Reshaping Cities for Tourists:
a critique of urban tourism development
~ Winnipeg case study

By

Michael Anthony Baspaly

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

MASTER OF CITY PLANNING

Department of City Planning,
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba

(c) June, 1995

National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

ISBN 0-612-12974-8

Canada

Name MICHAEL ANTHONY BASPALY

Dissertation Abstracts International is arranged by broad, general subject categories. Please select the one subject which most nearly describes the content of your dissertation. Enter the corresponding four-digit code in the spaces provided.

Urban Planning — SUBJECT TERM

0 9 9 9 — SUBJECT CODE

U·M·I

Subject Categories

THE HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

COMMUNICATIONS AND THE ARTS
- Architecture 0729
- Art History 0377
- Cinema 0900
- Dance 0378
- Fine Arts 0357
- Information Science 0723
- Journalism 0391
- Library Science 0399
- Mass Communications 0708
- Music 0413
- Speech Communication 0459
- Theater 0465

EDUCATION
- General 0515
- Administration 0514
- Adult and Continuing 0516
- Agricultural 0517
- Art 0273
- Bilingual and Multicultural 0282
- Business 0688
- Community College 0275
- Curriculum and Instruction 0727
- Early Childhood 0518
- Elementary 0524
- Finance 0277
- Guidance and Counseling 0519
- Health 0680
- Higher 0745
- History of 0520
- Home Economics 0278
- Industrial 0521
- Language and Literature 0279
- Mathematics 0280
- Music 0522
- Philosophy of 0998
- Physical 0523
- Psychology 0525
- Reading 0535
- Religious 0527
- Sciences 0714
- Secondary 0533
- Social Sciences 0534
- Sociology of 0340
- Special 0529
- Teacher Training 0530
- Technology 0710
- Tests and Measurements 0288
- Vocational 0747

LANGUAGE, LITERATURE AND LINGUISTICS
- Language
  - General 0679
  - Ancient 0289
  - Linguistics 0290
  - Modern 0291
- Literature
  - General 0401
  - Classical 0294
  - Comparative 0295
  - Medieval 0297
  - Modern 0298
  - African 0316
  - American 0591
  - Asian 0305
  - Canadian (English) 0352
  - Canadian (French) 0355
  - English 0593
  - Germanic 0311
  - Latin American 0312
  - Middle Eastern 0315
  - Romance 0313
  - Slavic and East European 0314

PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION AND THEOLOGY
- Philosophy 0422
- Religion
  - General 0318
  - Biblical Studies 0321
  - Clergy 0319
  - History of 0320
  - Philosophy of 0322
- Theology 0469

SOCIAL SCIENCES
- American Studies 0323
- Anthropology
  - Archaeology 0324
  - Cultural 0326
  - Physical 0327
- Business Administration
  - General 0310
  - Accounting 0272
  - Banking 0770
  - Management 0454
  - Marketing 0338
- Canadian Studies 0385
- Economics
  - General 0501
  - Agricultural 0503
  - Commerce-Business 0505
  - Finance 0508
  - History 0509
  - Labor 0510
  - Theory 0511
- Folklore 0358
- Geography 0366
- Gerontology 0351
- History
  - General 0578
  - Ancient 0579
  - Medieval 0581
  - Modern 0582
  - Black 0328
  - African 0331
  - Asia, Australia and Oceania 0332
  - Canadian 0334
  - European 0335
  - Latin American 0336
  - Middle Eastern 0333
  - United States 0337
- History of Science 0585
- Law 0398
- Political Science
  - General 0615
  - International Law and Relations 0616
  - Public Administration 0617
- Recreation 0814
- Social Work 0452
- Sociology
  - General 0626
  - Criminology and Penology 0627
  - Demography 0938
  - Ethnic and Racial Studies 0631
  - Individual and Family Studies 0628
  - Industrial and Labor Relations 0629
  - Public and Social Welfare 0630
  - Social Structure and Development 0700
  - Theory and Methods 0344
- Transportation 0709
- Urban and Regional Planning 0999
- Women's Studies 0453

THE SCIENCES AND ENGINEERING

BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES
- Agriculture
  - General 0473
  - Agronomy 0285
  - Animal Culture and Nutrition 0475
  - Animal Pathology 0476
  - Food Science and Technology 0359
  - Forestry and Wildlife 0478
  - Plant Culture 0479
  - Plant Pathology 0480
  - Plant Physiology 0817
  - Range Management 0777
  - Wood Technology 0746
- Biology
  - General 0306
  - Anatomy 0287
  - Biostatistics 0308
  - Botany 0309
  - Cell 0379
  - Ecology 0329
  - Entomology 0353
  - Genetics 0369
  - Limnology 0793
  - Microbiology 0410
  - Molecular 0307
  - Neuroscience 0317
  - Oceanography 0416
  - Physiology 0433
  - Radiation 0821
  - Veterinary Science 0778
  - Zoology 0472
- Biophysics
  - General 0786
  - Medical 0760

EARTH SCIENCES
- Biogeochemistry 0425
- Geochemistry 0996
- Geodesy 0370
- Geology 0372
- Geophysics 0373
- Hydrology 0388
- Mineralogy 0411
- Paleobotany 0345
- Paleoecology 0426
- Paleontology 0418
- Paleozoology 0985
- Palynology 0427
- Physical Geography 0368
- Physical Oceanography 0415

HEALTH AND ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCES
- Environmental Sciences 0768
- Health Sciences
  - General 0566
  - Audiology 0300
  - Chemotherapy 0992
  - Dentistry 0567
  - Education 0350
  - Hospital Management 0769
  - Human Development 0758
  - Immunology 0982
  - Medicine and Surgery 0564
  - Mental Health 0347
  - Nursing 0569
  - Nutrition 0570
  - Obstetrics and Gynecology 0380
  - Occupational Health and Therapy 0354
  - Ophthalmology 0381
  - Pathology 0571
  - Pharmacology 0419
  - Pharmacy 0572
  - Physical Therapy 0382
  - Public Health 0573
  - Radiology 0574
  - Recreation 0575
  - Speech Pathology 0460
  - Toxicology 0383
- Home Economics 0386

PHYSICAL SCIENCES

Pure Sciences
- Chemistry
  - General 0485
  - Agricultural 0749
  - Analytical 0486
  - Biochemistry 0487
  - Inorganic 0488
  - Nuclear 0738
  - Organic 0490
  - Pharmaceutical 0491
  - Physical 0494
  - Polymer 0495
  - Radiation 0754
- Mathematics 0405
- Physics
  - General 0605
  - Acoustics 0986
  - Astronomy and Astrophysics 0606
  - Atmospheric Science 0608
  - Atomic 0748
  - Electronics and Electricity 0607
  - Elementary Particles and High Energy 0798
  - Fluid and Plasma 0759
  - Molecular 0609
  - Nuclear 0610
  - Optics 0752
  - Radiation 0756
  - Solid State 0611
- Statistics 0463

Applied Sciences
- Applied Mechanics 0346
- Computer Science 0984
- Engineering
  - General 0537
  - Aerospace 0538
  - Agricultural 0539
  - Automotive 0540
  - Biomedical 0541
  - Chemical 0542
  - Civil 0543
  - Electronics and Electrical 0544
  - Heat and Thermodynamics 0348
  - Hydraulic 0545
  - Industrial 0546
  - Marine 0547
  - Materials Science 0794
  - Mechanical 0548
  - Metallurgy 0743
  - Mining 0551
  - Nuclear 0552
  - Packaging 0549
  - Petroleum 0765
  - Sanitary and Municipal 0554
  - System Science 0790
- Geotechnology 0428
- Operations Research 0796
- Plastics Technology 0795
- Textile Technology 0994

PSYCHOLOGY
- General 0621
- Behavioral 0384
- Clinical 0622
- Developmental 0620
- Experimental 0623
- Industrial 0624
- Personality 0625
- Physiological 0989
- Psychobiology 0349
- Psychometrics 0632
- Social 0451

Nom _____

Dissertation Abstracts International est organisé en catégories de sujets. Veuillez s.v.p. choisir le sujet qui décrit le mieux votre thèse et inscrivez le code numérique approprié dans l'espace réservé ci-dessous.

_____ ☐☐☐ U·M·I

SUJET — CODE DE SUJET

Catégories par sujets

HUMANITÉS ET SCIENCES SOCIALES

COMMUNICATIONS ET LES ARTS
Architecture 0729
Beaux-arts 0357
Bibliothéconomie 0399
Cinéma 0900
Communication verbale 0459
Communications 0708
Danse 0378
Histoire de l'art 0377
Journalisme 0391
Musique 0413
Sciences de l'information 0723
Théâtre 0465

ÉDUCATION
Généralités 515
Administration 0514
Art 0273
Collèges communautaires 0275
Commerce 0688
Économie domestique 0278
Éducation permanente 0516
Éducation préscolaire 0518
Éducation sanitaire 0680
Enseignement agricole 0517
Enseignement bilingue et multiculturel 0282
Enseignement industriel 0521
Enseignement primaire. 0524
Enseignement professionnel 0747
Enseignement religieux 0527
Enseignement secondaire 0533
Enseignement spécial 0529
Enseignement supérieur 0745
Évaluation 0288
Finances 0277
Formation des enseignants 0530
Histoire de l'éducation 0520
Langues et littérature 0279
Lecture 0535
Mathématiques 0280
Musique 0522
Orientation et consultation 0519
Philosophie de l'éducation 0998
Physique 0523
Programmes d'études et enseignement 0727
Psychologie 0525
Sciences 0714
Sciences sociales 0534
Sociologie de l'éducation 0340
Technologie 0710

LANGUE, LITTÉRATURE ET LINGUISTIQUE
Langues
- Généralités 0679
- Anciennes 0289
- Linguistique 0290
- Modernes 0291

Littérature
- Généralités 0401
- Anciennes 0294
- Comparée 0295
- Médiévale 0297
- Moderne 0298
- Africaine 0316
- Américaine 0591
- Anglaise 0593
- Asiatique 0305
- Canadienne (Anglaise) 0352
- Canadienne (Française) 0355
- Germanique 0311
- Latino-américaine 0312
- Moyen-orientale 0315
- Romane 0313
- Slave et est-européenne 0314

PHILOSOPHIE, RELIGION ET THÉOLOGIE
Philosophie 0422
Religion
- Généralités 0318
- Clergé 0319
- Études bibliques 0321
- Histoire des religions 0320
- Philosophie de la religion 0322

Théologie 0469

SCIENCES SOCIALES
Anthropologie
- Archéologie 0324
- Culturelle 0326
- Physique 0327

Droit 0398
Économie
- Généralités 0501
- Commerce-Affaires 0505
- Économie agricole 0503
- Économie du travail 0510
- Finances 0508
- Histoire 0509
- Théorie 0511

Études américaines 0323
Études canadiennes 0385
Études féministes 0453
Folklore 0358
Géographie 0366
Gérontologie 0351
Gestion des affaires
- Généralités 0310
- Administration 0454
- Banques 0770
- Comptabilité 0272
- Marketing 0338

Histoire
- Histoire générale 0578
- Ancienne 0579
- Médiévale 0581
- Moderne 0582
- Histoire des noirs 0328
- Africaine 0331
- Canadienne 0334
- États-Unis 0337
- Européenne 0335
- Moyen-orientale 0333
- Latino-américaine 0336
- Asie, Australie et Océanie 0332

Histoire des sciences 0585
Loisirs 0814
Planification urbaine et régionale 0999
Science politique
- Généralités 0615
- Administration publique 0617
- Droit et relations internationales 0616

Sociologie
- Généralités 0626
- Aide et bien-être social 0630
- Criminologie et établissements pénitentiaires 0627
- Démographie 0938
- Études de l' individu et de la famille 0628
- Études des relations interethniques et des relations raciales 0631
- Structure et développement social 0700
- Théorie et méthodes. 0344
- Travail et relations industrielles 0629

Transports 0709
Travail social 0452

SCIENCES ET INGÉNIERIE

SCIENCES BIOLOGIQUES
Agriculture
- Généralités 0473
- Agronomie. 0285
- Alimentation et technologie alimentaire 0359
- Culture 0479
- Élevage et alimentation 0475
- Exploitation des pâturages 0777
- Pathologie animale 0476
- Pathologie végétale 0480
- Physiologie végétale 0817
- Sylviculture et faune 0478
- Technologie du bois 0746

Biologie
- Généralités 0306
- Anatomie 0287
- Biologie (Statistiques) 0308
- Biologie moléculaire 0307
- Botanique 0309
- Cellule 0379
- Écologie 0329
- Entomologie 0353
- Génétique 0369
- Limnologie 0793
- Microbiologie 0410
- Neurologie 0317
- Océanographie 0416
- Physiologie 0433
- Radiation 0821
- Science vétérinaire 0778
- Zoologie 0472

Biophysique
- Généralités 0786
- Medicale 0760

SCIENCES DE LA TERRE
Biogéochimie 0425
Géochimie 0996
Géodésie 0370
Géographie physique 0368
Géologie 0372
Géophysique 0373
Hydrologie 0388
Minéralogie 0411
Océanographie physique 0415
Paléobotanique 0345
Paléoécologie 0426
Paléontologie 0418
Paléozoologie 0985
Palynologie 0427

SCIENCES DE LA SANTÉ ET DE L'ENVIRONNEMENT
Économie domestique 0386
Sciences de l'environnement 0768
Sciences de la santé
- Généralités 0566
- Administration des hôpitaux 0769
- Alimentation et nutrition 0570
- Audiologie 0300
- Chimiothérapie 0992
- Dentisterie 0567
- Développement humain 0758
- Enseignement 0350
- Immunologie 0982
- Loisirs 0575
- Médecine du travail et thérapie 0354
- Médecine et chirurgie 0564
- Obstétrique et gynécologie 0380
- Ophtalmologie 0381
- Orthophonie 0460
- Pathologie 0571
- Pharmacie 0572
- Pharmacologie 0419
- Physiothérapie 0382
- Radiologie 0574
- Santé mentale 0347
- Santé publique 0573
- Soins infirmiers 0569
- Toxicologie 0383

SCIENCES PHYSIQUES
Sciences Pures
Chimie
- Généralités 0485
- Biochimie 487
- Chimie agricole 0749
- Chimie analytique 0486
- Chimie minérale 0488
- Chimie nucléaire 0738
- Chimie organique 0490
- Chimie pharmaceutique 0491
- Physique 0494
- PolymÈres 0495
- Radiation 0754

Mathématiques 0405
Physique
- Généralités 0605
- Acoustique 0986
- Astronomie et astrophysique 0606
- Électronique et électricité 0607
- Fluides et plasma 0759
- Météorologie 0608
- Optique 0752
- Particules (Physique nucléaire) 0798
- Physique atomique 0748
- Physique de l'état solide 0611
- Physique moléculaire 0609
- Physique nucléaire 0610
- Radiation 0756

Statistiques 0463

Sciences Appliqués Et Technologie
Informatique 0984
Ingénierie
- Généralités 0537
- Agricole 0539
- Automobile 0540
- Biomédicale 0541
- Chaleur et thermodynamique 0348
- Conditionnement (Emballage) 0549
- Génie aérospatial 0538
- Génie chimique 0542
- Génie civil 0543
- Génie électronique et électrique 0544
- Génie industriel 0546
- Génie mécanique 0548
- Génie nucléaire 0552
- Ingénierie des systèmes 0790
- Mécanique navale 0547
- Métallurgie 0743
- Science des matériaux 0794
- Technique du pétrole 0765
- Technique minière 0551
- Techniques sanitaires et municipales 0554
- Technologie hydraulique 0545

Mécanique appliquée 0346
Géotechnologie 0428
Matières plastiques (Technologie) 0795
Recherche opérationnelle 0796
Textiles et tissus (Technologie) 0794

PSYCHOLOGIE
Généralités 0621
Personnalité 0625
Psychobiologie 0349
Psychologie clinique 0622
Psychologie du comportement 0384
Psychologie du développement 0620
Psychologie expérimentale 0623
Psychologie industrielle 0624
Psychologie physiologique 0989
Psychologie sociale 0451
Psychométrie 0632

RESHAPING CITIES FOR TOURISTS:

A CRITIQUE OF URBAN TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

-WINNIPEG CASE STUDY

BY

MICHAEL ANTHONY BASPALY

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of

MASTER OF CITY PLANNING

© 1995

Permission has been granted to the LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA to lend or sell copies of this thesis, to the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film, and LIBRARY MICROFILMS to publish an abstract of this thesis.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or other-wise reproduced without the author's written permission.

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis.

I authorize the University of Manitoba to lend this thesis to other institutions or individuals for the purpose of scholarly research.

Michael Anthony Baspaly

I further authorize the University of Manitoba to reproduce this thesis by photocopying or by other means, in total or in part, at the request of other institutions or individuals for the purpose of scholarly research.

Michael Anthony Baspaly

ABSTRACT

This thesis represents a theoretical inquiry into the relationship between commodification of the city and city planning. In this respect, tourism contributes to the commodification process through the construction of restaurants, hotels, and special facilities associated with tourism. One visible aspect of commodification is the marketing of tourism destinations through brochures. Photographs within these brochures were analyzed to determine the types of thematic elements promoted within several Canadian cities.

Canadian cities' actual tourism visitation was examined through Statistics Canada data. Unlike the more populated areas of Canada, most visitation to Manitoba was domestically-based. While this fact may prompt a city such as Winnipeg to engage in large-scale tourism development to attract people from other parts of the world, this study provides a note of caution, as the lack of community participation could endanger long-term tourism initiatives. The role of the tourism planner in Winnipeg is to bridge the gap between community concern and commodification, ensuring that tourism becomes socially and economically viable in the City of Winnipeg.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis could not have been completed without the assistance of several individuals. First of all, I would like to thank my thesis committee, University of Manitoba professors Dr. Mario Carvalho, Dr. Ian Wight, and Grant Meder from Tourism Winnipeg, for taking the time to review a very rough version of this study and offer helpful suggestions.

Additional gratitude goes to the tourism departments across Canada that sent pertinent information when requested. Special thanks to Penny McMillan at Tourism Winnipeg, Debbie Bonner at Vancouver Tourism, and city tourism departments in Calgary, Edmonton, Fredericton, and Toronto, for providing me with useful information about tourism in those Canadian cities.

The road to the completion of my Master's degree in City Planning was a rough one, and several colleagues in the department deserve a special thanks for their instructive comments and support. Thanks to Oliver Prusina, George Paul, Dave Bax, and Sunny Lam.

Many thanks to Richard James and Luke Vibert for providing some sound advice during the research phase of this study.

Last but certainly not least, thanks to my mother and father for providing me with support during the long months I spent writing this thesis. With the completion of this study I close the door on student life and open another door leading to a bright future. *This thesis is dedicated to Ted and Eleanor Baspaly.*

Michael Anthony Baspaly,
June, 1995

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

INTRODUCTION

Due to changes within the economic landscape, the physical structure of a city is determined by market forces, among other factors. As a barometer of a shifting economic landscape, tourism can be seen as a visible example of the shift from manufacturing (production) to services (consumption). An increasingly visible aspect of these forces is commodification in all forms. In other words, while providing a base for commodity production and a distribution network for commodities, the city has become a commodity. The visible manifestations of this phenomenon are apparent as many large cities alter their physical appearance, or their *packaging*, in order to become a place that people wish to visit. Tourism, as a part of the metropolitan boosterism strategy, has become a greater priority in civic agendas.

Within colorful promotional strategies, the city is transformed from an urban community to a commercial commodity. Because cities are altering their environments in order to attract tourists and multinational capital, they have become in some respects products in search of a market through attractive packaging featuring unique themed environments. This process has accelerated since the recession, which has effectively closed many manufacturing industries, increasing the importance of service-sector activities. Nowhere is this more evident than in the realm of tourism. Tourism has grown into a sizeable service industry as the workingperson's wages and job stress have increased. In theory, a holiday in another place is supposed to act as an outlet for work-weary denizens of the Western world. It gives them the opportunity to forget their daily concerns, to "recreate" themselves by an immersion into another place and culture.

While the extent and size of the tourism industry is fairly recent, the idea of periodic breaks in the normal flow of human life and work is not of recent origin, as man has always felt a

need for organised interruption in the regular pattern of his routine activities. Vacations satisfy this need (Mills, 1983, 1).

On a superficial level, the tourism industry is often associated with less developed island countries. However, tourism can also be seen as an integral part of a larger consumptive/ desire-laden society. Tourism is a visible manifestation of consumptive desires, as more people wish to acquire memories of other places and have tangible representations of their experiences.

The landscape or scenery of a region has a great deal to do with its attraction for the tourist. Many regions which offer little in the way of good climate or exciting sports have built up a tourist industry virtually on scenery alone (e.g. The Rocky Mountains, and, to a lesser degree, the Canadian Arctic). In addition, water plays an important part in forming an attractive landscape. This is because the sea, lakes and rivers not only add to the visual beauty of a region but also offer the possibilities of recreation (Matley, 1976, 28). Still other attractions compete for the tourist dollar such as major sporting events, artificially created attractions, (e.g. theme parks such as Epcot Centre in Orlando, Florida or Bonanzaville in Fargo, North Dakota), old or new cities with pleasant or characteristic architecture, attractively laid-out streets or picturesque canals and restaurants, and the lifestyles of inhabitants which contribute to a place's atmosphere (Matley, 1976, 30). Places are considered attractive perhaps due to a favorable climate, an exotic ambience, or the potential for 'adventure'.

Because this potential can be maximized within urban areas, cities are considered attractive destinations. This can be due to a city's historical background, as can be seen with London, Paris, and New York. There are many other factors which can contribute to a city's identity: geographic location, type of news coverage (publicity), and uniqueness of attractions.

Geographic attributes are unalterable over short periods of time. Historical events (positive and negative) can influence the magnetism of a place, and, because of the power of the media, these events can now be staged. This is where attractions enter the picture. These too can be fabricated or genuine. Either way, their main purpose is to bring capital from one place to another place.

Promotion by the media or by the city itself attempts to accomplish this goal. Although sometimes by accident, outside agencies, such as books, movies, and television are more effective in increasing the attractiveness of a place. For example, a popular book that uses an urban locale as the setting of the story can literally put that city "on the map" of tourist travel itineraries.

The importance of this trend to package cities is tied to perceived economic benefits for the host city. As an economically important industry, tourism has grown substantially, owing to the increased interest of tangible as well as intangible commodities. Many cities that have suffered from industry losses, or which feel a need to respond to the current pecking order inherent within city hierarchies, have attempted to accommodate this industry in any way possible. This gives rise to boosterism, which has become the strategy through which a city attempts to attract capital, either in the form of visitors' dollars or investors' capital. In many cases a city will promote its' historical, cultural, and recreational resources. In other cases, a city may set out to fabricate a special environment geared toward tourists. As a result, new environments are created, old ones are refurbished, and a thematic backdrop for the city is developed, complete with specially engineered events and festivals. There are prominent shades of this image-building process in almost every city in North America. Familiar examples include:

- ***Pseudo-historical significant areas:*** Once unique to larger places like Vancouver and Baltimore, these areas are now present in almost every major city, including Winnipeg. The Forks, the historic beginning of this city, has been refurbished into a shopping centre which caters to tourists or people who enjoy its pleasant ambience. It was designed to be the focal point for many events which occur in the city.
- ***Areas of consumption that contain thematic elements:*** Edmonton's major attraction is a large shopping mall which contains hundreds of stores, an ice hockey rink, amusement rides, a beach in a water park, submarines, and a hotel with theme rooms. A similar kind of shopping centre now exists in Minneapolis, and other cities, such as Chicago, are currently exploring thematic malls as tourist attraction.
- ***Thematic icons:*** Many small towns have adopted a particular object or icon for tourism promotion purposes. These objects concretize a town's identity, and since the statutes usually look cartoonish and playful, leisure and good times are the messages sent to the weary traveller. Acting as the inanimate ambassador of a town, the thematic icon has become quite prolific, and many towns in Manitoba have one of these elements.
- ***Thematic places:*** Some towns do not build their tourism strategy around one large icon; sometimes a towns' complete appearance is transformed. This creates a bizarre end-product known as the stage-set town. Examples include places designed to resemble the Old West (e.g. Tombstone, Arizona), or Bavaria (e.g. Kimberly, British Columbia).
- ***Large scale amusements:*** Theme parks and amusements are considered extreme leisure-seeker attractions. In most cases the identity aspect (history, geography, events) is substituted for generic carnival pleasure (e.g. Disneyland, Six Flags theme parks). These

elements are sometimes seasonal, sometimes year-round. Such attractions seem to draw large numbers of people.

- ***Small scale amusements:*** This element, once unique to Las Vegas and Atlantic City, now exists on a reduced scale in places where gambling has been legalized or regulated by the Provincial or Federal Government.

Two related questions that should be addressed concern commodification. Both *how and why have cities become commodified* in a tourism context are central questions in this study. These questions can be answered by examining the manner in which cities promote or package themselves to visitors. This thesis will investigate how the process of commodification influences the look and function of the contemporary city. A corollary to these questions is: *what is promoted and what is ignored within the city?* The answers to these questions will be provided within the analysis section of this study. For the purposes of this study the transformation of sections of the urban landscape into spectacles, and existing landmarks, will be focused upon, as it is these things which are promoted as being spectacular and unique. The final significant question that arises from this study is *what should be the planner's role regarding urban tourism?* This question is important as the existence of spectacular sights may be at odds with the needs and concerns of a city's citizens.

It is essential to provide a context for this study. This is dealt with in *Chapter 1: Method of Inquiry*, which details what this study is about, why it has been conducted, and how the analysis is accomplished. The relationship between the city, its inhabitants, and commodification

also needs to be addressed. *Chapter 2: The Discourse of Postmodernism* provides the necessary theoretical background as to the transformation of the city from manufacturing centre to tourism commodity.

The actual critique of tourism in Canadian cities is provided in *Chapter 3: Identifying Tourism in Canadian Cities.* Promotional material is cited here, but the underlying critique is theoretically based, providing a larger picture of the commodification process each city has undergone. The purpose of this analysis is to examine how city tourism departments combine the photographed fragments of a tourism brochure into a fragmented utopian picture of a particular Canadian city. A comparison of cities that employ different thematic elements to attract tourists is the central aim of this portion of the study. Depending on the size of the place, these elements range from a statue of a fabricated thematic icon to a complete cosmetic transformation of a section of the urban landscape. Tourism brochures reveal only pieces of a larger picture; they act as an abridged storytelling device, breaking the narrative of the city into easily digestible tablets called monument, scenic view, and place. As a rule, fantastic sights are always priorized over mundane things. The actual effectiveness of tourism promotion will also be examined in this chapter through an investigation of data from Statistics Canada.

With the theoretical and analytical framework in place, the next step is to consider the implications that urban tourism has for a city. By extension, the effect of this phenomenon on urban planning should be a question on planners' minds. Tourism is a form of urban land development with potentially long-term detrimental consequences. The thesis represents an attempt to bring to planners' attention the complex relationship between tourism, media, and civic agendas. These three areas meet, interestingly enough, in tourism brochures that are produced by

the city or an organization that advises the city council. By examining brochures from cities across Canada, the analysis ties these threads together.

The consequences of tourism will be described in *Chapter 4: The Planner's Role in the Tourism System.* The degree of tourism-related commodification within Winnipeg, and the role of the planner regarding tourism initiatives will be described in greater detail. The purpose of this is to illustrate that tourism is a complex system that relies on decisions and desires by civic leaders, businessmen, interest groups, and people that wish to escape the banality of their daily lives. In addressing the nature of the tourism system, Winnipeg's relative similarity to existing models of tourism will be discussed. Strategies toward improving tourism in Winnipeg will also be examined.

The conclusion of this study will summarize those ideas formulated within this study. Once tourism is explored in greater detail it may become evident that the planner and the planning discipline will be required to re-examine their respective roles in order to properly accommodate this phenomenon.

CHAPTER ONE: METHOD OF INQUIRY

What the study is about

This study is an attempt to trace and make visible the linkages between tourism, city function, local community needs, changes in the economic landscape, political responses to these changes, and the role of the planner within this arena. By looking at theoretical perspectives, tourism promotion, and current tourism initiatives, this thesis gauges *the extent of commodification in a tourism context within large urban centres. The role of the planner within a tourism-oriented landscape will also be examined.*

Relevant literature has described an economic shift from production to consumption, or a shift from manufacturing to a larger emphasis in service-related fields. Tourism, and the increased emphasis on promotion of destinations, is a visible example of this shift. Tourism has seemingly become a viable industry and an important component of a city's economic strategy as factories close and jobs are lost within the 'older' and now floundering sectors of production. The fact that tourism is a strategy contained in many current city planning strategies, including the *Plan Winnipeg: Toward 2010* and *Centre Plan* documents, illustrates that tourism has become a priority, as economic growth is the perceived outcome for many businesses and politicians. The realistic probability of this strategy being successful is a question that will be addressed as these documents are examined.

Many cities' tourism strategies involve promoting several selected attractions or events. This study investigates how cities promote themselves through a transformation of an urban landscape into a desirable environment to visit. While this phenomenon can be linked to a

theoretical shift from a modern to postmodern urban realm, it can actually be seen as a response by civic governments to curb increasing job losses brought on by the demise of the manufacturing sector. Through an investigation of promotional material that highlights urban attractions, the aim of this study is to illustrate the predominance of artificially-created environments, highlighting the elements each place promotes in order to attract tourists. It will be shown that a shift has also occurred in the manner in which cities see themselves. At the outset it can be stated that the colorful brochures prefer to show spectacular images instead of the daily routine in North American cities.

As this shift is revealed, the thesis will shift towards determining the nature of the implications of these changes for city planners, as the largest challenge faced by the planner is reconciling ongoing commodification with local concerns.

Why it is being conducted

This study is being conducted to show there has been a shift, as stated above, in the way a city attempts to attract capital. The greater reliance on pleasing images and pseudo-historical/ fantasy environments on the part of urban centres is a trend that may have unforeseen and possibly unfavorable consequences for a city's inhabitants. This is because the city is treated as a playground, instead of a complex system of interdependent functions, uses, and social relationships. The primary focus becomes pushing the product (the city), which may further erode already shaky social relationships based more on the ring of the cash register than a democratic town hall meeting. It goes without saying that the more mundane aspects of everyday life are 'left out of the picture' of tourism promotion, as this is what tourists are trying their hardest to flee

from for a couple of weeks. The idea of visiting another city to witness key landmarks and events is glamorised as being as significant to the visitor as the monolith was to the first 'humans' in the film *2001: A Space Odyssey.*

The growth of the tourism industry reflects several aspects of life in the late twentieth century: increasing overloads of information and accompanying stress, increased insecurity regarding one's economic future, and worsening crime. Tourism, travel, and leisure were originally supposed to provide an 'escape valve' from these daily problems. The idea of travelling to another place, to see its wonders and absorb its ambience, can be an interesting and rewarding experience. The idea that tourism transforms the city into a mindless playground is the proverbial worst case scenario, but careless planning can turn a destination known for its unique features into a contrived arena of boredom, costing the local taxpayer millions of dollars while providing little in return for local inhabitants.

Important questions to ask at this point are: does this increased emphasis on tourism negatively affect the infrastructure used by a city's captive population? Do a city's inhabitants resent acting in a stage production that is their city, for the benefit of visitors, or can this be seen as a worthwhile "job"? Does tourism attract individual or corporate capital ? Because tourism has grown as a viable industry in Canada, it has entered the realm of politicians, businesspeople, and planners. If this is the case (and it will be argued it is) then it is imperative that the planner better understand the nature of tourism promotion, the importance of attractions, and the probable consequences of faulty tourism programs and events on a city and its inhabitants.

How this will be accomplished

Promotional material from Canadian cities will be examined. By obtaining brochures or promotional material with photographs from cities in each province and territory in Canada, it is hoped that a picture of tourism in Canadian cities will become evident. The analysis itself will examine promotion activities by examining several Canadian cities that actively promote themselves as interesting places to visit. Photographs from Canadian cities such as Toronto, Montreal, Halifax, Regina, and Winnipeg will be categorized by thematic elements, to highlight each city's own perceived tourism strengths.

This part of the analysis will be qualitative, based on the preconceptions and theoretical research of images as conducted previously by the researcher. Pseudo-quantitative methods such as content analysis which break down an image into its individual components, counting the total number of times an image is shown or a word written, are being used with some reservations. This method often breaks down an image into components, but the goal in this case is to create a picture of how cities market themselves through tourism promotion. The overall goal of this study is to obtain pictures of a city through its' attractions. An examination that obtains the ambience of a place is preferable to one that breaks a brochures' pictures into fragments. The analysis will illustrate that many of the factors that comprise city life are omitted in favor of those elements that signify a tourism experience.

Supplementary data that illustrates actual visitation to Canadian cities will also be examined. The rationale for including this data is that there may be a relationship between actual visitation and the imagery Canadian cities employ in promotional material.

The implications of these findings, as they affect planners and planning, will be examined in greater detail, with an emphasis on exerpts from recent Winnipeg planning documents. A cursory look at tourism objectives for Winnipeg will help explain the uneasy relationship between city planning, tourism, and commodification. At the same time, the exploration of postmodern theory and actual tourism initiatives will enable the planner to link the commodified aspects of tourism with the desires of the residential population.

CHAPTER TWO: THE DISCOURSE OF POSTMODERNISM

1.0 Origins of the Packaged City

Tourism strategies are grounded in pragmatic decisions and economic viability, yet many recent tourism initiatives are dream-like when they are isolated from their physical (or theoretical) surroundings. The examination of literature from noted theorists Jane Jacobs, Umberto Eco, Sharon Zukin, Christine Boyer and others illustrates that the myriad components of tourism often produce fantasy environments surrounded by "real life". By examining literature pertaining to tourism as a postmodern phenomenon, this chapter explores the questions, *how and why have cities become commodified?* Below, the first section outlines Jacobs concerns about city planning, and examines the hypermodern perspectives of Edward Relph, Christine Boyer, and Celeste Olaquiaga.

1.1 (Once Upon A Time) Towards an Improved Urban Environment

A constructive review of the origin of urban tourism begins with an examination of Jane Jacobs' classic book, *The Death & Life of Great American Cities*. This book was published at a time when it was believed that city issues could be solved by imagining the city as a rational, ordered construct. Looking at the city from a (then) different perspective, Jacobs argued that cities are "problems of organized complexity...organisms replete with unexamined but obviously intricately interconnected, and surely understandable relationships" (Jacobs, 1961, 439). To Jacobs, all great cities were incredibly dynamic places that could be understood if one examined those parts of a city that lacked diversity.

Jacobs listed four conditions that could produce city diversity, thus vitality, within the urban landscape. These conditions were:

1. *the need for mixed primary uses*
2. *the need for small blocks*
3. *the need for aged buildings*
4. *the need for concentration*

Following the first guideline, in theory more uses in the downtown, for example, equals more time spent downtown. This in turn brings vitality to an area that is underutilized. One way of achieving this goal would involve the addition of a residential population. To Jacobs, "the first step in planning the infusion of new potential uses is to have a practical idea of what the infusion must accomplish if it is to overcome the district's root trouble" (Jacobs, 1961, 158). But while the addition of residents could add vitality to the city, a long term solution would be to introduce a visiting population through evening and weekend attractions.

Theoretically, an infusion of new uses would have to result in a downtown that is utilized during non-work hours. Jacobs cautions however that any new use or uses "ought to be in accord with the district's character, certainly not at cross-purposes to it. It is the character [of large urban areas] to be intensive, to be exciting, to be dramatic, and this is one of its greatest assets..." (Jacobs, 1961, 158).

Citing Manhattan in this respect, Jacobs saw the waterfront as a wasted asset, capable of drawing leisure-minded patrons. She recommended that part of the district's waterfront should

become a great marine museum-the permanent anchorage of specimen and curiosity ships, "the best collection to be seen and boarded anywhere" (Jacobs, 1961, 159). This would bring tourists into the area at different times. Jacobs also suggests the addition of other features to the shoreline such as embarkation points for pleasure voyages in the harbour and around the island; these embarkation points should be 'as glamorous and salty as art can make them'.

In addition, Jacobs prescribed that there should be attractions set inland, to carry visitors farther into the downtown area. These could be aquariums and libraries. Special events that complement these attractions, such as inexpensive theatre and opera, could be programmed for evenings and weekends (Jacobs, 1961, 159). With these elements in place,

> ...if it were done well, would be far more effective as sheer economic support to the long-term business value of this district than the dreary additions of more manufacturing plants, taking up the room, contributing nothing the district needs to maintain its strength (and depriving of their presence other parts of the city that really need manufacturing plants) (Jacobs, 1961, 160).

In retrospect, it is interesting to see how many cities have actually implemented these strategies. Jacobs once suggested that reshaping a city's appearance should be done to bring more people into the downtown, not only to stimulate consumption but to bring community life into the city's downtown. Yet many contemporary tourist attractions are "sorted out" from the rest of city, much like civic centres and monuments, to produce the grandest effect possible. This is an unfortunate outcome. As Jacobs stated, the need for mixed primary uses, combined with small blocks, aged buildings, and population density, are "necessary to generate city diversity; the absence of any one of the four frustrates a city's potential" (Jacobs, 1961, 151). Ideally, then, increased diversity leads to greater social and economic vitality of a city's downtown. If one of

the four conditions has not been addressed, true urban diversity will not be met. Even when all four conditions are supplied, diversity can still be compromised. Jacobs states that this can occur if, at some point,

> ....a diversified mixture of uses at some place in the city becomes outstandingly popular and successful as a whole. Because of the location's success, which is invariably based on flourishing and magnetic diversity, ardent competition for space in this locality develops. It is taken up in what amounts to the economic equivalent of a fad.
>
> The winners in the competition for space will represent only a narrow segment of the many uses that together created success. Whichever one or few uses have emerged as the most profitable in the locality will be repeated and repeated, crowding out and overwhelming less profitable forms of use. If tremendous numbers of people, attracted by convenience and interest, or charmed by vigor and excitement, choose to live or work in the area, again the winners of the competition will form a narrow segment of population of users. Since so many want to get in, those who get in or stay in will be self-sorted by the expense (Jacobs, 1961, 243).

The worst-case scenario would mean greater control by special interests over residential and retail uses. As a result, social outcomes, such as the feeling of community, would be abandoned at the expense of purely economic considerations. While Jacobs supports the idea of a city employing a variety of means, including packaging, to increase diversity, she rejects the idea of packaging as strictly being an economic concern. The current rationale behind a city's cosmetic upgrading emphasizes, to a greater extent, bringing people in to spend large amounts of money, rather than creating any real sense of community. Many cities that suffer from an eroding city centre see tourism initiatives as an economic panacea and ignore the social problems that have grown as a result of one-dimensional civic agendas.

As will be illustrated below, planners need to revisit Jacobs' theories about urban vitality and diversity. While potential is seen in reshaping urban environments for consumption purposes, Jacobs' warns that the process of reshaping an urban area, if left unchecked to private interests, will hinder any future urban revitalization strategies.

1.2 The Storybook Landscape

Spectacle is capital accumulated to such a degree it becomes an image (Debord, 1967).

Jane Jacobs' fears have been realized. It is quite apparent that economic concerns have gained prominence over social concerns. Today, we live in a society of standardization, with look-alike strips of food, gas, and lodging franchises. The world closely resembles a large network of branch plants and regional shopping centres connected by grey slabs of asphalt.

To the casual researcher, the term *placelessness* suggests a loss of our sense of place in cities and towns, regionally, and on a continental scale. This term originates from the heyday of modernism, when seemingly identical built environments were replicated in cities, at the expense of the cultural and geographical diversity that existed before the industrial age placed its stamp upon an area. While cultural and geographical uniformity is not an entirely new phenomenon, what is new is the grand scale and virtual absence of adaptation to local conditions of the present placeless phenomenon (Relph, 1976, 80-1). It is easy but erroneous to simplify placelessness by seeing it everywhere. It must be realized that placelessness is an attitude and an expression of that attitude which is becoming increasingly dominant. As such, it is less and less possible to have a deeply felt sense of place, or to create places authentically (Relph, 1976, 80). Unauthentic

attitudes to place carry no sense of place, and no awareness of the deep and symbolic significance of places and no appreciation of their identities. This is a socially convenient and acceptable attitude at the present time, according to Relph (1976, 82). But as a result, this century has been responsible for the removal of much of the sense of the wonderful from our everyday lives (Mills, 1983, iii).

The unauthentic attitude to place is nowhere more clearly expressed than in tourism, for in tourism individual and authentic judgement about places is nearly always subsumed by (or subordinated to) expert or socially accepted opinion. As a result of this, tourism becomes more important than the specific places visited (Relph, 1976, 83). This attitude toward places is transmitted through a number of processes or, perhaps more accurately, media which directly or indirectly encourage placelessness by weakening the identification of places to the point where they not only look alike but feel alike and offer the same bland possibilities for everyone (Relph, 1976, 90). Within such a context,

> It takes an effort of imagination to distinguish among the 'non-place places' in such a landscape. Yet in the quest for an image of distinction, local business and political leaders continue to build and rebuild as a sign of economic growth. Their blueprint for growth is often limited to constructing a microcosm of the past or a panorama of the future, and presenting this landscape by techniques of historic preservation or futuristic new construction that are completely detached from specific places. Without a specific social and material context, the organizing principle in these landscapes is simply a visual theme. Just as Busch Gardens and Disney World decontextualize the future, Inner Harbor, Faneuil Hall, and South Street Seaport decontextualize the past, turning a landscape of devastation in the inner city into a landscape of consumption. At best, when market forces destroy and re-create an existing landscape, its artefacts -like the 110,000 pound cast-iron facade of the Fava Fruit Company in Baltimore-are stored, restored, and even relocated to create an 'authentic' sense of place (Zukin, 1991, 20).

According to Zukin, from the 1970s to 1987, American federal tax laws supported historic presence by making it financially advantageous for investors to reuse old urban forms for commercial revitalization. The principled refusal to destroy old urban forms contrasts with the use of modern architecture, in the 50s and 60s, to assert the commercial district's viability. After 1965, high-rise construction suggested alienation. Smaller scale, respect for context, and mixed uses of space were proposed as way of restoring a visual sense of place. Downtown developers would derive a theme from former economic uses - the harbor, the marketplace, the factory - and offer consumers the opportunity to combine shopping with touristic voyeurism into the city's past (Zukin, 1991, 51).

Importantly, "the market's constant pressure to reproduce variety contradicts the constant pressure on place to reproduce stability. While most people really want to enjoy the pleasures of fine buildings, good stores, and beautiful urban spaces, the processes that create them make the city more abstract, more dependent on international capital flows, and more responsive to the organization of consumption than the organization of production" (Zukin, 1991, 54).

In *Cities For Sale,* Christine Boyer mentions how the South Street Seaport can be compared to similar places in Baltimore, San Francisco, and New Orleans that were restructured in the 70s and 80s. These places became leisure areas that combined shopping and entertainment with office and residential development. Consequently, if one walks along the waterfront of Manhattan, no unified image of the city emerges from series of disparate scenic views: indeed, there are several isolated self-enclosed patches of development (Boyer, 1992, 182).

The aim of newer sites is theatrical. They are to represent certain visual images of the city, to create perspectual views shown through imaginary prosceniums to conjure up emotionally satisfying images of bygone times. As a result, there is a distinction between the represented image and reality: New York's developed pockets are divided by "swaths of neglect." For those who travel along the imaginary architectural promenade, centers of spectacle erase the distinctions between real cityscape and the show. To Zukin, "the stage-set landscape is a liminal space between nature and artifice and market and place. It mediates between producer and consumer, a cultural object with real economic effect. The Disney landscape has in fact become a model for establishing both the economic value of cultural goods and the cultural value of consumer products" With conflict designed out, and comfort designed in, the image of a service-sector economy is a utopian dream. It is self-consciously produced not to be disturbed by such problems as homelessness, low wages in the service-sector, strikes and racial competition (Zukin, 1991, 231). Boyer calls these *simulated landscapes of consumption* (Boyer, 1992, 184).

The South Street Seaport area is a prime example, as it combines the arts of commercial entertainment and imaginary travel [to another time and place]. It reframes urban reality in the form of 'festival markets' that offer the same mix of image and illusion as a 19th century spectacle. The pleasure of the aesthetic surroundings, meanwhile, suspends critical judgement (Boyer, 1992, 187). In this and other cases familiar 19th century cityscapes of the past have been replicated to soothe nervous urban citizens in a period of rapid technological and social transformation.

Boyer distinguishes three main categories of *City tableaux*:

1. Historic quarters: form and preservation mandated by law
2. Special districts with strong visual or historical identity whose ambience is controlled by contextual zoning or design guidelines (another time and place)
3. Countless cities have seen proliferation of residential enclaves, shopping malls, festival marketplaces, and theme parks whose visual decor and atmosphere are cleverly managed and staged (from small town cross-roads to Disneyland).

These categories have formed the new urban zones: reiteration and recycling of already known symbolic codes and historic forms to the point of cliché (Boyer, 1992, 188).

> City after city discovers that its abandoned industrial waterfront or outmoded city centre contains enormous tourist potential and refurbishes it as leisure-time spectacles and sightseeing promenade. All of these sites become culinary and ornamental landscapes through which tourists-the new public of the late 20th century-graze, celebrating the consumption of place and architecture, and the taste of history and food (Boyer, 1992, 189).

It is inevitable that the postmodern city is developed with the same factors as before: land, labor, capital, and their deployment in space and time. The difference now is that the city is designed as an imaginary landscape. This is where architects self-consciously envision the last creative frontier of a highly industrialized society (Zukin, 1991, 241).

The structuring ability of space is actual and metaphorical: space stimulates memory and desire-the key structural shifts in the 20th century political economy are located in the symbolic geography of space and localized in spatial metaphors that explore the relation between economic

power and cultural representation-because landscape is the most important product of both power and imagination, it is the major cultural product of our time (Zukin, 1991, 268).

The city has always been a repository of signs which convey meaning. But the postmodern city turns this theorem upside down. Celeste Olaquiaga states "...while the symbol represents a condensation between signifier and signified (and between referent and representation), allegory re-enacts the opposite, the impossibility of that condensation ever taking place" (Olaquiaga, 1992, 21). Allegory can be defined as a story or narrative, as a fable, in which a moral principle or truth is presented by means of fictional characters or events, etc. The transfer of time to space is primarily a result of the exhaustion of the cultural assumptions which provided a coherent, comprehensive vision of the world, as represented primarily in the symbolic unity of matter and spirit. This disruption of the symbolic unity radically transformed experience, as it is no longer connected to any abstract meaning. Experience becomes intense and material, seeking the confirmation of its existence in the present and concrete. Only the most explicit manifestations satisfy this desire, giving rise to figuration that finds in allegory its perfect expression.

Having left the notion of totality behind, allegory replenishes the ensuing vacuum with the multiplication of signifiers. In postmodern space, signs are not tied to one discourse, but are floating around. As there is a tendency toward saturation, culture turns toward those forms that provide a notion of concreteness as an imaginary compensation. To Olaquiaga, this explains allegory's popularity (1992, 57-8).

This section illustrates that the urban commodification process involves creating spectacular environments in order to stimulate visitation and consumption. As these areas

become more popular, other cities adopt similar strategies in hopes of replicating similar success. Everyday urban concerns are deemed to be less of a priority within this sphere of urban tourism.

The perspectives of Zukin, Boyer, and Olaquiaga illustrate that the city has become a fragmented collage of images and signs that vie for the consumer's eye (and dollars). At the extreme, theme parks become more like cities (with the 'bad parts' edited out) and cities become Disney-like (with the bad parts pushed off to the margins). This is but one characteristic of the postmodern touristscape.

2.0 Characteristics of the Postmodern Touristscape

The sometimes bizarre characteristics of contemporary tourist attractions can be better understood by examining those characteristics of postmodernism that have an impact on tourism planning. In this section, several consequences of postmodernism such as contrived landscapes, city hierarchies, and commodification are explored in detail by examining work from several notable theorists including David Harvey, Umberto Eco, Sharon Zukin, and Jeffrey Hopkins.

2.1 Contrived Realities

To Zukin, postmodern culture suggests the possibility of reconciling landscape and vernacular, market and place; yet the more visible it becomes, the more it takes on the decontextualized, market-oriented look of franchise culture. Postmodern architecture makes places less distinctive. They become 'nonplaces' in global markets. This suggests interior and material landscapes conveying a sense of rupture and discontinuity. Taking for granted that progress is fragile, the postmodern symbolic landscape represents the same destruction of

longevity, of cultural layers, and of vested interests that opposes markets to places (Zukin, 1991, 27).

> Despite its ideology of resistance, postmodernism suggests a similar accommodation with the culture of market transactions. It decorates the city with legible, local, 'friendly' emblems of economic power while real economic structures are more abstract, more influenced by international flows, and less likely to be understood as they appear in public view (Zukin, 1991, 28).

The projection of a definite image of place blessed with certain qualities, the organization of spectacle and theatricality, has been achieved through an eclectic mix of styles, historical quotation, ornamentation, and the diversification of surfaces (Harvey, 1990, 93).

To Harvey, fiction, fragmentation, collage, and eclecticism, are all suffused with a sense of ephemerality and chaos. These may be considered the themes that dominate in today's practices of architecture and urban design (Harvey, 1990, 98). This is the role of the simulacrum: a perfect replication of something original, so that it is nearly impossible to discern the difference between the original and the copy (Harvey, 1990, 289).

Regarding the creation of attractive places in a city, it should be noted that the emphasis on using the downtown as a 'part-time playground' is rooted in several factors. One of these is to find a new use or relevancy for a city's downtown. It has been illustrated that what is being changed is reality itself.

This should come as no surprise, for the mass media make it easy to create and disseminate new structures of reality. New realities do not have to convert the entire society, but

merely has to locate enough customers to fill up the theatre. But "the more enterprising among us see that there is much to be gained by constructing - and selling to the public - a certain reality, and so reality making becomes a new art and business" (Anderson, 1990, 5). Anderson is referring to political campaigning, but this formula could also apply to specially created environments. The same reasoning and same result -theatre - are apparent. He continues by stating that the job skills of a creator of social reality should include storytelling, as well as playwriting, playacting and the many varieties of stage(d) production. As more people suspect reality can be created, the world becomes a kind of theatre in which competing groups offer competing stories and scenarios.

The characteristics of life in the early postmodern era include:

1. *Society is a social construction of reality.* All the things that identify and define a 'people' such as its boundaries, culture and political institutions - are the products of earlier inventions.
2. *Individual identity is also a social construction of reality*, and the concept of a 'self' is different in different societies and at different stages of history.
3. *We regard the collective beliefs of individuals (instead of the mind of God or laws of history) as the ultimate repository of social reality.* In other words, what is true is defined by what we all believe. At the same time, we know that beliefs can be modified.
4. *All sectors of society are deeply interested in finding out what people believe* through such devices as public opinion polls, and modifying these beliefs through advertising, propaganda, brainwashing, public relations, etc.

5. *A perception that life is a drama* and that major issues involve the definition of personal roles and the fabrication of stories that give purpose and shape to social existence.
6. *Public happenings having the quality of scenes created or stage-managed for public consumption*. They are what Daniel Boorstin has called pseudo-events (Anderson, 1990, 107-8).

This last characteristic is especially relevant in the context of tourist attractions and related events and festivals.

A pseudo-event is not spontaneous, but comes about because someone planned, planted, or incited it. It is planted primarily for the purpose of being reported or reproduced; it has an ambiguous relation to the underlying reality of the subject, so that the press and public may speculate freely about what it really means, and; is usually intended to be a self-fulfilling prophecy. For example, a night-club mentioned as 'popular' in some prefabricated item in a gossip column actually becomes popular. Typical pseudo-events are the press release, the interview, and the celebration designed to call attention to a business enterprise (Anderson, 1990, 125). As someone watching the evening news may notice,

> Whenever an incident - a political fracas, a sex scandal, a child trapped in a well, a major disaster, a horrible crime - heaves up into public view, it becomes a *commodity* [italics mine] - and the more interesting and laden with the things that make good fiction (sex, violence, money, power, conflict, intrigue), the more potentially marketable and the more likely to be packaged and repackaged in many forms for public consumption...whenever an event moves into the stage of being represented on mass television, it has moved into a strange never-never land in which there is no longer any serious attempt to bring forth some genuine understanding of it or feeling for it. It has become McReality, experience turned into fast food (Anderson, 1990, 128-9).

It should be emphasized that pseudo-events play a role in the promotion of tourist attractions, as beacons for wayward travellers eager to experience something larger than life.

This section illustrates that commodification is a process that alters reality. Once unique environments and special events become part of the urban tourism strategy, the image of the city changes accordingly. For planners, the challenge is to accommodate some of these reshaping processes by regulating tourism-related development. At the same time, the concerns of the urban citizenry should be included in any tourism initiatives.

2.2 The City is a Stage

'Something about this place/ makes me lose a grip on time and space'

Lyric from Saint Etienne Song 'Leafhound' (1993)

In *Travels in Hyperreality*, Umberto Eco journeys across America in search of contrived places designed to look like authentic originals. Eco uncovers a uniquely American philosophy of immortality and duplication, as "authentic copies" (Eco's words) of items and places are found during his travels. He encounters "perfect reproductions of interiors, rooms, encounters with a magic past" (Eco, 1986, 10). A reverence for kitsch is found when visiting wax museums, an Old West ghost town, or a theme park, "one has the impression of entering and leaving time in a spatial-temporal haze where the centuries are confused" (Eco, 1986, 11). The wax museum juxtaposes figures from different historical eras, while the ghost town enables the customer to participate in a western fantasy in the role of the cowboy who has come to town to be fleeced of all he has accumulated. Historical occurrences and objects are rendered sensational as truth is

gleefully mixed with legend, like a soup containing hallucinogenic properties. Eco considers this process to be evidence of a phenomenon termed *hyperreality*.

The search for instances of hyperreality uncovers not only objects and small-scale attractions but landscapes as well. Eco sees California and Florida as an "uninterrupted continuum of urban centres, great ramps of freeways that span vast bays, artificial cities devoted to entertainment..." (Eco, 1986, 26). Unlike Europe, which consists of selected amusement houses and parks, the U.S. contains 'amusement cities' such as Las Vegas, which focus on gambling and entertainment. A detailed analysis of the architecture in Las Vegas (i.e., Venturi, Brown & Izenour, 1972) illustrates that this is a 'message' city entirely made up of signs. Instead of a city which communicates in order to function, Las Vegas functions in order to communicate (Eco, 1986, 40).

There are then the fake cities, or places that imitate other cities (New Orleans reproduced in Disneyland) parts of cities (a reproduction of a popular Los Angeles street in another part of Los Angeles) and landmark areas (Mississippi river in Disneyland). Disneyland is considered the ultimate toy city, as common sights as the American Main Street are presented as absolutely realistic and absolutely fantastic. The Main Street facades invite people to enter them, but the interior is a disguised supermarket where one buys obsessively, believing that you are still playing (Eco, 1986, 43). Disneyland produces illusion, stimulating a desire to see, ride, and consume inconsequential parts of it. Meanwhile, in Disneyworld, the monorail takes one past artificial bays and lagoons, a Swiss village, a Polynesian village, golf courses and tennis courts, large

hotels. The illusions correspond to demands and wishes of the visitors. Disneyland exemplifies how technology can give us more 'reality' than nature can, as (mechanical) alligators are evident at Disney's Mississippi simulation but are not seen when Eco visits the actual Mississippi (Eco, 1986, 44). Within the park, no traditional spaces exist; there is always something to see, like a room cluttered with old toys and curiosities. The great voids of modern architecture and city planning are unknown here (Eco, 1986, 48). A transformation is evident. Huxtable describes a 'profound shift' that mutilates and sells short what it pretends to elevate and embrace. It has instantly recognizable characteristics-an emphasis on surface gloss, on pastiche, on the use of familiar but bowdlerized elements from the history of design, on tenuous symbolism and synthetically created environments, a detachment from the problems and processes through which contemporary life and creative necessity are actively engaged.

Jean Baudrillard saw America in a similar manner when he toured that country. In his travelogue-hyperreal excursion *America*, everything Baudrillard observes about America forces him to reflect at length on whatever hits him during his journey, be it velocity, landscape, or the nature of America. He rejects "the picturesque tourist round, the sights, even the landscapes (only their abstraction remains, in the prism of scorching heat). Nothing is further from pure travelling than tourism or holiday travel" (Baudrillard, 1986, 9).

These writers' views of America as being a place composed of striking landscapes is interesting in that it highlights everyday aspects of America as being quite at odds with the surrounding landscape. The whole American landscape shows signs of hyperreal transformation. A more critical analysis is provided by Huxtable (1992).

The replacement of reality with selective fantasy has been led first by the preservation movement and then by a new, successful, and staggeringly profitable American phenomenon: the reinvention of the environment as themed entertainment. In turn, the blend of new and old, real and fake, original and copy, in even the best of these restorations defies analysis; it is dedicated to a wholly artificial construction that is supposed to convey a true (that is, tangible) experience of American art and history. But if these 're-creations' teach something to those who might otherwise remain innocent of history, they also devalue what they teach; the intrinsic qualities of the real place are transformed and falsified (Huxtable, 1992, 24).

Authentic reproduction have become the con words of American culture: something that is authentic is real, a reproduction is not..."to equate a replica with the genuine artefact is to cheapen and render meaningless its true age and provenance; to imply equal value is to deny the act of creation that was informed and defined by the art and custom of another time and place. What is missing is the original mind, hand, material, and eye. In other words, authenticity." The term 'authentic reproduction' has entered the language and culture as a total up-ending of values and a great money-maker for historic restorations, museums, and other coat-tail enterprises (Huxtable, 1992, 24).

Williamsburg and similar attractions have conditioned us to prefer and believe in "a sanitized and selective version of the past, to deny the diversity and eloquence of change and continuity, to ignore the actual deposits of history and humanity that make our cities vehicles of a special kind of art and experience, gritty accumulations of the best and worst we have produced. This record has the wonder and distinction of being the real thing" (Huxtable, 1992, 25). Williamsburg and Disneyland both deal in a doctored reality: a suspension of disbelief, the

expertise of illusion, and promotion of a skilfully edited, engineered, and marketed version of a chosen place, or theme.

A themed shopping environment that uses style as a distinguishing marketing factor is the ultimate extension of shopping mall as purveyor of entertainment and social activity. It represents the heart of modern consumer culture. More disturbing is the carry-over of the same pretence to other buildings and places where what remains of an indigenous urban life is being replaced by these "lessons" in merchandising and make-believe (Huxtable, 1992, 26). To Huxtable, Jean Baudrillard, in *Simulations*, argued that the simulation replaces the original, to become the reality; a technologically based, shrewdly programmed artificial experience in a manufactured and managed environment offering controlled and pricey pleasures (Huxtable, 1992, 26). New technological advances (also known as high-tech) has induced a confusion between spatial and temporal boundaries, collapsing the conventions that formerly distinguished fantasy from reality and creating a third, quite polemical, cognitive space: that of simulation (Olaquiaga, 1992, xix).

This section illustrates how commodification can manifest itself as a complete tourism strategy in small towns and selected sites across North America. Planners should take note that when seen from this perspective, commodification re-creates places from past eras and towns and regions become known as places where mini-plays are held, while everyday concerns are pushed aside.

2.3 City Hierarchies

David Harvey (1990) states there are many aspects of geographical organization that have risen to a new prominence under conditions of a more flexible accumulation of capital. The need for accurate information and speedy communication has emphasized the role of *world cities* in the financial and corporate system. The diminution of spatial barriers results in the reaffirmation and realignment of hierarchy within what is now a global urban system (Harvey, 1990, 295).

The downtown spaces of London, New York, and Tokyo otherwise known as first tier cities, became globally oriented financial and business service centres, demanding new office towers, luxury residences, entertainment spaces, and upscale marketplaces. But due to computerization and large corporations' operational segments (branch-plants) everywhere, cities of all sizes compete for investments. As a result, American midsized cities enjoyed fantastic growth (Boyer, 1992, 193).

It follows that if capitalists become increasingly sensitive to the spatially differentiated qualities of which the world's geography is composed, then it is possible for the peoples and powers that command those spaces to alter them in such a way as to be more rather than less attractive to highly mobile capital. Local ruling elites can, for example, implement strategies of local labour control, of skill enhancement, of infrastructural provision, of tax policy, state regulation, and so on, in order to attract development within their particular space (Harvey, 1990, 295).

The qualities of place stand thereby to be emphasized in the midst of the increasing abstractions of space. The active production of places with special qualities becomes an important stake in the spatial competition between localities, cities, regions, and nations. Corporatist forms of governance can flourish in such spaces, and themselves take on entrepreneurial roles in the production of favourable business climates and other special qualities. In this context, we can better situate the striving for cities to forge a distinctive image and to create an atmosphere of place and tradition that will act as a lure to both capital and people 'of the right sort' (Harvey, 1990, 295).

A heightened inter-place competition leads to the production of more variegated spaces, but since this competition opens up cities to systems of accumulation, it ends up producing what Boyer (1988) calls a recursive and serial monotony, 'producing from already known patterns or moulds places almost identical in ambience from city to city' (Harvey, 1990, 295). The less important the spatial barriers, the greater the sensitivity of capital to the variations of place within space, and the greater the incentive for places to be differentiated in ways attractive to capital. The end results of this differentiation are of course fragmentation, insecurity, and an ephemeral uneven development within the highly unified global space economy of capital flows (Harvey, 1990, 296).

A competitive location game has emerged on a global scale, with cities and regions marketing themselves. A city's image becomes the selling point, and "to be effective, a place's image must be credible, simple, distinctive, and have appeal" (Kotler et al, 1993, 20). As a result,

spatial design codes and architecture pattern languages become increasingly important in selling the *look* of an upmarket, upbeat environment. The style of life is visualized and represented in the spaces of conspicuous consumption: these become important assets that cities proudly display. Since the mid-70s, most cities' economic development strategies have been focused entirely on attracting the headquarters' of multinational corps and global financial concerns, and providing all the infrastructure, service, hotels, and convention centres these industries require. South Street Seaport, Times Square, and Battery Park, have all been planned as sites of such conspicuous consumption architecture, and artist-focused designs, to appeal to tastes of white collar workers and upper middle class consumers-the new urban populations (Boyer, 1992, 193).

The concentration of investment by multinational corporations, banks, and other financial institutions, and cultural producers who cater to and comment on their presence, remakes the world hierarchy of cities and places (Northern California ascends, Michigan declines). These shifts between landscapes of production and consumption have a dramatic effect on socio-spatial structure (Zukin, 1991, 269).

At present, it seems that cities and places take much more care to create a positive and high quality image of place, and have sought an architecture, and forms of urban design, that respond to such need. That the result should be a serial repetition of successful models is understandable, given the grim history of deindustrialization and restructuring that left most cities in the advanced capitalist world with few options except to compete with each other, mainly as financial, consumption, and entertainment centres. Imagining a city through the organization of

spectacular urban spaces became a means to attract capital and people in a period of intensified inter-urban competition and urban enterpeneuralism (Harvey, 1990, 92).

This section illustrates that competition between cities and regions has intensified due to shifts in the economic landscape. To attract capital in the form of business or tourism dollars, many places alter their physical appearance. This competition between locations is a sad but hard truth planners must be aware of when new tourism initiatives are proposed.

2.4 Commodification

At the outset, buildings are a product, and, like other products, packaging is the first thing people may see. Architecture and design have become more 'professionalized' as they face stiff competition for corporate commissions (Zukin, 1991, 44-6). Disney World builds scenarios that "imply a continuing interaction of financial investment and cultural production that could lead in two directions: deeper social roots for the service economy and more pervasive corporate control over the visual imagination" (Zukin, 1991, 273). At the same time, "...new waterfront shopping centres expand a zone of liminality downtown based on visual consumption. Usually built on disused piers in older cities with declining ports, they present shopping as a means of enjoying urban culture" (Zukin, 1991, 50).

Of the many developments in the arena of consumption, two stand out as being of particular importance. The mobilization of fashion in mass markets provided a means to accelerate the pace of consumption not only in clothing, ornament, and decoration but also across a wide swathe of life-styles and recreational activities (e.g. leisure). A second trend was a shift away from the consumption of goods and into the consumption of services-not only personal,

business, educational, and health services, but also into entertainments, spectacles, happenings, and distractions (Harvey, 1990, 285). Once the commodity is placed within a system of signs symbolizing entire life-styles and supporting environments, the system itself seeks to increase consumption by suggesting that a particular lifestyle requires the acquisition of not one but an entire series of goods (Faurschou, 1990). Consequently, simulated landscapes of exotic and imaginary terrains cleverly combining the fantastic with the real, become the ideal background props for our contemporary acts of consumption, set-ups that intensify the commodity's power of seduction" (Boyer, 1992, 200). Thus, a place like the South Street Seaport is actually an outdoor advertisement that narrates a story about trade and commodities, and these narratives of adventure and conquest fill out the more nostalgic desires of the consumer (Boyer, 1992, 202).

For promoters of products, desire has become a matter of meaning, which results in the manipulation of signs, for what now sustains the consumer society is the ability of manufacturers to perform this manipulation, to manufacture meaning (Woolley, 1992, 199). At the same time "people like to consume; they seek their social identity in shopping, comparing goods, and talking about consumption. They find drama, history, and a variety in new spaces of consumption. However, as their lives grow more distant from the activities of material production, they lose interest in values that developed during the industrial age: economic equity, labor organization, social justice" (Zukin, 1991, 255).

Jameson cites Debord's statement, 'the image is the final form of commodity reification' as an introduction to his own analysis of the culture of the image. The image culture of the postmodern is post-perceptual, turning on imaginary rather than on material consumption

(Jameson, 1991, 144). Consumerism is viewed as a compensation for an economic impotence which is also an utter lack of any political power. Reification is, in this sense, the way in which a product somehow shuts us out even from a sympathetic participation, by imagination, in its production. It comes before us, no questions asked, as something we could not begin to imagine doing for ourselves (Jameson, 1991, 317).

This section illustrates that the attractiveness of a place from a tourism perspective is dependent on the ability of that place to convey a meaning that appeals to tourists. An over-emphasis of this fact leads to an areas' dependence on consumption-oriented income from outside the city.

2.5 A Working Model of Commodification

> *Disnification:* an absurd, synthetic place made up of a surrealistic combination of history, myth, reality, and fantasy.
>
> *Imagineering:* the imaginative engineering of deception or manufactured and manipulated illusions (Hopkins, 1990).

Commodification is prevalent in many forms and in many places, but a glaring example of this phenomenon can be found at the West Edmonton Mall. The West Edmonton Mall or WEM, "embodies an important cultural shift in our urban landscapes: the increase in leisure services of consumption replacing manufacturing industries of accumulation (King, 1988, 452); the growing intrusion of fantasy and spectacle into everyday places and the totalitarianization of a previously public domain." (Hopkins, 1990, 8). WEM conveys elsewhereness yet is placeless (Hopkins, 1990, 10). Taking Zukin's assertion that buildings are products literally, WEM actualizes this

claim. To its visitors, "the landscape of the mega-mall is itself a product to be consumed, a place to be experienced according to advertisements, and not merely a context for shopping. The traditional role of marketplace as protector from the natural elements and as forum to meet and interact with others still holds, but the mega mall offers context itself as a consumable product: 'the image has become the final form of commodity reification' (Jameson, 1984, 66; Hopkins, 1990, 10).

A sense of "elsewhereness is post-modern in architectural style; theoretical orientation and experience. Pastiche and schizophrenia are characteristic of the post-modern architectural style, which reorients space and time (Jameson, 1983, 113-25). 'Pastiche' involves the imitation or mimicry of other styles; it is an ironic and witty twist to traditional designs; it mocks the 'original.' 'Schizophrenia' is the blurring of time and space through fragmenting building space and mixing novel uses and activities. Elsewhereness is both producer and product of these characteristics, but the basic idea of imitation inherent in the concept is not novel. (Hopkins, 1990, 4-5). The success or failure of elsewhereness as a spatial strategy depends on the exchange and transfer of meanings between patrons and the metonymical and placial icons, a process of iconization or signification requiring cooperation. Employing signs from obscure or unfamiliar systems would hold little meaning for the masses and hence little entertainment or use value. Only references to widely held cultural experiences or knowledge could be used, such as the Crown jewels, Christopher Columbus's Santa Maria, New Orleans, and Miami Beach. Patrons are constrained for their part by several factors: income, time, wants and desires, life experience and knowledge (Eyles, 1987 102; Hopkins, 1990, 10-1).

Placial Icons are an attempt to simulate characteristics and uses of other places; they are 'spatial metaphors' of other places in that they act as substitutes for the original referent or place. *Metonymical icons* do not act as placial substitutes but refer to a larger whole through their associative characteristics. Placial icons supersede metonymical icons by attempting to simulate, near-duplicate or replicate characteristics and uses of the referent or 'material place'. Both constitute icons because they replicate palpable artefacts or conditions which represent other settings and/or times. This associative reference of metonymical icons to characteristics of other times and settings and the near duplication of characteristics and uses of placial icons to other places, assist willing patrons to transcend present settings and times (Hopkins, 1990, 4).

Exotic places under one roof can be considered placial icons: "regardless of the degree of resemblance in characteristics and use, none of the these placial icons is a perfect replica of the original or referent place, and hence they lack an identity of their own. They remain placeless, albeit in the guise of elsewhere. To constitute 'place' a placial icon must be 'a centre of felt value...a repository of meaning' (Johnston, Gregory & Smith, 1986, 346) which has a physical setting, a location, and a sense of identity (Burgess & Wood, 1988, 95). The fact that a placial icon is not an exact duplication may be part of the amusement; patrons may revel in the pleasure of imitation, in the awe of the technical wizardry that has (re)created so many different settings in a single building (Eco, 1986, 46). Placial icons constitute the simulated landscape of elsewhere, and elsewhere is where consumer utopia can be found in the form of myth. A consumer utopia is a place to purchase 'everything you've wanted in a lifetime and more'; the attempted realization of a perfect place of material and experiential consumption (Hopkins, 1990, 13).

The Myths embodied in the 'consumer utopia' include:

1. The good life for all: *myth of egalitarianism* through consumption (Eyles & Evans, 1987, 41) everyone is free to choose where and what to purchase, provided everyone has the money.
2. The *myth of personal transformation* through physical determination (Berger, 1972 129-54; Lewis, 1987, 111) patrons can alter the character of their lives for the better by experiencing the WEM environment and will become richer in some way (but poorer because of money spent).
3. *Myth of millionaire status*: in the past, only the rich could travel to locales with favorable climates, but WEM brings other locales to the average family.
4. *Myth of public community centre*, people see the mall as 'public' as opposed to private space: WEM promoted as a public congregative centre in its widely distributed monthly 'events calendars'.
5. *The myth of escape*: WEM as place free of mundane struggles. This is contradictory to Myth #4, as public affairs do exist and are encouraged by the mall (Hopkins, 1990, 13).

The fact that the West Edmonton Mall contains so many myths is a testament to the creative work that went into its creation. This shopping centre's popularity says a great deal about the needs and desires of the people that are attracted to consumer utopias. Being a contained world of consumption, WEM is a striking example of a postmodern touristscape.

As this section has illustrated, reality is altered to produce grand spectacles for people bored with the predictability of ordinary life. As the everyday world of strip malls and franchise

outlets becomes more standardized, specially created tourism environments attempt to offer complete escape while bombarding the sight-seeing individual with attractive goods and services that can only be experienced fully if they are purchased by the tourist-consumer.

While specific examples such as the West Edmonton Mall point to the superficial side of tourism, it would be a grave injustice to simply dismiss tourism in general as a commercially proficient attempt at providing temporary colorful thrills. As will be stated in the next section, tourism is a phenomenon shaped and moulded by parties interested in attracting people to a certain city, town, or region. While insights into postmodern theory help to explain how cities have become commodified, section three will examine why commodification is an attractive option for civic governments.

3.0 Tourism: The Search for Unique Experiences

The creation of fantasy environments such as Disneyworld, the West Edmonton Mall, and old west towns are a response to people's desire to escape the rigors of everyday life by becoming immersed in unique experiences. The purpose of this section is to further explore the importance of tourism attractions as an important part of one's tourism experience. Several facets of tourism are examined in this section, including ideas from Daniel Boorstin, Roland Barthes, and Clare Gunn. It will be illustrated within this section that tourism, by its very existence as an industry, commodifies the real world for the sake of providing illuminating experiences for the consumer-traveller.

3.1 From Travel to Tourism

> *"A well-packaged tour must include insurance against risks. In this sense the dangers of travel have become obsolete; we buy safety and peace of mind right in the package. Somebody else covers the risks...when the traveller's risks are insurable he has become a tourist"* (Boorstin, 1961, 91).

In an increasingly commodified society, leisure becomes more of a 'lunch-break', with its' regimented schedules. Indeed, Daniel Boorstin (1961) noticed this several decades ago. While many Americans now travel, few are travellers in the old sense of the word. The multiplication, improvement, and cheapening of travel facilities have carried many more people to distant places. But the experience of going there, the experience of being there, and what is brought back from there are all very different. The experience has become diluted, contrived, and prefabricated.

The modern American tourist now fills his/her experience with pseudo-events. He has come to expect both more strangeness and more familiarity than the world naturally offers. He has come to believe that he can have a lifetime of adventure in two weeks and all the thrills of risking his life without any real risk at all. So he expects that the exotic and the familiar can be made to order: that a nearby vacation spot can give him Old World charm, and also that if he chooses the right accommodations he can have the comforts of home in the heart of Africa. Expecting all this, he demands that it be supplied to him. There has been no lack of honest and enterprising suppliers who try to give him what he wants, to help him inflate his expectations, and to gratify his insatiable appetite for the impossible (Boorstin, 1961, 80).

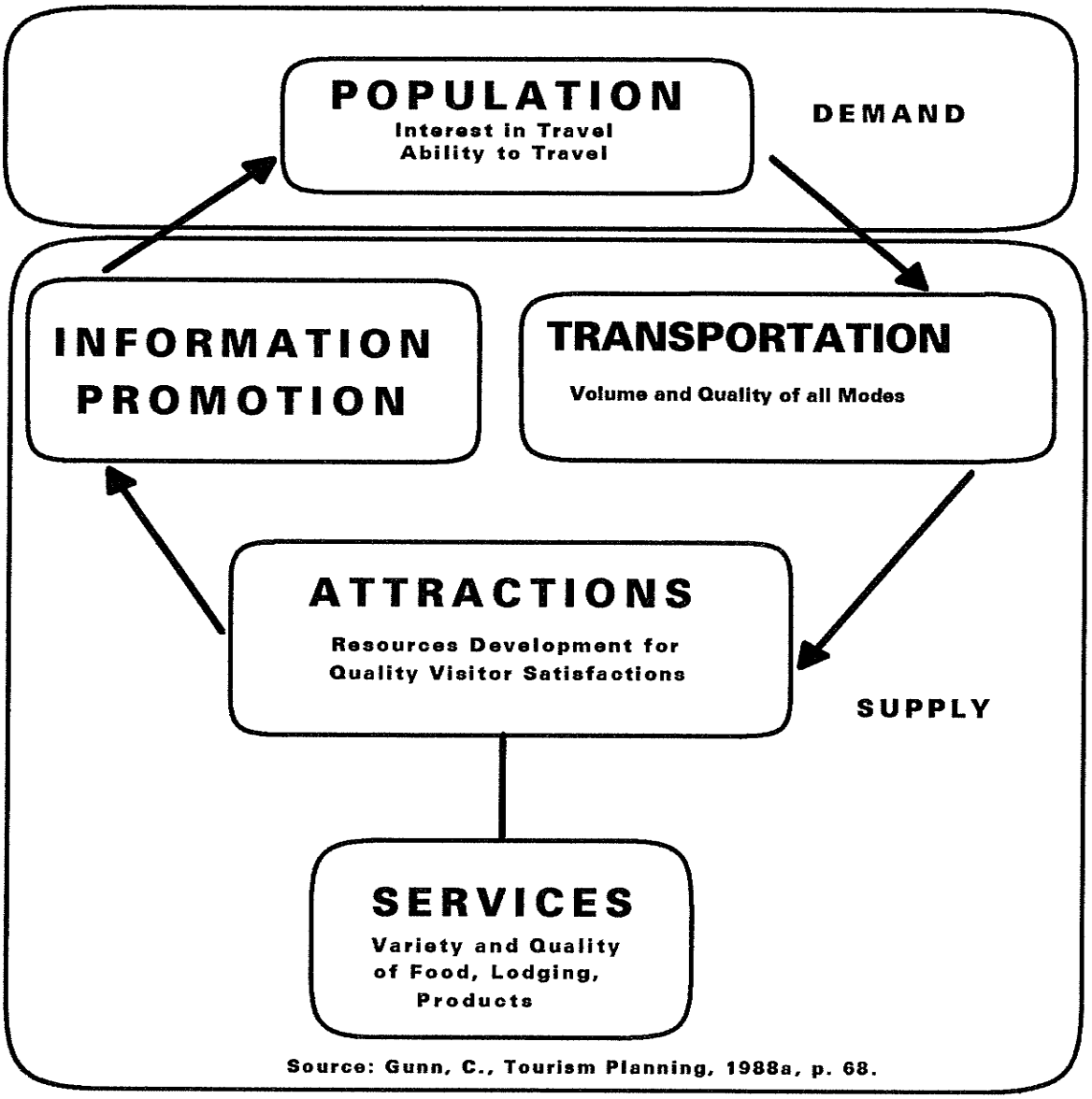
When did this transformation occur? Boorstin states that it began "sometime past the middle of the nineteenth century, as the graphic revolution was getting under way, the character of foreign travel - first by Europeans, and then by Americans - began to change. This change has reached its climax in our day. Formerly travel required long planning, large expense, and great investments of time. It involved risks to health or even to life. The traveller was active. Now he became passive. Instead of an athletic exercise, travel became a spectator sport" (Boorstin, 1961, 84). Being passive, the tourist expects interesting things to happen to him. He goes "sight-seeing", expecting everything to be done to him and for him. Thus foreign travel ceased to be an activity or experience, and became commodified. Reasons for this include technological advances in transportation, and the rise of the package tour (Boorstin, 1961, 86-90).

3.2 Tourist Attractions

From one perspective, tourist attractions are a positive component of the urban landscape. Gunn considers all components of the tourism system are important to its functioning, but attractions provide the energizing power. He defines attractions as the on-location places in regions that not only provide the things for tourists to see and do, but also offer the magnetism for travel. Attractions are the mirror side of market interests, the places where personal and social expectations from travel are realized. Because markets change over time, so do attractions, even though they often have physical roots. Furthermore, economic impact, even though directly derived from commercial services and facilities, is dependent on the attracting power of a region to draw travellers (Gunn, 1988a, 107).

The relationship between attractions and other components can be visualized in the following manner:

Figure 1: The Functioning Tourism System



Source: Gunn, C., Tourism Planning, 1988a, p. 68.

To Gunn, attractions are an integral part of the functioning tourist system.

Gunn proceeds to classify attractions based on two types of tourism: touring circuit and longer stay (focused). Touring circuit attractions satisfy touring markets, or those travelling for business or pleasure on tours that include many separate locations. Examples of touring circuit attractions are unusual institutions, relatives' homes, shopping areas, and outstanding natural areas. In contrast, longer stay attractions are at or clustered about destination areas. These attractions are used by the same users repeatedly over entire vacation or business trip periods (Gunn, 1988a, 113). Longer stay or focused attractions can include resorts, festival or event places, sports complexes, and theme parks (see detailed breakdown, page 113, 1988a). It is important to consider that:

> An important part of the scope of tourist attractions is their varying dependency on natural and cultural resource characteristics. For a great many attractions, the natural resources are important, such as topographic change, climate, wildlife, surface waters, waterfalls and other scenic features, and unusual natural phenomena such as geysers and natural bridges. Others depend more on cultural foundations, including historic buildings, sites, archaeological digs and restorations, ethnic sites, and many manmade points of interest, such as manufacturing plants, or cultural institutions such as universities (Gunn, 1988a, 116).

In today's market competition, the small and separate attraction pales before the larger complexes. The idea of attraction integration to create larger complexes, which have greater interest value for visitors and are more promotable, has become a popular one, as there now exists clusters of attractions in theme parks, natural parks, and urban areas (Gunn, 1988a, 121).

> The rise of tourist traffic has brought the relatively recent phenomenon of the tourist attraction pure and simple. It often has no purpose but to attract in the interest of the owner or of the nation. As we might expect, this use of the word 'attraction' as 'a thing or feature which 'draws' people; especially, any interesting

> or amusing exhibition' dates only from about 1862. It is a new species: the most attenuated form of a nation's culture. All over the world now we find these 'attractions' -of little significance for the inward life of a people, but wonderfully saleable as tourist commodity (Boorstin, 1961, 103).

To Boorstin, tourist attractions work best when they are pseudo-events. As such, they are not spontaneous cultural products, they are made especially for tourist consumption. This is case in large world centres as well as remote villages, for "earnest honest natives embellish their ancient rites, change, enlarge, and spectacularize their festivals, so that tourists will not be disappointed. In order to satisfy the exaggerated expectations of tour agents and tourists, people everywhere obligingly become dishonest mimics of themselves. To provide a full schedule of events at the best seasons and at convenient hours, they travesty their most solemn rituals, holidays, and folk celebrations-all for the benefit of tourists" (Boorstin, 1961, 103). Wherever in the world the American tourist goes, then, he is prepared to be ruled by the law of pseudo-events, by which the image, the well-contrived imitation, outshines the original (Boorstin, 1961, 107).

The sight-seeing items, which can be confidently guaranteed and conveniently and quickly delivered to tourists on arrival, have these merchandisable qualities precisely because they are not naive expressions of the country. They cannot be the real ritual or the real festival; such was never originally planned for tourists. Like the hula dances now staged for photographer-tourists in Hawaii (courtesy of the Eastman Kodak Company), the widely appealing tourist attractions are apt to be those specially made for tourist consumption.

Meanwhile, the tourist demands more and more pseudo-events. The most popular of these must be easily photographed (favorable weather and light conditions) and be inoffensive, or suitable for family viewing. By the mirror-effect law of pseudo-events, they tend to become bland

and unsurprising reproductions of what the image-flooded tourist knew was there all the time. The tourist's appetite for strangeness thus seems best satisfied when the pictures in his own mind are verified in some far country (Boorstin, 1961, 109).

According to Boorstin, domestic travel has undergone the same transformation: "we all know how desperately Chambers of Commerce work to create local color, how auto license plates advertise unreal distinctions...nearly all the changes in foreign travel have appeared with equal or greater effect in domestic travel" (Boorstin, 1961, 109-10).

The growth of tourist attractions, or, as Boorstin calls them, tourist traps has been unprecedented in recent decades. From the grandiose Disneyland and its smaller imitators (Freedomland, Frontierland, etc.) to the plaster-of-paris "Covered Wagon" and "Indian Tepee" filling stations and 'museums' now lining highways in Kansas and Nebraska, artificial amusement sites have proliferated across North America. The pre-eminence of Yellowstone National Park as a tourist attraction is doubtless due to the fact that its natural phenomena - its geysers and 'paintpots' which erupt and boil on schedule - come closest to the artificiality of 'regular' tourist performances. They are Nature imitating the pseudo-event (Boorstin, 1961, 111). In this respect, Baudrillard echoes Boorstin years later, when he mentions natures' repository of special effects. Naturally, tourism literature plays a large part in promoting these types of features.

The 'special nature' of attractions is exemplified with Baedeker's invention of the star-rating system. Two stars were given to sights that were considered extraordinary (Yellowstone Park, the Louvre, the Pyramids); one star was given to sights of a lesser rank (merely noteworthy) and mine-run tourist attractions were not given any stars at all. Baedeker's

rating system and the Blue Guide and Penguin Guides have "dominated the uneasy, half-cultivated modern tourist" (Boorstin, 1961, 106).

In describing The Blue Guide, Barthes states that it 'hardly knows the existence of scenery except under the guise of the picturesque'. As an agent of blindness, its' depictions cloud some aspects of the destination, while highlighting other aspects. The gracelessness of the landscape accounts for travel interest (Bathes, 1973, 81). Men are reduced to type: they are seen as mere introduction, constituting charming and fanciful decor, and meant to surround the essential part of the country, which is its' collection of monuments (Bathes, 1973, 82). Barthes summed up the situation perfectly when he states that "to select only monuments suppresses at one stroke the reality of the land and that of its people, it accounts for nothing of the present, that is, nothing historical, and as a consequence, the monuments themselves become indecipherable, therefore senseless" (Barthes, 1973, 83).

Is tourism that sinister? Are planners constructing cities in a manner so that visitors are channelled to the appropriate locations without seeing the existing communities? The problem with the above-described guides is their fragmented portrayal of a place as a repository for unique sights. This portrayal reduces tourism to an exercise in collecting special pictures, rather than away-from-home experiences.

Gunn contends that the goal of the tourist is in obtaining interesting, worthwhile, exciting experiences. No one, least of all a planner, can guarantee this outcome (Gunn, 1988a, 114). While planning can assist the integration of complementary attractions, there may be danger in

contriving unrealistic situations with 'too much' planning. Yet "one may be critical of anything but 'real' events and places. On the other hand, landscapes are reflections of cultures, and cultures change. If one is to interpret some earlier age and all the original artefacts are gone, there is no recourse except to recreate the situation (Gunn, 1988a, 121).

In essence, the touristsphere consists of different situations. Cohen (1979, 27) has identified four types of touristic situations:

- Authentic-objectively the real thing
- Staged authenticity-covert (tourist unaware) tourist space
- Denial of authenticity-may be real but is doubted by skeptics
- Contrived-created settings admittedly not originals

For the purposes of urban tourism experiences, we can examine Butler's tourist attraction hierarchy. It consists of several levels:

1. *Global tourist attractions*, include places that have international recognition and contain many elements of appeal (that attracts people with diverse interests). Examples include Paris, London, and Tokyo. It is interesting to note here that Butler cites cities as being the greatest possible tourist attraction. These cities mean something to many people; images come to mind when the cities' names are mentioned. They are established global attractions which attract tourists because they convey a rich potpourri of stories, history, feelings, and adventure in an urban setting. They can be considered cosmopolitan or metropolitan because of all of the interesting elements they have to offer.

2. *Special features* or places capable of attracting distinct groups of tourists globally but do not appeal to everyone. Egypt's Pyramids fits in this level, but some natural attractions, such as the Old Faithful geyser in Yellowstone National Park, could also fit into this framework. Other memorable attractions such as Vancouver's OmniImax or Calgary's staging of the Olympics may appeal to select groups of international tourists.
3. *Places which attract tourists nationally*. Butler argues these attractions will not attract international tourists. Despite the attractions these cities have to offer, Quebec City, Edmonton, and perhaps Winnipeg would appeal to Canadians only because they are not cosmopolitan in the same manner as Toronto, Montreal and perhaps Vancouver.
4. *Places which attract people to certain areas in conjunction with other features* (The CN Tower, Skydome, and Eaton Centre in Toronto). Some cities can have a series of memorable attractions, and still not be considered a global tourist attraction. New Orleans, New York, and possibly Boston are considered attractive due to historical and cultural factors. It is financially impossible for a city to transform itself into spectacle, so many places, in attempting to become attractive on a global scale, alter and promote selected areas of their urban domains. These places that adopt 'designer docks' and engage in upscale beautification in order to become noticeable to international tourists might be putting the cart before the horse. The difference between the former and the latter is that cities that construct tourism-friendly complexes are creating an urban-based attraction. Cities that have a long-standing cosmopolitan image *are* the attraction as it is understood that there will be things to do there. Meanwhile, the failure to combat existing

urban problems while turning the city or parts of it into a playground for the well-heeled builds resentment in the local population.

5. Places which are *regional attractions* (national or provincial parks and historic sites). Many Canadian cities can claim this honor with urban parks and gardens (paradise found), historical attractions, and recreation-based attractions, such as spectator sports. Festivals and events could be considered regional in scope, depending on the size and history of the particular event. It could be argued that some festivals and events have a national popularity (Winnipeg's Folk Festival), while other events (street festivals) are locally based.
6. *Local* attractions, ranging from ones genuinely capable of attracting people to others that essentially help tourists to pass the time in a place. Butler cites museums in this context. One could also consider shopping, dining, accommodation and transportation as elements that enhance a tourism experience but may not necessarily provide an incentive to travellers.

Incidentally, Butler states that West Edmonton Mall fits at levels 3 and 4 (Butler, 1991, 291). In contrast, Winnipeg hovers around levels 5 and 6, but like other cities could ascend the hierarchy if tourism became a greater priority in civic agendas.

3.3 Tourism Advertising: The Power of the Photographic Image

Referring back to Gunn's diagram of a tourism system (Figure 1), it is crucial to keep in mind the importance of promoting a place, in order for it to be a popular draw with tourists.

Due to the fickle nature of the sightseeing tourist and intense competition by regions for tourism-generated dollars, urban tourism development has become costly and intensely risky. Besides difficulties in attracting a target market, many cities are struggling with or attempting to recover from negative images, as current media coverage reinforces the perception of cities as inhospitable environments for the pursuit of many leisure-oriented activities. In spite of the image problem, the economic restructuring of cities has identified tourism as an industry with tremendous potential. As a result, competition for the tourism dollar has become increasingly intense (Haywood, 1990, 25).

It is important to note that "the perceptions held by potential visitors about an area may have significant influences upon the viability of that area as a tourist-recreation region" (Hunt, 1975, 1). There seems little reason to doubt that for many people tourist brochures, whether obtained from travel agencies or from official government tourist bureaux, play a major role in forming their image of a place (Dilley, 1986, 60).

In Hummon's words, tourist advertising becomes the cultural text that symbolically transforms ordinary places and times into extraordinary tourist worlds. In contemporary American culture, tourist advertising accomplishes this task by presenting tourist worlds as places of plenitude, nature, leisure, history, and paradise, thus transcending the earnest reality of urban everyday life (Hummon, 1988, 179). As a ritual text, tourist advertising is involved in a symbolic transformation of reality, remaking ordinary places, from New York to Iowa, into extraordinary tourist worlds (Hummon, 1988, 181) and the language of travel brochures often presents vacation

destinations in ways that oppose the features of life 'at home' (Moeran, 1983, 181). To the social critic, tourist advertisements are similarly less indicative of the nature of places than of the purposes of advertising. Here, the promotional materials of tourism, as part of a culture of consumption, tell us about the commodification of experience, about the selling of places to prospective consumers. If tourist advertisements remake places, they clearly do so in special ways, providing a representation of reality whose meaning lies precisely in its opposition to the everyday life of mass urban industrial America. In doing so, they provide the symbolic structure essential for a ritual break from ordinary reality, marking out an extraordinary time and place that inverts the reality of daily life (Hummon, 1988, 200). Essentially, the tourist is also a traveller who is willing to die, but only just a little, in order to be born again. This too is the symbolic content of his journey, the meaning of his adventure, an adventure which is reflected and attested by tourist ads, memorializing the variations of the experience, from detachment to discovery of one's personality and of the world (Urbain, 1989, 117).

Imagery is an essential part of tourist decision making but it can be manipulated to suggest that a destination has all the requirements of the "bliss formula" (Lea, 1988, 23). In order to advertise a package holiday as a dream, tour operators select images from a set of alternatives established by a network of cultural categories and principles involving time, space, and social status (Reimer, 1990, 503). The imagery of international tourism is not about socio-economic reality; it is about dreams and fantasies (Reimer, 1990, 510). Image can be broken down into several distinct components: mythification and fantasy (in which places are portrayed as paradises of the untouched and exotic); minimization of foreigners in places considered too strange and

possibly uncomfortable for tourists- in this case advertisements often explicitly try to balance risk with security experiences, such as showing a photo of a luxury hotel next to one emphasizing the exotic qualities of a place; recreation entertainment and enjoyment, with little, if any, reference to cultural attractions; romanticization of traditional lifestyles; placelessness, in which images are transferred from other, better known attractions and associated with the advertised place, rather than using the place itself; and realistic portrayals of attractions (Lew, 1987, 567-8).

From the photographs on posters, slides, snapshots and postcards to those in advertising brochures, souvenir booklets, and travel magazines, there is a vast body of pictorial evidence for studying visual imagery in tourism (Albers & James, 1988, 135). On one hand, they can serve as supplementary data for illustrating and illuminating aspects of the tourist experience and its associated travel environment. On the other hand, they can become a primary source of data for understanding the form, meaning, and process of photographic representation in tourism (Albers & James, 1988, 135). It is the power of photography to pass itself off as a replication of the "real", and a credible source of knowledge without revealing its underlying ideological message, that makes it such an intriguing and challenging medium for analyzing ethnic communication in the context of tourism (Albers & James, 1988, 136). Photography is a socially constructed medium for communicating ethnic imagery in travel (Albers & James, 1988, 156). To decode the narrative structures which animate tourist advertisements contributes to understanding the code which determines touristic behaviour.

To summarize, vacation photography is about information, aesthetics, emotion, and power. It represents a vitally important medium through which we communicate with others and understand and learn about places (Haywood, 1990, 25). When used in tourism advertising, vacation photography gains more power, as images are combined to create a favorable impression of a place.

3.4 Lesson Drawing: the Practice of Commodification of the City

To study tourism is to study consumer behaviour and culture. Like other products, tourism consumption "is 'sign-driven' and media-driven, subject to the dictates of commodity exchange and consumption patterns" (Watson & Kopachevsky, 1994, 645). Commodification has been defined on numerous occasions as the process by which objects and activities come to be evaluated primarily in terms of their *exchange value* in the context of trade, in addition to any *use-value* that such commodities may have. Watson and Kopachevsky argue that "when one conceptualizes tourism as a commodity, this meaning has to be extended to include at least one other value as well: *sign-value*" (Watson & Kopachevsky, 1994, 646). Accepting this value is a major step toward understanding that tourism is an industry governed and controlled by imagery through advertising. Mass media or tourism bureaux themselves gather necessary images from the now chaotic flow of signs and simulated images that are prevalent in Western culture, and make the tourism experience seem to be greater than the sum of the individual tourist attractions already in place. In considering the commodification of tourism, one must consider the complete tourism experience, including services, activities, and experiences as well as mere objects (Watson & Kopachevsky, 1994, 649). Those pieces of advertising known as tourism brochures do their

part to highlight tourism as an experience. This is crucial, for "what is being sold is not just the direct use of the commodity, but its symbolic significance as a particular ingredient of a cohesive lifestyle" (Watson & Kopachevsky, 1994, 656). The inescapable 'keeping up with the Joneses" logic that is so much an important part of capitalism has found a comfortable home within the colorful pages of tourism brochures.

While Watson and Kopachevsky bemoan the state of tourism, other writers are quite content to acknowledge that tourism is a product with positive and negative attributes. But, significantly, "[tourism] is not an 'industry' in the conventional sense as there is no single production process, no homogeneous product and no locationally confined market" (Smith, 1988, 145). Stephen J. Smith also considers the tourism product to be the sum of the complete tourism experience, but approaches this definition in a different manner: "the production and the product may not be conventional, but they are real and of substantial economic importance to communities and nations worldwide" (Smith, 1989, 592).

In practice, tourism can produce substantial economic and social benefits, but consists of a variety of components, and the relationships between these components are important. Recalling Gunn, a functioning tourism system consists of markets, attractions, services, transportation, information, and promotion. Any place that undergoes tourism initiatives must have these components in place in order to function smoothly as a system.

Regarding attractions, Gunn states that

> a wide variety of physical settings and establishments provide a pull for travellers to visit destination regions. Whereas almost anything at one time or another may become an attraction, the functional tourism system requires identification, planning and management of physical developments and programs that provide visitor satisfactions. Attractions, no matter who owns and provides them, not only attract visitors but provide for their participation...(Gunn, 1988a, 71).

Attractions are physical place settings for experiences, "although attractions cannot command user participation, they can be so located, designed, and managed to increase the probabilities of satisfying visitor travel purpose" (Gunn, 1988a, 123).

Ferrario (1979, 24) selected six criteria for attractions. These were

- A long ***season*** of use.
- ***Access*** is related to both time and space.
- ***Admission*** through some means of permission and often by price.
- ***Importance,*** as some attractions, by virtue of both market interest and intrinsic value, are far more important as attractions for visitors than others.
- ***Fragility,*** as some important sites cannot withstand intensive visitor use, or require special controls to protect cultural or natural resource values.
- ***Popularity,*** for whatever reason, some attractions (e.g. West Edmonton Mall) are popular regardless of location and development.

Importantly, service facilities, such as hotels, motels, restaurants, bars, retail sales, and other services are just as important, if not more so, as attractions. Transportation in turn provides

a linkage between place of residence and place of destination and is a very important component. Through the linkages it provides, transportation clearly favors some attractions over others, thus "all attractions are related to the nearest city as a travel service center" (Gunn, 1988a, 124).

In many cases, the physical development of an area can provide multiple functions. For example, a restaurant can serve both as an attraction (if it becomes the target of one's travel itinerary) as well as a service. But not all restaurants serve both functions. A bus is a means of transportation, but a bus tour is an attraction by virtue of its interpretative program about the scenic and historic sites along the way The provision of services, meanwhile, often enhances the attractiveness of a region, as was the case in Samoa and the Fiji islands (Gunn, 1988a, 72). Interrelationships such as these illustrate that the tourism system is a dynamic one.

Gunn argues that the information/promotion component is intimately linked to the rest of the system, as this component provides the prospective tourist with a background about a destination, whether it is transportation, services, or attractions. He states that "communications of all types are becoming more and more important to link the consumer to the product...if tourists do not know about travelways, attractions, services, and facilities, and do not know how to get to them, tourism can be less than satisfactory for both consumers and suppliers. Certainly, the planning for tourism must include understanding of the essential component of promotion/information" (Gunn, 1988a, 171). Because of the importance of this component in making the tourist aware of a destination, Gunn sees the effects of these components as positive

rather than manipulative, although he does admit that the primary function of this component is to influence people to visit a particular destination (Gunn, 1988a, 72).

The goals of tourism promotion can be outlined as follows:

1. to increase awareness of the destination/hotel/carrier as an option for the next decision;
2. to increase the number in the target market who hold favorable attitudes toward the destination/hotel/ carrier;
3. to broaden the knowledge of the specifics of the destination/hotel/carrier and what it offers to the vacationer;
4. to increase the number in the target market who say they will seriously consider the destination/hotel/carrier the next time the vacation decision arises (Gunn, 1988a, 179).

While the goals of tourism promotion are clear, the consequences of urban tourism can be manifold. It is easy to believe that with a sound tourism system in place, a city or region can benefit economically as well as socially. But if the major components of tourism are controlled and regulated by outside interests, economic benefits would be minimal. In some cases, civic governments have focused their regulatory efforts (and their public purse) on attracting tourism-friendly industries while ignoring local concerns. As a result, social problems such as poverty, crime, and unemployment become more frequent news stories as yet another new spectacle is magically unveiled at a selected site. Clearly, this type of tourism should be avoided at all costs, for not only is this an imposition on the local population (and thus socially and

psychologically damaging), it also produces poor tourism experiences, as the traveller's experience is limited to selected sites rather than a complete urban experience.

Many Canadian cities attempt to portray themselves in travel literature as being places where wonderful (and sometimes spectacular) things can happen. In some cases, a city will attempt to present itself as an actual *city,* with its real life drama, rather than as a collection of censored plays. But tourism brochures lend themselves toward the more fantastic aspects of the tourism experience. Even so, mundane aspects of travel such as dining, accommodation, and transportation are presented along with historically-significant buildings, odd natural phenomena, and superficial urban-identity totems such as sports teams.

The next chapter examines brochures from several Canadian cities, to illustrate how the tourism system is packaged in practice. Tourism data from Statistics Canada is also examined to illustrate that the relationship between promotion (presented image) and actual capital gains (perceived image) from tourism may be a negative one.

CHAPTER THREE: IDENTIFYING TOURISM IN CANADIAN CITIES

1.0 Background

While investigating all relevant media is beyond the scope of this study, it is possible to acquire an impression of a Canadian city's image by examining tourism promotional material or brochures. Even a fleeting glance at promotional material reveals that Canadian cities promote themselves as tourist destinations in an aggressive manner. This is accomplished with captivating photographs and headlines that highlight various urban attractions. By examining tourism brochures, one can find out what is promoted and what is ignored in Canadian cities. Each Canadian city strives to present itself as something unique. This uniqueness can be attributed to geographic location, historic events, manufactured amusements, or a combination of factors. In each case a city creates an image for itself and is then perceived as the 'city with the largest mall' or the 'city with the most cosmopolitan atmosphere'.

People require different kinds of vacationing experiences, depending on the purpose of the trip as well as the goal of the tourist. Some people prefer to enjoy a city's local attractions, while other tourists may prefer to see or participate in sports. The ability of a place to provide most kinds of attractions theoretically increases the chances that the city in question will benefit economically. Some cities have a built-in reputation as being big fantastic places, but still reinforce this image by providing impressive cityscape imagery. It should be stated that this imagery evokes a certain romanticism; there is no crime, no homeless, and definitely no faceless multitude going about their daily business. No, instead we see selected urban attractions. The

brochures reinforce positive and exciting imagery while suppressing those factors that make a city. As was expected at the outset, the city is portrayed as a wonderful spectacle filled with wonderful little spectacles. While brochure text may warn the tourists as to some dangerous areas of the city, the pictures tell one that everything is going to be fine, provided they stay on the designated path.

Although various attributes can be classified in a variety of ways, it should be noted that the significance placed on each of these elements is a reflection of their relative importance in Western culture. Elements such as mountains, rollercoasters, history, and special parties attract people to a place. Tourism promotion simply informs and advertises all existing attractions with the hope that people will be motivated to visit the advertised city.

Tourism promotional material that focuses on cities depicts many different kinds of attractions, but a tailored examination can simplify this chaotic jumble of images. A categorization of photographs into selected groupings allows one to recognize the dominant ideas put forth by each city in the tourism literature. These groupings, referred to henceforth as thematic elements, must be distinguished from themes. A *theme* can be defined as *a topic to be discussed or developed in oral or written communication; it is a subject of discourse*. As Umberto Eco (1986) has illustrated, theme towns or parks take a recognised topic such as the Wild West, or underwater adventure, and build the attraction around that subject. The focus is a specific one, aimed at a particular topic. In contrast, a thematic element represents a larger conceptual framework of ideas. In the context of tourism research, each thematic element

signifies a different experience desired by the tourist. For example, photographs of theme parks and theme towns would signify a thematic element such as *consumption,* while a picture of a goaltender for the Toronto Maple Leafs hockey team would be categorized under the *sporting life* thematic element category. Examining a city's tourism system on the basis of thematic elements instead of single attractions can yield useful information about a city's promoted image that may be lost in more segmented content analysis procedures.

Several things are accomplished in this chapter. First, thematic elements perceived as being crucial to Canadian tourism promotion will be identified through an investigation of brochures. Second, a detailed content analysis of thematic elements found in tourism brochures using a classification system designed specifically for this analysis will be conducted. Third, a review of statistical data will be conducted to provide a perspective on the economic success of the tourism industry in Canadian cities. Lastly, the focus of this study will shift to Winnipeg, Manitoba, to better understand the relationship between promotion, commodification, and visitation[1].

1.1 Content Considerations

Thematic element categories were devised to guide an examination of tourism promotional literature and related materials. It should be emphasized that this analysis represents the researcher's own interpretations based on theories and literature reviewed in the previous chapter.

---

[1] It has been recognized by this researcher that the most interesting and informative analysis would have involved the implementation of a survey that asks tourists various questions about the city they are visiting (such as 'why did you come here', 'what do like best about this city', etc.). For a study such as this to be useful, though, data would need to be collected from tourists visiting several Canadian cities. This is unfortunately demanding timewise as well as financially. Tourism Winnipeg is currently preparing to conduct a visitor survey during the summer of 1995.

Within the first part of the study, promotional material that focuses on Canadian cities is investigated to gauge the extent of considered thematic elements for different cities. Results of this study are found within Table 1, which contains cities on one axis and thematic elements along another axis. It is important to note the examination of thematic elements in this chapter will be limited to the photographs found in promotional material. Text from tourism brochures was only used to ascertain where the particular attraction/theme is located relative to the city itself. In this respect, city attractions as well as attractions located near a particular city (a day's drive or 50 km) will be included in the study.

Tourism promotional material was obtained from provincial tourism departments as well as city departments during the first quarters of 1994 and 1995[2]. After an initial examination of the material, it was determined that the Yukon and North West Territories photographs would not fit within this study. In both instances, it was shown that the territories' thematic content strongly focuses on non-urban wilderness-based attractions. For the rest of Canada, promotional material that specifically focused on a city was used in this analysis. Those provincial and city departments that sent several brochures are represented by two relevant brochures (focused on a city or several urban locales), while less aggressively promoted provinces are represented by one brochure. At least two cities from each region of Canada[3] was included within this study. A list of promotional material used for this study is provided within the Bibliography.

---

[2] Originally, I wanted to see which cities would be emphasized by Provincial tourism departments. In some cases, I received a great deal of information strictly about a specific city. For example, most of the promotional material obtained from Nova Scotia was specifically about Halifax. In other cases, the provincial brochure devoted a section to their largest cities. Those brochures that had a provincial focus were dropped from the study in favor of material that was city-specific. My full thanks to Tourism Winnipeg, as well as city tourism departments in Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, Toronto and Fredericton, which supplied me with better suited material for this study.

[3] Cities included in this analysis were Halifax and Fredericton (Atlantic Coast); Montreal and Quebec (French Canada); Toronto, Ottawa, and Niagara Falls (Ontario); Winnipeg and Regina (Prairie Region); Calgary and Edmonton (Alberta); and Vancouver and Victoria (Pacific rim).

As the frequency of a pictured thematic element signifies its importance from a promotional standpoint, these frequencies will be simplified through a simple weighting process. For this study, thematic elements that appear 4 times or less within city promotional material will receive a ranking of 1 star; elements that appear 5 to 8 times receive a ranking of two stars; elements that appear 9 to 12 times receive a ranking of 3 stars; while those elements that appear very frequently (over 13 times for a single place) will score four stars. While it is important to note that cities represented by only one brochure will score lower overall, useful information about each cities' tourism marketing strategies will still be obtained. At the same time, an overall picture of tourism promotion in Canada will emerge.

It must be conceded that while strict content analysis was not conducted, a variation of this method was carried out, as the object of this study was to capture thematic elements from a limited selection of photographs found in tourism brochures. Each photograph is subjectively analyzed regarding its thematic content. The old cliché 'a picture is worth a thousand words' applies here, as some of the photographs examined for this study contain several thematic elements.

2.0 Thematic Elements

In searching for those thematic elements promoted by Canadian cities, it is interesting to note that several general categories present themselves quite visibly in the promotional material. Most of these elements fit into Richard Butler's tourist attraction hierarchy model, described in Chapter two. The thematic elements that were considered included:

- Metropolitan
- Memorable attractions

- Festivals & Events
- Historical/cultural
- Natural attractions
- Paradise found
- The sporting life
- Consumption
- Deluxe food & lodging
- Motion

Within Table 1, the ten thematic elements are placed in order of perceived importance from the most visible (metropolitan - world class city) and distinctive (memorable attractions) components of a holiday to the mundane but necessary components of the tourism experience (food & lodging, motion). Photographic examples of each thematic element are provided within Appendix A. A description of each thematic element follows: *Thematic Element 1: Metropolitan* is the category that isolates those pictures that illustrate a city's desire to appear majestic and busy. Due to economic and historical factors, several cities (Tokyo, New York, Paris, Rome, and London) are considered "international" cities. To many city officials, a cities' economic status can increase its' attractiveness, so any city that is near the top of this economic hierarchy can probably expect some tourism traffic. In tourism photography, a city that wishes to be known as a "major player" provides panoramic vistas of city skylines that display features unique to that city, such as Paris' Eiffel Tower, or Vancouver's mountains. Interestingly, many small cities also employ this technique to ascribe city status.

Thematic Element 2: Memorable attractions highlights those attractions that aid a cities' desire to look impressive. Almost every city that defines itself as such attempts to illustrate it's validity as a city by highlighting either "high-culture" attractions such as museums, galleries, and

the theatre, or "science-faction" attractions such as Scienceworld/OmniImax, Planetariums, and Aquariums. These attractions are promoted by cities to illustrate that they are a crucial part of 20th century civilization rather than just a goods trading outpost.

Thematic Element 3: Festivals & Events focuses on annual special events hosted by a city or a town located near a city. This type of attraction has grown in popularity in recent years, and is diverse enough to include country music festivals, ethnic dances, and recreational/carnival events. Most cities offer something along these lines, but the special festival is an attraction found more often in the small town. Cities that offer these seemingly humble get-togethers wish to be seen as dynamic urban centres with a (small town) heart of gold.

Thematic Element 4: Historical/ cultural highlights a regions' unique cultural characteristics which can shape its identity and image. These characteristics can take the shape of historical events, immigration patterns, or special events. In many cases (most notably illustrated by Harvey, 1990; and Huxtable, 1992) buildings that fall under this category are manufactured and the events are staged. But in whatever form it may take, many regions obtain an image because of past occurrences or interesting local culture. Historic buildings and monuments play an important role in shaping a city's image. Pictures of local architecture, festivals, and ethnic identity figure prominently within this thematic category. As was the case for category 3, this category focuses on selected image construction, while categories 1 and 2 are larger in scope.

Thematic category 5: Natural attractions highlights nature's special effects and attractions. It has been documented in the past that people are attracted to certain geographical features. Several researchers (e.g. Raitz and Dakhil, 1988) have illustrated that mountains and

water bodies hold the most aesthetic significance to people that want to experience striking natural environments. To this list unique geographical features should be added, as these have been considered some of the earth's most interesting natural attractions. Indeed, odd shaped rock outcrops, waterfalls, and geysers have been dubbed nature's special effects by Jean Baudrillard (1986). Often such striking features can be found within commuting distance of a major metropolitan centre. But the city beautiful movement of the early 1900s remains with us in the form of city parks and gardens. These aesthetic landscapes are the focus of *Thematic Element 6: Paradise Found.* While many people enjoy the natural landscape as it exists throughout Canada, a city's built environment forbids complete replication of natural settings. An urban area can however devote acreage to the manicured flower garden/park. Such spaces give the city a more balanced look, and human's ties to nature are celebrated on an unconscious level each time one enters an urban green space.

Thematic Element 7: The Sporting Life isolates those photographs that depict physical activities. Recreational pursuits are enjoyed by many in a spectator fashion, which accounts for promotional material highlighting hockey, baseball, football, and rodeo events. The boostering power of organized sports can be observed in local papers that continually debate the economic, symbolic, and even social importance derived from sports teams. At the same time, though, sport is seen as something to participate in, as well as something to watch. This becomes especially important for some vacationers, as many devote vacation time to skiing or snorkelling in unique locales. Anything that is aerobic-based, such as walking, bicycling, swimming, skiing, hiking, and skating, fits under this thematic umbrella, including adventure-based vacations.

The remaining three thematic categories isolate those photographs that depict day-to-day pastimes. Within the tourism experience, shopping, eating, and even the journey itself are transformed into important components of a trip. Eating and sleeping become services provided by outside agencies, while shopping becomes, for some, a spending spree promising emotional release but never actually delivering on this promise. *Thematic Element 8: Consumption* focuses on those images that foster shopping. As stated by several researchers (Butler, 1991; Hopkins, 1990; and Olaquiaga, 1992) these elements can range from special souvenirs and keepsakes to expensive arts and crafts. In addition, photographs of shopping centres or malls qualify as beacons of consumption.

Clare Gunn (1988) states that service provision and transportation are important components of a viable tourism system. These components are isolated with the final two thematic element categories. *Thematic Element 9: Deluxe food & lodging* isolates restaurant and hotel-based services for the tourist population. As stated above, many people's vacationing enjoyment is seldom complete without some excessive pampering, so most cities' promotional material highlight those services. In theory, any stress associated with eating and sleeping in a strange place are reduced through this provision of services. Furthermore, to make the basic elements of eating and sleeping part of the tourism experience, often a city will highlight these things as attractions too. So we get pictures of grand hotels and gourmet restaurants. *Thematic Element 10: Motion* illustrates that any mode of travel should also be the least of anyone's worries. Like food and lodging, the tourist wants this service to be trouble-free and a little glamorous (sometimes the journey is more important than the destination), maybe even an attraction in itself. Many of the photographs that display buses, planes, ferries and cars simply act

as reassurances for the temporarily displaced individual. More adventurous locales often transform this service into an essential part of one's tourism experience. Thus, some places promote unique forms of transportation, such as trolleys, double-decker buses, and old-style riverboat cruises, while other places emphasize basic transportation services.

3.0 Findings: Thematic Elements Analysis

Below, Table 1 illustrates the findings from the thematic element content analysis. Each Canadian city is seen to rely on several thematic elements in terms of their promotional material. Some places prefer to illustrate the merits of designer shopping, while other places highlight ease of mobility. The purpose of this section is to examine the presence or absence of certain thematic elements within Canadian promotional material. It will be shown that promotional material often illustrates how a city wishes to be seen or portrayed. Everyday concerns such as business performance, social problems, and economic viability are omitted from each city's deck of image cards. Other concerns such as food and transportation are of course elevated as larger-than-life components of the tourism experience. In general, once the tourism brochure is opened, the world of the spectacle takes over, as each city is portrayed as a place where wonderful experiences are possible.

In this respect, Winnipeg's perceived image will be examined to a greater extent to illustrate this fact. Upon reviewing the data in this manner, we will then turn to the Statistics Canada data to gauge the relative economic success of these cities when it comes to tourism.

Table 1: Thematic Element Frequency in Canadian Tourism Promotional Material

	Metropolitan	Memorable Attractions	Festivals & Events	Historical/ cultural	Natural Attractions	Paradise found	The Sporting Life	Consumption	Deluxe food & lodging	Motion
Halifax	*	***	***	****	**	**	*	**	****	***
Fredericton	*	**	****	****	**	***	**	**	**	*
Quebec City	*	***	***	****	***	*	***	*	****	**
Montreal	**	****	**	****		**	***	*	****	**
Ottawa		****	**	****	*	*	****	*	****	
Toronto	**	***		***			**	**	****	*
Niagara Falls	*	****	*	***	****	****	**	****	*	**
Winnipeg	**	****	**	****	*	*	**	****	***	*
Regina	*	*	**	**	*	*	*	*	*	
Calgary	*	***	*	****	**		****	****	***	*
Edmonton	*	**	*	***	*	*	**	**	***	*
Vancouver	*	****	*	****	**	*	***	***	****	***
Victoria	*	**		**	*	*	*	*	****	***

Notes: The methodology upon which these findings are based is described within this chapter under subsection *1.1 Content Considerations*. The ten thematic element categories are described in greater detail within section *2.0 Thematic Elements*.

With the exception of Montreal, Niagara Falls, Regina, and Edmonton, two brochures from each Canadian city were used for this analysis. Time constraints did not permit a search for additional promotional material for the four Canadian cities mentioned above. A list of Canadian Promotional material used for this analysis is provided within the Bibliography under the *Promotional Literature* subsection.

Legend

*** low frequency (1-4 times)**

**** mild frequency (5-8 times)**

***** high frequency (9-12 times)**

****** very high frequency (over 13 times)**

3.1 Intensity of Thematic Elements

A city's image can be formed by many things: brochures, magazine articles, movies, and newscasts are just a few examples of the factors that influence people's perceptions of a city. The analysis of brochures revealed several interesting findings. Toronto, Montreal and Winnipeg were the cities that appeared the most 'metropolitan' in several photographs. Given the fact that people from other countries recognize Toronto and Montreal more than other Canadian cities, it is not surprising that both cities would have images that reinforce their big city image. Both cities are large enough to qualify as major centres, but Winnipeg's presence is perplexing, until it is considered that perhaps Winnipeg wishes to be seen as a major centre.

More surprising still were photographs of smaller centres that also wish to be seen as cosmopolitan. The number of cities that ascribe to be "major centres" is indicative of many civic governments' desires to present their cities as major economic centres. Regina, Halifax, Niagara Falls, and Edmonton all contained city skyline pictures within their promotional material. Niagara Falls in particular epitomizes the spectacle city with its pictures of wax museums, amusement rides, and of course the Falls. It seemed as if several cities were competing for second or third place in an elusive and constantly shifting North American city hierarchy. This desire is reinforced by the fact that two of these cities (Halifax and Winnipeg) have faced economic hardships over the past few years. Vancouvers' low score in this category may be due to the fact that this city already receives attention from news media.

Overall, this thematic element was used sparingly, even by cities that could be considered international centres. The metropolitan image can be enhanced by looking at the photographs that fit the *Memorable attractions* thematic category.

Memorable attractions can be defined as those attractions that convey a distinctive character in a particular city. This thematic element category was represented by photographs that depicted "high-culture" attractions, or things that illustrate that a city is of sufficient size to successfully promote the ballet, theatre, museums, and large-scale amusements or edutainment facilities. Many of these things bring visitors and residents together, and can be considered important components of the stage-set that is each city.

Montreal, Quebec City, Ottawa, Niagara Falls, and Winnipeg were the urban centres that emphasized this thematic element to the largest extent. The attractions that fell into this thematic category included the Parliament Buildings (Ottawa), Niagara Falls (which also qualified as a natural attraction), and the Forks (Winnipeg). Many other Canadian cities, including Edmonton, and Halifax, supplied several pictures in order to illustrate similar cultural status. Edmonton's offerings were particularly interesting in this regard, as that brochure contained one striking picture of "Refinery Row". Tourists go on vacation to get away from the constraints of everyday life, so amusement plays an important part in helping the tourist "unwind" and shed the skin of the nine to five work routine. As a result of this basic fact, many city brochures take great pains to promote their shopping centres, amusement rides, or "science-faction" attractions such as the IMAX theatre chain. It must be remembered that the emphasis of this thematic element signifies a city's wish to be perceived as a busy hive of productivity with the civil grace to provide cerebral diversions to the proud populace and its' visitors, when time permits.

Less frequent than pictures of memorable attractions were photographs of *festivals and events*. Halifax, Quebec City, Fredericton, Ottawa and Winnipeg emphasized this type of

attraction most frequently within their promotional literature. Most Canadian cities devoted a couple of pictures to festivals or special events, but this attraction is clearly limited in its appeal compared to memorable attractions, historical/cultural attractions, and natural amenities. Interestingly, Winnipeg focused upon this area perhaps because of its lack of striking natural attractions. Toronto, Quebec City and Montreal also offered little in the way of natural attractions.

Historical/ cultural attractions was the thematic element strongly emphasized by almost every place, as this category covered local history and ethnicity, qualities that every city has in one form or another. Unsurprisingly, this category was very prominent in every brochure and visitor guide examined for this analysis.

The relative abundance of photographs depicting regional culture highlight Canadian cities' perception of their relative tourism strengths, as other draws, such as climate, are temporary attractions at best. It also illustrates these places' desire to attract people that are interested in local history and culture, for this audience is generally an older and more mature segment of the vacationing population.

But the sheer popularity of this thematic element means that local attractions emphasized by one place may be negated by the local attractions being promoted by the other places. In other words, if local culture is an attraction that can be easily satisfied by visiting anyplace, then some places will not receive the monetary benefits from promoting these elements, unless there is a particular regional attraction that has greater magnetic properties, such as local architecture.

Only a few cities highlighted *Natural attractions*. The most prominent example was Niagara Falls, which contained several striking images of their famous waterfalls within the promotional material. Vancouver and Calgary scored greater frequencies, with pictures of mountains surrounding the city. Almost every other Canadian city examined devoted at least one picture to interesting natural scenery.

It is interesting to note that Toronto and Montreal were the cities that scored zero in this category. With the exception of the Forks photographs depicting the Red River, a perceived lack of natural attractions in Winnipeg reaffirmed this city's self-image as being less than spectacular from a natural setting standpoint. Yet, in Winnipeg's case, interesting natural scenery can be found less than an hour's drive away from the city! It is true that only a few Canadian cities are situated close to striking geographical attractions. But at the same time it can be argued that natural scenery is one of Canada's strongest attractions overall. The problem is that most of these features are located miles away from a city that is attempting to be the major attraction by itself, or at least a place to reside while on vacation. Overall, this category was slightly more prominent within tourism literature, but only in those cases where the local geography was part of the urban fabric.

The natural beauty theme was reinforced in another way with the *Paradise found* thematic category. Niagara Falls scored highest with many pictures of manicured gardens, which ends up creating another set of attractions that complement the falls and contradict the low-brow kitschy attractions. Other cities promote healthiness by depicting similar-looking gardens or urban parkland. But where the idea of a healthy city would have been an attraction decades

earlier, there seem to be too many other attractions vying for the tourists' attention. This thematic element does not play a large role in tourism promotion, except in Niagara Falls.

Most cities promoted participatory or spectator-based recreation (the *Sporting Life* thematic category) as another positive attribute supplied by that city. Those cities that had professional sports teams (football, hockey, baseball) promoted these as being an essential part of their city. It is fascinating to see that professional sports teams have become a type of metropolitan barometer (similar to classical attractions like theatre and the ballet) supposedly capable of transforming a city of under a million people into a significant centre. Sports teams are an attraction, and there is some truth that this attraction increases the name-recognition and the overall attractiveness of a place to visitors[4]. This facet of a city's identity has been boosted by news media, as recent events in Winnipeg have illustrated. Far from reporting the news, the media may now be creating it[5]. In any case, a professional sports team becomes another attraction, and city tourism departments recognize this fact, including a picture or two in a city brochure.

Many cities promote outdoor activities such as skiing, skating, hiking, and bicycling which again reinforces the image that the city is safe and healthy. More adventurous types of recreation are less frequent, which makes sense as adventure-type holidays have a narrow and less affluent audience.

---

[4] Penny McMillian, Executive Director of Tourism Winnipeg, stated that "going to a Winnipeg Jets hockey game" was the one of the major attractions for people visiting Winnipeg.

[5] As I write this, the City of Winnipeg is attempting to keep its hockey club, known as the Winnipeg Jets, from leaving the city. Local media outlets, as well as local businesses, have jumped on the 'Save the Jets' bandwagon as they maintain the team is important for this city's identity. While this issue has not been sorted out as of May 20, 1995, it can be stated that many of the city's residents feel the Jets 'are Winnipeg'. The local media reinforces this view on a daily basis.

Purely *Consumption* oriented activities were isolated into a separate category because tourists tend to be less frugal about buying things during their holiday. Because we live in a society in which saving money is a virtue, the vacation allows the tourist a sense of temporary monetary freedom where idle purchases of goods and services are tolerated because the person is on vacation.

It was expected that Edmonton would score quite high in this thematic element category due to the pervasiveness of the West Edmonton Mall, but the available tourism promotional material did not devote much space to this landmark to commodification. Niagara Falls scored high, with photographs depicting souvenir shops, kitschy rides, and wax museums. Only Winnipeg scored as high as Niagara Falls, which at first seemed odd, but with additional information found during the course of this study, makes perfect sense. As statistical information within the next section will show, shopping is one of the main activities enjoyed by visitors to Winnipeg. At the same time, several photographs within Winnipeg's promotional material (such as the Forks) crossed over into other thematic categories (*Historical/cultural, Natural Attractions, Memorable Attractions*).

A city that promotes itself as a spending Mecca over anything else may alienate people that wish to enjoy other things, such as local culture. Most tourism departments realize this, and attempt to resolve this dilemma by displaying several thematic elements within a single photograph (e.g. The Forks) so as broaden their potential attractiveness and thus their tourist audience. In some instances, the city will publish separate promotion/information about the shopping or amusement attractions available. This was seen amongst the brochures from Halifax,

and it is well known by this researcher that some Winnipeg districts practice this form of promotion.

As stated earlier, a vacation requires several ingredients to be a satisfying tourism experience. The tourist must first know about a particular place through some kind of media, and promotional material can provide this function. This material should include information about the city's attractions while at the same time provide reassurances that service and transportation will be as effortless, and, indeed, as liberating as the rest of one's vacation experience. *Deluxe food and lodging* is promoted in almost every major city brochure. Significantly, in keeping with the tourism theme the hotel and restaurant photographs depict these elements as larger than life experiences. Most restaurant photographs focus either on a dream-like, perfectly prepared gourmet meal, or a couple enjoying themselves in a posh setting. Photographs of hotels usually focused on building exteriors, whether the hotel was a small inn within commuting distance or a grand tower in the middle of the city. In both cases, the photographic strategy aimed at impressing upon the tourist that food and lodging will be the least of their worries. In fact, these elements become an attraction in themselves, giving further credibility to a city in the ability to provide the complete tourism experience.

Transportation is of course the essential component necessary to bring people to the city and to help tourists navigate to attractions and services within a city. It is no surprise that in the brochures examined for this study photographs displaying transportation (captured within the *Motion* thematic category) depicted them as attractions first and as mobility devices second. Interestingly, those places deemed too far, such as Victoria, attempt to counter this apparent

geographical disadvantage by providing several photographs of jet planes or rental cars. Other cities deemed 'easier to get to' spiced up their transportation imagery with photographs of riverboats, double-decker buses, and ocean liners. Whether frivolous or functional, reliable transportation is an attraction as well as a symbol of power. This fact is best illustrated by a picture of an ocean liner docked in Halifax's harbour. It signifies comfortable trouble-free mobility as well as urban confidence.

3.2 Overview of Findings: Thematic Elements Analysis

The thematic element analysis illustrates that each Canadian city capitalizes on their perceived strengths by showing striking photographs of attractions and events that provide character for each city. Although the categorization of photographs into thematic element groups is a subjective endeavour, the overall findings illustrate that each city attempts to provide visual assurances that one's tourism experience will be a positive, trouble-free adventure.

These visual assurances are shown through photographs of smiling, everyday folk participating in the local annual festival, as well as with pictures of comfortable-looking hotel rooms, fine cuisine, attractive but reliable transportation, and shopping paradises where day-to-day problems do not exist.

The presence of these elements within the promotional material represents a (pictorial) promise by a city that the basic support services exist for the tourist. Those elements that provide a spectacle component for travellers, including sports teams, exhibits, festivals, events, are highlighted whenever possible. While spectacle is well-represented in city brochures, it was interesting to note that historical and cultural attractions (mainly displayed through pictures of

historic buildings) are the most oft-repeated thematic element in promotional material. This may be due to the findings of a recent study conducted by Tourism Canada (1994a). This study stated that there has been a shift in trip purpose from escapism to enrichment. Obviously, attractions such as the West Edmonton Mall fit into the former category while Lower Fort Garry fits into the latter category.

It comes as no surprise that those elements that constitute daily life are, for the most part, ignored in promotional material. The exclusion of photographs depicting a city's infrastructure, services, troubles, and private life in general comes as no surprise when one considers that tourism is a service industry that is supposed to provide the traveller with a temporary escape from the rigors of daily life. Given this criterion, tourism promotional material is simply attempting to reflect those things a tourist may want to see and experience while on a vacation.

Some general statements can be made about the nature of commodification in Canadian cities. At times, tourism promotion of Canadian cities supply spectacle-oriented elements, such as memorable attractions and festivals, but these thematic elements do not dominate promotional material. Yet the photographic presence of each thematic element reflects commodification anyway, as each city is marketing itself to prospective tourists with the help of captivating visuals. The findings of this analysis suggest that commodification on some level is an inevitable fact given the nature of the tourism business. Thankfully, the extreme side of commodification, represented in Canada by the West Edmonton Mall, and the Whistler, British Colombia ski resort (to name two striking examples), is still the exception when it comes to tourism (and tourism promotion) in

Canada. Of course, marketing a city as a tourism destination does not guarantee increased tourist visitation for that city.

4.0 A Statistical Outlook

Examining statistical data that describes the economic success (or failure) of tourism in Canadian cities helps to emphasize the importance of tourism in Canada. Properly gauging the success of each city in attracting tourists constitutes an entirely separate study. Data that measures visitation on a regional level, economic returns from tourism, and type of travel is available on a provincial level, but this information exists in a variety of formats. This greatly complicates the prospect of finding worthwhile information from available statistical data.

At the city level, tourism data is even more difficult to obtain, which further complicates the fact-finding process. As a result, this section examines Statistics Canada data from both the provincial and CMA (census metropolitan area, or urban area) level. It should be noted that measuring the success or failure of Canadian city's promotional efforts cannot be measured with existing statistical data. However, a cursory look at visitation rates emphasizes the importance of tourism as an important Canadian service industry.

Most trip characteristics were obtained by the Canadian Travel survey (CTS), which measures domestic tourism flows, and the International Travel Survey (ITS) which measures international travel between Canada and other countries[6]. Much of the data was only available at the provincial level. While this limits the types of analyses possible, it was believed that provincial data could offer some important insights into the nature of tourism in Canada.

---

[6] The Canadian Travel Survey is conducted as part of the Labour Force survey during even-numbered years. A mailed questionnaire collects information on the travel history of one selected member of the household over the last three months. Hubert (1990) provides additional information about this comprehensive resource.

4.1 Provincial Data

It is enlightening to discover the nature of the tourism market in Canada. Table 2 illustrates the per capita breakdown of total travel within six Canadian provinces[7].

Table 2: Per Capita Breakdown of Total Travel in Canadian Provinces, 1992 (person trips)

Province	*Person Trips Per Capita*
Saskatchewan	9640
Alberta	8863
Manitoba	6884
Ontario	6609
British Columbia	6529
Quebec	4903

Source: derived from Statistics Canada - Cat. No's. 87-504, 93-301 & 66-201

Total travel (domestic trips, trips from the U.S., and trips from other countries) is measured against total Provincial population to produce the per capita figure. As the above table illustrates, Saskatchewan and Alberta have the highest visitation levels on a per capita basis. The high per capita level for Saskatchewan is surprising, as the tourism emphasis in this province is on natural attractions. Alberta's share of the Canadian tourism market may be due to the presence of the West Edmonton Mall in Edmonton, the Stampede event in Calgary and Calgary's recent hosting of the Winter Olympics. Several studies have been conducted (see Ritchie & Lyons, 1990) that gauge the long term success this event is having for the city of Calgary and the

---

[7] The Atlantic Provinces could not be compared separately as International and U.S. point of origin data is only available for the Maritimes as a region.

province of Alberta. It is plausible that the Olympics and the West Edmonton shopping centre have attracted people to Alberta who may have otherwise never visited that province.

Regarding Canada's other heavily populated provinces, Ontario ranked 5th in total visitations per capita, while Quebec ranked 9th and British Colombia ranked 7th respectively. Manitoba is ranked 3rd overall in travel on a per capita basis, but it is difficult to determine the purpose of these trips. Overall, an examination of the tourism per capita for each province does very little to explain the economic success of this industry in Canadian cities. But interesting results emerge once the travel market is separated into domestic, U.S., and international categories. This breakdown is provided in Table 3 below,

Table 3: Breakdown of Total Travel in Canadian Provinces by Origin, 1992 (percentage)

Province	*Domestic origin*	*U.S. origin*	*International origin*
Quebec	92.3%	5.3%	2.4%
Ontario	88.1%	9.6%	2.3%
Manitoba	95.6%	3.6%	0.8%
Saskatchewan	97.8%	1.8%	0.4%
Alberta	94.3%	3.7%	2.0%
British Columbia	82.6%	13.0%	4.4%

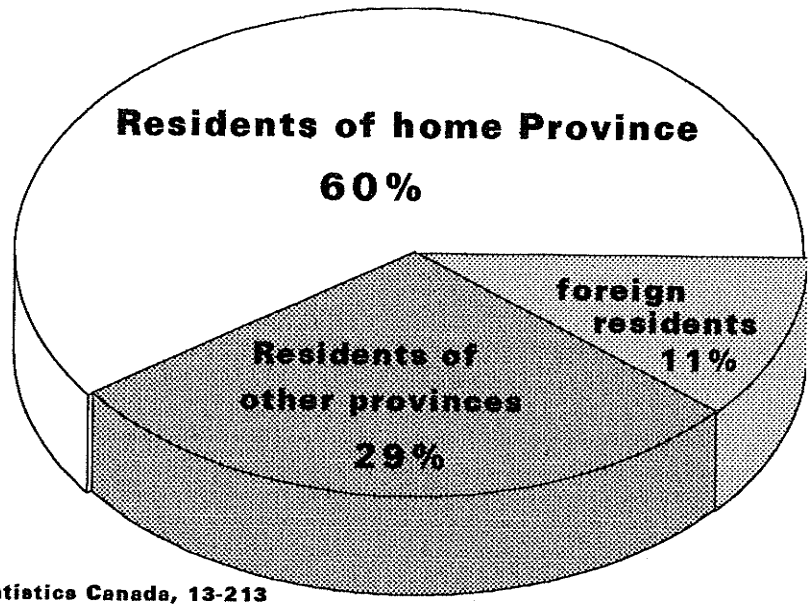
Source: derived from Statistics Canada - Cat. No's. 87-504 & 66-201

Based on these figures, it is established that Ontario and British Columbia receive a larger proportion of tourists from other countries than elsewhere in Canada. Ontario, Quebec, and British Columbia receive a significant proportions of U.S. residents, which may be due to the geographic location of major urban centres in those provinces. Meanwhile, most visitations to

Manitoba are domestic in origin (Manitoba or elsewhere in Canada; 95.6%) but 3.6% of total visitation originated from the United States. Again, this could be due to the geographic proximity of that province's major urban centre (Winnipeg) to the American border. Most of Saskatchewan's tourism is domestic in origin, which partly explains the high per capita rate for that province.

As stated in Chapter two, some places are destined to be regional attractions. Looking at money spent in Manitoba (Statistics Canada, 1994a), it is surprising to find that in 1992, 29% of the travel receipts obtained in Manitoba were from people from other provinces, while 11% of travel receipts were from people from other countries (see Figure 2 below).

Figure 2: Proportional Breakdown of Travel Receipts for Manitoba, 1992



Source: Statistics Canada, 13-213

Upon comparing the proportional breakdown of Manitoba to other Canadian provinces (Table 4), one sees that the larger provinces obtain a larger proportion of travel receipts from foreign visitors.

Table 4: Travel Receipts by Province, 1992 (percentage breakdown)

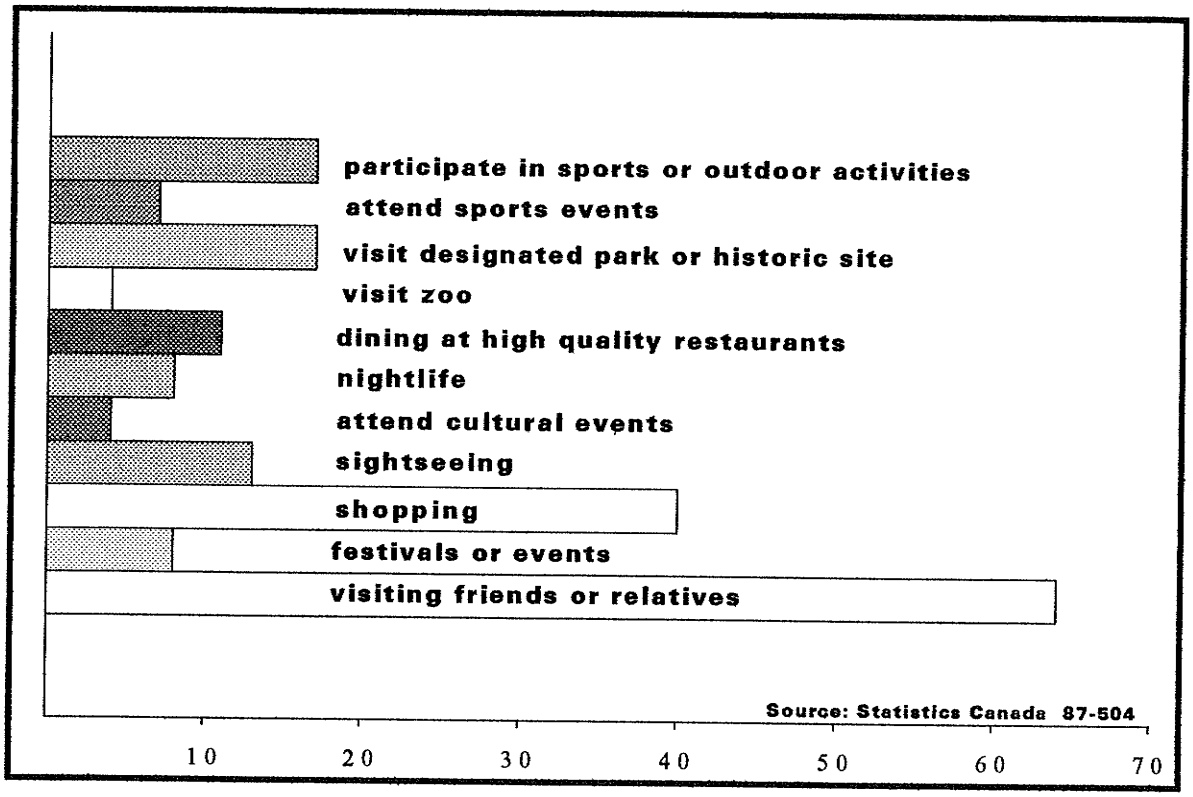
Province	*Residents of home province*	*Residents from other provinces*	*Foreign residents*
Quebec	58%	12%	30%
Ontario	53%	10%	37%
Manitoba	60%	29%	11%
Saskatchewan	65%	28%	7%
Alberta	55%	23%	22%
British Columbia	47%	17%	36%

Source: derived from Statistics Canada - Cat. No. 13-213

Note that while actual visitation by foreign residents to these provinces never exceeds 5% (see Table 3), this groups' spending accounts for a very large proportion of the total travel receipts for 1992. Manitoba and Saskatchewan not only share similar visitation characteristics, but also obtain a nearly identical proportion of travel receipts from residents of the home province, residents from other provinces, and foreign residents. This suggests that Manitoba and Saskatchewan are not considered to be tourism destinations in the same manner as Quebec, Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia. An investigation into the types of activities enjoyed by people visiting Manitoba illustrates those attractions that have the greatest pull.

Figure 3 shows a breakdown of activities enjoyed by tourists while visiting Manitoba.

Figure 3: Activity Participation in Manitoba, 1992 (percentage)



As Figure 3 illustrates, visitors to Manitoba engage in a variety of activities. While visiting friends or relatives was the activity undertaken by 64% of people visiting Manitoba, other activities were also frequent. Shopping was undertaken by 40%, sports or outdoor recreation by 17%, and visiting a designated park or historic site by 17% respectively.

Events were frequented to a lesser degree, with 8% participating in general festivals and events, 7% attending sports events, such as hockey and football games, and 4% attending cultural events, such as Folklorama. Sightseeing was undertaken by 13% of the people visiting Manitoba. Finally, 8% of the people visiting Manitoba experienced "nightlife" attractions, 11% dined at high quality restaurants, and 4% visited a zoo, presumably Winnipeg's city zoo.

While the data provides information at the provincial level, it can be surmised that these findings can be employed to give one a rough picture of activities undertaken by tourists when visiting Winnipeg. This does not imply that the rest of Manitoba is devoid of interesting things to see and do; on the contrary, there are towns and regions in Manitoba that can offer the interested traveller a great wealth of local history, geography, and colorful events. Yet it must be assumed that most of the activities experienced by visitors were undertaken in Winnipeg, as this city is the largest city in Manitoba and has the most high quality restaurants, major sporting events, shopping centres, and nightlife. It can be argued that many other activities, such as visiting friends, participating in outdoor activities, general sightseeing, and visiting designated parks and historic sites, were also undertaken elsewhere in Manitoba.

4.2 Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) Data

Table 5 illustrates total travel to major Canadian cities, or CMAs (census metropolitan areas) for 1992. The total is further broken down into business and leisure travel. These two kinds of travel differ markedly, as business travel does not usually allow one to sample many of the city's delights. But in a very basic sense, many of the same elements come into play in both types of trips. Certainly, adequate transportation and the provision of services remain important. The tourism attraction component may enter the picture as well, but plays a lesser role in business travel. The main attraction for business travellers would be service-related, and it should come as no surprise that this can be provided most easily by larger cities.

Table 5: Total Travel, leading CMAs of Destination, 1992 (thousands of person trips)

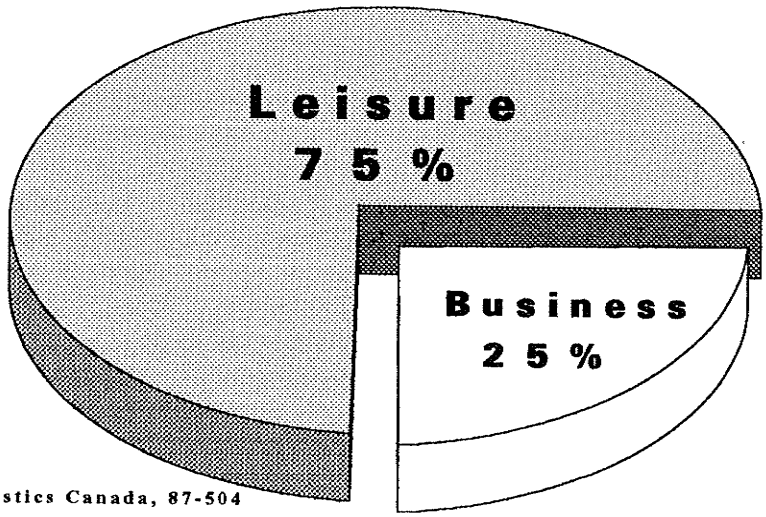
Rank (Pop rank)	CMA of Destination	Total	Business	Leisure
1 (1)	Toronto	13349	4813	8536
2 (2)	Montreal	6477	1840	4637
3 (8)	Quebec	4734	987	3747
4 (5)	Edmonton	4667	1151	3516
5 (4)	Ottawa-Hull	4325	1091	3234
6 (3)	Vancouver	3548	1049	2499
7 (6)	Calgary	3354	934	2420
8 (11)	St. Catherines-Niagara	2784	250g	2534
9 (10)	London	2776	718	2058
10 (7)	***Winnipeg***	***2186***	***546***	***1640***
11 (18)	Regina	1891	465	1426
12 (13)	Halifax	1875	347	1528
13 (17)	Saskatoon	1823	489	1334
14 (12)	Kitchener	1787	230g	1557
15 (9)	Hamilton	1522	229g	1293
16 (14)	Victoria	1347	212g	1135

Source: Domestic Travel, Statistics Canada - Cat. No. 87-504

Toronto, Montreal, and Quebec were the CMAs (census metropolitan areas) that experienced the highest visitation levels. Edmonton, notably, finished fourth, heightening the probability that this visitation level is due to the presence of the West Edmonton Mall. Ottawa, Vancouver, Calgary and St. Catherines-Niagara also enjoyed relatively high visitation levels.

Regarding total travel, Winnipeg finished tenth out of 16 cities. As Figure 4 depicts, only 546,000 or 25% of the people visiting Winnipeg in 1992 did so for business reasons; 1,640,000 people or 75% visited the city for leisure purposes. This visitation ratio is mirrored in almost every other Canadian city, except in Toronto, where business trips occupy a larger percentage of total trips (36%).

Figure 4: Total Travel to Winnipeg by Type of Travel, 1992



Source: Statistics Canada, 87-504

Regina, Saskatoon and Halifax experienced less tourist travel than Winnipeg. Victoria's low placement (16th overall), might be due to the geographic location (an island destination) of this city. Interestingly, tourism promotion from Victoria was fragmented, with such things as memorable attractions, transportation and services being described in separate brochures.[8]

Based on this data, it would seem as if the larger cosmopolitan centres in Canada attract a greater number of tourists. The high number of trips to Edmonton and Quebec suggest that self-contained spectacle (West Edmonton Mall) and urban spectacle (Quebec's unique culture) are great attractions as well. The inclusion of Ottawa-Hull in the top five is due to the fact that this city is Canada's capital, and thus attracts a great deal of business and leisure-seekers. The

[8] Two brochures from Victoria were used in the brochure analysis, but an actual visit to this city provided some valuable insights as to the nature of tourism promotion. Information was provided through several brochures, but transportation was emphasized strongly, as was seen in literature about B.C. Ferries.

presence of St. Catherines-Niagara is probably due to this destination's reputation as a worthwhile holiday spot for honeymooners.

As the largest urban centres in Canada, Toronto and Montreal attract the greatest number of travellers. Calgary, Vancouver, Ottawa-Hull, and Edmonton also attract a similar proportion of visitors relative to their local population bases. Anomalies were found when comparing Quebec's visitation rank (3rd) to its population size (8th). This may be due to the fact that this city is well known for its historical and cultural attractions. Despite Winnipeg's ranking of 7th in terms of population, this city ranked 10th in tourist visitation. Some may interpret this as providing support to the claim that, because of its population size, Winnipeg could place a greater emphasis on tourism. However, it should be re-emphasized that other factors, such as geographic location and perceived image also play an integral part in attracting tourists to a city. City size alone will not attract tourists, but well-promoted attractions can increase the likelihood of increased tourist traffic.

While city size does have an impact when it comes to attracting tourists in a general sense, a better indicator of the relative success rate of Canadian cities in attracting tourists can be acquired by measuring leisure trips to Canadian cities against those cities' population. As Table 6 illustrates, on a per capita basis Regina finishes first overall, with 7439 visitors per capita. St. Catherines-Niagara, Saskatoon, and Quebec also scored high when the two variables were measured together. This suggests that city size does not necessarily limit the number of tourists that will visit a particular city. Additional information is gained when each Canadian city's leisure trips per capita ranking is compared to population rank (see Table 5). By subtracting a city's

population rank from its leisure trip per capita rank below, one obtains a relative measure of "tourism success" of each Canadian city.

Table 6: Leisure Trips Per Capita, 1992

Places Rated Almanac rank (Cdn rank)	Pop rank	Differentiated rank factor (column 2 minus column 4)	**Rank**	**CMA**	**Total**
18	18	17	1	Regina	7439
17	11	9	2	St. Catherines-Niagara	6951
16	17	14	3	Saskatoon	6352
3	8	4	4	Quebec City	5804
9	10	5	5	London	5394
5	13	7	6	Halifax	4767
11	12	5	7	Kitchener	4368
12	5	-3	8	Edmonton	4186
13	14	5	9	Victoria	3942
7	4	-6	10	Ottawa-Hull	3512
10	6	-5	11	Calgary	3209
14	***7***	***-5***	***12***	***Winnipeg***	***2514***
1	1	-12	13	Toronto	2193
6	9	-5	14	Hamilton	2156
2	3	-12	15	Vancouver	1559
4	2	-14	16	Montreal	1482

Sources: adapted from 91 Census, Statistics Canada - Cat. No. 93-303 & Domestic Travel, Statistics Canada - Cat. No. 87-504

Regarding the tourism success measure, cities that score less than zero are considered to be less successful than those centres that score greater than zero. Following this reasoning,

Regina and Saskatoon score the highest (+17 and +14 respectively) and so are considered to be the most successful when those centres' population is compared to leisure trips per capita. At the other end of the scale are those urban centres that are considered to be the least successful, and this includes Montreal, which obtained a score of -14, and Toronto and Vancouver which each scored minus 12. Winnipeg's differentiated rank factor was -5, indicating that this city is less successful in attracting tourists than was previously considered to be the case.

Interestingly, another measure exists which ranks Canadian cities by examining ten factors[9]. The *Places Rated Almanac* ranks the "liveability" of cities, so the results differ from previously examined measures that focused on tourism success. Based on the criteria, Toronto, Vancouver, and Quebec City are considered the best Canadian cities to live in. Winnipeg finished 14th of 25 Canadian cities measured (Savageau & Boyer, 1993).

These results, as well as Winnipeg's leisure trip per capita rank (12th overall) is surprising, considering the attractions and events that occur in this city, until one considers the relationship between commodification, promotion, and actual tourist visitation.

5.0 Assessing Perceived Image and Economic Reality in Winnipeg

The relationship between commodification, tourism promotion, and actual visitation can be better understood if a specific locality is used to illustrate the facets of this relationship. Using Winnipeg as an example, several aspects of commodification can be visualized. For example, the Forks site, like private shopping centres, is a simulated landscape of consumption in that urban problems have been edited out of the spectacular imagery. The events staged in Winnipeg

---

9 The ten factors captured within the *Places Rated Almanac* are living costs, job outlook, housing, transportation, education, health care, crime, the arts, recreation, and climate.

throughout the year are in most cases public happenings that carry a theatrical quality. Street festivals are stage-managed for public consumption, pseudo-events in search of a traditional rationale for existing.

Given our consumption-oriented lives, as tourist attractions evolve, the chances of juxtaposition and fragmentation increase. This pattern can be seen to some extent with the growth of the Forks site, which combines history, recreation, and consumption with a variety of imagery (a Triceratops near the Children's museum, fancy boutiques) that have more in common with spectacle than history. This mixture of recognized past and spectacular present can also be seen within the Exchange District, as this area also mixes history with consumption-oriented spectacle. Despite the evidence that collage in some form exists in Winnipeg, the overall effect is not as overpowering as Vancouver's Gastown or Edmonton's monolithic shopping centre.

This may explain to some extent why Winnipeg does not enjoy as great an influx of tourists as Edmonton, or any other place with commodified sights, although this city's geographic location may also be a contributing factor to this outcome. Reviewing Richard Butler's tourism hierarchy model, one can see that Winnipeg fits at levels 5 and 6, given the attractions that currently exist in this city. In comparison, larger Canadian urban centres fit at higher levels.

To rise higher in this hierarchy, Winnipeg would have to emphasize several attractions in a package to appeal to a greater number of number of people outside Manitoba. Promotional material from Winnipeg does this, with an emphasis on memorable attractions, historical/ cultural attractions, and consumption. Clearly, this is a city that wishes to appeal to a larger audience, yet there are resources (or additional thematic elements) outside city limits such as natural habitats

that could also be emphasized that would enable Winnipeg to be a more attractive vacation spot for tourists.

The thematic elements analysis illustrated that Winnipeg emphasizes its unique attractions, its historical roots, and its shopping advantages in its promotional material. Interestingly, the promotional material used for this study lacked photographs of natural attractions, even though significant natural amenities exist within an hour's drive from the city. Canadian cities usually do not take a regional perspective; the focus is almost always city-specifc. In Winnipeg the natural attraction highlighted was the Red River in photographs of the Forks. In general, nature was ignored in the promotional literature, yet Winnipeg contains several notable parks and a forest preserve within its boundaries. Festivals and events were emphasized to a slightly greater degree, and this researcher expects this element to be emphasized to an even greater extent in the future. The sense of cosmopolitanism was acknowledged with the inclusion of several photographs that showed panoramic views of the city skyline. Again, the message here is that this is a city that has all the elements tourists find alluring.

Basically, Winnipeg promotes itself as a city with a vibrant arts community, culture, recreational base, dining experiences, and special events. In this respect Winnipeg does not differ greatly from other Canadian cities, as these places also promote many of the same things when brochure photographs are broken down into thematic element categories. Yet many other Canadian cities boast additional attractions, such as striking settings, space-age/information age amusements, championship sports teams, friendly weather, and proximity to other areas of interest.

Despite the relative weaknesses of the Canadian Travel Survey and similar data collection instruments, some information was gained from the available data. In general, it was shown that Manitoba does not enjoy an extensive influx of visitors from other provinces or other countries. Winnipeg did attract more tourists than Regina, Halifax, or Saskatoon in absolute terms, yet on a per capita basis Winnipeg scores very poorly. The brochures highlight a variety of attractions and events, and Figure 3 illustrated that people enjoy a variety of activities in Manitoba. Discounting the number of trips devoted to visiting friends and relatives, the most common activity enjoyed by travellers was shopping, followed by visiting a designated park/ historic site and participating in sports activities. At the same time, most of the tourism visitation and revenue is obtained from visiting Canadian residents (from Manitoba or elsewhere in Canada).

As a city looking for alternate ways of generating capital, it is only natural (and perhaps inevitable) that Winnipeg would attempt to attract a greater number of visitors by constructing and maintaining the Forks, the Exchange District, and facilities for professional sports teams. But is Winnipeg putting the cart before the horse? It is true that manufacturing jobs are disappearing, many other forms of employment are insecure, and alternate forms of capital generation are needed. But it is also true that tourism is an industry that encourages private involvement at the expense of public concerns. It is fortunate that the extreme side of tourism - the completely staged attraction - has not yet sullied Winnipeg with its presence

Meanwhile, those elements currently ignored in tourism are surfacing daily in the local media. Current economic instability has led to social instability, which in turn has produced significant social problems such as poverty, unemployment and crime. Faced with the possibility

of long-term unemployment, becoming a crime victim, or simply being unable to afford the basic necessities of life, the citizenry of Winnipeg are understandably concerned about their future.

So, in light of problems that are now common in every major urban centre in North America, the notion of strengthening Winnipeg's potential as a tourism destination must be considered very carefully. The civic government must consider the problems that exist before any venture designed to attract non-residents is approved.

Perceived economic benefits from tourism, and community concerns are two of the opposing tensions that planners will be facing in the 90's. Does urban tourism have to emphasize a variety of privately managed theatrical stage sets and props, or is there a way for the local community to be involved in each aspect of the tourism process? It will be argued in the next chapter that those forces that emphasize commodification must be tempered with regard for the concerns of the local citizenry. A city planner, or to be more precise a tourism planner, can bring an understanding of the economic and social impact of tourism 'to the table' to resolve conflicts between different stakeholders. While the next chapter will briefly examine the proper role of the planner when it comes to tourism initiatives, tourism-related proposals for Winnipeg will first be reviewed to discern the current, officially designated role of tourism in Winnipeg's planning initiatives.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE PLANNER'S ROLE IN THE TOURISM SYSTEM

1.0 Background

The previous two chapters have examined urban tourism from a theoretical perspective as well as a qualitative and quantitative perspective. Looking at this industry in this manner, it is revealed that tourism can be seen as either a functioning system or as a destructive force. Any type of tourism entails the selling of a commodity or series of commodities (in this case, a city and its attractions) to interested customers (tourists). Tourism advertising creates a desirable image of a city, while providing information about the types of services and attractions available. As marketing devices, Canadian promotional literature expertly depicts Canadian cities' spectacles to possible tourists. Unintentionally, perhaps, these brochures also provide a glimpse of the ongoing production each city engages in. The thematic elements analysis illustrated that Canadian cities basically promote themselves in a similar manner. Minute differences can be seen regarding the frequency of thematic elements in the examined sample of city promotional material. For example, brochures showcasing Toronto and Montreal may devote several photographs to reinforce the metropolitan theme, while Fredericton and Winnipeg emphasize a variety of attractions in an attempt to appeal to a variety of people, to possibly increase their share of the Canadian tourist market.

Commodification is an inevitable by-product of tourism, and in its most extreme manifestation (see the comments in Chapter 2, section 2.5, about the West Edmonton Mall) can be alienating to the local population even as it attracts a greater number of tourists. Seen as a commodity, Winnipeg is competing with other Canadian cities that may have greater strengths

(perceived or real) in history, geography, special events, and great spectacles. Because the goal of tourism advertising, like any other kind of advertising, is to 'sell the sizzle', day-to-day elements are left out the promotional package. All urban destinations acquire a sheen of unreality, with no crime, poverty, unemployment, or racism.

In reality, Winnipeg is a city experiencing a variety of social and economic ailments. Tourism is seen as a possible solution to current economic stress experienced by the city, but any tourism initiatives will have to be devised with all the stakeholders participating in the planning process, rather than a select group representing limited interests.

This chapter examines the role of the planner in the urban tourism system. An examination of planning documents that highlight proposed policies and ideals for the City of Winnipeg will give some background as to the current role of the planner. As will be shown, the planner must deal with opposing concerns; development for tourism versus community participation. Strategies toward a workable tourism system will be discussed at the conclusion of this chapter.

2.0 The (Designated) Role of Tourism in Winnipeg

The latest city planning documents describe the proposed conditions regarding tourism in Winnipeg. Several of these documents, including *Plan Winnipeg: Towards 2010*, and *Centre Plan*, are examined to illustrate the role of tourism in Winnipeg[1]. Background information about Tourism Winnipeg, the city's marketing agency, will also be examined. It will be shown that these

[1] While there are even newer plans available, such as Winnipeg's *Transplan* and *Strategic Plan*, an examination of these materials was not included in this section. It was felt by this researcher that *Plan Winnipeg, Centre Plan* and *Tourism Winnipeg's Strategic Plan* adequately illustrated the civic government's current feelings regarding tourism. An interview with Penny McMillan, Executive Director of Tourism Winnipeg, added some valuable insights into the nature of tourism initiatives in Winnipeg.

documents do support tourism initiatives but do not provide the necessary dialogue between community, planner, and tourism.

2.1 Plan Winnipeg: Towards 2010

Within the Economic Development chapter of this document, the *Tourism Initiatives* section contains a 'statement of principle':

"The City seeks to capitalize upon opportunities for economic development available through the support and promotion of tourism" (City of Winnipeg, 1993a, 35).

This statement is backed by the following reasoning:

> Winnipeg has much to offer visitors and much to gain by pursuing tourism as a growth industry. Tourism Winnipeg has pursued this goal and continues to do so. As well, the Winnipeg Convention Centre contributes to the tourism industry by promoting its facilities. Not only is it necessary for the City to support these agencies, it must ensure the viability of the *attractions and destinations* [italics mine] being promoted so that they may continue contributing to the success of the industry.
>
> While Winnipeg must be promoted, the Downtown must be given special consideration in light of its vital contribution to the economic well-being of the City. It is also the central destination for tourism activity (City of Winnipeg, 1993a, 35).

Some of the proposed policies that follow these statements include:

- ***2G-01 Support Tourism and Convention Activities***
  The City shall attempt to maximize the associated economic benefits of tourism and convention activities by:
  i) aggressively promoting attractions, events, and convention opportunities,
  ii) continuing its support for the Winnipeg Convention Centre Corporation and Tourism Winnipeg, and
  iii) enhancing the unique assets, amenities, and attractions of the city through high quality maintenance.

It is unclear whether point three is acknowledging transportation, accommodation and restaurants when it mentions "amenities". While these components are mentioned elsewhere within the document, they should be included explicitly within the tourism section of the *Plan Winnipeg* document.

- ***2G-02 Promote the Downtown***
  The City shall take special measures to promote the Downtown generally, and the various attractions within the Downtown specifically, as tourist and visitor destinations (City of Winnipeg, 1993a, 35).

The idea of supporting tourism initiatives crosses over into many other policy areas designed to enhance the overall image of Winnipeg. For example, within the *Heritage Assets* section of this document, the following policy emphasizes the importance of maintaining the city's heritage assets,

- ***6C-05 Establish a Buildings Conservation List***
  The City shall establish and maintain a buildings conservation list under which buildings, erections, and structures deemed to be of special architectural or historical interest may be listed for the purpose of protection from demolition with priority given to the restoration, revitalization, and preservation of those assets which exist within a collection of heritage resources (City of Winnipeg, 1993a, 114).

This policy preserves historical areas of Winnipeg such as the Exchange District. Unlike many other urban centres, Winnipeg does not have to fabricate heritage attractions, as these buildings are already present. Other policies emphasize the importance of a clean and vibrant downtown area:

- ***6D-03 Establish Maintenance Standards***
  The City shall establish a high standard for maintenance in the Downtown including street cleaning, sidewalk, and street maintenance, and the upkeep of street furniture and other enhancements.

- ***6D-04 Encourage Downtown Festivities***
  The City shall encourage activities in the Downtown which foster a spirit of celebration and festivity and which promote the participation of both residents and visitors (City of Winnipeg, 1993a, 115).

The preceding policy goes a short way toward incorporating social elements (such as the residents of Winnipeg) within touristic functions. The following policy in the *Downtown* policy area section focuses on tourism in selected areas:

- ***5B-06 Encourage Tourist Facilities and Services***
  The City shall encourage the development of facilities and services in the Downtown which serve the needs of tourists and visitors to Winnipeg (City of Winnipeg, 1993a, 87).

The assumption here is that hotels and restaurant development would be supported by the City. Key urban attractions such as arts, entertainment and culture are best emphasized within the following policy under the *Arts, Entertainment, and Culture* section:

- ***6E-01 Recognize and Promote Importance***
  The City shall continue to recognize the importance of its arts, entertainment, and cultural communities as major contributors to its urban image and shall promote awareness of such both within and outside Winnipeg (City of Winnipeg, 1993a, 116).

Finally, the *Civic Promotion* section of this document briefly outlines two notable policies:

- ***6G-01 Promote Positive Attitude***
  The City shall take a leadership role in promoting a positive attitude to potential business interests, residents, visitors, and tourists.

- ***6G-02 Coordinate Promotional Efforts***

  The City shall take a leadership role in coordinating the promotional efforts of Winnipeg and the various agencies the City supports (City of Winnipeg, 1993a, 118).

This last cited policy is crucial, as the various components that make up the tourism system need to be fully considered as an integrated whole for Winnipeg to be a viable tourism destination. This document is clearly a reflection of the times, as environmental stewardship and social equity are also addressed. However, the largest section is devoted to urban development management or infrastructural issues.

The policies within the *Plan Winnipeg: Towards 2010* document are useful starting points toward effectively managing tourism within Winnipeg. However, due to its' general nature, this document fails to recognize the intricacies and complexity that is present in any properly functioning tourism system. While it is true that recognizing the importance of historic building conservation, maintenance standards, downtown festivities, and provision of tourism facilities and services are positive steps toward a functioning tourism system, there are additional factors that have to be considered in order for tourism to be economically and socially viable in Winnipeg.

Taken together, the proposed tourism policies are commendable in theory, but too vague to be effectively implemented in practice. Further consideration of the tourism system's components is required.

2.2 The Downtown Handbook & Centre Plan

Winnipeg's Centre Plan (1995) proposes a variety of measures to economically revitalize the downtown. Before this document is examined, it is worthwhile to review the Downtown Handbook. This document is the backgrounder to the Centre Plan process, and it is worth

examining because this resource reference compiles suggestions towards a revitalized downtown. The 'Tourism' section of the Handbook states that "rapid growth of tourism represents an opportunity for economic development in the downtown" (City of Winnipeg, 1993b, 110). This section supports this assertion with reasons why this should be the case. The downtown should be ideally suited for Winnipeg residents, but also be that part of the city seen by the rest of the world. Tourism is cited as becoming increasingly important to downtown locations because of the projected growth of this industry.

Borrowing from the International Downtown Association (IDA), the Downtown Handbook states that successful tourism development is based on five important principles:

1. *Quality*- The quality of place, the environment and the experience are what make tourism work in the first place. A quality place and experience will produce quality visitors and will maximize economic impact.
2. *Value*- The visitor must clearly sense that he or she is getting true value for money spent. This relates in large part to the quality of service received. Most people don't mind paying for a good, high quality experience. They complain bitterly about paying too much for a poor experience.
3. *Concentration*- Concentration and critical mass go hand in hand and are often most difficult to achieve. The ability to concentrate attractions, facilities and services in a convenient accessible location is essential to creating a 'destination' experience.
4. *Critical Mass*- The product of concentrating attractions, services and facilities in a small area is critical mass, and critical mass creates excitement, adventure, fun and lots of

people. Too many communities try to scatter their attractions in order to satisfy parochial interests.

5. *A Rich Density of Experience*- The product of the preceding four principles of tourism is what makes for a successful tourism system, and a resulting maximum economic impact. It is the rich density of experience that not only attracts people to begin with but brings them back time and time again. Importantly, these are the places that not only attract visitors but locals as well, thereby maximizing the market impact (International Downtown Association, 1991 cited in City of Winnipeg, 1993b, 110-13).

Principle 2 echoes Gunn's assertion that well-managed services and attractions are crucial to the optimal functioning of the tourism system. The last three principles repeatedly state that having attractions, services and transportation linkages to these things within a certain area creates the impression that there is a great deal worth experiencing in the city. Principle 1 is vague in that 'quality' is not really defined. By quality, could the IDA mean well-managed components in the tourism system, or something else?

Baltimore, Maryland, is then cited as the city that is properly developing its downtown as a centre for urban tourism by: adding more attractions and entertainment centres around the downtown; stimulating the popular attractions around the Inner Harbor; promoting the expansion of the Convention Centre; supporting efforts to secure a football franchise by constructing a new football stadium and sports facility; and increasing downtown's share of convention and group tourism business by marketing downtown internationally (City of Winnipeg, 1993b, 113).

Citing an American city with a distinct geographical advantage (proximity to other urban centres), and history (an early part of American history), as a useful tourism-system template for Winnipeg, a city that is geographically isolated and has a significantly smaller population base, is symptomatic of a desire to "fix" a problem by copying well-known superficial strategies, rather than attempt to devise an original idea based on the unique characteristics of the city in question. This background, however, merely sets the reader up for the following list, once again provided by the IDA, that illustrates once and for all what the downtown requires to be successful from a tourism perspective:

- Small Value-Added Businesses (industries of the mind)
- University Connections/Expansions
- Urban Tourism (Place-Making)
- Entertainment
- The Arts
- Specialty/Good Value Retail
- Public Facilities/Offices
- Housing
- Sports
- Family Attractions (IDA, 1991 cited within City of Winnipeg, 1993b, 113).

Most of these 'best bets' are already present in Winnipeg's downtown. Meanwhile, great effort is being expended to provide those attractions not yet present in the downtown, such as a

modern facility for sports-based attractions. This list, and the Baltimore example, illustrate that most cities, including Winnipeg, wish to reshape sections of their downtowns into memorable spectacle. Yet there is a danger that such a "by-the-numbers" approach to tourism in every North American city will lead to a standardization or McDonaldization (Ritzer, 1993) of those places wishing to leave a lasting impression on the fickle tourist. Far from creating a distinctive place, many urban downtowns could fall into the trap of accelerating placelessness and elsewhereness. Tourism should capitalize on a city's assets, but greater consideration of the tourism system is essential in order to understand how tourism can provide economic and social rewards in a particular city.

As was stated in the *Downtown Handbook*, the supporting framework of tourism (services and transportation) has to be designed with tourism in mind. Services should be well-managed, designed properly, and placed near attractions and other components. It is difficult to integrate transportation, though, as the many modes are owned and operated by different private and public entities. Yet an effort should be made to include these differing interests in travel promotion, for many forms of transportation (including technologically outdated ones) are considered to be an essential part of the tourists' experience.

On paper, the principles that guide Centre Plan's (1995) recommendations are commendable. Briefly, these principles are inclusion and consensus, participation and communication, equity and fairness, community self-reliance, sustainability, a people-first approach and integration. Regarding the last principle, the report states that "a balanced approach

is necessary, one that recognizes the interdependency of people, issues, responses, and actions" (City of Winnipeg, 1995, 9).

Significantly, two of the major sections in this document are entitled *A Vision of Community and Belonging* and *A Vision of Prosperity and Innovation*. The former section advocates neighbourhood planning, safety and security, while the latter section contains several strategies designed to revitalize the downtown:

- *Maintain a healthy and viable retail market downtown* (City of Winnipeg, 1995, 27)
- *Encourage and support the consolidation of major arts, entertainment, and cultural facilities downtown* (City of Winnipeg, 1995, 28).
- *Foster a positive climate for new investments and redevelopment in the downtown* (City of Winnipeg, 1995, 31).
- *Develop a strong, practical marketing plan for the downtown backed by research and supported by effective communications* (City of Winnipeg, 1995, 31).

Under the section entitled *A Vision of Soul and Personality*, Centre Plan emphasizes the importance of Portage and Main, and other character areas such as the Exchange District, Chinatown, and Broadway. The Forks, the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, and heritage buildings within and outside the Exchange District are also cited as being unique components of Winnipeg (City of Winnipeg, 1995, 47-9).

Each of these strategies would have an impact on tourism initiatives, but the most direct statements originate from the Urban Tourism subsection of the Vision section of Centre Plan. This subsection states that "the tourism industry is becoming more sophisticated and the depth and breadth of tourism offerings is expanding rapidly" (City of Winnipeg, 1995, 29). In addition, this subsection states that "if the objective is to make tourism work effectively for downtown economic development and the well-being of the city, then we must be aware of the importance of tourism internationally and nationally" (City of Winnipeg, 1995, 29). The strategy for urban tourism outlined in Centre Plan is to

- *Actively promote the downtown's assets as a means of stimulating growth in urban tourism* (City of Winnipeg, 1995, 29).

While the downtown area does contain a variety of tourism-related assets, it is still unfortunate that the rest of Winnipeg is not considered. This can be justified by the fact that this plan is specific for the downtown area, yet there are other assets throughout Winnipeg and outside the city limits that could be added to the package, strengthening Winnipeg's image to tourists.

Another criticism is that while this document outlines strategies relating to community needs and overall vision for the downtown, these concerns are not combined. It will be argued later in this chapter that effective tourism initiatives require citizen input.

2.3 Tourism Winnipeg's Strategic Plan

Tourism Winnipeg's 1995 Business Plan (also referred to as their strategic plan) states that the mission of this agency is "to market the City of Winnipeg as a destination for individuals and groups of visitors" (Tourism Winnipeg, 1995, 1). The goals of this agency are as follows:

- *To increase visitor expenditures in Winnipeg by 5% over the previous year.*
- *To partner with industry and government to develop and deliver effective visitor marketing programs.*
- *To increase public awareness of the value of tourism and the work of Tourism Winnipeg* (Tourism Winnipeg, 1995, 1).

The strategic plan states that the success of Tourism Winnipeg is "ultimately measured in terms of visitor expenditures" (Tourism Winnipeg, 1995, 1).

Established in 1988 by the City of Winnipeg, Tourism Winnipeg is the city's destination marketing agency, and it represents a partnership between the private, non-profit and public sectors. It is a corporate entity at "arms length" from the civic government, although several city councillors (along with several businesspersons) sit on the Tourism Winnipeg Board of Directors. Tourism Winnipeg reports to the Mayor through the Executive Policy Committee. Being a marketing agency, Tourism Winnipeg does not conduct any planning *per se*, but the agency's concerns are relayed through strategic planning initiatives such as the Centre Plan committee. In this respect, Tourism Winnipeg assumes the perspective of the visitor, and stresses the importance of safety, signage, and adequate transportation to various attractions within the city. Tourism

Winnipeg receives input from all parties interested in increased tourism visitation (restaurants, hotels, the arts community, business improvement groups) and produces promotional material for Winnipeg according to the wishes of these groups (McMillan, 1995).

It should be stressed that while Tourism Winnipeg is a marketing agency, it favors tourism development that is oriented toward experience and enrichment, rather than escapism and consumption. In addition, this agency has attempted to promote the city's neighbourhoods by meeting with Winnipeg's Business Improvement Zone groups. So while this corporation does not engage in any planning, it does conduct a form of tourism planning in that it researches viable tourism opportunities, obtains input from a cross-section of interests, and promotes the city according to the wishes of those interests as well as the perceived expectations of the visitor. It also advises Winnipeg's city planning department, through various committees, as to what needs to be done to attract increased visitation from other parts of the world (including other parts of Canada) to Winnipeg. At the present time, neighbourhood concerns are not actually represented in any of these initiatives.

3.0 Tourism Planning in Winnipeg

Gunn points out that "cities are increasingly becoming travel destinations in their own right because of the many attraction amenities-convention centers, museums, art galleries, parks, performing arts centers, shopping centers, specialty foods, and sports arenas". This is a positive step toward tourism development, as "attraction features function best not in isolation but when clustered together...although important in the past, clustering is stronger in contemporary tourism

planning because of modern transportation modes, marketing mechanisms, and higher investment of development" (Gunn, 1988a, 125).

While the plans examined in the previous section presented commendable ideas, in practice the emphasis on tourism is still seen by many as an opportunistic invasion of private interests into a locale. This undesirable outcome has been traced by Richard Butler (1980). His life cycle theory of a tourism destination revolves around an area becoming a popular destination to visitors, then becoming saturated by private tourism industries (restaurants, hotels, souvenir shops) eager for a slice of the newly discovered tourism market. This type of saturation can be seen as the destructive end-product of over-commodification, and in some parts of the world, such as Florida, the tourism juggernaut continues to completely reshape entire regions without considering the interests of the local citizenry.

It has been observed by this researcher that many North American cities, including Baltimore, San Antonio, Phoenix, Winnipeg and Vancouver have reshaped sections of the city centres for tourism purposes in an attempt to revitalize the downtown. This represents commodification on a smaller scale, as only portions of a city are being altered. Yet commodification in a tourism context can be damaging to a city's efforts of long term economic prosperity if the local citizenry sees new initiatives as an invasion from outside or as a development controlled by a select group of business-minded individuals. For tourism in Winnipeg to be successful, there has to be careful consideration of the components within the tourism system. Without community participation to augment tourism initiatives the public will feel alienated and resentful toward tourism development.

3.1 A Tourism System in Winnipeg

The interrelationships (see Figure 1) between the supply-side components of the tourism system (services, information/promotion, transportation, attractions) supports the principle that the tourism system is an extremely dynamic one. This concept defines the scope of tourism planning and the work of all actors involved. Tourism planning must include, but cannot stop with, the consideration of the location and development of tourism-related services such as hotels, motels, and restaurants. Additionally, tourism planning must also include the development of transportation systems for travellers. Of course, without strategically located attractions to lure travellers, the hotels, airlines, and advertising would not be required. But from a regional planning point of view, it is difficult to organize tourism planning only on the basis of structural elements (Gunn, 1988a, 69). All of these things must be integrated into a functioning whole.

The informational/ promotional component is especially important as this device can create demand or desire to visit a particular place. As is the case in other Canadian cities, Winnipeg supplies information about attractions and events through various brochures. Some of these give an overview of the city, while others are either season-specific (e.g. issues of the *Where Winnipeg* tourism publication) or region-specific (e.g. material about St. Boniface). Interestingly, much of Winnipeg's promotional material attempts to cater to residents as well as tourists. This is an extremely good idea, as most of an existing tourism system, including transportation, can be used by tourists and residents. However, it must be recognized that the residential population will not require services such as hotels and restaurants to the same extent as tourists.

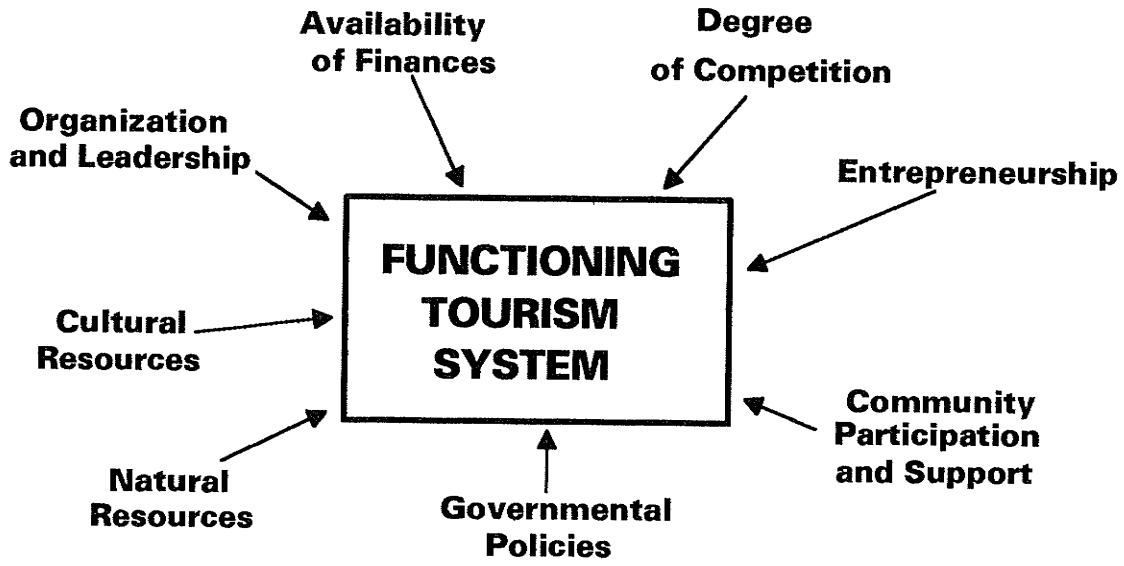
Although all components of the tourism system are important to its functioning, attractions provide the energizing power. Attractions, however, are not well understood and are

often interpreted as only 'commercial'. They are considered "the mirror side of market interests, the places where personal and social expectations from travel are realized" but, "those regions contemplating new development or expansion of tourism need to place high priority on the planning, establishment, and quality operation of attractions" (Gunn, 1988a, 107). Cities, by their very size and structure, can provide a variety of attractions, as well as required services and transportation linkages.

The proper consideration of the supply-side components of the tourism system is only the beginning of tourism planning. Rather than envisioning a system of four or five interrelated components, "any planning for tourism in the future must take into account the core of the tourism functional system and the many factors influencing it" (Gunn, 1988a, 76). There are also external factors that cannot be forgotten such as natural resources (climate & scenery), cultural resources (ethnicity, history), entrepreneurship, finance, labor (as part of service sector), competition (several choices for tourist, a factor for promoters to consider), community (the planner interacts with this), governmental policies (the planner interacts with this as well), organization and leadership.

If the major components of the tourism system (attractions, transportation facilities, accommodations, food services, retail sales and services) are to be maintained, the factors outlined below in Figure 5, are what they depend upon. In greater detail, the additional critical factors to consider as they apply to Winnipeg can be described are as follows:

Figure 5: Influences on the Tourism System



Source: derived from Gunn, Tourism Planning, 1988a, p.73.

For tourism planners, these factors can be defined as the 'surrounding inputs' that can affect the functioning of a tourism system. Most of these, as they apply to Winnipeg, already exist in one form or another:

- ***Natural resources:*** a 45-minute drive north of Winnipeg is Lake Winnipeg and several towns (Gimli, Winnipeg Beach) that contain natural scenery. North-east of Winnipeg is the beginning of the Canadian Shield and Whiteshell Provincial Park. In Winnipeg itself, there is the historic junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. While the importance of this site is well recognized (the Forks, the riverpath), acknowledgement (and promotion) of rural

attractions is usually left to Travel Manitoba. The City of Winnipeg should highlight those places that are a day's drive from the city.

- ***Cultural resources:*** Winnipeg has these in abundance, from buildings and areas with a long and interesting history (CN Station, Fort Garry Hotel, the Exchange District, the Parliament building) to monuments commemorating historical events. There are festivals and events that highlight Winnipeg's local characteristics (Festival du Voyager, Folk Festival, Folklorama, International Children's Festival), as well as professional sports teams (Winnipeg Jets hockey franchise, Winnipeg Blue Bombers football club).

- ***Viable service communities:*** Gunn defines cities within a tourism region with a developed "service-structure" as fitting this criterion. As an attraction in itself, Winnipeg contains a wide variety of restaurants and hotels. These must be promoted in the tourism literature more prominently.

- ***Easy access:*** this factor acknowledges the importance of transportation and highway development. Winnipeg is bisected by the Trans-Canada highway, and is served by air, rail, and bus transport. Navigational difficulties may lie in the city itself, which has some street networks which could be considered frustrating to visitors. Bus service may also be considered inadequate (no free shuttle service downtown). Maps contained within Winnipeg's brochures can alleviate some of the difficulties involved in city navigation. The transit service will have to become more user-friendly. Within the downtown area, parking

has often been cited as a problem by residents and tourists alike. Strict controls on parking could be relaxed, and the introduction of free parking during weekends would improve the overall parking situation dramatically.

- ***Existing markets:*** in promoting itself as a tourism destination, Winnipeg is not starting from square one. Many of the essential attractions and facilities already exist within Winnipeg or in the areas surrounding the city. Additional development of attractions and services depends upon available financial resources, the vision of tourism planners, and the acceptance/participation of the local population in any tourism initiatives. But if additional tourism resources or facilities are proposed, it is essential that the market viability of such additions be examined to see if any overlap exists from nearby markets or from the city itself.

- ***Favorable development image:*** the presence of this factor depends on visitors' past experiences in Winnipeg. If Winnipeg has a poor reputation for service provision, transportation usage, and informational clarity, future tourism efforts will be hindered due to negative tourism experiences. This is a crucial concern, for it is quite possible that many who have visited the city for a short time found their stay to be less than satisfactory. Once again, the presence of the other factors can alleviate the difficulties surrounding the city's image. Brochures can only go so far in doing this; the other components within the tourism system also need to be well-developed and integrated properly.

- ***Local acceptance of tourism:*** Gunn has stated that "if the local electorate and leadership fully understand the implications of tourism and favour its development, further expansion has support" (Gunn, 1988a, 223). In Winnipeg's case, the civic government's emphasis is usually on the viability of infrastructural improvements and cleaning operations. Due perhaps to rising unemployment and dissatisfaction with government, the citizens of Winnipeg are antagonistic toward any development designed to provide an entertainment function. City boosterism is an important factor in gauging the long-term success of tourism, but this outcome cannot simply be created with a slogan such as "100 Reasons to Love Winnipeg". It is important that social concerns that affect the residents of the city (poverty, jobs, crime, infrastructural maintenance) be addressed as significant concerns that need to be resolved in a constructive manner. Tourism can be seen as the outward extension of a city-grown boosterism effort. While the participation of the local population in deciding the city's tourism future may cripple some future tourism initiatives, this outcome is preferable to city-wide resentment of any new tourism development. Participation can take the form of round-table type meetings to discuss future plans, as well as residents involved in the provision of the accommodation and dining. All the factors that make up a favorable holiday experience (service provision, transportation reliability, sightseeing ease) depend not only on participation of the local population but on the residents' general support as well. Acceptance of tourism initiatives by the local residents may seem like excess icing on the cake, but a positive attitude displayed by the city's inhabitants equals a positive view of the city, which in turn equals a positive city image that is attractive not only to prospective tourists but also to repeat visitors. This attitude could

manifest itself in the form of friendlier service, and less negativity (but more constructive criticism). While these things may sound trivial to some, it should be noted that sometimes the "extra icing" leaves the greatest impression on visitors.

- ***Favorable government controls:*** while participation by the electorate is encouraged, too many government constraints spoil tourism development. These factors should be balanced against one another. There may be jurisdictional problems as well, between private companies and government, or between different governmental entities (such as Winnipeg Tourism and Travel Manitoba). If problems such as these do exist, they should be resolved so as not to deter further tourism growth. Cooperation between different levels of government, private concerns, and the public is a difficult, but not impossible, situation to attain.

- ***Available land for development*:** Winnipeg has the potential to convert land in the downtown area currently owned by the government (near the Forks), or used for outdoor parking, into tourism-related facilities. But with so many tourism assets already in place, this is a less significant factor in Winnipeg.

- ***Availability of entrepreneurs and managers:*** Local entrepreneurs have recently taken the initiative in financially supporting the cultural resource known as the Winnipeg Jets hockey franchise. On a smaller scale, locally-based restaurants provide culinary experiences at the Forks in addition to other areas of Winnipeg.

- ***Availability of labour pool:*** the supply-side components that enable a smoothly functioning tourism system requires a large labour pool. Winnipeg can provide this, as many people have lost their jobs due to plant closures or stores going out of business. Naturally, a shift of large sectors of the population from manufacturing to service provision could not proceed overnight (re-training programs would be essential), but in time the city could provide required services and transportation, simply because the labour pool and entrepreneurial spirit exists in Winnipeg.

- ***Availability of finances:*** money is the most crucial factor for tourism development. Capital investment can either be public, governmental in nature, or private (from an outside investor). The problem with outside investors, as Gunn points out, is that while local residents realize that resource assets should be protected through land use controls, an outside investor may simply refuse to invest under such conditions (Gunn, 1988a, 224). Public spending, meanwhile, is currently focused on job creation and infrastructural improvement (which are often the same thing). While this factor's importance cannot be underestimated, its probable absence may not be too critical, for most of Winnipeg's actual tourism attraction network is already developed, or is funded as historical or cultural resources. If any adjustment needs to occur within Winnipeg's tourism system, it is within the areas of transportation, service provision and promotion. If greater citizen participation is the goal in future tourism planning initiatives, the planner should perhaps examine alternate ways of funding, to escape the stranglehold outside investors often place on a city's resources.

While these factors involve an integration of attractions, promotion/information, services, and transportation, they also require input and commitment from creative businesspersons, designers, and residents. The organization and facilitation of various interests should be provided by a planning agency.

It should be recognized that places that do not contain all the thematic elements (distinctive geography, undeveloped support services, little in the way of historical resources) are at a distinct disadvantage. Fortunately, the conditions in Winnipeg are nowhere near this negative extreme, as this city does contain a variety of assets that can be promoted. Missing thus far has been a more concrete integration, as well as an acceptance of the (interrelated nature) of the factors that make up the tourism system. Although a continuous planning process would ideally encompass a great integration of all factors of the tourism system, it may be necessary to empower a central tourism agency at the highest level of government to be the catalyst for continuous planning. A diverse image for a city is especially important, as the perception of obtaining interesting, worthwhile, and exciting experiences is the goal of the tourist.

3.2 The Role of the (Tourism) Planner is to Bridge the Gap Between Community & Commodity

As stated earlier, if developed incorrectly tourism can erode the physical and social environment. Even if all factors are duly considered, tourism still exacts some costs, as it requires infrastructure provided by government. Planning must enter the picture in order for tourism to yield the perceived benefits, while reducing some of the difficulties associated with the development of a tourism system. Importantly, Gunn states that "such planning must be

implemented by all actors involved in tourism, not delegated to professional planners alone" (Gunn, 1988a, 23).

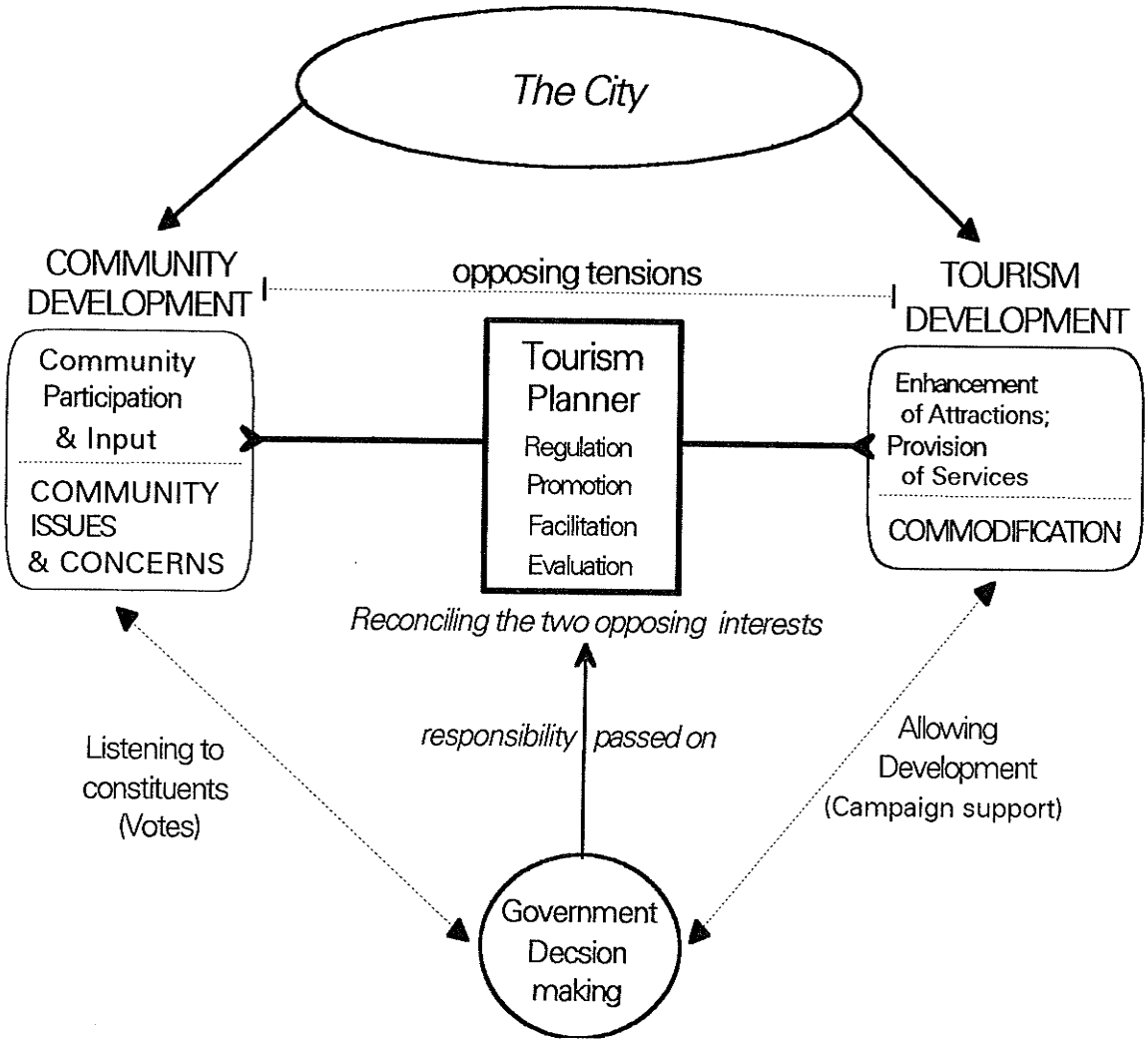
In considering the ideal relationship between tourism development and planning, it should be remembered that "planning is a multidimensional activity and seeks to be integrative. It embraces social, economic, political, psychological, anthropological, and technological factors. It is concerned with the past, present, and future" (Rose, 1984, 45).

Planning has been criticized in the past for wrapping promising tourism concepts in too much red tape. Too much regulation can stifle innovation and entrepreneurship, obstructing the realization of many tourism objectives. Yet in some areas, more and better regulation may be needed for health, safety, and resource protection, which are all vital to a smoothly functioning tourism system. Planning mechanisms should be consensus-based, process-oriented, and dynamic in nature:

> Needed is tourism planning that is action-oriented, focused, explicit in mission, proactive, continuing, integrative, and values intuition and judgement. These qualities are particularly important for tourism because it is far more complicated an economic, social, and environmental activity than most (Gunn, 1988a, 24).

Tourism planning needs to involve local residents while coordinating development of the tourism system. As stated earlier, the planner's role should be a facilitatory one that brings separate interests together, controlling tourism-related development and allowing a community voice to be heard. Below, Figure 6 illustrates how this relationship would bridge the gap between commodity and community:

Figure 6: The Role of the Tourism Planner



Due to the inherent complexities within a tourism system, the idea of balancing various factors and satisfying each of the stakeholders is a great challenge. Balancing the development of tourism resources with community needs is a daunting task, as there are inevitably some trade-offs associated with any tourism-related development. For example, the community would have to

accept the influx of visitors through service-provision and greater costs for supporting infrastructure. Meanwhile development would have to be controlled so as not to allow commodification processes to take over parts of the city. This may entail loss of potential investors, but the domination of a tourism system by private concerns would mean less economic spin-offs to the community, as well as less control over the reshaping process at work in the city. The planner's role is not an easy one, and for this role to be effective governmental bodies will have to allow the tourism planner to act in the interests of the community.

The tourism planner must recognize the importance of tourism promotion as well as local input. A locally administered and controlled tourism system reduces the chances of commodification as it acknowledges the needs of the residential population rather than simply catering to the development concerns of a select group. At the same time, planning for tourism requires market forecasting. As market attitudes and behaviour are dynamic, it is essential that planners continuously monitor shifting traveller characteristics. At the same time, the local citizenry should be surveyed to determine the types of tourism they would like to see within their city. A well-thought questionnaire can supply the tourism planner with information on the kind of tourism the community may support.

Once the tourism planner's role accommodates tourism development as well as community involvement, the goal of creating a viable tourism system can be attained. Because the characteristics of this system would be well understood, safeguards would be in place to protect the destination from over-saturation of tourism resources, while keeping civic pride and vision alive among the citizens of the slightly "reshaped city".

CONCLUSION

This thesis examined three questions with regard to tourism planning. These questions were:

- *How and why have cities become commodified in a tourism context?*
- *What is promoted and what is ignored within the city?*
- *What should the planner's role be regarding urban tourism?*

Each of these questions have been addressed in Chapters 2, 3 and 4, and are summarized in this concluding section.

Why Cities Have Become Commodified, or Why Commodification is Inevitable

The reasoning behind large-scale commodification and marketing of tourism destinations can be summarized in the following statement:

> [Tourism] is an industry that pumps $21 billion a year into the Canadian economy. It constitutes 4 percent of our gross national product and employs 600,000 people whose sole job is looking after the needs of foreign and domestic visitors....[yet] the tourist industry is cursed with a market that is hard to pin down and identify (Dingwall, 1990, 60).

Because the Canadian economic system is becoming less oriented toward the resource-extraction and manufacturing industries and more oriented to service-based industries, many urban centres view tourism as an economic panacea able to bring capital into the city once again. Several cities have responded to the economic promise espoused by tourism by reshaping parts of the city into bright spectacle. Such alterations are done to enhance a city's image to attract tourists.

The dynamic nature of tourism encompassed a theoretical discussion of the nature of commodification, advertising, city structure, and tourism attractions in Chapter Two. In examining this aspect of tourism, it was found that much of the critical literature views tourism as a destructive invasion by outside interests. Tourism will always contain an aspect of commodification, as the goal of this industry is to sell a location's assets as a product. But commodification at its most extreme reshapes whole urban regions into spectacle, transforming sections of the city or countryside into exclusive stage-sets as income generated from these spectacles does not filter down to the local communities. In addition, local concerns are often ignored in favor of spectacle-development initiatives.

Despite the misgivings by many theorists about tourism, it is believed that commodification can be minimized and controlled if all of the interested stakeholders (industry, community, government) are involved in the tourism-planning process. Current tourism marketing efforts in Winnipeg suggest that most (but not all) of the interested stakeholders are involved in the marketing aspects of this industry.

What has been Promoted and What has been Ignored, or What Should be Promoted

Literature reviewed in Chapter two illustrated that tourism marketing, supplemented by promotional material, is a continuous process of image creation and enhancement. Chapter Three illustrated that image creation and product management come together upon reviewing tourism promotional material from major Canadian cities. It was also seen that despite geographic distance and cultural differences, most cities convey similar thematic elements to prospective

tourists. An emphasis on similar thematic elements illustrates that each city wishes to be seen as a place where there is a great deal of attractions to see, and events to experience.

Although the image portrayed by each city is superficially positive and enticing, actual tourism success in these cities may vary, due to geographic, cultural, or other factors. Despite the fact that each Canadian city actively engages in tourism promotion, the economic benefits derived from tourism are not equally distributed among the Canadian cities promoting themselves. It was seen that Manitoba does not attract as many people as the larger provinces in Canada (Alberta, British Columbia, Ontario, Quebec). Yet on a per capita basis this province ranks third. Meanwhile Winnipeg's visitation ranks 12th on a per capita basis.

To attract tourists initially, it is important to convey the right message to prospective tourists through promotional devices such as pamphlets. In this respect, Winnipeg has been guilty of narrowcasting its projected image by focusing on one major attraction (photographs of The Forks) while ignoring the other sites in the city. On the other hand, clustering attractions is a good idea from a tourism perspective, and designating the Forks as a primary attraction by locating additional tourism or entertainment resources there should not be discounted.

Any tourism promotional material that focuses on Winnipeg should convey the impression that there is plenty to experience. Effective promotion should also highlight services available and show something else besides Winnipeg attractions. Winter events and festivals should be recognized throughout the year, instead of during the winter months. Satellite attractions near Winnipeg should also be given promotional consideration. This would provide tourists with the more creative images of geography (Lake Winnipeg, the Whiteshell) and culture (numerous distinctive small towns) currently lacking in the promotional literature that focuses on Winnipeg.

Finally, the local population should be represented within the brochures pictorially, and with some words about their friendly nature. While it would be unfeasible for such a promotional device to contain many pictures of everyday Winnipeg, less emphasis on regional culture and history would give tourists an image of the city that reflects the true character of Winnipeg.

Interestingly, a great deal of potential exists in promoting a city's attractions over the computerized network of systems commonly known as the Internet. New Brunswick has a well-developed Internet site that highlights that province's attractions, as well as transportation, dining and accommodation availability. Other regions of Canada are promoted through the "Fleet House Travel" site, which contains a great deal of similar information for cities and surrounding regions. Using the Internet to promote tourism is an interesting idea, mainly because one can access this information from their home, provided they have a computer and a modem. The effort involved in finding out what a city has to offer is reduced quite substantially, as any pertinent information can be accessed simply by typing a few select keywords. For example, typing 'Winnipeg' would enable a user to see the types of information available for that city. Currently, there exists only a few sites based in Winnipeg. One net site describing the city ignores winter altogether by giving the city a 'warm and pleasant' ambience. Clearly, there is potential in distorting the truth to an even greater extent by producing a city's image through a computerized medium, yet the potential of targeting the type of market that engages in vacations in other cities is large. Using the Internet as a resource to further promote the City of Winnipeg should be duly considered.

The Role of the Planner in Tourism Initiatives, or Why the Tourism Planner is Necessary

While Winnipeg does not contain all the thematic elements to the same extent as, for example, Vancouver, the components of Winnipeg's tourism system can be strengthened provided there are other factors in place. One of these factors is the vision espoused by the civic government. *Plan Winnipeg: Towards 2010* and *Centre Plan* highlight Winnipeg's goal of becoming a stronger tourism attraction by strengthening the viability of current attractions. In addition, several factors, such as resource provision, local citizens' attitude, and infrastructural maintenance are cited as being important factors to address when considering the enhancement of Winnipeg's image. Although the recognition of these factors is commendable, these documents do not examine every factor that can affect the functioning of the tourism system; nor does either document bridge the gap between community needs and tourism initiatives. The latest planning documents provide some vision of how the city could promote itself and its resources. This is a beginning toward integration between various factors within the city.

As a tourism destination and as a place to live, Winnipeg has a great deal to offer. The arts community continues to flourish, spectator and participatory sports enjoy year-round support, and numerous historical attractions have established Winnipeg as a city with an intriguing past. The difficulty that many Winnipegers have involves envisioning the city's future. Because many manufacturing jobs have disappeared, people have a great deal of difficulty in even seeing their personal futures continuing in Winnipeg. This city has faced insecurities coming from job losses, questionable public spending, the Jets-arena debate, youth crime, domestic violence, poverty, and scorn from other metropolises higher in the urban hierarchy. Many of these problems are social (or psychological) in nature, and should be addressed simultaneously while Winnipeg promotes

itself as a tourism destination. It should not be surprising that one policy in the *Plan Winnipeg: Towards 2010* document outlines the need for a "positive attitude". Once the citizenry of Winnipeg feel comfortable with all the aspects (good points and drawbacks) involved with living in Winnipeg, the city will be able to project a positive image to tourists.

There are a great many factors that must be considered when examining, or planning to expand or develop, a tourism system. Maintaining the balance between supply-side components is the task of all the actors involved in the functioning of the tourism system, including the tourism planner. Because each of these factors originates from a different source of interest, the aims of these interests must be facilitated by tourism planners. Planners have the ability to visualize the city as a system of dynamic inter-relationships and interests. At the same time, planners are well placed, whether within government or business, to provide the necessary input and trouble-shooting needed to enable Winnipeg's tourism system to function to its maximum potential. Because many planners are employed by the government, the job of facilitation could produce effective results without becoming too regulatory. However, planners working for businesses or tourism groups should also consider all the factors involved that make tourism function. Without the proper consideration of everyday things such as local support, transportation costs, land usage, entrepreneurial input, and promotion, the positive overall viability of the tourism destination will not be possible.

There are countless problems in co-ordinating finances, human resources, regulations, and product development. These factors are controlled by government, the electorate, businessmen, interest groups, and the needs and desires of the tourists themselves. Naturally, the goals of each

of these groups will differ from each other, so the planner's job should be to alleviate conflicts by acting as a facilitator or tourism-resource co-ordinator. By the same token, other day-to-day community-oriented concerns cannot be ignored; these too must be fully considered. As an extension of the governing body, the planner is ideally situated to bridge community concerns with tourism development.

There exists the possibility that the idea of people providing entertainment for visitors may not be a desired outcome for many of the city's residents. This may deter the tourism planner from fully considering the wishes of the community, but an examination of the many factors involved with a functioning tourism system illustrates that any stage production requires numerous (personnel) stage hands to make the production (tourism experience) successful. A factor that offsets this 'performing for others' syndrome is the fact that many of the components of the tourism system can be used by the resident population as well. In providing positive spectacle and service for others, urban residents are also providing something for themselves (city pride, meeting travellers, contributing to the city's economic vitality). Citizen input is a requirement for tourism to provide economic and social benefits to the city.

The residential population's support has to be included in a city's tourism equation, while financial support has to be provided by public and private entities. Because of all the factors involved, the tourism system needs a facilitator - with some regulatory powers - to help integrate the concerns and aims of each of the interests involved. The tourism planner can provide this function.

At the present time, the planning of tourism initiatives is limited to visionary statements in planning documents and promotional efforts designed to sell the City of Winnipeg as a tourism

destination. Both of these are functions are admirable, but the role of the tourism planner will have to be expanded to include all the relevant components and concerns that contribute to the development of Winnipeg as a viable tourism destination. This thesis has illustrated that reshaping the city for tourism purposes is inevitable given current economic trends, but need not entail large-scale commodification; the present image of Winnipeg can be promoted to tourists and future tourism initiatives can be facilitated by tourism planners so that industry, community, and non-profit groups are able to reshape the city together in ways that are beneficial to all concerned parties, as well as the City of Winnipeg and its residents.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Albers, Patricia C., and James, William R., 1988, 'Travel Photography: A Methodological Approach', ***Annals of Tourism Research***, vol 15., 134-158.

Anderson, Walter T., 1990, **Reality Isn't What It Used To Be:** *Theatrical Politics, Ready-to-Wear Religion, Global Myths, Primitive Chic, and Other Wonders of the Postmodern World.* San Francisco: Harper Collins Publishers.

Barthes, Roland, 1973, **Mythologies.** Great Britain: Paladin.

Baudrillard, Jean, 1986, **America.** London: Verso.

Baudrillard, Jean, 1990, **The Transparency of Evil:** *Essays on Extreme Phenomena*. London: Verso.

Bellah, Robert N., et al., 1985, **Habits of the Heart:** *Individualism and Commitment in American Life*. New York: Harper & Row.

Bellah, Robert N., et al., 1991, **Good Society.** New York: Knopf Publishers.

Berger, J., 1972, **Ways of Seeing.** London: Penguin.

Boorstin, Daniel J., 1961, **The Image:** A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America. New York: Harper Colophon Books.

Borgman, Albert, 1992, **Crossing the Postmodern Divide.** Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Boyer, M. Christine, 1988, 'The Return of Aesthetics to City Planning', ***Society***, vol 25., pp 49-56.

Boyer, M. Christine, 1992, *Cities for Sale: Merchandising History at South Street Seaport.*, from **Variations On A Theme Park.** ed. M. Sorkin, New York: The Noonday Press., pp 181-204.

Burgess, J., and Wood, P., 1988, 'Decoding docklands' in **Qualitative Methods in Human Geography**, ed J. Eyles and D. Smith, Oxford: Polity., pp 94-117.

Butler, R.W., 1980, 'The Concept Of A Tourist Area Cycle Of Evolution: Implications For Management Of Resources', ***Canadian Geographer***, xxiv, 1, pp 5-12.

Butler, R.W., 1991, 'West Edmonton Mall As A Tourist Attraction' ***The Canadian Geographer***, 35, no 3., pp 287-295.

City of Winnipeg, 1993a, **Downtown Handbook**. City of Winnipeg Planning Department, Spring 1993.

City of Winnipeg, 1993b, **Plan Winnipeg:** *Toward 2010*. City of Winnipeg, June 23, 1993.

City of Winnipeg, 1995, **Centre Plan:** *Working Together for Winnipeg's Downtown*, City of Winnipeg, Spring 1995.

Cohen, Erik, 1979, 'Rethinking the Sociology of Tourism', ***Annals of Tourism Research***, vol 6., pp 18-35.

Cohen, Erik, 1988, 'Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism' ***Annals of Tourism Research***, Vol 15., pp 371-386.

Debord, Guy, 1967, (trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith, 1992), **The Society of the Spectacle.** New York: Zone Books.

Dilley, Robert S., 1986, 'Tourist Brochures and Tourist Images', ***The Canadian Geographer***, vol 30., pp 59-65.

Dingwall, James, 1990, 'A Dismal Outlook for Tourism', ***D &B Reports***, July/August 1990, pp 60-2.

Eco, Umberto, 1986, **Travels in Hyper Reality.** New York: Harcourt Brace.

Eyles, J., 1987, 'Housing Advertisements as Signs: Locality Creation and Meaning-systems', ***Geografiska Annaler*** 69., pp 93-105.

Eyles, J., and Evans, M., 1987, 'Popular Consciousness, Moral Ideology, and Locality', ***Environment and Planning D:*** Society and Space 5., pp 39-71.

Faurschou, Gail, 1990, 'Obsolescence and Desire: Fashion and the Commodity Form', in **Philosophy and the Arts**, ed. H.J. Silverman, New York: Routledge., pp 234-259.

Ferrario, Franco F., 1979, 'The Evaluation of Tourist Resources: An Applied Methodology', ***Journal of Travel Research,*** 17 (4), Spring, pp 24-30.

Fischer, Theodore, and Collins, Geneva, 1993, 'Western Canada', ***Successful Meetings***, February 1993, pp. 199-203.

Foster, Hal, 1983, **The Anti-Aesthetic:** *Essays on Postmodern Culture*. Seattle: Bay Press.

Go, Frank M., Milne, David, and Whittles, Lorne J.R., 1992, 'Communities as Destinations: A Marketing Taxonomy for the Effective Implementation of the Tourism Action Plan', ***Journal of Travel Research,*** Spring 1992, pp 31-7.

Gunn, Clare A., 1988a, **Tourism Planning.** (2nd ed.) New York: Taylor & Francis.

Gunn, Clare A., 1988b, **Vacationscape:** *Designing Tourist Regions* (Second Edition). New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company.

Harvey, David, 1990, **The Condition of Post Modernity:** *An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change.* Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers.

Haywood, K Michael, 1990, 'Visitor-Employed Photography: An Urban Visit Assessment', ***Journal of Travel Research***, Summer 1990, pp 25-9.

Heath, Ernie, and Wall, Geoffrey, 1992, **Marketing Tourism Destinations:** *A Strategic Planning Approach.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Hopkins, Jeffrey S. P., 1990, 'West Edmonton Mall: Landscape of Myths and Elsewhereness' ***The Canadian Geographer***, 34, no 1., pp 2-17.

Hubert, Pierre J., 1990, 'Trends from Canadian Travel Survey Data', **Tourism Research:** *Meeting the Needs of Industry*, Conference Proceedings, T.T.R.A., Canada, pp 39-44.

Hummon, David M., 1988, 'Tourist Worlds: Tourist Advertising, Ritual, and American Culture', ***The Sociological Quarterly***, vol. 29, no.2, pp 179-202.

Hunt, John D., 1975, 'Image as a Factor in Tourism Development', ***Journal of Travel Research***, vol 13., pp 1-17.

Hunt, John D., and Layne, Donlynne, 1991, 'Evolution of Travel and Tourism Terminology and Definitions', ***Journal of Travel Research***, Spring 1991, pp 7-11.

Huxtable, Ada L., 1992, 'Inventing American Reality', ***The New York Review,*** December 3, pp 24-29.

Jacobs, Jane, 1961, **The Death and Life of Great American Cities.** New York: Vintage Books.

Jacobs, Jane, 1993, **Systems of Survival:** *A Dialogue on the Moral Foundations of Commerce and Politics.* New York: Random Books.

Jansen-Verbeke, Myriam, 1986, 'Inner-City Tourism: Resources, Tourists, and Promoters', ***Annals of Tourism Research***, vol 13, pp 79-100.

Jameson, Fredric, 1991, **Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism.** Durham: Duke University Press.

Johnston, R.J., Gregory, D., and Smith, D.M., eds, 1986, **The Dictionary of Human Geography.** Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

King, R.J., 1988, 'Urban design in capitalist society', **Environment and Planning D:** Society and Space, vol 6, pp 445-74.

Kotler, Philip, Haider, Donald, and Rein, Irving, 1993, 'There's No Place Like *Our* Place! The Marketing of Cities, Regions, and Nations', **The Futurist**, vol 27, pp 14-17, 20-1.

Krippendorf, Jost, (trans Vera Andrassy) 1987, **The Holiday Makers:** *Understanding the Impact of Leisure and Travel.* Oxford: Heinemann Professional Publishing.

Kroker, Arthur, 1992, **The Possessed Individual:** *Technology and the French Postmodern.* Montreal: New World Perspectives.

Lea, John, 1988, **Tourism and Development in the Third World.** London: Routledge.

Leiper, Neil, 1990, 'Tourist Attraction Systems', ***Annals of Tourism Research***, vol 17, pp 367-384.

Lew, Alan A., 1987, 'A Framework of Tourist Attraction Research', ***Annals of Tourism Research,*** vol 14, pp 553-575.

Lewis, M., 1987, 'Architectural utopias' in **Utopias**, ed Eugene Kamenka, New York: Oxford University., pp 109-131.

Matley, Ian M., 1976, **The Geography of International Tourism.**, Resource Paper No. 76-1. Washington: Michigan State University, Association of American Geographers.

McGee, Regina, 1991, 'Western Canada', ***Successful Meetings***, February 1991, pp 167-175.

McMillan, Penny, 1995, *Interview about Tourism Winnipeg* (conducted by researcher), May 1995.

Medlik, S., ed., 1991, **Managing Tourism**. Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann.

Mills, Edward D., 1983, **Design for Holidays and Tourism.** The Butterworth Series for Architects and Planners. London: Butterworth.

Moeran, Brian, 1983, 'The Language of Japanese Tourism', ***Annals of Tourism Research*** vol 10., pp 93-108.

Olalquiaga, Celeste, 1992, **Megalopolis:** *Contemporary Cultural Sensibilties.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Pearce, Douglas, 1989, **Tourist Development** (2nd ed), New York: Longman Scientific & Technical co-published with John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Pugh, Simon, ed., 1990, **Reading Landscape:** *country-city-capital.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Raitz, Karl, and Dakhil, Meftah, 1988, 'Recreational Choices and Environmental Preference'. ***Annals of Tourism Research***, 15., pp 357-370.

Reimer, Gwen Dianne, 1990, 'Packaging Dreams: Canadian Tour Operators at Work', ***Annals of Tourism Research***, vol 17., pp 501-512.

Relph, Edward, 1976, **Place & Placelessness.** London: Pion Limited.

Relph, Edward, 1987, **The Modern Urban Landscape**. London: Croom Helm.

Ritchie, J.R. Brent, and Lyons, Marcia, 1990, 'Olympulse VI: A Post-Event Assessment Of Resident Reaction To The XV Olympic Winter Games', ***Journal of Travel Research***, Winter 1990., pp 14-23.

Ritchie, J.R. Brent, and Smith, Brian H., 1991, 'The Impact Of A Mega-Event On Host Region Awareness: A Longitudinal Study', ***Journal of Travel Research***, Summer 1991, pp 3-10.

Ritzer, George, 1993, **The McDonaldization of Society:** *An Investigation into the Changing Character of Contemporary Social Life.* Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press.

Rose, Edgar A., 1984, 'Philosophy and Purpose in Planning' in **The Spirit and Purpose of Planning**, 2nd edition, M.J. Burton, ed. London: Hutchinson, pp 31-65.

Savageau, David, and Boyer, Richard, 1993, **Places Rated Almanac:** *Your Guide to Finding the Best Places to Live in North America.* New York: Prentice Hall Travel.

Smith, Stephen L.J., 1988, 'Defining Tourism: A Supply-Side View', ***Annals of Tourism Research***, vol.15., pp 179-190.

Smith, Stephen L.J., 1989, **Tourism Analysis:** *A Handbook.* New York: Longman Scientific and Technical, and John Wiley and Sons.

Sorkin, Michael, ed., 1992, **Variations On A Theme Park:** *The New American City and the End of Public Space.* New York: The Noonday Press.

Statistics Canada, 1988, **Tourism in Canada:** *A Statistical Digest.* cat 87-401, Ottawa: Statistics Canada.

Statistics Canada, 1992a, **91 Census:** *Census Metropolitan Areas and Census Agglomerations: Population and Dwelling Counts.* cat 93-303, Ottawa: Statistics Canada.

Statistics Canada, 1992b, **91 Census:** *A National Overview: Population and Dwelling Counts.* cat 93-301, Ottawa: Statistics Canada.

Statistics Canada, 1994a, **Touristscope:** *Domestic Travel-Canadians travelling in Canada 1992.* cat 87-504, Ottawa: Statistics Canada.

Statistics Canada, 1994b, **Touristscope:** *International Travel-Travel between Canada and other countries* 1992. cat 66-201, Ottawa: Statistics Canada.

Statistics Canada, 1994c, **Travel-log**, Winter, cat 87-003, vol 13, no. 1, Ottawa: Statistics Canada.

Statistics Canada, 1994d, **Travel-log**, Summer, cat 87-003, vol 13, no. 3, Ottawa: Statistics Canada.

Tourism Canada, 1994a, **Packaging and Marketing Festivals and Events**, Industry Seminar Series, March/April 1994.

Tourism Canada, 1994b, **Packages Featuring Selected Canadian Cities: Calgary, Halifax, Ottawa, Quebec City, Regina, Victoria, Winnipeg**; State of the Product and Development Opportunities, The United States Market, revised edition, Industry Canada, February 1994.

Tourism Winnipeg, 1994, **Annual Report 94**, Winnipeg: Tourism Winnipeg.

Tourism Winnipeg, 1995, **1995 Business Plan**, Winnipeg: Tourism Winnipeg.

Urbain, Jean-Didier, 1989, 'The Tourist Adventure and His Images', ***Annals of Tourism Research***, vol 16., pp 106-118.

Urry, John, 1990, 'The Consumption Of 'Tourism', ***Sociology,*** vol 24., pp 23-35.

Venturi, Robert, Brown, Denise S., and Izenour, Steve, 1972, **Learning from Las Vegas:** *The Forgotten Symbolism of Architectural Form.* Revised Edition. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Watson, G. Llewllyn, and Kopachevsky, Joseph, P., 1994, 'Interpretations of Tourism as Commodity', ***Annals of Tourism Research***, vol 21., pp 643-660.

Woolley, Benjamin, 1992, **Virtual Worlds:** *A Journey in Hype and Hyperreality.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Zukin, Sharon, 1991, **Landscapes of Power:** *From Detroit to Disneyworld.* Berkely: University of California Press.

Promotional Literature

Halifax

Tourism Halifax, **The Greater Halifax Visitor Guide 1994**, Halifax, Canada, 1994.

Where Magazines International, **Where Halifax/ Dartmouth**, Toronto, Canada, Aug 1993.

Fredericton

Fredericton Tourism, **Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada**, Fredericton, Canada, 1995.

Fredericton Tourism, **Fredericton: New Brunswick's Capital City, Canada** - Visitor Guide 1995, Fredericton, Canada, 1995.

Quebec City

Greater Quebec Area Tourism and Convention Bureau, **Tourist Guide: Greater Quebec Area**, 8th Edition, 1992-1993.

Quebec City, **Quebec City Region - Bonjour!**, Quebec City, Canada, 1990.

Montreal

Tourisme Quebec, Montreal 94 Tourist Guide, Montreal, Canada, 1994.

Ottawa

Ottawa Tourism and Convention Authority, **Ottawa: Canada's Capital Region Visitor Guide**, Ottawa, Canada, 1993-94.

Ottawa Tourism and Convention Authority, **Ottawa: The Outaouais & Canada's Capital Region**, Ottawa, Canada, 1993-94.

Toronto

Metropolitan Toronto Convention & Visitors Association, **Metropolitan Toronto: There's No Place Like It On Earth!**, Toronto, Canada, 1993.

Metropolitan Toronto Convention & Visitors Association, **Metropolitan Toronto: Create Your Own Getaway**, Toronto, Canada, 1993-94.

Niagara Falls

Niagara Falls, Canada Visitor and Convention Bureau, **Niagara Falls and the Niagara Region: Visitors Guide**, 93-94, Niagara Falls, Canada, 1993-94.

Winnipeg

Tourism Winnipeg. **Winnipeg, One Great City: Official Visitors Guide**, Winnipeg, Canada, 1994.

Where Magazines International, **Where Winnipeg**, Toronto, Canada, Jan-Feb, 1994.

Regina

Tourism Regina, City of Regina: Take a Good Look!, Regina, Canada, 1992.

Calgary

Calgary Visitors & Convention Bureau, **Calgary Attractions**, Calgary, Canada, 1994.

Where Calgary, **Calgary Attractions**, Calgary, Canada, 1994.

Edmonton

Alberta Economic Development & Tourism, **The Greater Edmonton Visitor Guide:** A City for All Seasons, Edmonton, Canada, 1994.

Vancouver

Tourism Vancouver, **The Vancouver Book:** A Visitor's Guide to Greater Vancouver, Vancouver, Canada, 1994.

Tourism Vancouver, **Vancouver's Top 10**, Vancouver, Canada, 1994.

Victoria

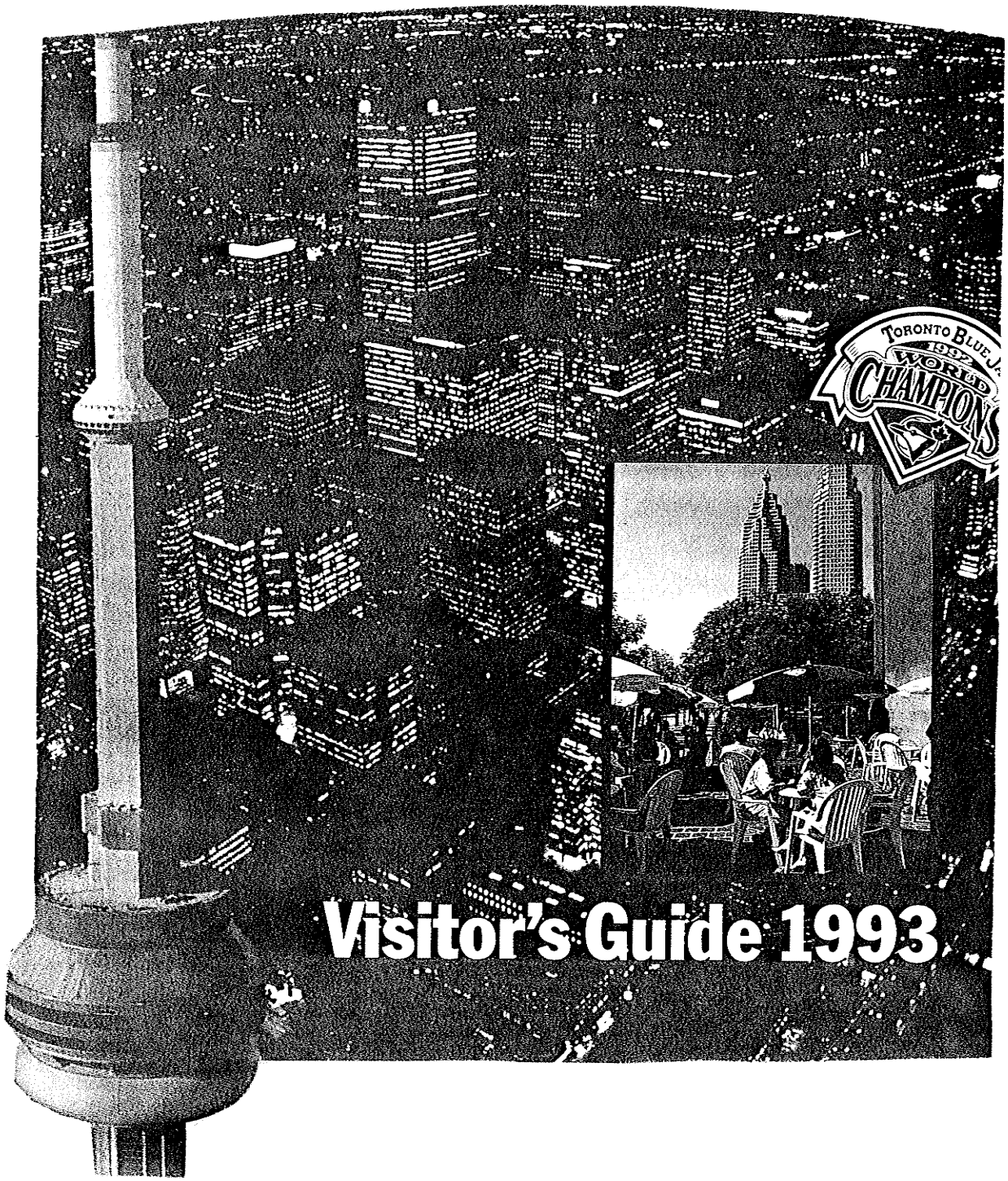
Tourism Victoria, **Victoria and the Island:** Imagine it in Living Colour, Victoria, Canada, 1994.

Tourism Victoria, **Victoria and Vancouver Island:** Visitor's Guide, Victoria, Canada, 1994.

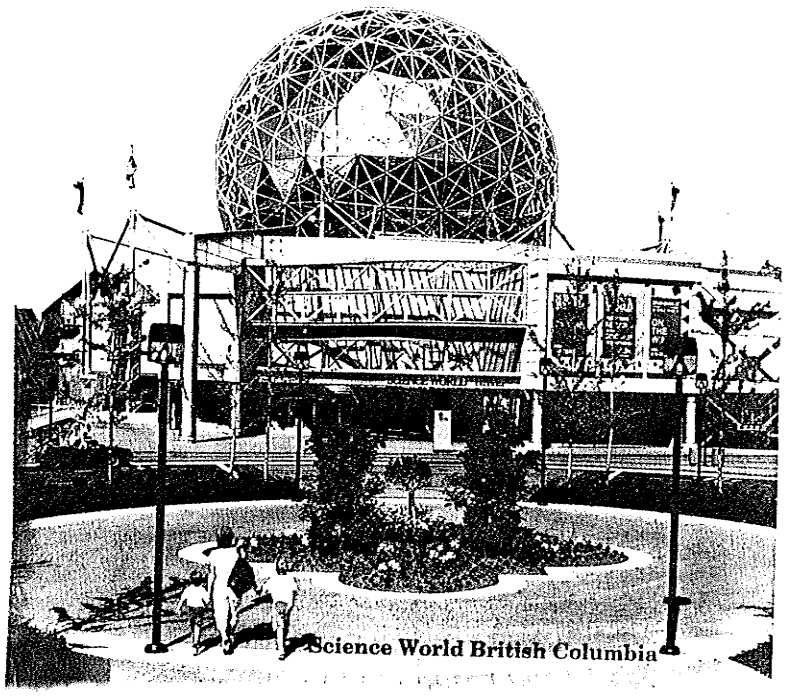
APPENDIX A

Thematic Element Examples
from Canadian Tourism Promotional Material

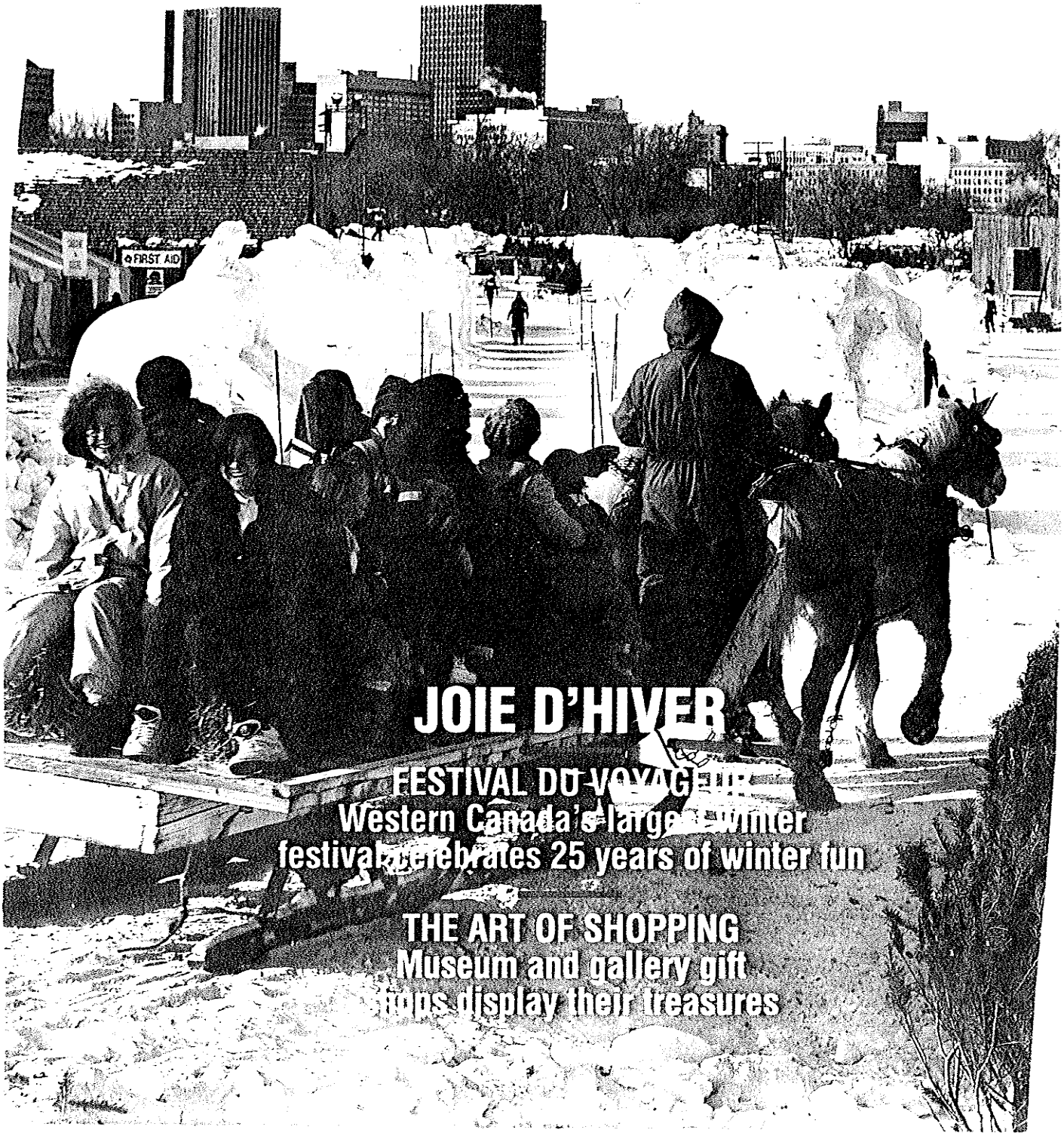
Thematic Element #1: Metropolitan



Thematic Element #2: Memorable Attractions

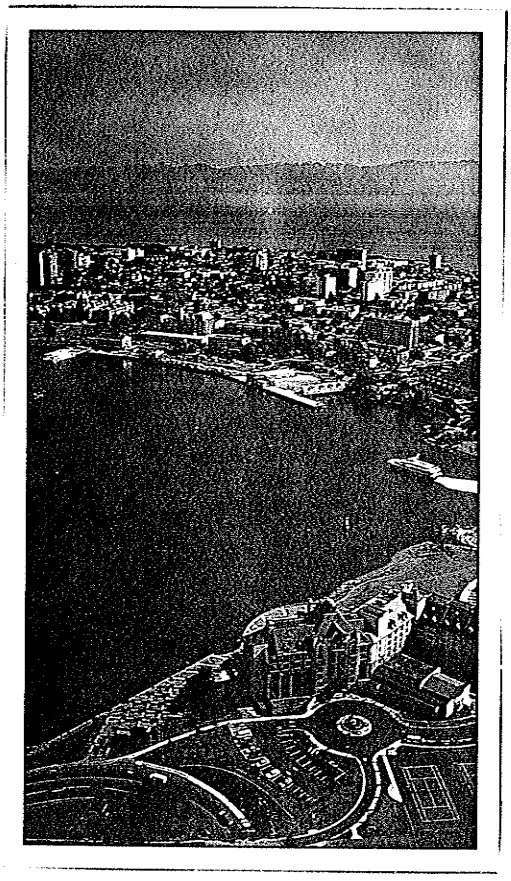


Thematic Element #3: Festivals & Events

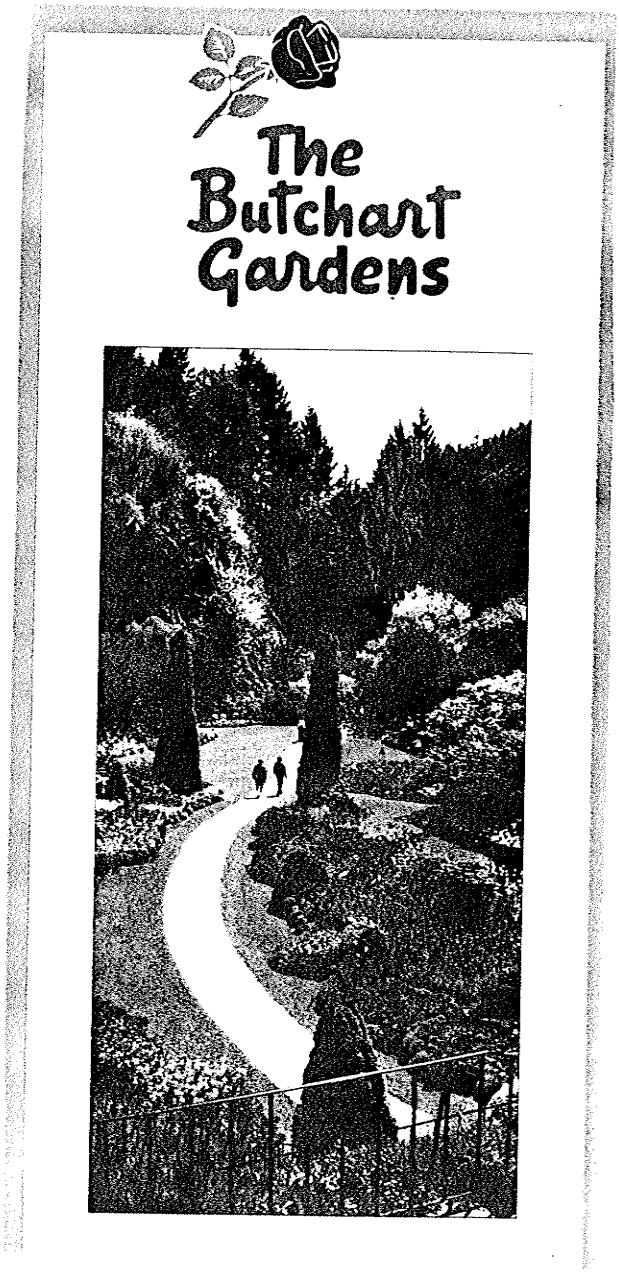


Thematic Element #4: Historical/cultural

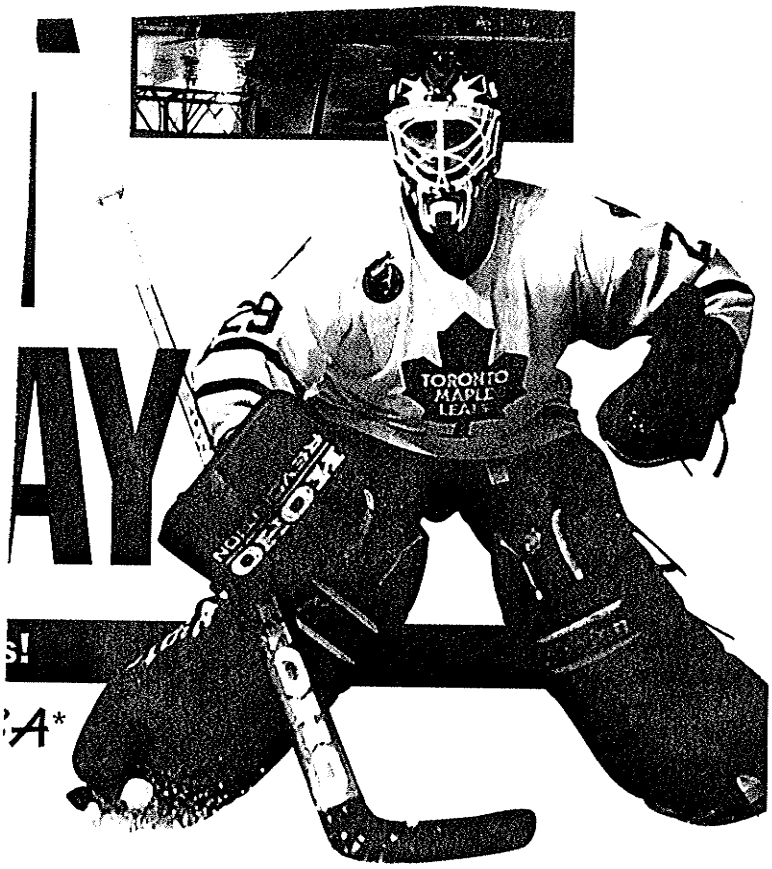
Thematic Element #5: Natural Attractions



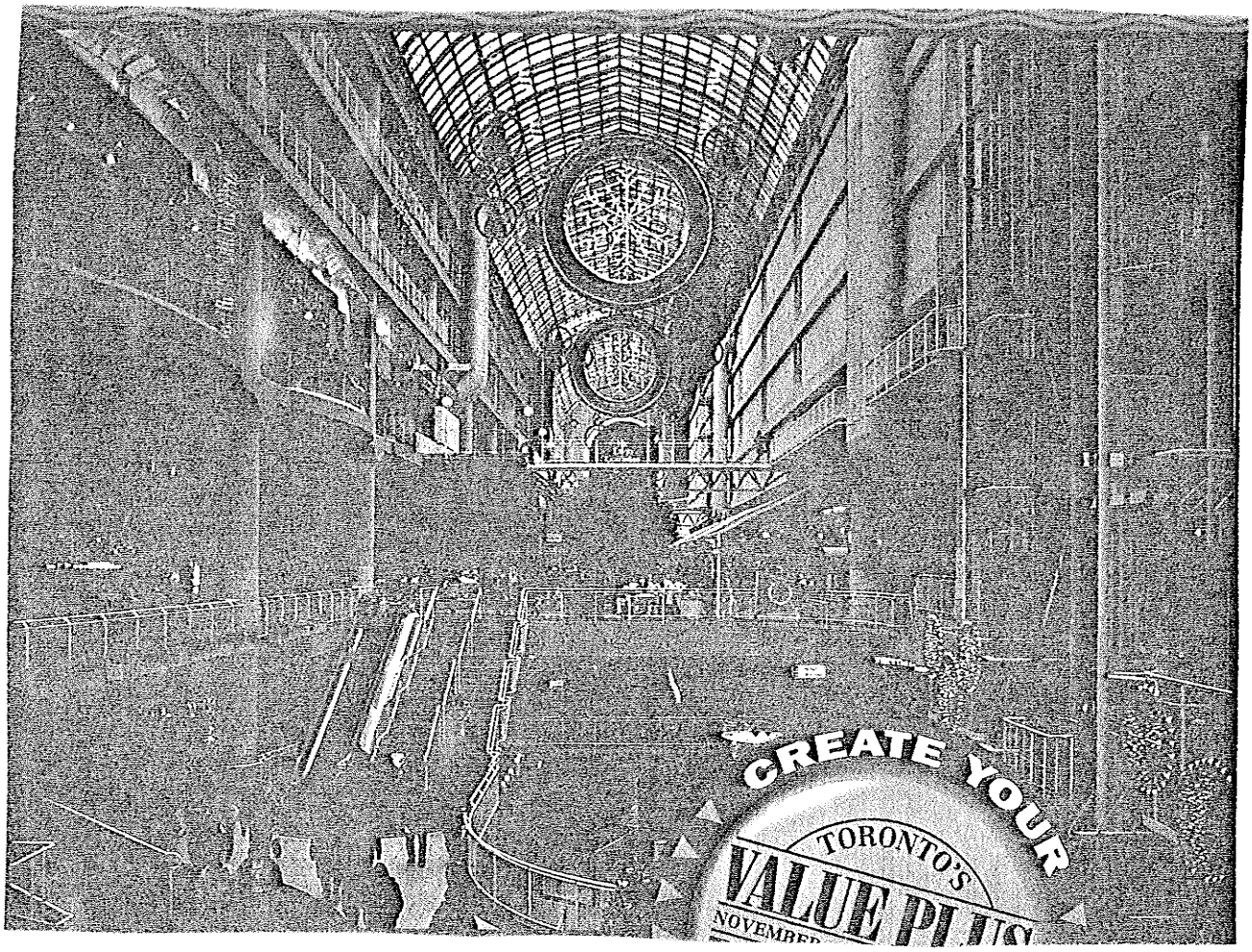
Thematic Element #6: Paradise found



Thematic Element #7: The Sporting Life



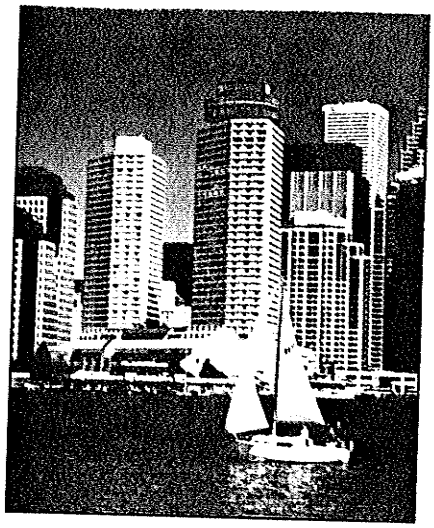
Thematic Element #8: Consumption



Thematic Element #9: Deluxe food & lodging

For reservations call your travel agent or 1-800-228-3000.

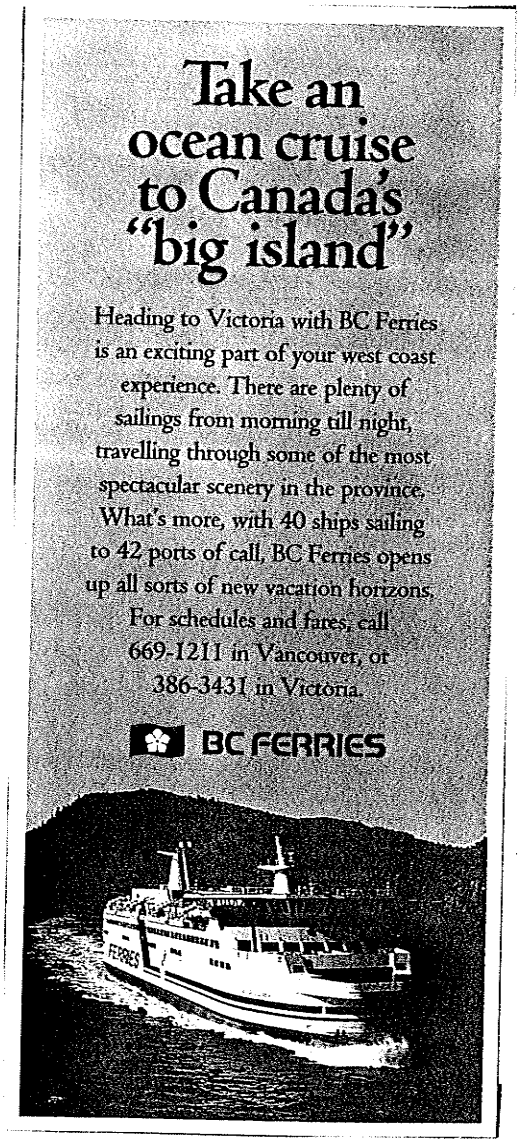
Or, you can call the hotel directly at 416-869-1600.



Toronto's Downtown Hotel by the Lake

THE WESTIN HARBOUR CASTLE
Toronto

Thematic Element #10: Motion



APPENDIX B
Statistics Canada Data

Total Population in Canada

Country/Province	*Total Population*	*Percentage inside CMA*
CANADA	21,296,859	77.2
Newfoundland	568,474	44.6
Prince Edward Island	129,765	56
Nova Scotia	899,942	60.4
New Brunswick	723,900	52
Quebec	6,895,963	77.3
Ontario	10,084,885	84.2
Manitoba	1,091,942	66.8
Saskatchewan	988,928	56.4
Alberta	2,545,553	74.7
British Columbia	3,282,061	84.6
Yukon Territory	27,797	64.5
Northwest Territories	57,649	26.3

Source: Domestic Travel, Statistics Canada, Cat No. 93-301.

Travel Receipts by Province, 1992 (millions of dollars)

Province of Receipt	Domestic Travel		International Travel	Total	Share of GDP
	money spent by residents of home province	money spent by residents of other provinces	money spent by foreign residents in each province	Canadian travel receipts	
Canada-total travel	**12186**	**3836**	**8059**	**28484**	**4.1%**
Atlantic Provinces	312	101	n/a	n/a	n/a
Prince Edward Island	17	56	321	1716	4.0%
Nova Scotia	358	169	n/a	n/a	n/a
New Brunswick	225	158	n/a	n/a	n/a
Quebec	2305	475	1182	3962	2.5%
Ontario	4204	780	2900	7884	2.9%
Manitoba	561	270	102	933	3.9%
Saskatchewan	534	229	64	827	4.2%
Alberta	1641	668	648	2957	4.0%
British Columbia	2031	721	1556	4307	5.0%

Sources: Canadian Travel Survey and International Travel Survey, special tabulations; Statistics Canada Cat. No. 13-213

Total Population in Canadian Census Metropolitan Areas, 1991

Nat Rank	Census Metropolitan Area	Total Population
1	Toronto	3,893,046
2	Montreal	3,127,242
3	Vancouver	1,602,502
4	Ottawa-Hull	920,857
5	Edmonton	839,924
6	Calgary	754,033
7	***Winnipeg***	***652,354***
8	Quebec	645,550
9	Hamilton	599,760
10	London	381,522
11	St. Catherines-Niagara	364,552
12	Kitchener	356,421
13	Halifax	320,501
14	Victoria	287,897
15	Windsor	262,075
16	Oshawa	240,104
17	Saskatoon	210, 023
18	Regina	191,692

Source: 91 Census, Statistics Canada - Cat. No. 93-303

Total Travel, Activity Participation by Province of Destination, 1992

(thousands of person trips)

Activities	Total	Nfld.	PEI.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta.	BC.
Total	**157857**	**3164**	**522**	**5088**	**3512**	**31207**	**58717**	**7187**	**9321**	**21280**	**17696**
one or more activities	**119891**	**2303**	**427**	**3703**	**2562**	**24495**	**43908**	**5525**	**6944**	**16041**	**13866**
no activities reported	**37966**	**861**	**n/a**	**1385**	**950**	**6712**	**14809**	**1662**	**2377**	**5239**	**3830**
Visiting friends/relatives	76487	1470	270	2251	1639	15883	29251	3509	4504	9220	8415
Festivals or events	6796	153	n/a	296	133	739	2640	464	487	995	801
Shopping	40237	1240	224	1651	1018	5689	12737	2188	2861	6875	5722
Sightseeing	19912	364	201	825	369	3286	6272	697	670	2855	4336
Attend Cultural events	3815	n/a	n/a	165	n/a	722	1391	197	288	480	404
Nightlife	8432	263	n/a	287	247	1545	2721	423	503	1158	1251
Dining at high quality restaurants	14095	205	n/a	463	291	4077	4157	586	459	1717	2067
Visit theme park	2886	n/a	n/a	161	n/a	284	1161	n/a	n/a	485	522
Visit zoo	5161	n/a	n/a	211	n/a	1044	1729	238	167	639	906
Visit Designated Park or Historic site	14049	246	209	534	291	1314	3075	942	745	3244	3413
Attend sports events	6271	n/a	n/a	233	172	892	2708	390	351	820	584
Participate in sports or outdoor activities	**20547**	**148**	**n/a**	**349**	**343**	**4571**	**7251**	**926**	**798**	**2904**	**3150**
Swimming	8275	n/a	n/a	202	158	1177	3645	527	433	710	1284
Other water sports	4578	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	661	2523	149	146	398	569
Golf	3129	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	477	1145	183	182	368	671
Hunting/fishing	6656	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	1319	3027	290	357	554	795
X-country skiing	1366	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	524	394	n/a	n/a	318	n/a
Downhill skiing	3021	n/a	n/a	120	n/a	1036	797	n/a	n/a	475	458
Other sports or outdoor activities	8703	n/a	n/a	152	139	2044	2324	516	387	1561	1491

Source: derived from Domestic Travel, Statistics Canada - Cat. No. 87-504