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ABSTRACT

DOMINANT-ENTERPRISE, RAPID-GROWTH, RESOURCE COMMUNITIES; PLANNING CONCERNS FOR GROWTH MANAGEMENT IN AESTHETIC RESOURCE COMMUNITIES: A CASE STUDY OF TETON COUNTY, WYOMING

By

Heather Elizabeth McCartney

The research undertaken is an identification and analysis of the planning problems which occur in rapid-growth, aesthetic resource communities. The study begins with a review of traditional planning problems in extractive resource towns that are dominated by a single industrial economic base. These problems are then related to those of aesthetic resource communities. Examination of the user demand for recreational areas and the future of aesthetic resource communities were then correlated with a case study of the unique planning aspects of Teton County, Wyoming. The conclusions identify needed planning considerations for areas dominated by an aesthetic resource base.

An attempt was made to answer the following research questions:

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1. What are the similar planning aspects of extractive resource communities and aesthetic resource communities?
2. What are the unique planning aspects of aesthetic resource community development?
3. Where should the planning authority come from: national, state, or local jurisdictions?
4. How can growth pressures be dealt with?
5. How closely can the experience of Teton County be applied to other communities which are experiencing rapid growth due to resource development?

A literature review was undertaken to identify available information and research related to rapid-growth, single-function and resource communities. The research methodology included library research, utilization of available planning studies and reports, surveys and interviews with key decision-makers in the case study area.

Based on this research the following conclusions were derived:

- Traditionally planning has been unable to keep pace in areas that are experiencing transition due to rapid-growth.
- The differences between combinations of designed or traditionally developed communities and single-function or dominant-enterprise communities are the levels of goal orientation and degree of land ownership.
- Aesthetic resource community evolution and structures are varied and are not clearly definable.
- The major distinctive difference between aesthetic and extractive resource community planning is the degree of permanent investment.

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- Aesthetic resource communities do not reflect a paradigmatic shift in the planning process. But, they uniquely place emphasis upon aesthetic characteristics above all else.

- There is a need for aesthetic resource communities to be treated as a special problem in planning.

- Policy development for aesthetic resource communities must uniquely resolve the conflict of environmental conservation through investment versus exploitation by human demand.

- While aesthetic elements of these communities should have paramount importance, they should not be considered in the planning process to the exclusion of social, political, economic, or cultural values. As exemplified by the Teton County case study there is a need to educate and integrate planning efforts involving citizens, government officials, entrepreneurs, ranchers, absent second-home owners and recreation seekers. Only through planning will all members of the community be able to maintain their chosen life-styles in balances.

- Aesthetic resource communities should direct their policies toward; insuring recreational benefits for residents; increasing additional cultural amenities; maintaining a diverse population cross-section; utilizing the local labor force; and maintaining a quality environment within the developing urbanized areas to complement the aesthetic resource which originally gave the community its quality-of-life.

- Communities experiencing rapid, continuous growth lack the establishment of community goals, interaction, roots and feelings.

- There is a need for further research with case studies before clear conceptualizations can be made.

- There is a need for further research on aesthetic resource communities to determine what planning elements are critical in order to provide innovative and flexible development of policies and solutions.

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By

Heather Elizabeth McCartney

A THESIS

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Landscape Architecture

1976

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The findings, conclusions, etc., do not necessarily represent the view of the Endowment.

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My deep appreciation goes to several people who have provided me with the opportunity and assistance to complete this study, and future my professional career. My sincere thanks is extended to the National Endowment for the Arts, who with foresightedness recognized the possible contribution of the following research.

I am appreciative to Larry Livingston of Livingston and Associates for generously making materials and findings from their planning studies in Teton County available for this study. Appreciation is also directed to the residents of Teton County for offering their viewpoints and concerns for the county's environmental quality, recreational demand, and overall growth.

Last, but not least my special thanks goes to my thesis committee, Doctor John R. Mullin, Doctor Rodger E. Hamlin, and Professor Sanford S. Farness for their guidance and direction in completing my academic goals and improving my shortcomings, while committing untold effort to me as a person. To Johnny Mullin who was an endless resource of information and encouragement, while providing critical analysis. To one of Mullin's backroom boys, my appreciation, for your innovation and wit during my controversial academic

career. To the

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career. To the loving anagonist and the Red Sea prophet, who continually picked up my loose ends.

Heather Elizabeth McCartney

from the wilds of Wyoming,
to the woods of Michigan
Fall 1976

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Focus of Research

The main focus of this research is to formulate methods of planning for aesthetic resource communities: through a case study of Teton County, Wyoming. The research was undertaken in order to relate theoretical principles for the development of optimal living conditions into practical application for the future. Interest in planning of aesthetic resource communities, specifically Teton County, developed out of conflicts in interests among citizens, settlement and housing problems, varied governmental jurisdictions and dominant national interests vs. local interests.

The most important indicative feature of a contemporary community is the extent to which its existence and social organization depends on industry.[1] A community can be labeled single-function when the community and its supporting institutional services are characterized by a single industry.[2] These communities are often resource-based. The single industrial community of the twentieth century are products of an age of industry and technology.

Their existence depends on the advancement of technology, the developing complex division of labor and the sophisticated system of exchange. Resource-based communities of the past were developed near an energy source or developed to extract a resource and later many were created by a transportation network. Present day industries and communities have been developed to supply metals, while our future ones will be created to supply energy.[3] The future of single-function industrial based economies and communities are dependent upon impersonal forces outside their jurisdiction, company decisions, government policies, tax subsidies and depreciation and finally international trade agreements.

Research on resident's physical and social needs in single-function resource based communities has previously been carried out. The major contributions in published literature are from Canada, possibly due to later frontier settlement and the present day push for development of their resources.

The geographical, political and social similarities of Canada and the United States makes it possible to apply the findings on attitudes, behavior patterns and expectations of residents to similar communities in the United States. Wherever natural resources are being exploited there can be identified similar physical and social problems which are characteristic of single-function communities. Differences emerge from the varied attitudes and

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expectations people bring to a community. The basic research from Canada supplements a gap in information which is needed for successful energy and aesthetic resource development in the United States.

Rex Lucus published in Canada major findings and conclusions on the social implications of community development based on a single-industry.[4] Recent literature has been published by John Gilmore and Mary Duff on modern day "boom towns," supplementing an anticipated need by energy development.[5]

Reasons for the Study

The criteria important in the understanding of this research are:

1. Little research has been carried out about the problems encountered in utilizing aesthetic resources for various uses and demands, and
2. There is an indication that the development of western resources will play a large part in the United State's remaining twentieth century decisions. These decisions will encompass changing pressures in growth and the rate of natural resource consumption.

The decision to use Teton County as a case study was consistent with an increasing National interest, exemplified by Nature Conservancy funding, the development of a land use plan for Teton County and the funding of this research

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by the National Endowment for the Arts. There were four main reasons for undertaking a study of Teton County:

1. The Teton County experience is representative of whether the planning role to preserve the integrity of the area should be undertaken by a national, state or local agency or a combination.
2. Research was needed, as planning for aesthetic resources is unique.
3. The Teton County area is of major interest, setting a precedence in planning application.
4. The complexity of different interests and confusion of planning efforts involving National Park Service, U.S. Forest Service, County, City, and varying citizen interests need addressing.

Teton County is a political subdivision whose power and control is limited because 97 percent of the land is publicly owned. The Bridger-Teton and Targhee National Forests, Grand Teton National Park, the National Elk Refuge and the State of Wyoming are the major public holdings. The remaining 3 percent in private ownership encompasses approximately 75,000 acres. The town of Jackson is the center of population with minor village division in the valley area.

Teton County, a jurisdictional division, has been coined a "community" in this study, due to the physical constraints which create a homogeneous unit in the valley floor of the mountains. The limited private land ownership

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promotes direct contact of citizens throughout daily operations and during political decisions. Teton County is by no means a homogeneous community, for the citizen's interests and expectations are varied and diverging. Thus, the physical constraints compound conflicts and expectations for the community and its available aesthetic resources.

In addition to dealing with the difficulties faced by aesthetic resource development, there is the need to gain answers to questions asked by planners of extractive resource development that will inevitably follow in the wake of the large mineral and oil-shale strikes and development.[6] The rapid growth facing the development of resource frontier communities is in need of management in order to maintain the quality of life in the developing communities, to preserve and enhance the areas aesthetic qualities for which the areas were originally chosen as conducive to recreation and leisure.[7]

Planning Contribution

The research philosophy of this study was to select a research problem which had special relevance to a community. Design and management of an optimal community in an isolated environment, one which is environmentally hostile and in a fragile locale, will never be a small task. Problems of social, cultural or economic concern in Teton County are difficult and complex. Their components cannot be easily abstracted for study. They consist of a variety

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of mutually interacting aspects.[8] The term "management" is used to include not only physical factors, but also social, economic and political considerations under suitable techniques.[9]

Management systems for resource community planning must coordinate externalities with the market system, for they usually are either non-market or they require the creation of a market where none existed before. Regulations have been the mechanism of the most general appeal for dealing with external effects. But regulations can only consist of general rules or of specific decisions on an individual case. Too often, however, the regulations are worse than the problem.[10]

The management of rapid-growth for recreational demand in areas of aesthetic resources has created a conflict in policies between the preservation of natural amenities, and the provision of recreational opportunities. Areas endowed with natural amenities will be the first jurisdictions forced to develop planning policies which will comprehensively address primary and secondary-environmental, political, economic and sociocultural impacts of resource use. Thus, aesthetic resource communities currently will need to be treated as a special problem in planning and resource development.

The planning of aesthetic resource areas will also help clarify the utilization of the concept of use-capacity.

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The conflict of resource exploitation and depletion versus conservation and preservation will be addressed.

This study will lead to an awareness for the need to address the following questions:

1. In what priority should human expectations and demands versus natural resource preservation be placed?
2. What trade-offs between environment, carrying-capacity, and development will man be willing to make?
3. What is equitable provision of operational demands?

Equity addresses the advantages and disadvantages for each individual of an alteration or developmental change. For it is impossible to plan for optimum conditions for every current or future inhabitant or user. Alternatives identified in aesthetic resource communities should aim to provide the best solution for as many requirements or the greatest aggregate net benefit.[11]

A growth policy guided by inadequate and incomplete indicators will give rise to the pursuit of pseudo-growth, where increases in consumption or investment are at the expense of the natural assets, resources and amenities.[12]

Problems

There are several questions a study of this type cannot answer as they must be carried out collectively. However, by uniquely defining the needs of a community

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endowed with natural amenities, several conflicts and problems arise. The problems identified for this research are centered around six questions:

1. What are the similar planning aspects of extractive resource towns and aesthetic resource towns?
2. What are the unique planning aspects of aesthetic resource town development?
3. Where should the planning authority come from: national, state or local coordination?
4. What can be gained from identifying potential problems?
5. How can growth pressures be dealt with?
6. How closely can the experiences of Teton County be applied to other areas which are experiencing rapid growth due to resource development?

Methodology

The research approach utilized available materials to evaluate implicit and explicit goals, policies and processes of the Teton County experience. Research on traditional planning and social concerns of resource communities was carried out under library research. Background on the Teton County experience was gained through available studies: previous planning studies, developing local plans, ecological and environmental research reports, interviews and correspondence.

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Jim Conners, U.S. Forest Service, Brider Teton National Forest.

Dan Cowee, Teton County-City of Jackson, Administrator of Planning Services.

Dr. David Love, U.S. Geological Survey, Laramie, Wyoming.

Marty Murie, Environmentalist, Moose, Wyoming.

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Don Stocker, City of Jackson (Interim Planner).

Dr. Robert Twiss, Environmental Resource Management Consultant to Livingston and Ass.

Dr. Eugene Zeizel, Teton County 208 Planning Agency.

Community Classification

Analysis and interpretation of the planning problems of extractive, single-function resource communities were applied to similar planning problems in aesthetic resource communities. Rex Lucus classified three types of communities with an economically based "resource located" industry.

1. Communities with a single industry
2. Communities with a dominant industry
3. Communities with diversified industry[13]

However, the application of aesthetically based economies have been excluded for simplfication in his research. For Lucus excludes communities which are "characterized as agricultural, fishing, hunting or trapping, market towns, county seats and tourist resorts."[14]

The research on the following pages is the utilization and application of previous work on single-function-extractive resource communities to aesthetic resource communities, in order to enhance an understanding of the planning problems which will be encountered.

From Lucus's studies a working definition of dominant industry (enterprise) can be developed. A dominant-industry has an extensive influence upon the community, as the economic base is dependent upon that dominant resource, while allowing for a more complex social stratification.[15] Lucus excludes the above communities (i.e., tourist resort) because of their social complexity. It is in these types of communities that the working population is basically made up of small capitalists, entrepreneurs and government officials.[16] He covers single-function communities extensively and explains their similarities to communities with a dominant industry. Lucus states, "superficially the community with a dominant industry has many characteristics of the one-industry town because the giant industry is seen as having an untoward effect upon the whole community.[17] Thus Lucus's findings on single-industrial communities can be applied to dominant-enterprise communities. This is an important assumption to this research as many aesthetically-based communities will vary between having a single function and a dominant-enterprise economic base.

Lucus narrowly defined "resource located" industries to include only mine, mill and rail communities. In order to expand these ideas for my research, resource located towns may be defined as either extractive or aesthetic. An extractive industry exploits a natural nonrenewable resource (mining and oil) or one which is harvested just for extraction (lumber). An aesthetic industry utilizes

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natural amenities or a resource through preservation, investment and the sale of amenity services and goods. The planning goals, objectives and time-spans are different for extractive and aesthetic resource communities. The goals and planning period in extractive resource communities are directed towards the short term influx of the "boom period," while aesthetic resource communities direct their goals and planning period to long-term or continuous planning period.

Rapid-Growth and Demand for Aesthetic Resources

In this, the last third of the century, citizens are faced with four-day weeks, longer vacations and more spendable income. Armed with increased leisure time, income and a desire to get away from the tensions of a fast-moving society, new resort areas have developed throughout the country. The aesthetic resources of scenic vistas, lakes, mountains, shores and other areas of natural beauty where nature has brought together elements that are conducive to reaction and leisure. Recreational activities have been increasingly developed in connection with the natural amenities and then promoted as a resort community.[18]

Resort communities built around natural amenities have experienced rapid growth rates. Along with the growth in recreation, there is the compounding desire on the part of the visitors to own property in these naturally-endowed areas. If the rate of growth in the second-home market and

the demand for recreational spaces continues at the present rate, the availability and provision of natural amenities will be unable to keep pace. Preservation and enhancement of natural endowments and man-made additions must be encouraged in order that optimum utilization of aesthetic resources is achieved to provide and protect these opportunities.

Importantly related to the rapid development of aesthetic resource communities is the phenomena that environmental disruption and social costs have suddenly been thrust into the center of political discussions. This has raised not only the practical issues of environmental control, but also the fundamental theoretical problems with which economists, decision-makers and citizens will have to concern themselves.[19] With political, economic and socio-cultural factors in mind, this research was undertaken to provide a beginning awareness for the need for coordinating our planning of aesthetic resources.

Definitions

A reference to definitions has been given in order to clarify general titles used to clarify communities and their economic basis. While general planning terms have been identified to acquaint the reader to newer terms which have been added to the vocabulary to express a planning concept. They are listed in order of reference in the text:

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Community--A group of people living in a district area, subject to the same laws, having common interests and characteristics (Funk and Wagnalls College Dictionary definition). Warren's definition of community is, "that combination of social units and systems which perform the major functions having locality relevance."[20] A community is a local society, a communal organization including formal and communal subsystems.[21]

Aesthetic industry--Utilizes natural amenities of a resource through preservation, investment and sale of amenity services and goods creating a recreational and tourist oriented economic base.

Extractive industry--Exploits a natural nonrenewable resource (mining and oil) or one which is harvested just for extraction (lumber).

Single-function--A community is single-function when the community and its supporting institutional services are characterized by a single industry.

Dominant-function--The dominant industry in a community has an extensive influence upon the community, as the economic base is dependent upon that dominant resource while allowing for a more complex social stratifiation.

New town--Newly built settlements which have self-contained labor markets. The proposals are based on providing for newly developed growth demands, and are established to steer growth away from existing urban areas.

Growth centers--Existing settlements which are expanding to a point of self-sustaining growth, while providing jobs to residents in surrounding areas. Growth centers are encouraged to steer growth toward unemployed populations or an unexploited resource.

Growth management--Management systems are designed to control or influence the rate, amount or geographic pattern of growth. The techniques include a variety of legislative, administrative devices, planning and fiscal approaches. The systems are designed to provide a community with an efficient means of providing for rapid growth.

Carrying capacity--An analytical concept to determine the natural ecological limitations of the land, and a basis for evaluating development proposals.

Externalities--Complex interdependencies under our given institutional arrangements, lead to various forms of environmental disruption and social costs for which conventional economic theory can offer no solution.

1. Choice and behavior are not autonomous but are shaped by dominating units with a commercial interest.
2. The effects of production and distribution on the environment and society are anything but negligible.

Projections--An extrapolation of a past trend, to predict a future trend.[22]

Agricultural zoning--The designation of whole land areas or districts for agricultural use to preserve such activities, maintaining open space and limiting land speculation and development.

Conservation zoning--This zoning limits growth in areas which are designated due to their unique value or fragile nature.

Critical areas--Sensitive lands can be protected from development via special zoning classifications, environmental reviews, and higher standards, etc.

Easement--Rights of property obtained to assure temporarily or in perpetuity certain types of uses or non-use of land.

Environmental controls--Dealing with air and water quality, noise and flooding controls, etc.

Environmental standards--Standards may be incorporated into ordinances and other regulations to prevent building in areas with steep slopes, flood plains, etc.

Performance standards--Performance criteria are concerned with levels of effects, leaving "flexible" the determination by developers and public administrators of means/use/material adequacy.

Timing/Phasing--One of the most valuable methods available to localities is the "sequencing" of facilities, zoning, permits, etc.

CHAPTER II

SINGLE-FUNCTION RESOURCE COMMUNITIES

The intent of this chapter is to examine and compare historical factors to establish similar characteristics between extractive and aesthetic resource communities.

Industry Effecting the Environment

The major industry of a community creates more than a social structure and a set of working conditions. It usually influences the environment in which the population lives. The use by man of a resource has traditionally polluted or artificially influenced the environment. The external effects of a maturing community is often not recognizable during much of its growth, or recognition of those effects not economically profitable. By the time the community reaches maturity, the accumulated effects of the industrial process are there for all to see and smell. Speaking of an extractive community, man living in a single-function community stated, "the day that there isn't smoke from those stacks and congestion, will be a sad one for this town."[23] Thus, the industrial dependency creates the environment and quality of life for a community.

The University of Manitoba Center for Settlement Studies, has researched extensively social factors effecting Resource Frontier Communities. From these studies factors were identified which influenced the quality-of-life:

1. Economic considerations and working conditions--refer to economic forces that have either an attracting or repelling influence on residents including workers, families, businessmen and native people.

2. Personal adjustment--to climate, isolation, social and economic environment, workers, wives, children, professionals, civil servants, industry executives and businessmen.

3. Community activities--voluntary organizations, recreation, post-secondary education, libraries, music, drama, art.

4. Quality and range of services--education, health, counseling, legal, service industries, and consumer goods.

5. Man-made physical environment--housing, community planning, pollution control.

6. Administrative arrangements--respecting local government, state, and national agencies, housing, education, health, welfare, justice and the company.

7. Geographic considerations--landscaping, climate, accessibility, transportation-communications, recreation.[24]

Through research on community satisfaction (Marans and Rodgers, 1975), planners and policy makers will not likely be "faced with different types of problems in different constituencies . . . the same attributes seem to matter to people of all sorts; the sources of dissatisfaction for one type of person are likely to be sources of discontent for everyone."[25]

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Citizens in communities studied by Marans and Rogers, "valued their physical environment to a lesser degree than their social relations."[26] Their attitudes towards community satisfaction were more strongly related to their individual dwellings rather than the characteristics of the town. Thus satisfaction with individual dwellings and the social setting are more important than convenience and environmental factors, such as noise or air pollution, although they are related.[27] The proximity of residences to neighboring dwelling unit densities affects the perception of the level of crowding. The most satisfied with their micro-neighborhoods were persons who lived in areas with very low densities (less than one dwelling per acre).[28] The size of the community is an important determinant of his (her) level of satisfaction, for it relates to the way in which a resident assesses various community attributes.[29] "Residents of larger cities were less likely to evaluate characteristics of their communities in a favorable manner compared to residents of communities of smaller size," while residents in larger cities are more likely to think they are paying too much for the public services they get.[30] Among public service attributes rated by people it was evaluated that public schools were strongly related to community satisfaction. The attributes most negatively evaluated were the parks and playgrounds, indicating the lack of available facilities or the adequacy of those facilities. The study also measured the satisfaction of

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communities in which their physical environment was planned. Considerations were the amount of open space, the density of residential development, the presence of trees and water and the time-space distances between housing and shops, schools, swimming pools, parks and other facilities. Generally, it was found that high levels of planning correlated with high overall ratings of satisfaction.[31]

Community Design

Examining what constitutes a community is important before a planning effort is undertaken for either a single-function or a dominant enterprise community. These community elements will enable quidance for the planning of totally new extractive and aesthetic resource communities or the management of growth within existing communities.

Through the experiences of developing new towns much data has been gained on what elements should be included in new town designs. A survey done by Dames and Greco, 1968 included such a listing, with the design goals including:

a. provision of permament open space including lakes and parks
b. preservation of existent topographic features
c. broad range of housing opportunities
d. strongly balanced industrial base
e. convenient, attractive commercial development
f. safe functional circular system
g. recreational facilities of all ages and interests
h. well-engineered utilities and services
i. civic and cultural facilities
j. proper land use and land use interactions
k. provision of policies, to minimize increase tax burden on the region[32]

Also to be gained from these experiences is the data from evaluation. What changes in planning techiques are needed to make a new community successful:

a. incorporate high-density living units
b. predevelop more
c. educate local populace not to fear the development
d. add more qualified personnel to staff
e. do own marketing
f. avoid strip zoning
g. provide underground utilities
h. provide cable TV
i. include water recreation in plan
j. never advertise plan until it is a fact
k. incorporate better public relations
l. provide larger-size apartments
m. earlier involvement of institutions
n. closer correlation of land use plan, marketing analysis and financial planning[33]

Not all of these considerations should be used for all developments or communities, but it gives a basis on which more specific community planning can start.

Important in any new development is the cost of planning and the diversity of the staff. A general figure used from previous new town planning efforts is 5 percent of the total cost of the project will be utilized for planning.[34] The planning staff should include urban planners, civil engineers, architects, economists, landscape architects, surveyors and financial analysts.[35]

Many of the residential-industrial new town problems faced by previous developers will be problems that need to be addressed in extractive and aesthetic resource developments. Several of the identified problems in new town developments have been:

a. project financing
b. county zoning
c. acquisition of land
d. escalating costs
e. sales in light money market
f. getting builders to accept restrictions
g. overcoming adverse local opinion
h. finding a source of consumable water
i. unrealistic land use theories[36]

The benefits from planned development are; designated open space, mixture of housing types, congruent design, stepped-growth and additional amenities. In developments which utilize or are lacking natural aesthetic resources, the additional development of amenities consist of golf and swimming, while approximately one-quarter of them contain a library, theater, marina and sports facilities.[37]

Similar and Unique Characteristics of Extractive and Aesthetic Resource Communities

The uniqueness of extractive resource communities is wide ranging. To simplify the discussion at this point, it will be assumed that the community is single-function, with an extractive resource as an economic base. Similar to new town developments, communities developed for the extractive and aesthetic resources will need an overriding order and unified composition, creating a balance, symmetry and motion instead of stagnation. Another similarity in new town development, extractive and aesthetic resource communities is that they often altruistically attempt to provide for growth. Not to state that this is bad; on the contrary, for too often the ills which result

from growth are from the inabilities to cope with growth rather than from the growth itself.[38]

Legal Controls

The first major difference is with the legal control over land usage, community development, and the economy. Generally the land on which the extraction, industrial facilities and the community development takes place is owned "lock, stock and barrel" by "the company." The goals and policies set by the company become the way in which the community and land develops. The social implication is that the impact of that industry upon the lives of the citizens is extraordinarily great, whether it takes an active part in the affairs of the community or withholds support.[39] Through company control of the landownership there is an assurance that if the company plans the community, the community will develop by that plan. It allows for optimum planning and utilization of resources. Traditionally the national government has played a large role in whether resource development takes place. The extractive resource companies have ensured the government's involvement in order to stabilize their investments which otherwise would be precarious, because of the ultimate uncertainty of their economic base.[40]

Community Goals

Single-function extractive resource communities are developed with a unique philosophy, ideology and theoretical

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concepts. A major consideration is extractive resource are nonrenewable. Lumber towns can be put into this category because large-sized timber is needed and clear-cutting is in practice. Thus the resource can be depleted in a relatively short period; even with reforestation, regrowth is approximately 30 to 60 years. The extractive resource community is put in a tentative position by depleting its own economic base. Under this overshadowing factor planning is geared to be short-term, affecting the company's goals and ultimately the community's goals.

Individualism Plays a Subordinant Role

There is no resemblance of individualism within many of the communities. The life of each person is geared around the interactions with the company in developing a set of common values. The levels of social control become more pronounced as the industrial hierarchy of the company forms the major dimensions of the social stratification. Lucus identifies three types of social mobility:

1. upward mobility based on seniority
2. horizontal mobility at the top of the hierarchy, and
3. geographical (access to other communities)

The size of the community affects the social mobility, social observability and social control. The smaller the community and less diversified, the greater individual observability is increased. At the same time, types of social insulation from external scrutinizing is built up by citizens as a protection.[41]

Social conflict and control are due to:

1. isolation; community location
2. lack of immigration
3. emigration
4. interaction of work; common values
5. live and work in the same community
6. personalization
7. clubs and associations
8. individual cross pressures
9. institutional cross pressures
10. avoidance of confrontation (challenging the system)
11. focus of hostility (power and authority)
    a. location of decision-making
    b. distribution of control (large handholders vs. population)[42]

Those with horizontal mobility create a differentiation from the remaining population. There is also a tendency for them to remain involved in the community. The scope and intensity of involvement by citizens relates to the expected and actual duration of the stay in the community. Those who feel transient in the earlier stages of community development (construction workers) are not willing to invest time and energy in either the community or personal relationships.[43]

Planning

The planning for extractive resource towns has much of the same aspects as traditional planning for communities. Ultimately because of legal controls, the planning process is anticipative or preventive. The life span is based on the resource projections which enables a timing of development. The plan for the industrial facilities and the community can be designed down to the last detail before an implementation program begins. Through planning, costs of

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the infrastructure are decreased. Community design is directed towards harmonious design. Lucus identifies from his studies of Canadian towns four stages of resource community development:

1. construction of the community
2. recruitment of citizens
3. transition
4. maturity[44]

The transition period is often very difficult for the company. The control with which the company has over the community development also forces upon it many different roles; employer, landlord, planner and legislator. These do not always complement one another. The company's main concern is running an efficient business. The other facets only seem to be burdensome, difficult and complex, but often necessary in order to have labor.[45] Difficult planning problems are reached when the community begins to reach maturity. The problems differ from when the industry was growing and the community is characterized by different types of interpersonal relationships. Within the single-function community few adults leave the community. The older people retire, but want to live out the remainder of their lives in the town. With a shortage of housing which often occurs and the cyclic manner of employment, youths are forced to migrate out of the community.[46] Stabilization of the community prohibits a turnover in the working population, mainly because there are no alternatives in the area.

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Employment

The construction workers represent a wide range of backgrounds, socio-economic levels, skills and work patterns. Despite the diversity, they hold two things in common: they are male and they have a desire to work long hours and earn overtime pay. Changes in weather, unexpected rapid progress in one section of the construction, or a sudden exodus of workers all produce instability in the working arrangements.[47] The community in this developmental growth stage lacks many of the amenities and balanced socialization which is planned for later. Long-term construction workers create a stabilizing facet, but there are fewer who can be supported in this category. As they begin to assimilate with the community they become more involved. Thus construction brings two distinct groups, one very transient and the other which move into more permanent jobs.[48] Their behavior depends on whether the atmosphere is one of a free-wheeling boom town or if drunkenness is deplorable or even threatened. Either way their behavior is usually different from other inhabitants.[49]

Their future is overshadowing because the community is vulnerable due to the single-industrial base. Periods of optimum, deep pessimism and an overriding ambivalence and resignation are characteristic of many citizens. There is a realization that their welfare depends upon international markets, changes in technology or depletion of the resource. These represent an exaggerated threat in a community which

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can offer no viable alternatives.[50] As there is no security, the towns tend not to settle, nor the people to invest money into permanent homes.[51]

Housing

Housing employees has always been a problem with isolated, rapid-growth resource development. The result has often been for the company to supply the housing, not only due to the urgent need, but also because of the land-ownership. The philosophy on housing has been the maximum housing (accommodations) in the shortest time period. The result varies from tents, barracks, bunk houses and similarly designed row houses. Not only was the construction number important but also maximum utilization of space. Seldom houses with more than three bedrooms were built. Houses with that number were in demand. The philosophy of most companies was not to be frivolous on planning aspects for the family or on design. The result was housing based on utility and function. Planning and the timing of development played a major role on whether the housing was sanitary. Some of the problems were eliminated with single males in minimal housing with a mess hall.

With the advent of the recent coal boom due to the energy shortage, areas and companies which are developing a resource and are faced with being single-function, have advocated different types of development. To counter the image of a company town, the companies are encouraging

financing of the new town by private interests. In order to encourage prospective labor the company officials are emphasizing that the concept and appearance will differ from the coal boom towns of 60 year ago. No longer can companies afford the image of a West Virginia coal town. By encouraging private investment the coal company is no longer a landlord, for the builder sells the homes directly to individual buyers. An advantage over company housing is that private builders offer a wider variety of designs: with five floor plans and ten exteriors. Home financing can then be offered through F.H.A. rather than the company. Through federal grants, parks and playgrounds can be offered. Thus it is apparent that although the company has been lighted of its burden of providing social aspects in resource community development, the federal government has been forced to provide solutions to social problems in deprived areas. With this approach as a solution, can there be any more overall planning than what occurred 60 years ago? Instead of integrating and providing for needs, as in new town developments, profitable development is invested in by entrepreneurs, while socio-cultural and ecological needs are being left to the federal government. Traditionally the profits from resource extraction have not been utilized or distributed to create better communities living conditions, environmental amenities or to the benefit of the individuals working in the industry. Only recently through contract negotiations and governmental regulations have companies

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been forced to set up retirement funds paid by production royalties ($40.00/ton). Extractive resource development has obviously changed little; its goals and philosophies which it advocated and practiced 60 years ago have remained the same without external pressure.[52]

Community

The social problems encountered in creating a viable community is often due to the settlement's isolation. This isolation creates what is labeled a frontier community. It is no wonder it has been so difficult to encourage private permanent investment into an area which has a short-term predetermined life span that is dependent upon a resource. Isolation from other contacts, human or activities, will remain one of the major social problems.

Often a single-function community has no public transportation out of the area. If an airfield exists it is often company related. Access for the laborer and his family is dependent upon private transportation. This further creates a barrier to the outside world and a greater dependency upon the facilities provided by the company.

The solution to isolation for many extractive communities has been for them to develop as a completely independent entity. This brings back the dependence of the residents upon the company to provide the facilities which in turn, affects their social lives further. So begins a vicious circle of whether a company should provide services or leave it to private investment.

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As community size increases and the economy diversifies, the social conflicts and social controls experienced by community residents begin to minimize. Dominant enterprise communities are characterized by having:

1. several sets of management personnel
2. social stratification affected
3. more complex sets of formal and informal patterns of association
4. level of observability reduced
5. interaction between people depends on roles with the development of the community--the degree of support for local organizations
6. competitiveness--citizen social and political action can affect
7. potential flexibility in social life[53]

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CHAPTER III

AESTHETIC RESOURCE COMMUNITIES

The intent of this chapter is to review and analyze the uniqueness of aesthetic resource community planning, and the similarities to single-function resource communities. In the introduction an "aesthetic resource" is defined as: a resource utilized due to its natural amenities, through preservation, investment and the sale of amenity services or goods creating a recreational or tourist oriented economic base.

The term "aesthetic resource" was coined to encompass a unified area of land which is endowed with natural amenities. Examples of these are: a mountain range and the shadowed valley, a water body and the surrounding lands, or an area with unique curiosities. Inclusion of natural amenities under this term has no clear definition, but rather it is influenced by what man considers aesthetically pleasing and seeks-out for recreational or scenic enjoyment.

The term "community," when used in this context often is not defined by a finite area with definite boundaries of development such as in a municipality. But

rather the physical integrity of the amenities creates natural boundaries which form a cohesive unit where communal organization and personal interaction normally takes place. Often these natural areas will be subdivided by political and governmental units. The term "community" is utilized to represent cohesieve feelings and expectations. More often in this research the term "community" represents a land unit which is dominated by an economic base and thus planning must address economic but often diversified interests and expectations. These expectations range from preservation to developable exploitation of the aesthetic resource. The interests diversify with the number of preceived potential uses.

Planning for aesthetic resource areas cannot be approached with one clear method. Similar to extractive resource development, each must be planned separately. There seems to be three separate types of aesthetic resource communities:

1. developing a man-man resource
2. utilizing a natural resource
3. a combination of both

Identifying and differentiating between the development of the resource seems to be important in the clarification of planning techniques to be utilized. Developing a man-made resource seems to imply new town planning around a golf course or man-made lake where existing recreation would not have been present before the development of that man-made

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resource. Ultimately, totally new planning takes place. The utilization of a natural resource must also take into consideration the type of development which will occur. Development may go from a dirt access road to a regulated national park, or a combination of all different types of private and public involvement in one area of natural amenities.

The second implies not only the development of the resource, but whether the natural resource has been utilized. Utilization of a natural resource traditionally effects the diversification of interests and whether change from other dominant economic bases (mining or agriculture) to recreation is exceptable. In identifying whether the natural resource has been used traditionally, several questions must be asked. Did the area develop other than for recreational purposes? What evolution has occurred? How have the changing attitudes of recreation and leisure influenced the growth and development of the town and the natural resource?

There are of course examples and exceptions whenever categories are defined and placed upon fluid, complex elements. One example of this idea would be Vail, Colorado. Vail could be considered between the two categories. They not only developed man-made resources, but they also developed the available natural resources. Thus there is a problem with categorizing. The types of aesthetic resource development discussed in this research will be a combination of the utilization of a natural resource and the

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development of man-made recreational resources. The difference is whether the community traditionally developed and maintained communal associations, or whether the present planning only needed to consider incoming residents. Recreation has been impacted by increasing population numbers, the trend towards a shorter work week, rising real incomes, advances in transportation technology, changing attitudes of people towards recreation, education and advertising. Popular interest in recreation and in outdoor recreation in particular, has spiraled in the past two decades.

Economists were slow in realizing the economic significance of recreation. Marion Clawson was one of the first to stimulate an awareness of the growing demand for recreation services and opportunities.[54] Providing facilities around aesthetic resources has become a big business for many operators, and thus a challenge for administrators and public leaders, and a mounting problem for our nation. The challenge stems from opposite philosophies and policies in utilizing an aesthetic resource, where preserving natural amenities is conflicting with the goals and policies of providing recreational opportunities. This conflict will be present wherever aesthetic resources are being utilized by man.

In economic terms it is the challenge of supply and demand. The actual and potential expenditures in recreational resource development are determined by the

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willingness of man to pay taxes, fees and administration charges to finance the development and operation of additional recreational facilities. Unique to aesthetic resource communities is that development cannot be geared to only supply and demand with the exclusion of the potential primary and secondary effects of intensive use. For aesthetic resource availability and potential utilization is based on the use-capacity of areas dedicated to recreational use. Rapid increases in development and intensive use creates an exploitation of the natural resources and ultimately destroys the potential economic base.[55]

Rapid-growth without management creates a decline in the quality-of-life for community residents. Each community tied to aesthetic resource development will have a different order of sequential priorities. The attending problems will differ with the natural constraints, the stage of community development, the amount of recreational demand, and the intensity of use. The following have been identified as the major problems forcing aesthetic resource use:

1. shortage of recreation areas and facilities
2. loss of open space
3. inadequate public services
4. housing shortage
5. traffic congestion
6. fluctuating employment
7. water quality
8. deforestation
9. geological constraints
10. air pollution
11. visual pollution
12. diversity of community
13. governmental jurisdictions[56]

Demand for Recreation

During the past 20 years the leisure time spiral has created what could be termed a recreation explosion. Work and play are now stressed as mutual goals. Pleasure derived from outdoor recreation has become an accepted end for which we are willing to work and strive. Evidence of our changing attitudes and demands for recreation has been experienced in an upward spiral in park visitation, recreational areas, and monetary allocations for vacations and sports equipment. Our society has become more recreation conscious, we are learning and training our children how to appreciate the out-of-doors.

"Demand" should not have a dictatorial authority beyond its true meaning, nor should recent trends be evaluated to the rank of eternal destiny. During this generation a major technological and political discussion hinges on energy demand, for long-term investment is dependent upon the energy form and its life span. The forecasting of energy consumption and pricing has far-reaching social and environmental impacts as well as effecting our range of values and demands for aesthetic resources. The winter sport of skiing has become one of the fastest growing sports in the country with an estimated three million participants. Western skiing is known for excellent snow conditions and high terrain. Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, and New Mexico are the main competitors. The average ski-vacationer travels 632 miles. The

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western slope of Colorado has virtually become a metropolis of ski areas. Vail, which is approximately a 2 1/2-hour drive from Denver, atracted 828,000 skiers in 1974-75. To provide for the demand, Vail Corporation will begin in 1976 another area west of the newly developed Lion's Head. But it is hypothesized that the ski boom is over. The U.S. Forest Service presently instituted a policy restricting additional ski area leases until the present areas are used to capacity. Recently developed ski resorts have experienced financial problems. This leveling off is a signal of diminishing demand. The rising cost of energy and a period of financial uncertainty has created the slump, but it is anyones guess, even with out knowledge of finite resources whether this trend will continue.

Demand on aesthetic resources for recreation has not just been short-term vacationing. The effluency of the 60s has created a market for second homes. Ninety-two percent of the heads of households owning second homes are an average age of 35 years. Of vacationing skiers, 35 percent of the ski magazine subscribers stated they would soon be involved in the second home market. The average value for the second home is $21,300.[58] The average skier is willing to travel long distances to reach the better slopes and luxurious facilities. The trend in recreational demand is toward an emphasis on quality and service.

Though the demand for families to backpack has increased in the mid-seventies, the major portion of the

population who cannot afford week-long stays at Vail and private dude ranches, prefer luxury camping or driving a late model car and stopping at luxurious motels with heated pools.

Developing Year-Around Demand

Aesthetic resource developments have had to begin stressing supplemental amenities--fishing, boating, swimming, horseback riding, golf, and tennis. Recreational demand has made it necessary for the provision of year-round amenities. Golf, snow-skiing, water sports, and a wide variety of other recreational activities form the basis upon which most second home communities are built. The market potential increases with a wider combination in recreation. In areas of seasonal climate, balanced recreational activities insure a year-round desirability. The permanent value of the community, which is stimulated by diversity, enhances the buyer's satisfaction with his investment.

Access Equals Demand

The high level of demand or a major increase in recreational demand is dependent upon the access to the area, economic affluency, available leisure time and energy availability. Highway access, road closures, difficulty of mountain passes and airline operations are major determinants to access in mountainous recreational areas. The economic decline of the seventies has brought about a leveling off in overall long-distance recreational demand.

There are expected gains in demands for areas which are in close proximity to major metropolitan centers. Increased advertising of our country's natural resouces (Parks) during the energy shortage and the bicentennial may have unknown long-term influences into the late 70s.

Community Use and Market

Important in the influence of demand is an individual's discretionary time and dollar. The nature of the market (discretionary dollar) is important, for it creates a demand for a quality environment. There are many varied aesthetic resources and facilities in which an individual's discretionary time can be spent. There is no monopoly on recreation, for recreational opportunities are found almost everywhere.

There is little study on how families spend their discretionary time and money.[58] In order for planning to meet individual, community, and national demands without guess work, research is desperately needed. Time-budget allocation studies are needed whether it be for community services, inter-city community centers, recreation facilities, or regional and long-extended vacation demands.

Intensive overuse which depletes the environment in the form of pollution will become the deterring factor for aesthetic resource areas. The economy, like the environment, lives on a continual input of matter and energy taken from natural resources (depletion) in the form of low

entropy raw material, and is returned to the environment in the form of high entropy waste (pollution). One user hiking the back-country impacts the use and increases the cost for other consumers of that resource. There are reciprocal externalities and side effects to all of man's activities.

Providing for Demand Versus Preservation of the Natural Resource

Vail and Snowmass, Colorado are examples of a recreational community utilizing new town development concepts. In areas of aesthetic resources, preservation of the natural environment takes precedence over man-made. Recreation development is closely tied to the preservation of the aesthetic resource. With limited acreage, their solution was to minimize interior vehicular traffic, facilitating primarily the pedestrian. Underground parking became a necessity in order to preserve and enhance the natural beauty. The cost is offset by the elimination of snow removal.

The rapid growth experienced with recreational development, as with extractive resource development, requires the corporations to provide the community services initially with increased development and population. Special districts were formed to provide water and sanitation, fire and police protection and summer recreation facilities. These governmental units were designed to finally take over the responsibilities of governing a

community, while the private corporation provides the specific recreational opportunities.

Tourism, the major economic base, adds no major tax base for the support of community services. Thus, Vail has instituted a 2 percent sales tax for the development of new recreational facilities and maintenance of service elements for the town.[59]

Demand for recreation due to more people, leisure, money to spend, greater mobility, more production and consumption have created greater pressures on the environment. To compound the pressures of depletion, Americans are demanding much higher levels of environmental quality. What quality of environment will we be willing to pay in money and effort? Are we willing to change our consumption levels?

Too often development demand and intensive usage has ironically been eliminated by the buying up of more land, which lessens the depletion effect for the time being, but never brings a solution to the source of the problem. However, in many aesthetic resource communities, with land at a premium the problem is only compounded with further development. Thus the demand for recreation will not disappear and must be met with alternative solutions. Air pollution problems which occur during inversions in mountain valleys are met with an attitude that it is not as serious as in larger communities or parks. Somehow, people often seem to be proud of the fact and thus never have to address the problem.[60]

Aesthetic resource communities must have an objective of equilibrium between the natural endowment and the man-made environment. The equilibrium must be maintained while preserving the scenic beauty and the recreational opportunities. The overshadowing main purpose of an agency and its programs must be a responsibility for environmental conservation. Greater emphasis is then placed on ecological studies and consideration of visual factors. A needed implicit assumption often is that a community may not be able to accommodate all the projected (proposed) growth and that limitations may be necessary in order to conserve the environment. The second assumption needs to be that development benefits someone while at the same time another individual loses. Planning thus needs to focus on equity of the environment while providing a net benefit for all men.

Similarities of Extractive and Aesthetic Resource Communities

There are several factors discussed about extractive single-function resource towns which are applicable to aesthetic resource communities. There is a need to attempt to deal effectively with urban growth by providing a physical environment that is at once convenient and orderly without the unwanted intrusions of noise and air pollution or insufficient services.

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Housing

Rapid-growth seems to effect the type of housing available to laborers. Without planning or company building (public, private, or corporate) a housing shortage develops. This forces the existence of temporary housing, high rentals or purchase prices, lower quality sanitary conditions and crowding, while there is little effort to provide low-income housing. Much of the recent housing has been at prices that average or local service workers cannot afford. The alternative has been mobile homes. Housing prices and buyers' income for the most part in both extractive and aesthetic resource communities do not match. Many residents suffer from the growth and demand, rather than sharing in the economic fruits.

Employment

Town development and thus employment seem to follow the same stages as extractive resource communities: construction of the community, recruitment of citizens, transition and maturity. Employment in the early stages brings in a majority of transient construction workers. Changes in the market or progress on a project creates a mass exodus of workers and produces instability in the working arrangements. The community at these stages often lacks many of the amenities and balanced socialization that is planned for in matured communities. Employment fluctuations from seasonal demand, outside markets and the

countries' economic well being causes instability among workers. The difference between extractive and aesthetic resource development concerning employment, is that aesthetic resource development and growth may be continuous. This creates a perpetuation of the transition period.

Laborers are encouraged into the community by the construction. They are usually transient, only wanting to work six months of the year, keeping an eye on their bank accounts and one eye on their unemployment insurance book.[61] However, because of the new construction, a job boom is created enabling many of the local residents an opportunity of working on a regular basis during the construction season.[62] They are often the skilled tradesmen and skilled workers, brought on the job by the contractor for a specific period of time.[63]

Employment in either type of resource community is dependent upon the type of resource and whether it can actively be pursued throughout the year or seasonally. Employment in aesthetic resource areas of stable maturity would remain seasonal and vary dependent upon external influences. The diversification of the resource use is the qualifying factor on which diversification of employment is dependent. The range in either case is very limited.

Landownership

Landownership is another area of similarity. Depending on whether the community is being developed by a

development corporation or sold by private individual, influences the availability price and attending development controls. This in turn influences the settlement form of the communities. Both extractive and aesthetic resources are often located on sensitive lands which means a greater need for planning and coordination among governmental agencies. Major land holdings in the western states are held by the Department of Interior, forcing the leasing of property from a governmental agency in order to develop the resource adequately and profitably.

Community Facilities

Increased growth and continuous demand puts a strain on the financial capacity of the communities to provide police, and fire protection, the capital construction costs for water, sewer, and sanitation. Even with the increased construction of houses, the additional revenue rarely covers the related demands. This is especially true in areas where mobile homes are the major new housing units. But one of the major problems in western states is that assessed evaluations have not kept pace with the increased need for services and cost of additional services. This leaves the provision of public services in a difficult financial situation if fringe development wants to be provided for or avoided.

Governmental Control

National Park, Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management Lands have traditionally had planned development. They are now faced with the recent influx and increased demand for recreational facilities, and for the exploitation of lumber, oil and oil shale. Local agencies and federal agencies are being faced with the questions of: how much control do we have over development, growth and demand? How does planning fit into the frame work of agency management? Lastly, how will each agency affect the accomplishment of managed growth, the timing and speed by which growth management is accomplished?

Community Feelings

A social implication with many of these developments is the need for "community feeling." The communities are characterized by a small diversified stable population of primary, personal relationships. Each inhabitant develops and often has special benefits and obligations arising out of interpersonal skills and relationships.[64] The social stratifications and diversification of the population usually is the prohibitive factor towards the development of a community as a whole. Community feelings are affected by the quality-of-life. Quality-of-life depends upon two things: (1) tangible aspects (the adequacy of available and affordable goods and services to the local service sector and (2) intangible aspects (morale and attitudes)

of the population towards available leisure activities. Whether the government is responsive and whether the community is supportive.

Uniqueness of Aesthetic Resource Communities

Planning for aesthetic resource communities differs in one respect in that it places priority and encompasses the ideas of preservation and investment.

Longevity

The time span in planning for aesthetic resource communities must have long-range objectives in order to direct the more immediate short-term problems of growth and demand. Priorities must be established in order to guide the changes and resolve the conflicts. The difference between extractive and aesthetic resource planning is that extractive resource planning is designed with the capital improvements to serve for the short period of boom to bust, while aesthetic resource planning must design with a factor of permanence.

No longer can roads and utilities be planned with ultimate capacities. For in periods of rapid growth and change, projections of needs may be misleading. Flexibility needs to be built into all the concepts and designs. Traditionally it has been difficult for planning to incorporate flexible change. For as zoning is instituted and roads laid, the directive and outlay of capital investments prohibits change.

Creating a future lies in an ability to imagine the remote consequences of present acts, to create the consequences for future acts and to connect present motives and feelings.[65] Planning often uses predictions and projections to create a future. Predictive accuracy is dependent so often upon external factors which can not be calculated into the consequences. However, predictive accuracy is not as important as the heightened awareness that can be gained from the ability to readjust our images of the future as the present changes.[66]

To be effective, the ideology, goals and processes of conserving the earth's resources for future generations will have to become an activity that seems rewarding in itself.[67] The spatial environment should not be subject to plans of awesome future extent. It is more rational to control the present, to act for near-future ends and to keep the longer future open. This enables the exploration of new possibilities and an ability to respond to change.[68] Planning the long-range goals and policies of a community is important, for an investment which proves to be incompatible with change is unlikely to be eliminated. The greater the flexibility of the area the greater the degradation. An obsolete environment is a type of pollution. The cost of which should be borne by the stream of users.

Preservation

There are few activities which man undertakes in development or recreation that do not have a detrimental impact upon the environment. Preservation of a resource cannot be carried out unless there is an understanding of balanced environmental systems and ecological constraints. Some resources are destroyed in use, but can be replaced--as long as no irreversible damages occur. The priorities of conservation are:

1. To prevent irreversible change
2. To re-establish renewable resources for the generations of the middle future.

An understanding of the principles of ecology--the interrelations among living organisms; between them and their habitats is certainly of great value in assessing the likely outcome of a proposed action. What is man's role in resource utilization and development? Whatever the role, there cannot be neglect of the preservation of the resource. The inclusion of a resource to a conservation status should be a resource which will likely remain important for generations, and through conservation will not be wasted or exploited. The resource should be included even if the present value of its conservation cannot be computed.[69]

It is important to consider the cost of usage, the cost of managing the resource, and to provide for regeneration with a fund for reconditioning the resource or site to an ecologically stable status.[70] Zoos, animal preserves and

parks which once plundered to provide a spectacle are now being commissioned to preserve the communities and unique species which elsewhere have become extinct. Conservation should include the moderation of resource usage in order to prolong their future availability.

Jurisdictional Controls

In single-function, extractive resource communities the jurisdictional controls closely follow company policies. Thus development of the community closely follows company plans. Aesthetic resource communities achieve this advantage if the land is in one ownership (i.e., a corporation). The development of the land can be timed, contain building requirements and restrictions, and still be sold for income on the tax roles.

Dominant-enterprise communities usually face a more complex situation in their jurisdictional controls. Often the aesthetic resource was recognized long before a major influx of growth occurred. Development started for various reasons and often is scattered with few design concepts. The ownership of land varies--from large acreage to town-sized lots, with every owner having different expectations for the development of his land.

Jurisdictional complications have arisen in many areas of scenic beauty, for there are often several public agencies with land holdings, various governmental interests, and complex landownerships by private interests. They have

resulted in uncoordinated landownerships with varying interests and jurisdictional policies.

The demand for recreational opportunities is closely tied to available facilities maintained by these jurisdictions. The Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission reported 234 million acres (12 percent of our total land) are available for recreation on the mainland of the United States. This figure includes only the designated public recreation areas. The total is misleading, for only a fraction of this is what would be normally thought of when speaking of public outdoor recreation. Counties and local units of government administer 3.5 million acres of which two-thirds are utilized as county or municipal forests. The remainder of recreational lands are administered by states (32 million acres) and the federal government (198 million acres). Of the federal land, 84 percent is under the U.S. Forest Service jurisdiction and the National Park Service administers 17.5 million acres.[71]

Most of the land designated for public recreation contain expanses of forests, mountains, deserts and wilderness tracts that have scenic value, but are not really available for intense or even moderate recreational usage. Only approximately 10 percent of these lands can be utilized for these types of recreational usage. The areas which carry the major bulk of the load account for only one-half of 1 percent of the total areas. Statistically this is very general. However, it implies the importance of future

policies in aesthetic resource areas. Though local, state, and federal lands have been set aside for recreation, the small percentage of the whole which can be utilized for moderate or intensive recreational use burdens this amount of land. Thus utilization and policies for further development must be carefully thought out. Further development of some forests and parks may create an intensive use which will ultimately destroy the resource.

Jurisdictional coordination and unified private and public cooperation is needed in order that common goals are formulated and policies are carried out in the areas which are receiving intensive recreational demand. No longer can citizens afford to have public and private interests develop and control separate natural and man-made resources. Protection cannot be administered from one jurisdiction nor from just governmental units. Every citizen who lives in an aesthetic resource community and those who utilize that resource need to contribute to its conservation and preservation. A key policy decision is how intensively can we utilize aesthetic resources and expand communities in these areas without destroying the value of recreational experiences?

Importance of Aesthetic Resource Community Planning

The importance of aesthetic resource community planning to the whole field of planning will depend upon its contribution to addressing unanswered priority questions.

Intended for this section is the statement of many of the trade-offs which will be faced by residents in aesthetic resource communities who are trying to address growth management.

Areas endowed with natural amenities and pressured by recreational demand will be the first jurisdictions forced to develop planning policies that comprehensively address primary and secondary environmental political, economic and sociocultural impacts. Thus, aesthetic resource communities currently will need to be treated as a special problem in planning and resource development.

The problems in this section are related in unanswered questions. Each recreational community who attempts to address them will have priorities sequenced differently, and will implement the priorities under varying combinations of growth management techniques.

Human Expectations and Demands Versus Natural Resource Preservation

The conflict of man and nature is the major question now being addressed by aesthetic resource communities. The conflict takes place not only in the areas of scenic beauty but in the communities which service the people utilizing the natural areas. The formal conflict is not taking place in urbanized areas, but recreational areas providing for moderate and intensive use. Many of the National Parks are reviewing the impact of intensive demand

and its attending problems in preserving the natural amenities around which the park was built and mandated to preserve. National Forests are taking a look at trying to combine multiple uses which are non-conflicting, providing public access into lands without destroying the scenic pastorial beauty, or harming the flora and fauna for which the people are trying to reach. These conflicts and problems stem from the right to utilize public lands and the right to limit in order to maintain the natural amenities. Planning for aesthetic resource communities will additionally clarify the concept of use-capacity. Questions which need to be addressed:

1. What priority is paramount; man or nature?
2. Should and can a community provide for all the demand?
3. Should environmental conservation take precedence over people? If so where?
   a. maintenance of wildlife habitat
   b. maintenance of water quality
   c. in unstable geological formations
   d. maintenance of scenic beauty
   e. provision of man-made structures
   f. providing utilities
   g. providing housing for all levels of income
   h. maintaining human diversity
4. What mixture of people and preservation can there be with considerations to carrying capacities?

5. Should national or local goals have precedence?
6. Are the goals in agencies with governmental control over aesthetic resources consistent?
7. Are federal, state, and local policies meeting the changing demands?

Complementary and Consistent Goals

The protection of both natural and human resources can more easily be met with public and private complementary policies. In areas where the resource is held in portion by federal agencies and the remainder by private, uncoordinated policies will allow for further distruction of the amenities. Policies have often been inconsistent between the National Parks and the U.S. Forest Service. Often regulations and limitations such as the number of campgrounds in a park has created a greater burden upon the available sites on U.S. Forest Service lands and at times insufficient facilities. Limitations of park facilities may be the best policy for the park, but if the demand is such, the impact is pushed onto other areas of the resource which may or may not be less equipped to handle the load. Policy changes implemented in a vacuum of what is being done around the decision and what the consequences will be, may in the long run be more detrimental than the situation before the policy decision. Thus, it is strongly advocated that resource decisions should be made by a group or commission with representation from all agencies and facets of the public and private sectors.

Important in decision-making is, what combination of policies will assure the recognition of environmental constraints, while considering the trade-offs of social, cultural and economic aspects? Policy statements must invision the consequences or trade-offs. For each policy there is an aspect which benefits and there is at least one aspect which loses. An approach to planning through a series of internal balances automatically gives preference to aesthetics of order over the dynamics of rapid growth.

A major portion of effort must be directed toward developing a better understanding of the growth problems and their possible management solutions. For the directive and goals upon which a community gives consensus are not likely to develop without conflict among the different needs and expectations. The result of policy changes and implementation to meet those policies are never precise. While one policy encourages a direction it often hinders several other aspects which are important to an overall plan. Policy implementation should be addressed by a number of questions. A few are:

1. How fast should various types of land classifications be put into use, or converted?
2. How are the goals and their achievement affected by growth?
3. Will needs of lower and moderate income housing be met?

4. What are the major constraints to achieving a set of policies?
5. What type of government coordination is needed?
6. How can a study be better structured to help the community understand the complexities of growth?
7. What tools are available for management?
8. What are the options best suited for the community?

Though just a beginning, these questions will encourage identification of viable alternatives, the consequences and trade-offs of each policy and combination of policies, the phasing of growth, and a direction of program implementation.

After a developed overall plan to growth management, there is a need to convert that plan to reality with strategies for implementation. Limitations on population and controlled land development in communities of limited private land tends to raise property values. High median incomes begin to dominate the market system. Community diversity is hindered and hard to maintain while there would be a high success in maintaining open space. The trade-offs for environmental preservation and limited population are the exclusion of median and low income families and community diversity. Community diversity is one of the hardest policies to implement, for there are few solutions to creating and influencing diversity. A community with diverse human resources should not squander

its diversity for short-term environmental or economic goals.

The problem of growth and demand may often be reduced the question of control. The extend of control over spontaneous forces is in the interest of harmony and order. Aesthetic resource communities are faced with a real problem of over-design. Built with a concept of tourism, rather than as a viable community of year-around residents with an economic base of tourism. Planners are often grappled either intellectually or practically with the enormous problem of translating their aesthetically invisioned "end-product" into a settlement or community inhabited by humans. Vail, Colorado is exemplary of this fact, for it was ordered for the economic base, tourism. But with little conception of the population who was to service it. Thus, the housing problem for employees was never addressed and will continue to be a problem.

The Effects of Limiting and Rationing

The effects of limiting and rationing touches many aspects of resource development. Limitation creates a greater demand than the available supply, which in turn increases the market value of the supply. Under this system it is difficult to supply for the demand in recreation, housing for lower-income and socially disadvantaged people.

Before limitations are set, it should be analyzed whether or not the resource is being optimized by utilizing

it efficiently. If demand disallows the utilization of the resource for strictly recreation use, will compatibility enable multiple use? In order to utilize multiple uses, successful integration of recreation with (1) timber management and harvesting, (2) watershed management, (3) livestock grazing, (4) occupancy use, and/or (5) mineral development will be needed, while still maintaining the high level of quality that is being demanded.

Without definite policy statements it is hard to state which direction is equitable. Either extreme, providing for demand and socially disadvantaged or limiting use will lead to an unequitable solution. Limiting use extensively without proper directives is unequitable for the large mass of human beings; the practice can be exclusionary and provides for the privileged with public funds. But, by providing for demand, overloading through intensive use depletes the resource and the economy it enables.

The impact of depletion not only furthers the limited supply, but may have irreversible damages. The problems sighted occurring in aesthetic resource communities has ultimately the same effect as an extractive resource which creates a form of extraction in and of itself.

The Future of Aesthetic Resource Communities in Terms of an Economic Base

The rising interest in recreation and increased mobility has created a greater demand for aesthetic

resources and services in communities specializing in the provision of recreational facilities. By all indications, demands in the industry's future will continue to be altered with economic and political outside pressures. The demand for aesthetic resources has fluctuated with current national economic trends in recent years, which implies a local community's lack of influence over increasing or decreasing demand directly. The impact upon demand which remained about the same during the recent energy crisis however, shows the priority level recreational time is placed among expenditure allocations on a nation-wide scale. The trends seem to indicate that many of the problems aesthetic resource communities are beginning to identify due to excessive demand, will be present in the near future even with less mobility and economic affluency.

Planning in aesthetic resource communities is a process of societal guidance which occurs in the present, but its objectives are for the future. The defining of goals and objectives cooperatively by all residents and agencies involved gives future direction to the maintenance or change of all environmental components. These futuristic changes are accomplished through societal guidance systems, by conventional methods such as zoning and preservation, by establishing a National Park, or through more innovative methods such as the transfer of development rights and performance standard guidelines. The future is viewed as changes in the system which transcend the

established order. Planning establishes and integrates the necessary components which identify the needed goals and objectives and establishes the process by which to guide the changes to the desired end. Thus, it is through a planning process changes can be integrated with objectives for the future.

Preserving the Natural Resource

Recreation is the product of aesthetic resource communities. The demand for recreation is the economic variable which allows the existence of a community dedictated to this purpose. But the market of a product is dependent upon its nature; ownerships, employment relative to capital input, geographical relations to other urban areas and to similar nearby markets; the response of entrepreneurs to new recreational demands, the cooperation (economics) of interindustrial (and interagency) relations, and the threshold (use-capacity of the land) of providing for new market demands.

Aesthetic resource planners and citizens in a community should not respond to a community's future by saving things for pure preservation sake, or by just being adaptable, but rather by taking an active part in creating that community and its environment. However, always to be kept in mind is, that it is more rational to control the present while keeping the longer future open. In order to

be able to explore new possibilities, enabling an ability to respond to change.

Preservation of the natural resources in aesthetic resource communities will never be classified as preservation for pure preservation sake, for maintenance of the resource is the maintenance of the economy, employment, a community environment and a quality of life. The survival of an aesthetic resource community is dependent upon the acceptance and cooperation of citizens and visitors to preservation with its attending costs and benefits. But the degree to which citizens will allow environmental change under socially acceptable parameters becomes a political and educational question.

Growth Management Planning

The planning process in aesthetic resource communities needs to identify how growth should be accommodated; identify the occurring and potential impacts without intervention; facilitate the identification of alternatives for residents; and once a desired future is chosen, how the objectives can be brought about through policies and programs. Still needed in growth management programs is the integration of encouragement of municipalities to produce public goods more efficiently or citizens to use public services more sparingly.

The impact of growth management can begin by comparing conditions without growth management to those

communities who are committed to controlled growth. Creating and comparing two hypothetical situations is more difficult than comparing reality with a single hypothetical situation.

Growth management in most areas is stimulated by environmental damage and changes in the quality-of-life. There are several factors involved in development controls which concern environmental reasons:

1. The common property issue
2. Interference with natural processes
3. Pollution of resources
4. Protection and enhancement of the aesthetic quality of the environment
5. trade-offs between economic development and natural resource protection or between individual and societal rights.

The importance placed on ecological and environmental factors in aesthetic resource communities encourages the establishment of growth management systems. The selection of a combination of systems uniquely addresses the problem faced by that individual community. It is through the perceived combination of the direction and rate of population growth and economic development that guidance must be directed. Growth management systems which address environmental and resource problems due to growth are established to control:

1. Total population or rate of population growth
2. Geographical patterns of growth
3. Demographic patterns of growth
4. Direction and pace of economic development

Socioeconomic Impacts of Growth

Growth tends to lead to problems of inadequate supplies in housing, in local public services and create other external effects. However, communities which have a trend of rapid growth, experience intensified problems with an accelerated inability to adequately supply facilities. But the implementation of growth management which limits housing, also effects the land values, which in turn effects the supply of low and moderate income housing.

Growth management in aesthetic resource communities which stress the preservation of the environment, also must in turn specifically address the issue of providing low and moderate income housing for service people.

Normally, minimum lot size zoning requirements constitutes a deliberate attempt to reserve land for use by more affluent components of the population. Thus, the local government discourages the movement of lower-income families into a community. Under such circumstances the court has found minimum lot size to be unreasonable and invalid. However, the validity of minimum lot size zoning requirements depend upon the reasonableness of the restrictions with consideration to the nature of the area in which the restrictions apply.

In the Steel Hill Development, Inc. v. Town of Sanbornton[72] the United States Court of Appeals for the First Circuit affirmed a district court's decision upholding a six-acre minimum lot size requirement. Sanbornton a major resort and recreational area in New Hampshire, had extended the minimum lot size to approximately half of the town. The recreational summer population approximately doubled the 1,000 permanent resident population. Thus, the zoning was designed to prevent further second-home development. As the Developer-plaintiff did not intend to satisfy a need for year-around housing the courts upheld Sanbornton's zoning design as reasonable.[73]

Communication for Choosing Change

Choosing change for the allocation of resources in aesthetic resource communities is establishing the power to make resident expectations effective. The establishment of power in order to effectuate change must be through cooperative agreement and resident consensus. This can only be established through cooperative involvement from local citizens in the aesthetic resource community and the government agencies which have jurisdiction over lands and activiites in these areas. An effective planning program established the greatest number of avenues by which residents can communicate their needs and expectations, while at the same time allowing routes of information exchange. Informational exchange on the problems and

potential alternatives, allows for the enlargement of the resident's context within which he moves and from which expectations are formulated.

Communicating the future must be a dialogue among all who have a stake in it. Citizens and users must be able to input their intentions and expectations. Government agencies must enable input from residents and users on management policies which affect the common resource. Communications about a common environment's future requires more than giving everyone a say. Information must be actively sought out, organized and presented. We have to create an interest in communicating, to create a vocal clientele who will support, and create a clientele that demands that information be provided. Communication needs to encourage small-scale personal hopes and intentions just as strongly as the political control obtained by major interest groups.

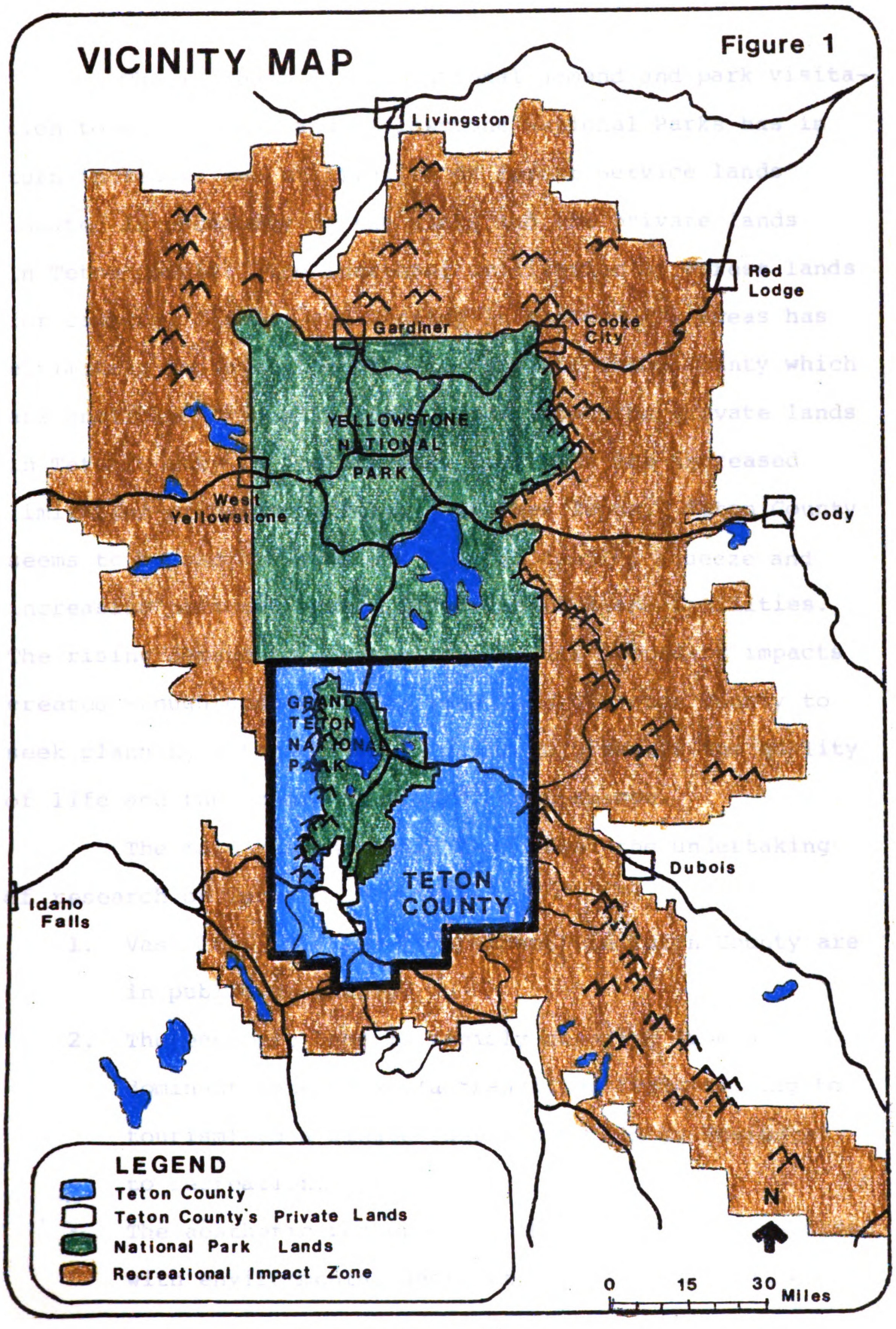
CHAPTER IV

A CASE STUDY OF TETON COUNTY, WYOMING

Teton County

Teton County is located in northwestern Wyoming on the eastern side of the Grand Teton Mountain Range and adjacent to the southern boundary of Yellowstone National Park. Grand Teton and Yellowstone National Parks as well as the John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Memorial Parkway form a vast core of upland wilderness. The 27,000 square miles of the park system and five U.S. forests define a complex of publicly-owned lands.[74] The major highways and feeder routes which service Grand Teton and Yellowstone National Parks are the convergent approaches into the "Jackson Hole" Valley. Contiguous with Teton County are; Targhee National Forest to the west, Bridger-Teton National Forest on the east, and the Elk Refuge in the northeast. Refer to Vicinity Map, Figure 1.

Teton County is a political subdivision of which only a small portion--3 percent of 75,000 acres is under local control.[75] The remainder of the county's lands are supervised by the U.S. Forest Service, the National Park Service, the National Elk Refuge and the State of Wyoming.


VICINITY MAP
Figure 1
Livingston
Red Lodge
Gardiner
Cooke City
YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK
West Yellowstone
Cody
GRAND TETON NATIONAL PARK
TETON COUNTY
Dubois
Idaho Falls
LEGEND
Teton County
Teton County's Private Lands
National Park Lands
Recreational Impact Zone
N
0 15 30 Miles

The increase in recreational demand and park visitation to Grand Teton and Yellowstone National Parks has in turn increased the utilization of Forest Service lands located in proximity of the parks and the private lands in Teton County. The increased utilization of Forest lands for camping, fishing and hunting in backcountry areas has ultimately impacted the private lands of Teton County which are encircled by public lands. The impact on private lands in Teton County is increasingly felt with the increased limitation of National Forest and Park funds. Teton County seems to be caught between a federal funding squeeze and increasing national demand for recreation and facilities. The rising demand for recreation and its secondary impacts created enough concern among residents of Teton County to seek planning alternatives in order to preserve the quality of life and the scenic quality of open spaces.

The main reasons which encouraged the undertaking of research on Teton County are:

1. Vast land holdings (97 percent) in Teton County are in public ownership.
2. The economic base is rapidly changing from a dominant enterprise (a transition from ranching to tourism) to a single-function community dedicated to recreation.
3. The aesthetic resources in the county are threatened with environmental degradation due to intensive over-use.

4. Environmental, scenic and quality-of-life in Teton County are threatened.
5. Residents became aware of environmental and community changes and began to organize to address the problems.
6. The diversity of needs and expectations of residents within Teton County are seen as a major deterrent to community consensus on a planning direction.
7. Community diversity has not been recognized as an attribute for establishing a "sense of community" or maintaining the quality-of-life.
8. Little planning has been undertaken in areas with similar problems. Thus, there was not a precedent upon which to guide the planning process.

The complexity of the planning problems challenges the most innovative planning solutions. The rapid growth, brought about because of the natural endowments makes the Teton County experience a precedent case in planning.

This research does not cover the progress of the planning experience in Teton County which is being carried out during this research, but, the conflicts and results of the experience will help to verify the basic research which can be applied to other aesthetic resource communities.

Teton County as a Jurisdiction and a Community

Due to physical constraints of the mountainous region and the county's private lands being contained on

the valley floor, Teton County has been considered a "community" in decision-making process for this study. Labeling an area as a community does not necessarily mean that the residents within the defined jurisdictional area have a "sense of community." Teton County may prove to be a good case in point, for Teton County's Land Use Plan by Livingston and Associates from San Francisco, California, will begin to try to identify common community needs. To date, several citizen groups have formed in order to have a voice within a process they feel may not represent or understand their needs and expectations. The paths of input for many people has not appeared to be open enough. The large landowners were the first to form a group of citizens emphasizing the lack of concern for their possible loss under land use controls and publicized their influence on detering any resulting conclusions from Teton County's Land Use Plan. From the changed emphasis to large landowners and the unresponsiveness of planners and County Planning Commission to the satelite community of Wilson, citizens from this area organized a group to voice their concerns towards maintaining a small community feeling while providing housing which complements the existing housing and delicate environment.

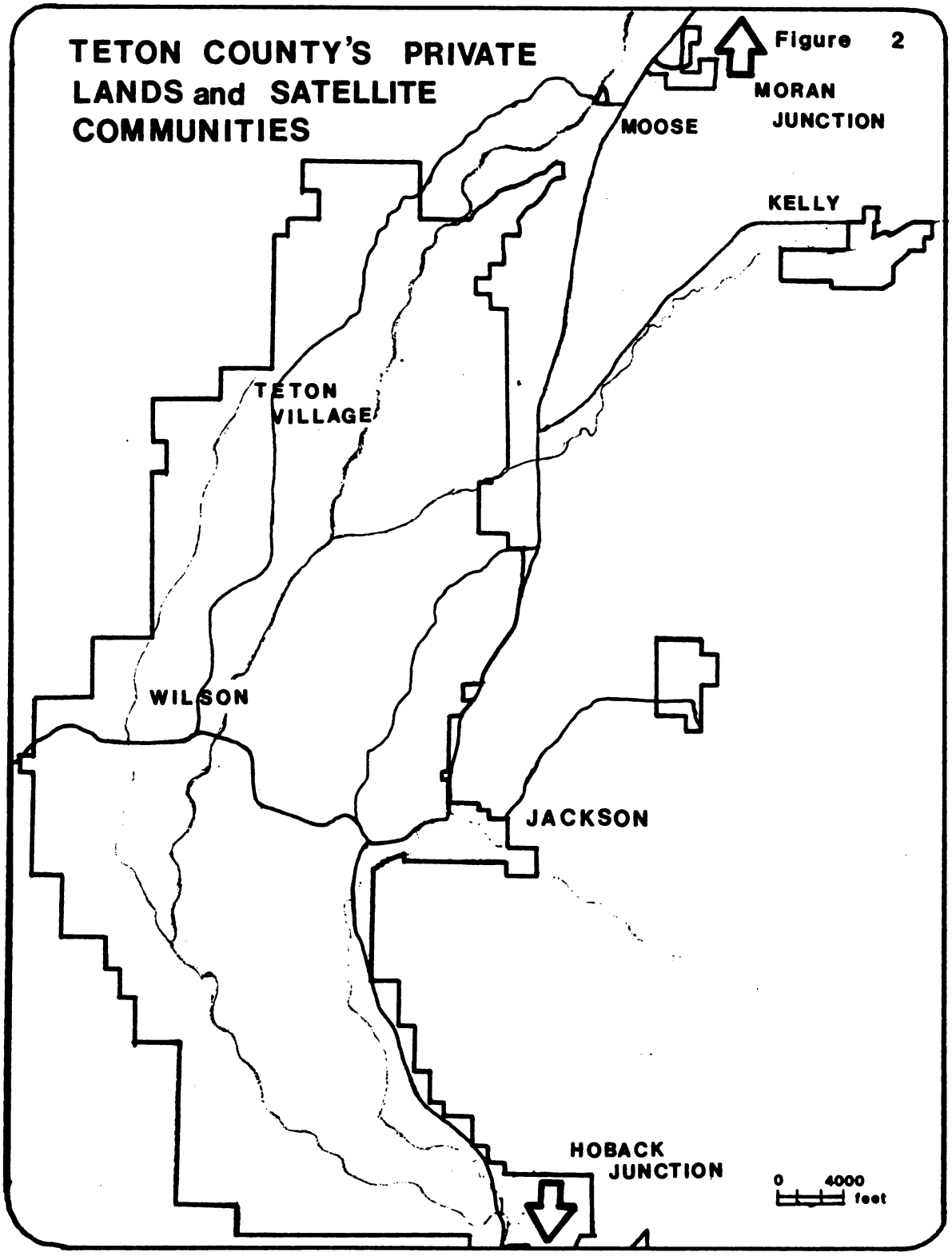
The previous survey of attitudes towards land use planning and regulation by the University of Wyoming, in 1974, established greater hopes for citizen participation when 55 percent of the questionnaires were returned. Dissemination

of planning information, while allowing effective citizen input, would thus be highly valuable and valid through a questionnaire process. However, the questionnaire distributed by Livingston and Associates had a disappointing return of 23 percent. Normally, this would constitute a valid cross-section, but Livingston and Associates even stated that the questionnaire could not represent a statistically valid cross-section, as each respondent was not obligated to respond. In other words, from the complexity of the issues, information, and format, there would be a tendency for the responding residents to be either more highly educated or with a perceivable gain or loss on any of the final policy decisions.

There are minor satellite settlements outside the Town of Jackson which represent different life styles and expectations from the "majority" who answered the questionnaire (refer to Figure 2). This does not mean to say many of the people in these areas did not respond to the questionnaire, but possibly more effort is needed in order that they understand where they can input ideas and how the majority decision will effect their satellite developments and them as individuals.

Identified by interests or place of residency the following groups could be utilized to identify the differing needs and expectations:

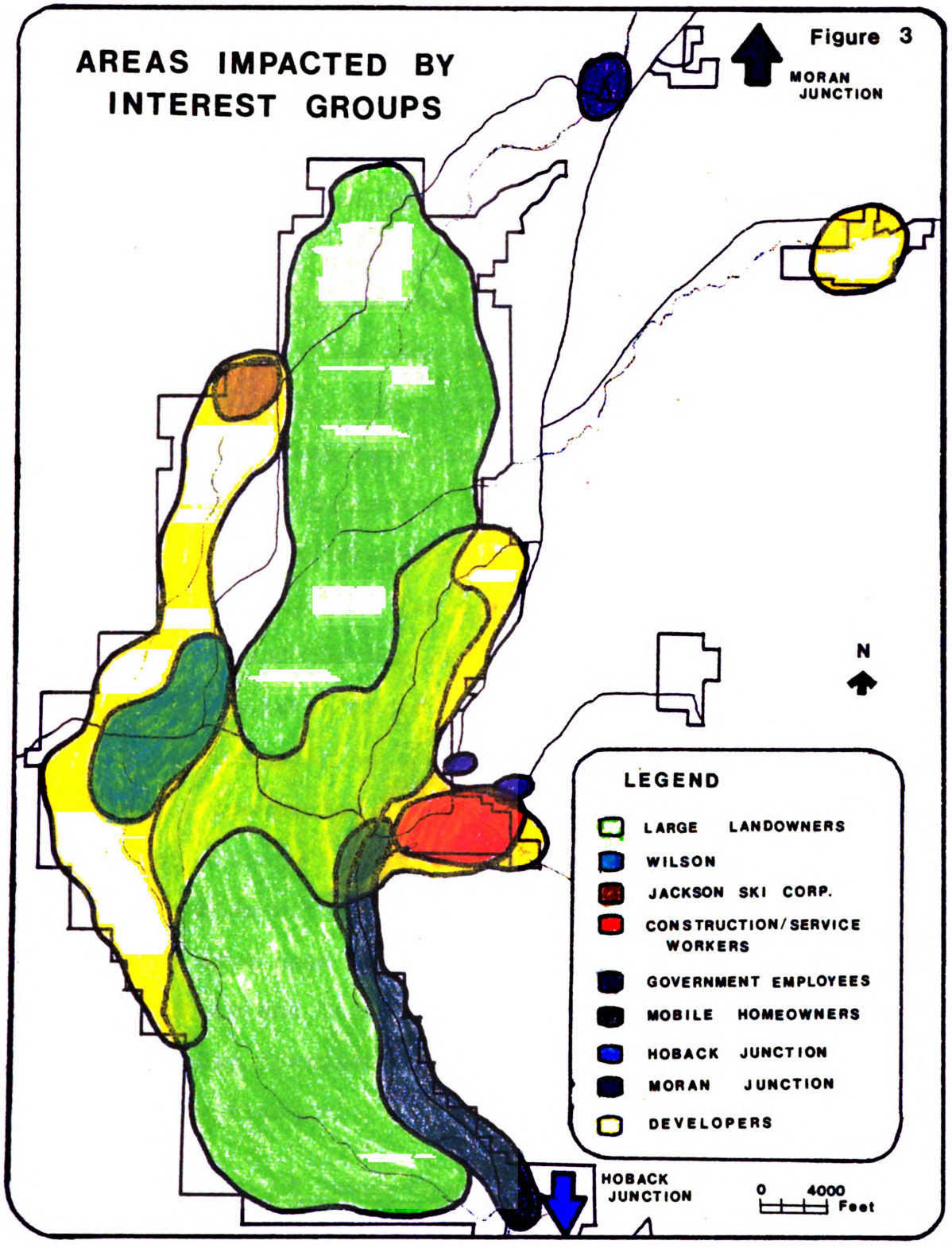
1. Large landowners (100 acres or more)
2. The Wilson citizen group


TETON COUNTY'S PRIVATE LANDS and SATELLITE COMMUNITIES
Figure 2
MORAN JUNCTION
MOOSE
KELLY
TETON VILLAGE
WILSON
JACKSON
HOBACK JUNCTION
0 4000 feet

3. The Chamber of Commerce of commercial businesses
4. The Jackson Ski Corporation
5. Land developers
6. Service people (possibly defined by working or living sectors)
7. Construction workers
8. Second-home owners
9. Government employees
10. Float, pack and hunting guides
11. Mobile home owners and renters
12. Residents of Kelly
13. Residents and businesses of Hoback Junction
14. Residents of Moran

With the following breakdown of work and residency, a better cross section sampling of where, how, and what planning should address in its land use plan will be better identified than by purely a free choice of response to a questionnaire. Through this, a better understanding of the make-up, needs, and expectations of the Teton Community will be formalized (refer to Figure 3).

Figure 3 represents the areas impacted by special interest groups in Teton County. Many of the groups associated with working types cannot be represented on a map in a meaningful way (i.e., construction workers, float pack and hunting guides and second-home owners). Conflicting interests are most likely to occur in the Town of Jackson which is influenced by so many varying interests. It is


AREAS IMPACTED BY INTEREST GROUPS
Figure 3
MORAN JUNCTION
N
LEGEND
LARGE LANDOWNERS
WILSON
JACKSON SKI CORP.
CONSTRUCTION/SERVICE WORKERS
GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES
MOBILE HOMEOWNERS
HOBACK JUNCTION
MORAN JUNCTION
DEVELOPERS
HOBACK JUNCTION
0 4000 Feet

worthy to note here that the Town of Jackson has been excluded from study or consideration in Teton County's Land Use Plan by Livingston and Associates. It seems hard to address the problems of Teton County as though they were a separate entity, when in reality even the whole valley of "Jackson Hole" is perceivably inseparable.

Teton County is also representative of a governmental jurisdiction. The county unit of government is the most logical division as a comprehensive planning unit. Included in these boundaries is the Grand Teton National Park, part of the Bridger-Teton Forest, the National Elk Refuge, State of Wyoming lands, the conglomerate of private landownerships and the municipality of Jackson. Intensive development has taken place within the town's boundaries, while still remaining is acreage that has been zoned for residential, commercial, and light industry. The larger majority of private land existing for potential residential development lies within the boundaries of Teton County. Thus, there is a need for coordinated planning between the Town of Jackson and Teton County. This cooperation has been officially formulated with the designated position for a City-County Planner.

The Relationship of Teton County to Other Aesthetic Resource Communities

Planning for aesthetic resource communities will involve similar problems which have been previously designed for in extractive resource communities and designed in new

town developments. Teton County will either serve as an example of successful agency integration or will serve as an indicator of problem diversity hindering community growth management. Thus Teton County presents the widest range of problems which are similar to those faced in rapid-growth communities. The similar problems have been presented in earlier chapters of this research. Teton County was chosen because of the unique problems which have arisen. Their identification may be utilized to help indicate feasible solutions and the relationship between other existing and developing aesthetic resource communities.

The division of landownership among the public and private sectors has created a premium upon available developable private lands. A combination of park, forest, and state lands utilizes 97 percent of Teton County's lands. The remaining 3 percent or 75,000 acres in private holdings is unequally distributed among the residents in the county. Approximately 80 landowners own more than 50 percent of the land. Pressures for development on private lands are likely to continue as the Park Service purchases the remaining ranches that exist inside the park boundaries and other ranches which border the park.

Though a highly unusual amount of land is owned by public agencies in relation to most counties, there is a greater problem with large landowners expectations. For among the small handful who own the majority of land there are differences of whether the owners would like to keep

their ranches in ranch lands, or to sell bulk lands for development. The problem becomes clear when an alternative is being decided and a program is being implemented. An example of this conflict is a family who in the long run wants to close out their ranching operations. During the policy decision stages, they fluctuate between the alternatives favoring the policies which will enable the largest margin of profit, rather than fighting for a concept which upholds the highest integrity of the land and an overall benefit of all users and residents. The lack of confidence in establishing strong policies and sources of revenue and funding to provide a tax relief or adequate easement prices, prohibits the ultimate decision from being anything but short sighted.

During these periods agreement to whether ranching is an attribute to the quality-of-life will be argued. The different expectations will influence a decision about whether ranching is to be encouraged as a policy and whether penalties will be paid by the developer for conversion.

This problem differs from other aesthetic resource communities who are dependent upon the aesthetic resource as their sole economic base. Snowbird, Utah and Vail, Colorado are both designed communities which are dedicated to recreation. Thus community and individual goals and expectations are in agreement as to the direction of planning and development. The planning and development is geared solely to recreational development and the

utilization of the aesthetic resources and man-made amenities to establish a year-around economic base.

Teton County has been labeled as a dominant-enterprise resource community, due to Teton County's economy which is 70 percent dependent upon recreational tourism. The remaining ranching base is changing to an economy singly dependent upon the aesthetic resource. This transition and ownership diversity creates exponential problems when trying to reach resident consensus.

Another differing attribute of Teton County is the great complexity of aesthetic resource development. The variation is due to extensive public and private investment, while often a combination of investment from both sectors increases the utilization of the resource.

The Park Service provides various types of drives, walks, climbing geologic and wildlife interpretation. The Forest Service provides back country access, camping, fishing, and hunting. The Elk Refuge is unqiue, enabling visitors to see elk from close proximity, while they are seldom sighted by visitors of the park. Teton Village developed as a ski area, enabling summer visitors to view the Tetons and the Jackson Hole valley without hiking into the high country. The area has not only developed its natural resources, but through private development there is the provision of year around recreation facilities. The private sector provides float trips, horseback riding and packing, tennis, golf, swimming, and skiing. Recreational

development provided by both private and public means makes the Teton County area unique. There are several examples where the public has provided the resource, while facilities to lodge and utilize the resource is investment from the private sector. Ski areas, float trips, park lodges, and hunting camps are a few examples which are present in Teton County. There are other diverse recreation developments located outside of Teton County, such as in the Tahoe Basin and Aspen, Colorado that provide a variety of recreation year around, but not in the same unique combination of public and private investment and preservation. Thus, the diversity of recreational development in Teton County allows greater planning application of the Teton County experience to other areas.

The regional relationships and influences to Teton County creates the uniqueness of the recreational experience. Included among the Rocky Mountain Range is the Grand Tetons. The massive fault block-face of the range creates an awe inspiring experience from the flat valley floor. But, it is the confined feeling formed by the other surrounding ranges that blocks off the rest of the state and creates the unique habitat of its own.

The influence of regionalism spreads beyond, for to the north and directly linked with Grant Teton National Park is Yellowstone National Park whose visitation is awesome each year. The combination of two national parks and the vast public lands under the Forest Service focuses

recreational concentration on "Jackson Hole." The stiff competition of mountains and communities dominated by recreation to the south and west in Colorado, Utah and California only seems to enhance the attributes of Teton County. For no other area has the unique character and combination of recreational facilities in one concentrated area as Teton County.

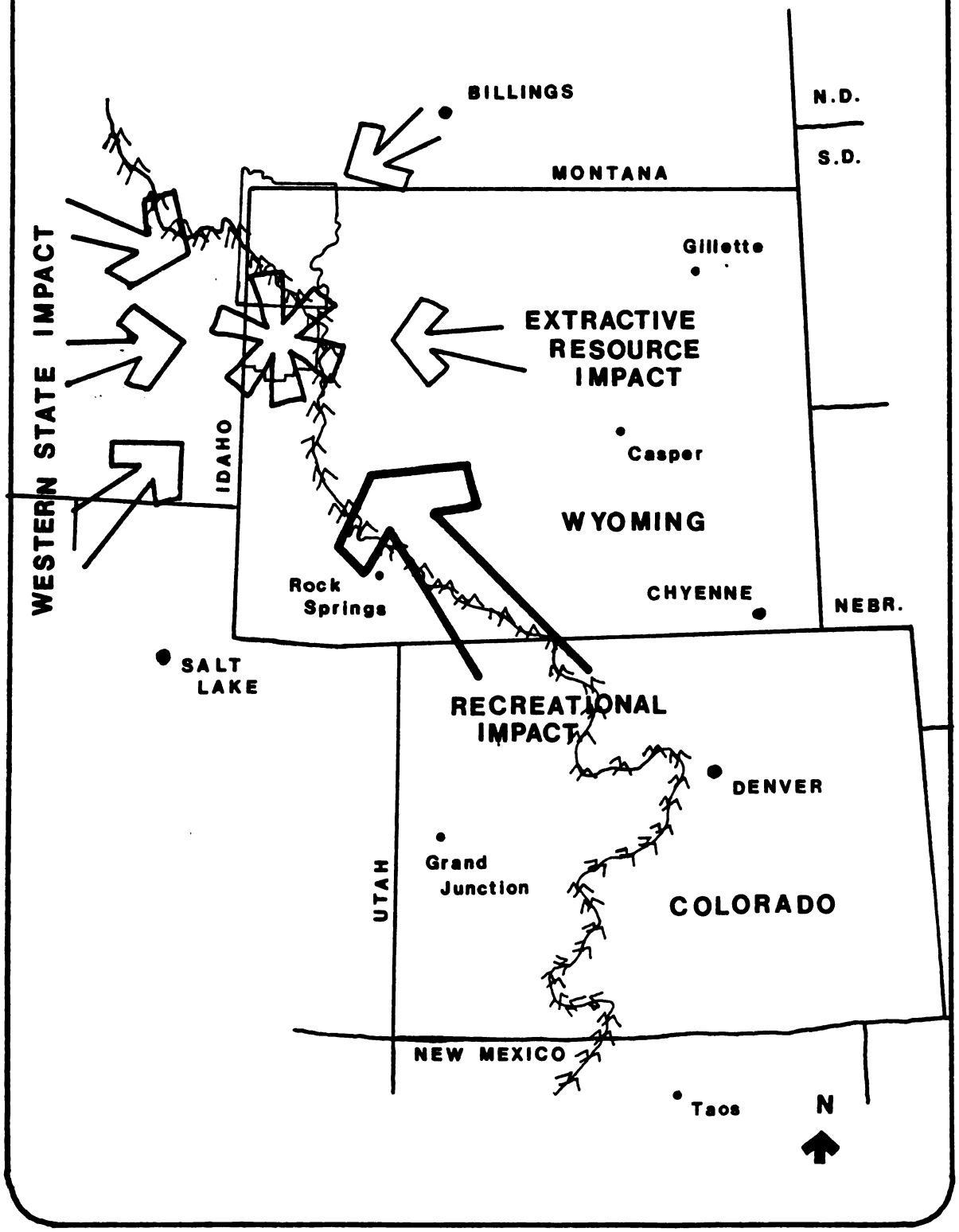
To the east is the vast stretches of Eastern Wyoming which are quickly becoming famous for their extractive resources; gas liquidification and coal strip mining. The rapid growth and lack of aesthetic resource facilities only heightens the attractions of Teton County to their west. In combination, the increased focus on western states as vast recreational reserves, will create dramatized pressures on Teton County (refer to Figure 4).

The Impact of Recreational Demand

Problems which have been increasing in the past several years can be directly related to the increased recreational demand. Interest in preserving and protecting the natural scenic and aesthetic qualities of the resource has been actively pursued by a number of local, state, and national conservation organizations. Other significant special-interest groups and organizations have influenced park management and the development of private lands (i.e., Teton Village, Frontier Airlines, motel owners, outfitters and guide services, chamber of commerce and environmentally

Figure 4

DRAMATIZED REGIONAL PRESSURES



concerned organizations, etc.). The privately owned lands adjacent to the park generally complements the natural and scenic attributes of the Grand Teton National Park preservation. In previous years, recreational demand was mainly seasonal. The recent increase in skiing, in hunting, in permanent and seasonal development, the trend of increased summer visitations, reflects the trend toward year-round recreational development. The demand for land on which additional development can take place has created dramatic increases in real estate values (the 1972 range was from $6,000 to 25,000 per acre) in Teton County.[76]

The impact of recreational demand on Teton County is a cumulative result of public and private decisions to invest capital in new construction and expansion of recreational facilities be it park, a ski area or commercial businesses. The current economic growth began accelerating in 1966 shortly after the Jackson Hole Ski Area began operation and National Park visitation began to increase each year. By 1974 the impact of increased recreational, commercial and residential development had reached the point where widespread awareness of the detrimental impact of too rapid a growth rate was being recognized by the majority of residents.

The county's population in 1970 was 5,918 increasing to an estimated 7,300 by 1975, or an average annual rate of 4.7 percent. The Town of Jackson has been estimated at having a 6.0 percent annual population increase, rising

from 3,196 to 4,150.[77] It was during 1960-70 that the dramatic increase was estimated at 9.3 percent annually.[78] Refer to Tables 1, 2, and 3.

The environmentally sensitive lands upon which Teton County lies and is surrounded may be the reason why the impacts of growth are being felt at this not uncommon growth rate. Possibly the repercussions of growth felt in the 1960s are beginning to appear, increasing the detrimental effects of the occurring growth to date.

Problem Identification for Teton County

The rapid growth in recreational demand has impacted the national, state, county and private interests of the Jackson Hole area. The diversity of problems arising from trying to develop and choose alternatives to manage growth led the Grand Teton National Park staff to delay the completion of its boundary study to coincide with the findings from the land use study being carried out by Livingston and Associates for Teton County.

The involvement of the Park Service with Teton County and local citizens is one of the first efforts toward coordinated planning. A possible resultant would be a clarification of how preservation for the national interest, development and utilization for the private interests are compatible. Historically, however, the ranchers and citizens of the valley have felt the Park Service a threat to their existence. As fee simple rights of the landowner

Table 1.--Housing and Estimated Population, Town of Jackson and Teton County, 1976.[79]

	Housing Units	Population
Town of Jackson		
Single family units	979	
Multiple family units	245	
Mobile homes	265	
Total housing units	1,489	
Town's population estimate person's per housing unit - 2.85		4,250
Unincorporated Portions of County		
Vicinity of Jackson including Upper Meadows subdivision	100	
Skyline Ranch and High Country Sub.	60	
Remainder of South Park	75	
Wilson area (2 mile radius)	355	
Remainder of Wilson-Moose Road	70	
The Aspens (Racquet Club)	18(g)	
Teton Village	47(g)	
Country Club-Teton Shadows	28	
Kelly area	30	
Moran Junction-Buffalo Fork	65	
Slide Lake-Gros Ventra	14	
Alta	50	
Hoback Junction	100	
Total housing units	1,012	
Estimated persons per housing unit - 3.1		
Estimated population	3,137	
Estimated total County population		7,387

(g) excludes approximately 100 condominium units, mainly occupied seasonally.

Table 2.--Population Projections, Teton County.[80]

Year	Population
1970	4,389
1975	4,579
1980	4,818
1985	5,046
1990	5,277
1995	5,485
2000	5,724
2005	5,995
2010	6,278
2015	6,392
2020	6,552

Source: Wyoming Recreational Planning, 1972.[81,82]

Table 3.--Projected Population, Teton County.[83]

Year	3% Increase	5% Increase
1977	7,622	7,770
1978	7,851	8,159
1979	8,086	8,566
1980	8,329	8,995
1981	8,579	9,444
1982	8,836	9,917
1983	9,101	10,413
1984	9,374	10,933
1985	9,655	11,480
1986	9,945	12,054
1987	10,243	12,657
1988	10,551	13,289
1989	10,867	13,954
1990	11,193	14,651

Source: Livingston and Associates, Inc.

in rural areas still almost reigns supreme. Traditionally fee simple title gave the owner of land the right to do whatever he pleased with that property. Generally as development created conflicts among the rights of various landowners, court decisions have ruled that public rights of health, safety, and welfare remain supreme over individual rights. But the conflict of the public's rights over private landownership is still being debated.

The alternative to fee simple purchase which is now being utilized, is for the public not to buy out the whole bundle of fee simple rights from an owner, but to purchase one or more of those rights which will eliminate the conflicts. Through compensation payments and scenic easement purchase, maintenance of the aesthetic appeal would allow lands to remain in ranching operations. Thus, the land use policies for Teton County will have to resolve the conflict in which a significant number of landowners still expound a "private property is sacred" attitude, while park management and conservationists expound that society should be able to limit private owners to a usufractuary right, utilizing land in publicly-approved areas.

Not to be overlooked in Teton County is that flexible policies will be prohibited by differing viewpoints among the large land holders, ranchers, and other county residents. This is dramatized from the response of large landowners to the questionnaire on growth and development

by Livingston and Associates. A majority of Teton County's questionnaire respondents (80-84 percent) favored limiting development of private lands in the presence of national hazards, while only 63-67 percent of the respondents with 100 acres or more favored this policy. Surprisingly, only 51 percent of large landowner respondents favored limiting development to preserve agriculture and ranching, while the majority in Teton County were more supportive with 61 percent in favor.[84] A conclusion which can be drawn from this response is that the large landowners still want to be able to choose their fate and do not want to be regulated on their ability to sell-out. This laissez-faire philosophy favors an emphasis on the maximization of personal interests. These personal interests on the local and "supposedly" on state and national levels (maintaining full fee simple ranching rights) will be the stumbling black to effective, innovative planning.

The key problems identified in the Teton County experience are:

1. Increased recreational demand
2. Land ownership
3. Quality of life
4. Environmental
5. Undefined priorities and goals
    a. preservation
    b. a "sense of community" is lacking
    c. a lack of planning tradition

6. Jurisdictional divisions and controls
7. Issues raised by growth

Increased Recreational Demand

Recreational tourism accounts for approximately 70 percent of Teton County's economic base.[85] Tourism affects business volumes, employment and ultimately, population growth. Grand Teton National Park and the Bridger-Teton and Targhee National Forest attract an estimated annual visitation of 4 million persons.[86] Thus the management policies established by Grand Teton National Park and Teton National Forest ultimately affect the demands made upon the private lands of Teton County. One of the policies that the park staff was reviewing in the Grand Teton Master Plan was one of limiting concessions to relieve the pressures presently being experienced by the increased recreational demand. This type of policy in turn directly affects the private lands of Teton County to provide overnight camping and lodging facilities. The impact from policies which are not coordinating among agencies, leads to growth pressures escalating land prices to artifically inflated values. The increased demand directly affects the aesthetic resource from which the area has established its economic base. In turn, the growth management policies established to protect the permanent environmental degradation are hindered from purchasing scenic or development rights due to the

escalated property values and the increased recreational demand. Recreational demand has increased in both the public and private sectors up until the early 1970s when an economic recession became nation-wide.

Grand Teton National Park has been developed essentially as a day-use park, with approximately 70 percent of its visitors staying in facilities outside the park. Of the 30 percent who stay within the park, 15 percent stay in campgrounds and 15 percent stay in overnight lodging.[87] The Snake River accommodates such popular activities as float trips on rubber rafts and fishing. The dam at Jackson Lake controls the downstream river levels which have to meet legal irrigation requirements in Idaho. The fluctuations created by the reservoir have created problems for the aquatic ecosystems, and especially to the natural large cutthroat trout population. Tourism has changed the economy of Teton County since the Second World War. Traditionally ranching and hunting were the main incomes along with a few dude-ranchers who served the recreational aspirations of a minority elite. Tourism now accounts for an estimated 70 percent of the total economy of Teton County. Recreation has become the dominant enterprise. The escalation of land prices, pressures from the park to sell and poor agricultural prices are now forcing many of the ranching operations to sell out to development. With further land transfers, the economy will approximate that

of a single-enterprise and the community will develop many of the indicators of a single-function community.

National park visitation to the Grand Tetons directly affects the demand for recreational facilities provided by the private sector in Teton County. Park visitation climbed from 2.5 million in 1965 to 3.3 million in 1970. However, this increase in visitation is reversed during the early 1970s to a slightly decreasing demand (refer to Table 4). The National forest visitation records closely follow the same pattern as Grand Teton National Park, however, they seem to be experiencing a leveling effect in the 1970s (refer to Table 5).[88]

Table 4.--Grand Teton National Park Annual Visitors.

1970	3,352,464
1971	3,284,539
1972	3,002,230
1973	3,083,315
1974	2,936,756
1975	2,807,027

Source: National Park Service.

The spectacular peaks of the Teton Range and a growing interest in areas not accessible to vehicles has created a notable increase in back-country hiking. The use of horses and intensive use by backpackers has begun to cause the erosion of trails. The conditions of

Table 5.--Bridger-Teton and Targhee National Forests Annual Visitors.

1970	(not available)
1971	1,004,800
1972	1,028,200
1973	992,000
1974	739,700
1975	1,016,100

Source: U.S. Forest Service.

vegetation, water clarity, and erosion on trails and campsites indicates that capacities for high country utilization will soon be reached. Camping has been limited in back country areas to a limited number of designated campsites.[89]

The other intensive recreational development is the Jackson Hole Ski Corporation, which operates Teton Village under a special use permit from the U.S. Forest Service. The ski slopes adjoin the park's southern boundary at the top of Rendezvous Mountain's drainage divide. In 1970-1971 there were 56,185 skier days during the winter months, while the tram to the top of the mountain serviced 67,906 passengers during that summer.[90] In the past nearly everyone who utilized the tram either skied (winter) or took the tram down in the summer, but there is an ever increasing number of people who are utilizing the tram for access into the park's back country. The area around the tram terminal and the marked interpretive trail are denuded through intensive

use. Recreational winter sports demand increases can be seen through a comparison of the total counts for skier days from Teton Village, Grand Targhee and Snow King Mountain. The high of 192,000 in 1973 was topped by a demand level of 217,00 skier days in 1975.[91]

Private development adjacent to Grand Teton National Park lands generally complement the natural and scenic attributes of the aesthetic resources being preserved by the park. However, the increasing numbers of year-around visitors has led to, and will lead to, developments that may degrade the natural, scenic and historic qualities of the area. Failure to coordinate planning and management efforts would result in continued degradation. Most of these effects stem from unregulated use by too many people. Irreversible damage to the aesthetic resources will be through overuse, unrestricted growth of vistor service facilities, increased pollution (sewage, air and solid waste) and increased congestion at all levels, thus lowering the recreational visitor's experience.

Land Ownership

Land ownership has previously been identified as a problem for Teton County. The complex make-up of the land holdings within the county's jurisdiction creates a unique relationship between federal agencies and the local jurisdications of the Town of Jackson and Teton County. The relationship is unique to other areas for all the public

agencies are providing recreational opportunities while encouraging increased public provision of facilities. The complexity and interrelationship of land ownership does not preclude cooperation or united direction among the public and private concerns.

The vast holdings of land by federal agencies, which are mainly the U.S. Forest and National Park Service, creates a greater demand upon the remaining 3 percent which is in private holdings. Of this remaining 3 percent, 80 individuals, families, or corporations own 50 percent. The disproportionate amount of large land holdings enables the remaining ranch industry to remain, while further creating pressure upon the .06 percent which is purchaseable for permanent residents, second-home owners, recreation oriented activities and the tourist industry.

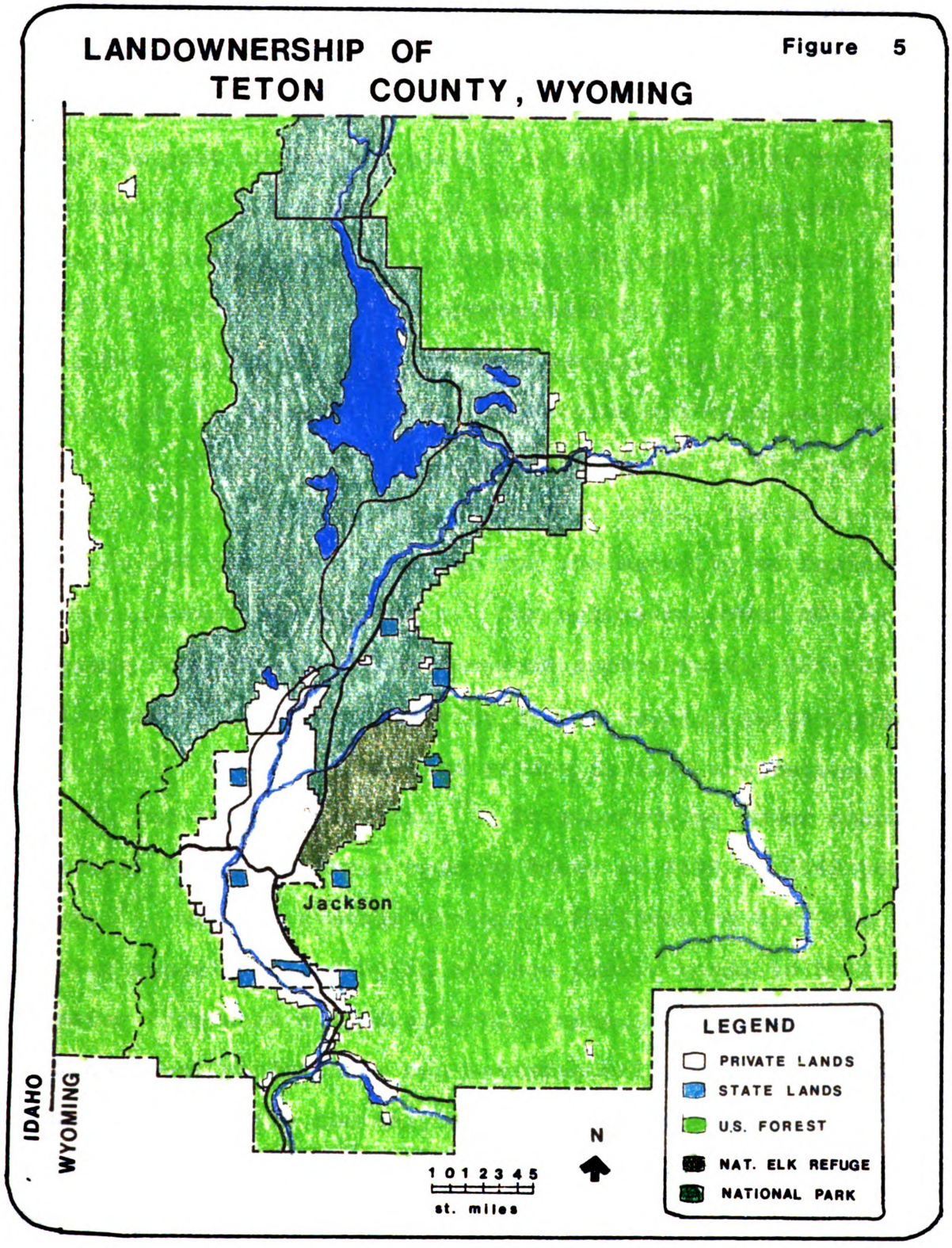
Major portions of the land utilized for recreation by tourists is provided by the federally owned lands. However, the recreational demand stimulated by the available federal lands in turn increases the demand for tourist oriented facilities on the small portion of privately owned land. Policies instituted by the National Park Service and the U.S. Forest Service escalate the impacts upon the remaining privately owned lands within Teton County. The provision and future expansion of tourist facilities is dependent upon decisions by the Park and Forest Services to limit visitation, to limit lodging or camping facilities, and the availability of transportation and access into Teton County.

The steady acquisition of private landholdings by the Park Service has furthered development pressures on the private lands. The major portion of remaining developable lands are to the south of Grand Teton National Park's boundary.

Federally owned lands of Grand Teton National Park total 304,353 acres. The land ownership is complicated by some 150 different in-holdings.[92] These parcels are private lands which are held within the park boundaries. The remaining majority of federally owned land is under the management of Targhee or Bridger-Teton National Forests. The accompanying map shows the location, size and holdings of land ownership (Figure 5).

Quality of Life

The County has developed around the history of a western ranching town, and much of its scenic appeal is the western flavored town square, the compact Jackson settlement nestled behind a valley butts, and the open ranch lands. The threat of development over major portions of the buttes, hillsides and valley has rapidly become real in the last ten years. The visual impact of changes within these areas and an outward sprawl of Jackson has caused major visual detriments to the aesthetic resources. New development and much of the existing development, which does not complement and integrate with existing representative development or intensive overuse of the resource, creates a pollution that is extractive of the aesthetic resource.


LANDOWNERSHIP OF
TETON COUNTY, WYOMING
Figure 5
Jackson
IDAHO
WYOMING
1 0 1 2 3 4 5
st. miles
N
LEGEND
PRIVATE LANDS
STATE LANDS
U.S. FOREST
NAT. ELK REFUGE
NATIONAL PARK

Quality-of-life is an indication of the residents' feelings toward the community. An insight into the quality-of-life is the availability, and cost, of housing. The market demand for permanent housing has steadily increased over the past number of years.[93] From estimates by Livingston and Associates, the number of new housing units needed to meet the demands into 1990, some 2,570-4,830 new units will need to be built, of which approximately 700-1,700 units will be seasonal.[94] Much of the recently built housing is at prices the average citizen in service oriented employment could not afford. A disproportionate amount of the worker's salary ends up in mortgage payments or rent. The price of housing and the buyer's income for the majority of residents in Teton County do not match. The borrowing power of the average resident is in the range of approximately $25,000 while the price of the majority of new housing is $45,000-$60,000.[95] The range of land prices in 1972 was between $6,000 and $25,000 per acre.[96] This borrowing power enables a family to rent a three bedroom house at $190 to $240 per month.[97] With an average number of children at 1.9, the living space required by an average family tends to be greater than what a typical mobile home, an apartment or recreational condominium can satisfactorily offer. In the past and presently the only alternative for many service workers is a mobile home. But this alternative is also changing, for by 1977 all new trailers in the Town of Jackson will be required to move outside the town limits. This has

devastating implications as planning efforts have not until just recently even addressed the impact or established mitigating policies.

Although mobile homes are not always the answer to lower cost housing, housing is rather the problem of land prices which are the deterent to new structures and prohibitive for the maintenance and upkeep of older structures that could be replaced. The average worker is put in a limbo situation of having no where to place a mobile home. They are not aesthetically pleasing and a shortage of housing to rent or buy which meets acceptable standards at a fair price.

Housing for permanent residents is not the only problem in housing, for in a recreationally dominated economy that increases in the summer months, the community must house temporary winter and summer employees. As the economy and development of recreational facilities increases the number of people to house increases. The major problem in Teton County is that there has been little new housing built for seasonal employees. A shortage in temporary housing became more desperate during the summer of 1976. Although the problem has been increasing over the years, the impact may have been sudden because of the new 300 room hostel which opened. It will continue to be a major problem as other development in recreational facilities increases in the years to come. To date, there is another 200 unit hotel currently in the proposal stage.

The cost of living presents an additional problem to housing, for one impacts the other. The cost of living has been rising constantly with housing costs and purchasing power. Generally prices for goods are higher due to transportation costs. While the salaries of local services employment have not kept up with the increases in the cost-of-living. The implication is that the gap between people who live in the valley will widen. The alternative is, either to live on a very low scale or to be one of the wealthy who either keeps a second-home or semi-retires to the area for relaxation. The middle class service workers with families are being edged out of the valley or hindered from entering due to the cost of living and housing costs.

Employment often has a direct affect upon a resident's perceived quality-of-life, happiness and ultimately upon whether they perceive being a part of or a "sense of community." Due to the fact that so many jobs are seasonal in Teton County, the estimates for total jobs has been inconsistant and leads to erroneous conclusions when citing the number of year-around jobs.

The estimate in 1969 by the U.S. Department of Commerce, Regional Economics Information System was reported at 3,171 jobs which must include some seasonal jobs and part-time jobs. For 1973 the Department of Commerce set employment at 4,310 (refer to Table 6). To be noted is that 55 percent were in the trade and service category, which is heavily dependent on tourism.[98] From the total

Table 6.--Employment by Type, Teton County, 1973 Full-Time and Part-Time Wage and Salary Employment, Plus Proprietors.[99]

	Number	Percent
Proprietors		
Farm	99	2.30
Non-farm	480	11.14
Wage and salary employment		
Farm	94	2.18
Government		
Federal	229	5.31
State and Local	368	8.54
Manufacturing	93	2.16
Mining	(a)	(a)
Construction	315	7.31
Transportation, Communication, Public Utilities	158	3.67
Trade	827	19.19
Finance, insurance, real estate	96	2.23
Services	1,535	35.61
Others	(a)	(a)
Total	4,310	100.00

[a]Data not shown to avoid disclosure.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Regional Economics Information System, Bureau of Economic Analysis, p. 43.

employment figures the average increase in employment per year was 9.5 percent[100] (refer to Table 7). However, without available figures from 1974 and 1975 which had decreased park and forest vistiations, the trend could be highly inaccurate.

Table 7.--Total Employment, Teton County, Full-Time and Part-Time Wage and Salary Employment Plus[101] Proprietors.

		% Increase%
1968	2,926	
1969	3,171	8
1970	3,303	4
1971	3,563	8
1972	3,899	9
1973	4,310	11

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Regional Economics Information System, Bureau of Economic Analysis.

During the increasing economic upswing, it is important to note that employment increased by 7 percent in the trade and service categories which are able to fluctuate with current economic trends. While a less than 2 percent increase was experienced in the more stable construction field.

Employment projections by Livingston and Associates includes a realistic projection with the range of 5.0 percent annually. This includes figures at a 7.5 percent

increase which would account for increases in tourist related trades and services (refer to Table 8).

Table 8.--Projected Total Employment, Teton County.[102]

	@ 5% Increase	@ 7.5 Increase
1974	4,525	4,633
1975	4,751	4,980
1976	4,989	5,354
1977	5,238	5,756
1978	5,500	6,187
1979	5,775	6,651
1980	6,064	7,150
1981	6,367	7,686
1982	6,685	8,263
1983	7,020	8,883
1984	7,371	9,549
1985	7,739	10,265
1986	8,126	11,035
1987	8,533	11,863
1988	8,959	12,752
1989	9,407	13,708
1990	9,878	14,737

Source: Livingston and Associates.

The probably higher than average proportion of households with more than one wage-earner is a result of the high cost of living. The correlation between employment and the cost of living is a strong indication of the quality-of-life. The average family earner, who is a service worker, faces problems in finding a permanent full-time job, which does not have a relatively low-wage, for buying land and a house, and providing for his family without having a second wage earner.

Environmental

The recreationally oriented area of Teton County has addressed its growth problems through emerging environmental problems. Thus the scope of the impact can be identified by the diversity of problems being addressed. However, from the traditional experiences of extractive resource communities, many of the environmental impacts will not clearly emerge until the rapid growth begins to level out.

Teton County's natural resources are not geologically, geographically, ecologically or psychologically separable. Thus a Teton regional experience can only be formed through a mutually coordinated concern for goals and policies by public agencies and private interests. The planning, development, and management of separate interests must be a cooperative analysis for the utilization and preservation of the total resource.

Preservation and utilization are not mutually compatible without clear definitions of conservation and preservation. Dependent and mutually independent resources must have a use-capacity defined in order to perceive developmental utilization and limitations. Through these definitions the goals and priorities can be established which will enable Teton County to uniquely utilize the aesthetic resources to provide a variation of recreational facilities while preserving the natural habitats.

Without clearly defined goals and policies for resource preservation, individual special-interest groups are only willing to back their major concerns. This short sightedness will limit efforts to coordinate unified objectives. It will only be through strongly perceived environmental concerns that the retention of citizen backing can be maintained to enable controlled growth management.

The major environmental problems facing Teton County are:

1. Provision and maintenance of permanent open space
2. Provision of recreational opportunities for residents
3. Preservation of topographic features and scenic quality
4. Water and air quality
5. Deforestation and geological constraints
6. Land use capacities and land use interactions

Teton County exhibits many of the problems which are representative of many aesthetic resource areas. Visual absorption capability is determined by slope, landscape diversity, vegetative and land form screening, revegetation potential, and soil color contrast. An analysis of the visual resources was prepared by the Forest Service and summarized in the form of citizen participation questionnaires. Preservation of scenic resources was stated to be of critical importance to the life and economy of the

county. It was found that exposed, steeply sloping side hills must be left undisturbed. Open slopes were found to be almost as severely impacted by development as the exposed slopes.

Air pollution is becoming an increasing problem, not only from the emission from vehicular and other local sources, but from adjacent and distant states like California. The Park is considering other forms of transportation than the individually-owned and operated vehicles. Traffic flow limitations within the park would create an impact upon adjoining areas by concentrating automobiles, causing parking space problems, aesthetics, air pollution and traffic congestion. Inversely, it would also solve the problems over a broader area. Recognized in this proposal are the issues of visitor concentrations creating an unpleasant experience (this already exists), while visitor choice and convenience will be regulated. The problem, however, does not just exist in the park--congestion is an apparent problem in the Town of Jackson. The Park's proposal does not consider the integration on a county-wide basis for the majority of visitors. Noise is also related to this proposal, but the problem has been little addressed, except for airplanes impacting the serenity of the park.

Water quality planning is occurring in the park, for the installation of a sewage treatment plant for the Jackson Lake and Moose area is proposed. Due to concern over the aquatic ecosystems in Jackson Lake and the Snake

River, the Park Service included in a Bureau of Reclamation mandate that ". . . the Bureau will give full consideration to maintaining a constant level of the operating pool, with little or no fluctuation during the recreation season--June through September."[103] The Snake River is the major drainage for the Jackson Hole area. The river originates near the southeastern corner of Yellowstone Park. The Lewis River joins the Snake, which passes through the Jackson Lake reservoir and picks up the following tributaries: Pacific Creek, Buffalo Fork, Spread Creek, Cottonwood Creek, Ditch Creek and the Gros Ventre River, Cache Creek, and Fish Creek. Levees have been built for 15 miles below the park to prevent flooding and to contain the river in its present channel as the valley floor tilts to the west.

Table 9.--Snake River Drainage.

River	Drainage Area (Square Miles)	Average Rate of Flow (Cubic Feet/Second)
Snake above dam	824	1,111
Pacific Creek	160	266
Buffalo Fork	378	597
Spread Creek	100	150*
Cottonwood Creek	70	200
Ditch Creek	125	100*
Gros Ventre	622	475

*Diversion of these streams for agricultural purposes significantly reduces the flows during summer months.[104]

Studies on the water quality and ground water are being done under the Water Quality Act, section 208, which

was initiated last summer. The analysis will cover water resources, present water quality, the availability of water and the effects of wastewater treatment and solid waste disposal. Of the 30 community water systems, all but three use a well supply. Six hundred individual well permits have been issued with an unknown number drilled before the permit system was established. Tests have uncovered 30 instances where the coliform count was above a safe level.[105] The sources of contamination were from surface and sub-surface leaching occurring from septic tanks, runoff from impervious surfaces, and animal fecal matter. Ground waters were found very close to the surface in many of the lower flat areas of the Snake River; thus septic systems present a real deterant to intensive development in many of these areas. No water quality problems have been sighted for the landfill which is located in a canyon one-half mile from Flat Creek.

The county landfill handles an estimated 5,000 tons (130,000 cubic yards) of solid waste annually. The landfill is operated by cooperating federal, state, and local entities. Approximately 80 percent originates from the Town of Jackson.[106] The extent of water quality control is just beginning to be formulated, but often the smaller systems servicing developments have had discharge problems. Septic tanks in close proximity of wells have proven to be a problem in many areas, and housing developments on hill-sides pose leachfield problems unless the geological

formations are suitable. Recreational aspects are being impacted by irrigation diversion and water rights held downstream.

The Teton Mountain Range, which was formed by major uplifting and down faulting (tilting) of earth blocks along faults, also forms buttes in the center of the valley. The geologic processes which are still occurring in small increments over long periods, create slope instability and flooding hazards. The low terraces near Wilson and the 10-year flood-prone areas along the Snake River, are relatively recent formations. The modifications by the river generate flood and erosion hazards. Geologically, there are four types of physical hazards to be avoided: (1) faults, (2) slope instability, (3) flooding, and (4) high ground water problems.

The preservation of wildlife, flora, and human cultural aspects are significant to the residents of the county, for recreational opportunities are increasing in abundance and diversity. The additional economic base creates a year-round resource. The habitats of northwestern Wyoming contain diverse flora and fauna.

Development of the low floodplain areas will have detrimental impacts on the wildlife winter and summer nesting grounds. It has been indicated from similar developments of Aspen, Colorado and Big Sky, Montana, that development at densities greater than one unit per ten

acres will interfere with and cause displacement of larger game and feeding grounds for migratory birds.

Jackson Hole has large forested areas located on upland slopes and morainal outwashes. They are composed mainly of lodgepole pine and aspen with alpine fir, white-bark and limber pines, Englemann spruce, and Douglas fir mixed in. The elevation differences and geology reflect the vegetational changes. Lodgepole pine, sub-alpine fir and Douglas fir dominate the lower slopes. Whitebark pine, Englemann spruce and sub-alpine fir dominate the higher elevations. Wildflowers are abundant throughout the summer and throughout the elevations. There are distinct species of subalpine wildflowers in the upper elevations and meadows of the ranges. Sagebrush and grasslands cover the majority of the valley floor where the water table is not as high or the land is not near a stream bed. Vegetation gives a physical and environmental quality to the site. Flora establishes a stabilizing factor to slopes, decreasing erosion. Minimization of vegetational disruption is critical on many of the soils in Teton County. Provision for revegetation and control of runoff from impervious surfaces is essential for the Jackson areas and aesthetic resource areas. Aspens grow on the lower slopes and upon land surfaces where ground water collects. Slope and geological changes can be evidenced by trees titled down-wards or exposure of roots on the uphill side.

Undefined Priorities and Goals

The goals and policies within the case study area have not been defined nor priorities established. Much of the lack of coordinated planning is due to the diversified jurisdictions. Separate goals and policies have been suggested or established by the involved local, state, and federal agencies. The lack of cooperation among these agencies in defining coordinated goals and policies has left "preservation" undefined, a lack of direction for creating a "sense of community" and a lack of planning tradition.

Preservation.--In recent years there has been a rising interest in preserving and protecting the national scenic and aesthetic qualities of natural resources among the Park and Forest Services, national conservation organizations, and by local citizenery. However, this increased interest has so far not produced a direction or coordination in defining what the priorities will be among different interest groups, or what cooperative goals will meet the identified priorities. The key concept upon which all the jurisdictions will formulate their policies is preservation.

Preservation for Grand Teton National Park is beginning to take on a different meaning. The park has begun to recognize the impact of intense utilization. A recent publication outlines how the impact of visitorship and facility utilization will be mitigated through newly

directly management. But the real issues of overuse and carrying capacity are only beginning to be studied or have not yet been addressed. Grand Teton National Park has instituted a policy of limiting accommodations to the capacity level of 1971. This does not deal with the impact of day visitation nor the impact of development in the remaining 3 percent of county private lands.

The Forest Service has increased its commitment toward providing more recreational access and facilities, while maintaining a policy of multiple-use. The increase in recreational potential could severely impact park attendance and conservation of forest lands. The lack of coordination between available facilities and use-carrying capacity on a county-wide scale is crucial to the question of preservation.

> The natural resources of the area are not the only things which need consideration and preservation; the cultural history of the area adds significantly to the evolution of the aesthetic resource. Archeological evidence suggests that the prehistoric inhabitants extend back to 8500 to 9000 B.C. with annual, seasonal visits. Findings from the early prehistoric period were made by W. C. Lawrence from the northern end of Jackson Lake before the first dam for the reservoir was established, inundating the area. Other sites are the Owen site on the east shore of Emma Matilda Lake, the outlet of Two Ocean Lake and the mouth of a small stream which enters Two Ocean Lake from the south. There are approximately 175 known sites of which most are still unsurveyed. The Park has research programs underway. 107

Ethnohistoric research indicates that two Indian tribes--the Wind River Shoshoni, and the Sheepeaters, utilized the resources during the early historic period.

Later trappers were exploited by the Gros Ventre of the Prairie, and the Blackfeet, who made periodic migratory excursions.

There are few remains of the early trappers and explorers who migrated through Jackson Hole en route to annual rendezvous. It was during this time that they sold their catches, obtained supplies, and generally enjoyed the companionship of independent frontiersmen.

The Owen Wister Cabin is unique, historically, because of its one and one-half log construction. The cabin has been moved and mothballed until plans for its use are determined. Removal from the site along the floodplain was not critical since it had been previously moved by Wister when he sold his property to the R Lazy S Ranch. The Cunningham Cabin and Menor's Ferry have been nominated to the National Register of Historic Places. Other significant structures are Jim Mange's Cabin, the Joe Pfieffer Homestead, and Trail Ranch. Several others may become significant, but because they are outside the park's jurisdiction many of them have been left to deteriorate.[108]

A "Sense of Community Feeling."--Traditionally, among themselves, residents had differing goals and objectives. These also differed from those of the Park Service. Ranchers (usually the large land holders) were interested in seeing the continuation of an economic base for ranching. The expansion of Grand Teton National Park,

often through defaulted mortgages and through sales, created bitter feelings and divergent options among this group of citizens in Teton County. The financing of the Teton Village development by the ARA created a split between ranchers and service-oriented citizens. The rapid growth of the tourist industry from both the Park and the Ski Corporation has created greater antagonism between the two factions. Increasing land prices and higher taxes to provide for the services and growth of the recreation industry has weighed heavily upon the larger land holders in the county, and with depressed beef and agricultural prices, many ranchers are having to face the reality of selling out.[109]

Through creating a "sense of community," collective goals and policies will be more easily accomplished. Developing and maintaining a visable community, is supportive of a diversified population and a permanent labor force. A viable "sense of community" in Teton County would be the edge needed over competitive regional markets.

A Lack of Planning Tradition.--Planning is historically lacking within Teton County, either through county agencies or through the coordination of federal agencies. The National Park and National Forest Service maintain planning staff for resource development; however, this has not been integrated with the local residents. Grand Teton National Park preservation and the rapid increase in

development in some of these areas, which have changed from ranching to developments, provides future potential conflicts. Coordinated planning between the federal, state, and local jurisdictions has been minimal, thus decreasing resident exposure to planning.

Supportive to planning is resident exposure and participation in the planning process. There are five major factors which will effect the planning process, and consequently its outcome:

1. A strong planning tradition
2. A record of achievement in planning
3. A professional staff or organization
4. A sense of innovation in meeting collective needs
5. A strong governmental awareness of social measures

Historically, the lack of cooperation between the National Park Service and Teton County dates back to when the park was proposed. The controversy was obviously strong since the land purchased for preservation of the Tetons only involved the mountain range, and not the land which was in private ranch holdings on the valley floor. A visit by John D. Rockefeller, Jr. and the pursuance for support by Albright, began what would change the economic structure of the county. Rockefeller's visit in 1926 left an impression upon him that stimulated him into forming the Snake River Land Company. The land company is credited with misrepresentation and devious dealings in order to promote landowners to sell their land which was then eventually

donated to the federal government. The proposed gift also aroused animosity, as the county would lose a major portion of their revenue-producing land. President Roosevelt designated the Rockefeller lands and other federally-owned lands as a national monument on March 15, 1943. He utilized the authority granted to him under the 1906 Antiquities Act.[110] This action aroused further controversy while opponents argued that the Antiquities Act was not designed to establish park areas, but to protect distinct natural phenomena on the public domain or limited areas of historic interest. The State of Wyoming filed suit in the United States District Court for Wyoming, challenging the President's legal authority to designate such a large area as a national monument. The newly encompassed lands had no specific natural phenomena or any areas of specific historic importance. The decision by the federal judge upheld the executive order. Grand Teton National Park was created by Congress in 1950, providing reimbursement to Teton County with scheduled decreasing payments over a 30-year period. The creation of the park culminated over 50 years of political controversy.[111]

To provide for present and future demands, coordinated planning must involve Grand Teton National Park, the National Forest Service, other private lands, communities and private interests within Teton County. Presently the park service, the Bureau of Land Management and the Forest Service have policies on a sustained yield basis

involving carrying capacity limitations. However, the type, concentration, and distribution of facility use and recreational activity must be weighed cooperatively and realistically.

From a public or National Park point of view, cooperative planning initiated by their directive will safeguard the scenic attributes, establish guidelines for rare and endangered species, provide an integrated solid waste disposal plan, and develop a regional transportation plan. With cooperative, innovative local input, coordinated planning would equitably distribute resource demand pressures; or establish policies which would redirect these pressures; coordinated planning integrates the social and community needs of the region on the same equitably-funded basis as the environmental interests, and directs attention to the economic implications. For no matter the planning instigation or direction, the economic implications of the cost of implementation must be based not only on a regional basis, but a national basis from which the impact evolved.

Cooperative planning is needed from both the public and private sectors in order to distribute the recreational demand and tourist facilities which are supported privately. The lack of planning initiative is clearly marked by the State of Wyoming, which has regionally divided the state into planning districts, and has ranked the Teton County area as last among the proposed regions (determined by the

population in 1970-about 4,700). This ranking was not projected by the State of Wyoming to change before 1985.

Both planning practice and current planning have focused on resource preservation while also attempting to develop resources for human enjoyment. This has lead to several apparent problems: (1) there is little awareness of social needs for the residents; and (2) preservation and development for human enjoyment are two different and conflicting policies, which until now have not been addressed. The threshold of a resource initiates the concept of carrying capacity. Limitations bring out the problem of providing for everyone. Equity of human resources and for every human must be addressed with each policy decision, for someone gains and someone loses. The collective needs of all the residents has hardly been recognized by the decision-makers, let alone providing for them in an innovative way.

The diversity of interests and expectations of citizens has lead to the split in and among factions. There is little agreement among them and there are few efforts to seek out what the attitudes and interests are before developing policies. The Park Service has been the first to develop alternatives, present them for comment, and then develop policies around needs and attitudes. The county's newly initiated planning process has basically approached planning decisions the same way. The factor which has been overlooked by all is that without planning as a tradition; (1) individuals have no concept of planning, (2) where

participation is needed, (3) to whom their individual concerns can be addressed, (4) what group organizations are needed, (5) what the alternatives in a nicely printed report implies, and (6) what the gains and losses would be for them.

Concepts of planning cannot be easily understood by residents, even with all the facts of flooding, water quality, growth rates, etc., placed in front of them. Besides difficulty in assimilating the facts, residents are unable to understand how their input will be utilized and applied. With no avenue nor desire to check up on how ideas and comments were utilized, or whether they should be clarified; the resultant is often citizen uninvolvement in the planning process. Without planning tradition, citizen involvement is low and disorganized. There is a desperate need of planning education in order to have active, knowledgeable, participatory planning. It is not the kind of knowledge that is gained overnight, nor gained by the staff formulating a plan that they feel reads well, is concise and to the point. Understanding is gained through education. "Planning" becomes an abstraction that defies a reasonably clear or consistent definition. The important outcome should be what goals and policies are needed in Teton County.

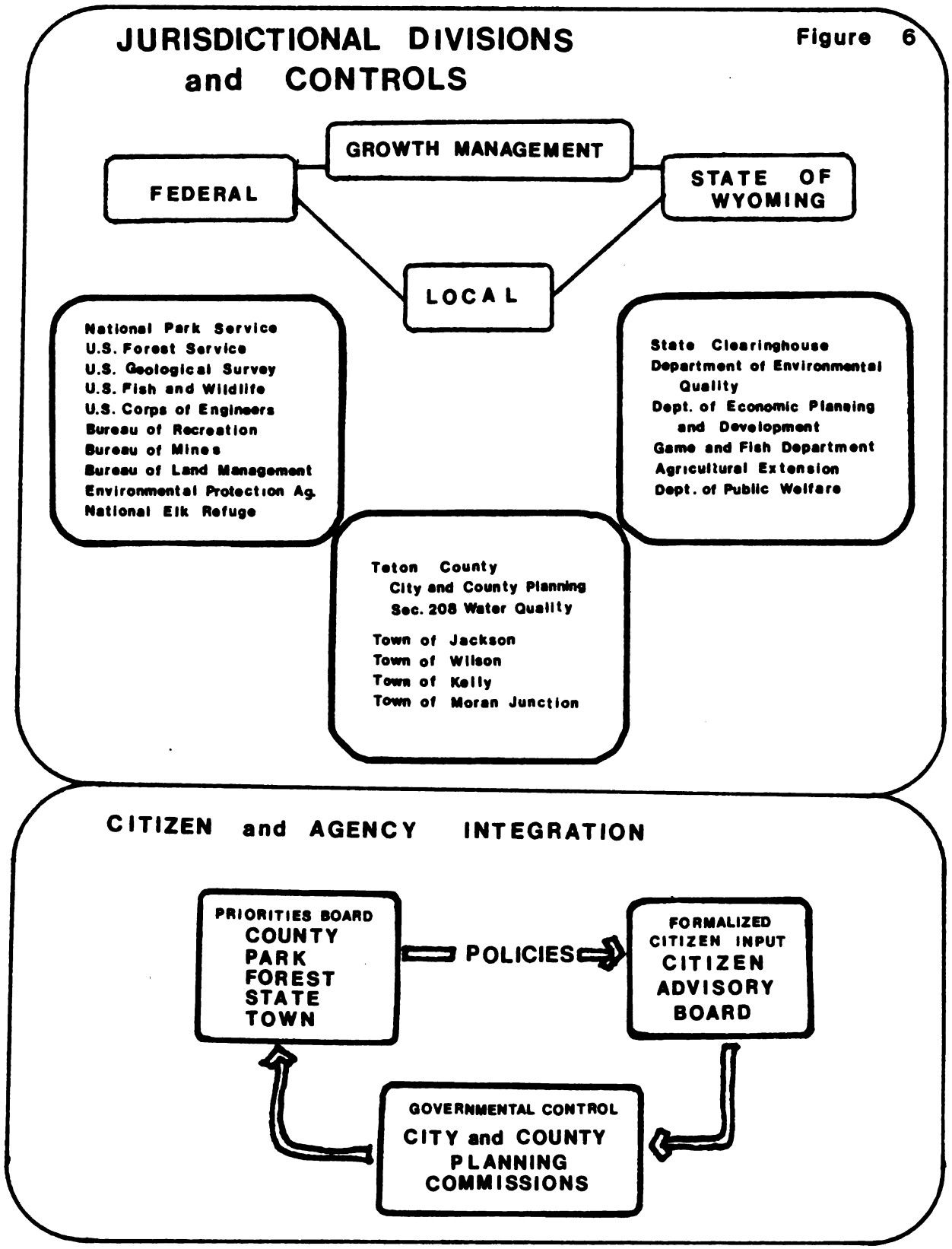
Jurisdictional Divisions and Controls

The involvement of several jurisdictional divisions and several agencies under federal, state, and local control has compounded the problems and thus the solutions to jurisdictional control in Teton County. Figure 6 breaks down the division and agency involvement within Teton County.

Federal and state land ownership has created a conglomerate of governmental jurisdictions. Each department of the federal government (i.e., National Parks and U.S. Forest Service) have separate mandates, which identifies the responsibilities of each agency. Being mandated for different purposes, creates a conflict of interest in many areas. This has led to a lack of coordination between the agencies and thus the management of areas which are physically inseparable. Each agency maintains policies which are in its own best interest, rather than interests on the whole for the resource.

The same situation exists between the federal, state, and local jurisdictions. There is little integration between jurisdictions to establish similar goals and policies. The lack of planning tradition among the local jurisdictions, allowed the Park to become the major planning decision-maker in the area, and thus Grand Teton National Park's policies, were accepted as the best solution for the local authorities and private interests.

An integrative factor which has played a minor role in providing coordination is that the State of Wyoming


JURISDICTIONAL DIVISIONS and CONTROLS
Figure 6
GROWTH MANAGEMENT
FEDERAL
STATE OF WYOMING
LOCAL
National Park Service
U.S. Forest Service
U.S. Geological Survey
U.S. Fish and Wildlife
U.S. Corps of Engineers
Bureau of Recreation
Bureau of Mines
Bureau of Land Management
Environmental Protection Ag.
National Elk Refuge
State Clearinghouse
Department of Environmental Quality
Dept. of Economic Planning and Development
Game and Fish Department
Agricultural Extension
Dept. of Public Welfare
Teton County
City and County Planning
Sec. 208 Water Quality
Town of Jackson
Town of Wilson
Town of Kelly
Town of Moran Junction
CITIZEN and AGENCY INTEGRATION
PRIORITIES BOARD
COUNTY
PARK
FOREST
STATE
TOWN
POLICIES
FORMALIZED CITIZEN INPUT
CITIZEN ADVISORY BOARD
GOVERNMENTAL CONTROL
CITY and COUNTY PLANNING COMMISSIONS

exercises a concurrent jurisdiction over federally owned lands, excluding its limited influence with the National Park Service. Thus the State of Wyoming has traditionally had little influence over what has occurred in Teton County. Recently a mandate from the Department of Interior to increase communication in the decision-making process with the impacted communities near the National Parks has brought about an increased participation and stake with the local decisions of Teton County. The ongoing studies of Grand Teton National Park and the Teton County land use studies has increased communication with an agreement to coordinate the findings of the local jurisdiction with that of park management policies. However, there is no resulting evidence that the coordination will continue or result in cooperative solutions with consistant goals and policies.

The Wyoming State planning division of Region 5 involves Teton County and Yellowstone National Park. Although Yellowstone National Park is owned and administered by the federal government, it is located in Wyoming and the persons residing in the National Parks are considered Wyoming residents. Grand Teton National Park, Teton National Forest, and part of Targhee National forest are located in the jurisdictional division of Teton County. They account for the major share of the land. Region 5 thus contains Wyoming's finest and the best known recreation tourist area for the state.

The inclusion of all these elements into one state region is due to three major guidelines in the determination of regional divisions. Each regional area was clarified to have similar socioeconomic characteristics, by the geographical and recreational characteristics and the existing political and administrative divisions. Subset districts in the state are defined by the comparability among the regions for each type of economic activity, the location of trade, service, population and transportation, the topographic features, the location of current and potential outdoor recreational areas, and the location of existing federal, state, and local political administrative regions. Thus, through a state point of view, Teton County is a homogeneous area and therefore needs to have the developmental planning decisions decided through the initiation of the involved jurisdictional divisions. The integration of the policies and goals for Teton County will be the determining factor in the utilization and preservation of the aesthetic resources.

Issues Raised by Growth in Teton County

1. The market does not provide low and moderate-income families with permanent housing. Nonpermanent housing will continue to be unable to provide the solution because of increasing local regulations. The market does not provide for temporary-employee housing which is important in the maintenance of the economic base.

2. Public facilities, services and utilities; conventional bonding and decision-making is unable to cope with the rapid growth. The future needs are not recognized with enough lead time.
3. Isolated settlements and low density sprawl provides inadequate urban services and little integration into community life.
4. The labor market is unable to provide enough permanent jobs at a level of income which keeps up with the high cost-of-living.
5. There is decreasing involvement in the community, with increased transient, seasonal and second-home residents.
6. There are no provisions which provide for the allocation of the resource in order to meet the ever increasing needs and demands for recreation. Consequently, federal mandates of providing recreational needs and demands conflict with federal mandates to preserve the aesthetic resource.
7. Large proportions of land under governmental ownership in one geographic area leads to monopoly or oligopoly through the influence of a communities economic base. Speculative exploitation is encouraged on the remaining private lands.
8. The importance of ranching as an additive or diversifying element to the economic base needs to

be established, while establishing and maintaining a committment to ranching from the large land owners.

9. Rapid growth which has occurred in Teton County has not been adequately planned for or regulated. There are few mechanisms which have successfully addressed or dealt with the causes, and generates of growth.

10. Growth management must effectively address the impact of limitation; who and how many will the policies affect; and how demand can be effectively limited without excluding one group (the poor).

11. Limiting private landholdings: how should they be regulated? Should they be available for speculation? Should development be regulated to create a phasing of growth and its direction? How can Teton County and its citizens benefit from the profit margins made by developers? Do the benefits of development outweigh the costs?

12. What priorities should exist for land allocation?
    recreation
    second-home owners
    permanent residents
    ranching

13. What level of jurisdictional control should the management of the remaining private lands be put under? Should the maintenance of the county's tax base have precedence over state and federal acquisitions?

14. Governmental cooperation is usually not initiated during the beginning of major growth, thus it is not until after the effects of growth become apparent, that coordination begins, directed only to remedy the symptoms rather than the causes. The jurisdictional boundaries, the tax structures for development, and political cooperation do not meet the changing social and economic community patterns and needs.
15. Between and within governmental agencies and private economic interests there does not exist the proper mechanisms or institutions to enable coordination and cooperation in order to solve the attending problems due to rapid growth.
16. Policy development must integrate immediate impacts, while enabling resource adaptability for future generations.

Growth Management

Rapid growth experienced in Teton County between 1960 and 1970 creates a strain on local service capabilities. More importantly, the repercussioning effects are damaging upon environmental and sociocultural elements. Thus, on a long term bases the economic gain created by growth, deletes the quality-of-life, is more costly by forcing the provision of new services, and creates rapid mitigating policies whose consequences are not well thought out.

Capital Investment

The provision of services always rests on the local government. Rapid growth forces capital investment of local services which far outweigh private capital investment. It is questionable whether revenue from private investment, and resource use into an aesthetic resource community equitably supports the newly demanded capital investments. In Teton County this will undoubtedly hold true, for Wyoming has low equalization and revenues from tourism are not directly taxed.

Teton County is faced with extensive expenditures (water, sewage, roads, parks, schools, police and fire protection and management personnel) in order to keep pace with the resulting development from the period of rapid growth. Many of these services are partially subsidized by the federal agencies, some provided by the State of Wyoming, but the balance must come from additional local revenue. The County may end-up with infrastructures, but not the services and environmental quality which are so important in retaining Teton County's quality-of-life.

The answer to the problem of investment requires open communication between investment, policy decisions and demand generators. However, lag time between identification and financing is often extensive. The choice however seems to be letting the environment degrade during this period with hopes of reestablishing its quality, or deferring, canceling, or limiting demand generators. A much sounder

policy incorporated with limiting is creating an awareness of demands and needs which have been placed on Teton County in order to establish priority funding from as many state and federal agencies as possible.

Effecting Resource Use and Conservation

Resource use or conservation is effected by social, economic and political factors. Recreational use is dictated by discretionary time and dollars. Thus, effecting the use of recreational resources should not only be at the local level, but controls need to be exerted on a national level. This type of management is less direct and thus less effective.

Changes in discretionary time have to be affected by preferences and placement of priorities. The trend of increased recreational time and priority placement indicates that it will be additive to recreational demands. Discretionary dollars have decreased in the last part of the 1970s, however, expenditures on recreation are off-set by their increasing priority among American spending. The resulting effect is that discretionary spending will also be additive to recreational use.

Control deterrents to resource use on a national level are rationing, quotas and limiting. The equity of rationing has been discussed previously. It will be hard to equitably find a solution which establishes the use-capacity of the resourse while limiting overuse. Effective

local controls include; zoning, densities, use-capacities, performance standards, building and site review and regulations. High standards for air, noise and water quality must be deterrents in areas which must maintain a high level of aesthetic quality. Scenic and visual quality has an important positive affect when regulating man-made changes and facilities in aesthetic resource communities. Important to the Teton County experience will be the priority decision on ranch lands by the citizen majority and the commitment by the large land owners themselves. The preservation of wildlife habitats, ranching and agricultural lands will be the initiation toward effecting aesthetic resource conservation. The encouragement for institutionalizing such a policy must be from the majority of citizens and decision-makers, supported by performance regulations, tax incentives, preferences or differential rates.

Development of a Labor Force

Rapid growth in Teton County has placed an in-balance on labor supply and labor demand. Aesthetic resource communities have the ability to attract a labor force, which will undercut the permanent resident population. Seasonsal employment, unskilled construction workers, and workers with few obligations are drawn into an area with unusual amenities. The hiring of transient workers at a low wage scale hinders the communities' ability to stabilize even a sector of its economy. Available jobs

on seasonal demand further creates either a dependency on unemployment compensation or a transient labor force. Labor supply dependability is established through a community's united effort to increase the labor participation rate of the permanent local labor force, which enables secured retention of that labor force. The funneling of seasonal and available jobs through one agency increases the matching of the labor supply and demand. This would allow a permanent resident the opportunity of two or three seasonal jobs, which additively would allow a family to establish roots in Teton County.

The current hiring policies for seasonal employment by federal agencies presents the largest stumbling block to instituting a policy of developing a more permanent labor force in Teton County. Emphasis on retaining a permanent service oriented labor force needs to be part of a policy development. Regardless of federal hiring practices, local effort dedicated to establishing and retaining a permanent service oriented work force will minimize some of the effects of transition, and insure the existence of a labor force which provides recreational and supportive services. Labor force retention incentives include, increased attractions to service sector employees (wages, career opportunities, job permanence and local hiring preference); establishing a policy of local affirmative action, which is established and supported by employers; offering comparable job and income security.

Accommodating and Retaining Population

Growth is usually associated with an increase in economic activity, and thus has traditionally been looked upon favorably. Growth normally means an increased need for labor. However, for growth to be economically balanced (cost versus benefit) and have incremental increases rather than fluctuation, the growth must be within the bounds that the existing economic and management systems can assimilate. Rapid growth that approximates the trend in Teton County of the 1960s, puts an undue strain on these systems and thus the environmental habitat. Growth management policies must focus on accommodating growth in Teton County, rather than limiting, while creating incentives that retain a diversified population. Accommodating population growth and resource demand involves multifaceted sectors. The provision of housing would involve development for second-home owners, recreationers, and permanent residents.

Successful accommodations of new families in Teton County will not depend on additional man-made amenities, but rather on services, comparable employment opportunities and acceptance by existing residents. A commitment will be needed on the part of the new comers to accept the newly developed growth policies, and active participation in community activities and concerns. Policies which encourage permanent retention of families are; housing at affordable prices, and housing guarantees by employers, adequate

recreation and leisure activities for residents, provision of education, health services, and safety, stepped growth and accessible avenues for citizen participation.

The local economy can be directly tied to effecting growth. Thus, growth management must also be concerned with monitoring and exercising control over the economy. Controls on the economy reduce the inequities in housing and job markets, while insuring viable economic gains for the average citizen. Areas of rapid-growth may gain people and jobs at a faster rate, but the per capita personal income is unable to retain a balance and will often decrease. Economic growth at the local level does not necessarily mean increased economic welfare for all citizens. Whether economic growth is viable for a community depends on the specific economic and demographic characteristics.

The idea that rapid economic growth is good for a local economy is often off-set by the net-in-migration. The rates of unemployment are usually most telling. Unemployment is only reduced if jobs are made available to those who are unemployed. Growth has also been equated with diversity of an economic base, however rapidly fluctuating rates of unemployment in growth areas indicate otherwise.

Growth management geared to only land and housing development will not achieve valid effects without policies that address the local economy. Often the local economy is the source of cost pressures on the housing market. The control of economic expansion will decrease housing

shortages and the price of housing. The effects of control increase or decrease society equity.

Creating Communication Among Jurisdictions, Public and Commercial Interests

The creation of cooperative policy-making has been stressed previously as important in establishing growth management in Teton County. Citizen participation will also play an important part as a sounding board for a joint commission. Feedback mechanisms will have to be set up in order that needs and expectations of residents will be met.

Cooperation between recreational development and residents will direct local budgeting to meet the majorities' needs. This will also require the cooperation of the recreation and service industries to disclose tentative investment and site plans. This disclosure would be ahead of the required site planning review procedures. Development under review should address environmental and community impacts and justifications of need, available services and benefits.

A joint commission between governmental agencies and local interest representation will be the policy-makers and coordinated problem-solving group with directive authority for the whole of Teton County. The commission integrates all the decision and policy-making facets in Teton County, allowing coordinated policies to affect both the public and private sector of the recreational industry and supportive

services. The commission would also allow a balance between recreational use, development and ranching. The joint cooperation between planning staffs from federal, state, and local agencies would allow the input from all available professionals and would optimally utilize the planning resource.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY

This chapter has been included to allow for analysis and interpretation of the research findings. Teton County has served as a case study which will contribute to the planning of aesthetic resource communities. Aesthetic resource communities will have a tendency to place the preservation of sensitive land as the first priority. However, a warning must be issued, for without careful integration and complementary policies concerning an aesthetic resource community's service population needs and expectations, an imbalance will be created. This imbalance will lead to community instability and ultimately the decline of the economic tourist base. The Teton County experience will be a confrontation, bringing to light the need to address both policies.

Aesthetic resource planning contributes to the aspect of preservation and investment in a resource. The concepts of preservation can be applied to all other environs, while Teton County represents a case of extreme environmental considerations. The concept of "laissez-faire" and "fee simple" ownership are not viable in an

economy that is based on aesthetic and recreational resources. Investment of time and money by individuals and the community as a whole is the only way the economy can remain viable. Depletion of the resource creates a pollution of the environment, ultimately affecting the longevity of the economy.

The common characteristic of extractive resource-based single-enterprise communities is that they have been created by a single authority. They are the products of industrial entrepreneurs who have had to face the fact that the creation of a new town in the wilderness is often necessary, if forests, minerals, oil, fish and water-power sources are to be exploited. The companies often times must undertake many of the normal functions, responsibilities, and civic freedom of an organized municipality.

Western development of energy resources by industrial companies has been encouraged by the government. The strong interdependence between the resource, the production plant and the community has functioned to weaken the ability of single-enterprise towns to survive for an appreciable length of time. Long-term viability is often weakened by a number of external forces:

1. Resource deletion
2. Decreased competitive advantage in international markets
3. Demand for resources and raw materials

The economic instability places a heavy financial burden on the company. Rapidly rising costs of building and the stigma of company-owned housing has caused many companies to sell rather than rent, while encouraging private commercial operations. Generally there have been few innovations in the designs for extractive resource communities. There are several major reasons for this phenomenon:

1. High initial capital costs
2. Restrictive building codes which preclude investment in innovative design and development
3. Perceived demand for suburban life styles

There are several social problems that exist in extractive resource communities which can be applied aesthetic rapid-growth resource areas. The provision for lower-income housing is needed in such a way that the social balance would not be upset, nor establish a stigma. Low-income housing can be provided for by providing benefits from high-income and seasonal housing. The key to integration of lower-income families rests with the quality and availability of jobs. Within aesthetic resource areas, the service-oriented employment may not be inducive enough for persons to stay unless there is affordable housing.

Along with inter-community mobility, social mobility must be considered. Social mobility rests on place of residence, type of housing, income, race, religion, ethnicity, and opportunity. The solution to these problems rests with job promotion, opportunity, security and

time-in-residence. Rapid-growth brings transience and a mobile work force. A community in transition lacks community feeling, and promotes uninvolvement beyond each individual's immediate commitment. Social mobility is less severe in administered towns, for the opportunities for advancement, the social standing of each worker, and the monetary rewards, are known entities. Thus each person who accepts a job knows his social and economic status.

The degree of community homogeneity in administered communities is dependent foremost on government policies. Other factors include: (1) neighborhoods being counter-productive toward strong community spirit, (2) a lack of roots, and (3) a lack of vertical mobility. Thus individuals are unwilling to sacrifice personal desires for collective goals.

The case study area is excellent for addressing individual, social, and community alternatives of these policies. The habitat of Teton County is varying with elevation and the amount of water. Uniform management would be inappropriate for Teton County and other aesthetic resource areas. Through the utilization of ecological principles, human needs and environmental preservation can be more compatible. When people understand both the human and ecological investment, when one policy is implemented or conflicts with the implementation of another, trade-offs necessary to implement a policy are more easily accepted. A comparison of scenarios can be utilized to show the

trade-offs when one policy is emphasized. The following three scenarios have been chosen to emphasize a policy:

Scenario:

I. Stabilizing geographical and population growth, and recreational demand in the area.

II. Emphasis upon environmental factors

   a. Retaining open space; encouraging ranching; openness in sagebrush/grasslands or low-vegetated areas; preserving the view of the mountains and the unspoiled slopes and buttes.

   b. Maintaining a buffer zone between Grand Teton National Park and Jackson, and possibly buffers between Teton Village, Wilson, and Jackson.

   c. Utilizing pollution controls: air, surface and ground water; noise, visual and odor pollution.

   d. Pace and place development for land suitability; floodplains, high water tables, slopes and unstable geological areas.

III. Emphasis upon social, cultural and economic aspects

   a. A balanced, diverse community with social, cultural and economic levels at varying ages.

   b. Improve public accessibility; social mobility, and access between people and activities.

   c. Enhance or maintain the involvement of people in community affairs.

Scenario I	Scenario II	Scenario III
STABILIZE POPULATION	ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY	COMMUNITY DIVERSITY
Policies: Park & County	Policies: Park & County	Policies: County
Zoning	Zoning	Zoning
1. Eliminate extensions and increased capital investment.	1. Extensions in suitable land areas.	1. Increased densities in certain areas other than just town.
a. No development in hazardous areas.	a. No development in hazardous areas.	a. Development as needed.
b. Similar policies park & county with emphasis on strict county development.	b. Similar policies for park & county.	b. Encourage diverse development in county.
2. Special use permits.	2. Special use permits.	2. Special use permits.
a. Extend floodway restrictions.	a. Designate floodplains with restrictions for 100-year flood areas.	a. provide flood control measures in order to develop floodplain if necessary.
3. Increase to 80 acres per unit.	3. Increase acres per unit to coincide with carrying capacity.	3. Encourage PUD's with mixed housing.
4. Commercial: in com- areas, expansion is prohibited.	4. Commercial: compact areas into suitable lands with visual requirements.	4. Commerical: compact areas for convenience purposes; encourage resident needs.
Housing	Housing	Housing
5. Maintain present housing, encouraging upgrading where needed.	5. Meet sensitive land requirements with visual considerations.	5. 30% of new development required for low-income.
6. Encourage redevelopment which maintains present uses and needs.	6. Same as I; eliminate housing where inappropriate.	6. Purchase and redevelop existing properties.
Open Space	Open Space	Open Space
7. Purchase by park lands scheduled for development, use of scenic easements for ranches.	7. Determine best uses for preservation of environmental quality, preserve mountain view and sensitive areas, encourage ranching and park expansion.	7. Maintain existing open spaces without escalating land prices.
8. Limit park visitation and tourist facilities.	8. Limit utilization to carrying-capacity.	8. Increase facilities to meet needs, with emphasis on cultural aspects.
Transportation	Transportation	Transportation
9. No additional roads or improvements.	9. No additional roads unless environmentally sound, emphasis on non-auto alternatives.	9. Bus subsidy to non-auto owners of cars. Non-auto alternatives, with emphasis for low income and aged from Teton Village & Wilson.

Industrial	Industrial	Industrial
10. No new expansion of tourist facilities, jobs or agencies.	10. Industries which have a minimum impact on the environment.	10. Encourage higher pay scales and employment for local residents.
Utilities	Utilities	Utilities
11. Do not build new facilities with expanded capacities.	11. No expansions where environmentally unsound.	11. Increase capacities where higher densities and low-income housing is being provided.
12. Limit amount of water usage and solid waste disposal.	12. Encourage conservation of water and solid waste disposal.	12. Encourage services to low-income areas.
13. Underground utilities for existing developments.	13. Underground utilities in new and existing development.	13. Encourage underground utilities in existing and new low-income areas.
Taxes	Taxes	Taxes
14. Tax break to ranching.	14. Same as I.	14. Tax break to low-income, with measures to assist low income.
15. High sales taxes on tourists and gas.	15. Direct taxes to open space and environmental programs; tax the use of cars.	15. Lower sales and property taxes for year-round residents.
16. Tax resource utilization.	16. Taxes on heavy energy consumption.	16. Tax second-home owners for the benefit of service compensating for low income.

One of the ideological concepts touched on in the Teton County Case Study was an individual's right versus the collective (community), versus national needs. There is hopefully no right way for any single one of these, for each presents an extreme in social order. The question should be what is the right combination for each individual community. The level of commitment is different for both the administrative and designed communities. An administered community represents high national needs and goals, which are supported by community and individual needs. The designed community presents high community ideals, while high individual needs create social conflict and chaos. Teton County being a coercive community does not have an established level of priorities. Through the right planning process, the combination of priorities will be established, for any incorrect combination would malfunction. Individual desires seem to be too strong to allow national needs to take precedence whereby allowing the creation of a National Park throughout the whole valley, nor could individual expectations be completely tolerated in Teton County. The profit incentive is too strong to let the valley develop without some direction. There will be a strong battle between individual profit motives and a collective desire for preservation and investment. Somewhere in between an agreeable result will be accomplished.

The identification of priorities for Teton County will be hindered if the following problems are not addressed:

1. A lack of establishing planning tradition
2. A lack of collective needs
3. A lack of understanding the results of potential problems left unaddressed
4. A feeling of forced, incompetent planning which did not allow citizen input and communication, or planning education, and
5. A lack of understanding on how to integrate two conflicting policies, environmental preservation, and provision for human needs and expectations.

Thus, the integration of individual community and national needs considers the right of common man, national goals, and the separation of rights in land ownership.

Attitudes and needs of differing community and governmental interests must be identified before the process of designing alternatives, and choosing or integrating them may be carried out. The diversity of interests and expectations creates a multiple effect that complicates the planning process and the feasible solutions. For without community backing of goals and policies, the planning effort can be labeled capricious or exclusionary. The introduction of change must take into consideration the theory of "behavioral inertia." The theory states that too rapid a change will create a failure in understanding the purposes of that change. Resistance will form by those

accustomed to established procedures and serious disruption of the planning process and operation efficiency results.

A consensus of values cannot be reached without adequate citizen participation. There is still a question of what constitutes adequate citizen participation in diversified communities? There can be no definite answer for all communities. The planning approach needed for Teton County is one of encouraged citizen participation and planning education. To date Livingston and Associates Land Use study has completed the background studies and research. Conclusions have been summarized for citizen comment via a questionnaire, but because there has been little exposure to the planning process which is being carried out, there has developed increased antagonism to county planning by the large landowners and more recently by residents of Wilson a satellite community to Jackson. They are beginning to reverse their opinions of the Park Service, and have gone to them for advice and counsel as it was the Park Service who initiated a planning tradition.

Preservation in a rapid-growth area through scenic easements is costly. With the county having a low tax base due to the majority of the land being untaxable, the Park Service seems to be the only chance for large landowners to obtain a fair compensation for nondevelopment. The lack of understanding about the county's planning process, the inconsistencies of that process, and invisibility, have created a split between the landowners and the county.

The Park Service suddenly appears less threatening, or the lesser of two evils, for the Park has a good record of planning in the last 25 years.

Administratively, the county needs a visible, professional staff that builds a good public rapport before the decision-making stage. An in-resident planner would provide county residents that visibility, communication, and continuity, throughout the implementation period. A known source for information would be available to the citizens for questions and answers. The contact during the development of background information would allow the residents exposure to the planning process. Problems which will have to be addressed in order to formulate goals would be confronted in enough time to allow all the residents a chance to meet the planner, and express their concerns, needs, and expectations. Citizen participation cannot be carried out simply through questionnaires and public meetings. This technique may be viable with a community that traditionally has been exposed to planning and the need for citizen participation. In an expanding rural area, where "fee simple" ownership is the predominant philosophy, citizen participation needs to be sought out and encouraged by every available avenue, and with innovation. Innovative communication presented in every form and media will enable the broadest coverage of the diverse interests. The use of community organizations and similar available avenues of communication will increase exposure,

while allowing the planner contact to gather opinions on the needs and expectations of the diverse residency. When the citizens feel they are involved in the planning process, then they will be able to formulate the alternatives without having the jurisdictions force alternatives, which they do not understand, down their throats.

Support of residents would allow for pressure to be placed on the federal government to participate and finance the alternative ultimately chosen. The cooperation of various jurisdictions allows for a coordination of policies that will enable the success of the chosen alternative(s). The authority to regulate the timing, type and direction of development will need to come from the county level. The Park Service could recommend to the Office of Management and Budget that development easements are needed, and that the administration should be carried out by the county. This would enable one jurisdictional control. The agency would control and regulate the implementation mechanisms, review and coordinate problems and development. The agency would recommend the conditions which are attached to development approval, and play a role in timing of the development of land. Administrative efficiency is based upon (1) organization, (2) authority and responsibility, (3) programming and budgeting, (4) flow of information, and (5) external relations.

In order that the policies and projects are effective, the assignment of priorities is needed so that all decisions

are directed toward that goal. Explicitly formulated and adopted goals are needed. To be effective they must be translated into specific objective measures, which are either relative or absolute. The objectives then need to be clearly defined and classified into projects. There need to be specific targets which address the goals and objectives. Evaluation of the projects, and how well they meet the goals and objectives, must be periodically carried out.

There are several problems which face administrations in evaluating projects and programs without an overall plan. Without a plan, there are few specific goals or targets for development toward maximum development potential. It is very difficult to compile information, and to assess the needs for recreation versus ranching versus residents. Governments are inhibited from making accurate final evaluations because: (1) often the things that need measuring are not measurable by profits (i.e., "quality of life"), and (2) the reports are made accessible to the public (who wants to admit their own downfalls and faults?).

A long-run planning and action process can effectively accomplish desired goals, only if it includes frequent evaluation of just how successful it has been up to the current date. Such an evaluation requires comparing actual performance with those rates of performance needed to reach the desired goals within the allotted time. Any particular areas in which actual performance has fallen

behind "targets" are then analyzed. This leads to a revision of the goals themselves, the actions planned to attain the goals, the methods of accomplishing the planned actions, or some combination of these. Such a feedback process is essential if plans are to become more than mere rhetoric. There are three basic reasons why most government programs fall short of their planned accomplishments: (1) unrealistic goals are created, (2) the estimation of time usually does not consider the law of surprise: it usually takes longer and costs more than originally planned, and (3) there are the conflicting pursuits of self-interest by individuals.

Every evaluation consists of essentially a comparison of actual performance standards with what "ought to be." Without this, it would be impossible to arrive at conclusions as to whether a development or program is adequate or inadequate, efficient or inefficient, desirable or undesirable. Each criterion must be in measurable units--indices that are identical to the units in which actual performances are measured.

The last planning philosophy which needs to be assessed is that of comprehensive planning. The Teton County experience brings to light why comprehensiveness should be defined for each particular circumstance. Teton County planning must be more comprehensive than most areas because of:

1. Environmental constraints
2. The importance of preservation
3. Varying jurisdictions
4. Varying private landowners
5. Varying human needs and expectations

This points out the need for coordination between governmental units and cooperation among the residents of "Jackson Hole." Without either, planning cannot be comprehensive. Reference to resident cooperation refers to cooperation among entrepreneurs, utilities, realtors, services, developers, and contractors.

The implementation problems which face Teton County will undoubtedly be an example of an application of growth management into a traditionally noncollective, "laissez-faire, fee simple" rural area, where the legal rights of the county to plan, regulate and direct growth will be a major controversy. However, the previous two questionnaires by the University of Wyoming and Livingston and Associates indicate the concern to: (1) control the tremendous increase in population, (2) control loss of open space through conversion of ranching to development, and (3) control the increase in air, water, noise, and visual pollution. These concerns helped initiate planning in Teton County. Many of the available controls which have been instituted in Ramapo, New York, Fairfax County, Virginia, and Peteluma, California, all seem to be excessive controls and too expensive for residents of Teton County, where an

individual's right to do with his land as he pleases is strong. The county at this time is an unstable position for court action, without evidence of consistent planning procedures with community backing.

Rather than the citizens of Teton County crying exclusionary, they are in need of a growth management system which provides the community with an efficient means of providing for rapid growth. The legal considerations that will have to be faced in the implementation process are: (1) due process, (2) equal protection, (3) right to travel, (4) emminent domain, and (5) state constitutional provisions.

Planning education will be a main key to the implementation of policies in Teton County. Without citizen-backing there would be no point in implementing growth mangement. The change in policies and controls cannot be dramatic. There is a need for orientation and education to implement understanding. A degree of consensus is necessary on the trade-offs, goals, policies, and authority of implementation. The agencies involved in implementation should be:

1. Teton County Planning Commission and staff
2. Town of Jackson Planning Commission
3. Bridger-Teton National Forest
4. Grand Teton National Park

5. State of Wyoming Planning and Fisheries and Wildlife Departments
6. National Elk Refuge

Teton County should be the directive agency with comprehensive authority for an overall integrated plan and implementation over the private lands outside of the Town of Jackson.

All major development changes, policy, or management changes within any of the other jurisdictions should be assessed by all the other jurisdictions, when evaluating the impact of any proposed action upon their jurisdictions, there should be defined definitions and policies on:

1. What preservation means to each jurisdiction, and
2. How to manage lands to promote those policies, leading to a clarification as to where agreement and disagreement on management lies.

Review of development plans by the present in-house county planner will enable access and an avenue of input for citizens in the planning process. Citizens should be encouraged to participate in reviews and assessments. Self-regulation is accomplished through understanding why a policy is set forth, or why it is important to prevent erosion. Communication, and encouraging citizens to demand information, will enable an integration of needs and demands.

The planning firm of Livingston and Associates has almost set out an impossible time schedule for

implementation. There will be enough time for the consultants to draw up the needed ordinances, and set up development review procedures. The question is whether the people will be willing to accept a large number of regulations simultaneously. It seems that the approach needed for successful implementation is a stepped schedule, with ample information dissemination to residents and users effected by the policies. The large landowners, however, seem anxious for commitments, answers and money compensating nondevelopment. If purchase of scenic easements by the National Park Service was the chosen solution, would the large landowners be willing to sit back and wait for Congressional funds, or would they push to solve the problem too quickly, ultimately foreshadowing failure?

The financial question to implementation of any policies that need to have a consensus may be the stumbling block to successful planning in Teton County. Many growth management systems are costly. Few communities have evaluated individual controlling systems over one coordinated system. The regulation of use in environmentally sensitive areas and use which complies with carrying-capacities will inevitably force the price of land even higher. Preservation of the aesthetic resource will be at the expense of the base-working sector to benefit an elite. There is still the question of the financial possibilities for landowners, and affordable open space and development patterns for the county and citizens.

The Teton County Experience Serving as a Model

No matter what the result of the planning experience in Teton County, whether successful in growth management or not, it shall serve to show a result of collective or public interests trying to predominate over individual interest. Whether local control can be maintained while compatibly coordinating policies and regulations with state and federal agencies will be demonstrated.

The effects of agency coordination can be historically traced through future planning effects (i.e., regional transportation, airport and carrying-capacity and effects on limitations). Compromises and trade-offs will be seen among the park versus Teton County, U.S. Forest Service versus Jackson Hole Ski Corporation, and recreational demand and facilities versus ranching.

The formation of goals and policies by the county's citizens, whether through planned education, imposed goals, or by citizen demands and participation, will enable an analysis of foresight as to how planning should be carried out in an area lacking a planning tradition.

The most important policy decision for the joint commission will be, what compatible policy combinations will allow environmental preservation, while providing for human needs and demands. A major issue in Teton County is whether individual landowner rights will take precedence over environmental preservation?

The reactions of agencies and individuals will be a thermometer for manipulation of market mechanisms and for tampering with the strong hold of Americans' laissez-faire philosophy.

The alternative trade-offs will be whether an area of rural character, faced with eventual complete urbanization, will choose centralization versus decentraliation of commercial facilities; high or low density development tied with open space, or uniform sprawl; and lastly, carrying capacity determining use, or demand determining over use.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

Aesthetic Resource Communities

The term "aesthetic resource community," is a combination of ambiguous words, which when applied in the following context, develops a clarification of usage. However, the varied evolution and structures of aesthetic resource communities, makes categorizing clearly undefinable at a significant level. Thus, in this study an "aesthetic resource" was coined to describe areas endowed with natural and unique amenities forming a hostile and fragile environment. The uniqueness and economic worth of an amenity are based on subjective categorizations, which is decided upon by what is aesthetically pleasing, what can be profitably marketed, what is worthwhile preserving, and what is popularly sought after for recreational and scenic enjoyment? The level of aesthetic worth, and the selection of natural amenities for preservation, are representative of the economically dictated, decision-making system. Under these criteria, Teton County should hold a unique priority position for insuring national preservation and conservation funds. Beyond these points, is the fact that the

American public has become aware that an area endowed with natural amenities should be viewed as a resource.

Aesthetic resources have the potential to be exploited and extracted just as nonrenewable resources have been for centuries. In this study, an aesthetic resource is treated just like a nonrenewable resource, for with excessive overuse and lack of coordinated planning, the resource can be irretrievably damaged. Thus, the planning of an aesthetic resource must include preservation and investment. However, communities and jurisdictions that exhibit natural amenities must first resolve the conflict of providing recreational services and goods, while preserving the resource upon which the agency function, or a community's economic base was built.

The economic base in an aesthetic resource community is extensively influenced by the recreational, or tourist, industry. The community is considered "dominated" by an industry when the majority of the economic base (approximately 60 percent) is dependent upon the one industry. A community is assigned a label of "single-function" when the major industry and supportive services "characterize" the economic base. An aesthetic resource community is dominated and dedicated to providing recreational facilities and services which establish the major economic base.

The term "community" used in the context of an aesthetic resource area does not necessarily define a finite area with definite municipal boundaries of development.

Rather, it loosely defines the physical integrity of natural amenities, which create boundaries that naturally form an isolated environment, cohesive communal organization, and personal interactions. These natural areas are often subdivided by jurisdictional divisions and control. However, to address the needed preservation and formalization of growth management techniques, these arbitrary jurisdictional controls must be integrated to coordinate directives that resolve the conflict of recreational demand and resource preservation.

Impacts and Conflicts Due to Rapid Growth

The major impacts and conflicts arise out of the unique priority aesthetic resources place on environmental problems. Thus, an aesthetic resource community must be primarily concerned with providing recreational facilities and services which enhance and increase their economic base, while at the same time maintaining the integrity of the aesthetic resource in order to preserve that economic base. The two goals are opposing to each other. Each developmental change impacts the provision of the other. Therefore, to establish both policies which are nonconflicting to the other, they must be integrated in a direction that enables the provision of both policies.

Conflicting with a policy preference for environmental concerns, are sociocultural factors. Providing recreational facilities and open space to preserve the

resource, is detrimental to the provision of low and moderate income housing, seasonal employee housing, and community services and utilities.

Aesthetic resource communities are impacted by the rapid continual growth of increased recreational demand, creating a state of fluctuation, instability and transition. The constant state of transition often masks potential environmental problems, which ultimately arise at the end of the rapid growth period. Instability of a community population, prohibits individuals from personal commitment to the community, while intensifying their individual expectations and pursuits. Stabilization of a population leads to a "sense of community" and obligation to community goals as a whole. The continual state of transition will be detrimental in establishing growth management.

The quality-of-life a community exhibits is determined by whether the community can provide adequate housing, employment, and social interaction. Generally, quality-of-life is perceived on a personal basis, rather than by community facilities and services. However, from their own perspectives, each plays its own role in satisfaction, just as environmental quality plays a part in extractive resource areas. Thus, community satisfaction and quality-of-life, are determined by the priorities and goals of each particular community; administered communities place national goals above community or individual goals, and has the authority to impose regulations,

planning designs, and ordinances. While designed communities, on the other hand, demand that collective community goals, are of priority for each individual.

Evaluating the quality-of-life and community satisfaction will be important in providing the necessary facilities and services for existing and prespective residents. This becomes more critical in extractive resource communities, where jobs are available, and the pay scale is adequate. In many of these communities the labor force is lacking. The cause; the lack of housing, community services, and personal interactions. Personal adjustment was rated second in influencing the quality-of-life in an extractive resource community. Economic considerations, along with working conditions, were of the highest influence. The last consideration in a rapid growth, exploitative resource community, was recreation and aesthetics.

This contrasts dramatically with aesthetic resource communities which must place environmental and aesthetic considerations foremost in order to maintain their economic base. However, on an individual bases, employment, housing, and social considerations rank high, even in aesthetic resource areas. The difference in demand for a labor force and the pay scale are opposities. A broad conclusion is that in extractive resource communities the higher wage is supportive to compensate for the lack of social and environmental considerations. While in an aesthetic resource area,

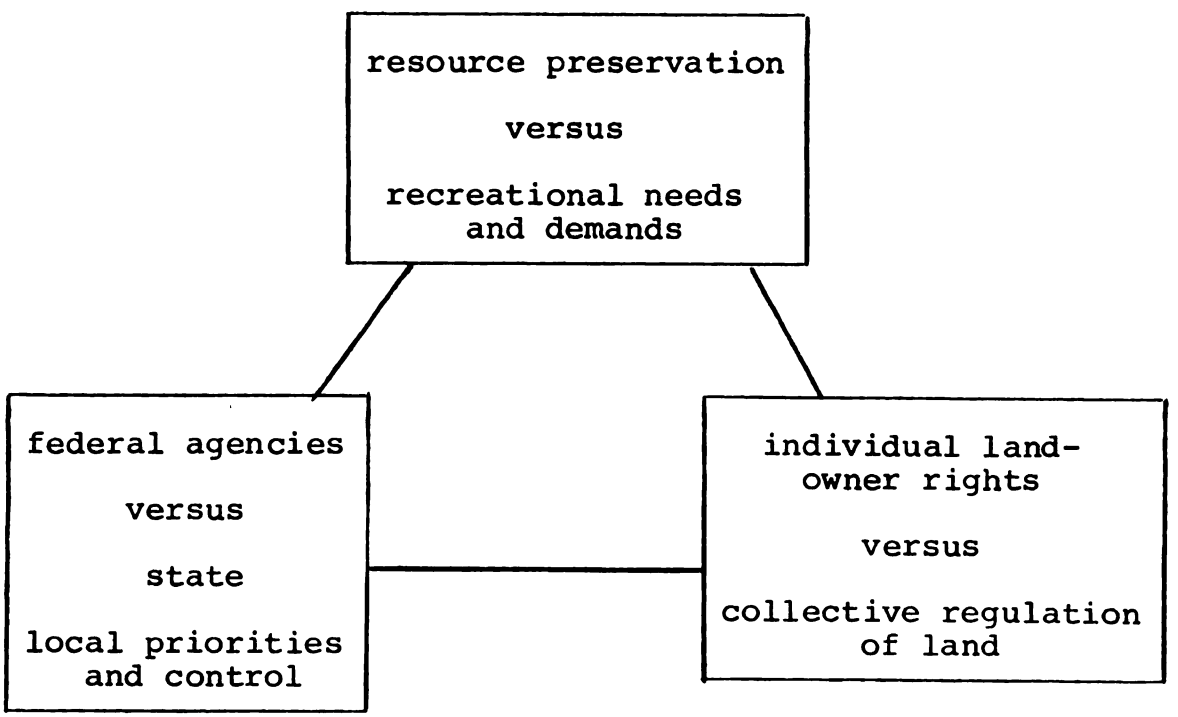
the natural amenities, and accessable recreation, lower the wage scale to a level which creates a gap between real income and the cost-of-living.

Aesthetic and extractive resource communities both represent an extreme in priority emphasis, and both could gain from the more balanced provision of services in new town developments. Planned development has the benefits of: designated open space; a mixture of housing types; congruent design; stepped growth, and additional social and recreational amenities. Both extractive and aesthetic resource communities need to deal effectively with urban growth by providing a physical environment that is at once convenient and orderly without the unwanted intrusions of noise, air, and scenic pollution, or insufficient services.

The Teton County experience brings to light the three major philosophical conflicts which will arise in varying degree and emphasis within individual areas. The first major conflict that must be resolved before the others is: resource preservation versus recreational needs and demands. The second conflict in areas which are not owned completely by one owner will be: individual landowner rights versus collective regulation of the land resource. Each can be strongly advocated or argued, however, in rural areas where many of the aesthetic resources are available for development and utilization, the conflict decision will lean strongly towards the individual landowner to utilize his land in whatever way he chooses. If collective

regulation is seen as benefical to the preservation of the resource as a whole, then compensation for each right (i.e., development, scenic or fee simple) must be part of the implementation package.

Payment for acquiring rights for land, brings to light a conflict which will have to be addressed. Who should be responsible for establishing the goals and priorities, the planning process and implementation program? How can the cost of compensation be covered by one jurisdictional division? The conflict arises out of jurisdictional divisions and controls which traditionally have not integrated goals, policies and implementation. The third conflict addresses; at what level should jurisdictional directives come from federal, state, or local? The answer is of course dependent upon the individual situation and



upon involved agencies, and the implementation process. However, maintaining available sources of funding, and commitment, in order to be able to provide for future recreational demands without applying undue restrictions on users, or causing irretrievable damage to the natural resource, is critical.

Growth Management in Aesthetic Resource Communities

The problem facing aesthetic resource communities are surmountable and dynamic; thus, their solution must be innovative and adaptable to changes from outside pressures, which will change the level of demand. In aesthetic resource communities experiencing rapid, continuous growth, there is a lack of established community goals, interaction, roots, and feelings. Thus, an effort to develop a "sense of community" should be one of the first steps. Without community feeling, adaptability and innovative thinking will be hindered by individual expectations and exploitation. Maintenance of housing for service people encourages permanence, while job preferance to permanent residents stabilizes employment and a community's well being. Seasonal and second-home owners with greater degrees of income, creates additional population migration that changes the life styles, political, sociocultural and environmental orientations.

Stabiliztion of the economic base and ultimately the job market, stems from encouraging year-around

recreational capacities. Efficient resource use is also additive when not having to provide for peak seasonal demands which must subsidize the lack of business during the remaining parts of the year.

The preservation of an aesthetic resource must be based on an equitable local government, financial structure, which is financially contributed to by all consumers of the resource. Environmental preservation has to be taken out of the economic feasibility process for which there is no concrete analysis in which to judge equity and benefit.

Foremost in aesthetic resource communities will be environmental considerations. Some of the environmental policies directly addressed will be water pollution, flood control, scenic attributes and mitigations, geological constraints, flora and fauna habitats, traffic congestion, air and noise pollution, and loss of open space. While aesthetic and environmental elements should have paramount importance, they should not be considered in the planning process to the exclusion of social, economic, political and cultural values. The policy direction of aesthetic resource communities should address: increasing additional cultural amenities, insuring recreational facilities and benefits to residents; maintaining a diverse population cross-section; utilization of the local labor force; and maintaining a quality environment among man-made facilities, which compliment the aesthetic resource.

Ultimately, in aesthetic resource communities, recreational planning will have to integrate growth management. Growth management in the context of the Teton County experience does not mean centralized control of economic activities or growth by a government agency. Growth management is the generation of cooperation among residents, governmental agencies, those with an economic stake, and recreational users. The involved constituancy decide upon economic, environmental, sociocultural and political policies, which address the development and preservation of the aesthetic resource.

Recreational planning provides physical and infrastructures which are built for temporary capacities, while growth management and land use planning techniques provide for recreational growth and preservation of the environment. The integration of agencies, jurisdictions, and concerned interests into growth management, provides for group representation from all areas of public and private concerns. The integration established the roles of the agencies and resolves conflicts which traditionally existed due to uncoordinated efforts. Growth management generates enough cooperation to develop political, economic and sociocultural tools needed to implement consensus solutions.

Community participation must either be through a traditionally important communication channel, or must be sought after through committees, hearings, interest groups, neighborhoods caucuses, mass media, polling and feedback

techniques. Community participation in growth management is important to insure individual representation of needs and expectations. Decision-making by consensus encourages voluntary, cooperative growth management, rather than unilateral use of police and economic power.

Comparison of the Teton County Experience With Other Aesthetic and Extractive Resource Areas

The complexity of the Teton County experience is unique when compared to existing aesthetic resource communities which are designed new town developments. However, a comparative study of Aspen, Colorado, Tahoe, California, and innovative management techniques (i.e., Sawtooth Recreational Area) may lead to more concrete answers on available growth management techniques, which have been successful in other aesthetic resource areas. The comparative study of extractive and aesthetic resource community problems has enabled the development of the diverse attending problems that the western states will face as resource and recreational demands increase.

The Teton County experience is unique in its complexity of problems which stem from:

1. The diverse landownership
2. The large amounts of public ownership
3. The diversity of jurisdictional controls over one continguous area
4. The lack of planning tradition

5. The diversity of resident's needs and expectations
6. The developing environmental problems due to increased recreational demand and rapid growth in the early 1970s.

The steps to integrate growth management follow traditional planning procedures, and thus will apply to the majority of developing resource communities. The levels of goal orientation, and the source of the economic base, are the only two major differing factors in resource growth management. Thus, from this study an insight is gained into aesthetic resource community planning, while applying historical knowledge gained from previous resource development. These two areas of research can be applied to existing and future extractive resource community development.

Communities constitute on one hand a synthesis of a society's history, while resource communities are the ultimate expression of a society in transition. Our understanding of urban dynamics is still limited; development and management models are being tried in various places in the country. Techniques for management are limited in scope in areas where fee simple landownership is still supreme and financial support for preservation easements from the federal government are virtually nonexistent. No single solution or combination of solutions can be identified as constituting the "best fit" for communities faced with rapid growth or resource development. Each community

must test and evolve its own policies and programs to match its individual needs and expectations. Even with diverse interests and jurisdictions, solutions can be formulated, but the process must be one of planning education, programming, and implementation.

Teton County is unique in the need for planning and thus, the approach to its planning, needs to be unique in the sense of innovative, thorough techniques for citizen participation. There are available solutions which would not take the extensive administrative capacities of development rights transfer and other complex solutions. Varying environmental habitats need individual treatment, with development criteria for each, suitable to each individual unit. There is a solution to the growth dilemma of Teton County, which does not resemble nongrowth. With citizen participation, defined goals and policies can be established as to what preservation means for each of the varying jurisdictions, thus enabling a better analysis of the trade-offs for the whole resource. But the question will remain whether or not the residents, visitors, and recreational users will be willing to pay the price for these trade-offs and solutions which must be equitably balanced.

The future of aesthetic resource communities can be suggested by past trends and external factors. However, this does not hold as much accuracy as heightened awareness. Awareness of environmental consequences can be heightened through an ability to readjust images of the future as the

present changes. Permanent urban facilities cannot exhibit the same flexibility as the human mind, but designing systems to be flexible, without future extent, will ultimately preserve natural resources while providing for present demand.

The importance of aesthetic resource community planning is brought out by three questions which cannot be answered in this study, but must be a collective national decision. Planning aesthetic resource communities represents an extreme in environmental priorities. It will be through this effort however, that the following three questions will become a forced issue:

1. In what priority should human expectation and demands versus natural resource preservation be placed?
2. What trade-offs between environmental, carrying capacity, and development, will our nation and each individual be willing to make?
3. What is equitable provision of operational demands (limiting and rationing)?

FOOTNOTES

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[1]Rex Lucus, Minetown, Milltown, Railtown (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), p. 12.

[2]Ibid., p. 18 [3]Ibid., p. 20.

[4]Lucus, op. cit.

[5]Gilmore and Duff, Boom Town Growth Management, A Case Study of Rock Springs and Green River, Wyoming, Westview Press, Boulder, 1975.

[6]L. B. Siemans, "Interdisciplinary Research on Resource Frontier Communities," Center for Settlement Studies (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1970), p. 3.

[7]Ibid., p. 3. [8]Ibid., p. 8. [9]Ibid., p. 4.

[10]Henry Jarrett, Ed., Environmental Quality In a Growing Economy (Johns Hopkins Press, published for Resources for the Future, Inc., 1966), p. 54.

[11]N. Lichfield, "Cost Benefit Analysis in Urban Expansion," A Case Study, Peterborough, Regional Studies, Vol. 3, No. 2 (1969), p. 124.

[12]Lucus, p. 98. [13]Ibid. [14]Ibid.

[15]Ibid., p. 399. [16]Ibid., p. 14.

[17]Ibid., p. 399.

[18]The Urban Land Institute, Land: Recreation and Leisure (Special Report, Urban Land Institute, 1970), p. 9.

[19]Ibid., p. 12.

[20]Warren, The Community in America (Rand McNally, 1969), p. 9.

[21]Shimas S. Gottschalk, Communities and Alternatives (New York: J. Wiley and Sons, 1925).

All definitions of community include two main elements: (1) a terriorial concept, and (2) a concept of social interaction. A long list of definitions of the word community has been collected by Ernest B. Harper and Arthur Dunham, eds., Community Organization in Action (New York: Associated Press, 1959), pp. 23-27. Also see George A. Hillary, "Definitions of Community: Areas of Agreement," Rural Sociology, Vol. 20 (1955), pp. 111-123.

[22]The longer the series of observations, the greater the likelihood that the early observations no longer reflect the measured relationship. The shorter the time series, the statistical certainty of the trand decreases. The statistical certainty of the trend decreases with shorter time series. Herman E. Daly, "Energy Demand Forecasting: Prediction or Planning?" American Institute of Planners Journal, Vol. 42, No. 1 (January 1976), 6.

[23]Siemans, op. cit., p. 7.

[24]Robert Marans and Willard Rodgers, "Toward an Understanding of Community Satisfaction," Metropolitan America in Contemporary Perspective (New York: Wiley and Sons, 1975), p. 346.

[25]Marans and Rogers, op. cit., p. 346.

[26]Marans, op. cit., p. 300.

[27]Ibid., p. 339.

[28]Ibid., p. 321.

[29]Ibid., p. 319.

[30]Ibid., p. 323.

[31]Thomas A. Dames and William Grecco, "A Survey of New Town Planning Considerations," Traffic Quarterly, Vol. 22, No. 4 (October 1968), p. 562.

[32]Ibid., p. 566.

[33]Ibid.

[34]Ibid. [35]Ibid.

[36]Ibid., p. 565. [37]Ibid.

[38]Dames, op. cit., p. 557.

[39]Lucus, op. cit., p. 390.

[40]Ibid. [41]Ibid.

[42]Ibid., p. 399. [43]Ibid., p. 189.

[44]Ibid. [45]Ibid., p. 72.

[46]Ibid., p. 90. [47]Ibid., p. 36.

[48]Ibid., p. 44. [49]Ibid., p. 37.

[50]Ibid., p. 96. [51]Ibid., p. 97.

[52]Business Week, "Coal's Boom Creates a New Kind of Town," Business Week, September 16, 1967, pp. 164-166.

[53]Lucus, op. cit., p. 397.

[54]M. Clawson, "The Crisis in Outdoor Recreation," American Forests (March and April 1959).

[55]E. C. Brazell, "Comparative Costs for Open Space Communities: Rancho Bernardo Case Study," Land-Use Controls Quarterly, Vol. 1, No. 4 (1967), p. 2.

[56]Livingston and Blayney, Lake Tahoe Regional Planning Agency Overall Program Design (San Francisco, Calif.: Livingston and Blayney City and Regional Planners, 1970), pp. 4-10.

[57]Urband Land Institute, op. cit., p. 30.

[58]G. Gutenschwager, "The Time-Budget-Activity Systems Perspective in Urban Research and Planning," American Institute of Planners Journal (November 1973), p. 380.

[59]The Urban Land Institute, op. cit., p. 67.

[60]Dames, op. cit., p. 7.

[61]Lucus, op. cit., p. 102.

[62]Ibid., p. 60. [63]Ibid., p. 33.

[64]Ibid., p. 28.

[65]Kevin Lynch, What Time is This Place? Cambridge: MIT Press, 1972), p. 93.

[66]Ibid., p. 91. [67]Ibid., p. 92.

[68]Ibid., p. 94. [69]Ibid., p. 95.

[70]Ibid., p. 104.

[71]Raleigh Barlowe, "Parks and Recreation, Emerging Economic Factors in Recreation," paper presented at Seventeenth Annual Great Lakes Park Training Institute, Cooperative Extension Service of Michigan State University, February 18, 1963, p. 64.

[72]464 F 2d 956 (1st Circuit Court 1972).

[73]Jerome G. Rose, "New Directions in Planning Law," A Review of the 1972-1973 Judicial Decisions, American Institute of Planners Journal, July 1974, p. 245.

[74]National Park Service, Grand Teton National Park: Boundary Study, Wyoming (U.S. Department of Interior, National Park Service, 1975), p. 3.

[75]Livingston and Associates, Teton County Growth and Development Alternatives (San Francisco, Calif.: Livingston and Associates, City and Regional Planners, May 1976), p. 3.

[76]National Park Service, Master Plan: Grand Teton National Park (U.S. Department of Interior, National Park Service, 1975), p. 12.

[77]Ibid., p. 46. [78]Ibid., p. 48.

[79]Livingston and Associates, Community Attitude Survey on County Growth and Development (Teton County Commissioners and Planning Commission Members, April 1976), p. 68.

[80]J. Hardee, D. Blood, and W. Morgan. Delineation of Sub-state Planning Regions for Outdoor Recreational Planning in Wyoming, Laramie: University of Wyoming, College of Commerce and Industry, June 1972, p. 14.

[81]Based on state population projection 2, which assumes continuation of high fertility (B_1) and constant annual net out migration of 0.05 percent (M_2). The County projections were derived from the state projection using historical cohort ratios, county-to-state, covering the years 1930-1960.

[82]Source: W. Morgan, M. Peart, and F. Backer, Demographic Study of Wyoming Population in Transition, Part 1.

[83]Livingston and Associates, Teton County Growth, p. 48.

[84]Ibid., pp. 60-61.

[85]National Park Service, Final Environmental Statement to the Master Plan--Grand Teton National Park, National Park Service, Wyoming, U.S. Department of Interior, National Park Service, 1975, p. 14.

[86]Livingston and Associates, Teton County Growth, p. 40.

[87]National Park Service, Final Environmental Statement, p. 14.

[88]Livingston and Associates, Teton County Growth, p. 41.

[89]National Park Service, Statement of Management, Grand Teton National Park--DRAFT, U.S. Department of Interior, National Park Service, 1976, p. 16.

[90]National Park Service, Final Environmental Statement, p. 24.

[91]Livingston and Associates, Teton County Growth, p. 42.

[92]National Park Service, Final Environmental Statement, p. 20.

[93]Livingston and Associates, Teton County Growth, p. 48.

[94]Ibid., pp. 48-49.

[95]Don Stocker, interview, and realty companies general listings.

[96]National Park Service, Master Plan, p. 12.

[97]Gilmore and Duff, Boom Town Growth Management, A Case Study of Rock Springs and Green River, Westview Press, Boulder, 1975, p. 11.

[98]Livingston and Associates, Teton County Growth, p. 43.

[99]Livingston and Associates, Teton County Growth, p. 43.

[100]Ibid.

[101]Ibid., p. 44.

[102]Ibid., p. 46.

[103]Ibid., pp. 47-54.

[104]National Park Service, Final Environmental Statement, p. 23.

[105]Livingston and Associates, Teton County Growth, p. 32.

[106]Ibid., p. 33.

[107]National Park Service, Final Environmental Statement, p. 19.

[108]Ibid.

[109]Informal interviews with Teton County Realty Companies.

[110]National Park Service, Boundary Study, p. 8.

[111]Ibid., p. 11.

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