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**THE ANTICIPATED IMPACT OF A DESTINATION CASINO ON THE
QUALITY OF LIFE IN WELLS, BC**

by

**Toni Fletcher
B.Comm, the University of Northern British Columbia, 1999**

**THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
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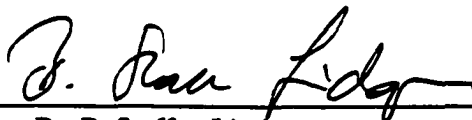
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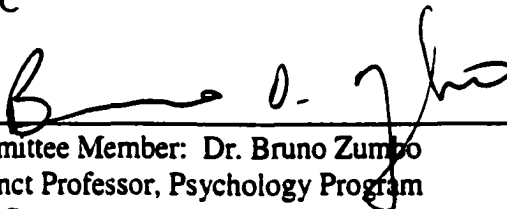
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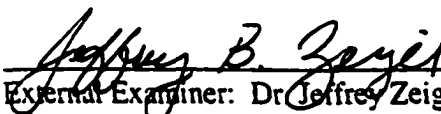
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ABSTRACT

Wells is a community located in the central interior of British Columbia, with a population of less than 300. A proposal to construct and operate a destination casino in the community of Wells was submitted to the provincial government in the mid-1990s and resulted in the granting of a destination gaming Principal Operating Agreement. The developers of the proposed casino declared their intentions in the local community and in the broader regional community. The residents of Wells were clearly split on whether they welcomed a casino or not. Through personal informal interviews and analysis of a questionnaire, this research attempts to determine residents' beliefs about quality of life in Wells, and their expectations regarding the impact of the proposed casino on that quality of life.

In August 1998 questionnaires were hand-delivered to all households and businesses in Wells. SPSS statistical software was used to analyze data from the questionnaires. Analysis of the responses (using descriptive statistics and zero-order correlations) indicate that residents of Wells feel they have a good quality of life. While many have adopted a "wait-and-see" attitude toward the negative effects that the casino may produce, they are hopeful that it may improve their quality of life through increased employment opportunities, increased tourism and improvements to infrastructure.

The expectations of Wells residents are compared to the experiences of other communities in which one or more casinos have opened. Six communities were used for comparison purposes: Windsor and Niagara Falls in Canada; Deadwood, South Dakota; Black Hawk, Central City and Cripple Creek in Colorado. Just as in Wells, the residents

of each of these communities felt that the negative social impacts of increased gambling opportunities could be minimized through proper community management. This has not proven to be the case, and the social fabric of these communities has undergone dramatic changes. When the casino opens in Wells it will be up to the citizens of the community to safeguard their community standards and to ensure local and provincial government officials pay attention to their needs.

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And finally, but certainly with no less significance, I wish to acknowledge the support that I have received from my family, friends, and co-workers.

THESIS

*A visit to a casino holds out the faintest hope
that we can win enough money to forget about money.*

T. O'Brien

CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

A century ago most forms of gambling were considered serious vices in Canada. Now Canadian jurisdictions find themselves promoting gambling as an economic development tool that creates jobs, funds the activities of charitable organizations and augments provincial revenues. In recent years government's relaxation of regulation and promotion of gambling in the form of lotteries and government regulated casinos has, in effect, legitimized gambling. As gambling is legitimized, and as the potential economic benefits that can be derived from gambling are recognized, a major ethical dilemma faces society - do the revenues generated from gambling justify the social costs incurred? More specifically, how does access to gambling affect quality of life of individuals?

The community of Wells, British Columbia offers a unique opportunity to determine how the possibility of increased access to gambling affects quality of life, or at least residents' perceptions of how their quality of life will be affected. Wells was originally established as a company town during the gold rush days of the 1930s. Thirty years later gold prices were low and the rush was over. The major employer left the area and the community of Wells declined dramatically in size. During the 1970s and 1980s the

development and promotion of Barkerville Historic Provincial Park only 8 km west of Wells increased tourism in the area. At the same time a small arts community developed and the community of Wells enjoyed a revitalization. Wells is still largely a resource based economy with forestry and mining being the major employers, but tourism is rapidly increasing in importance as the residents of Wells attempt to diversify the economy and maintain their community's viability.

In 1998 Wells incorporated and became the District of Wells. Also in 1998 a small group of outside business people applied to the Provincial government for a casino license. The group had purchased the Wells Hotel and planned to expand the hotel and build an adjoining casino. Both the hotel and the casino would reflect the historical gold rush theme of Barkerville with the casino acting as a tourist attraction. The result, they claimed, would be increased employment opportunities in Wells and an opportunity for economic diversification for the area.

Statement of the Problem

When the provincial government announced that an application to have a destination casino in Wells had been approved, emotions in the community ran high. The residents of Wells were clearly split on whether they welcomed a casino or not. There was much discussion as to whether the casino would attract new money to the community through increased tourism, or whether it would primarily draw money from residents of the community who could least afford it and thereby lead to increased social problems. Some spoke of big business and huge crowds coming to town and changing the community atmosphere, while others spoke of increased crime and perhaps mob activity. It was

obvious that most residents of Wells had an opinion on the issue. It was also obvious that many of those opinions were based on hearsay, fear and emotion. I became curious as to what had happened in other communities in which casinos had opened. Had these communities experienced significant changes to their economies, crime levels, and social fabric? Or had they experienced any significant changes at all? Had the quality of life of community residents been affected by the introduction of a casino? This thesis will explore:

- what the current quality of life in Wells is,
- what the expectations of Wells residents are in relation to the casino and how it may affect their quality of life,
- how quality of life has been affected in other communities in which a casino has opened, what this means for the residents of Wells.

The issue to be examined is not whether casinos are good or bad; it is whether they are right for a specific community. A fundamental but missing part of the public decision making process is the examination of how people expect the decision to affect their quality of life. Much research has been completed after casinos are in place. Through the use of objective indicators such as employment statistics and crime rates, we can see how some aspects of quality of life have been affected by the introduction of casinos, but this study will examine a community's expectations prior to the casino opening. Community acceptance of public policy decisions and better public decision making comes from involving the community prior to the decisions being made (Lankford 1994). Quality of Life

should be considered as a variable in public policy making and community members perceptions of how the decision may affect their quality of life should also be considered. Quality of life can be assessed using both subjective and objective indicators. Subjective indicators include such things as happiness and level of satisfaction with various aspects of one's life. Objective indicators include such things as unemployment rates, affordability of housing, accessibility to services, and community crime rates. By examining how a policy affects quality of life a better analysis of public policy can be conducted.

Definition of Terms

Before proceeding it is necessary to define several terms that will be used extensively throughout this paper.

The term "quality of life" refers to objective and subjective aspects of people's lives. It is important to be able to evaluate human existence in a reliable and valid fashion. By using standard social statistics to measure specific aspects of human well-being we can evaluate individuals' overall well-being. (Michalos, 1992). Subjective measures include assessing one's satisfaction with living partner, family relations, self esteem, etc. As noted above, objective indicators are also used to measure quality of life in a community. For the purpose of this paper "quality of life" is based on both subjective and objective indicators.

The term "gambling" includes four major activities: casinos, lotteries, charitable gaming, and pari-mutual wagering, but only two of these—lotteries and casino gambling—will be examined. The term "lottery" covers a disparate array of activities ranging from 6/49 type draws and instant scratch tickets, to electronic gambling devices (video lottery

terminals). A “casino” is any building used for gambling activities which may include games with cards and dice as well as housing video lottery terminals.

Much of the research into gambling and its impacts refers to problem and pathological gamblers. Gambling problems are broadly defined as maladaptive gambling behaviour that disrupts personal, family or vocational pursuits. (Hodgins, El-Guebaly 2000, 777) Pathological gambling lies at the far end of a spectrum of problem gambling behaviours. The key features of pathological gambling are essentially those of an addiction and can be identified as

... a continuous or periodic loss of control over gambling; a progression, in frequency and in amount wagered, in the preoccupation with gambling and in obtaining monies with which to gamble; and a continuation of the behaviour despite adverse consequences. (Volberg 1997, 138).

Henry Lesieur, President of the Institute for Problem Gambling, notes that pathological gambling is classified as an impulse control disorder (Lesieur 1998). Individuals who fulfill at least five of ten criteria set out by the American Psychiatric Association (see Appendix 1) are classified as pathological gamblers, while those that meet two, three or four of the criteria are classified as problem gamblers. The term “problem gambler” is generally used “as an all-encompassing term to include both problem gamblers and pathological gamblers” (Lesieur 1998, 154), and will be so used for the purposes of this paper.

CHAPTER 2 - LITERATURE REVIEW

For many adults today, gambling is just one more form of entertainment, like renting a video or riding a roller coaster. But critics of gambling say it has a dark side which includes increased family violence and increased street crime. Proponents of gambling cite its economic benefits: huge contributions to community, provincial and federal treasuries; communities leaping from poverty to prosperity; and large numbers of community members employed by casinos. Opponents say governments have become dependent on gambling revenues to fund essential public programs, and that the social cost of gambling is being ignored as gambling addiction destroys lives and families.

The aim of this literature review is to provide a survey of some of the research on the relationships between gambling and quality of life. In recent years, as access to gambling has become a frequently debated issue, Canadian based research has been completed, however, much of the research currently available is based on American, British and Australian studies. The findings are transferrable to the Canadian situation because of similarities in culture, social structure and demographics.

Generally speaking, gambling studies explore the various impacts gambling has on society without examining its impact on quality of life. That is, most of the current research has not included questions pertaining to standard subjective social indicators which are commonly used to determine respondents' quality of life. Some of the more recent case studies have examined objective factors such as job creation, cost of living, and changes in property values which do impact quality of life. The research tends to be organized

around four lines of enquiry. Although they are by no means exclusive or exhaustive, they do suggest major emphases in different studies. There are:

1. Standard demographic studies produced by both government agencies and private researchers based on relatively objective indicators. These studies attempt to identify how many people participate in gambling activities, and from what age group, education level and income group they come.
2. Motivational studies which attempt to explain why people gamble.
3. Studies of social costs associated with gambling, regardless of motives.
4. Studies of economic costs and benefits resulting from increased legitimization of gambling.

This review is primarily organized around these four lines of enquiry and will examine some of the significant findings from each type of study in the following pages. An examination of what has occurred in specific communities which have recently introduced legalized gambling and casinos will follow.

Demographic findings do not tell us anything directly about how gambling affects quality of life, however, they do tell us who gambles, and the extent to which gambling is a problem. Motivational studies, and studies of social and economic costs do address quality of life issues, both subjective and objective, in that they relate how opportunities to gamble, and gambling addictions affect family life, social structures employment opportunities and economies.

There have also been more recent studies on the overall effect of the introduction of casinos into communities. These will also be examined in this review and later, in

Chapter 4, compared with the Wells residents expectations of how the introduction of a casino may affect them.

1. Demographic Findings

A 1974 American national survey found that 61% of all adult Americans placed at least one wager of some kind during that year (Smith and Abt 1984, 126). By 1995 more than 85% of Americans had participated in some sort of gambling activity (Thompson and Gazel, 1996). The 1996 report, *Gambling in Canada* compiled by the National Council of Welfare, noted similar findings. This report, which assessed statistics and studies of gambling that were published or commissioned by provincial agencies from all of the provinces, revealed that overall 88% of Canadians participated in gambling activities, while provincially the participation rates range between 67% (Ontario) and 97% (British Columbia).

Many studies have been done that relate gambling participation to education level, age or income level, with findings that vary widely. Figures collected by the Gallup Organization for a 1996 CNN/USA Today survey indicate that participation in all types of gambling increases with income,

usually indicating greater discretionary income and increased accessibility to gambling venues. Participation in the most accessible games, such as bingo and lotteries, is highest for those with middle and low incomes, while casino gambling peaks with the highest incomes and levels of education (Heubusch 1997, 37).

In contrast the report *Gambling in Canada*, which synthesized statistics from studies done across Canada, identified a correlation between problem gambling and low income,

with problem gamblers being significantly more likely to have incomes under \$25,000. This same report also identifies a correlation between problem gambling and level of education in Canada, with problem gamblers typically having no more than a high school education and often less. (Gambling in Canada, 1996)

In a 1998 study of 158 Australian university students, Kweitel and Allen examined the association with sex, country of birth, religion and income by gambling behaviours. The respondents were more or less equally split between men (80) and women (78). Analysis of the data results indicated that only sex was a significant indicator, with men (68%) being more likely to gamble than women (44%) (Kweitel and Allen 1998, 152). They also found that men were more likely than women to have problems with gambling. Whether men who are problem gamblers were more likely to volunteer than comparable women or whether there is a true sex difference in gambling behaviours is unclear.

Similar findings are reported in other studies. In the United States, the University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research conducted a national prevalence survey of problem and pathological gambling in 1974 and found males significantly outnumbered females in terms of gambling participation (Moran 1997, 51). A number of surveys and studies conducted by provincial agencies across Canada found that Canadian males participate in gambling more than Canadian women and are more likely to become problem or pathological gamblers than women (Gambling in Canada 1996).

In 1996, 104 patrons of casinos in Melbourne, Australia were surveyed to determine whether there were sex differences in pathological gambling among users of gaming machines. Forty-four men and 60 women were administered the South Oaks Gambling

Screen (Lesieur and Blume, 1987 (see Appendix 2)). Forty-seven percent of men and 36.7% of women were identified as possible pathological gamblers (Ohtsuka, et al. 1997). Significantly all of the studies noted above also found that women gamblers prefer slot machines and card games such as bingo, while men tended toward betting on sports, races and card games involving skill such as poker and blackjack. Both men and women play the lotteries extensively (Lesieur and Blume, 1991).

Although no significant correlation between age and gambling activity has been identified in any of the research reviewed above, it appears that teenagers are particularly vulnerable to gambling's allure. According to Howard Shaffer, Director of the Zinberg Center for Addiction Studies at Harvard University, several academic studies indicate that while between 3.5 and 5 percent of adults exposed to gambling can be expected to develop into pathological gamblers, the ratio increases for adolescents to between 6 and 8.5 percent (Simurda 1994, 38). A non-scientific survey of students of Christian schools, conducted by the Christian Science Monitor indicates that five percent of the adult population and eight percent of teenagers in America are problem gamblers (Walters, 1990). According to Joanna Franklin, Executive Vice President of the National Council on Problem Gambling, ten to fifteen percent of teens who gamble may develop problems ranging from excessive gambling to addiction, with those who begin before age 14 being at special risk (Scholastic Update 1998, 12).

In the United Kingdom, where there is no age restriction on playing of slot machines, and in fact slot machines are often placed in arcades, the numbers of teens gambling and developing gambling problems is far higher than in North America (Kent-

Lemon 1997, 57). Sue Fisher, a social scientist at the University of Plymouth, conducted a study of gambling habits of children in 1992. The study of 467 children aged 11 to 16 revealed that 99% of participants had gambled for money in the year preceding the survey. While almost all the children had gambled, more males (23%) than females (18%) had gambled at least once a week, and twice as many males (12%) as females (6%) had gambled at least three times a week. Fisher's study revealed that 5.5% of the children were pathological gamblers, and that pathological gambling was negatively correlated with the age at which slot machine play began (Fisher 1997, 166).

The report, *Gambling in Canada* notes that only four provinces—Nova Scotia, Quebec, Ontario and Alberta — have commissioned specific studies on adolescents with regards to gambling behaviour (National Council on Welfare, 1996). While considering the findings from the provincial studies, it is important to remember that in Canada it is illegal for minors to gamble whether it be playing bingo, feeding the slot machines or buying lottery tickets.

The 1993 study conducted in Nova Scotia found that 60% of a random sample of 300 youth surveyed had gambled, and 11.7% of those had gambling problems. The results of a similar survey of adults conducted at the same time indicated that only 4.8% had gambling problems. Rates of problem gambling among males in the adolescent survey was three times that of females.

The Quebec study was based on a 1986 survey of 1,612 young people between 14 and 18 from nine different high schools in the Quebec City region. Of those surveyed, 76% had gambled and 3.6% could be considered pathological gamblers. As in the other

studies, males were more likely to gamble and tended to bet larger sums of money than females.

The 1994 Ontario study was based on 400 telephone interviews using the South Oaks Gambling Screen, with young people between 12 and 19. Approximately 65% had participated in gambling in the past year, with a surprising 33% classified as problem gamblers and 4% as pathological gamblers. By comparison, 7.7% of adults in Ontario could be classified as problem gamblers and .9% as pathological gamblers. The results also indicate that as the adolescents got older, their rates of problem gambling increased.

Alberta, the province which most recently researched adolescent gamblers, undertook two separate studies. In the first, the South Oaks Gambling Screen was administered by telephone interviews to 972 teens between 12 and 17. Analysis of results indicate that adolescents in Alberta were about four times more likely to have gambling problems than adults — 23% of young people compared to 5.4% of adults — and problem gamblers tended to be males who began gambling at an earlier age than non-problem gamblers. The second study also completed in 1995 involved 961 aboriginal students from grades 5 to 12 across the province. Almost half of the sample (49%) were considered problem gamblers or at risk of becoming problem gamblers.

To summarize, the results of studies world-wide indicate that males tend to gamble more than females and are more likely to develop gambling problems. These findings are consistent for adults and adolescents. The most significant difference between adolescent and adult gamblers appears to be the increased risk for adolescents to develop into problem gamblers. This risk is negatively correlated to the age at which young people

begin participating in gambling activities —the younger they are when they start gambling, the more likely they are to develop into problem or pathological gamblers (Fisher 1997; Yeoman and Griffiths 1996).

When considering these findings it should be remembered that most forms of gambling have only been legitimized in the past 30 years, and really considered acceptable for an even shorter period of time. It may be that the difference in gambling behaviour between males and females is somehow related to the level of social acceptability and may equalize given more time. It should also be remembered that today's adolescents are the first generation to grow up with gambling easily accessible, acceptable and highly marketed.

2. Motivational Findings

Gambling has long been present in civilization and sociologists and anthropologists have long been interested in the factors which motivate an individual to engage in gambling activity. Archeologists have discovered loaded dice in Egypt that suggest gambling dates as far back as 4000 BC (Moran,1997), and there is evidence that "the crews on Columbus's ships indulged on their way to the new world with playing cards and dice to while away the long and fearful voyage" (Longstreet 1997, 29). While Europeans brought whisky and disease to North American First Nations, there is evidence that gambling was a pastime the natives already engaged in. "They had dice made from plum and peach stones, some with white sides, some with black." (Longstreet 1997, 33).

People gamble for a variety of reasons and gamblers can, in general, be divided into two groups - recreational gamblers and problem gamblers (Eadington, 1987), but the

question of why people gamble remains a puzzle. A common sense approach to gambling motivation is based on economics — gamblers are in it for the money. The problem with this approach is that gambling, as usually practised, is economically irrational behaviour. It is irrational because the odds and probabilities can only favour one party in the two-party casino gambling situation — the house. The other party, the gambler, must always accept a poor bet, i.e., one in which the probabilities favour his losing (Walker, 1992a). The odds of winning a lottery are often in the range of several-millions-to-one (Michalos, 1995). It is the repeated acceptance of such poor risks which has led the behaviour of the gambler to be labelled irrational and led researchers to explore other possible motivations for such behaviour, including symbolic and hedonistic motives.

Early studies into motivation often focussed on symbolism and were frequently based on psychoanalytical theory suggesting that gamblers unconsciously wanted and needed to lose. Researchers proposed theories of patricidal and Oedipal conflicts (Bergler 1957; Brenner 1990) and links between the search for love and acceptance (Fuller 1974) as motivation for gambling. More recently, many researchers have postulated that risk-taking plays a major role in motivating gamblers (Zola 1963; Rosecranz 1985; Fisher 1993; Moran 1997). Because few people experience serious risk-taking on a daily basis, gambling is seen as a way to be tested as well as a symbolic way to take control. June Cotte of the University of Connecticut, sums up the risk-taking theories when she writes “gambling is a safety-valve for people looking to take chances and risks, especially those unable to do so in their mundane lives and work.” (Cotte 1997, 383). Other sociologists have suggested that individuals who feel powerless in their job

seek self-worth and feelings of control through gambling (Moran, 1997). Many gamblers

. . . see themselves as having little control over their lives and few opportunities to improve their economic situation other than by striking it rich. For these individuals, gambling provides action, the illusion of control over fate, and the opportunity to act with grace under pressure. (Volberg et al.1997, 325)

In his paper exploring the legitimization of gambling in America, Peter Moran suggests that gambling “serves an important and perhaps necessary social and cultural function” (Moran 1997, 52). Cultural values such as reasoning, ingenuity, and competition are incorporated into gambling activities. Gambling also provides an opportunity for individual decision making, resulting in a feeling of empowerment, as well as an outlet for creativity, and achievement (Brenner 1990; Volberg 1997; Moran 1997)

Still other researchers suggest that gambling is pursued for purely hedonic reasons of pleasure seeking and entertainment. Recreational gamblers often accept that their behaviour is economically irrational (they admit that there is little chance of winning), but it is the recreational aspect of gambling that they are “purchasing”. For them, buying lottery tickets or an evening at the casino is no different than purchasing a book or an evening at the movies (Eadington1987; Walker 1992b; Moran 1997). They are investing only in entertainment and have no expectation of long term financial benefit. Gamblers engage in activities that give them the opportunity to socialize with others with similar interests (Volberg et al., 1997), demonstrate their skills and knowledge (Fisher, 1993), and engage in tests of character (Rosecranz 1985; Moran 1997). A 1976 US government study by the Commission on the Review of the National Policy Toward Gambling in

America revealed a wide range of reasons for individual gambling behaviour, but by far the predominant motivations were hedonic in nature. "For most forms of gambling the vast majority of gamblers cited their reason for participating as either "to have a good time," "for the excitement," or "for the challenge." (Moran 1997, 52).

Economic motivation for gambling postulates that gamblers are in it for the money, however because the odds are heavily against the recreational gambler, an economic theory of gambling motivation seems incomplete. Theories of symbolic motivation explain gambling behaviour as an opportunity to add risk to a mundane existence and take control over one's life, while hedonic theories explain gambling as fun and entertaining. Any combination of these theories may explain the motivation for the recreational gambler, but not the motivation for the problem gambler.

Most of the research into motivation for the problem gambler has been conducted by interviewing individuals who are clients of professional treatment programs, or members of self-help groups such as Gamblers Anonymous (Jacobs et al. 1989; Lesieur 1992; Lesieur 1998; Ladouceur et al. 1994). This research has resulted in a change in attitude such that problem gamblers, once thought to be deviants by sociologists and psychologists, are now considered to suffer from an impulse control disorder (Lessieur 1998; Lorenze and Shuttlesworth 1983) and self-esteem problems (Volberg et al. 1997; Cotte 1997). Critical weaknesses of those suffering from impulse control disorder include impulsive spending, the need for instant gratification and dreams of riches or other fantasies (Lorenz, 1996). Gambling preys on and allows for indulgence in each of these. The relationship between problem gamblers and self-esteem has only more recently been

explored. A 1996 survey conducted in Georgia resulted in 1,551 completed telephone questionnaires. The results confirmed a relationship between gambling and self-esteem. This relationship

accounts for assumptions about both the low self-esteem of problem gamblers and the high self-esteem of non-problem gamblers. ...gambling is assumed to temporarily alleviate the low self-esteem of problem gamblers.... For problem gamblers, gambling is a socially sanctioned activity that gives status to the participants. (Volberg et al. 1997, 336)

For many problem gamblers, gambling acts like a drug — the attraction is part physical, part psychological. The fluctuations of loss and gain, the awareness of other people gambling, the sense underneath it all of playing with risk, of living on the edge of danger are exciting (Spanier, 1995). In addition, the importance of early success as a precursor to problem gambling is well recognized (Eadington 1987; Moran 1970). It is generally those who win early and consistently in their gambling career who become the problem gamblers. The gambler who suffers substantial losses early on can be expected to become discouraged and give up the challenge (Walker, 1992a). In one analysis of 50 problem gamblers, 20 out of 50 reported that they had experienced a large win early in their gambling career (Moran, 1970).

3. Social Costs

Social costs associated with problem gambling fall into four general categories: costs for the family; costs for the workplace; costs to the community through illegal activities; and physical and psychological costs for the gambler.

Costs for the Family

The family of the problem gambler is subject to a number of costs ranging from financial to physical. Problem gamblers' excessive spending on gambling has serious consequences for the family because the problem gambler's financial burden is chiefly borne by the family and is not insignificant. In 1994 a Laval University study of problem gamblers attending Gamblers Anonymous meetings across Quebec had 60 respondents (Ladouceur et al., 1994). The results show that 33% had spent between \$1,000 and \$2,000 a month on gambling and 23% spent between \$2,000 and \$5,000. The great majority of respondents (90%) used their pay cheque or family savings to gamble, and 83% borrowed money during the past year in order to gamble. "As a result of their gambling debts, 28% of the respondents have filed for bankruptcy and 30% reported debts ranging from \$75,000 to \$150,000." (Ladouceur, et al. 1994, 405). Added debt may mean that fewer family expenditures are possible, and payment of bills may be late or overdue causing more difficulties for the gambler's family. Spouses of problem gamblers

are harassed by bill collectors, experience insomnia related to gambling produced difficulties, and have a wide range of stress-related physical problems including chronic or severe headaches, intestinal disorders, asthma and depression. They also have suicide attempt rates that are three times higher than those reported by the general population (Lesieur 1998, 156).

A 1983 survey of members of Gam-Anon, the family component of Gamblers Anonymous, assessed the impact of problem gambling on the spouse of the gambler

(Lorenze and Shuttlesworth, 1983). The findings of this survey give a clear indication of the personal costs suffered by the spouses of problem gamblers. Lorenze and Shuttlesworth state that

84% of those responding considered themselves emotionally ill as a result of their experiences....50% reported that they had resorted to dysfunctional patterns of behaviour — excessive drinking, smoking, under or over-eating, impulsive spending, etc.,— as a way of coping with their problems. Emotional, verbal, and physical abuse was noted in 43% of all cases.....and 12% noted that they had attempted suicide. (Lorenze and Shuttlesworth, 1983, 70).

Other research indicates that spouses of pathological gamblers are more likely to have nervous breakdowns or engage in substance abuse (Lesieur, 1992) and are three times more likely to attempt suicide (Phillips et al., 1997). Gamblers' families are less cohesive and less independent and function more poorly than the general population with respect to problem solving, communication, family roles and responsibilities (Ciarrocchi, 1989). Longer term family problems can also be attributed to an increase in gambling activity. In 1989 a study conducted in Southern California elementary and high schools indicated that children of parents said to gamble excessively were found to be at consistently greater risk of difficulties than their classmates whose parents did not gamble excessively (Jacobs et al., 1989). These risks included a greater propensity to eating disorders, earlier use of illegal drugs, earlier use of tobacco and earlier heavy use of alcohol. Equally disturbing is the fact that at the time of the survey, those children whose parents gambled heavily had twice the proportion of legal action pending (court dates or outstanding summons) as those children whose parents did not have a gambling problem.

These results reflect a definite link between problem gamblers and their children being at higher risk for dysfunctional behaviours. The authors conclude that without early and competent intervention children of problem gamblers are high risk candidates for developing some form of dysfunctional or addictive behaviour (Jacobs et al., 1989).

Family members may also be subject to more immediate and dangerous costs. A 1996 article in Time magazine states that child abuse reports rose 43 percent and domestic violence 80 percent after slot machines were legalized in the resort community of Deadwood, South Dakota (Jinker-Lloyd, 1996). Several other studies also indicated an increase in family violence and physical abuse as a result of problem gambling (Lorenze and Shuttlesworth 1983; Jacobs et al.1989; Ladouceur et al. 1994; Lesieur 1998).

Costs for the Workplace

The workplaces and employers of problem gamblers may experience a range of costs that include exploitation of the time and finances the job offers. Problem gamblers come in late after gambling, leave early to gamble, and use extended lunch hours and break time to gamble; they take sick days off to gamble and otherwise use available work time to gamble (Lesieur, 1998). The costs of these activities are difficult to quantify. However one Quebec study noted that between 69% and 76% of problem gamblers stated they had missed time from work due to gambling, resulting in an estimated absenteeism cost, due to problem gambling, of \$5 million per year (Gambling in Canada 1996). Even while on the job, the gambler is less productive because he or she may be focussed on heavy losses and indebtedness rather than on the job. Ladouceur's study of Gamblers

Anonymous members revealed that between 21% and 36% of gamblers in treatment or involved with Gamblers Anonymous have lost a job due to their gambling, while between 46% and 56% admitted to stealing from the employer (Ladoucier et al., 1994). Amounts stolen varied widely, but the average theft appears to be in the range of \$5,000 (Ladouceur et al., 1994). In 1995 the State of Maryland commissioned a study which revealed that "each year compulsive gambling costs the state of Maryland \$1.5 billion in lost work productivity, embezzled funds and unpaid state taxes" (Lorenze, 1996). No data have been found that quantifies the costs associated with recruiting, hiring and training of new employees to replace problem gamblers, but one can assume these costs would be substantial.

Costs to the Community Through Illegal Activities

Many of the social costs arising from problem gambling directly result in costs to the community. One of these is crime. Problem gamblers "tend to engage in forgery, theft, embezzlement and property crimes and are responsible for an estimated \$1.3 billion of insurance related fraud each year" (Goodman 1994, 61). Other illegal activities often associated with increased gambling include an increase in street crime, such as prostitution, burglary, vandalism, assault, theft and alcohol and drug use in the immediate gambling area (Eadington, 1998). Two hypotheses put forward to explain the increase in this type of crime when associated with increased gambling offer different explanations as to why. One suggests increased crime is directly related to increased gambling activity and problem gamblers (Lesieur, 1992), while the other suggests that increased crime is a result of increased tourism (Miller and Schwartz 1998; Smith and Hinch 1996).

The first hypothesis focuses on problem gamblers and how they cope once they have exhausted their savings, credit cards and other resources. They often resort to illegal activities such as loan fraud, forging their spouse's signature on loans and bouncing checks. Lesieur states, "approximately two-thirds of non-incarcerated pathological gamblers admit engaging in illegal behavior to finance gambling or pay gambling debts.... [while] street crimes and drug sales are more frequent among imprisoned compulsive gamblers." (Lesieur 1992, 47) Many studies indicate increases in this type of illegal activity once gambling is legalized and casinos open. A notable example is the much studied Atlantic City. While the population in Atlantic City has decreased by 20 percent since the legalization of gambling in 1976, the crime rate has increased dramatically necessitating a tripling of the police department budget (Miller and Schwartz, 1998). Other studies corroborate the relationship between problem gambling and crime, and specifically increased access to gambling and increased levels of crime. (Eadington 1998; Fox 1992; Grinols and Omorov 1996). In Windsor, Ontario the casino itself has been the target of hundreds of frauds and cheaters, according to Police Chief Kousik (Perrier Mandal and Vander Doelen, 1999, 7). The number of incidents in the downtown area to which police are called has increased since the casino opened in 1994. However, "most of it is considered social crime, such as car theft and other crimes of opportunity" (Ibid. 6). According to police officials one reason there has been no increase in serious criminal activity in the Windsor area is the increase in police presence, patrolling and enforcement in the downtown area.

The second hypothesis argues that crime rates in any tourist area are particularly high (Smith and Hinch, 1996). Casinos usually have huge hotels attached and depend on attracting tourists to maintain their business, and so typically become tourist areas, and thus have elevated crime rates. According to Miller and Schwartz, studies have found

one of the reasons why there is more crime in tourist areas is that tourists themselves are the targets for crime. This finding comports with common sense. It suggests that tourists who leave cameras on beach towels while swimming are more likely to be theft victims; tourists who are out carousing and heavily drinking in the early hours in dangerous neighbourhoods are more likely to be robbed or raped; and tourists who leave expensive valuables in anonymous and loosely guarded hotel and motel rooms are more likely to be the victims of burglary. (Miller and Schwartz 1998, 127)

This is consistent with conventional wisdom that travellers are vulnerable to criminal victimization and need to take extra care with their valuables. Refuting this hypothesis, the South Dakota State's Attorney Jeffry Bloomberg spoke of the increase in crime in Deadwood following the legalization of gambling in that state in 1989. Overall, criminal filings increased from 4,297 to 6,495 cases or 51% in the first five years following the introduction of gambling into the community. He argues that "While it is true that any increase in visitors will statistically result in higher crime rates than before, I believe that the type of visitors we are attracting results in crime numbers higher than in a more family oriented tourist community." (Jensen and Blevins 1998, 146)

It may be that people who like to take chances and live at the edge are more likely to become problem gamblers and then criminals, or that those with criminal tendencies may be more likely to develop gambling problems, or that criminals will be attracted to anywhere large numbers of people (tourists) congregate. Whatever the reason, increased

gambling opportunities appear to result in increased illegal activity which in turn results in higher policing costs that must be borne by the tax-payer who lives within the community in which the casino operates.

Physical and Psychological Costs

Problem gambling results in “expensive medical treatments for stress-related illnesses associated with gambling, including chronic headaches, back pain, ulcers, sleep disorders, and heart problems” (Lorenz 1996, 127). Other problems including alcohol, marijuana, and cocaine abuse, often compound a gambler’s physical and psychological problems. Excessive substance use and chemical dependency are common among pathological gamblers, with 47% to 52% of pathological gamblers receiving a substance abuse diagnosis (Lesieur 1998, 158). Depression, has been found to be a common psychological problem among gamblers, with “between 70 and 76 percent of pathological gamblers being given a diagnosis of major depressive disorder on a lifetime basis” (Lesieur 1998, Phillips et al. 1997). In a 1994 Quebec study, it was found that suicide attempts among problem gamblers was much higher (26.8%) than the rate among the general population (7.2%) (Ladouceur, 1994). Other psychological problems including hypomanic and bipolar disorder, panic and anxiety disorders, antisocial personality disorder and narcissistic personality disorder have also been uncovered among problem gamblers (Volberg et al., 1997).

4. Economic Benefits and Costs

Economic benefits accruing from increased access to legalized gambling are often said to include increased tax revenues, higher employment rates, lower unemployment rates, and economic diversification (Thompson and Gazel 1996; Pable 1996; Goodman 1994). Although these are the arguments most commonly used by proponents of new casinos, research examining the net benefits of new casinos raises some questions about their validity.

In terms of tax revenue from gambling, a vast array of figures has been bandied about depending on the study being conducted and the data being gathered. Regardless of whether they refer to state, provincial or federal jurisdictions; tax revenue from gambling in general or only from casinos; dollars wagered in legal gambling; dollars spent on lotteries; or revenue to charities, the amounts are staggering. Examples from a few sources include:

- ◆ In 1992, Business Week reported that the casino industry in the United States took in an estimated \$10.2 billion dollars in revenue (Cotte, 1997).
- ◆ In 1996 Americans gambled \$586.5 billion, 33 times more than the \$17.3 billion gambled in 1976 (O'Brien, 1998). That same year government-sponsored lotteries had become a major source of government revenue with annual revenue from lotteries in the United States at \$31.7 billion (Miyazaka, Hansen and Sprott, 1998).

- ♦ **Australians reportedly lead the world in gambling “with 9 out of 10 adults having a bet, which represents \$618 a year for every person, and is almost three times the amount spent by the Americans” (Kweitel and Allen, 1998).**

- ♦ **In the United Kingdom, gambling is a £25 billion (\$39.25 billion) industry with arcades and horse racing accounting for the bulk of the wagering. There are some 200,000 £10 jackpot slot machines in arcades around the country and 37,000 £250 jackpot slots. Total estimated turnover for these machines in 1995 was £9 billion while horse racing accounted for £7 billion. (Kent-Lemon 1997, 49).**

- ♦ **In Canada the 1996 report by the National Council of Welfare estimated that between \$20 and \$27 billion a year is wagered each year in Canada (Gambling in Canada 1996) resulting in an estimated net gambling revenue to governments from lotteries, casinos and VLTs of nearly \$4.6 billion. Net provincial revenues range from \$28.1 million in Prince Edward Island to \$1.4 billion in Ontario and constitute anywhere from 1.5% of total government revenue in British Columbia to 3.7% in Alberta. For the 1994-95 fiscal year net revenue from lotteries alone, after prizes (52%) and expenses, amounted to \$234.5 million for British Columbia. Total net gambling revenue for British Columbia for the same fiscal year was close to \$400 million.**

All of these figures highlight one very important factor — governments, whether state, provincial, or federal, take in big bucks from gambling.

From a community perspective, gambling is often envisaged as a form of economic development. It is not only seen as a means to acquire revenues directly from gambling, it is also seen as a way to provide much needed employment, and an opportunity for economic diversification. In addition to gambling, casino patrons may spend huge amounts on non-casino items including souvenirs, food, beverages, and over-night accommodation. The following examples illustrate the potential for economic development that can be derived from gambling.

- ◆ In a report prepared for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, David DesBrisay relates how a First Nation in Michigan has progressed from a reserve that had no paved roads, no public housing, no water or sewer services and no businesses, to a modern community with all of the associated amenities including a hotel and restaurant. Spinoff businesses for this community include convenience stores, janitorial services, a cleaning supplies outlet, an automotive re-manufacturing plant, a neon sign company, dry cleaners, aeroplane charter company and tribal newspaper. The Band now employs in excess of 1500 people, owns more than two dozen businesses and has annual profits of approximately \$30 million (DesBrisay, 1996).
- ◆ In 1992 the first casino opened its doors in Biloxi, Mississippi and by the end of 1994 Biloxi had ten operating casinos. In the five year period 1990 to 1995, 18,200 jobs were created in Biloxi and surrounding areas, 62 percent of which were casino

related. Retail tax collection, stemming from new businesses and increased retail activity, increased by 65 percent and more than \$81 million was paid by casinos in state and local taxes (Eadington, 1998).

- ◆ In Missouri, river boat casino gambling has been a boon to the state's economy. With taxes on gambling revenues at 20 percent, the state rakes in \$80 million and the local municipalities take in up to \$1.3 million annually. There are four river boats in the metropolitan St. Louis area employing, on average, 1,000 people per boat at jobs that are in the \$20,000 per year range (Jinker-Lloyd, 1996).
- ◆ Foxwoods, the 2,000 acre reservation of the Mashantucket Pequot band of Connecticut is one of the most successful casinos in the United States. As of 1995 "it plays host to 45,000 visitors a day. Its annual "drop" (money gambled) is more than \$800 million, its total "win" (money held after paying out the winners, before expenses) around 20 percent of this sum."(Spanier 1995, 40).

These examples demonstrate that legalized gambling and casino operation can bring economic prosperity to a faltering economy. However, in many cases, the net benefits of casino gambling are somewhat less than expected. Land previously used for traditional commercial operations becomes more profitable when used for gambling purposes, with the result that long time local businesses are forced out of the area. These businesses no longer provide taxes or employment (Pable, 1996). The value of the lost taxes must be taken into account when determining the increase in tax revenue from

casinos. Taxes from a casino can be considered as a contribution to the economy only after what would have otherwise been collected elsewhere has been deducted (Coopers and Lybrand, 1993). This is often not considered when authorities report on the increases in tax revenues resulting from casino operation.

Legalized gambling often cannibalizes disposable income of local consumers who have supported local commercial businesses. In order for casinos to boost the economy it is necessary that they draw tourists and gambling dollars from other areas. William Thompson, a professor of public administration at the University of Nevada, argues that "a casino must draw at least 50% of its wagers from outside its local region to generate any new wealth for the community." (Smith and Hinch, 1996). If most of the gamblers are local, the dollars spent at the casino represent money not being spent on other things in the local economy, inevitably hurting some area businesses (Simurda, 1994). Several studies have reported that one of the necessary conditions for casinos to be economically viable is exclusivity (Jinkner-Lloyd 1996; Grinols and Omorov 1996; Henriksson 1996). Otherwise casinos in one jurisdiction which operate under more liberal conditions will siphon gamblers from jurisdictions with stricter regulations. A successful casino operation must be the only game in town — literally— and be situated in close proximity to a large population base from which customers can be drawn (Jinkner-Lloyd 1996; DesBrisay 1996; Perrier Mandal and Vander Doelen, 1999).

Thompson and Gazel (1996) note one negative economic impact of residents' gambling activities involves the fact that income gambled is typically spent solely in the gambling establishment, whereas money spent in the absence of a casino would be

dispersed among many businesses. "Ten years after casinos opened in Atlantic City, the number of restaurants had declined by 50 percent" (Thompson and Gazel 1996, 103). Other anecdotal evidence suggests that many of the newly created jobs come from other employers in the community. In Montreal it was observed "that a substantial number of businesses closed following the debut of Casino de Montreal, because of declining sales" (Henriksson, 1996), and although Casino Windsor is reported to have generated about 7,000 direct and indirect jobs in the community, "one restaurant owner has predicted that the new permanent facility will put downtown Windsor out of business" (O'Neil, 1995).

When considering the impact that increased gambling activity may have on unemployment it is necessary to look farther than just the jobs created. One empirical study conducted by Grinols, a senior economic advisor to President Reagan, examined employment data from six Illinois cities in which river boat gambling facilities were introduced. The author concluded "that the data are unable to show any net effect on unemployment and very little net effect on employment as a result of gambling in the communities where it has been introduced." (Henriksson 1996, 118). In Biloxi Mississippi, although new jobs have been created with the introduction of casinos, the unemployment rates have not been greatly affected, rather many businesses are experiencing employee "cannibalism" as trained workers leave non-gaming jobs to work in the casino (Eadington, 1998). "In Biloxi, city government is having a difficult time recruiting and retaining employees for the lower paid jobs, such as clerks and maintenance workers. Where once a city job opening would attract scores of applicants, these jobs now go wanting." (Evart, 1994). In some instances the hope of new jobs may have a serious negative effect on

unemployment. In Montreal, the city was hard pressed to deal with the thousands of job seekers who moved there in hopes of a casino job. Those that did not get jobs added a substantial burden to the City's and the Province's social support system (Evart 1994; Henriksson 1996).

Other consequences to be associated with expanded casino activities which have cost implications must also be considered. Improved infrastructure may be required to deal with increased traffic congestion and costly expropriation procedures may be required. This has been particularly evident in the historic tourist communities of Deadwood, South Dakota and Blackhawk and Central City, Colorado. The City of Deadwood spent more than \$10 million to rebuild its water and sewer system to meet the increased demands placed on it by the influx of summer gambling tourists, while the state of Colorado had to rebuild major portions of mountain highway in order to accommodate the increase in tourist traffic.

Another hidden consequence associated with increased casino gambling is a reduction in charitable donations. As people spend more on gambling and give less to charities the government ultimately is forced to take over responsibility for provision of services. The regressive nature of gambling taxes may also increase the levels of service that are needed, and additional law enforcement personnel are often required when new gaming facilities open (Henriksson 1996; Hall 1994; Borg et. al. 1991). An economic impact analysis prepared for the City of New Orleans in anticipation of a new casino predicted an increase in costs to the criminal justice system of approximately \$5 million to deal with the increased crime that would result from the casino (Goodman, 1994).

As noted above, case studies indicate that gamblers and those associated with them, are prone to white collar crime, substance abuse, child abuse, and suicide (Phillips et al.1997; Lesieur 1992; Volberg 1994). All of these activities have costs associated with them, whether it is the provision of additional social services, higher medical costs or increased policing and judiciary fees. These costs are often ignored when consideration is being given to the introduction of a new casino. In 1994 Robert Goodman analysed a large number of gambling economic impact studies that had been prepared for cities and states all across the United States. His analysis states that "claims of economic benefits were exaggerated, while costs were understated. Most could not be considered objective descriptions of economic benefits and costs." (Goodman 1994, 68).

Conclusions

Although no research has been located which directly measures and relates subjective quality-of-life indicators to increased accessibility and opportunity to gamble, there is no doubt from the literature reviewed that gambling does impact quality-of-life. Empirical measures such as property values, property taxes, crime rates, businesses closures and employment rates before and after the opening of casinos have been measured and all give a clear indication of the impact the introduction of casinos has had on quality of life in a number of communities. The rise of privately and publicly sponsored legalized gambling has consequences that are double-edged for communities and individuals. The irony is that while the individual pleasures and psychic rewards of gambling have been generally underappreciated, the social and economic benefits of

legalized betting are generally overestimated, and often the social costs are not considered at all.

There is abundant evidence that legalized gambling, especially lotteries, is regressive, with poorer citizens gambling a disproportionate share of their income (Simurda, 1994). The regressive nature of gambling taxes (Borg et al., 1991) may increase the levels of service that are needed. While advertising techniques are successful in attracting more players, gambling addiction is increasing and the dangers associated with problem gambling are largely ignored. In some sense, gambling is nothing more than exploitation of those most vulnerable. Those who can least afford it and those who are most susceptible to the addictive aspects of gambling are those who find gambling most appealing. The poor and less educated are "investing" in hope while the randomness of the rewards enforces the addiction (Spanier 1995; Lesieur 1998) .

CHAPTER 3 - METHODOLOGY

By analysing responses received to a questionnaire, this research attempts to determine residents' beliefs and attitudes about quality of life in Wells, British Columbia. It also provides an assessment of views about future development of the community, with particular attention focussing on resident's expectations regarding the proposed casino. Wells (population 270) is in the central Cariboo Region of British Columbia, 250 km from Prince George, the nearest major centre. Due to its isolation and its small size, both geographically and in terms of population, Wells is an ideal location to conduct a population survey.

Sampling Technique and Questionnaire Design

In August 1998 questionnaires were hand-delivered to all households and businesses in Wells and were placed in all of the 115 postal delivery boxes that are rented by residents of the District of Wells and in 30 postal boxes in Barkerville. Barkerville is at the end of the highway 8 km from Wells. The Barkerville postal boxes were included because those people who live and receive their mail in Barkerville strongly identify with, and are considered to be part of the community of Wells. Respondents were asked to deposit the completed questionnaire into one of three drop boxes located in Wells at the Post Office, the Community Hall and the General Store. Included with the questionnaire was a letter from the Mayor of the District asking for support in completing the survey (Appendix 3). Residents were made aware of the nature and purpose of the

study through newspaper articles, radio broadcasts and notices posted throughout the community.

The questionnaire (see Appendix 4) consists of 11 pages including 195 questions. It was designed specifically for this project by incorporating original questions with questions from a variety of sources, including questions which focus on social indicators and are used as standard measures of quality of life, and questions which have been designed specifically to measure attitudes toward and support for tourism development.

The first three pages of the questionnaire lists 90 "services and other things affecting people today", including such things as family support services, snow removal, cost of local housing, health, jobs etc. The extent to which people were satisfied with these things was measured on a 7-point Likert scale with response categories ranging from "very dissatisfied (1 point)", through "an even balance (4 points)" to "very satisfied (7 points)". Many of these questions are standard social indicators which are commonly used to determine respondents' quality of life.

Following these questions, a 7-point question was designed to measure the extent to which people are happy with their lives as a whole, ranging from "very unhappy (= 1 point)" through "an even balance (4 points)" to "very happy (7 points)".

The next question related directly to the incorporation of the District of Wells. Prior to the summer of 1998 the community of Wells fell under the jurisdiction of the Cariboo Regional District with its headquarters in Williams Lake, approximately 200km distant. With the incorporation of the District of Wells, a new municipal government was elected with the mayor and councillors all residing in the Wells area. Decisions that had

previously been made by the Cariboo Regional District, including the spending of tax dollars and decisions regarding municipal services, would now be made by local residents rather than by those not residing in the immediate area. Respondents were asked a general question designed to measure the extent to which they felt they should have “more”, “less”, or “the same” amount of input regarding 18 particular public services. The services had previously been provided by the Cariboo Regional District and would now be provided by the new Municipality of Wells.

Respondents were then asked to respond to 12 statements that focussed on community development. A 5-point scale with responses ranging from “strongly disagree (1 point)” through “don’t know (3 points)” to “strongly agree (5 points)” was used.

This was followed by three open-ended questions asking respondents, first, to describe the “best thing about living in Wells”, and then “the worst thing”, followed by the question, “If you could change anything about this community to improve quality of life here, what would it be?”

The next section of the questionnaire focussed on residents’ attitudes towards tourism in general and the proposed casino in particular. Using the same 5-point Likert scale, respondents were asked to note their degree of agreement or disagreement with 28 statements. The questions were originally designed by Samuel V. Lankford (1994) of the University of Hawaii to measure attitudes and perception toward tourism and rural regional development. They have been modified to suite the Wells casino situation. Lankford’s scale was developed in response to researcher awareness of resident’s hostility toward some forms of economic development (Lankford 1994, 35). The scale is designed to

uncover preferences and trade-off positions of residents, business owners, government employees and elected officials at an early stage in the planning process, and is now widely used in tourism planning processes across the United States.

Of the 28 statements regarding tourism and the proposed casino, 13 were specific to the casino, 13 were specific to tourism and two of the statements referred to both. Of the 13 tourism statements, nine were framed as positive statements and four were framed as negative statements. The statements referring to the casino were similarly split with eight framed positively and five framed negatively. Of the two statements that referred to both tourism and the casino one was positively and one was negatively framed.

Respondents were then asked what economic development activities, other than the casino, they would find desirable in Wells. They were given six options and asked to rate them on a 5-point scale as to desirability, with “very undesirable” (1 point) through to “very desirable” (5 points) .

Finally, following a section of standard demographic questions, residents were asked if they had expectations about the community prior to living there, and whether these expectation had been met.

Prior to distribution, a summary research proposal and the questionnaire were submitted to the University Research Ethics Review Board and approved.

Outcomes of the Study

It is anticipated that the results of this research will serve a number of purposes. First, the results will reveal resident beliefs and attitudes about the quality of life in Wells.

Second, the results will offer the Council of the District of Wells an opportunity to focus their economic development and infrastructure plans on areas that are consistent with community desires. If decision makers are in disagreement with the public and business community regarding the type of economic development, the goals of community development cannot be achieved because policies would be made without incorporating their mutual support and understanding. If resident perceptions and preferences do not support economic development policies and programs, then those programs are likely to fail or be ineffective in their implementation. Information from this research will be made available to assist policy- and decision-makers in Wells to formulate policies that move in directions that suite the needs of residents and thereby preserve local values.

Finally, this paper will explore rural community expectations toward the introduction of a destination casino, and compare those expectations with what has been experienced in other centres. This information may be of interest to other communities which are considering expanding tourism through the introduction of increased gambling facilities.

CHAPTER 4 - ANALYSIS AND BASIC FINDINGS FROM WELLS

Data Analysis Procedures

Of the 300 questionnaires distributed, 93 were completed and returned in a usable format (31% return rate)¹. Where appropriate, descriptive statistics and zero-order correlations were used to analyze questionnaire data. Unstructured interview material and open ended questions from the questionnaire have been analyzed by examining themes and comparing these themes among demographic groups. Categories of responses were determined and summarized.

Analysis

This was the first time that a survey of this nature had been conducted in the community of Wells and many residents were hesitant to participate due to their lack of familiarity with the process and their distrust that confidentiality would be maintained. Consequently, many of the respondents did not answer all questions, which resulted in some gaps, particularly in the demographic material.

Demographics

Of those respondents who answered the demographic questions, 49 (54.4%) were female and 41 (45.6%) male. Fifty (58.1%) were married and living with a spouse, or living with a partner. The average age was 42, with a range from 13 - 81. Sixty-four (69.6%) owned or were in the process of buying their own home. In terms of level of education achieved, the residents of Wells compare favourably to the rest of British

¹

The most recent census in the District of Wells indicates a total population of approximately 270. Using this figure rather than the number of questionnaires distributed results in a return rate of 34%.

Columbia. Only 16 percent of Wells respondents had not completed secondary school, while 23.7 percent of British Columbians are in the same category. Twenty five per cent of Wells residents have had some university education compared with only 12 percent of the general population, and 28 per cent of respondents hold a university or professional degree, which is more than twice the provincial number of 13.6 percent.²

One third (33.3%) of respondents reported owning their own business, while 18.9% were employed full-time and 26.7% were employed on a part-time basis. More than 60% of respondents indicated that their employment was tourism related.

Most respondents (77.2%) identified themselves as year round permanent residents of Wells, while the remaining residents identified themselves as seasonal. Fully one third of respondents had lived in Wells for more than ten years, with only 12% residing there for less than one year. The majority of respondents (55%) had lived in Wells for from one to ten years.

Neither Statistics Canada nor BC Statistics has demographic statistics for Wells as it was not incorporated when the last census was completed. There is, therefore, no way of knowing how representative the sample is of the population from which it was drawn. Judging from the provincial average it is highly probable that people holding university or professional degrees are over-represented in our sample.

² Source: 1996 Census as reported in British Columbia Statistics.

Satisfaction

Exhibit 1 lists the mean scores for the 90 satisfaction items and the one happiness item, with some comparable figures from two other surveys, one done in Prince George in November 1998 and one done in Quesnel in July 2000. Results from the Wells survey indicate that the most satisfying aspects of people's lives were satisfaction with their living partner (mean = 6.4), family relations (6.2), self-esteem (6.1) and their overall quality of life (6.0). The mean score for happiness with life as a whole was 5.8. It is not unusual for family and living partner satisfaction to dominate such lists (Michalos, 1991) and in both the Prince George and Quesnel surveys these items were also very highly ranked, although the mean scores are higher for Wells than for either of the other two communities. Levels of satisfaction from Quesnel respondents for most of the indicators are very similar to those received from Wells respondents. The most significant differences are that Quesnel respondents are much less satisfied with traffic (Wells = 5.2, Quesnel = 3.5), the number of vehicular accidents in the area (Wells = 5.2, Quesnel = 3.7) and cultural opportunities (Wells = 5.1, Quesnel = 3.6). These differences are not surprising considering that a major highway runs through the centre of Quesnel while Wells is at the end of a highway, and relative to the size of the community, Wells hosts many cultural activities including bringing in drama groups, current and classic movies, musicians and artist's workshops.

Wells respondents expressed their highest level of dissatisfaction for banking services, with a mean score of 1.9. This high level of dissatisfaction is not unexpected since there are no banking facilities in Wells. Other items with very high levels of

dissatisfaction were availability of shopping facilities for clothing (2.1), community infant childcare (2.3), medical facilities (2.3), and youth services (2.4). Quesnel respondents indicated a high level of dissatisfaction with the level of drug and alcohol abuse apparent in the community (2.6), while Prince George respondents were most dissatisfied with federal (2.8) and provincial government officials (2.2).

EXHIBIT 1 - SATISFACTION INDICATORS
Level of satisfaction on a scale of 1 to 7

Indicator	Wells Mean	Prince George Mean Score³	Quesnel Mean Score⁴
Living partner	6.4	5.9	6.3
Family relations	6.2	5.7	5.9
Self esteem	6.1	5.2	5.7
Overall QOL	6.0	5.5	5.5
Neighbourhood	5.9	5.9	5.4
Life as a whole	5.8	5.5	5.6
Happiness with home	5.8	5.8	5.6
Arts opportunities	5.7	n/a	n/a
Friendships	5.7	5.6	5.8
Religion	5.6	5.0	5.4
Happiness	5.6	5.6	5.6
Recreation opportunities	5.6	4.7	4.9
Noise levels	5.6	n/a	4.1
Wells as a place to live	5.6	n/a	n/a
Health	5.5	5.3	5.5
Life accomplishments	5.5	n/a	n/a
Standard of living	5.5	n/a	5.3
Police protection	5.4	n/a	4.6
Snow removal	5.3	n/a	n/a
Vehicle accidents	5.2	n/a	3.7

³Source: Michalos, Zumbo and Hubley 2000. Sample size 723.

⁴Source: Michalos and Zumbo (unpublished). Sample size 642.

Indicator	Wells Mean	Prince George Mean Score	Quesnel Mean Score
Geographic location	5.2	n/a	4.9
Traffic	5.2	n/a	3.5
Friendly neighbours	5.2	n/a	5.2
Cultural opportunities	5.1	n/a	3.6
Job satisfaction	5.1	5.1	5.3
Elementary education	5.0	n/a	4.4
Local parks	5.0	n/a	n/a
Work schedule	4.9	n/a	n/a
Music availability	4.8	n/a	n/a
Library services	4.8	n/a	n/a
Play areas	4.8	n/a	n/a
Postal services	4.8	n/a	n/a
Winter walkway conditions	4.6	n/a	n/a
Weather	4.6	n/a	4.8
Garbage system	4.5	n/a	5.3
Street lighting	4.5	n/a	4.6
Local housing density	4.4	n/a	n/a
Municipal officials	4.4	3.4	4.1
Financial security	4.3	4.3	n/a
Public roads	4.3	n/a	n/a
Level of pay	4.2	n/a	n/a
Local housing cost	4.1	n/a	n/a
Town cleanliness	4.0	n/a	n/a
Housing use	3.9	n/a	n/a
Appearance of Wells	3.9	n/a	n/a
Sewage system	3.9	n/a	n/a
TV/radio service	3.8	n/a	n/a
Alley cleanliness	3.8	n/a	n/a
Sidewalks	3.7	n/a	n/a
Local housing availability	3.6	n/a	n/a
Animal control	3.6	n/a	3.9
Amount of Taxes	3.6	n/a	n/a
Planning/zoning	3.6	n/a	3.7
Services for workers	3.5	n/a	n/a
Animal management	3.5	n/a	n/a
Judicial services	3.4	n/a	n/a
Availability of organized athletics	3.4	n/a	n/a
Education tax level	3.4	n/a	n/a
Level of drug and alcohol use	3.3	n/a	2.6

Indicator	Wells Mean	Prince George Mean Score	Quesnel Mean Score
Municipal tax level	3.2	n/a	n/a
Ambulance service	3.2	n/a	n/a
Post sec. education opportunity .	3.2	n/a	4.3
Grocery shopping facilities	3.2	n/a	n/a
Job opportunities	3.0	n/a	n/a
Federal tax levels	2.9	n/a	n/a
Secondary education opportunity	2.9	n/a	4.4
Provincial tax level	2.9	n/a	n/a
Water quality	2.9	n/a	5.5
Home based pre-school	2.9	n/a	n/a
Household shopping facilities ...	2.8	n/a	n/a
Home care for elderly	2.8	n/a	n/a
Community preschool	2.7	n/a	n/a
Federal MP	2.6	2.8	3.6
Recycling opportunities	2.6	n/a	4.7
Provincial MLA	2.6	2.2	3.7
Medical services	2.6	n/a	n/a
Home based infant care	2.5	n/a	n/a
Services for disabled	2.5	n/a	n/a
Employment services	2.4	n/a	n/a
Services for youth	2.4	n/a	n/a
Medical facilities	2.3	n/a	3.9
Community infant childcare	2.3	n/a	n/a
Clothing shopping facilities	2.1	n/a	n/a
Banking services	1.9	n/a	n/a

Differences between male and female responses indicate similar levels of satisfaction for most indicators. Exhibit 1A lists those items for which the difference in satisfaction levels between male and female respondents were statistically significant. Out of 90 items, there were only 12 cases in which male and female means were statistically significant. The largest differences were in satisfaction with friendships, home, health and

cultural opportunities, with women being slightly more satisfied than men. Women also appear to be more satisfied with child care opportunities. This may be due to their higher level of involvement in this area.

EXHIBIT 1A
Level of Satisfaction in Wells
Male/Female Differences

Indicator	Level of Satisfaction Female Respondents	Level of Satisfaction Male Respondents
Friendships	6.0	5.2
Home	6.0	5.4
Health	5.7	5.3
Overall Quality of Life	6.2	5.7
Job Opportunities	3.5	2.7
Cultural Opportunities	5.4	4.9
Overall happiness ⁵	5.8	5.4
Play Areas	5.1	4.4
Community Preschool	3.5	1.8
Home-based Preschool	3.4	2.3
Community infant childcare	2.7	2.0
Home-based Infant Care	3.0	2.0

Input on Public Services

Questions regarding the level of input into public services which residents desired were answered by all but one respondent. Few respondents wanted less input on any of the issues identified. Exhibit 2 gives the percentages of people indicating that they desire more or the same level of input into public services. Those issues into which the majority of respondents desired more input were: water supply (64.1%); community hall use (63.3%); land use planning (63%); enforcement of land use bylaws (57.6%), residential

⁵ The item is about happiness itself, not satisfaction with happiness.

development (57.6%) and commercial development (54.3%). For seven of the 18 items (39%) the majority of respondents were satisfied with the level of input they had prior to incorporation, and saw no reason to require more. However, for each item listed, many residents wanted more input on public services. These figures suggest that the residents of Wells are anxious to have a higher participation level in local politics and in the decision making process on public services.

EXHIBIT 2- LEVEL OF PUBLIC SERVICE INPUT DESIRED

Public Service	Percent Wanting Same Input	Percent Wanting More Input
Garbage collection	62.0	25.0
Water supply	22.8	64.1
Sewage Collection	38.5	40.7
Sewage Treatment	37.8	45.6
Police Protection	66.3	20.7
Fire Protection	63.0	30.4
Road Maintenance	45.6	47.8
Snow Control	63.0	28.3
Street Lighting	53.8	35.2
Storm Drainage	50.5	33.0
Sidewalks	51.1	36.7
Public Library	44.6	48.9
Community Hall Use	34.4	63.3
Land Use Planning	22.8	63.0
Enforcement of Land Use Bylaws	23.9	57.6
Enforcement of Animal Bylaws	38.5	41.8
Commercial Development	35.9	54.3
Residential Development	32.6	57.6

Community Development

Responses to the 12 statements regarding community development were fairly consistent when responses indicating agree/strongly agree and disagree/strongly disagree

were grouped (Exhibit 3). The most highly ranked response indicated that respondents felt that good communities require high levels of cooperation (93.5%) while a much smaller percentage felt that high levels of competition were required (29%). Respondents were largely in favour of more business development (83.9%) and felt that co-operative planning for development was required (72.1%) and that development should focus on year round jobs (80.6%). This desire for more business development is consistent with responses regarding levels of unemployment and lack of job availability - 72.15% of respondents indicated that more full-time jobs are needed, 70.9% felt that unemployment is a serious problem in the community, and more than half indicated that even during the summer months when employment levels are at their highest, the number of workers exceeds the number of jobs available.

Most respondents (63.4%) did not feel growth would hurt their quality of life. While 56% of respondents have lived in Wells for longer than five years, 48.4% of respondents felt the community is a better place to live than it was five years ago. Interestingly, more than 80% of respondents felt a good community requires high levels of volunteer activity, while only 74.4% actually indicated they participated in volunteer activities.

One item the District Council may wish to take note of is that close to half (48.4%) of respondents disagreed with the statement that public officials don't care about what respondent's think. While only 20.5% agreed with the statement, 30% were undecided.

EXHIBIT 3 COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Statement	Percent Agree/ Strongly Agree	Percent Disagree/ Strongly Disagree
Need more full-time jobs	72.1	12.9
There are more jobs than workers	24.7	53.8
Unemployment is a serious problem	70.9	14.0
Public officials don't care what I think	20.5	48.4
Community needs more planning	72.1	8.7
More business development is required	83.9	6.5
Development should focus on year-round jobs . . .	80.6	5.4
High levels of cooperation are required	93.5	3.3
Community is better than 5 years ago	48.4	20.4
Growth will hurt quality of life	11.8	63.4
High levels of competition are required	29.0	48.4
High levels of Volunteer activity are required	80.7	8.7

Best Things, Worst Things and Things to Change

For the respondents, the most frequently mentioned "best thing about living in Wells" was the lack of pollution and good air quality, with more than 34% of respondents mentioning this. Second was a physical collage described by the phrases "beauty of surroundings", "scenery", "outdoor environment" and "wilderness", with more than 30% of respondents using such terms. The quiet atmosphere (19.8%), friendliness of people (18.7%) and lack of crime (18.4%) were also mentioned by many respondents.

The most frequently mentioned "worst thing about living in Wells" was the lack of and distance to services, including banking, medical or shopping services, with 25.3% of respondents noting this lack. Next was the weather and bugs, which were mentioned by 20.9% of respondents. High unemployment and lack of jobs was noted by 17.6%, while 14.3% felt there was too much gossiping and small town pettiness.

Having determined the things about life in Wells that were especially good and especially bad, respondents were then asked what they would change to improve the quality of life in Wells. Twenty-seven and a half percent of respondents indicated business development and the creation of jobs would bring about the most significant improvement in their quality of life. Increasing services (medical, shopping, banking) was also highly ranked with 23.1% of respondents indicating the need for improved access. These two improvements — increased services and job development — coincide with two of the worst things about living in Wells—lack of services and high unemployment. Only one person mentioned improving the weather. The two individual items which were mentioned most often by respondents were introduction of banking services (10%) and improvement of water quality (8%). Since the initial distribution of this survey, this last item has been a major public works initiative by the District of Wells and the water quality has been greatly improved.

Attitudes Towards Tourism and the Proposed Casino

Exhibit 4 gives the percentages of respondents who agreed or disagreed with statements regarding tourism and the casino. The statements have been grouped by topic and then in the order asked. It is evident from the responses in this section of the questionnaire that residents of Wells recognize the vital role which tourism plays in their economy. Attitudes towards tourism were both positive and consistent. Respondents indicated that tourists are valuable to the community (94.6%), that tourism plays a vital role in the community (93.5%), that tourism should be actively encouraged (93.5%), that

efforts should be made to attract more tourists to Wells (92.5%), and that tourism plays a major economic role in the community (91.3%). There was clear indication that outdoor recreation should be developed and promoted as a vehicle to encourage tourism, with 92.4% of respondents in favour of this suggestion and 88.1% in favour of new tourist facilities being developed. A large majority of respondents (82.8%) felt that the municipality should promote tourism. However, only 30.5% indicated they would support a tax increase for this purpose.

Regarding the introduction of a casino in Wells, respondents were less decisive, with many appearing to have a 'wait and see' attitude. Four questions asked residents if they felt that the casino would have a directly negative impact on their quality of life. Specifically, would noise, litter, crime and alcohol/drug abuse increase if a casino were introduced. For each of these questions the highest response rates were "I don't know" (noise 53.3%; litter 40.2%; crime 48.4%; alcohol and drug abuse 44.6%). This is not to say that respondents have no concerns regarding the introduction of a casino into their community. While 44.1% of respondents indicated the casino would be an appropriate tourist facility, 31.2% indicated it would not, and 24.7% didn't know. Just more than 41% felt litter would increase and one quarter felt alcohol and drug abuse would also increase. Less than 10% felt the casino would be noisy.

On the whole, though concerned about the possible negative impacts of a casino, respondents appear to have a positive attitude to its introduction if handled properly. More than half (54.9%) of respondents indicated that the benefits of increased tourism would outweigh any negative impacts and even more (58.1%) indicated that long term planning

by the District Council could control any negative impacts. Close to 70% felt the casino would provide more jobs although only 23.7% felt these would be highly desirable jobs. A clear majority (60.2%) felt that infrastructure improvements would be possible because of the casino, and 53.7% felt the quality of public services would also be improved. More than half of respondents (55.1%) indicated they believed their property values would increase with the introduction of a casino, but very few (8.7%) would support a tax increase to promote or develop the facility. Fully three quarters (76.1%) would oppose any tax increase for this purpose.

EXHIBIT 4
ATTITUDES TOWARD TOURISM AND THE PROPOSED CASINO

Statement	% Agree Strongly Agree	Don't Know	% Disagree/ Strongly Disagree
Against new tourism facilities	6.4	5.4	88.1
Tourism should be encouraged	93.5	2.2	4.5
Wells should not attract more visitors	6.5	1.1	92.5
Encourage new tourist facilities	80.7	10.8	8.7
Tourism is vital	93.5	1.1	5.4
Municipality should promote tourism	82.8	11.8	5.4
Wells should become more of a tourist destination	79.3	10.9	9.7
Tourism has negatively impacted the environment	11.9	19.4	68.9
Tourists are valuable	94.6	2.2	3.3
Do not develop outdoor recreation	3.2	4.3	92.4
Benefits of tourism outweigh negative consequences of the proposed casino	56.1	26.4	17.6
Increased tourism will improve my standard of living	33.7	32.6	33.7
I support tax increases for tourism development	30.5	21.7	47.8
Tourism has a major economic role in Wells	91.3	7.6	1.1
A casino is an appropriate tourism facility for Wells	44.1	24.7	31.2
Casino will be too noisy for Wells	9.8	53.3	36.9
Casino will increase litter	41.3	40.2	18.4
Casino will increase crime in Wells	25.9	48.4	25.8
Casino will increase alcohol and drug abuse	25.0	44.6	30.4
Council planning can control negative impacts of the casino	58.1	25.8	14.0
Casino will provide more jobs for locals	69.9	12.9	17.2
Casino will enable infrastructure improvements	60.2	25.8	14.0
Casino will enable public service improvements	53.7	28.0	18.3
I will have more money due to the casino	17.2	29.0	53.8
Casino jobs will be highly desirable	23.7	34.4	41.9
Shopping will improve due to the casino	30.2	41.9	28.0
I support tax increases for the new casino	8.7	15.2	76.1
Casino will increase property values	55.1	36.0	8.9

Although many residents of Wells seem to have adopted a “wait and see” attitude toward the impact of the casino, it is clear from the results of this survey that there are also many residents who are apprehensive of the effect the casino may have on their community. Many of the concerns expressed by the residents of Wells were also found to be concerns held by residents of other communities. In November 1998 a Quality-of-Life questionnaire was distributed to residents of the Regional District of Fraser-Fort George (RDFFG) by the Institute for Social Research and Evaluation (ISRE). Prince George area residents were asked to complete a section pertaining to the perceived impact of increased gaming facilities. They were asked if they felt that increased gaming facilities would bring, or had brought: increased crime, increased alcohol and drug abuse, increases in jobs, improved public services, and increased shopping facilities – all questions which were posed to residents of Wells. Responses from both surveys are shown in Exhibit 5.

**EXHIBIT 5
Attitudes Towards Casinos**

Casino will...	Wells Strongly/Agree Will		Prince George Strongly/Agree Will Has	
Increase crime	25.9	.....	48.1	..... 26.4
Increase alcohol and drug abuse	25.0	.....	38.6	..... 24.5
Provide jobs	69.9	.....	47.2	..... 47.2
Improve public services	53.7	.....	7.1	..... 5.0
Improve shopping facilities	30.2	.....	10.5	..... 6.0

In response to the statement “should local residents have a say in the amount of gambling facilities in their communities”, 91.2% of Prince George respondents strongly agreed or agreed. The same questions was not asked of Wells residents, however 54% of respondents from Wells want more input in commercial development and 63% want more say in land use planning.

Economic Development Activities

Responses to the questions regarding what type of economic development would be desirable indicate Wells residents are clearly in favour of economic development. Of the six forms of development offered, all were strongly supported. The further development of eco-tourism and the historical gold-rush theme were most strongly supported, with 89.% of respondents finding these options either desirable or strongly desirable. Further promotion of craft and specialty industries was supported by 88.2% of respondents, and the development of the arts community was supported by 75.3% of respondents. Slightly less support was offered for the development of light industry (69.3%) and hunting and fishing (67.8%). Although residents were not asked specifically if they thought that the introduction of a casino is an appropriate form of economic development, they were asked if “a casino is an appropriate tourism facility”. Just under half (44 percent) felt that it would be while one quarter didn’t know.

What Is the Quality of Life In Wells?

Analysis of the responses to the standard social indicators reveal that residents of Wells feel they have a good quality of life. They are at least as, and in most cases more, satisfied with most aspects of their life than their counterparts in either Prince George or Quesnel. They are happy with their partners, family relations, friends, self esteem, living conditions and overall quality of life. They enjoy living in Wells, the recreational opportunities available, and are satisfied with their standard of living. They are not as happy with other aspects of their community such as unemployment rates, availability of services, and level of taxation.

What Is the Perceived Impact of the Casino on Wells Quality of Life?

Many residents have adopted a 'wait-and-see' attitude regarding negative affects the casino may have. However, for the most part, they expect the casino to improve their quality of life. They anticipate more employment opportunities resulting in lower unemployment rates, improvements to infrastructure, and increased tourism. They also expect that planning by the District Council can control any negative impacts which may result from the introduction of a casino.

CHAPTER 5 - EXPERIENCES OF OTHER COMMUNITIES

Several communities which have introduced casino style gambling have been studied in recent years, including the two Canadian cities of Niagara Falls and Windsor, Ontario. Niagara Falls and Windsor are similar sized southern Ontario communities whose economic bases were declining in the 1980s. Windsor's economy was based on the automotive industry while Niagara Falls was based on tourism. Both communities successfully lobbied the Ontario government to be allowed the opportunity to construct and open casinos. In each community extensive input was sought from community members and support was obtained prior to the approval of the casinos. In Windsor, where official unemployment figures indicated a rate of about 14% (but local estimates placed it closer to 20 percent), a series of public information sessions and debates occurred throughout the summer and fall of 1992 (Perrier-Mandal and Vander Doelen, 1999). These events were well publicized, heavily attended and reported on extensively in the local newspaper. The pro-gambling forces argued that a casino would create desperately needed jobs, perhaps as many as 2,500. Those against the casino urged a public referendum, argued that gambling was a sin and by its very nature would involve organized crime. No referendum was held, although there was much public discussion and debate. The casino was approved and opened its doors in a temporary setting in May 1994. By 1999 Casino Windsor had relocated to its new permanent location. Unemployment in Windsor was reduced by more than half and hovered around the 8 percent mark with an estimated 7,000 people employed

by the gambling industry (Perrier-Mandal and Vander Doelen 1999, 47). Cross-border traffic had increased substantially indicating increased tourist traffic from Michigan to Windsor.

In the tourist community of Niagara Falls, where unemployment was not only higher than in Windsor but seasonal unemployment was a significant factor in the economy, the arguments were the same – increased employment opportunity vs. declining morality and increased corruption. As in Windsor the issues were heavily debated and reported on. Unlike Windsor, a referendum was held in Niagara Falls resulting in overwhelming support for the casino and the employment it would bring. In Niagara Falls the casino opened in December 1996. By 1999 the unemployment rate in Niagara Falls had undergone a similar decrease as had occurred in Windsor, but more importantly the seasonality of employment had also decreased. Both Windsor and Niagara Falls meet several of the criteria, as determined by William Thompson of the University of Nevada, of a community which will benefit economically by the generation of new wealth following the introduction of casino gambling. Both communities are in densely populated areas, and are able to draw at least 50% of their wagerers from outside their local region (Smith and Hinch, 1996). Additionally both communities sit on borders and have benefited from the Canadian/US exchange rate which has helped to draw American tourists to Canada for gambling. Unfortunately the City of Niagara Falls also reported an increase of more than 10 percent in their crime rate, something that Windsor has not reported experiencing.

More relevant to the community of Wells are studies of four American

communities. Deadwood, South Dakota and Black Hawk, Central City and Cripple Creek in Colorado are all small, former gold mining communities with economies in the late 1980s based on tourism and an historic western theme. All four communities are recognized as National Historic Landmark sites.

By the mid-1980s Deadwood, South Dakota with a population of less than 2,000, “was perishing as had so many other small rural towns, destined to be another western ghost town.” (Caneday and Zeiger 1994, 23) Following much community debate, a referendum on the re-introduction of gambling was held in Deadwood. Residents supported limited stakes gambling and anticipated that some slot machines and a few gaming tables would be introduced into historic hotels and saloons. Limited stakes gambling was reintroduced to Deadwood in 1989 after an absence of almost 100 years. Limited stakes meant that bets at blackjack and poker tables were limited to a \$5.00 maximum and slot machines accepted nothing higher than a dollar. A study completed in 1989 assessed residents’ feelings toward gambling in their community prior to its introduction. Results of the Deadwood survey were similar to those from the Wells survey, revealing “A range of opinions . . . by the residents, although many respondents indicated they did not know what to anticipate.” (Caneday and Zeiger 1994, 23) Just as in Wells, Deadwood residents anticipated that gambling would boost the economy by creating year-round employment opportunities in a seasonal tourist community and by providing tax revenue to upgrade the town’s infrastructure. Initial employment changes were dramatic in Deadwood, with approximately 1800 new jobs created in the first few years. Unfortunately these gaming related jobs were

predominantly part-time, low-wage jobs (\$5-\$6/hour) with little or no benefits, and were still seasonal based on the cyclical nature of gaming in Deadwood. Employment demands decrease substantially during November, December and January, resulting in high labour turnover during the winter months with limited employment opportunities outside of gaming.

By 1993, Deadwood, which had previously drawn about 250,000 tourists a year was drawing more than a million. In July of that year Deadwood's gross profit from gambling was \$5.5 million. Although some of this revenue found its way into improving infrastructure, residents of Deadwood saw little in the way of improved social services, and in fact services of most types declined. As property values increased (by 7,000 percent) most local businesses sold to real estate speculators while many long time residents were forced to sell because they could no longer afford their property taxes. Social service and law enforcement agencies experienced significant increases in the demand for their services but received little additional funding. In the case of family support services, the Director of the Child Protection Services for Lawrence County, in which Deadwood is located, reported that caseloads increased from 289 cases per social worker in 1990 to more than 400 in 1992 (Jensen and Blevins 1998, 146). During that time the agency was funded for only one additional social worker. The County Sheriff's office reports increases in crime, including burglary up 300 percent, theft of over \$200 up 1,000 percent, petty theft up 200 percent, forgery up 480 percent, bad checks up 90 percent, criminal sexual contact up 75 percent, driving under the influence of alcohol up 225 percent and public drunkenness up 100 percent. The

State's Attorney reported overall increases in court filings for criminal cases of 51 percent, including a 72 percent increase in felonies. Although the Sheriff's Department received funding increases to hire additional personnel, they were just barely able to keep up. Many other services which are traditionally found in small towns disappeared. Grocery stores, car dealerships, gas stations, pharmacies, restaurants and bowling alleys closed and were replaced by casinos. Availability of non-gambling entertainment became non-existent, and is identified as a problem not only by residents, but also by more than 20 percent of Deadwood's visitors (Caneday & Zeiger 1994, 26). The character and reputation of Deadwood had changed in ways unexpected by its residents in a very short time.

Two years after the casino doors opened in Deadwood, the State of Colorado followed suit and legalized gambling in 1991. The communities of Cripple Creek, Black Hawk and Central City quickly became the state's three major gambling 'districts'. Prior to the legalization of gambling, all three communities were quiet rural stops for tourists who were predominantly interested in the history of the American mid-west and the natural beauty of the area. Unemployment was high, particularly in the off-season. In October 1991 the first casinos opened their doors in Central City, and by July 1992 the unemployment rate in the districts was half that of the rest of Colorado. The gaming industry had created 1,576 jobs in Cripple Creek (population 600), 1,056 jobs in Black Hawk (population 250), and 2,128 jobs in Central City (population 300). Only about 300 of the jobs were filled by local residents, with most employees commuting from Denver, Jefferson County or Colorado Springs. Gambling revenue for these

three communities exceeded all expectations. Colorado's first nine months of legalized gambling produced \$10.8 million in state gaming revenue, ten percent of which was returned directly to the three communities (Jensen and Blevins 1998, 93). By 1996 state revenue from gambling totalled more than \$48 million, of which Black Hawk received \$2.6 million, and Central City and Cripple Creek more than \$1 million each.

Gambling revenue was used to rebuild decrepit streets, sewer and water lines, and to restore crumbling churches and historic landmark houses. However, just as in South Dakota, the Colorado communities have experienced substantial negative human impacts due to increased tourism based on gambling. Within one year nearly all retail businesses and services had disappeared from Black Hawk and Central City, while in Cripple Creek "fewer than ten of fifty retail businesses operating in 1990 survived to the end of 1995." (Jensen and Blevins, 1998, 149) By 1993 the nearest gas station to Cripple Creek was eight miles away. Emergency services at both the hospital and Sheriff's Department in Teller County, in which Cripple Creek is located, experienced significant increases in demand—patient visits tripled at the hospital in the first year while calls to the Sheriff's Department increased 500 percent between 1992 and 1995. During the same period felony arrests in Black Hawk increased from forty per year to nearly two hundred.

One of the most significant losses to all three communities was any sort of recreational activity for young people. Patrick Long of the business school at the University of Colorado found that "teenagers were particularly disturbed by the loss of their hangouts" (Jensen and Blevins 1998, 156), as there was nowhere that people

under twenty-one could even enter. While adults lamented the loss of lifestyle and small businesses, young people literally had nothing to do. The legal age for gambling (or even entering a casino) was 21, which precluded young people from entering the restaurants within casinos. The towns had become adult communities with few activities or places for young adults or children.

Long found that few residents reported their community as an ideal place to live - 30 percent in Cripple Creek, 36 percent in Black Hawk and only 15 percent in Central City (Long, Perdue and Allen 1992, 8). While most residents did not find gambling inappropriate for their town, they felt they had gained neither economic nor social benefits from gambling. In addition they

. . . . also perceived gambling related expansion responsible for 98 percent of the change in traffic congestion and 60 percent of the change in serious criminal activity in their respective towns. Nearly half of the residents in each community felt less able to influence local government decisions. (Jensen and Blevins 1998, 155)

None of the four Rocky Mountain towns understood the dramatic community transformation that would occur once the decision was made to embrace gambling as a means to stimulate economic development. Prior to the introduction of gambling the towns had all deteriorated both physically and economically. Their citizens thought gambling would complement their mining histories and tourist industries, but they failed to comprehend that a little gambling would become the sole industry and one that was entirely adult based. The obvious new economic prosperity belied the fundamental changes in the social fabric of the communities.

CHAPTER 6 - CONCLUDING CHAPTER

At the outset of this paper I undertook to answer three questions.

1. What is the current quality of life in Wells?
2. What are the expectations of Wells residents in relation to the proposed casino and their quality of life?
3. How has quality of life been affected in other communities in which a casino has opened and what does this mean for the residents of Wells?

Chapter 4 offers answers to the first two questions through a detailed analysis of the Wells survey. To summarize, based on responses to questions regarding their general level of satisfaction with their quality of life and happiness with various aspects of their life, people in Wells feel they enjoy a good quality of life. In terms of how they expect a casino to impact that quality of life, many residents anticipate a positive affect through the provision of more jobs for local residents (70%). This is an important issue as most respondents indicated that a real need for more full-time jobs exists in Wells (72%), more year-round jobs are required (81%) and that unemployment is a serious problem (71%). Other positive expectations are that revenue from the casino will enable infrastructure improvements (60%), enable public service improvements (54%), and that competent planning by the District Council will control any negative impacts which may result from the introduction of the casino (58%). These responses indicate that many residents expect the proposed casino to positively impact their quality of life. Close to fifty percent of respondents were undecided as to whether the casino would result in negative impacts such as increased crime, noise, litter or alcohol and drug

problems. These expectations are consistent with expectations held by residents of other communities which conducted pre-casino surveys.

The third question, "how has quality of life been affected in other communities in which a casino has opened?" is addressed in Chapter 5. In anticipation of increased gambling opportunities residents of other communities have had similar expectations to those of the residents of Wells. Increased tourism, increased job opportunities, and the anticipation of money generated from gambling revenue being used to improve the community's infrastructure and social services are all expectations expressed by the residents of Wells, as well as by residents of Windsor, Niagara Falls, Deadwood, Cripple Creek, Black Hawk and Center City. While some of these expectations have been realized in larger communities, many communities have seen their expectations largely unfulfilled. Measurable objective indicators clearly point to some negative changes in the quality of life of residents in the four Rockie Mountain communities which most closely compare to Wells. Although unemployment rates have dropped in these communities, those jobs that have been created have not necessarily been highly desirable employment opportunities (Jensen and Blevins, 1998). Some residents have benefited from increased property values in communities with newly opened casinos and increased gambling opportunities, but this has not had the positive effect originally anticipated by community residents. Few residents foresaw the enormity of the increases in property values or the ensuing increases in property taxes which have driven many long time residents out of their homes. Property values and taxes have increased to the point where housing is unattainable

within the communities themselves, forcing those employed in the casinos to commute from neighbouring towns. Accessibility to retail services and social amenities has decreased in each of these communities as businesses have been forced to relocate (Caneday and Zeiger, 1991). Crime rates have increased in all communities in which gambling has expanded (Jensen and Blevins, 1998; Perrier Mandal and Vander Doelen, 1999) and as noted earlier, the sheer volume of tourist traffic in these communities has resulted in dramatically increased demands on infrastructure and social services. While some additional funding from gambling revenues has been provided to improve these services, it has not been sufficient to meet the increased demands. The net result is that residents have seen a decline in their social services (Jensen and Blevins 1998; Evart, 1997)).

On a more subjective level, few community residents anticipated the changes which have occurred in the social and cultural fabric of the community. These changes include: the loss of venue for social activities, loss of long time residents and friends, and an anonymity within their home community resulting from the introduction of thousands of tourists.

What All of This Means for Wells

It has been shown that additional revenue is generated only when a casino encounters no direct competition (Smith and Hinch, 1996; Jinkner-Lloyd, 1996) and when the community is able to draw a large number of gamblers from outside the community (Jinkner-Lloyd, 1996; Grinols and Omorov, 1996). Several studies have shown that new money must be attracted to the local economy in order for gambling

to be successful as there is only a limited amount of money available for gambling within an economy (Eadington 1998; Evart 1997). If a community with a casino is to see a net benefit, it is necessary that at least half of its gamblers come from outside its local region (Eadington, 1998; Goodman, 1994). It must function as a tourist destination in order to generate any new wealth for the community. For communities such as Windsor and Niagara Falls, this is not difficult as they sit on the border and draw a majority of their patrons from large American cities. The four Rocky Mountain communities likewise are situated close to large urban centres and are on major tourist routes through the American mid-west. With gambling opportunities available in both Prince George and Quesnel it seems unlikely that a casino in Wells will attract gamblers from neighbouring communities, and although Wells is situated close to the tourist attraction of Barkerville, it is not a major tourist destination. In order to be successful then, the Wells casino will have to offer something particularly different to attract tourists.

Community residents often feel that any negative social impact of a casino on the community can be minimized through proper community management. It is perceived by residents to be the responsibility of government – municipal, provincial or federal – to ensure that gambling is managed properly and that the best interests of the community will be kept in mind during any decision making processes. This was the case in Deadwood, South Dakota and in Cripple Creek, Colorado (Jensen and Blevins, 1998) and this is the case in Wells, with more than half (58%) of survey respondents indicating they believe the negative impacts of a casino can be controlled

through Council planning. It is, after all, the responsibility of government to protect its citizens, not to fleece them. However as gambling has become a major source of government revenue in other jurisdictions, the result has often been that "there is no impartial representative of the public's welfare among the various groups that influence the formation of public policy on commercial gambling – not even government" (McGurrin and Abt, 1992 p 326). The government — whether local or provincial — finds itself in a conflict-of-interest-position as it stands to gain huge benefits if increased gambling is allowed, while at the same time attempting to watch out for the best interests of its constituents. If possible negative impacts of the proposed Wells casino are to be mitigated through government management, it will be the responsibility of the residents of Wells to ensure that local and provincial officials do not expand casino gambling beyond community desires, or without proper community consultation.

While some community leaders and private citizens are voicing concern about the possibility of increases in the number of problem gamblers, many governments appear to be ignoring its social and long-term economic impacts. William Thompson, a professor of public administration at the University of Nevada, claims that "Canadian governments are addicted to gambling and they continue to expand gambling without appropriate and considerate thought given to problem gambling, nor to the disastrous economic effects it can have on some communities." (Perrier-Mandal and Vander Doelen 1999, 188). As legalized gambling spreads, young people are growing up in a social milieu where gambling is widely viewed as harmless and acceptable. There is already evidence that young adults gamble more than adults (Volberg 1997; Fisher

1997; Lesieur 1998). Following the pattern with women, the more young adults participate in gambling, the greater the likelihood that some of them will experience difficulties related to their involvement (Henriksson, 1996). Regulation has been suggested by industry advocates and policy-makers alike as a way to reduce the adverse consequences of increased gambling opportunities, but experience suggests that effective regulation and enforcement is difficult at best. Almost invariably, “diverse and conflicting public policy goals will be at work, such as maximizing the tax proceeds generated by gambling while protecting citizens from specific practices that encourage them to spend more than they can afford” (Henriksson, 1996). A partial solution may be to earmark a portion of the revenue from gambling activities for the support of treatment and educational programs dealing with problem gambling. Again, it will be up to the residents of Wells to ensure that their local government representatives direct the revenue from gambling to the most appropriate uses.

In terms of gambling, it is abundantly clear that one size does not fit all — not all provinces or communities — and what works well in one community may not work in another. The broad policy objectives claimed when governments look at regulating and operating gambling venues include: control of illegal gambling, generating new government revenues, funding charitable groups, creating jobs, and stimulating tourism and local economies (McGurrian and Abt, 1992). In most cases the prime motivating factor in introducing a casino into a community is economic — economic diversification resulting in increased job opportunities for local residents, increased tourist dollars and, based on a percentage of the casino ‘take’, increased tax revenue for government

at all levels. Governments also advocate for gambling on the basis of social benefits — it will balance the budget, create jobs, pay for improved social programs, etc. (Heubusch, 1997). The social consequences and negative impacts of gambling are less tangible and much harder to measure, but are often the major concerns of residents of communities which are considering expanding gambling opportunities (Pizam and Pokela, 1985). Governments would do well to pay heed to recommendations made by researchers who have examined the impact of gambling on various communities — that is, to judge the needs of their constituencies on an individual basis and consider the needs and desires of community members before pushing ahead with endorsing increased gambling (Pizam and Pokela, 1985; Eadington, 1986; Ewart, 1997; Jensen and Blevins, 1998). The survey conducted in Wells sought public opinion. The opinion received may not have been a fully informed opinion, but it is still a relevant opinion. Those responsible for making decision about access to gambling and increased gambling activities must consider both the subjective and objective indicators, and temper their decision by weighting these factors accordingly. Additionally, since our knowledge of the effects of gambling on quality of life are still rather limited, it would be beneficial for governments to support future research directed at enhancing our understanding of the full effects of gambling and providing assistance to those adversely affected by it. Citizens must be made aware of the possible consequences that result from increased gambling activities and governments must listen to the concerns of citizens. Wells, being in the early stages of constructing and opening a casino, would be an excellent case study.

APPENDIX 1*****
APA Criteria to Define Pathological Gamblers

The American Psychiatric Association (1994) uses 10 criteria to define pathological gambling:

1. Preoccupation with gambling;
2. A need to increase the excitement produced by gambling;
3. Restlessness or irritability when unable to gamble;
4. Repeated unsuccessful efforts to control, cut back, or stop gambling;
5. Gambling in an effort to get back money lost during gambling on a previous day;
6. Gambling in an effort to escape a dysphoric mood;
7. Lying to cover up gambling;
8. Jeopardizing a significant job, relationship, or educational opportunity by gambling;
9. Engaging in illegal activity to finance gambling; and
10. Going to someone else to relieve a desperate financial situation produced by gambling.

***** As recorded in Henry R. Lesieur 1998, 154.

APPENDIX 2

SOUTH OAKS GAMBLING SCREEN

Name: _____ Date: _____

1. Please indicate which of the following types of gambling you have done in your lifetime. For each type, mark one answer: "not at all", "less than once a week", "once a week or more".

	Not at all	Less than 1/week	Once a week or more	
a.	_____	_____	_____	play cards for money
b.	_____	_____	_____	bet on horses, dogs, or other animals (at OTB, the track or with a bookie)
c.	_____	_____	_____	bet on sports (parley cards, with a bookie or at Jai Alai)
d.	_____	_____	_____	played dice games (including craps, over and under or other dice games) for money.
e.	_____	_____	_____	gambled in a casino (legal or otherwise)
f.	_____	_____	_____	played the numbers or bet on lotteries
g.	_____	_____	_____	played bingo for money
h.	_____	_____	_____	played the stock, options and/or commodities market
i.	_____	_____	_____	played slot machines, poker machines or other gambling machines
j.	_____	_____	_____	bowled, shot pool, played golf or some other game of skill for money
k.	_____	_____	_____	pull tabs or "paper" games other than lotteries
l.	_____	_____	_____	some form of gambling not listed above (please specify)

2. What is the largest amount of money you have ever gambled with on any one day?

_____	never have gambled	_____	\$100 to \$999
_____	less than \$1	_____	\$1,000 to \$9,999
_____	\$1 to \$9	_____	\$10,000 or more
_____	\$10 to \$99		

3. Check which of the following people in your life has (or had) a gambling problem.
- | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|---|--------------------------|---------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | father | <input type="checkbox"/> | mother | <input type="checkbox"/> | a grandparent |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | brother or sister | <input type="checkbox"/> | spouse/partner | <input type="checkbox"/> | my child(ren) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | another relative | <input type="checkbox"/> | a friend or someone else important in my life | | |
4. When you gamble, how often do you go back another day to win back money you lost?
- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | never |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | some of the time (less than half the time I lost) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | most of the time I lost |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | every time I lost |
5. Have you ever claimed to be winning money gambling but weren't really? In fact, you lost?
- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | never (or never gamble) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | yes, less than half the time I lost |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | yes, most of the time |
6. Do you feel you have ever had a problem with betting money or gambling?
- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | no |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | yes, in the past but not now |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | yes |
7. Did you ever gamble more than you intended to?
- | | | | |
|--------------------------|-----|--------------------------|----|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | no |
|--------------------------|-----|--------------------------|----|
8. Have people criticized your betting or told you that you had a gambling problem, regardless of whether or not you thought it was true?
- | | | | |
|--------------------------|-----|--------------------------|----|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | no |
|--------------------------|-----|--------------------------|----|
9. Have you ever felt guilty about the way you gamble or what happens when you gamble?
- | | | | |
|--------------------------|-----|--------------------------|----|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | no |
|--------------------------|-----|--------------------------|----|
10. Have you ever felt like you would like to stop betting money or gambling but didn't think you could?
- | | | | |
|--------------------------|-----|--------------------------|----|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | no |
|--------------------------|-----|--------------------------|----|
11. Have you ever hidden betting slips, lottery tickets, gambling money, I.O.U.s or other signs of betting or gambling from your spouse, children, or other important people in your life?
- | | | | |
|--------------------------|-----|--------------------------|----|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | no |
|--------------------------|-----|--------------------------|----|
12. Have you ever argued with people you live with over how you handle money?
- | | | | |
|--------------------------|-----|--------------------------|----|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | no |
|--------------------------|-----|--------------------------|----|
13. (If you answered yes to question 12): Have money arguments ever centred on your gambling?
- | | | | |
|--------------------------|-----|--------------------------|----|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | no |
|--------------------------|-----|--------------------------|----|
14. Have you ever borrowed from someone and not paid them back as a result of your gambling?
- | | | | |
|--------------------------|-----|--------------------------|----|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | no |
|--------------------------|-----|--------------------------|----|
15. Have you ever lost time from work (or school) due to betting money or gambling?
- | | | | |
|--------------------------|-----|--------------------------|----|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | no |
|--------------------------|-----|--------------------------|----|

16. If you borrowed money to gamble or to pay gambling debts, who or where did you borrow from?
(Check "yes" or "no" for each).

	No	Yes
a. from household money	()	()
b. from your spouse	()	()
c. from other relatives or in-laws	()	()
d. from banks, loan companies or credit unions	()	()
e. from credit cards	()	()
f. from loan sharks	()	()
g. you cashed in stocks, bonds or other securities	()	()
h. you sold personal or family property	()	()
i. you borrowed on your checking account (Passed bad cheques)	()	()
j. you have (had) a credit line with a bookie	()	()
k. you have (had) a credit line with a casino	()	()

SOUTH OAKS GAMBLING SCREEN SCORE SHEET

Scores on the SOGS itself are determined by adding up the number of questions which show an "at risk" response. The total score is out of 20. Questions 1, 2, 3 and 12 are not counted.

_____	Question 4	- most of the time I lose or every time I lose
_____	Question 5	- yes, less than half the time I lose or yes, most of the time
_____	Question 6	- yes, in the past but not now, yes
_____	Question 7	- yes
_____	Question 8	- yes
_____	Question 9	- yes
_____	Question 10	- yes
_____	Question 11	- yes
_____	Question 12	- not counted
_____	Question 13	- yes
_____	Question 14	- yes
_____	Question 15	- yes
_____	Question 16a	- yes
_____	Question 16b	- yes
_____	Question 16c	- yes
_____	Question 16d	- yes
_____	Question 16e	- yes
_____	Question 16f	- yes
_____	Question 16g	- yes
_____	Question 16h	- yes
_____	Question 16i	- yes
_____	Question 16j & k	- not counted
_____	Total (there are 20 questions which are counted)	

Scoring

0 = no problem
1-4 = some problem
5 or more - probable pathological gambler

APPENDIX 3
COPY OF MAYOR JOURDAIN'S COVER LETTER

DISTRICT OF WELLS

August 15, 1998

Dear Resident:

RE: WELLS QUALITY OF LIFE STUDY

A study of the quality of life in the District of Wells will be done by Toni Fletcher in August/September 1998. Toni is a student at UNBC and chose Wells for the work on her Master's thesis. Toni has previously worked on two similar studies of Prince George and Jasper with Dr. Alex Michalos who has conducted Quality of Life studies world wide for many years.

The intent of the study is to monitor the impact that the new municipality and the casino will have on the quality of life in Wells. In order to achieve this, the study will have two parts - before and after. However, the information garnered from the initial survey will be made available to the Wells District Council well before the second survey. This will help the Council to improve its understanding of public expectations concerning the quality of life and cost of municipal services.

In order for this study to be successful and helpful we need your participation. Please complete and return the enclosed questionnaire to collection boxes at Pete and Diggers' General Store or the Wells Community Hall Office by September 12, 1998. You may also mail it to the District of Wells, Box 219, Wells, BC.

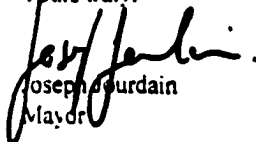
All the information obtained from the community will be aggregated into statistical tables that will be available to researchers and other community workers.

In order to guarantee confidentiality of responses, no names or addresses appear on the completed questionnaires.

We do hope you will be able to help us. Your response is very important since the success of a sample survey like this is very dependent upon the number of people willing to complete and return the questionnaire. Ideally, every citizen of Wells aged 16 or older would complete it.

I thank you in advance for your support in this special project.

Yours truly,


Joseph Jourdain
Mayor

APPENDIX 4 **Wells Quality of Life Questionnaire**

Here are some services and other things affecting people today. Please indicate how satisfied you are with each of them. Indicate whether you are (1) very dissatisfied, (2) somewhat dissatisfied, (3) a little dissatisfied, (4) about evenly balanced, (5) a little satisfied, (6) somewhat satisfied, (7) very satisfied with each of the following, or (0) doesn't apply to me.

	Very Dissat.		Evenly Balanced			Very Satis.		N/A
The physical appearance of Wells	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Your recreation opportunities	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
What you are accomplishing in life	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
How you feel about life as a whole	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Police protection services	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Public highways, streets, and roads	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Street lighting	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Your self-esteem	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0 By
areas for children	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Elementary education	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Junior/senior high school education	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Availability of post-secondary education	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Access to medical facilities	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Medical services in general	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Availability of local housing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Cost of local housing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Density of local housing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Your house, apartment or mobile home	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Your neighbourhood as a place to live	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Wells as a place to live	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Your family relations, generally	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Your living partner	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Your job	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Your pay level	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Your work schedule	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0

	Very Dissat.		Evenly Balanced				Very Satis.	N/A
Your friendships	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Your health	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Your religion or spiritual fulfilment	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Your overall standard of living	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Your financial security	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Friendliness of neighbours	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Availability of ambulance service	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Federal MP	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Provincial MLA	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Municipal officials	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Local parks and recreation facilities	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Grocery shopping facilities	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Clothing shopping facilities	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Household supplies shopping facilities	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
The amount of taxes you pay	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Recycling	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Domestic animal control and enforcement	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Pre-school community operated child care	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Pre-school home-based child care	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Infant community operated child care	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Infant home-based operated child care	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Library services	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Your overall quality of life	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Job opportunities	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Traffic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Sewage system	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Garbage system	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Sidewalks and pedestrian walkways	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Planning and zoning regulations	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Judicial services	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0

	Very Dissat.			Evenly Balanced			Very Satis.	N/A
Banking services	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Canada Post services	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Television/Radio services	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Noise levels here	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Level of drug and alcohol abuse	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
The number of motor vehicle accidents	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
The weather most of the time	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Wells geographic location	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Services for the disabled	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Home care elderly care services	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Arts opportunities	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Cultural opportunities	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Snow removal	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Conditions of sidewalks during winter	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Cleanliness of the town	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Cleanliness of the back alleys	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Quality of the drinking water	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Services for workers in the Tourism Industry	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Youth services	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Employment services	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Domestic animal management	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
The use of local housing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Amount of Federal taxes you pay	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Amount of Provincial taxes you pay	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Amount of Municipal taxes you pay	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Amount of education taxes you pay	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Availability of organized athletics	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Availability of public performances of music and theatre	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0

Considering your life as a whole, would you describe it as (1) very unhappy, (2) somewhat unhappy, (3) a little unhappy, (4) an even mix of happiness and unhappiness, (5) a little happy, (6) somewhat happy, or (7) very happy.

Very Unhappy		Evenly Balanced			Very Happy	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

With the incorporation of Wells as a municipality many services that were previously administered by the Cariboo Regional District will now be provided by the Municipality of Wells. Would you like to have less, the same or more input in the following things:

	Less	Same	More	Don't Know
Garbage Collection	1	2	3	0
Water Supply	1	2	3	0
Sewage Collection	1	2	3	0
Sewage Treatment	1	2	3	0
Police protection	1	2	3	0
Fire protection	1	2	3	0
Road maintenance and repair	1	2	3	0
Snow control/removal	1	2	3	0
Street lighting	1	2	3	0
Storm drainage	1	2	3	0
Sidewalks	1	2	3	0
Public Library	1	2	3	0
Use of the Community Hall	1	2	3	0
Land use planning	1	2	3	0
Enforcement of land use bylaws	1	2	3	0
Enforcement of domestic animal bylaws	1	2	3	0
Commercial development	1	2	3	0
Residential development	1	2	3	0

Now we would like your opinion on other aspects of your community and life. Please indicate the degree to which you disagree and agree with the following statements:

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Strongly Agree
We need more full time and fewer part time jobs	1	2	3	4	5
During summer there are always more jobs than available workers.	1	2	3	4	5
Unemployment is a serious problem in this community	1	2	3	4	5
I don't think local public officials care much about what I think	1	2	3	4	5
This community needs more co-operative planning for development	1	2	3	4	5
This community needs more business development	1	2	3	4	5
Development should focus on more year-round and fewer seasonal jobs.	1	2	3	4	5
Good communities require high levels of co-operation	1	2	3	4	5
I believe this community is a better place to live than it was 5 years ago.	1	2	3	4	5
Continued growth will hurt the quality of life in this community	1	2	3	4	5
Good communities require high levels of competition	1	2	3	4	5
Good communities require high levels of volunteer activity	1	2	3	4	5

All things considered what is the best thing about living in Wells?

All things considered, what is the worst thing about living in Wells?

All things considered, if you could change anything about this community to improve the quality of life here, what would it be?

Tourism is playing an increasing role in the economic development of British Columbia. We would like to know your feelings on tourism and the new destination Casino that is planned for Wells, including how you feel it will impact on your quality of life. Please indicate the degree to which you disagree and agree with the following statements:

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Strongly Agree
I am against new tourism facilities which will attract more tourists to my community.	1	2	3	4	5
I believe tourism should be actively encouraged in Wells.	1	2	3	4	5
The community of Wells should not try to attract more visitors.	1	2	3	4	5
The community should encourage more intensive development of tourist facilities.	1	2	3	4	5
The proposed casino is an appropriate tourist facility for this community.	1	2	3	4	5
I support tourism as having a vital role in our community.	1	2	3	4	5
The new municipal government should promote tourism facilities in this community.	1	2	3	4	5
My community should become more of a tourist destination.	1	2	3	4	5
Tourism has negatively impacted the environment in our area.	1	2	3	4	5

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Strongly Agree
The noise level from the planned casino is not appropriate for this community.	1	2	3	4	5
There will be more litter in Wells from the casino and increased tourism.	1	2	3	4	5
Tourists are valuable.	1	2	3	4	5
More outdoor recreation development is not desirable.	1	2	3	4	5
The casino will increase crime in Wells.	1	2	3	4	5
Alcohol and drug abuse will increase as a result of the casino in Wells.	1	2	3	4	5
The benefits of increased tourism outweigh the negative consequences of the casino.	1	2	3	4	5
Long term planning by city council can control the negative impacts of the casino .	1	2	3	4	5
Development of the casino will provide more jobs for local people.	1	2	3	4	5
Infrastructure improvements will be possible because of the casino and increased tourism	1	2	3	4	5
The quality of public services will improve due to the casino and increased tourism.	1	2	3	4	5
I will have more money to spend as a result of the new casino.	1	2	3	4	5
Increased tourism in Wells will increase my standard of living.	1	2	3	4	5
The jobs that the casino will provide will be highly desirable jobs.	1	2	3	4	5
Shopping opportunities will improve in Wells as a result of the casino.	1	2	3	4	5

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Strongly Agree
I would support local tax levies for tourism development.	1	2	3	4	5
I would support local tax levies for the development and promotion of the casino.	1	2	3	4	5
The tourism industry will continue to play a major economic role in this community.	1	2	3	4	5
The value of my property will probably increase with a new casino in town.	1	2	3	4	5

Prior to the casino being planned, other activities have been used to promote economic development and tourism. Please rate the activities listed below, in terms of desirability for the development of Wells.

	Very Undesirable	Undesirable	Indifferent	Desirable	Very Desirable
Eco-tourism/Outdoor adventure	1	2	3	4	5
Guiding and Outfitting (hunting and fishing)	1	2	3	4	5
Development of an arts community	1	2	3	4	5
Development of historical/gold rush theme	1	2	3	4	5
Development of light industry	1	2	3	4	5
Development of craft and specialty industries	1	2	3	4	5

Non-profit groups and societies in the community can be helpful in terms of providing services to residents and/or encouraging economic development. For the following list of non-profit groups and societies, do you think that they are doing 1) less than might be expected, 2) as much as could be expected, or 3) more than would be expected in terms of providing services to community members and promoting economic development..

	Less than Expected	As much as Expected	More than Expected
Wells Best Senior Societies	1	2	3
Island Mountain Arts	1	2	3
Wells Historical Society	1	2	3
Wells Chamber of Commerce	1	2	3
The Trails Society	1	2	3
Wells Curling Ring Recreation Society	1	2	3
Friends of the Community Hall	1	2	3
The Fishing Club	1	2	3
The Church	1	2	3

For statistical purposes, we would like to ask a few questions about yourself. Please circle the appropriate number for your response.

Your Sex

1. Female

2. Male

Your present marital status.

1. Now married and living with spouse

4. Divorced

2. Live-in partner or common-law partner

5. Separated

3. Single - never married

6. Widowed

Your employment status.

1. Unemployed

5. Own your own business

2. Retired

6. Homemaker

3. Employed part-time

7. Student

4. Employed full-time

8. Other

If employed, is your employment linked to Tourism?

1. Yes

2. No

What is your present age? _____

What is the highest level of education that you have completed?

1. No schooling

8. University - incomplete

2. Elementary school - incomplete

9. University - diploma/certificate

3. Elementary school - complete

10. University - Bachelor's degree

4. Secondary school - incomplete

11. Professional Degree (lawyer, MD., etc.)

5. Secondary school - complete

12. Master's Degree

6. Non-university (vocational) - incomplete

13. Doctorate

7. Non-university (vocational) - complete

Do you own or rent your home?

1. Own (or buying)

3. Live with another family

2. Rent

4. Other

What is your first language? _____

What language do you usually speak at home? _____

Do you presently volunteer for any non-profit groups or societies?

1. Yes

2. No

What is the total income of all members of this household for the past year before taxes and deductions?

1. 0 - \$15,999

6. \$100,000 - 129,999

2. \$16,000 - 27,999

7. \$130,000 or more

3. \$28,000 - 39,999

98. Do not know

4. \$40,000 - 69,999

99. No comment

5. \$70,000 - 99,999

What term best describes your residency in Wells?

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Permanent year round | 3. Occasional seasonal |
| 2. Permanent seasonal (summer only) | 4. New |

How long have you been a resident of Wells?

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Less than one year | 3. Six to ten years |
| 2. One to five years | 4. More than ten years |

If you have been a resident of Wells for less than one year, please answer the following questions.

How many months have you lived here? _____

What is the name of the community you moved from?

City _____ Province _____ Country _____

What was your main reason for leaving?

What was your main reason for moving to Wells?

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