lakes and is easily accessible. In addition, its close proximity to Alpine Village, the condominium developments and the most densely populated portion of the area gives this property an ideal location and, as such, one of the most valuable in the research area. One would expect that a property possessing these amenities would be developed in such a way as to take advantage of these assets and create a development of considerable quality, both physical and aesthetic. Yet, the opposite has occurred. Instead of having a favorable impact, the developments on this decision maker's land have had a detrimental effect on the research area's growth and development.

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[73]The implementation of this development scheme is doubtful since the recently introduced zoning regulations of the Squamish-Lillooet Regional District has zoned this property as "residential".

At best, as they are presently evident, these developments may be described as being of both poor standard and design. Despite several attempts to implement elaborate planning schemes, the extent of the actual physical changes this large tract of land has undergone has been of little consequence. The changes at present are limited to some land clearing, the construction of a few substandard roads and of several residential accommodations. No comprehensive plan for the subdivision exists which would include landscaping or the provision for service and recreational facilities: nor are there any restrictions placed on the owners for the construction of buildings on individual lots. This evidently very low standard of development has aroused the ire of most of the other decision makers and residents within the research area, some of whom, when questionned, expressed their opinions by referring to this decision maker's development as being a "slum area" "a mexican slum" "a disgrace to the entire valley"--among other choice descriptions.

This dissatisfaction with Decision Maker "F's" developments arises out of the fact that he neglected to adapt to the established trend of planning and development which has become characteristic of the other five decision makers. These decision makers have, through the

quality of design of their subdivisions and architectural structures and their provision for utilities, services and recreational facilities, achieved developments which are of satisfactory standards.

Had Decision Maker "F" developed his property to its potential and in accordance with the standards set by the other developers, it might have contributed greatly to the residential development in this part of the research area and thereby provided impetus to the direction of growth and the area's emerging character. Instead, the detrimental effects of this decision maker's efforts have resulted in a setback for this part of the research area by stunting its growth potential and depreciating its aesthetic values.

CHAPTER VI

THE DECISION PROCESS

This study attempted to analyse to what degree the decision makers selected were instrumental in effecting changes in the landscape of the research area. The various components of the decision making process include those concerning choice, the condition of knowledge and the influence of the socio-cultural environment and the perception of that environment.

Choice and Decision Making

The variation of decisions from available alternatives, from the numerous relatively insignificant to the most influential made by either an individual or a group can be analysed ad infinitum. From the choice making of the decision makers, some examples have been selected to illuminate the type of choice making employed by them.

A choice between available alternatives is a conscious act in which an attempt is made to arrive at the most favorable conditions. In the case of Decision Maker "C," for example, one of the most important choices

to be made was that which determined what form construction in the commercial area would take. Several alternatives were available to him: He could subdivide the area and offer lots for sale to individual tenants, in which case the commercial area and therefore the town core would most likely not achieve a uniform character and a high degree of architectural and aesthetic quality since the individual owners would build according to their own needs and tastes; he could subdivide the area and thereby control construction through strict regulations and standards. The enforcement of these standards might, however, over a period of time create difficulties and thus not achieve the set aims. The choice finally made was that of developing under an overall design of high standard to which all the future tenants must adhere in order to assure both aesthetic beauty and economic success. This decision maker, in a discussion of the factors leading to his decision making, stated that he considered many variables including factors of investment and production costs, sales volume, land prices, advertising, construction plans, roads, size of the potential recreation and land market. He was aware that his decision making fell short of optimum or maximum satisfaction and profit and that the information available and choices open to him were limited. This decision maker's stated

assumption that his decision to buy into the area was a business function aimed at maximizing profit is invalid unless his awareness of the total aspects of his involvement is taken into consideration. He did not seek to achieve maximum profit because he thought he knew all possible variables and had made the best possible choices; rather, he aimed at achieving maximum profit with regard to a given set of circumstances. The decision maker's rationale is explicable through his approach towards the development of the townsite. "If the townsite is to support fifteen to twenty thousand people," he reasoned, "a situation must be established in which people must be made to want to come to the area and thereby create a demand." Furthermore, the development of the townsite was to be delayed until such time as the demand would justify construction. Also, according to the decision maker, the construction of a commercial area, if built at the present time, would be unfair to both the region and the buyer because it could not survive economically and thus could not be justified.

In the decision making process a wide range of alternatives is not always available. In fact, an analysis of Decision Maker "B" indicates that the most significant choices to be made had only a very narrow range of alternatives. In a hypothetical case, the construction of a

lift system might well have provided circumstances whereby the decision maker was aware of numerous alternatives and therefore numerous choices which could have been pursued. In reality, however, the problems to be solved were from the outset restricted through technical, physical and financial limitations. The lift company in this case was restricted by such factors as where to find the most suitable site for a lift system in a comparatively limited area; what type of system to build to suit a very specific need; and how to finance a project whose expenditure was limited from the outset.[74] The range of choice was further restricted by topography and by the aims of combining the technical aspects of construction with aesthetic aspects of location.

On the other hand, Decision Maker "D" had a wide array of alternatives available to him--those of a physical nature--dealing with location, topography, distance and structure; and those of an economic nature--such as the degree of financial involvement, size and function of development, and accessibility.

The Condition of Knowledge

The choices made by a decision maker depend on

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[74]Since the site for the Olympic Games had already been chosen by the Garibaldi Olympic Development Association, the location of the lift was determined by technical feasibility within a specific area rather than where to locate in general.

the conclusiveness and the dependability of his available information field. The decision making in the research area includes a wide spectrum of conditions of knowledge with regard to possible alternatives and outcomes. The decision makers studied reflect this varient range of information fields available to them.

The field of knowledge available to Decision Maker "A" was very limited. Being the first developer in the area, he could not make use of the experiences of others. This couple made no investigations into the feasibility of their development, they had little information available as to the probability of future economic success; nor were they very knowledgeable about problems which might be encountered in the construction of the lodge, the demand for their services, and the effects of the climate or any other physical conditions such as those associated with topography.

In contrast, Decision Maker "B," being a "firm" decision maker, depends on the condition of knowledge of the collective experience of a group rather than of an individual. Because of the diverse background of the various directors of this company the field of knowledge employed by them embodied various specific information fields including those of a technical, economic, social and cultural nature. In addition to their collective experiences, the directors sought to widen their informa-

tion field by consulting experts in finance and lift construction, resort operators, engineers, technicians, as well as various departments of the provincial government. The information gathered had then to be analysed and to be applied to individual decisions to be made. Inherent in this was the problem of adapting the newly acquired knowledge and assimilating it with the familiar field of information without being unduly influenced by "hang-up" of past values.

The field of knowledge from which Decision Maker "C" could draw was, unlike that of the others, based in part on an already established information field. The combined knowledge of this firm's directorate had evolved through several years of experience in real estate, particularly recreational land use development. This included economic knowledge, especially in the field of sales, financing and administration; technical knowledge, including engineering, surveying, and architecture; and socio-cultural knowledge pertaining to such aspects as the supply and demand for recreational areas, planning for recreational and social activities and political considerations.

The decision making of Decision Maker "D" was based more on intuition than on factual information. His decision to build a hotel can be seen as being an outright gamble since his main field of knowledge in this case

was based on a familiarization of function rather than of economic "know-how". The decisions made in regard to his later development of the Alpine Village condominiums were, in contrast, based on the combined knowledge of the decision maker and his partners. Their individual and combined technical and/or economic backgrounds contributed much to his decision making. This, for example, is evident in the form of architectural structure, the technical approaches and the general character of the projects undertaken.

The Influence of the Socio-Cultural Environment

The past social experience of a decision maker is often reflected in his response to the decision making process. Through their socio-cultural environments, some of the decision makers have been influenced in their decision making.

The influence of the social environment became apparent in the forces leading to Decision Maker "A's" involvement in the research area. This couple was motivated for their participation and activities in the area through their associations with their family and friends who were outdoor enthusiasts. A similar motivation can be seen behind the actions of Decision Maker "E" who came to the area because his past experience as an avid outdoorsman equipped him with an awareness of the recreational

potential of this region, leading to his role as a developer.

Motivation as a result of the socio-economic environment was also apparent in the decision making of Decision Maker "B". The analogy once drawn by the president of the lift company is exemplar for the de facto socio-economic motivation of the entire directorate when he compared the running of the lift company with the running of the shipping enterprise he had been associated with in the past, where, in order to succeed it was not only necessary to profit financially and remain competitive in performance and service, but at the same time, one had to beat the elements and the physical aspects of such an enterprise. The directorate of this company is made up of successful business or professional men whose positions in society have prepared them to partake in decision making processes. Thus, when the decision to form a separate association from the Garibaldi Olympic Development Association was made, it was fortunate that a group of men were available capable of facing the challenge of constructing a lift system under the most adverse conditions.

Social influence was also evident in the second group of directors who were personal friends and had been familiar with the area for many years and shared a firm

conviction of the area's recreational potential. Thus, there existed a two-fold motivating process instrumental to the decisions made--on the one hand, their common economic background and on the other, their common social experiences. The adaptation of their collective socio-economic experiences and its assimilation to the decision making process has influenced their decision making in regard to the construction of the lift system, the character of the buildings and the resulting changes on the landscape. For example, several problems which arose with the various departments of the provincial government regarding park use, lift and highway construction, difficulty of finance and of public relations. Because of the social positions held by some of the directors, their past experience, business and social associations, these problems could often be resolved more quickly and easily than might otherwise have been possible. Another aspect of the social influence became apparent in the handling of certain technical details and especially some of the initial surveying which was often done without remuneration because of personal associations rather than business obligations alone.

In the decision making of Decision Maker "D," his social environment, his past business experiences in the recreational field and his association with similarly

oriented people has guided him towards participation in a specialized recreation and economic field of activity. The role this decision maker played in the creation of the Alpine Village development is a reflection of his perception of his environment--a perception which can be related to his social experiences. This is evidenced in his attempt to create a development which in its architecture and structure is both functional and aesthetically blending into the landscape. In the same sense, this decision maker's later role as a hotel owner and developer is also a derivative of this social environemtn. According to him, his long standing ambition of "once owning my own place or hotel" was the direct outcome of his familiarization with the functions of such an enterprise through his associations and friendships in the past.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Spatial attributes of decision making can be identified and reproduced on maps and thus demonstrate changes a landscape has undergone. To identify the effects of decision making on the landscape in the research area, three maps have been produced to illustrate the state of development achieved in the years 1930, 1960 and 1969 (see Maps 2, 3 and 4, respectively). A comparison of these three maps indicates the extent of development which has occurred between 1930 and the present time.

Map 2 shows that almost no development had occurred in the research area prior to 1930. The three railway stations which served mainly a shifting logging industry are the only evidence of economic activity in the area in this early period, the only exception being Rainbow Lodge (Decision Maker "A"), which provided services and accommodations to a limited number of tourists.

Map 3 demonstrates that even as recently as 1960, the landscape had undergone only limited change. A gravel road connecting Squamish with Pemberton provided

easier access to the area and thus the opportunity for a larger number of tourists to reach the area. This influx of visitors to the area is confirmed by the presence of four lodges and resort facilities. The number of permanent residences has increased to approximately fifty people residing mainly along Alta Lake, and a few at the upper end of Green Lake. The existing community services are evidence of the beginning urban development.

The significant differences in the stages of development occurring between 1960 (Map 3) and 1969 (Map 4) are clearly visible. The impact decision making has had on the landscape is most emphatically evident in the number of existing and proposed residential and commercial subdivisions, tourist accommodations, the completed highway, and the lift system. The existence of two sub-areas--one in the vicinity of the lift company (Decision Maker "B") and the other in the Green Lake area (Decision Maker "C")--are further evidence of the effects of decision making. While the former attracted several decision makers largely because of the existing recreational amenities made available through the lift system, the latter is the development of a single decision maker developing there mainly because the area provided year-round recreational amenities.

It was the aim of this study to analyse to what degree decision makers were influential in effecting changes on the landscape in the research area. To this end, this study traced the decision making employed by six of the most important decision makers in the area to indicate what values and influences were motivating factors behind their decision making and thereby account for the various components involved in the decisional process. The intent was also to evaluate the relative importance of the decision makers studied and the decision making processes employed by them and to identify the resulting effects on the landscape. Further, it was felt that an examination of some of the components of the decision making process might allow for a better perception into the causes of landscape change as the result of man's actions.

Hypothesis 1 proposed that the changes a landscape will undergo are a reflection of the information field available to the decision maker and of the various social and economic motivations which have influence upon him. This assumption could be verified in the analysis of the six decision makers. The case studies revealed clearly the relationships between the extent of the field of knowledge available to the decision makers and the results their decision making had on the landscape. Those

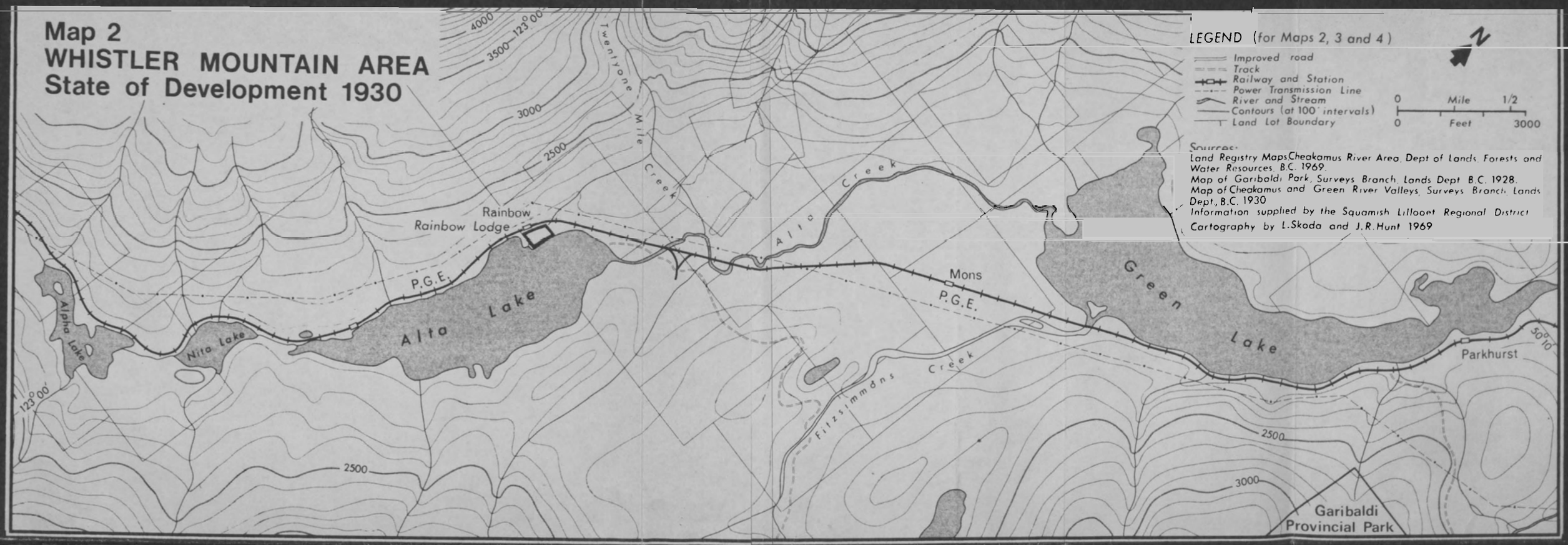
decision makers having wider information fields available to them were found to have had greater impact on the landscape than did those with a narrower field of knowledge. Lack of information was, in fact, found to be almost synonymous with the lack of impact on the area. The proposition that socio-economic factors will influence landscape changes as the result of the decisional processes proved to be correct. The influence of socio-economic factors was found to be a primary force behind decision making processes analysed. While the evidence gathered might not be sufficient to justify broad generalizations, the findings do suggest, nevertheless, that the changes landscapes undergo are to varying degrees the result of the socio-cultural motivations and associated role-playing of the decision maker, in addition to economic considerations.

It was postulated in Hypothesis 2 that some decision makers are more influential than others and that the resulting effects can be identified on the landscape. These assumptions proved to be acceptable. The dominating influences of some of the decision makers analysed resulted in landscape changes which reflected that dominance. This domination, however, was not necessarily found to have beneficial effects in every case.

The proposition implied in Hypothesis 3 was to establish if and to what extent decision making processes were influenced by or had to adapt to other decision making processes. This study has revealed that the decision making processes were in fact mutually influencing each other and that some of the decisions made were the direct result of previous decision processes implemented within the area.

Thus, it has been shown that the changes landscapes undergo as the result of decision making can in fact be identified and associated with the various components of the decision making process employed by the decision maker and the results can be illustrated on a map. The geographer who is concerned with spatial aspects of landscape change may find some interesting suggestions in this study as to the influences of decision making on the landscape. This study hopefully has opened some channels into a relatively new field of investigation into the cause of landscape changes.

Map 2
WHISTLER MOUNTAIN AREA
State of Development 1930



Map 3
WHISTLER MOUNTAIN AREA
Land Development—1960

Map 4
WHISTLER MOUNTAIN AREA
Land Development—1969

To accompany M.A. thesis by W.A.Hunken, 'Landscape Changes and the Decision Making Process in the Whistler Mountain Area: a case study', submitted to Dept. of Geography, Simon Fraser University 1969.

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APPENDIX A

Public Facilities in Alta-Green Lake Area

	Total No. of People	Type of Accommodation	Other Facilities
1. Cheakamus Inn	50	13 doubles 3 rooms of 10 each	Restaurant Cocktail Lounge
2. Highland Lodge	96	12 units of 4 8 units of 6	Full House-keeping Facilities
3. Mt. Whistler Lodge	46	8 rooms of 2 in lodge 3 suites of 2 9 cabins of 2 1 bungalow of 6	Dining Room (70 people) Dance Hall
4. Christiana Inn	55	25 rooms	Dining Room (65) Cocktail Lounge & Cabaret Beauty Salon (Men's & Ladies) Gift Shop Pool
5. Ski Boot Motel	150	32 units	
6. Nesters	54	38 in main bldg. A. Frame (4) Chalet (12)	Restaurant
7. Rainbow Lodge	142	40 units 7 rooms in lodge (2)	Dining Lounge (140) Cocktail Lounge Dancing in Dining Lounge
8. Tyrol Lodge	60	12 rooms (5)	Kitchen facilities

Continued....

9. Arlberg Haus	40	2 Chalets (Sleeping Bags)	
10. Cypress Lodge	54	10 rooms in lodge (2) 4 Duplex (3 per single unit) 3 Cabins (3)	Dining Room for Guests Only
11. Garibaldi Lifts			1 Cafeteria 1 Dining Lounge Ski-Shop (1) Chapel (1)
TOTAL ACCOMMODATION - 747		TOTAL FACILITIES -	6 Restaurants and/or Dining Room 1 Cafeteria 3 Cocktail Lounges 3 Cabarets and/or Dancing Halls 1 Ski-Shop 1 Beauty Salon 1 Gift Shop 1 Corner Store (at Gas Station) 1 Chapel

Source: Squamish-Lillooet Regional District, June 13, 1969.

APPENDIX, B

Lots and Buildings in Alta-Green Lake Area

	Single Family Lots	No. of Buildings	Condominium Units	Potential for Additional Lots
Alpine Meadows	317	28	-	450
Emerald Estates	187	36	-	82
Nesters	26	15	-	-
Whistler Kay	-	-	-	?
Edward Russell Ltd.	-	-	-	?
Garibaldi Enterprises	-	-	-	150?
Sandy Martin	150	58	-	?
West Side of Alta Lake	75	45	-	?
Alpine 68 & Whistler Village	-	-	88	?
Garibaldi Whistler Developments	22	17	34	?
Taylor	45	6	42	75
Miscellaneous	?	12	?	?
TOTALS	822	217	164	682

Potential Population: Total Buildings & Condominiums
381 x 4 = 1,524
Total Lots & Condominiums
986 x 4 = 3,944

Source: Squamish-Lillooet Regional District, June 18, 1969.