Jumping on the Bandwagon: An Examination of Mural-based Tourism as a Strategy for Community Economic Development in Rural Areas

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By

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ABSTRACT

As towns and cities across Canada face rapidly changing economic circumstances, many are turning to a variety of strategies, including tourism, to provide stability in their communities. Community Economic Development (CED) has become an accepted form of economic development, with the recognition that such planning benefits from a more holistic approach and community participation. However, much of why particular strategies are chosen, what process the community undertakes to implement those choices and how success is measured is not fully understood. Furthermore, CED lacks a developed theoretical basis from which to examine these questions. By investigating communities that have chosen to develop their tourism potential through the use of murals, these various themes can be explored.

There are three purposes to this research: 1) to acquire an understanding of the ‘how’ and the ‘why’ behind the adoption and diffusion of mural-based tourism as a CED strategy in rural communities; 2) to contribute to the emerging theory of CED by linking together theories of rural geography, rural change and sustainability, and rural tourism; and 3) to contribute to the development of a framework for evaluating the potential and success of tourism development within a CED process.

Two levels of data collection and analysis were employed in this research. Initially, a survey of Canadian provincial tourism guides was conducted to determine the number of communities in Canada that market themselves as having a mural-based tourism attraction (N=32). A survey was sent to these communities, resulting in 31 responses suitable for descriptive statistical analysis, using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences. A case study analysis of the 6 Saskatchewan communities was conducted through in-depth, in person interviews with 40 participants. These interviews were subsequently analyzed utilizing a combined Grounded Theory and Content Analysis approach.

The surveys indicated that mural development spread within a relatively short time period across Canada from Chemainus, British Columbia. Although tourism is often the reason behind mural development, increasing community spirit and beautification were also cited. This research demonstrates that the reasons this choice is made and the successful outcome of that choice is often dependent upon factors related to community size, proximity to larger populations and the economic (re)stability of existing industry. Analysis also determined that theories of institutional thickness, governance, embeddedness and conceptualizations of leadership provide a body of literature that offers an opportunity to theorize the process and outcomes of CED in rural places while at the same time aiding our understanding of the relationship between tourism and its possible contribution to rural sustainability within a Canadian context. Finally, this research revealed that both the CED process undertaken and the measurement of success are dependent upon the desired outcomes of mural development. Furthermore, particular attributes of rural places play a critical role in how CED is understood, defined and carried out, and how successes, both tangible and intangible, are measured.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Vision is knowing that although the path may change, the goal never does.

Undertaking a PhD degree is a long, arduous process that fluctuates between hilltops of sheer exhilaration and valleys of frustration. As a result, it is not possible to have a positive and successful outcome without the support of many people and I would like to recognize some of those who have assisted me along the way.

I must first acknowledge that this research would not have been possible without the financial support of the National CIBC Youthvision Graduate Scholarship in Community Economic Development and Youth Employment and the College of Graduate Studies Student Scholarships.

Of course, without the participation of individuals from the thirty-one mural committees in communities across Canada and the forty people who participated in interviews from Biggar, Churchbridge, Duck Lake, Humboldt, Moose Jaw and Wadena, Saskatchewan, none of this research would have been possible. I am forever grateful for their willingness to share their stories and open their homes and offices to me.

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my husband, Kevin, and my children, Teaghan and Keogh. There are no words to describe what they have brought to my life, no words that could ever thank them enough for the support they gave me over the last 5 years. All of them sacrificed part of themselves to help me see this work through and for that I am eternally grateful.
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Chapter 1
‘SO, YOU WANT TO PAINT A MURAL?’
AN INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

In a climate of economic and social transition, many rural areas are facing an uncertain future in terms of the viability of their communities, due to changes in technology, demands for raw materials and declining populations. Reliance on governments to develop and implement strategies to halt economic decline, through such top-down methods as injections of public monies for industrial development and tax breaks for any enterprises agreeing to establish in depressed communities has long since passed (Lehr and Kentner-Hildalgo 1998; Bryant 1992). It is now recognized that these initiatives generally enjoyed only short-term success because once financial incentives were removed, the enterprises proved as mobile as the capital that attracted them (Thurow 1989). Instead, it has become increasingly obvious that small struggling communities may find successful development strategies from within – a more bottom-up approach where the goals are realistic and modest (Gill 1999), and development options are chosen that fit within the community’s culture (Day 1998).

In the range of development strategies that have been used over time (that is regional development policies implemented within a top-down framework to Community Economic Development (CED) policies based on a bottom-up structure) (Stohr 1981), the application of these top-down programs is easily understood. These strategies were imposed on communities as regional programs run by various

1 This phrase comes from the title of an instruction pamphlet prepared by the Chair of the Murals of Moose Jaw Board and has been used with permission.
levels of government whose mandate it was to relieve economic hardship in these regions. It is less obvious why communities chose to adopt the particular strategies they did, given the current trend of encouraging communities to pursue various approaches to meet their own community development goals.

The use of tourism\(^2\) as one possible CED strategy, has become increasingly popular despite the fact this choice is often labeled as ‘another form of smokestack chasing’ (Barnes and Hayter 1992, 649). Many towns and villages pursue tourism as a way of ameliorating some of the negative effects macroeconomic forces are having on their communities. In light of this fact, tourism can be utilized as a crucible for understanding the adoption of CED strategies from both macro and micro perspectives. At a macro level, it allows for an examination of why certain strategies have become popular; specifically, why tourism has emerged as a fashionable choice for rural (and urban) areas and how it has been adopted in different places and cultural contexts. At a micro level, a study of the adoption of tourism as a development strategy within specific communities allows for an investigation into the characteristics of community, the practice of CED and its relationship to the sustainability of rural places. Such an examination aids in determining and understanding the factors that hinder and support communities in their process of CED. This type of investigation, both at macro and micro levels, contributes to a broader understanding of the development options available to communities, while reminding us that such choices are not made in isolation but are reflective of the structural factors acting beyond the locality that influence the decision making process at the community level.

1.2 Research Questions
This research will provide an investigation, through case study analysis, of the use of mural-based tourism as one possible CED strategy within rural communities. Literature concerning both CED and tourism demonstrates that little research has been conducted into how certain development strategies become popular or what

\(^2\) Within this context of this research, the use of ‘Tourism’ is intended to mean the various tourism activities that are possible, ranging from cultural/historic to nature based tourism.
prompts communities to choose a set of economic development strategies. As a result, there are two layers of investigation and two pertinent questions related to this research. At a macro level, this research will investigate how mural-based tourism strategies have become popular and have been subsequently adopted over varied spatial contexts within Canada. By examining the reasons why these various communities have chosen a mural-based tourism strategy, insight into some of the structural factors that may influence local decision-making may become apparent. Utilizing a diffusionist perspective in this manner may provide a context from which to understand what types of communities may pursue a tourism based strategy and whether or not their success can be predicted. Such a context can be further investigated through a case study analysis of communities at a micro level. The questions under investigation at this scale are, “What are the factors that contribute to the adoption of mural-based tourism strategies in rural communities?” and “What are the implications of these choices for each community?”

As the literature review will demonstrate, much CED research has centered on a discussion of what CED is, how it is practiced and, increasingly, how it is evaluated. This research will examine how and why particular strategies are adopted and what the implications of these choices are for the community, thus contributing to a broader understanding of CED both as a development process and in its rural sustainability role. Consequently, it will add another dimension of evaluation in the use of particular strategies within a community, thereby contributing to a broader understanding of the impacts of change on small towns and rural areas.

1.3 Objectives

There are three main, and several minor, objectives for this research. The first objective is to acquire an understanding of the ‘how’ and the ‘why’ behind the adoption of mural-based tourism as one possible CED strategy in rural communities. An investigation of this nature provides a venue from which a broader understanding of how and why development strategies of any sort are adopted and whether the process differs based on the types of strategies under examination (e.g., tourism versus producer services versus smokestack chasing). A second objective is to
contribute to the emerging theory of CED by linking together theories of rural geography, rural change and sustainability, and rural tourism. The third, more applied, objective is to contribute to the development of a framework for evaluating the potential and success of tourism development within a CED process in a rural context through an investigation of the decision-making mechanisms and outcomes of that process. Six related objectives of this research are:

1. To broaden our understanding of CED as it is practiced within rural communities;
2. To create a conceptual link between various theories associated with rural and community development and the actual practice of CED;
3. To more fully understand the characteristics of place and the role of place in the successful adoption of specific development strategies;
4. To broaden our understanding of how certain strategies (such as tourism) become attached to particular development approaches (such as CED);
5. To chronicle the dispersion of mural-based tourism as a CED strategy within Canada and;
6. To assess the viability of tourism as a community economic development strategy in creating community sustainability.

1.4 Study Area
The study area is comprised of two geographic scales. The first level of analysis was national in scope, examining the use of mural-based tourism strategies in rural communities across Canada. These communities were selected by consulting each provincial/territorial vacation guide. The guides list each community along with their attractions and contact information, and therefore provided an excellent source for the identification of those communities associated with mural-based tourism. An inventory of communities was compiled from this list and representatives from each community were contacted to obtain further information. The micro scale investigation focused on communities within Saskatchewan that were identified as part of the macro level examination and included Biggar, Churchbridge, Duck Lake, Humboldt, Moose Jaw and Wadena.
1.5 Scope of Research

This research analyses the adoption of mural-based tourism as a vehicle for understanding the process of and the relationship among CED, tourism and rural communities. The study area was comprised of a macro investigation that analyzed mural-based tourism development in Canada, and a micro level analysis of case study communities within Saskatchewan that had, or were currently utilizing, this strategy as part of their CED plan. The major research objectives were to acquire an understanding of how and why tourism has been adopted in rural communities, to contribute to the emerging theory of CED by linking together the various theoretical strains associated with rural geography and CED, and to contribute to existing frameworks of evaluation of tourism development within a CED framework in a rural context.

The research project used both primary and secondary data. Primary data were in the form of scripted interviews with major stakeholders, community leaders, economic development officers and agencies, and various community development organizations, as well as through site evaluations of each community within the case study. Secondary data were obtained through the 1996 and 2001 Census (Statistics Canada 1996, 2001), community newspapers and documents of various provincial agencies and federal programs.

Several stages of analysis were required. Initially, data concerning the adoption of murals as a CED strategy was gathered to assist in explaining why this strategy has emerged, where it has spread and what communities are considered exemplars of the strategy. Following this analysis, several case study communities from Saskatchewan were chosen. This level of analysis allowed for an investigation into why and how such strategies were adopted, what the community characteristics are that facilitate this choice and its success\(^3\), and what impact these choices have on the communities.

\(^3\) All the communities selected for the case study analysis were not selected on the basis of their perceived success, but rather because they marketed themselves as having a mural attraction. The selection of the study population for this research is fully discussed in the methods chapter.
Mural-based tourism, as a form of cultural/historic tourism, has been chosen from among all the possible ‘tourism-based’ strategies due to the availability of information both in Canada and Saskatchewan, since mural-based tourism is increasingly being used in various settings. This form of tourism was also chosen because it more clearly requires a conscious effort to create. In other words, it is not a naturally occurring phenomena, but is an attraction that has to be developed.

1.6 Organization of the Dissertation
The remainder of this dissertation is organized into the chapters as follows. In Chapter 2 the various bodies of literature concerning rural change and sustainability, CED and tourism are explored to demonstrate how these strands of research are linked and to identify gaps that exist where the relationships between CED, tourism and rural community have not been explored.

Chapter 3 follows with a description of the methodology employed. This section not only provides a narrative of how the macro and micro investigations were conducted and how the analysis was undertaken, but also describes the philosophy that frames the choice of these particular methods.

Chapter 4 provides an analysis of the macro investigation into how it is that communities have adopted mural-based tourism across Canada. This scale of investigation looks at the exemplar community of mural-based tourism and provides a context for how and why it is that this particular strategy has been utilized in various communities and what the results have been from a community perspective. This chapter also includes a critical discussion of murals as an art form, their use as an interpreter of history and relationship to the tourism industry in general.

In Chapter 5, the stories of mural-based tourism in six Saskatchewan communities are told, based on interviews with community stakeholders, surveys and secondary data. This chapter provides a view into the CED and tourism experiences of these rural communities, mindful of the Canadian context discussed in the previous chapter.

The research questions and objectives of this study are addressed in Chapter 6 through the analysis of the data. This chapter explores the gaps identified in the
literature by examining the relationships between CED and tourism and what this means for rural change and sustainability.

The dissertation concludes with Chapter 7 where the findings of this research are summarized, limitations to the study and methodology are identified, contributions to the fields of community economic development, tourism and geography are specified and future areas of investigation are explored.
2.1 Context of Research

The purpose of this research is to gain an understanding of why tourism as a development strategy has become popular and spread over varied spatial contexts, and to broaden our understanding of the factors present within communities that allow for the successful adoption of tourism strategies. As a result, this research is broadly placed within an innovation diffusion framework utilizing what Clark (1984) refers to as the structural and process components of innovation diffusion. Innovation diffusion is understood as the movement of innovations and ideas, including technical developments, ways of organizing and broadly defined political developments (Clark 1984; Brown 1981). Although the combined structural and process perspectives of diffusion are utilized in this research, the intent is not to provide a quantitative analysis of the diffusion and adoption of tourism phenomena. Instead, the purpose is to utilize these combined theories to understand the processes that influence the decisions communities make as they search for development options.

The structural component of diffusion refers to a macro investigation of the linkages between major socio-economic changes and the diffusion of innovations. This approach provides an understanding of diffusion as both a product of and influence upon a given society and economy. It is within the structural component that the evolution and development of CED can be examined and understood as part of a ‘political’ development or ideology that has resulted from the encompassing changes of globalization and related restructuring. As the effects of a globalizing world ‘trickles down’ through countries several repercussions have become
increasingly evident. The nation state appears to be in a state of crisis where governments are struggling with large debt loads, increasing lack of international control and clout and a fiscal inability to meet the needs of their communities. As a consequence, governments have increasingly down-loaded much fiscal responsibility for local development to lower levels of government, the result of which has been the diffusion of CED as an ‘alternative’ development ideology to mainstream development policy (Bryant 1992). The structural component of diffusion therefore provides a framework within which the development of CED can be examined and understood.

The process component of diffusion research allows for an investigation at a micro level; the how and why particular development strategies have been chosen for specific communities. Brown (1981) argues that to fully understand the diffusion of an innovation both the demand and supply sides of the process need to be fully explored. The demand side of diffusion research examines the process by which adoption occurs and is exemplified in the work of Hagerstrand (1953; 1967). The supply side of innovation is represented by Brown’s (1981) market infrastructure perspective. The focus of the supply side is on understanding how the innovation is distributed and then implemented in the adoptive location. Brown’s premise is that individual behavior does not represent free will so much as choices within a constrained set of options. He maintains that government and private institutions control the constraints. The spatial manifestation of the subsequent diffusion is a result of the potential adopter’s economic, location, social, and demographic characteristics.

From this discussion, it is apparent that Clark’s (1984) structure and process components of diffusion have immediate utility in analyzing the adoption and diffusion of tourism as a CED strategy at a macro (i.e., Canadian) level, especially when used in conjunction with Brown’s (1981) market infrastructure perspective. Such an investigation provides the context for understanding the factors at a macro scale which influence the decision making process of communities at the local level. Although discussed in detail in a subsequent section of this chapter, it is important to
indicate here that the structure/process form of diffusion was chosen to frame this research because of its connection to CED.

Although using the terms CED and local economic development interchangeably, Hayter et al. (1994, 2) suggest that most conceptualizations of local economic development fall under either “essentialist methodological positions” of neoclassicism or Marxist understandings of community development. They suggest that this dichotomous position fails to address the geography and history of communities that may constrain or aid development opportunities. From a neoclassical perspective, local development rests almost exclusively with active agents or entrepreneurs (Coffey and Polese 1985). In contrast, a Marxist perspective of community development suggests that places are constrained and determined by underlying structural forces (Cox and Mair 1988). Hayter et al. (1994, 3) criticize this dichotomy for not allowing the possibility of “local variation and open-ended outcomes” and turn to locality studies (Cooke 1989) as a body of work sensitive to the importance of context in community development. In locality studies, agency and structure are integrated in understanding how the particular context of a place influences development at the local level.

In considering Clark’s (1984) conceptualization of diffusion as having both structure and process components, it becomes apparent that there is a linkage to a locality studies perspective of CED, wherein both macro forces outside and the internal characteristics of the community influence how CED strategies are adopted and implemented within a particular place.

The remainder of this chapter provides a critical review of varied literatures, organized according to the structure and process framework previously described. To fully explore the socio-economic and political circumstances of rural areas, it is important to begin by examining the literature surrounding globalization, the crisis of the Canadian nation state, and historic trends associated with rural areas. Such an examination points to the need for new ways of understanding development at the community level, including how strategies for CED diffuse and are adopted over various spatial contexts. It also requires moving beyond a simple description of what CED is, to a more critical interpretation that includes the concepts of embeddedness,
institutional thickness, governance and leadership. These concepts have been chosen because of their relationship to the sets of constraints suggested by Brown (1981) as critical to an understanding of why certain innovations are adopted within particular locations. Finally, the tourism literature is critically assessed to determine the potential for tourism within rural areas. This examination demonstrates that little research has been conducted to ascertain how or why tourism is chosen as an economic development strategy, how it ‘fits’ within the community’s internal social, economic and political systems, or tourism’s external relationships within the region, province or country.

2.2 Rural Areas as Arenas of Transition

If there is one constant affecting rural communities, it is change.¹

Rural areas, specifically within a Canadian context, face many changes and challenges at various scales and from a variety of factors. Although not exclusive to a rural context, the challenges of globalization, restructuring, the crisis of the nation state, technological change and changing demographics have had significant impacts on rural areas. At a global scale, changes have been brought about through the challenges of globalization and restructuring.

Globalization is a late twentieth century phenomena occurring as a result of unsustained post WWII growth, when during the 1970s, the previously growing world economy began to falter. Corporations experienced this economic slowdown as increased international competition and a fall in profits. Their solution was to cut labour and other costs, including moving to lower labour cost locations, transforming from Fordist to flexible modes of production, challenging national policies that increased their costs and creating new systems of national governance which supported their strategies (such as GATT and later the WTO) (Brecher and Costello 1994). The results of these changes within the corporate world can be understood as restructuring, where production mechanisms became computerized, labour forces were downsized, strategic alliances were formed across international

¹ Dykeman 1990
borders to best meet the needs of corporations and where companies have adopted flexibility to keep themselves competitive within an increasingly international market (Schoenberger 1997; 2000).

The results of this globalization process have been a reduction in the barriers to trade in goods and services, integrated financial markets controlled by a few transnational firms, coupled with strategic targeting of international growth sectors by government and industrial alliances in other countries (Apedaile and Fullerton 1997; Shortall and Bryden 1997; McMichael 1996; Fuller et al. 1989). Such an understanding of globalization raises particular concerns for rural residents whose livelihoods are more likely to be based on natural resources, as the power to make changes resides with absentee corporations that make decisions to fit a corporate agenda and not necessarily the welfare of the community affected. Further, globalization is understood as a process that homogenizes and assimilates, ultimately undermining local distinctions. This would suggest that a by-product of globalization is to diminish distinctions of culture and community through various economic and political institutions operating outside of national and supranational boundaries.

The result of these combined forces has been a greater discrepancy between have and have-not communities at all spatial levels including rural places. Researchers (Shortall and Bryden 1997; Bryant 1994; Dykeman 1989) have suggested that some localities seem able to take advantage of restructuring opportunities through access to information, capital, networks, infrastructure, skills, technology and education, while others who lack access to the same advantages or who have a single industry dependency, continue to struggle.

Another challenge facing rural areas is the crisis of the nation-state, a result of the combined processes of globalization and restructuring. This crisis exists in terms of the inability of nations to govern themselves, lack of public belief in government and its ability to protect people from external threats, which has in turn led to a call from citizens for a re-examination of tax systems, public expenditure and social welfare systems (Shortall and Bryden 1997). In the context of rural communities, this has translated into a continual decrease in subsidization of
services that are considered essential to the sustainability of small communities (Dykeman 1989). Day (1998) suggests that it is the combined factors of globalization and the crisis of the nation-state that have led to the resurrection of community-based approaches to development. Regional development is now recognized as having a variety of potential routes, including development strategies that are locally derived and accomplished. Further, it is becoming increasingly apparent that despite globalization and modernization, local variation and uniqueness persist. It is often these very factors that form the basis for locally-based development strategies.

Within a specifically rural context, Day (1998) suggests that such changes are not new for rural areas as their history is one of a long process of ‘progressive absorption’ by the forces of modernization and urbanization. In a similar vein, Fuller (1997) discusses changes to rural Canada in terms of the ‘Arena Society’. In his analysis, these layers are termed the Short Distance Society (18th/19th century), the Industrial Society (early 20th century) and the Open Society (mid 20th century to the present). Each of these layers had a specific spatial manifestation and associated prevalent institutions that evolved over time. One does not replace the other, but are layered upon each other so that the institutions do not disappear but undergo a sort of restructuring with each additional layer. As such, several changes to rural Canada, in terms of its demographic, economic and social make-up, are identifiable. There are two major demographic trends affecting rural areas, specifically within a Canadian context. The first is that during the 1950s the non-farm population became the majority of total rural population and farmers became a social minority; by the late 1980s there was no single census division in which farmers in Canada comprised more than 50 percent of the labour force (a census division in south-west Saskatchewan had the highest at 47 percent) (Fuller et al. 1989). As of the 2001 census, the farm population for Canada as a percent of the total population was 2.4 percent (Statistics Canada 2001). Perhaps more telling was the fact that the rural farm population was only 11.5 percent of the total rural population. Secondly, during the 1970s, a rural renaissance in Canada began when in certain rural areas, growth surpassed urban growth, at least for those areas within a 50 kilometre radius of
metropolises. All other areas have continued to maintain the status quo or experience further decline.

Economies and employment opportunities have dramatically shifted during the past twenty years, leading to severe problems associated with the modern division of labour where highly skilled, technical, professional and managerial positions are located within metropolises, and the low-skill resource extraction positions are found in rural areas. These routine manufacturing positions are further vulnerable to competition from Newly Industrialized Country’s (NICs) within a global economy. Within a rural context, a key issue has been the drastic decline in demand and opportunity in the major rural employment sectors – agriculture, forestry and fishing – largely due to changing technology (Troughton 1990).

The social aspects of rural life have changed dramatically since the beginning of the 20th century (Fuller et al. 1989). Social relations and networks were dense and overlapping within rural areas and constituted the community. People purchased all goods and services and conducted their business and social life in the same location. The transformation of this into spatially extended networks began with the development of automobiles and was advanced through the development of highways and declining fuel prices after WWII. The rural to urban exodus also began at this time, further extending the social networks. Because of these changes, rural people reconstituted social networks on the basis of their preferences and available time and money.

Despite such major changes to the demographic, economic and social character of rural areas, rural residents within 50 kilometres of metropolitan areas continue to express a higher desire to remain within their place of residence than do their urban counterparts. Both the more distant residents and a percentage of urban dwellers express a desire to move to rural areas if the economic opportunities to do so were there. Such desires point to a need to develop rural policies that allow people the freedom to make such decisions (Fuller et al. 1989).

These trends demonstrate that change has been occurring within rural areas for the better part of the 20th century and appear to be continuing into this century. There was, however, a sense of stability associated with these changes as they had
been predicted based on post-war prosperity. These resources fostered real choice and facilitated the transfer of people to alternative occupations and regions. This prosperity and stability can no longer be taken for granted with the emergence of a New World order under globalization. As Troughton (1990) indicates, the demographic, social and economic changes occurring in rural areas have all severely weakened rural employment, settlement infrastructures, and the service and social amenity elements, even for the seemingly more viable communities. The implication for rural areas is that traditional strategies for coping will no longer work. New policies, ways of managing change and new strategies are required and need to be evaluated for effective adjustment to a changing world.

2.3 Community Economic Development

In the face of 'placeless powers' what might appear to be 'powerless places' are taking action?²

2.3.1 History and Definition

The macro forces affecting rural areas has required a new kind of thinking regarding development within communities. A result of this has been the resurgence of CED initiatives. Although the purpose here is not to examine the evolution, characteristics or definition of CED, there is a need to summarize its attributes as they pertain to this research.

Community Economic Development as a concept and field of study is in its infancy. In fact, as Perry and Lewis (1994) identify, economic development itself is a post WWII concept, derived from the need to reconstruct a post war Europe and aid newly independent former colonies. Economic development in this context was aimed at mega-projects such as physical infrastructure improvements, monetary reform and major export/import activities with success measured in national statistics such as Gross National Product and median family income. CED, as a form of economic development, began in the mid-1960s, stemming from the special circumstances surrounding the self-determination movement of Black Americans

² Douglas 1994: xvii
and spatially centred on inner city ghetto communities. Very swiftly CED became broadly embraced and interpreted as a strategy for the revitalization of any “depressed or depleted community, rural or urban, of any ethnic or racial concentration” (Perry and Lewis 1994, 2).

From this context CED became a method of economic development that included the entire community in its efforts and which employed techniques not utilized in traditional economic development. Although CED also used such methods as industrial recruitment and the building of physical infrastructure, it particularly concerned itself with the provision of more socially-based projects. These included such things as affordable housing, non-manufacturing businesses that met needs of local residents, improved social services and cultural facilities, all aimed at fostering an efficient, skilled, healthy and evolving resident work force. The inclusion of ‘community’ in economic development was based on the realization that unless these broader objectives were part of the economic development process, any business starts or attractions would likely remain only for a short period before moving to a more attractive location or else fail.

From this historical examination, it is evident that CED is concerned primarily with sustaining community and reducing its vulnerability, and although economic initiatives are considered an important aspect, they are viewed as means to various ends, not as ends in themselves (Douglas 1989; Bryant 1992; Ashton 1999). Community Economic Development involves the application of bottom-up approaches to problem solving rather than the traditional top-down approach (Dykeman 1990; Voth 1989). It involves self-help, local leadership and initiative, networking and local capacity building. It is about self-reliance, defined by Pell and Wismer (1983) as incorporating more autonomous forms of local governance, planned diversification of activities, the maximum optimal development of local resources, maximization of community capacity for meeting basic needs, becoming financially self-supporting and utilizing community reflection as a learning process. Gill (1999) distinguishes between local economic development, which is locally initiated but may still be controlled by a local elite, and CED, which is process-oriented, has social as well as economic objectives and is locally administered.
Dykeman (1990) suggests that it is through the method of strategic planning that CED is most effectively undertaken, as it requires community participation, continued examination of community attributes and position within the larger economic framework, and continual action on the part of the community. Gill (1999) stresses that as community planning moves beyond strategic planning towards product development and implementation, collaboration within the community is critical. Community Economic Development therefore can be understood as a process (Bryant and Preston 1987) aimed at addressing the challenges facing a community within a long term, evolving, community-driven, collaborative and strategic planning framework.

The attributes connected with a strategic planning framework (the economic, social, cultural, historical, physical and environmental characteristics as represented by the stakeholders from the private and public sectors of the community) require examination at a variety of levels. Associated with this examination is the need to understand how success is defined and the ways some communities achieve their goals in pursuing development at a community level.

Day (1998) suggests that the key to understanding and developing effective CED strategies is by recognizing the connections among culture, economy and society within a region; interactions that have been overlooked in past research (Day 1998). The manner in which people act economically, and therefore, the extent to which they can undertake development and have potential success, are wrapped up in the kinds of social relations to which they belong, and in turn the way in which they understand the world. Therefore, cultural meanings and social bonds are inextricably tied to economic action. Day (1998) indicates that such an understanding of the development process is best examined through institutionalist approaches, given the complexity and variety of options available to regions and localities.

### 2.3.2 Institutional Approaches to CED

Institutional approaches look more fully at the societal or cultural context and its role in economic development, treating culture and economy not as separate entities,
but as elements that are fused together, shaping community outcomes. The concepts of embeddedness, institutional thickness, governance and leadership structures are part of this institutional approach to understanding development. Although these concepts have been examined on an individual basis, they have not undergone combined investigation within the context of CED, and it is an objective of this research to apply them in broadening our understanding of CED in rural communities. It is important to determine if there is a relationship between these concepts and the adoption and diffusion of strategies to aid in an understanding of how and why communities make the choices they do in undertaking CED.

2.3.2.1 Embeddedness

The common message in institutional writings (for example, Castells [1989] and Mingione [1991]) is that the manner in which people act economically and are able to participate in development is enmeshed in the kinds of social relationships to which they belong and, by extension, determines their view of the world. The concept of embeddedness embodies this message and is understood as economic action being inextricably tied to social practices and institutional arrangements. The idea of ‘network’ is particularly useful here, as the central force underpinning economic activity. A network is essentially the means for linking one group to the others whom they affect. These links are based on trust and reciprocal patterns of communication (Danson and Whittam 1999). Therefore, economic actions form the connections of the network as the links between the wider community in which a local population is bound. Cultural bonds, such as shared commitments, identities and beliefs within a community or locality, form the basis upon which economic action is, and can be, carried out (Day 1998; Sayer and Walker 1992; Granovetter 1985).

Embeddedness is not restricted to the formal economy but can be extended to include the informal sector where livelihood activities are perhaps more embedded in social relationships, especially within rural communities where formal economic activity opportunities may be limited (Tigges et al. 1998). Various studies (Pahl and Wallace 1985; Portes 1994; Cowell and Green 1994) have indicated that the lack of
opportunities or the presence of constraints have less of an impact on a community’s ability to undertake economic development, than does the type of ‘attitude’ that is present within that community. Where individualism is fostered there is less likely to be the development of informal networks of support, in comparison to other areas where community attitudes are valued and nurtured so that such groups mobilize to support its members in times of crisis.

Therefore, embeddedness implies that instead of “separating culture from economic action and treating one as the cause of the other, the two must be seen as fused together within a framework of established social relationships” (Day 1998, 95). In their investigation of restructuring of rural places, Tigges et al. (1998, 204) utilized the embeddedness perspective to “consider how (social) relationships affect people’s experiences with, and interpretations of, the changes occurring in their communities”. In their view, the embeddedness perspective is strengthened by the inclusion of place as envisioned by Massey (1995), who believes that social/cultural actions continuously construct localities. By combining the ideas of embeddedness with place, economic actions can be understood as being inextricably and uniquely tied to the socio-cultural relationships associated with a particular community.

2.3.2.2 Institutional Thickness

Institutional thickness, a term coined by Amin and Thrift (1995), refers to a whole pattern of life in which members are engaged and share a common purpose, cultural norms and values and in which it is impossible to distinguish between economic and social relationships. It is something that establishes legitimacy and trust, continues to stimulate entrepreneurship and consolidate the local embeddedness of industry. Amin and Thrift (1995, 101) deem that “success at the local level in securing economic growth cannot be reduced to a set of narrow economic factors...instead...social and cultural factors also lie at the heart of success...”. Their belief is that in the wake of globalization there is a need to examine factors beyond simple economics to understand how local places can survive and operate within a New World Order.
A number of characteristics are associated with the term ‘Institution’ as used by Amin and Thrift’s (1995) Institutional Thickness concept. There must be a large and varied number of institutions present in the community. These would include organizations such as government, chambers of commerce, financial institutions etc, as well as informal conventions, habits and traditions that are sustained over time. There must exist ‘rules of engagement’ between the institutions so that each is supportive and complementary, not competitive. There needs to be interaction among the institutions; a network created that has the institutions working together towards a mutually shared objective.

Thickness refers to the strong presence of both institutions and the institutionalizing processes, which combine to create a framework of collective support for individual agents. Stress is on the inclusive nature of such collective support, reaching out to and involving the majority of individuals and groupings in the local economy. It is this thickness that allows some localities (at various spatial levels) to either stave off or benefit from global processes.

Therefore institutional thickness amounts to a combination of features including the presence of many institutions, inter-institutional interaction, a culture of collective representation, identification with a common economic purpose and shared norms and values which serve to constitute the social atmosphere of a particular locality (Amin and Thrift 1995, 104). Institutional Thickness is concerned with the formal and informal economic institutions found within a community and their ability to interact and create a synergy for development, while embeddedness is concerned more with the socio-cultural aspects of the relationships between community members as they affect economic activity. It is therefore important to understand and utilize both perspectives in an analysis of CED.

2.3.2.3 Governance

Governance is a term used by academics and others that refers to a process of governing in which governmental and non-governmental organizations work together. Stoker (1997, 10) provides a distinction between traditional forms of government and governance in the following manner: (emphasis by author)
Government is used to refer to the formal institutional structure and location of authoritative decision-making in the modern state. The concept of governance is wider and directs attention to the distribution of power both internal and external to the state. Its focus is on the interdependence of governmental and non-governmental forces in meeting economic and social challenges. Governance is about governmental and non-governmental organizations working together. Its concern is with how the challenge of collective action is met and the issues and tensions associated with this shift in the pattern of governing.

From this description it becomes obvious that communities are embracing new ‘governing’ arrangements that allow them to meet the needs of their locality. Although speaking directly to the experience of Western Europe, Danson and Whittham (1999) suggest that the development of governance structures has resulted from the combination of declining central government regional subsidies and limited resources within the public and private sectors. From a Canadian perspective, Hajesz and Dawe (1997) suggest that it is the combination of scarcity of resources coupled with a growing demand for increased participation in the decision making process. The result of these combined forces has been to find a way to efficiently and cost effectively deliver the required services – the development of collaborative relationships between the government and private sectors and within the government itself. The philosophy behind these partnerships is that by cooperating between levels of government, private sectors and other interest groups, all of which have limited resources, they are able ‘to do more with less’ by collectively pooling resources and working in conjunction. When these partnerships are developed (sometimes formally, other times informally), there are two aspects of concern: the motivation behind and the consequences of partnership development.

When governance structures are formed, it is because a variety of local interests have come together to form a relatively stable governing body, cooperating behind a set of policies to achieve specified goals. By coming together in this way the members of the partnership are blending different resources and skills within a long-term coalition which can collectively provide a capacity to act that is beyond the scope of any individual member or institution. The concern, therefore, is one of
accountability since these governance structures are developed and are driven by the self-interest of their members. This may be incompatible with the public interest or certainly at odds with the interest of those excluded from the network. And as Butcher (1997) points out, including community members and stakeholders in the development process, implies that they have choice - a choice that is often limited to predetermined options created by the leadership structure. Further, if such partnerships are controlling the development process, it can no longer be a CED process, but has moved to a local economic development strategy.

It is important that governance structures are developed within a community that has capitalized on their human resources and that include the various stakeholder groups within the community. This is especially the case in rural areas, which are deeply affected by new ways of governing. At the local level the institutional structures of rural local government have been transformed into a system of governance, which involves a range of agencies and institutions drawn from the public, private and voluntary sectors. Formal local government has also been reformed through structural changes. Theories of governance are united across disciplines in their concern with identifying and analyzing the distribution of political power both internal and external to the local state. The leadership within these structures becomes a critical point for the CED process, for it has the potential to enhance or destroy the development potential within the community.

2.3.2.4 Leadership

Leadership is another vital element in the CED process. The development of an active leadership and citizen participation has long been viewed as a key to community sustainability and many programs have been set up to aid in this process. Although individual personalities are recognized as a crucial aspect of leadership, especially in the initial stages of community projects, it has become recognized that the networks connecting leaders to each other, to the community and beyond is equally if not more important for the continuance of community development and movement beyond simple resource mobilization (Brown and Nylander 1998). This is important because it is the ability to mobilize resources that allows communities to
pursue development and mobilization comes about through networks of connectivity. Brown and Nylander (1998) suggest that the viability of rural communities can be predicated by how well identified leaders are connected to each other, the community members and beyond.

This connects to the emerging ideas of governance in that partnership structures demand good networks in order to be successful. It also leads to the arguments put forth by Day (1998) regarding institutional theories of development, where a simple focus on entrepreneurialism does not answer all the needs of effective leadership and development strategies for communities, and instead there is a need to tap into the deeper culture of the communities and the attributes they possess.

In conclusion then, CED can be considered as a bottom up framework for development that addresses the changes and challenges facing a particular community. Important attributes of the CED process are community participation, the community’s cultural/historical and social functioning, its physical/environmental characteristics and its institutional characteristics (embeddedness, institutional thickness, governance and leadership).

2.3.3 Alternative Strategies within CED
There are a variety of methods employed within a CED framework as discussed earlier. Current manifestations of this alternative development paradigm demonstrate that that these alternative strategies do not exist within a vacuum but are contextually developed both within local circumstances but also within broader structural forces acting outside the local arena. Communities employ various strategies under the CED rubric. Some examples are worker buy-out schemes to save the declining industry closing in their community either through worker share purchasing in the case of Sault Ste. Marie and the closure of their Algoma Steel industry or the worker buy-out of the pulp mill in Port Cartier, Quebec. In the case of Milverton Morning, Ontario the community rallied together to purchase a closing factory’s premises and set up their own development organization to introduce new businesses to the community (Douglas 1994).
Another increasingly popular strategy is to devise an entirely different function for the community, such as a retirement destination. Two well-known examples of this phenomena are Elliot Lake, Ontario and Tumbler Ridge, British Columbia. It is instructive to examine these two cases in some detail, as they demonstrate that alternative strategies arise out of the internal and external circumstances that communities face and which further demonstrates that decisions are not made within a vacuum but are a result of past experiences of other places.

Elliot Lake is a community located between Sudbury and Sault Ste. Marie in northern Ontario, whose employment was based primarily on two uranium mining companies. In the 1980s both companies closed down and the community was left to ponder their fate. Residents were determined to not let the community die and decided to pursue amenity-based attractions to lure retirees to their community. Although their population has declined since the mine closure, the retirement-aged population has increased from 530 in 1986 to 4,500 in 1996, and the non-mine related jobs have grown from 400 to 2,250 over the same period (Report on Business 1996). By 2000 the community had developed a long-term plan to carry them into the new millennium that included the development of their retirement sector, tourism, cottage industry, recreational property development, arts and cultural amenities, cyber tech industrial attraction, and small business (Laundry 2000). Light manufacturing is another economic sector that has been expanding since 1997 with the development of a manufacturing facility which produces trailer camps for mining and logging industries and which employs over 200 people (Mills 1997). By exploring other economic options and developing their amenities, such as recreational facilities, public transit and inexpensive housing, this community was able to survive the closure of its main industry, and has developed a broader economic base.

Tumbler Ridge is a town located south of Dawson Creek, British Columbia established in the early 1980s to provide a community for the employees of the Bullmoose and Quinette coal mines (Ernst 2000; Gill and Shera 1990). These two mines were developed in the early 1980s to capitalize on the Japanese steel industry’s need for metallurgical coal. The BC government and private investors put
$6.2 billion dollars into the mine and town development, and the population of the community reached approximately 5,000 people at its height (Chathaway 1999). By 2000 the Quinette mine was closed and the Bullmoose ceased operations in 2003 (Report on Business 2000; Stueck 2004). The closures were largely due to the Asian financial crisis and competition with lower priced coal from Australia. The results for the community have been devastating. The Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation have not insured mortgages for mine workers since 1997, there were over 200 vacant homes within the town in 2000 and housing prices have dropped from previous market values of $80,000 to $25,000 (Report on Business 2000).

To combat these changes, resulting from factors outside of the community and even nation, the town began searching for alternative development strategies. Although a provincial task force was looking into the possibilities of logging, oil and natural gas development, the town residents were hesitant to go the natural resources route again, given their past experience with coal mining (Ernst 2000). So instead of relying solely on resource-based industries, interested community members explored the potential for ecotourism development and marketing the community as a retirement place. Recently, federal government grants have been provided to explore the possibilities of the town becoming a regional fossil centre (The Province 2004). Again, the case of Tumbler Ridge points to the ability of communities to undertake alternative development strategies themselves through searching for ways to keep their communities alive and less reliant on single industries.

Another popular alternative development strategy that has been employed from coast to coast is the use of tourism. There is a very strong link between amenity-based development within a community and tourism, where communities try and lure people either to come and visit (strictly tourism-based) and/or have them come to live (retirement-based). As Perks and MacDonald (1990, 58) point out “declining physical environments and cultural-historic assets are ... being revived and upgraded, in part for economic development reasons but also as a means to enrich the liveability of communities and to strengthen their population retainability.” Because tourism has become such a popular choice in the range of development strategies available to communities, it is important to examine the
context in which these choices are made, with a realization that communities make their decisions based on the particular position they find themselves in, regionally, provincially, nationally and increasingly internationally. An examination of the processes of CED utilizing tourism offers an opportunity to explain the process and outcome of CED within rural communities.

2.4 Tourism

Community tourism development embraces the idea that in addition to private enterprise development, the community can do some things to enhance its economy and society through tourism.³

Within a rural Prairie context (as well as other resourced-based regions), many communities are experiencing a declining economic base due to shifts in technology, changing demands for raw materials and the rationalization of prairie grain transportation. More recent changes to the grain handling industry from the dissolution of the Crow Rate transportation subsidy and implementation of the NAFTA promise to accelerate the process of change and threaten the way of life in many small rural communities (Lehr and Kentner-Hildalgo 1998; Gannon 1994). Through such changes it has become increasingly apparent to small communities that government-initiated development programs are not solving their dilemmas but that community-derived solutions are necessary. As Lehr and Kentner-Hildalgo (1998) discuss in reference to Boissevain, Manitoba, many communities have seized upon tourism as an industry that offers some potential for economic growth, perhaps not as an economic savior, but as an activity that, in combination with other strategies, can help compensate for the erosion of their traditional economic base. This shift to local tourism planning is coincident with the general shift to bottom-up planning approaches or community development in rural communities wishing to diversify the local economy (Gill 1999).

---

³ Weaver and Wishard-Lambert 1996
Tourism has historically not been an actively sought or integrated economic sector within the rural milieu of Canada. Although the idea of developing tourism and recreation within rural areas has been undertaken by various levels of government within Canada since WWII, it was primarily through the development of ‘island’ parks (national and provincial parks) selected for land conservation and the employment they would supply, but not as part of an integrated rural development planning scheme (Butler and Clark 1992). Instead, the development of rural-based tourism and recreation has inadvertently occurred in those areas located within the urban field (Coppack et al. 1990) that provide an amenity environment for people seeking escape from the city, based largely on cottage resort developments on lakefront property. Although these initial developments have expanded to include a broader range of tourism attractions and facilities, the federal tourism industry within Canada remains focused on attracting significant numbers of foreign visitors to specific niche markets (Banff National Park, Niagara Falls, etc.) and appears less concerned with rural tourism potential (Butler and Clark 1992). At a provincial level, there is a greater awareness of the vast resource potential of rural areas as a source of tourism, but here the focus is on attracting intra-provincial travelers or niche market foreign travelers (e.g., big game hunters from Germany and the U.S. to northern Saskatchewan), rather than developing an integrated rural tourism product that includes inter-provincial and international travelers.

Despite the lack of coordinated government-driven rural tourism development within Canada, many communities have determined that sufficient potential exists within the industry to undertake its development. This is largely based on the perceived advantages of tourism development for rural areas that can be understood in terms of the economic, social and environmental impacts. The key is to avoid the previous mistakes of past regional economic development strategies that emphasized single industry development by utilizing tourism in combination with other sectors. Much literature and research has addressed and measured the economic benefits of tourism development (Reid 2003; Weaver and Lawton 2002; Pearce 1989; Murphy 1985; Mathieson and Wall 1982). Certainly, it is the potential for economic growth that has driven many places and regions world wide to develop
their tourism products. These benefits are commonly measured in terms of direct revenues in the form of tourist expenditures and indirect revenues measured as a multiplier effect within the community or regional economy. In a rural context, tourism can provide an opportunity for the diversification of an agrarian-based economy, which in turn can provide employment, encourage entrepreneurialism in associated industry (e.g., cottage industry) and provide continued and increased revenue for existing service industries (Schneider 1993; Van Der Straaten 2000). It aids a rural community by providing increased family and community income and provides the opportunity for innovation and creativity to be developed and utilized in other potential enterprises (Gannon 1994; Reid 2003).

The social benefits of tourism within a rural environment can be found in the revival of cultural practices, increased pride in and knowledge of place and improved community cohesion as the members rally together to develop the tourism product. Several studies within a developed world context have indicated that tourism development has caused increased community cohesion and solidarity as they band together to protect themselves and their culture from the intrusion of tourists (Meleghy et al. 1985; Buck 1978; Seigel 1965). A study conducted on the U.S. town of Fredericksburg, Texas found that by developing the tourism product from a community basis (versus externally imposed), and by its growth rate being controlled, the community found a renewed sense of identification with place and community (Huang and Stewart 1996). Another ancillary social benefit of tourism development is that the revenues generated can also assist in supporting and developing community facilities for recreation and leisure as well as building up the community’s physical infrastructure (Gannon 1994; Reid 2003).

Finally, rural tourism may encourage community beautification and revitalization of the built environment. It can also foster conservation and preservation of habitat and historical resources, previously ignored and often damaged (Schneider 1993; Gannon 1994). Within an agrarian community, tourism can create incentives for farmers to expand and diversify their production to meet the needs of tourist interest and food consumption.
To maximize on these benefits, Butler (1993, 222) stresses that communities must be fully aware of the consequences of tourism development, stating that if decision makers do not fully understand what they are dealing with ... then the chances of being able to successfully integrate this [tourism] activity into existing and potential activities in an area ... is extremely unlikely.

Many communities undertake tourism development with a certain degree of naiveté and Butler (1993) has provided a list that contrasts common expectations and realities of development (Table 2.1). It is important to be aware of the conflict between expectation and reality within a rural tourism context because this may have a direct bearing on how the ‘success’ of a particular tourism development is viewed.

Table 2.1: Tourism in Rural Areas: Expectations and Realities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expectations</th>
<th>Realities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tourism is seen as an activity of minor importance</td>
<td>Tourism may become one of or the major economic activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism’s role is to supplement income</td>
<td>Tourism may replace traditional forms of activity in a region</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assumption of small scale tourism and ability to manipulate</td>
<td>Tourism may not remain small scale and not be controllable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assumption of minimal requirements for tourism</td>
<td>Tourism has specific requirements (access, sewage, water, parking, power, labour, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assumption of universal application of tourism</td>
<td>Tourism is not universal but highly selective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assumption of local acceptance of tourism</td>
<td>Tourism does not receive automatic and rarely universal local acceptance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assumption of compatibility with traditional activities</td>
<td>Tourism may be compatible at certain scales with some rural activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assumption that benefits will outweigh costs</td>
<td>Benefits may outweigh the costs, but different segments of society receive benefits and costs and the distribution is rarely equal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assumption of minimal effects</td>
<td>Tourism has a wide range of effects at varying scales</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Butler 1993
Communities need to mobilize resources, which are often very limited, and the success of other communities that have developed tourism, can seem very promising. However, tourism as a development strategy has a wide variety of critics, from those concerned with international scale tourism between developed and developing countries to those concerned with rural localities in developed nations. The concern here is with the latter.

Tourism can seriously divide a community over the use of commonly held public areas, the influx of visitors and the use of public moneys and infrastructures, which could have been utilized to aid lagging agriculture or other embedded industries (Butler 1998). Within the context of rural communities, Troughton (1990, 26) contends that tourism initiatives “have rarely fulfilled their promise in terms of contribution to the rural sector per se.” Troughton’s criticism of tourism and recreation is concerned with the large capital investment required to achieve the desired level of success, which typically comes from outside the area. Although employment and revenue may be generated, he suggests that revenues tend to flow out of rural regions, while employment may merely accentuate the position of rural areas as zones of seasonal and/or low wage economies. Such views are echoed by many researchers (Malecki 1997; Boothroyd and Davis 1993; Barnes and Hayter 1992) who equate the use of tourism as a development strategy with ‘smoke stack chasing’ of traditional regional economic development initiatives, because it has the potential to create a precarious reliance on a single industry. Tourism is further criticized for its weak linkages with other economic sectors, its dependence on extensive marketing, the potential for increasing cost of living because of inflation and land speculation (Gannon 1994; Pearce 1989; Murphy 1985; Mathieson and Wall 1982).

Despite such criticisms, tourism continues to be pursued throughout a variety of rural contexts, in a multitude of ways and for various reasons. Butler (1998) and Cloke (1993) provide summaries as to the reasons for increased leisure in rural areas, the types of activities being pursued and examples of areas experiencing renewal through tourism development. Among the reasons cited is the increase in individual leisure time, the spread of automobile ownership, the growth in nature-
based leisure activities and the perception that rural areas are somehow inherently ‘better’ than urban areas.

There is more, however, to understanding tourism within a rural community context, then a discussion of the perceived benefits and shortcomings of the development strategy. Instead, investigation needs to center on the role of the community and how and why the process of tourism development is undertaken. As Gannon (1994) so aptly describes, many rural areas contain valuable resources, skills, abilities, the physical space and appropriate physical environment that have the potential for endogenous development. What is required to facilitate this process is partnership development between government, public and private sectors, and between the people of the community.

The use of tourism as a CED strategy requires a critical assessment of the concept of community, for it calls into question who is involved in tourism development and who is excluded. Shortall and Bryden (1997) and Caldwell (1993) suggest that in rural communities exclusion is inherent in the assumption that community needs can be inferred from common space. Instead, presumed apathy needs to be investigated for its potential as a statement of exclusion. In other words, the assumption cannot be made that all residents share the same opinions regarding change in the community, just because they live in the same place. Research has indicated that members of a community have varied opinions regarding social, economic and political changes, especially related to tourism development (McCool and Martin 1994; Draper and McNicol 1997; Gill 1999). Factors such as age, length of residency, employment, gender, ethnicity and race determine how individuals view change and its process within the community.

If networks are integral parts of CED and its success (as suggested by Brown and Nylander 1998, Day 1998, Markey and Vodden 2000, and Amin and Thrift 1995), then development strategies that do not fit within the dominant network in a community are at best short-term strategies and are more likely doomed to failure. Day (1998) suggests that success in CED seems more likely if actions are couched in a framework that fits the community’s sense of belonging and place, and
if these new strategies can be embedded inside stable and lasting social structures. Within this vein Haywood (1988, 106) states that,

well-developed and stronger tourism planning at the community level is vital if any region … wishes to deliver exciting and novel tourist experiences in which there is an emphasis on quality and high value-added components at the destination points. As in any business, strategic planning is meaningless unless it is accepted and implemented at the operational level. There is therefore a need for a partnership … between all people concerned with the tourism product.

Butler and Clark (1992) further suggest that where the locus of control for tourism development rests may determine the success of that development within a rural context. If local control is not present, the chances of the development not being compatible with local preferences and needs are increased and the chances of experiencing the expected results are diminished.

Planners and policy makers need to re-evaluate and more deeply understand the concepts of success and development that are scale appropriate for rural communities. As Bryant (1997) points out, success based on traditional measurements of employment and population growth are not appropriate for small towns and rural areas whose mandate or goals are to sustain their communities and quality of life. Instead, measurements need to include factors of involvement, appreciation and understanding of the community strategies, continuance of businesses and services within the community and the creation of opportunity and potential for employment. It is further suggested by Day (1998) that it is the establishment of networks and clusters of inter-connected businesses that generate a synergy that seems to be central in all successful development situations. This too needs to be examined within the context of tourism and CED. Does tourism have different impacts on the community and regions where communities that act as clusters and work together have more success and more spin off developments then those that chose to act alone?

Not only do tourism strategies within rural communities need to be integrated within existing social structures, but also with other communities to form a regional basis of tourism sites and opportunities. It has been noted in the case of
Saskatchewan that some tourism regions are more successful than others due to the
willingness of community and municipal leaders to work together for the common
good of their communities (Baird 1999). Other regions are not successful because
they choose to compete as opposed to combining in joint efforts and promotion of
one another, much as Cox and Mair (1988) have suggested. As Joppe (1996) has
indicated, very little research has been done to examine this aspect of tourism
development at a regional/municipal and community level. Further neglected in the
literature is the broader political dimension of tourism development related to power
structures and decision-making processes. A review of the tourism literature
indicates that very little research has been conducted that examines the diffusion of a
particular tourism strategy, nor investigates why tourism is adopted by certain
communities. Although some research has examined the diffusion of a particular
tourism type (Cavaco 1995), most tourism-related diffusion studies focus on tourism
as an agent of information diffusion (Dodd 1998; Klenosky & Gitelson 1998;
Williams & Dossa 1998; Sofield & Robertson 1998), the diffusion of gambling
(Meyer-Arendt 1998; Hinch 1996; Cook 1992), tourism as an agent of sexually
transmitted disease (Clift 2000) and the diffusion of hotel and food franchises within
the tourism industry (Preble et al. 2000). This research will provide an original
contribution to the field of tourism in that it will utilize a diffusion perspective to
examine the macro diffusion and adoption patterns of tourism to broaden our
understanding of the forces at work within rural communities. By examining the
process and patterns of tourism diffusion at the macro scale it is possible to
“speculat(e) on the influential…factors affecting the spatial manifestations of
these…phenomena” (Williams 2000, 154).

2.5 Conclusion

This review of the literature pertaining to rural change, CED and tourism
development demonstrates that residents in rural communities are facing many
challenges as their economy, quality of life and environment undergo a process of
transition. It has also shown that this process of change presents various
opportunities for diversification, one of which is tourism.
Literature concerning CED indicates that it is a unique form of economic development in which projects are locally driven, and take into account the culture and economy of a place. It may be that the process and outcomes of CED can be more fully explored through the inclusion of institutional theories (institutional thickness, embeddedness and governance) and leadership. The use of these theories emerges from several connections that were evident through the literature review. First, there is a link to diffusion and Brown’s (1981) contention that individual behavior does not represent free will as much as choices within a constrained (including institutional) set of options. Second, these theories have a philosophical relationship to the definition of CED, which describes the importance of governance, layers of community involvement for economic and social development and economic strategies that fit within the local culture. Definitions of CED also refer to the role of leadership, especially in distinguishing processes that are either local economic development (LED) or CED.

Although tourism faces challenges and criticism from several fronts, many communities continue to pursue it as a strategy of CED, and it is this decision making process that requires investigation. It is also clear from the literature that the process of investing in tourism as a community driven development strategy, requires further investigation, including determining if regional cooperation among rural communities may result in better opportunities for a successful outcome. This research project will examine the issues of tourism development as they relate to the CED process to further our understanding of this set of strategies in rural communities, as well as ways of evaluating its impacts. In so doing, this research will contribute to the broader field of economic geography by offering a deeper understanding of the process of development within a community and how certain strategies become attached to different development approaches.
Chapter 3
CREATING THE MODELLO:
METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

3.1 Introduction
The empirical objective of this research is to gain an understanding of why mural-based tourism strategies have become popular and spread over varied spatial contexts, and to broaden our understanding of the factors present within communities that allow for the successful adoption of these strategies. By examining why and how communities have adopted mural-based tourism, our understanding of the processes, successes and outcomes of CED in rural areas moves beyond a descriptive framework to one more solidly grounded in theories related more generally to rural development and economic development. As such, various methods have been employed that frame the data collection process and analysis.

Two levels or stages of investigation have been undertaken for this research project. Initially, an open-ended survey was conducted to determine the set of communities across Canada that have adopted a mural-based tourism strategy. This initial survey served two purposes; it identified the case study communities in Saskatchewan that had a mural-based attraction and secondly, it provided a context for understanding the circumstances driving mural development as a development strategy across Canada.

Following the Canada-wide survey, a case study methodology was undertaken, involving semi-structured in-person interviews with key informants (positional and reputational leaders). Archival research of local newspapers, government documents and economic development plans was also completed for each of the case study communities. The use of triangulated data, that is the use of an opened-ended structured survey, semi-structured in-person interviews and the use of archival documents, is understood by many researchers to strengthen the research findings, validity and increase the possibility for generalization beyond the cases
studied within a particular research project (Yin 1984; Bryman 1989; Hammersley 1996; Tellis 1997; Strauss and Whitfield 1998; Connell et al. 2001). The following sections provide a detailed description of the methods employed for data collection, determining the case study region and analysis.

3.2 Data Collection
The research was undertaken by first investigating the dispersion of mural-based tourism strategies across Canada at a macro level, followed by a more comprehensive case study analysis of the adoption and subsequent implications of mural use within rural communities in Saskatchewan (i.e., a micro level investigation). All data collection tools (surveys and interviews) received approval from the University of Saskatchewan’s University Committee on Ethics in Human Research. To clearly delineate between the macro and micro levels of investigation, the data collection process is discussed in two subsections.

3.2.1 Macro Investigation: Data Collection for Canadian Mural Communities
To determine which communities across Canada utilized murals as part of their tourism package, vacation guides were obtained from provincial tourism boards/ministries across Canada. The vacation guides were examined to select the communities that self-identified themselves as having a mural-based tourism attraction. Several provinces, notably British Columbia, Alberta, Quebec and New Brunswick, did not have guides that provided detailed attractions for individual communities. In such cases the tourism board was contacted directly and a list of the communities having mural attractions was obtained. Searching the World Wide Web provided a broader indication of mural attractions in all the provinces. To verify whether all possible communities had been located, a list was sent to the provincial
tourism boards, and to the chair of the Global Mural Arts and Cultural Tourism Association, based in Chemainus, British Columbia\textsuperscript{1}.

It is important to note at this juncture that the chosen sampling method outlined previously included only those communities that market themselves as having a mural-based attraction. It is entirely appropriate that the study population would be comprised of these communities, as the purpose of this research is to examine the process and outcomes of a CED process by examining communities that have used mural-based tourism as a strategy. This does not imply that all of these communities were automatically successful in the application of this strategy; simply that it was a chosen strategy. As evident in Table 3.1, there are communities that develop murals and do not market them as tourism attractions but such areas were not included, as they did not address the scope of this research.

Once the communities were identified, persons in the appropriate municipal and provincial government offices were contacted (by email/fax/mail and/or telephone) and asked to fill out the survey. The survey (Appendix 1) began by asking about where the idea for the tourism development came from and when it was developed. Both of these questions were included to trace back to exemplar communities and to map the diffusion of mural-based tourism. Subsequent questions on the survey included why murals were chosen, funding sources, committee structure and membership, who painted the murals, future plans, product development, number of tourists and an indication of how the product it viewed. Although the results of the survey will be discussed in Chapter 4, at this point it can be stated that 32 communities were identified (Table 3.1) and 31 completed the survey, for a response rate of 96.8 percent. As Table 3.2 indicates, email replies (18 of 31) were the most popular form of response.

\textsuperscript{1} Karl Schutz is the man most often touted as responsible for mural development in Chemainus, B.C. He has since utilized his expertise to provide consulting services to communities wishing to develop murals. Mr. Schutz is the founding chairperson of the Global Mural, Arts and Cultural Tourism Association, which holds a biannual Global Mural Conference. This conference has been held in New Zealand, British Columbia and California. Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan hosted the October 2002 conference.
Table 3.1: Canadian Communities Identified as Having a Mural-based Attraction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Communities Identified</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>British Columbia</td>
<td>Chemainus, Lumby, Sparwood, Vernon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alberta</td>
<td>Grand Prairie, High River, Pincher Creek, Stony Plain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saskatchewan</td>
<td>Biggar, Churchbridge, Duck Lake, Humboldt, Moose Jaw, Wadena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manitoba</td>
<td>Boissevain, Morden, Winnipeg, Snow Lake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>Athens, Grimsby, Kenora, Midland, Pembroke, Oshawa, Timmins, Welland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nova Scotia</td>
<td>Amerst, Truro (no response)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Brunswick</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince Edward Island</td>
<td>Mont Carmel, Summerside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newfoundland /Labrador</td>
<td>Bell Island, St. Anthony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yukon/ North West Territories/ Nunavut</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author

Table 3.2: Canadian Communities Survey Results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Number of Communities Identified</th>
<th>Completed Surveys</th>
<th>Number of Surveys Completed by...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Email</td>
<td>Phone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Columbia</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alberta</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saskatchewan</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manitoba</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nova Scotia</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Brunswick</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince Edward Island</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newfoundland /Labrador</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yukon/ North West Territories/ Nunavut</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author

2 In the provinces of Quebec and New Brunswick and the Territories of the North there are murals but these are not marketed as tourism attractions. Both of the provinces have developed mural projects aimed at addressing graffiti in urban spaces.
Based on the results of the survey, a profile of the communities was created in a spreadsheet format in the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). The questionnaires were complemented by community profiles as constructed from the 2001 Statistics Canada data (Statistics Canada 2001). The overall profiles allowed a comparison of communities in a number of areas, including reasons for mural development, where the idea for mural development came from, what year the project was undertaken, how projects were funded, community involvement/board structure, if the projects were considered successful, and socio-demographic structures of the communities. By determining the year that each community began using its particular tourism strategy and where the idea came from, it was possible to map the diffusion and adoption of mural development across Canada and to place this development within a generation tree as is often done in genealogy. The data gathered from both the survey and the Statistics Canada Community Profiles allowed for an examination of the various characteristics of place that may have an impact on the success of the mural-based tourism strategy and if time is a factor.

3.2.2 Micro Investigation: Data Collection for a Case Study Analysis of Saskatchewan

From those communities identified at the macro scale within Saskatchewan, six case study communities (Biggar, Churchbridge, Duck Lake, Humboldt, Moose Jaw, Wadena) were selected (Figure 3.1). Saskatchewan was chosen as a study region for the following reasons:

1. Many rural primary-based communities are realizing the need for alternative economic development strategies because of the crises within their respective industries. As with many forestry-based communities in British Columbia, communities in Saskatchewan are pursuing tourism aggressively as one way to ameliorate the negative economic impacts associated with their regional structural problems. Such development decisions need to be investigated to assess the implications at a community level.

2. Employment and population in Saskatchewan have been declining consistently for the past twenty years (Block 2003). Since 1987, rural employment opportunities have significantly decreased as family farm
Figure 3.1: Saskatchewan Case Study Communities

Legend
- Major Roads
- Study Centres

Population
- 35,000
- 5,000
- 2,000
- 1,000

Source: Author
enterprises are replaced by large-scale corporate farms (Troughton 1995; Gertler 1994; Bollman and Biggs 1992). Much of the rural depopulation has been attributed to out-migration to urban centers elsewhere in Saskatchewan and to other provinces (Mendelson and Bowman 1998). Of significant concern is that 40 percent of all migrants are from the 18 to 24 year age cohort (Meyer 1994). Further, basic public services in rural communities, such as education and primary health care, have also been rationalized over the last two decades. The result of these combined factors is that Saskatchewan can be used as a crucible for understanding the use of new tourism developments within a CED context.

3. Tourism is the fourth largest industry in Saskatchewan, and the province is beginning to investigate ways of furthering its tourism potential, especially within rural areas (ACRE 2002).

4. The proximity of research sites to one another makes it easier and more cost effective to carry out the research.

Based on the contact information for Saskatchewan established in the macro level investigation conducted in the winter/spring of 2001, contact was initially made by phone call or email with individuals who have been developing the murals in each community. In either case, arrangements were made for in-person interviews. These individuals also completed the survey sent to all the mural communities across Canada. All initial in-person interviews were conducted in each of the case study communities during July and August of 2001. A ‘snowball’ or ‘chain strategy’ was employed to determine any additional ‘experts’ or ‘decision-makers’ that would be appropriate to interview within the community (Patton 1996; Kirby and Hay 1997; Bradshaw and Stratford 2000). Additional interviews were therefore conducted with individuals involved in mural development, the mayor and/or elected officials in the communities, the economic development officer (EDO) or community development officer (CDO), other economic development association members, the Regional Economic Development Authority (REDA) director and the Tourism Saskatchewan regional representative in which the
community is located. These interviews were conducted by telephone from September 2001 to February 2002. In total, 40 in-person and telephone interviews were conducted for the six communities, as shown in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3: Case Study Interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Number of People Interviewed</th>
<th>Community Positions or Titles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Biggar</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Mural Developer, Museum Curator, EDO, Mayor, Town Administrator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Churchbridge</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Arts Club Chair, Mayor, CDO, Town Administrator, Business Association Chair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duck Lake</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Museum Curator/Mural Committee Chair, past Mayor, Town Councilor, Town Administrator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humboldt</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Mural Committee Chair, Tourism Events Coordinator, Mayor, Former Mayor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moose Jaw</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Mural Committee Chair, EDO, City Councilor, Former Mural Committee Member, Director of Tourism, Chamber of Commerce Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wadena</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4 Mural Committee Members, Former EDO, Mayor, Economic Development Committee Chair, Town Administrator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REDA</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>REDA Directors (Prince Albert, Carleton Trail, MidWest, Yellowhead and Good Spirit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism Representatives</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tourism Sask. Regional Directors (West Central, East Central, South East)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author

All interviews were conducted using the same scripted set of questions within a semi-structured format. This format was chosen to allow respondents the freedom to provide as much information as possible (Bernard 2000; Dunn 2000). The questions asked (Appendix 2) allowed for an assessment of where the idea for mural development came from, when it was implemented, who was involved, how the community was involved, what the process was for implementing the idea and how ‘successful’ the project had been. After the initial interview, follow up questions were added on the basis of initial responses. These included, for example, fund
raising activities, obstacles faced in undertaking and implementing the project and perceptions of critical support for success.

While in each community to conduct the in-person interviews, a site evaluation of the community was completed by the researcher, based on a survey developed to subjectively assess the community's physical attributes (Appendix 3).

Further secondary information regarding each community was obtained from a variety of sources, including community newspapers, development plans from Tourism Saskatchewan regions and the Regional Economic Development Authorities, and from meeting notes/minutes/documents from the various Mural Committees.

3.3 Data Analysis

As with the data collection process, two levels of analysis were required; one for the macro level investigation of Canadian communities and a second one for the case study analysis of mural communities in Saskatchewan. Both forms of data analysis are discussed below.

3.3.1 Analysis of Canadian Mural Communities

The data collected from the 31 completed surveys were entered into a spreadsheet using SPSS 10.0. At this stage of the research, the objectives were to determine where the idea for mural development originated, to examine how it had spread across Canada, to ascertain why this choice was made and what the results were for the community.

The data collected were primarily nominal, resulting in categorical variables. As a result, it was only possible to use descriptive statistics, such as frequencies and crosstabulations. Frequency tests were run on all the categories, and these categories were then collapsed and recoded to reflect the commonalities that existed within the categories. This was done because of the small number of cases in several categories.

3 Newspapers were obtained from the Saskatchewan Archives and the Moose Jaw Public Library Archives for each community beginning in 1985. This start date was chosen on the recommendation of Tourism Saskatchewan (Baird 1999). Duck Lake is the only community that does not have a local newspaper.
or cells. One of the problems with the data was that the sample size of 31 cases was too small to run inferential statistics and have any statistical validity. Despite this limitation, the application of descriptive statistics did allow the development of a context within which to place the richer qualitative responses received in the open-ended portion of the survey, and for the case study analysis more generally.

Qualitative analyses of the data were also undertaken as the survey included open-ended questions that some respondents chose to complete. These data were examined utilizing latent content analysis. This is a common form of qualitative analysis wherein data are examined to determine themes that emerge from the content, looking for specific words to determine further meanings of what was said or written (Dunn 2000).

From the data collected, it was possible to determine the date that each community undertook to develop their mural project, where the idea came from and if there was one or more epicenter for mural development in Canada. Coffey and McRae’s (1989) classification of region types, which categorizes communities on the basis of settlement size and relative location to major urban areas, was utilized to determine those communities that were ‘central’ versus ‘peripheral’ and large versus small. The communities were grouped into three time frames (1985-1989, 1990-1995, 1996-2000) by combining cases (a complete discussion of this periodization is provided in Chapter 4). This information along with the data indicating the place of origin for the idea, allowed for the development of a generation tree of mural development for Canada. Based on this framework, statistical analyses were run on variables relating to reasons for mural development, board structure and education, gender and job title, and how the communities defined the success of their mural project.

3.3.2 Case Study Analysis of Saskatchewan Communities
Although one of the objectives for this research was to examine the utility of existing theories such as embeddedness, institutional thickness, governance and leadership as means to expand our knowledge of CED in rural areas, it also sought to
look beyond pre-existing knowledge. As a result, the data were analyzed using a variety of qualitative based methods.

Grounded Theory (GT) is a qualitative research methodology initially formulated by sociologists Glaser and Strauss (1967) that has been further refined over time (Strauss and Corbin 1990; 1998; Glaser 2002). It is considered, "a general theory of scientific method concerned with the generation, elaboration and validation of social science theory" with the goal being to "construct theories in order to understand phenomena" (Haig 1995, 1). In its initial conceptualization, GT was developed as an inductive approach wherein research is not undertaken to prove or disprove a hypothesis, but instead seeks to develop a new theory based on the data collected to answer the research question (Hueser 1999). Because GT is a method to develop new theory without looking for preconceived notions or themes, this style of analysis was performed initially. There are three elements of GT, including concepts (the basic units of analysis), categories (the abstract title given to a group of similar concepts) and propositions (the relationship between a category and its concepts and between discrete categories) (Pandit 1996).

Because this research also sought to determine if there is a relationship between existing concepts of embeddedness, institutional thickness, governance and leadership, the data (both primary and secondary) were also examined utilizing a more deductive approach to GT analysis, described by Miles and Huberman (1994) as starting with some general themes derived from reading the literature and adding more themes and sub-themes as the analysis proceeds. Bernard (2000, 445) suggests that, "this is somewhere between inductive and deductive coding. You have a general idea of what you are after and you know what at least some of the big themes are, but you're still in a discovery mode, so you let new themes emerge from the text as you go along."

The utility of newspaper analysis in examining various aspects of rural communities has become apparent through research conducted as part of the New Rural Economy project (Emke 2001). For this study, archived weekly newspapers from the case study communities were examined in five-year intervals, beginning in 1985 and concluding in 2000. A content analysis methodology was employed to
search for specific themes, relating to those described previously, by examining the entire newspaper for articles that pertained to them. If it became obvious that certain community issues (e.g., the building of a community pool) extended into the next calendar year, the five-year interval parameter was set aside to ascertain resolution to the issue. It was apparent through the analysis process that the issues reported in the weekly community newspapers were reflective of the concerns of those interviewed as both referred to the same issues as being important.

An important aspect of qualitative research methodology and analysis is the recognition of subjectivity. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) devised a framework to understand the various qualitative methodologies that have evolved across disciplines to address various methodological needs and criticisms. The framework is comprised of five ‘moments’, the fourth and fifth of which are relevant to this discussion. In the fourth moment, researchers began to ‘write self’ into their texts, recognizing that field work and interpretation were a single process. This was followed by the fifth moment (the current period of qualitative research), which continues to reflect the crisis of representation but moves from grand narratives to a localized level taking into account the multiple roles of the researcher. In so doing, qualitative researchers acknowledge the bias of self and account for its influence in their analysis. As Riley and Love (2000) suggest, “the context and the associated interactions of natural surroundings are crucial in qualitative research because they shape the entity being studied. Equally crucial is the investigator(s)-as-instrument because only the human instrument can grasp the interactions of context and the multiple realities that are known through tacit understanding”. Dupuis (1999) goes further, stating that who we are as researchers dictates what we choose to study and how the research process is designed and carried out.

Although often considered outside the realm of normal academic writing, Berg and Mansvelt (2000, 174) suggest that “using ‘I’ can make explicit the politics associated with the personal voice and draw attention to assumptions embedded in research texts”. The ‘writing in of self’ is a foundational component to reflexive approaches in qualitative research (England 1994; Rose 1997; Dupuis 1999). As Berg and Mansvelt (2000, 174) suggest, such an approach “enables qualitative
researchers to acknowledge in a meaningful way how their assumptions, values and identities constitute the geographies they create.” As such, I have chosen to utilize the personal pronoun to situate myself within my work, to better ‘represent’ and present the knowledge that I have gained through my field work experience (Dupuis 1999; Berg and Mansvelt 2000).

The use of personal pronouns is only one aspect of situating myself within my work. Berg and Mansvelt (2000) suggest that in addition, researchers must address their positionality. The Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography (Hay 2000, 193) text defines positionality as “a researcher’s social, locational and ideological placement relative to the research project or to other participants in it. May be influenced by biographical characteristics such as class, race and gender, as well as various formative experiences.” By placing ourselves within our work, we are attempting to account for potential bias and the influence of our personal experiences both on how we undertake our projects and the analysis we derive. The questions then become, who am I and how did these elements influence this research?

Although Rose (1997) has argued that it may be virtually impossible for researchers to fully locate themselves within their research given the complexity in understanding ‘self’, it is important that I attempt to provide some context in relation to why this particular research area, methodology and analysis. I was born and raised on the Canadian Prairies and have lived half of my life in a small town (Rouleau, Saskatchewan) and small city (Brandon, Manitoba), both of which are predominately agrarian based. I continue to have a close relationship with friends and extended family, many of who are employed in farming related industries and/or live in small cities or towns. These relationships and my past result in a lasting emotional connection to rural places. As a researcher with the potential to examine anything, anywhere, I found myself drawn to the continued plight of rural places and a desire to contribute to on going efforts in examining ways to address these challenges.

My interest in people, in talking with them, in listening to their stories made interviewing the obvious methodology of choice. A semi-structured interview format
allowed me to balance my need to locate specific information with my desire to hear the various additional stories or tangents that people wished to share with me. Interviewing methodologies are not flawless, and in particular questions regarding power and agenda between the researcher and interviewee are important (Fine et al. 2000; Tedlock, 2000). Being a Ph.D. candidate sets me apart from those I interview, as many do not share the same level of education. I am, however, also a mother and a wife. And the extent to which I integrate my children and husband into my life as a researcher (they accompany me during my field research), provides a level of identification and accessibility between those I interview and myself – the presence of my family is evidence that I share familiar aspects of the family life-cycle. This may provide a form of relationship building and change the power perceptions between those I am interviewing and myself.

3.4 Conclusions

This chapter has provided an explanation of how the research project was conducted. The next two chapters (4 and 5) provide detailed descriptions of the data collected for each of the macro and micro levels of investigation. Specifically, Chapter 4 begins by offering a critical discussion of the use of murals within tourism and moves on to examine how it is that communities have adopted mural-based tourism across Canada. A study of the exemplar community for mural-based tourism provides a context for how and why it is that this particular strategy has been utilized in varying community contexts and what the results have been from a community perspective. Chapter 5 moves to the case study analysis by providing a critical presentation of the stories of mural-based tourism in six Saskatchewan communities, providing a view into their CED and tourism experiences. Finally, Chapter 6 addresses the research questions and objectives of the study through the analysis of the data.
Chapter 4
PREPARING THE SURFACE:
AN EXAMINATION OF MURAL-BASED TOURISM DEVELOPMENT ACROSS CANADA

Murals are used for different purposes by communities. Some communities use them as an outlet for young people at risk. Others use them for political reasons. Many use them to depict historical themes.¹

4.1 Introduction

What is it that makes a community chose a particular set of development strategies, amongst the known possibilities? The increasing demand for and use of tourism as an economic diversification strategy has not occurred within a vacuum, but has arisen out of a complex and interrelated set of circumstances described in Chapter 2. Simply stated, it involves the relationship between economic insecurity and transition, often in primary industries and smaller communities, and the growing leisure population associated with the retiring baby-boom generation. The tourism activities sought by this group increasingly include heritage-based attractions. Heritage-based tourism is one of the growing segments of the tourism industry, with approximately 43% of visitors to Canada citing heritage as a reason for their visit (Canadian Tourism Commission 2002). Harvey (1989, 304) suggests that the quest for and interest in heritage is not an unusual trend because,

¹ Moose Jaw Times Herald 2000a
the more global interrelations become and the more spatial barriers disintegrate, so more rather than less of the world’s population clings to place and neighborhood. Such a quest for visible and tangible marks of identity is readily understandable in the midst of fierce space-time compression.

It is evident that rural areas and small places are often the most vulnerable of locales in the current economic transition. The vulnerability of rural places is well documented in the literature (see Chapter 2), and as a result many rural communities are trying to find ways to diversify their economy. More often, such places are turning to community-driven strategies that include tourism. Tourism is touted as one of the fastest growing economic sectors, with total expenditures at $54.6 billion, from 93.4 million visitors, amounting to $22 billion or 2.3 percent of Canada’s total Gross Domestic Product in 2001 (Table 4.1). The development of murals as a tourism attraction is a strategy chosen by a number of communities, as it marries the increasing interest in heritage with the apparent need for economic diversification.

Table 4.1: Canadian Tourism 2001 Statistics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>International = 19.6 Million</th>
<th>Domestic = 73.8 Million</th>
<th>Total = 93.4 Million</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arrivals (number of people)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expenditures</td>
<td>International = $16.2 Billion</td>
<td>Domestic = $38.4 Billion</td>
<td>Total = $54.6 Billion Expenditures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent and Dollar Value of Gross Domestic Product (GDP)</td>
<td>2.3% of total GDP or $22 Billion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of People Employed in Tourism Industry</td>
<td>546,400</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Canadian Tourism Commission 2002

Painting murals is a conscious development choice. Developers are not capitalizing and promoting a naturally occurring feature. Rather, they are making a conscious choice to pursue tourism by creating something that previously did not
exist; the re-creation of local history on the walls of a community to attract visitors. This chapter examines why mural-based tourism strategies are adopted by such a wide variety of communities across Canada. The chapter begins by placing mural-based tourism within the broader heritage-based tourism sector and critically examining its relationship with the concept of authenticity and the marketing of place. This is followed by a discussion of the spread and adoption of mural-based tourism strategies across Canada and a more comprehensive examination of the epicenter of this spread. The chapter concludes by analyzing why these Canadian communities have chosen murals, what the outcomes of those choices have been and how we might evaluate the success of these strategies. This will provide a context for understanding the case study analysis of mural communities in Saskatchewan.

4.2 Murals and their Relationship to Tourism

This research is concerned primarily with the relationship between tourism and community economic development in rural communities. Therefore, it is important to first discuss the activities pursued in rural environments and link these activities to the use of murals as an attraction.

The reconfiguration of economic spaces dominated by secondary activities (e.g., manufacturing and warehousing districts) has long been part of urban transformation, as old industrial areas are abandoned and then re-developed as museums, shopping centres, water-front development, recreational spaces etc. This has been so much the case that it has led Harvey (1988 quoted in Urry 1990, 128) to ask “How many museums, cultural centres, convention and exhibition halls, hotels, marinas, shopping malls, waterfront developments can we stand?”

Cloke (1993) suggested that rural places reflect the same national and even international changes in economic, political and social structures as are evident in urban areas. This is particularly the case with regards to the transformation of economic spaces as community dependence upon primary industries becomes challenged. Consequently, many rural communities have begun to explore tourism as an option. Indeed, for many western countries the development of tourism is often
the major policy thrust resulting from a declining agricultural base (Butler and Hall 1998; Dewailly 1998). This is becoming so much the case for rural areas that it has led Butler and Hall (1998, 117) to paraphrase Harvey by asking of rural British areas “How many heritage trails, pioneer museums and villages, historic houses, roadside produce stalls, authentic country cooking, festivals, country shoppes and Devonshire teas can we stand?”

Hopkins (1998, 142) suggested that “the fact that tourism has come to the countryside, that it is now commodified, promoted and consumed, is to be expected in the context of today’s global capitalism, the expansion of information and communication technologies, and rising consumer demands for entertainment, leisure and recreation”. Britton (1991) goes further by stating that “as a major yet typically unappreciated and unacknowledged, avenue of accumulation in the late twentieth century, tourism is one of the most important elements in the shaping of popular consciousness of places and in determining the creation of social images of those places” (Britton 1991, 475). Part of the attraction to rural places is the image tourists have of this space. The concept of ‘image’ has long been recognized within the tourism literature (Urry 1990; 1995; Hopkins 1998), and it serves several functions. Very often it is the mental images people have of places that form the basis of evaluation and selection of a destination (Butler and Hall 1998). Within communities, image can assist in providing local cohesion (Dewailly 1998).

Within the last two decades, rural places have begun to systematically attract visitors by re-imaging themselves through ‘place-marketing’ (Burgess 1982; Ashworth and Voogd 1988; Madsen 1992; Roche 1992; Hall 1994; Kearns and Philo 1993). In fact, Hopkins (1998) suggests that although place promotion has long been an essential part of the tourism industry, it is now part of economic development, planning and policy at most levels of government. The primary goal of the ‘place marketer’ is to construct a new image of the place to replace either vague or negative images previously held by current or potential residents, investors and visitors in order to effectively compete with other places (Holcomb 1993, 133). There are those however, who caution that place marketing may be ineffective in overcoming
negative perceptions of place (Raco 2003) or that miscommunication of the marketed images may result in consumer dissatisfaction with the product (Ulga et al. 2002). Despite such potential risks, a review of the emerging literature on place marketing reveals several important reasons for the increasing importance of place promotion. These include:

1. The rise of the global economy, especially within the tourism and service sectors, has provided new opportunities for some places to develop and promote recreational and leisure facilities (Goeldner 1992), for example Cancun, Mexico;

2. Post-industrial restructuring has compelled some places to exploit and promote local tourist attractions in an attempt to minimize, halt or reverse economic decline induced by the collapse or contraction of the industry upon which their economy had previously been based (Jenkins et al. 1998), for example Chemainus, British Columbia;

3. Funding cuts, lessening of the welfare state and the prevailing market-driven policy stance of Canada’s governing bodies have also encouraged local governments to market themselves to investors and consumers alike (Hopkins 1998); and

4. What Hopkins (1998, 141) refers to as the “spatially liberated, consumeristic, image-driven culture”. Because people have greater mobility, access and income then ever before, the tourism market becomes a highly competitive arena where places must be advertised in order to attract not simply tourists, but “place consumers”. Places, and the services and experiences associated with them, become commodified, something to be consumed (Ashworth and Voogd 1990; Hopkins 1998).

These reasons, especially those related to aspects of place, may form the basis for the choice of tourism as an economic development strategy in rural areas. Hopkins’ (1998) reference to tourism as a strategy of local governments due to government policies at both provincial and federal levels (#3 above) has a direct link to the CED
literature. The literature suggests that it has evolved in response to these same challenges. Such assertions demonstrate the link between tourism as a strategy and CED.

Heritage has become an integral part of re-imaging communities. This includes the refurbishing of buildings, the recreation of historical events both real and imagined and the representation of history and community through art. It is at this juncture that murals fit within the rural tourism - place-marketing relationship. However, before entering into a fuller discussion of this relationship, it is important to understand the complex connections between heritage and authenticity by first examining the concept of authenticity.

"Authenticity, I would argue, is a constructed value or set of values, but cannot be accounted for without considering the social and material contexts in which it is located" (Meethan 2001, 95). This explanation of authenticity has particular geographic relevance as it speaks to the importance of place in understanding how something (a historical re-enactment, architecture or murals) can be evaluated. In directly examining the relationship between authenticity, tourism and place marketing, Dewailly (1998) suggests that authenticity is often the basis for comparison of a local or regional identity with neighbouring ones. "It becomes a way of reactivating an ancient heritage, ...and exposing tourists to it in order to assert difference, cultural richness, identity, and perhaps even prominence or change" (Dewailly 1998, 127).

Wang (1999) has identified three types of authenticity in tourism as a way of understanding and interpreting the various meanings associated with the tourism attraction. **Objective Authenticity** is applied in situations were the origin of an artefact needs to be established, for example items used in a museum. **Constructive Authenticity** is a matter of negotiation or ascribed meanings, usually specific to a particular culture or subgroup. What is important is not whether the object fits any measure of external objective criteria in terms of its origin, but rather the socially constructed consensus that it has some form of symbolic value. Finally, **Existential Authenticity** relates to experiences of the individual tourists with the recognition
that tourists are not mere dupes of the attraction. In many cases, such as at Walt Disney resorts, the authenticity of a particular tourism attraction or space is not contested. In other cases, especially those relating to heritage sites or representations of events, authenticity may become a contentious issue. This is especially the case for those attractions in which neither the intent of the producer(s) nor historical event is accessible to the viewer through interpretive materials or guides, as with heritage-based murals. The discussion now turns to the concept of heritage.

Heritage typically refers to material culture, and was originally applied to aspects of the built environment considered to be of architectural or historical importance. Concerns about both natural and built environments and culture more broadly have resulted in both national and international legislation to protect, preserve and conserve authentic spaces, not only for the purposes of tourism, but also to create and sustain a sense of nation and place through such symbolic meanings (Anderson 1991; Lowenthal 1994). Meethan (2001) suggests that the desire to create or preserve heritage arose in developed economies because of the concern that modernity was wiping away the historic character of urban spaces. Although he traces this trend to the 19th century, he suggests that it has only been since the 1970s that the nostalgia has moved from being an elite preoccupation to one that is more populist resulting in changing home decor, architectural style and gentrification of old residential neighborhoods.

Within tourism, the quest for heritage has seen the preservation of both natural and historic sites, and even the creation of imagined pasts and places for the ‘tourist gaze’. “Places are seeking to distinguish themselves from each other through generating narratives of an imagined past, presented as definitive, essential characteristics” (Meethan 2001, 99). Consequently, many places seek to recreate their history either through re-enactments (e.g., The Royal Canadian Mounted Police Fort and Musical Horse Ride in Fort McLeod, Alberta), theme parks (e.g., Heritage Village in Calgary, Alberta), revitalization of streetscapes based on heritage architecture (e.g., Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan) or even murals, as a way of distinguishing their communities as unique and worthy destinations. However, it is
not uncommon for scholars such as Widdis (2000) to dwell almost exclusively on the level of authenticity associated with a particular attraction, often seeking Wang’s (1999) Objective Authenticity and settling for nothing less. Such a view minimizes other attributes that the presentation of history provides for the community in terms of pride, education, entertainment and economic returns. Meethan (2001) suggests that,

there is more to heritage and authenticity than either the need to conserve, or the need to commodify the past for tourist consumption. Heritage can also serve a didactic purpose in educating or fostering a sense of nationhood or a more broader sense of belonging for consumption by both ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’ as well as simply providing some form of diversion or entertainment. [The] increasing commodification of heritage does not diminish this fact, nor does it render heritage inauthentic, rather it indicates that the production and consumption of heritage is closely tied to the broader issues of politics, the economy and other forms of cultural distinction, and can serve more than one purpose. ... Heritage is a means of differentiating cultures in terms of both space and time, and as such stresses heterogeneity as opposed to homogeneity (Meethan 2001, 101-102).

Such an assertion has particular relevance to murals, as it provides the opportunity to move the discussion beyond the simple debate around authenticity to examine what the murals (or heritage more broadly) can do for both the community and the tourist. This research seeks to elucidate this aspect more fully. In so doing, the discussion now turns to an examination of how murals fit within rural tourism.

There is a strong connection between the image of the ‘rural idyll’ and murals. As people become increasingly disconnected from rural spaces, a corollary has been an increase in the romantic image of ‘rural’ as a place where time stands still; where all is good, in contrast with the presumed evil of urban places (Butler et al. 1998). Rural provides a sense of ‘rootedness’; it is the ‘place’ to which people have some familial tie, however distant. Murals seem to feed this need by creating that sense of ‘past place’ on the walls of a community’s buildings. There is, however, a wide variety of content in mural art that does not always portray the
rural idyll’. Some murals portray battles, poor working conditions or the subordinate status of minority ethnic groups or women.

Murals can be broadly conceived of as a form of art that is readily and freely accessible to the public at large. "We know that the arts are a powerful source to reach people...Murals bring the arts to the people that is the role of public art. Murals touch everyone’s lives, not only the elite. Murals transcend all barriers” (Downtown Vernon Association 2000). Based on the research undertaken for this dissertation, it is apparent that various categories of murals can be defined primarily by the functions they serve and the reasons they were developed. Murals for Public Art include those painted on the walls of cities for a variety of reasons unrelated to tourism. These would include the development and promotion of art and business advertising (e.g., Winnipeg, Manitoba). The images found in these murals vary widely, depending upon the sponsor of the mural. Murals for Youth Development includes the creation of a mural project specifically to address the needs of a particular age group. Through participation in the program, job skills training, a sense of community and an understanding of history are developed (e.g., Vernon, British Columbia). These murals tend to be eclectic in nature, but are often historically-based. This category would also include murals developed as anti-graffiti projects (e.g., St. John’s, New Brunswick). Murals for Community Beautification are undertaken to beautify a building or neighbourhood. Although there is no tourism motivation, tourism may result by default. The content of these murals varies, ranging from wildlife and community events to abstract images and historical occurrences (e.g., Churchbridge, Saskatchewan). Murals as a Tourism Attraction are developed and marketed to attract people into the community. The focus is on developing the murals to distinguish the community as a unique destination (i.e., 'place marketing’). These murals generally follow a heritage-based theme (e.g., Chemainus, British Columbia). Unlike the other categories, murals developed for tourism purposes represent what a group within the local community believes to be local heritage in combination with what they believe people want to see. It is important to point out that although murals may become an attraction, not all murals
are initially developed for tourism purposes. This research has focused on murals in communities that are promoted as a tourist attraction.

As more communities chose to ‘jump on the bandwagon’ of mural development as a tourism attraction, it leads one to question, as did Harvey (1988 in Urry 1990) and Butler and Hall (1998) of the reconfiguration of urban and rural landscapes, how many more mural-based attractions can exist, especially as communities struggle to differentiate and place-market themselves as unique attractions. Communities marketing mural-based attractions can develop an almost homogenous appearance, especially when one considers that the pool of professional mural artists is relatively small. There are those who consider mural-based tourism as a blight on the ‘tourism attraction’ list, as indicated by a question voiced during a presentation on mural development across Canada. “My question is, have you figured out an antidote to the proliferation of murals across the country and their spread like a virus elsewhere?” (Selwood 2002). Such sentiments clearly indicate that communities need to carefully consider the extent to which particular strategies have been utilized elsewhere (i.e., whether or not to jump on the bandwagon), and that small communities should not be reliant on a single attraction for place marketing.

This section has placed mural-based tourism development within rural environments as part of the basket of strategies that are utilized in place marketing or place promotion. The remaining sections of this chapter will explore how and why various communities have utilized murals.

4.3 The Spread of Murals Across Canada
Chapter 3 described the methods used to identify the 32 communities across Canada that possess a mural-based tourism attraction as defined by their self-identification in the provincial tourism guides. This section provides an examination of mural community location, including the origin point of the idea and the year of implementation. Such an investigation, followed by a discussion of why the
4.3.1 Three Stages of Mural Development, One Epicentre

By analyzing the survey responses, it became apparent that there were distinct time periods in which mural development took place and that the majority of places were linked to one community as the source for the mural strategy idea. A generation tree of mural development was created (Figure 4.1) to graphically demonstrate the spatial and temporal pattern of mural expansion.

On the survey, respondents were asked to indicate when they began the mural project and if a particular place influenced their decision. The three time periods were derived based on the responses to these questions. As Figure 4.1 and Table 4.2 illustrate, only six communities did not trace the origin of their idea for mural development to Chemainus, British Columbia (i.e., Grand Prairie, Alberta; Winnipeg, Manitoba; Bell Island, Newfoundland/Labrador; Wadena, Saskatchewan; Biggar, Saskatchewan and Mount Carmel, Prince Edward Island). As such, the stages of mural development were designated in 5-year intervals following the development of the Chemainus murals in 1982. The remainder of this section discusses each of the stages and associated mural developments.
Figure 4.1 Generation Tree of Mural Development

1985 – 1989

- Athens ON 1985
- Sparwood BC 1989
- Chemainus BC 1982 (Romania)

1990 – 1995

- Stony Plain AB 1990
- Duck Lake SK 1990
- Moose Jaw SK 1990
- Midland ON 1990
- Grand Prairie AB 1991 (Sacramento CA)
- Winnipeg MB 1991
- Bell Island NF 1991
- High River AB 1992
- Boissevain MB 1992
- - Snow Lake MB 1994
- - Morden MB 1995
- - Kenora ON 1995

1996 – 2001

- Summerside PE 1996
- Wadena SK 1996
- Biggar SK 1997
- Mount Carmel PE 1997
- Pincher Creek AB 1997
- Vernon BC 1998
- Lumby BC 2001

Welland ON 1988
- Churchbridge SK 1995
- Amherst ON 1995
- Oshawa ON 1995
- Timmins ON 1995

Source: survey results 2002
Table 4.2: Aspects of Mural Development

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Artist Type</th>
<th>Mural Type</th>
<th>Purpose*</th>
<th>Board Structure</th>
<th>Origin of Idea</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1985-1989</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athens, ON</td>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>Historic</td>
<td>T, CB</td>
<td>Formal</td>
<td>Chemainus, BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sparwood, BC</td>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>Historic</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>Formal</td>
<td>Chemainus, BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pembroke, ON</td>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>Historic</td>
<td>T, CB</td>
<td>Formal</td>
<td>Chemainus, BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welland, ON</td>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>Historic</td>
<td>T, CB</td>
<td>Formal</td>
<td>Chemainus, BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total: 4</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1990–1995</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stony Plain, AB</td>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>Historic</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>Formal</td>
<td>Chemainus, BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duck Lake, SK</td>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>Historic</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>Formal</td>
<td>Chemainus, BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moose Jaw, SK</td>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>Historic</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>Formal</td>
<td>Chemainus, BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midland, ON</td>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>Historic</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>Informal</td>
<td>Chemainus, BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High River, AB</td>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>Historic</td>
<td>T, CB</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Chemainus, BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Prairie, AB</td>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>Historic</td>
<td>CB</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Sacramento, CA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winnipeg, MB</td>
<td>Professional, Volunteer</td>
<td>Eclectic</td>
<td>CB</td>
<td>Formal</td>
<td>None Identified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bell Island, NF/L</td>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>Historic</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>Formal</td>
<td>None Identified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boissevain, MB</td>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>Historic</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>Formal</td>
<td>Chemainus, BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snow Lake, MB</td>
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<td>Historic</td>
<td>T, CB</td>
<td>Informal</td>
<td>Boissevain, MB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morden, MB</td>
<td>Volunteer</td>
<td>Historic</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Boissevain, MB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenora, ON</td>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>Historic</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>Formal</td>
<td>Boissevain, MB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humboldt, SK</td>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>Historic</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>Formal</td>
<td>Chemainus, BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Churchbridge, SK</td>
<td>Volunteer</td>
<td>Eclectic</td>
<td>CB</td>
<td>Informal</td>
<td>Chemainus, BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amherst, NS</td>
<td>Professional, Volunteer</td>
<td>Historic</td>
<td>CB</td>
<td>Formal</td>
<td>Chemainus, BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oshawa, ON</td>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>Historic</td>
<td>T, CB</td>
<td>Informal</td>
<td>Chemainus, BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timmins, ON</td>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>Historic</td>
<td>CB</td>
<td>Formal</td>
<td>Chemainus, BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total: 17</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1996–2001</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summerside, PEI</td>
<td>Volunteer</td>
<td>Eclectic</td>
<td>CB</td>
<td>Informal</td>
<td>Chemainus, BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wadena, SK</td>
<td>Volunteer</td>
<td>Eclectic</td>
<td>CB</td>
<td>Informal</td>
<td>None Identified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biggar, SK</td>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>Historic</td>
<td>CB</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None Identified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mount Carmel, PEI</td>
<td>Professional, Youth</td>
<td>Eclectic</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None Identified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pincher Creek, AB</td>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>Historic</td>
<td>T, CB</td>
<td>Informal</td>
<td>High River, AB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vernon, BC</td>
<td>Professional, Youth</td>
<td>Historic</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>Formal</td>
<td>Chemainus, BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lumby, BC</td>
<td>Professional, Youth, Volunteer</td>
<td>Historic</td>
<td>T,CB</td>
<td>Formal</td>
<td>Vernon, BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grimsby, ON</td>
<td>Youth</td>
<td>Eclectic</td>
<td>T, CB</td>
<td>Informal</td>
<td>Welland, ON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total: 8</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: survey results 2001

* T = Tourism, CB = Community Beautification
There is one set of murals that pre-date the development of the Chemainus mural project (Figure 4.2), and is considered an anomaly. The murals (i.e., The Jordi Bonet Murals in St. Anthony, Newfoundland) are located inside a hospital and were commissioned by a local hospital group to honour a doctor from the region. This example is not included in further statistical analysis, as the survey response was incomplete and inapplicable. St. Anthony has been included only because it meets both the defining criteria of the population and that these murals are considered an attraction within the community and are advertised as such within the provincial tourism guide.

Figure 4.2: Mural Development Pre-1980

Source: survey results 2001
Between 1985 and 1989, four communities undertook mural development based on the example provided by Chemainus in 1982 (see Figure 4.3). This time period is distinct from the next two in that the murals in all of the communities have a historical theme, formalized boards existed to develop the murals and all artists were paid professionals. During this time period, the combination of tourism and community beautification are cited most often as the reasons for developing the murals.

Figure 4.3: Stage One - Mural Development 1985-1989

Source: survey results 2001
The period between 1990 and 1995 was witness to the most mural development, with Chemainus, British Columbia remaining the primary source for the mural idea, either directly, or indirectly through another community (for example, Boissevain, Manitoba) (Figure 4.4). There are some exceptions, with respondents from Grande Prairie, Alberta indicating that they based their mural project on the example of Sacramento, California and those from Winnipeg, Manitoba and Bell Island, Newfoundland/Labrador stating that they developed their murals with no influence from any other community (Figure 4.1).

Figure 4.4: Stage Two – Mural Development 1990-1995

Source: survey results 2001
During this second stage there is greater diversity associated with the types of artists painting the murals. Twelve of seventeen communities utilized professional painters exclusively, two communities (Morden and Snow Lake of Manitoba) relied on volunteer painters, while a further three communities used a combination of both professional and volunteer painters (Table 4.2). Although most murals (fifteen of seventeen) are historically-based, there are two communities in which a more diverse array of mural styles was developed. Interestingly, these are also communities that have utilized volunteer painters. The purpose of mural development has become more focused on tourism in this time period, with nine of seventeen respondents citing tourism as the main purpose of mural development. However, several of those surveyed (in five communities) also cited community beautification as the sole purpose and three cited the combination of both as the purpose for developing murals. There is also a more mixed approach to the administrative structure for mural projects, with only ten communities having formal boards and seven having either informal or no board structure whatsoever.

During the third stage, there has been limited mural development (Figure 4.5), but increased variation in several aspects of tourism development. Of the eight mural projects started during this time period, only three utilized professional painters solely, while the remaining five made use of a combination of volunteer, professional and youth artists (Table 4.2). Likewise, there has been a wider variety of mural types, with less use of history as the primary theme for murals and a greater inclusion of eclectic images. Similarly, the purpose for mural development is cited more often as a combination of community beautification and tourism. As the sole purpose, tourism is only mentioned once (Mount Carmel, Prince Edward Island). In only two communities was a formalized board created to develop the mural projects and the remaining six either have an informal board or no board at all. Finally, in only two communities was the idea for mural development taken directly from Chemainus, with individuals surveyed in the other three communities citing alternate places that in turn originally obtained the idea from Chemainus as their source for the concept. This demonstrates that the idea for mural development has diffused
throughout various provinces. Respondents from three communities (Wadena and Biggar in Saskatchewan and Mount Carmel, Prince Edward Island) believed that their idea for mural development did not come from another community, although it is difficult to assess the accuracy of these claims.

Figure 4.5: Stage Three – Mural Development 1996-2001

Source: survey results 2001
4.3.2 Chemainus as the Epicentre of Mural Development

As the previous maps, table and generation tree suggest, many of the communities stated that the idea for mural development either originated or can be traced back to Chemainus, British Columbia. In order to better understand the decision making surrounding mural development and community economic development in general, it is important therefore to examine the situation at Chemainus more comprehensively.

As part of the transition from Fordist to Flexible Accumulation, Chemainus experienced both threats of, and actual, mill closures starting from the early 1970s. In 1983 the major mill was finally closed, with a loss of 650 jobs. When the mill reopened two years later, only 10 percent of the employees were hired back (Barnes and Hayter 1992). The closure and minimal rehiring had a devastating impact on the local economy, and Chemainus was forced to face the realities of not being able to rely on its traditional economic base. The situation was exacerbated by the construction of new shopping centres outside the community, which threatened the viability of local downtown merchants. Becoming a bedroom community for Naniamo to the north was limited due to distance. Also, because it was not located directly on the ocean and therefore had no access to beach frontage, it appeared that Chemainus did not have natural environmental assets to assist its development as a resort community (Lehr and Kentner-Hildalgo 1998).

The community needed to move beyond its primary industry dependency and turned to tourism, specifically murals, to do so. In the early 1980s, Chemainus received a provincial grant from the British Columbia government to rejuvenate the main streets of the town. A new, young mayor for the community (Graham Bruce) asked a local entrepreneur, Karl Schutz, to come out of retirement and assist in preparing a plan for the town’s development. Schutz agreed and his dream of creating a ‘renaissance’ in Chemainus began.

Schutz set about convincing the local municipal council and community that it was a good idea to revitalize their community on mural-based tourism. The town’s residents were skeptical of the idea but the revitalization committee pushed ahead
and eventually the municipal council agreed to commit $10,000 to commission the first five murals (Meisler 1994). The mural themes were based on a book and photographs by Olsen (1963) entitled *Water over the Wheel*, a history of Chemainus, and attempted to represent the ethnic, economic and social history of the region.

In 1982 the first five murals were painted and by 1986 the number of murals had expanded to over a dozen. Forty new businesses had also opened to cater to the nearly 250,000 annual visitors (Barnes and Hayter 1992). Currently Chemainus has thirty-four murals, boasts over 400,000 annual visitors, is home to many thriving shops catering to tourists and has developed into a vibrant artistic community (Chemainus Festival of Murals Society 2002). According to the Chamber of Commerce, Chemainus receives eight to ten tour buses per day from April to October, officials from around the world have come to study the applicability of mural projects to their own communities (most recently from Japan and Taiwan) and in 1995 the Chemainus Murals won the British Airways “Tourism for Tomorrow” Excellence Award (survey results 2002). Along with the positive tourism sector, the mill in Chemainus continues to be profitable and a major employer in the community.

Although disputed by Schutz as a factor, the importance of place situation has to be considered in Chemainus’ success (Schutz 2002). The town is located along one of British Columbia’s most intensely traveled tourism corridors between the island-mainland ferry terminal at Nanaimo and the provincial capital of Victoria. This traffic undoubtedly provided the community with an enviable advantage over other communities that do not have access to this large flow of potential visitors. Due to the success of ‘The Little Town that Did’ (the copyrighted slogan attached to the community as part of its marketing strategy), Schutz has become a key figure in the spread of mural-based tourism development to many communities across Canada. Due to his influence in the diffusion of mural-based tourism strategies, the next section provides a more detailed look into the man behind the idea.
4.3.3 The Man Behind the Murals – Karl Schutz
Karl Schutz was born in Heidelberg, Germany and immigrated to Canada in 1951 at the age of 21 to work as a journeyman machinist (Meisler 1994). Like many others at that time, he settled in Chemainus and was employed by the MacMillan Bloedel sawmill. After five years, Schutz left and developed a very successful woodworking shop and by 1971 had acquired considerable landholdings, sold his business and retired (Meisler 1994). While vacationing in Europe during 1970, Schutz visited 15th to 16th century outdoor ‘frescoes’ or murals on the walls of monasteries in Romania. These murals left such an impression that he felt Chemainus could utilize the same idea to build and attract a tourism industry, especially as the town was already struggling with threats of mill closure and downsizing. He took the idea to the Chemainus Chamber of Commerce in 1971, but it was rejected (Schutz 2002).

However, as indicated in the previous section, in the 1980s the mayor of Chemainus invited Schutz to come out of retirement and assist in the town’s revitalization. The centerpiece of Schutz’s revitalization plan was mural development; a focus that many on the revitalization committee and within the community more broadly did not support (Meisler 1994; Schutz 2002). Committee and community members alike did not want to base their community’s future development on tourism, but Schutz “told them tourism is a billion-dollar industry all over the world. Before the war, Heidelberg existed because of it. My divorced mother supported us by running a bed-and-breakfast” (Meisler 1994, 58). The current success of Chemainus as a tourist destination illustrates the truth of Schutz’s words. However, he stressed that mural development is only the beginning or centrepiece of a larger tourism development plan for a community and is not the recipe for instant success.

Everyone I coach I tell that if you think that when the murals are painted, the job is done then don’t even start. Because once the murals are finished, then the work begins. Like in Chemainus, like in every other ...community that was so successful, it is only the key. In Chemainus now because of the murals we have the dinner theatre, a $4 Million investment. Well that is the next step. It employs 40 to 45 people and it pays $35,000 a year in taxes to the
municipality. They created a brand new economy. They’re now on a $1.5M expansion program. So here again, the murals were only a key to the other industry coming in because the new 50 to 100 stores which we got downtown, they only came because the murals and of course those new stores created commerce (Schutz 2002).

Schutz stresses that it is the spin-off developments that communities need to focus on and nurture. The winning combination is art, tourism, marketing, a “view outside of the box, and the leadership qualities and conviction to do it” (Schutz 2002).

As one of the key elements to mural-based tourism projects, he felt that both creativity and visibility in marketing were critical. As an example, he copyrighted the phrase ‘The Little Town That Did’ and utilized it on pamphlets, posters, and even on lapel badges that he wore everywhere. The slogan was captivating, intriguing and slightly amusing, resulting in a proliferation of questions from people who would read the phrase and ask its meaning. Schutz was happy to provide the ‘Chemainus story’ and people became interested in the town and in the idea of mural development more broadly.

This marketing strategy benefited both Chemainus as a destination and Schutz personally. He has become one of the leading experts on mural-based tourism strategies, and as a result has contracted his services to other communities across Canada, the United States, Australia and New Zealand that are interested in exploring and pursuing a similar strategy. His role is one of facilitator, providing one to two day workshops/ seminars for small groups of leaders in which he teaches “them everything they need to know about the project, how to find the artists, how to prepare the walls, how to get the bylaws they need to protect the murals” (Schutz 2002). He is also the president and founder of the Global Mural, Arts and Cultural Tourism Association (GMACTA), established in 1996 after Schutz attended a Mural Festival in New Zealand.

Another key element enabling the successful development of a mural-based tourism strategy is leadership, but that “does not mean that one individual does it all. ... The only way you are able to achieve your goals is with the dedication and cooperation of others. But it does take leadership to get the cooperation. If you are
unable to draw people into your world, then you will not succeed. It has to be an individual; a group or committee never works” (Schutz 2002). Further, Schutz has found that when several communities jointly sponsor a workshop session, it does not work. He has found that community rivalry is detrimental to the process as each community tries “to protect themselves for all the wrong reasons. They don’t think of creating a destination” (Schutz 2002). He cites a contract he had in New Zealand as an example.

Schutz suggests leadership (a concept examined in this research) is the key factor in the successful development of any businesses, organization or municipality. To him, cities and towns that are thriving and expanding are doing so because they have a strong mayor. In cases where the mayor does not have leadership qualities and instead is only a good “manager of sewer and water” the community will not develop with the same vitality. Schutz says he can sense immediately whether or not the leadership in the community has the necessary qualities to undertake the project and if it is apparent that it will not work, he lets them know that “they are wasting their money and my time. Unfortunately I’d say about 25 percent of them just waste their money” (Schutz 2002).

Because the key to continuing community or project vitality is leadership, a change in leadership can mean that the project will “level out or die away” (Schutz 2002). However, if leadership succession plans have been developed and if the replacement leader is strong, development may continue or even expand. Leadership qualities are critical, and Schutz suggests that if you examine any organization, the result is the same. “Ask anybody on the Chamber of Commerce and they will tell
you that you have great years, you have flat years and you have down years and it only depends on the president" (Schutz 2002).

Schutz believes this to also hold true for rural communities, where some are more innovative and successful because they have a strong mayor or strong economic development officer (EDO) propelling them. However, Schutz cautions that EDOs are not always the best people to lead a strategy because quite often they are merely “holding a job” and have no real vested interest in the community. Instead,

they are doing research. I know cities and communities ...[that] spend hundreds of thousands of dollars on research and it is a waste of money. What they should have done was used those dollars on a project and instead of sitting on a shelf collecting dust that project would have attracted tourists and industry. Because when you have a snowball going down the hill, it just grows and grows, getting bigger and bigger. But you first had to have the nucleus to start with (Schutz 2002).

Interestingly, Schutz indicated that there has been a noticeable gender change in leadership over the past 30 years. “...In many instances, especially over the last 10 years, it has been more the women that have been taking that leadership role than the men. There was a big switch in...the late 1980s. Through the 80s I dealt with men exclusively. And in the 90s it was more and more women and lately, ...[with some] exception ... it is women who have started the projects” (Schutz 2002). He suggests that this change is because women have strong leadership qualities as a result of their traditional role as home-maker, a role he views as an important administrative position that manages the commerce of the family, not unlike the positions men have traditionally held in business.

...Women ran the commerce at home and that is big business - it is an administrative... position to manage the family home. The more kids you have the more complex it gets. So they have always been in the leadership role but they have not done that on a community basis or business basis. And now it seems that they have given up that role. Women have less children and they have children and still go in the work place outside of the home and they are as
effective there as they were in the home for hundreds of years (Schutz 2002).

The research contained in this dissertation does not support his assertion, as the majority of mural committees currently operating in various Canadian communities are not lead by women. Instead, there is an even gender distribution of leadership in informal board structures. More women (eight of fourteen) do lead formal board structures. However, within the primary data presented here, it was not possible to ascertain the gender of the person who may have instigated the mural project, only the current leadership.

Despite his insistence that leadership is the key factor in the successful development of any project, he felt he could not cite the specific qualities that make a leader. However, throughout the interview, he did just that, using words and phrases that described the characteristics of good leaders, such as energy, know-how, dedication, cooperation, passion, a view outside the box, conviction and commitment. At one point he did indicate his view that, “you are either born a leader or you are not” comparing leaders with the European Master Composers who were obviously born with their musical gifts as there was no possible way to accomplish what they did at such a young age (Schutz 2002).

For Schutz, geographical characteristics of place, such as location, access to traveling population or community size would have no influence on the outcome of the strategy. His philosophy is that, “you build a better mouse trap no matter where you are in the world and the world will plough a path to your door” (Schutz 2002). He provided the following example as proof that geographical location has no influence on the success or failure of a business or strategy.

We have locally for instance an entrepreneur and he is a fabulous marketer and is not even a good cook, but he put up a restaurant in the most outlandish place and everyone came there not because of the food, but the whole ambiance. Then he sold that restaurant and opened up another in a different place and within about two years the other one just withered away...because they just haven’t got it. It is definitely about individual leadership (Schutz 2002).
When questioned about how a small, relatively isolated community would access a large enough visiting population to make the tourism industry viable, he stated that this was simply missing the point.

Take the crummiest town [that you have, and you build an Eiffel tower there and see what happens. Now don’t do what most people do and say, well we haven’t got enough money and the know-how, we’ll only make this Eiffel tower half or 30%, instead of its real size. We’ll only build a substitute, half the size. Well forget it. Don’t waste your money. If you are not going to do it right, don’t do it at all... You have got to go [to Las Vegas] if you want to see tourist attractions like I’m talking about ... In all the world’s tourist attractions, they are the greatest marketers. And they do it with huge money and they do it absolutely perfect. ... When you want to understand what tourism is all about ... you go to Las Vegas because that is the ultimate of what I’m teaching (Schutz 2002).

Although not concerned specifically with capital investments in tourism, there is evidence to support Schutz’s claims to Las Vegas-style development in urban centres. Research from within the place marketing and branding literature in tourism suggests that ‘fantasy cities’ (Hannigan 1998) such as Downtown Disney and Universal City Walk in Orlando, Florida, or NikeTown in New York, are being “touted by developers and city managers ... as the panacea for declining downtowns and suburban shopping centres, signaling the future for public recreation (Anderton and Klein 1999, 14). As a result, places like Niagra Falls, Ontario, has revamped the amusement strip on Clifton Hill to include recognizable brands such as Planet Hollywood (a restaurant), The Rainforest Café and Hard Rock Café because it ‘brings credibility’ to the place as a destination (Hannigan 2003).

However, Cai (2002) cautions that branding for rural destinations is an expensive endeavour from the perspective of the operator or community and risky for tourists, because they are unable to ‘test drive’ their destination choice prior to leaving. Unlike urban centres such as Las Vegas and Orlando, rural centres do not have the capacity to attract international brands and instead need to create and
develop an image that will become recognizable to tourists. Evidence cautions that large-scale investments in remote areas may not garner the expected result in the short term, especially if not undertaken within a larger destination image development and promotion strategy (Cai 2002; Prideaux 2002).

Schutz’s view on geography not influencing the success of mural-based tourism developments may also be clouded by his frame of reference. Several of the communities involved in the Global Mural Arts and Cultural Tourism Association (GMACTA) have what can be considered extremely positive geographical site and situation characteristics. For example, Katikati, known as New Zealand’s Mural Town, is located along the Pacific Coast Highway; a route identified as potentially one of the best coastal touring routes in New Zealand by the New Zealand Coromandel Peninsula tourism association (Coromandel Peninsula 2003). Another community, Twenty-nine Palms, California, is enviably located next to Joshua Tree National Park (Action Council for Twenty-nine Palms 2003). Finally, Ely Nevada is the gateway to Great Basin National Park, home to the Nevada Northern Railway and is located 320 kilometres northwest of Reno and 245 kilometres northeast of Las Vegas (Nevada Travel Network 2003). Within Canada, Schutz’s home community of Chemainus is one hour north of Victoria B.C. and located on one of the main transportation arteries linking the island south to north. Finally, Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan, another GMACTA member, is located on the Trans Canada highway. All these communities have access to a large traveling population as a function of their location on a major transportation artery, several are located within developed tourism regions while others are located close enough to large centres to facilitate the day trip traveler. Many rural communities do not share these same advantages, and arguably the success of their mural-base tourism projects is hindered by their inaccessibility.

The preceding sections have outlined the characteristics of the mural communities found across Canada, have provided detailed information on both Chemainus, British Columbia as the epicenter for the development and spread of murals across Canada and on Karl Schutz as instrumental in both the success of
Chemaínus’ mural project and the spread of murals. Ultimately it is difficult to be certain of the influence of this individual, as decision making takes place on multiple levels, including both cognizant (an individual agrees or disagrees) and unconscious (influenced by personality and background) levels. The following section provides a more detailed examination using the survey data to explore why the communities chose to develop murals and what the outcomes of those choices have been.

4.4 Findings
This research was driven by a desire to determine where the ideas for development came from, why communities choose specific development strategies, and what the outcomes of those choices are. The previous section has provided an answer to the first of these questions, and this section addresses the latter two questions. It was indicated in Chapter 3 that the total number of mural communities responding to the survey was 31. The analysis that follows does not include the Jordi Bonet Murals of St. Anthony, Newfoundland for reasons provided earlier. Therefore the total study population is 30.

4.4.1 Why Murals?
As discussed in the opening sections of this chapter, communities of all sizes and in particular those that are considered rural, have sought to establish themselves as unique destinations through place marketing, with tourism becoming an increasingly integral part of that motivation. The findings from this research would support the literature in that mural-based tourism strategies were undertaken primarily to beautify the community in order to attract tourists. As shown in Table 4.3, 29 percent of the communities cited tourism as one of the reasons for initiating the murals, 19.4 percent cited community beautification as the sole purpose and 45.2 percent cited a combination of community beautification and tourism product/attraction development. The remaining 6.4 percent cited heritage preservation as the reason for mural development.
When the communities were grouped into the three different periods of development and crosstabulated\(^2\) with why murals were chosen, an interesting pattern emerges (Table 4.3). Tourism development in combination with community beautification remains one of the strongest reasons for developing a mural project across all time periods. However, there is some change in exclusive (tourism OR community beautification) reasons. Whereas community beautification does not even enter into consideration in the first time period, it becomes relatively more important over the next two time periods.

Table 4.3: Summary of Why Murals Were Chosen by Year Grouping [Number of Cases & Percent]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tourism</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>35.3%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Beautification</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>23.5%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism &amp; Community Beautification</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>75.0%</td>
<td>41.2%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: survey results 2002

However, simply examining these communities within a certain time period does not clarify mural development within a complete range of communities, many of which can be considered rural. There is an inherent difficulty in defining a community as rural, as there is limited consensus on what this term means (Bell and Newby 1971; Gilg 1985; Hoggat and Buller 1987; Lapping et al. 1989; Halfacree 1998; Deavers n.d.; Mendelson and Bollman 1998). Because this research is concerned with tourism as a CED strategy within rural communities, it is important to clarify how rural is defined within the parameters of this research. It is felt that although definitions based solely on population size (Mendelson and Bollman 1998) provide a concise standardized numerical parameter based on a census, it does not

\(^2\) The number of observations per cell from the data set are too small to make the use of the Chi Square (\(\chi^2\)) meaningful or significant. As a result, only descriptive statistics have been utilized.
reflect the influence of an urban centre on its immediate hinterland. To accurately
assess the role of tourism within rural communities, this research used a
Classification of Region Types developed by Coffey and McRae (1989), which
categorized communities on the basis of settlement size and location relative to a
major urban area as either central or peripheral. Such a classification scheme allows
for an appraisal of the role urban centers play in affecting the potential success of a
rural community tourism project.

Coffee and McRae's (1989) service centre delineation combines population
and distance from a Census Metropolitan Area\(^3\) (CMA), where central communities
are defined as having a population greater than 100,000 and being within 100 km of
a CMA. Peripheral communities are those whose population is less than 10,000 and
are located more than 100 km away from a CMA. As Table 4.4 shows, of the thirty
communities comprising the study population, only two fit Coffee and McRae's
definition of central communities (Winnipeg and Oshawa). In order to better reflect
the influence several of these communities as service centres within their rural
hinterlands, the analysis was revised to substitute the Census Agglomerations\(^4\) (CA)
for CMAs as the central nodes. By utilizing the CA unit and the same distance
requirements (inside or outside a 100 km radius) the number of central communities
rose to ten, resulting in a combined total of twelve central communities in the study
population. In other words, 60 percent of the communities can be considered
peripheral or rural, and 40 percent can be considered central or urban.

By distinguishing central and peripheral communities on the basis of their
choice of mural development, it is apparent that murals are chosen strictly for
tourism purposes in peripheral locations, while a combination of tourism and
community beautification is more often associated with central locations. As Table
4.5 indicates, the period of mural development was then crosstabulated with location
and motivation for mural development. Table 4.5 also illustrates that while the

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\(^3\) In Canada, a CMA has an urban core population of at least 100,000 based on the previous census.

\(^4\) In Canada, a CA has an urban core population of at least 10,000 based on the previous census.
Table 4.4 Size and Centrality of Mural Communities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Population (2001)</th>
<th>KM Distance to CMA</th>
<th>KM Distance to CA</th>
<th>CMA Central</th>
<th>CA Central</th>
<th>Peripheral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vernon, BC</td>
<td>33,494</td>
<td>383 Vancouver</td>
<td>51 Kelowna</td>
<td>central</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sparwood, BC</td>
<td>3,812</td>
<td>317 Calgary</td>
<td>97 Cranbrook</td>
<td>peripheral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lumby, BC</td>
<td>1,618</td>
<td>403 Vancouver</td>
<td>72 Kelowna</td>
<td>peripheral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemainus, BC</td>
<td>26,148</td>
<td>65 Victoria</td>
<td>30 Naniamo</td>
<td>central</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stony Plain, AB</td>
<td>9,589</td>
<td>39 Edmonton</td>
<td>186 Red Deer</td>
<td>peripheral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pincher Creek, AB</td>
<td>3,666</td>
<td>220 Calgary</td>
<td>97 Lethbridge</td>
<td>peripheral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High River, AB</td>
<td>9,345</td>
<td>56 Edmonton</td>
<td>161 Lethbridge</td>
<td>peripheral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Prairie, AB</td>
<td>36,983</td>
<td>466 Edmonton</td>
<td>CA</td>
<td>central</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snow Lake, MB</td>
<td>1,207</td>
<td>796 Winnipeg</td>
<td>565 Thompson</td>
<td>peripheral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boissevein, MB</td>
<td>1,495</td>
<td>246 Winnipeg</td>
<td>63 Brandon</td>
<td>peripheral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winnipeg, MB</td>
<td>619,544</td>
<td>CMA</td>
<td>CMA</td>
<td>central</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morden, MB</td>
<td>6,142</td>
<td>115 Winnipeg</td>
<td>192 Brandon</td>
<td>peripheral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Churchbridge, SK</td>
<td>796</td>
<td>230 Regina</td>
<td>30 Yorkton</td>
<td>peripheral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wadena, SK</td>
<td>1,412</td>
<td>194 Saskatoon</td>
<td>166 Yorkton</td>
<td>peripheral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biggar, SK</td>
<td>2,243</td>
<td>168 Saskatoon</td>
<td>90 N. Battleford</td>
<td>peripheral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duck Lake, SK</td>
<td>624</td>
<td>88 Saskatoon</td>
<td>63 Prince Albert</td>
<td>peripheral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moose Jaw, SK</td>
<td>32,131</td>
<td>70 Regina</td>
<td>CA</td>
<td>central</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humboldt, SK</td>
<td>5,161</td>
<td>124 Saskatoon</td>
<td>162 N. Battleford</td>
<td>peripheral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grimsby, ON</td>
<td>21,297</td>
<td>26 Hamilton</td>
<td>81 Brantford</td>
<td>central</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midland, ON</td>
<td>16,214</td>
<td>144 Toronto</td>
<td>55 Barrie</td>
<td>central</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pembroke, ON</td>
<td>13,490</td>
<td>150 Ottawa-Hull</td>
<td>CA</td>
<td>central</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenora, ON</td>
<td>15,838</td>
<td>205 Winnipeg</td>
<td>CA</td>
<td>central</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welland, ON</td>
<td>48,402</td>
<td>24 St. Catherines/</td>
<td>Niagra</td>
<td>central</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athens, ON</td>
<td>1,026</td>
<td>87 Kingston</td>
<td>22 Brockville</td>
<td>peripheral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oshawa, ON</td>
<td>139,051</td>
<td>CMA</td>
<td>CMA</td>
<td>central</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timmins, ON</td>
<td>43,686</td>
<td>274 Sudbury</td>
<td>554 Pembroke</td>
<td>peripheral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amherst, NS</td>
<td>9,470</td>
<td>193 Halifax</td>
<td>107 Truro</td>
<td>peripheral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bell Island, NF</td>
<td>399</td>
<td>10 St. John's</td>
<td></td>
<td>peripheral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mont Carmel, PE</td>
<td>1,161</td>
<td>331 Saint John</td>
<td>35 Summerside</td>
<td>peripheral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summerside, PE</td>
<td>14,654</td>
<td>296 Saint John</td>
<td>CA</td>
<td>central</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL  2 10 18

Source: Statistics Canada 2003, Author’s Calculations 2003

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*a The community population is greater than 100,000 and is located within a 100km radius of a CMA
*b The community population is greater than 10,000 and is located within a 100km radius of a CA
differences in motivations between central and peripheral communities are not that large, there is a discernable pattern. Peripheral communities are choosing murals increasingly for community beautification or in combination with tourism more often than for tourism purposes alone. This latter motivation declines consistently in relative terms for peripheral communities over the three time periods. In contrast, while central sites also chose murals for a combination of both community beautification and tourism, tourism as the sole reason is cited more frequently.

Table 4.5 Summary of Why Murals Were Chosen by Year Grouping and Central or Peripheral Location [Number of Cases & Percent]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Why Murals</th>
<th>Peripheral Communities</th>
<th>Central Communities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tourism</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Beautification</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism and Community</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beautification</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>45.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: survey results 2002

In summary then, the reasons for mural development have evolved since the 1980s when community beautification on its own was not a factor in making that decision. Since then, community beautification has become a reason for mural development in combination with tourism development. In spatial terms, it is evident that murals are chosen primarily for economic-based tourism reasons in peripheral locations, while in central locations murals are chosen more often for a combination of community beautification and tourism. As has been indicated in the literature (e.g., Perks and MacDonald 1989) community beautification is often undertaken not only for tourism-related purposes specifically, but also to encourage broader economic development. By improving the amenity base of the community, which includes not only physical infrastructure and leisure opportunities but also the appearance of the community itself, the community becomes perceived as an attractive place to live and do business, thereby attracting other people and companies to the region.
community itself, the community becomes perceived as an attractive place to live and do business, thereby attracting other people and companies to the region.

4.4.2 Murals and Intended Outcomes
Survey respondents were asked to weigh the perceived impacts of mural-based tourism on their community in terms of:

1. adding jobs;
2. bringing in more money;
3. increasing economic diversification;
4. encouraging businesses development;
5. fostering pride in place;
6. augmenting a greater understanding of the community and its history;
7. encouraging people to move to or remain living in the community; and
8. assisting community members in reaching their CED goals.

Responses to these eight items were subsequently collapsed into three categories for analysis; economic (adding jobs, creating new business, bringing money into the community and increasing economic diversification), community (increase in community pride and understanding of local history) and CED (goals for tourism development). Table 4.6 provides a summary of the data by taking the average of the percent responses provided in the surveys. Because the number of opportunities to select an economic outcome is slightly inflated (four options) compared to the other two categories (two options for community and one option for CED), then this reclassification of responses may introduce a bias towards the 'economic' category being selected by respondents. Potentially this limits our ability to interpret respondent’s views as accurately. However, if this was true it may be expected that this increased opportunity to select economic options would lead to the economy category being over-represented in the results. However, as seen in table 4.6, the response rates show that respondents chose 'community' reasons relatively consistently more than 'economy' reasons, and this pattern appears to be consistent across time and location. These factors increase the confidence that this is not a
potential source of bias in explaining participant's beliefs in the intended purpose of the strategy.

Table 4.6: Does This Strategy Achieve Its Intended Purpose?
Average Percentage of Agreement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Goals</th>
<th>All Cases</th>
<th>Year Grouping</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CED</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: survey results 2002

4.4.2.1 All Cases Analysis

As Table 4.6 demonstrates, a general finding applicable to all respondents is that mural-based tourism has had a positive impact in achieving the goals set out by the community. It appears that this strategy has had the greatest positive outcome in terms of generating increased pride in, and understanding of, the community. These statistics are supported by statements within the open-ended portion of the survey including the following.

The murals help to create a sense of community as artists and community members develop partnerships to make their visions realities...The murals have a huge piece of everyone in them—this is why they are so successful.

It is interesting to note that only 50 percent of the respondents indicated that mural-based tourism had aided them in achieving their CED goals. An executive director of a regional economic development association provides an example of this group of respondents.

This has proven to be a very beneficial project for (our) downtown community. Indeed, from a community enhancement CED perspective its success is frequently used as an example by (our regional economic development association) province wide. The first mural...was not completed until the summer of 1997. During the same summer (our regional economic development association)
was working with (the downtown association) to complete a commercial mix analysis of the downtown and the community generally. One aspect of the analysis (was) a Shopper Intervention Survey (that) was being coincidentally conducted at the same time the mural was being painted. The survey began prior to the mural being completed. Survey questions were varied and included a section for the respondent to rate the image of the downtown and comment on the desire for working, shopping, doing business in the area. Over 80% of the surveys gave the downtown a very poor image (rating). Over 80% also indicated that it was not a desirable site for shopping, locating a business or even visiting.

A week later the mural was completed and the surveys were still being conducted. Immediately upon mural completion the image responses were noted to have a dramatic change. More than 85% now felt the downtown had a very positive image and that it was a viable place to shop, do business or visit. Amazing what a can of paint can do! Since (then), ... private sector involvement has dramatically increased and government support has declined. The project is sustaining and continues to have a very positive impact upon the community.

However, why did half of the respondents feel that mural-based tourism had not aided them in reaching their CED goals? Part of the answer lies in exploring the types of additional activities the communities had undertaken. An open-ended question on the survey asked respondents about other types of activities being pursued in the community. Based on the responses, six categories of activity types were identified (Table 4.7). Activity type was then crosstabulated with the location variable to determine if a) there was a difference in opinion regarding the perceptions of CED success between those communities that did undertake other activities and those that did not, and b) there was a relationship between the types of activities undertaken and the community location.

Although the analysis indicated that many communities (N=22) undertook additional economic development activities within their community, there was a greater degree of belief that mural-based tourism had assisted the community in reaching their CED goals in those communities that did not list additional activities.
This may be due to the fact that a larger number of communities listing additional economic development activities are from the third time period (1996-2000) group and therefore may have had less time to recognize the outcomes of their mural developments. Further, a large proportion of peripheral communities (63.6 percent) indicated that additional economic development activities were being sought. Due to a more limited set of resources (e.g., money, people, businesses) it may be more difficult for these peripheral communities to realize their goals (e.g., Winnipeg versus Churchbridge).

Crosstabular analysis regarding types of additional activities and community location (Table 4.7) indicated that the most often cited activities were community beautification and business attraction. Spatially, respondents in central places more often cited community beautification than did peripheral locations (60 percent versus 40 percent). Conversely, those in peripheral locations were far more likely to cite business attraction as an additional activity than were those in central locations (99 percent versus 1 percent). The other types of development activities were more

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity Type</th>
<th>Number of Responses</th>
<th>Community Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Central</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infrastructure</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(water, sewer, roads, energy)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community &amp; Youth</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(community services, policing, youth programs)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Beautification</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(parks, planting, store front upgrades, sidewalks)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Attraction</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(industry, call centres, factories)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Tourism</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(festivals, spas, attractions)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment &amp; Sports</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(concerts, sporting events, sporting facilities)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retirement</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(developing amenities to attract retirees)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: survey results 2002
equally cited, but centrally located communities were more likely to have undertaken entertainment and sports attraction and development and infrastructural improvements while peripheral communities tended to undertake community and youth-related activities and broader tourism development.

4.4.2.2 Cases by Time Period Analysis

When the communities are examined in the three periods of mural development (Stage One 1985-1989, Stage Two 1990-1995, and Stage Three 1996-2001), interesting trends emerge. Economic factors were more likely to be cited in the Stage Two category of places than in the Stage One or Stage Three groups. When examining a specific element of the economic category it becomes evident that respondents in both the Stage Two and Stage Three categories were more likely to agree that mural-based tourism has benefited the community in terms of increasing businesses. This may be a result of an increased perception of the importance of entreprenueralism since 1990. Indeed growth in the number of government and non-government organization programs available across Canada to assist and encourage entreprenueralism in communities would support this contention (Christenson 1982; Cook et al. 1985; Martin and Wilkinson 1985; Youmans 1990).

Over time, for both the community and CED goals, there is a consistent decline (60 percent to 29 percent) in the perception that mural-based tourism has assisted the community in achieving their goals. The change in level of agreement is least for communities in the Stage Three (1996 – 2001) grouping. However, when the ‘neutral’ responses are examined, we see that the proportion of responses in this category is higher during Stage Three than in the earlier stages (Table 4.8). This may suggest that there is more uncertainty as to how tourism will impact the community when the strategy has been newly adopted. Although respondents generally agree that mural-based tourism has assisted them in achieving their community-related goals, the level of agreement does decline over time with the strongest support coming in the primary period.
A general conclusion is that there appears to be greater uncertainty as to whether mural-based tourism will benefit those communities that adopt mural development late. This suggests that time spent in product development and marketing plays a crucial role in how the success of such a project will be viewed. In one interview, a Community Development Officer suggested that it takes two years for a community to see the benefits of an ad campaign or brochure. The findings from this research would support such sentiments.

### 4.4.2.3 Cases by Community Location Analysis

As Table 4.6 illustrates, there is a much higher level of agreement that mural-based tourism has assisted the communities in achieving their economic, community and CED goals in more accessible communities. A comparison of community location and time period of mural establishment indicated that 89 percent of peripheral communities had undertaken mural projects between the second and third time periods, compared to only 75 percent of central communities. Given that peripheral communities have more recently undertaken mural development, it is informative to compare peripheral and central communities with the combination of neutral and disagree categories of responses. Such an examination determined that respondents in peripheral locations tended to disagree or be ambivalent while respondents in more accessible places had a greater level of agreement (Table 4.9). Again, there may be a greater degree of uncertainty concerning the nature and level of impact on
the community for those places that are developing their tourism product more recently, especially in smaller peripheral communities where murals may be one of very few tourist attractions.

Table 4.9: Does This Strategy Achieve Its Intended Purpose?
Combined Average Percentage of Neutral and Disagree Responses by Location

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Goals</th>
<th>Community Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Central</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CED</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: survey results 2002

A crosstabulation, conducted on the variables of community location, mural board structure and level of education, revealed that the more centralized communities were also more likely to have formally structured boards, and board member’s level of education was significantly higher than boards in peripheral locations. Much of the literature on CED and success factors (Markey and Vodden 2000; Flora et.al 1999) suggest that the qualifications and training of decision-makers has a direct bearing on the human capacity to develop their product, to set indicators to assess its development and to better evaluate and improve upon their development framework. This appears to be the case in this research, as community members in centrally located communities tend to have higher levels of education and more frequently appear to believe that their mural-based tourism developments have been positive.

4.5 Conclusions

Mural-based tourism has resulted from the combination of increased interest in heritage and place marketing of rural spaces to overcome economic reliance on escalating uncertainty in the primary industry sectors. Although a mural project may
be undertaken for purposes other than tourism or heritage, very often it does evolve into an attraction for the community.

In Canada, mural-based tourism exhibits a definite pattern of development, both spatially and temporally, with the epicentre for the origin of the idea being Chemainus, British Columbia. As was indicated, this is largely due to the leadership and entrepreneurial spirit of Karl Schutz who worked to sell the Chemainus idea to other communities across Canada, North America and New Zealand. Although answering part of the question as to why particular places have chosen mural development, his role indicates that it is equally important to examine why places do not engage in a particular CED strategy. In the case of mural development, it may be that murals are viewed by many communities as a source of beautification and pride, but not something worth promoting (i.e., not a development strategy). However, some communities, such as Winnipeg, are beginning to realize the value of their community beautification projects. The ‘Take Pride Winnipeg!’ community mural project won the 2003 Innovation Award at the Keep America Beautiful conference in Washington, D.C. in December. The executive director of ‘Take Pride Winnipeg!’ expects the award will boost tourism in the city, and give Winnipeg a new positive image (Skerritt 2003). This would suggest that murals may be an entry point for tourism as a CED strategy.

There were three distinct stages for mural development across Canada, with the largest number of projects undertaken during Stage Two (1990 – 1995). More peripheral places than centrally located communities have chosen this strategy. In most cases, murals have been chosen for tourism development purposes, and this is especially the case within peripheral communities. This is due to the changes in the primary industries upon which the community had depended. In central locations, it is the combination of tourism development opportunities and community beautification. Those communities that have undertaken mural-development in earlier time periods have a greater degree of ‘satisfaction’ and belief in their product than do those communities that have recently undertaken the project. It also tends to
be central communities, those located closer to larger population bases and other amenities, which perceive their 'product' as successful.

This chapter has provided a context to understand why some communities undertake mural development and what the outcomes of that choice have been. The next chapter provides an in depth description and examination of six case study communities located in Saskatchewan that have undertaken mural development projects. An investigation at the case study level allows a more intimate examination into the questions of why a mural-based strategy was chosen, how the project was undertaken, what process was employed and how it has been viewed by the community more broadly.
Chapter 5
PUTTING BRUSH TO CANVAS:
SASKATCHEWAN STORIES OF MURAL DEVELOPMENT

...To complete a project [like the murals]...is something that shows you that small town Saskatchewan is still there. That really far back mentality of let’s group together and head for a goal and finish it, is there. And it was all volunteer.¹

5.1 Introduction
As discussed in the previous chapter, both rural and urban communities across Canada have developed mural-based tourism for a variety of reasons, but predominately to address reliance on a single industry in decline. This chapter provides a detailed description of the communities in Saskatchewan that have undertaken mural development projects. As their stories will indicate, not all communities have undertaken this venture for tourism-based reasons, although tourism may have been one of the ultimate outcomes.

Each of the Saskatchewan case study communities was originally identified in the cross Canada process outlined in Chapter 3 (Figure 3.1). In the following sections, information regarding the community’s location, demographic and socio-economic profile, ‘mural story’ and other community development activities provides a geographical profile to better understand community economic development in rural places. The chapter concludes by offering the results of the subjective site evaluations that were conducted in each community.

¹ Wadena Interviewee
5.2 Community Stories

5.2.1 Wadena

Wadena is a community of 1,412 (Statistics Canada 2001) located nearly 200 kilometres east of Saskatoon. Approximately 67.2 percent of the labour force is employed in the service sector suggesting that the town functions as a regional service centre for the surrounding agricultural area (Statistics Canada 2001). Appendix 4 provides a summary of the services and businesses available within the community.

Mural development was undertaken in 1996 as a community beautification project for a Home Coming festival, with no intention of long-term tourism development. The choice of murals came from the original organizer of the group, Rose Palechka, who had painted a mural in her sitting room and believed that murals would be a good way to ‘improve’ the community (Wadena News 1996a). To determine if local businesses would be interested in having murals painted on their buildings, Palechka approached the downtown merchants, who were supportive of the idea and offered to assist with the costs. An article was placed in the local newspaper that explained the mural idea and invited participation of all community members, “It would be good to have artists from the First Nation, the students or anyone who has an artistic talent join in” (Wadena News 1996a). Despite a large number of people attending the initial meeting, only four women ended up undertaking the project, calling themselves Wadena Mural Images.

They began painting murals during the winter in a building donated by the Town Council, which did not offer any additional financial support for the project. Despite the financial assistance of local businesses, additional funding was necessary and the group developed a fundraising campaign entitled “Help Us Down the Road to Finish Our Mural” (Wadena News 1996b). They placed a sign in their premises designed with a pathway leading to their desired goal. As they received donations ($10 or more), paint cans with sponsors’ names were placed along the roadway. By the time of the Homecoming, five murals had been painted and additional local businesses began making requests to sponsor murals on their buildings (see for example, Figure 5.1). The concept behind the project was to create original scenes that reflected the unique past and present characteristics of Wadena and Saskatchewan.
The Board of Wadena Mural Images did not have a formalized committee structure, although they did keep records of events and money raised. Two of the original four women now run the mural project, while the other two have continued to paint murals independent of the original group. A total of nineteen murals have been constructed since 1996, each costing approximately $350 for supplies (Wadena News 1996c). The group raised approximately $5,000 through various fundraising projects, (e.g., beef on a bun, selling meat pies, cook books and calendars), and the remainder consisted of in-kind donations of paint and supplies. The volunteer time has been significant; for example the group recently completed a mural that they estimate required 582 hours of painting and research, a time frame that would be typical of most of the nineteen murals.

The four women, the former Economic Development, Tourism and Recreation Director, the mayor and others in the community all expressed the belief that the murals have been extremely successful. A local business owner stated, “We get car loads of people coming into town to see the murals because they’ve heard about them. …I know they are coming to see them because they stop in to ask where to find them”. In these interviews it appeared that the success of the mural project was measured anecdotally by
the compliments received from the Home Coming visitors, continued local requests to paint more murals after the Home Coming was over along with requests to paint in other communities, by the carloads of people coming to tour, and indications from new residents that they were happier about moving to Wadena when they saw the murals.

At the time the interviews were being conducted, the structure of Wadena’s local government was in transition. Both the Economic Development, Tourism and Recreation Director and the Town Engineer were relocating and the current Town Council was utilizing the opportunity to restructure the two positions into a single Town Foreman with a Town Council Economic Development Sub-committee. The rationale, according to the mayor, was that there just isn’t much economic development going on in our region...we might try to do one man or one and half man to replace the two of them. If it will work....[because] the economic development committee...can handle that part of it [economic development] then the gentleman that replaces the two of them could ...handle the rest. [wording in italics and in square brackets added by author]

The amalgamation of the two positions and the view that there was a lack of economic development opportunities supported statements made by the former Economic Development, Tourism and Recreation Director that economic development in Wadena was not a priority in two ways. First, by combining the two jobs the town would be limiting in the range of economic development or other activities it could undertake. He indicated that while he held the position, he found it difficult to meet the needs of the job, and that the work he did was undervalued, as the following statements elucidate.

When a guy has to pretty much give up his evenings from Monday to Thursday, you know [for] meetings...and doesn’t receive any compensation for it, he gets a little aggravated. ...A lot of my counterparts [in other towns] had flex time...whereas no matter what, I was eight to five, Monday to Friday and then meetings above and beyond that....I got to the point that I just went straight to council and said, ‘You know what boys, I’ve worked four hundred overtime hours [in seventeen months] and I just can’t take it anymore’. They’re like, well, yeah, I guess we’ll look into it. I said, ‘You guys look all you want; I’m looking for a new job’.
Second, those interviewed indicated that Wadena was “holding its own, not dying or growing… right now [economic development opportunities are] in a lull, people [are not] opening their pocket books to start anything. But our main street is pretty full right now, but I suppose if a spot were to come open they [the economic development committee] could be out there trying to attract somebody in”. In contrast, the former Economic Development, Tourism and Recreation Director indicated that he had experienced a constant fight with council and community members to undertake any type of development within the community. For example, he proposed developing retirement style housing in the community, to attract people who wanted to retire in a place that was safe and quiet. But the council and economic development committee felt such plans were too elaborate and would not attract young people to the community. In response, he pointed out that young doctors and nurses would have to come to the community to look after the aging population, along with their families, who “need jobs, they create businesses or businesses are created to take care of the people who move in….But they just didn’t understand that thinking.” Instead, he felt that community members held to what worked in the past and were hesitant to try new ideas.

Despite these conflicting views, volunteer committees within the community have capitalized on a variety of events that attract a number of visitors to the community. As is the case for many rural communities, both curling (they have hosted the Scott Tournament of Hearts, the annual national women’s curling championship) and hockey have provided both entertainment for local residents as well as a tourism draw to the community. Wadena has been able to capitalize on its location near the Quill Lakes to attract both hunters and birders. For example, at the end of May Wadena hosts a Shore Bird Festival, attracting between 150 and 200 people every year (Wadena News 1997a). Although the exact number of birders to the region throughout the year is unknown, the Ducks Unlimited (DU) office in Wadena receives visitors and inquiries throughout the year, indicating additional visitation within the region (Wadena News 1997a).

Perhaps more significant to the community and its economy are the hunters that come to the region, attracted by the high concentration of waterfowl. In 1996, a group of residents, calling themselves the Hunters Promotion Committee, requested money from the Wadena Economic Development committee to promote the region to hunters in the
United States and Europe as one of the best places to hunt migratory birds (Wadena News 1996d). Since that time, the group has developed a data base of the hunters for mailing promotional materials, they have provided assistance with accommodation as many of the hunters are billeted out to families or rent accommodations that are not being utilized (e.g., farm houses) and they have held ‘hunter suppers’ every Wednesday evening during the hunting season, described by a committee member as

...a social we hold at the curling rink, it is big enough to hold everyone. We buy them [the hunters] supper, our committee, and then we have refreshments, a bar and then we have raffle tickets. And what they purchase in raffle tickets and liquor offsets what we pay for their supper. And then the local people pay to get in. We’ve had up to three hundred people.

In addition to these larger attractions, Wadena also hosts a Sports Day in June, Vintage Days in July and are a stop along an annual summer wagon trek, which is a three day event that attracts approximately one hundred riders and involves day time trekking and night time entertainment.

5.2.2 Churchbridge

Churchbridge is a community of 796 located 50 kilometres southeast of Yorkton, with 46.4 percent of its work force employed in the service sectors (Statistics Canada 2001). As Appendix 5 demonstrates, there are a limited variety of services and businesses in this community, reflective of its small size and proximity to an urban centre.

Mural development in Churchbridge began as a community beautification project in 1995 to celebrate the 90th birthday of Saskatchewan. A resident artist encouraged another local artist, Rita Swanson, who had won the 1992 design for the 125th Canadian quarter coin, to assist the Arts Club in painting a mural on the wall of the local hotel. The positive community response and approval of this one mural convinced Town Council to encourage the Arts Club to paint thirteen more murals, primarily highlighting the settlement heritage of the community (see for example, Figure 5.2). The total cost of Churchbridge’s murals is unknown, as local service clubs or private donations provided most of the materials.
The eight member Arts Club, developed in 1985, is an informal organization of women with an interest in the arts. Town Council provides the group with very limited funding but does support project ideas. The Chair of the Arts Club has encouraged a broad range of activities and age groups to become involved in mural-related activities, most recently including hanging banners on light standards along Main Street. Her rationale is that painting the community’s heritage provides an opportunity, “...to honour those on whose shoulders we stand...” and because, “…it brings people together...it [becomes] everybody’s mural”. The mayor is more pragmatic in his rationale for support, indicating that greater involvement of youth might indirectly encourage them to remain in the community.

Other tourism initiatives have evolved out of the murals-as-a-community-beautification-project, including development of a tourism booth, a monument honouring the coin Swanson created and the retail sale of post cards depicting the murals. The mayor has no illusions that Churchbridge will become a tourism destination and changes
in the numbers of visitors are not measured, but he stated that he was happy with the
increased number of visitors who come to see the murals. Both the Mayor and the Chair
of the Arts Club stated that increased community pride and broad-based community
participation were other positive outcomes of mural development.

Churchbridge has an active and evolving community development agenda,
undertaken by the Churchbridge Community Development organization (CCD) and lead
by a dedicated Community Development Officer (CDO). Although the CCD has eight
members, they are mostly elderly men, “who give me [the CDO] backing and say go for
it, but they have no idea how it all works. But it is good to have that moral support.” In
interviews with community members and in newspaper articles, the CDO was mentioned
repeatedly as having contributed a great deal to the social fabric of the community (The
Four Town Journal 2000a). Through her partnership building (with the Economic
Development Committee, the Town Council, the REDA) and grant writing abilities, she
has brought a number of social and economically focused programs to the town. The
CCD calculates that during an eighteen-month period (between 2000 to 2002) they
garnered over $200,000 in grant money. The CDO stated that,

it is a lot of work, you have to sit and crunch through a lot of
numbers and that but it has been good. Really good because you
know the money is out there if you know how to go about getting
it. And sometimes you have to take a swat in the kisser for it
because you do a lot of work and you turn around and nothing
happens from it. But, generally we’ve had good success with
most of the things we’ve tried to do.

Their success is tangible in terms of the range of social programs offered in the
community. These include a day camp for children aged five and up, bringing the Internet
to the town through the Community Access Program and the development of an Odd Jobs
Squad to assist residents, especially seniors. Perhaps most significant is the development
of the Churchbridge Family Enrichment Program. The CDO describes it as “a program
for parents with children eighteen years and under. Basically it is a lot like Kids Sport
program...we help out these [families]...with $200 a year to help out with sports or
anything cultural, ...piano lessons or whatever. And from this past year I think we’ve
helped 18 families. And that is high when you only have a population of about 800

97
people in the community”. She went on to indicate that there is an anonymous panel that makes decisions on the applications received, so they are able to avoid anyone getting confronted on the street that they got approved for the amount they wanted or whatever. It is a typical mining community, we have a lot of single parent families and we’ve been able to partner kids with a caring adult who has helped them along the way and that is our focus in community development; to make life a little better and give everybody equal opportunities no matter what their age, financial status or education is.

Economically, the CCD has developed a number of programs to attract people and business to the community. For example, the MOVE COW project was developed and promoted to attract ranchers from Alberta (where rangeland is limited) to the Churchbridge region where quality rangeland is affordable and readily available. The CDO has also developed a community profile (available on the town’s web site) to assist potential businesses, farmers or residents in learning about the various attributes of the community. The group also organizes an annual trade show that is attended by people from Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. In addition, the CCD also provides limited financial support to various organizations within the community, including the Arts Board and the agricultural society.

Despite enthusiastic verbal support for the work of both the CCD and the Arts Club, the Town Council offers limited financial support to either group. The chairs for both groups expressed frustration with the Council. The chairperson for the Arts Club spoke of waiting for over a year and the town council still had not provided some promised supplies. She stated that this lack of support, “dampened our spirits”. The CDO expressed her frustration with the Council, stating that

…it just gets kind of frustrating when you are trying to work, when you know there is good things happening and they [the town council] tell you, ‘oh this is good’ and so you go to a meeting and make a presentation and ask [for] a few hundred dollars for this that or the other and they go, ‘nope, not in our budget’. And after us [the CCD] being five years old you would think they would factor us in somewhere.
Despite this frustration, both groups continued to work towards improving the social, economic and cultural fabric of the community, as evidenced by newspaper articles regarding both groups' activities.

5.2.3 Duck Lake

Duck Lake is a town of 624 people with 68.8 percent of its labour force employed in the service sector (Statistics Canada 2001). It is located 75 kilometres north of Saskatoon along a main highway leading to northern Saskatchewan (Statistics Canada 2001). The variety of services and businesses in Duck Lake are limited, as evidenced in Appendix 6.

Unlike Wadena and Churchbridge, mural development that began in Duck Lake in 1990 was chosen explicitly to increase tourism, and community beautification was only considered an added benefit. The idea was actively pursued by the Mayor at the time who indicated that he read about the murals of Chemainus and thought Duck Lake could achieve similar tourism-related success. He personally solicited community members to form a Mural Board and invited Karl Schulz to a fundraising banquet. The mayor stated that the large turnout at the initial fundraising banquet was an indicator of community support for the idea of developing murals.

The Duck Lake Mural Board had broad community representation, including youth, seniors, business, Métis and First Nations organizations, and decided to use Saskatchewan-based professional painters only. The Board had a formalized selection process for the mural themes (based on the cultural heritage of the region) and artists (see for example, Figure 5.3). Compared to Wadena and Churchbridge, the nine Duck Lake murals were very expensive, costing approximately $100,000 in total, acquired primarily via fundraising. It was the impression of the former Mayor that community participation and support for the fundraising was strong, as evidenced by the large numbers of residents willing to work bingos in Prince Albert (a 45 minute drive north) to raise the necessary funding.
The Town Council redeveloped Main Street, “to provide a forum for the murals”, by accessing the Main Street grant programs available at the time along with the New Careers Corporation grants (Heritage Canada 2003) Local businesses supplied the materials and local participants in the New Careers program provided the labour. The Mural Board developed a logo to promote the mural project, calling it, “History in the Painting”, while the town adopted the logo “Faces of Honour”.

The former Mayor stated that the Board and the community in general initially believed that the level of media attention, the number of long distance telephone enquiries, numbers of visitors and the ‘sense of community pride’ would all constitute indicators of project success. Further the Mural Board had expected future revenues derived from the creation of both paid-guided and self-guided tours for visitors, retail sales of mural pamphlets, books, shirts, prints, post cards, and the display and sale of the modellos (i.e., original paintings submitted to the Mural Board for adjudication). It was also originally understood that the artists would come back each summer either to create new murals or to maintain existing ones, and that visitors could interact with the artists as they worked. All of these were expected to lead indirectly to increased business, the
creation of new enterprises to support the tourism industry and continued expansion of the outdoor gallery of murals.

However, after ten years the former mayor was less sanguine. The existing murals had begun to deteriorate, no new ones had been painted, and the community economic benefits had not materialized, despite hiring two economic development marketers. The current Mural Board Chair believed that the murals had increased the number of visitors (although no records of visitation have been kept), but that “…there’s [not] been that much of an economic boom out of it other than attracting visitation. …A lot of people just…drive through with their cars and then leave. The whole idea was to get them to stop and use our services. There is a small percentage that does, but not as much as we would like”. The former mayor was more blunt with his evaluation, “the murals got them [visitors] here and we were not good at getting into their pockets.”

When questioned as to why the mural development had not achieved its goals, the former mayor stated that he believed no one from the community had taken a leadership role in the mural development nor did they have the knowledge to promote auxiliary tourism. He stated further “it is always easy to build it, harder to operate it”. Karl Schutz, who had assisted Duck Lake with their mural plans, cited the lack of continued visionary leadership and inappropriate hiring of marketing personnel as reasons for the lack of success in Duck Lake. Schutz maintained that leadership and mentoring of new leaders are the keys to the successful development of any tourism strategy. He further argued that communities must see mural development as part of a comprehensive attraction. The former mayor suggested that although the Mural Board had a vision for the community having several anchors for attracting visitors, it is possible that the broader community did not fully understand how to support such development. For example, by the mid-1990s, several additional businesses began, including Glen Schrimshaw’s Gallery (i.e., an art gallery), a vacation farm, and a restaurant, all of which are still in operation.

However, there was no planning to work with surrounding communities to promote the region as an attraction. There are a number of attractions and festivals that take place annually within the region. These include the Celtic Games, the First Nations Celebrations at Fort Carleton, a rodeo, pilgrimage to St. Laurent Shrine and a Metis gathering called “Back to Batoche”. The current Mural Board chair and Museum Director
recently adopted a philosophy of regionalism in tourism development and is leading a
regionally-based tourism destination strategy.

It is probably the biggest marketing strategy that it [the museum] can afford. And what we’re developing is a destination area, which would include a circumference of Rosthern, Bellevue, Batoche, Fort Carlton and just up north of the Nisbett Forest. And the whole idea behind what we’re trying to do is get people to come into the area. Because if we can get them into this area,... there is enough to spend three days here. To visit everything. And so we’re trying to...look on a bigger scale. ...It is plain we do have to start looking beyond our borders.

The outcome of this planning and the implications for mural-related tourism remain to be seen. A trainer for Tourism Saskatchewan’s Education Program indicated that those involved in the tourism industry in Duck Lake are “getting the pulse of what people are interested in. They are trying to develop a regional interest to bring people in and I think the museum is really doing a good job. Jack Pine Stables is becoming more well known and with all of these different things working together, it should make a big difference.”

Economic development initiatives within Duck Lake have been limited, largely due to an inactive Economic Development Committee (EDC) and the fact that it is no longer part of the Regional Economic Development Authority in Prince Albert (PA REDA). There are a number of reasons for this situation. Duck Lake had belonged to the PA REDA for a very brief period during the late 1990s, during which the town was able to garner grant money through the REDA Enhancement Partnership Fund for the museum. However, the EDC at the time left because they believed the PA REDA was not offering the kind of support they required. Interviews with the current PA REDA Executive Director indicated that the authority has struggled for some time to define itself in its current affiliation with the local chapter of the Chamber of Commerce. As a result, he believes many communities with the PA REDA region became disenchanted with the authority and did not maintain membership. During 2002 they restructured with the hope of attracting the communities that had left.

Another perception for the inactivity of the EDC in Duck Lake was as a result of a ‘deal gone sour’, as described during an interview with the Town Administrator. A member of the EDC had been contacted by a company in the United States for a potential
business start. The EDC invested a great deal of time and resources to aid the company in obtaining grant money to move into the area, only to discover that the company was fraudulent and that the entire idea had been to take the grant money and leave. The Town Administrator explained that, "They [the US company] needed the Town Council to approve certain elements of the application in order to get the money....I know one incident should not stop everything, but it was so devastating. We were really excited about the potential for this". Subsequent to that experience, the EDC became inactive, and the town office answered all enquiries.

In an interview, a council member indicated that the Town Council offered tax breaks to interested businesses and that they sell unserviced lots for twenty dollars, with the condition that the builder undertakes construction within a year. Bell Pulse (a pea splitting and shipping plant) moved to Duck Lake in 2001, attracted by this tax incentive and the availability of an empty elevator with access to the railroad for transportation. He noted that one of the limitations to further business attraction is the small reservoir that supplies the town's water. "If there was a fire, we wouldn't have enough water to put it out, and that is a concern for a business." The current Town Administrator stated that in 2002 there had been calls to the Town Office requesting information for business start ups, so there was hope that perhaps the EDC would become active again.

5.2.4 Moose Jaw
Moose Jaw is the largest of the six case study sites, with a population of 32,131 and 68.7 percent of its labour force employed in service industry (Statistics Canada 2001). It is located in south central Saskatchewan, 45 kilometres west of Regina, along the Trans Canada Highway (See Figure 3.1) and has a diverse array of services and businesses reflective of its size and service area (see Appendix 8).

Mural development began in 1989 as a result of a letter sent to City Council by a resident of Moose Jaw who had seen the Chemainus murals and thought it would be a good idea for the city. Based on this letter, a Council member and business owner put forward a proposal to City Council, which voted in favor of the suggestion and consulted with Karl Schutz. He was able to convince the City to dedicate $250,000 in seed money to start the murals. This amount was held in an account by the City and was depleted by
1995. The original intent for mural development was to assist with the redevelopment of the downtown core and to create a tourism attraction. Both the current Mural Board Chair and an Economic Development Officer indicated that it has been expected that mural development would act as a catalyst for broader tourism development within the city.

Moose Jaw established a formal Mural Board, with a mission and mandate laid down in city by-laws. Initial Board members were selected in 1990 on the basis of recommendations from a Steering Committee established by City Council. The artist and mural selection process was formal and not limited to Saskatchewan artists. Murals were restricted to the downtown area, and had to depict the history of Moose Jaw (see, for example, Figure 5.4). The Board invites applications from artists or local residents, and then decides what they can afford to paint, determines a suitable location and hires the artist.

**Figure 5.4 An Example of a Mural in Moose Jaw, *Sunday Outing***

![Mural Image]

Artist: Wee Lee

Moose Jaw currently has thirty-three murals, costing between $10,000 and $25,000 each, including artist fees and materials. Although the initial seed money provided by the City allowed for the development of most of the murals, the Board also
undertook a number of fundraising events and received money from Western Economic Diversification Canada, a federal government development agency. The Murals of Moose Jaw Board now receives an annual operating grant from the City of Moose Jaw of $10,000, and has developed the Foundation for the Murals of Moose Jaw Inc. as a separate administrative body from the City. The Foundation applies for various grants, accepts private and corporate donations and holds a limited number of fundraising events on behalf of the Mural Board.

The original intent of the Mural Board was to maintain the existing murals and to develop others, with revenue raised through the sale of limited edition prints and associated merchandise. The current Chair of the Board indicated that they “...have discovered, as other cities with murals have, that because the murals exist within the public domain, it is very difficult to sell limited edition prints. And it depends on the mural and the artist who created it. If the artist has a name, the print sells better.” As a result, the Mural Board found itself with a significant amount of capital invested in merchandise that was not selling. A local business purchased the lot, at roughly two-thirds the original cost, and now pays an annual licensing fee to the Board of approximately $100. Although the Mural Board no longer organizes tours, they are arranged upon request. As well, a City-owned trolley car tour of downtown Moose Jaw provides information and viewing of some of the murals.

The tourism industry in Moose Jaw has grown significantly over the past decade, as measured by numbers of tourists and tourism-based revenue. Statistics from Tourism Moose Jaw indicate that the number of visitors has increased from 96,000 in 1998 to 169,000 in 2001, while expenditures have doubled from $15.2 million to $30.7 million over the same time period (Power 2002). The tourism industry has also expanded, evidenced by the building of Temple Garden’s Mineral Spa and hotel complex, the creation of the “Tunnels of Moose Jaw”, the development of Casino Moose Jaw (with an additional 18 indoor murals), the construction of a new Tourism Information Centre along the Trans Canada Highway and the refurbishing of many of the storefronts along Main Street. Planned development of an Arts and Cultural Centre suggest that this will continue in the future. Downtown redevelopment and the construction of tourism attractions suggest that Moose Jaw’s murals have been extremely successful for the
community and its broader economic development, and strongly linked to the original mural project objectives. In an interview, a local Economic Development Officer stated,

...right now we are a winner provincially, and people like a winner. And the reason I think we are a winner is because some very good people went and pushed and got the tourism engine going and going well. And it has made it a lot easier for us to go and look at some other economic areas because it has drawn a lot of attention to the community. There are positive economic indicators that don’t necessarily conform with the usual story of other communities.

An elected official and Mural Board member interviewed echoed these sentiments, stating, “...increased tourist numbers have indicated to business owners that improvements such as storefront and interior renovations are economically worthwhile. Furthermore, tourism has encouraged the development of new small businesses and has attracted ‘big box’ retailers to the city”.

In 1995 a large chain grocery store (SuperStore) opened an outlet in Moose Jaw, followed by WalMart and Garden Market IGA (another grocery store) in 1999. Moose Jaw was also the first city in the province to open a Safeway Gas Bar and where Galaxy Theatres (a large multi-screen movie theatre complex) chose to open their first Saskatchewan location (a $4 million investment). The EDO indicated, “Staples is coming as well. And one of the car dealerships is building a newer, bigger dealership. So there is a lot of that kind of investment going on. ...It has translated into increased retail spending, really driven by tourism and the service sector.” The MJ REDA, which acts as the economic development arm for the City of Moose Jaw as well, has identified four priority areas, as described by the EDO:

1. Business Retention and Expansion - working with new owners or ownership changes to retain existing businesses (e.g., facilitating ownership change from Taiwan Pork to World Wide Pork);

2. Strategic Business and Investment Attraction – attracting business that is complementary to existing industry in Moose Jaw, and responding to businesses interested in locating to Moose Jaw (e.g., a neutraceutical and capsulation facility);
3. Business Environment and Infrastructure – determining the needs of existing and potential business by meeting with individual companies; and

4. Regional Development - working with the twelve Rural Municipalities that surround Moose Jaw in a community planning process. The intention is to aid the communities in identifying things they can do for themselves, things the REDA can help the community in and the things of a regional nature that multiple communities or the REDA can undertake.

According to the EDO, these investments and plans have amounted to a city that is “not dying… that is more than a humorous name”. To paraphrase Urry (1990) it is a city that has put itself within the tourist and business gaze.

5.2.5 Biggar

Biggar is located approximately 110 kilometres west of Saskatoon and has a population of 2,243 (Statistics Canada 2001). The community serves as a regional service center for the Bear Hills region, with approximately 58.3 percent of its population employed in the service sector (Statistics Canada 2001) (See Figure 3.1). As Appendix 8 illustrates, Biggar has a variety of services and businesses to serve the local and surrounding population.

The mural project was undertaken in 1997 in conjunction with the design for a new museum. The museum had previously been located in the basement of the library and the plan had originally been to move the museum into an existing heritage-style building. However, the building burned down and a new structure had to be built to house the museum. Due to financial constraints, pre-engineered steel building construction was chosen for the new building and consequently, it in no way had the appearance of a museum. The former Museum Director suggested it “looks more like an equipment dealership”. A mural was included in the initial plans for the building so it could look more like a museum. The mural itself was painted by Gus Froese between 1996 and 1997 and cost the museum approximately $6,000. It was painted on crezen board rather than directly on to the building itself.

The museum is a community museum, meaning that there is no one owner. Instead a Board of Directors from the community oversees its operation and functioning,
while the day-to-day operations are managed by a Director. The focus of the museum is the history and story of Biggar and area. The mural, located on the south side of the building with visibility from the street, depicts this history (Figure 5.5). There is also another mural on the east side of the museum, near the entrance, that was completed by a group of high school students under the guidance of Froese. Froese was interested in teaching children the process of mural making, as part of the original proposal. There are a number of other painted ‘signs’ in the community, created to promote the town theme of “New York is big, but this is Biggar” and their claim to the largest deer killed in the region.

**Figure 5.5 Biggar’s Mural, No Title**

Although the community is listed in the Saskatchewan Vacation Guide (Tourism Saskatchewan 1999) as having a mural attraction, there is only the one mural on the museum, chosen specifically to beautify and identify the building, with no intended contribution to a tourism strategy for the community. However, in interviewing the current Director of the museum, it became evident that Biggar would prove to be an
interesting case study as the community was attempting to revitalize through community development training and strategic development, which included a tourism component.

With funding from the Bear Hills Regional Economic Development Authority and encouragement from the local Credit Union Manager, a group of twenty-one people came together in 2000 to participate in *Leadership Saskatchewan*, a program offered by the Saskatchewan Council for Community Development (SCCD)\(^2\). The program begins with a weekend workshop followed by five full-day sessions held over the course of several months. There were many occupations (e.g., banker, educator, farmer), ages (e.g., high school students through seniors), community roles (e.g., mayor, town or rural municipal councilors) and residencies (e.g., born and raised to new residents within five years) represented among the participants. The Vice-Chair of the Economic Development Committee indicated it was important to have a broad spectrum of residents involved and to encourage student participation “...because part of future development is knowing what they want, to keep them or have them back after their post secondary education is completed.”

The Vice-Chair of the Economic Development Committee stated that the aim of the group was to develop a strategic plan for the community, “basically what we wanted was some sort of coordinated long term plan that incorporated all the areas...we wanted everything coordinated to one group”. The group completed the course in spring 2001, with plans to hold a community meeting in the fall to determine the priorities of the community. A meeting was subsequently held in November, with approximately one hundred residents attending. During the meeting the group was named the Biggar Committee for Community Development (BCCD), an interim Executive Committee was established and community development ideas that had emerged from the leadership training were shared. Those attending were generally in agreement with the ideas

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\(^2\) The SCCD was established in 1992 as a coalition of Saskatchewan organizations whose shared vision was to support rural Saskatchewan communities in working together to enhance the quality of life of residents. The *Leadership Saskatchewan* program was developed by the SCCD to build skills and community capacity through training and skills application. The SCCD also acts as the provincial conduit for the Canadian Adaptation and Rural Development (CARD) program by establishing provincial priorities, defining eligible projects and expenditures and allocating funding to projects. *Leadership Saskatchewan* is funded by the CARD program.
presented and they brought additional insights to the activities that should be pursued as evident in the following passage.

Lots of people came to these meetings with the same sort of general ideas as we had. Lots of people wanted to see Main Street fixed up, lots of people want to see the old station fixed up. ...They don’t call it economic development, they don’t call it building business, they just want to see it nicer. And there are some people who come to these meetings with a completely different goal....This fella has been wanting a walking path around town for a long time, but you know, he’d talk to his buddies but it never went anywhere. So he saw the opportunity to come to the BCCD and some how incorporate his idea when they were talking about doing the recreation complex and skating rink...he was able to get into that group .... So you know people came up with those kinds of ideas that you know, we had never thought of....They came with ideas ... that are different because they want to be in a place that is growing it is strong, that have lots of services, that they can live in and stay in. We all come to these meetings with the same ideas, feelings and thoughts I guess. I mean we are here for the town and the town’s future. (Chair of BCCD)

A second meeting was held in January 2002, with approximately fifty people in attendance. Because it was difficult to set a meeting date that allowed everyone to attend, the Executive kept interested participants informed by telephone and the community more broadly by mailing copies of meeting minutes or summaries. During January’s meeting the group undertook a Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats (SWOT) analysis, with a focus on the strengths and opportunities. From this exercise seven strategic development areas were identified and committees formed to “do some of the research that (needs) to be done...to develop a long term strategic plan...that’s the goal”(Vice-Chair of the BCCD). The Executive Committee [made up of a Chair (mayor), Vice Chair (community member), Treasurer (bank manager), Secretary (student) and two Members-at-Large (business people)] acted as a monitor for the groups, to coordinate their functioning. “The executive committee, if they see somebody doing a bunch of overlapping stuff, they’re going to try and steer them together or get them to take on something different or that kind of thing. Just so that we aren’t doing a whole bunch of overlapping work” (Vice-Chair of the BCCD). The Executive did not plan on holding
another community meeting until the sub-groups had time to meet and determine a strategic plan. The Vice-Chair of the BCCD described the seven areas that were identified, as follows:

1. Image: refers to the positive inward appearance of the community that will be used to market the community externally (e.g., town clean up, improving Main Street).
2. Marketing and Communication: refers to the outward image presented for the purpose of attracting economic growth for the community (e.g., attracting immigrants, trades people).
3. Recreation and Culture: refers to the development and maintenance of this sector of the community (e.g., walking path around town, recreation complex expansion).
4. Economic Development: refers to the business and industrial growth of the district (e.g., moving Great West Brewery to Biggar, hog barns).
5. Facilities and Services: refers to developing and attracting services, facilities and programs to enhance the quality of life of residents (e.g., dentist, commuting service, youth programs).
6. Foundations: refers to the development of an organization to facilitate the distribution of funds within the community (e.g., allocate money to cultural, health care or recreation facilities).
7. Tourism: refers to developing the tourism potential and attractions within the district (e.g., agri-tourism, attractions, tourism booth) (BCCD 2001).

The tourism ideas were based on capitalizing on the community attributes such as its history and “New York theme”, the artistic talents of its community members and the attractions in the region. There are currently no active tourism attractions or developments in Biggar, despite the fact that at two different times they have tried to develop a Tourism Committee. Both failed and the only remnant is the New York t-shirts, which the museum now sells. There has been no attempt from the town to join the West Central tourism region. The museum is one of the stationary attractions in the community (a big draw in 2000 was an exhibit on Sandra Schmirler, raised in Biggar and the world and Olympic champion curler), as does “Little Apple Productions”, a local theatre group that has run continual productions for twenty years and draws large crowds of people from the region and beyond (in 1999 over 3,800 people attended a production of “New York is Big, but this is Biggar – The Musical”). There are a number of event-based attractions as well, including The Biggar Brit Rally and the Annual Show and Shine. The first is a motorbike rally originally hosted by a local resident and now organized by the
Biggar Museum in conjunction with the economic development office. The Annual Show and Shine attracts many classic car enthusiasts to view vintage automobiles. Other seasonal attractions are hunting, snowmobiling, music and dance festivals, hockey tournaments, and an antiques and collectibles show.

Despite participation in the Leadership Saskatchewan training course and the movement towards developing a strategic plan for the community, there are a number of barriers to this process and the growth of the community, as identified by those interviewed. As with many rural communities, Biggar’s population is aging, with the 18 to 35 cohort being very small. A consequence is “an old boy’s club” mentality that makes it very difficult to undertake any progressive ideas within the community. One interviewee suggested that “although most people seem to understand and buy into the need for long term vision they get bogged down in the “how to” area...some (people) are detail people while others see the big picture” and this has a dramatic effect on how the group is able to undertake strategic planning and development. Support of local business is fair, but is challenged by the proximity of Saskatoon and residents’ attitude that “they can drive to Saskatoon...and pay for their gas by going to buy butter at Costco”. One interviewee stated that, “... people complain well I’m not the problem if I buy Cheez Whiz in the city. Well you are the problem because that leads to all kinds of closures. ...If I know I can buy it in Biggar that is where I’ll buy it. And if that means paying $10 more, so be it.” Although recognizing that these challenges are present, those involved in Biggar’s community economic development planning and implementation feel confident that the town will continue to move progressively into the future. “...We have to look at Biggar and say ... we are going to be the regional center. ...So that’s how we’ve set ourselves up, that’s where we want to be.”

5.2.6 Humboldt
The final case study community is located 100 kilometres east of Saskatoon, with a 2001 population of 5,161 (see Figure 3.1). The city serves as a service center for the surrounding rural population, with 63.2 percent of its residents employed in the variety of businesses that make up the service sector (Statistics Canada 2001) in addition to various industrial activities (See Appendix 9).
In 1989, the Humboldt City Council reasoned that, because the local agricultural industry was lagging, the council needed to find a way to diversify their economy (Korte 2002). Tourism, focused specifically on a German cultural heritage theme, was chosen to reflect the European settlement roots in the region. The Bank of Commerce required a new building with wheelchair access, so they donated their older heritage-style building to the City. This provided a focal point for the Tourism Committee, which turned the building into the Willikommen Centre. The Centre acts as the tourism information site, it houses a gift shop and provides meeting space.

The German theme was developed both in social-cultural and physical terms. The Tourism Committee hired a Director of Special Events and Tourism, who developed a series of festivals [Mai Fest, Sommer Fest, Erntedank or October Fest, Weihnachtsbaum Beleuchtung (Christmas Tree Lighting Ceremony) and St. Nikolaus Tag (a visit from St. Nicholas)], provided opportunities for classes in German folk art painting and language and assisted in the development of folk dance (Waldsee Tanzkreis) and choral (Waldsee Singkreis) clubs. She also encouraged the development of German cuisine in the local restaurants by bringing German chefs in for training sessions. To enhance these cultural changes, the City of Humboldt provided grants of up to $1,500 to merchants in the downtown core to refurbish their storefronts in the half-timber style associated with the Black Forest region of Germany. Many of these initiatives were undertaken not only to attract tourists but also to develop a collective sense of community or identity based on German culture and traditions.

According to the former Director of Special Events and Tourism, by the early 1990s it had become apparent that despite encouraging tourism development, there was a need for something else for visitors to see and do. She, along with business leaders, decided that outdoor murals would enhance the German theme and diversify the local tourism product.

A formal Board, ostensibly representative of the local population, was appointed by City Council in 1993. In interviews, Board members stated that there were very specific requirements for the murals, including adherence to the German theme (see, for example, Figure 5.6). Advertisements were placed for artists and Gerhard Lipp, an Austrian painter based in British Columbia, was commissioned to paint the first mural.
Humboldt now has eight murals, each costing approximately $5,000. Although City Council was supportive, no municipal government funding was provided and the Board had to fundraise for the murals, largely through corporate sponsorships as well as individual and group donations. The current mayor, also a Mural Board member, suggested that this broad base of funding was indicative of strong community support for the murals.

[Money for the murals was garnered through] ... private donations. Not a dime was city money. And it was all just families who put in $500, who put in $1,000. Groups would give money ... We could do lots more yet. There's just people that would give thousands of dollars yet if we had [plans for more murals]... we could come up with the money. Within a month we'd have the money.

Figure 5.6 An Example of a Mural in Humboldt, No Title

The former Director of Special Events and Tourism stated that the murals had achieved their intended purpose by providing another anchor for tourists. Although the number varies, the city receives approximately six bus tours a year, and a guided tour of the murals forms part of the trip organized by the Willkommen Centre in Humboldt. Prior to the development of the German tourist theme and the murals, the tourism industry was marginal in Humboldt and visitation was and is still not recorded. The only estimate is
based on those who sign the guest register at the Willkommen Centre, which indicates that Humboldt receives an estimated average of between three to five hundred visitors per year\(^3\) (Selsky 2002). Based on the lack of specifics, it appears that measurement of mural development impacts is still largely anecdotal.

Although the city has not had an Economic Development Officer for many years, the current Mayor indicated that a Committee has recently been created by City Council that will be “looking for … what is missing here in town and what can we do to entice it.” This group will be independent of the city and is comprised of a variety of business people with connections to various industries. The philosophy behind its creation is that these individuals are linked to other places through their business associations and therefore know who may be looking for a place to relocate or start a business. This group will then be able to promote Humboldt to outside businesses thinking of relocating. The current mayor indicated that the key to community growth comes from within the community itself.

We have to be positive, outgoing, and show that we believe in ourselves, that we like ourselves, that we’re proud of our community, we want to tell our story. And then other people catch that enthusiasm…Like if the merchants along Main Street don’t buy into the German architecture, the half-timber thing, they give us the look you know. You’re kind of dead in the water…it just needs the internal enthusiasm.

He believes that the murals and tourism have been very successful in supporting economic development more broadly within the community, citing an increase in the number of stores (including national chains like Peavey Mart), restaurants and even international fast-food restaurant outlets (e.g., A&W and McDonald’s). “We like the fact that McDonald’s moved in. Not the fact that it is McDonald’s. But the fact that those people tend to do their research fairly well. It sends a signal”.

To support new business creation, the city has an industrial park policy wherein a business constructing a new facility will receive tax concessions based on the number of jobs created. This has encouraged the development of some businesses. However, several

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\(^3\) This is an estimated average based on the number of visitors who have signed the guest register at the Willkommen Centre in Humboldt between 1995 and 2000.
other industries that have moved to Humboldt have not been eligible for such concessions because they were not building a new premise. Examples included Doepker Industries, which relocated to Humboldt despite being wooed by Alberta and Farm World Industries, a Ford New Holland farm implements dealership. Big Sky Pork (a hog barn industry) grew from a husband and wife team based from their farm, to a company employing 350 people with their head office in Humboldt. That development has resulted in spin-off companies to facilitate the hog barn industry, including DSI, a company that makes cement flooring for hog barns and Belaire Systems, which makes hog barn ventilation equipment that is exported internationally.

Despite such positive growth indicators, the current Tourism Director indicated that while tourism has been recognized as an economic generator, she does not feel that the community or businesses have bought into it fully. She believes this is because business owners need to see tangible results quickly and do not understand how the tourism industry works. “They compare retail marketing with tourism marketing and there is no comparison. You can put a flyer in the paper and you’ll know how beneficial that is if people come in. With tourism marketing that I did two years ago, I’m getting phone calls now.” The former Director of Special Events and Tourism echoed these statements by sharing her frustration with businesses that were unwilling to add German cuisine, participate in sidewalk sales by dressing up or by refurbishing their storefronts. In spite of such challenges, the Tourism Director and Councilors continue to promote Humboldt as a place to visit or live.

This section has provided a description of the mural projects undertaken in each case study community along with an indication of the other types of community and economic development projects present. Section 5.3 provides a subjective analysis of the communities to offer another interpretation of how the case studies may be viewed.

5.3 Community Evaluations

5.3.1 The Context of Evaluation

During the field research, site evaluations of each community were conducted (Appendix 3) to provide a subjective measurement of the amenity attributes of each place. Site evaluations of this nature are important to undertake as they aid in addressing the
subjectivity often associated with qualitative research methodologies, as discussed in Chapter 3. Because of the subjective nature of the survey and its purpose in evaluating the community as potential destination of recommendation (i.e., would I, as a previous visitor, recommend the place as a worthy destination), personal assessments have been provided for each community.

As there is no specific best methodology to account for the subjectivity conundrum, I chose to address the issue by creating a measurement tool that would rate each field site on the same amenity attributes, thereby acknowledging my bias as a non-rural resident and ‘tourist’. This analytical tool served several purposes:

1. It provided a forum to acknowledge and account for my personal bias;
2. It provided for equitable judgment of each community on the same amenity attributes;
3. It provided a tool for remembering each community, largely due to the associated pictures taken in each place, and;
4. Perhaps most importantly, it provided a tool to assess how each of these communities may be perceived or seen by tourists, based on their place-based amenity attributes. This ties into the literature discussed in Chapter 4 on place-based marketing and the tourism industry.

As Appendix 3 indicates, the site survey evaluated each community in terms of facilities specific to supporting tourism, general services, a rating of various characteristics relating to community ambiance, presence and condition of various infrastructures and finally a ranking of the community as a possible destination. Three of the six questions could not be ranked and two were based on a Likert Scale. The maximum score in this evaluation was 70. The analysis provided below does not include an evaluation of infrastructure as each community was relatively equal in this category.

5.3.2 Community Evaluation Results

5.3.2.1 Moose Jaw
In the overall ranking, Moose Jaw scored highest, at 68 out of 70. This community has the most extensively developed mural-based tourism product as well as a variety of additional attractions for visitors. Its larger size contributed to it having the greatest number and selection of general services. The City has worked hard to provide a
beautiful cityscape, with a number of green spaces (notably Crescent Park in downtown Moose Jaw, Figure 5.7), and many vendors have undertaken renovations to improve the frontage of their Main Street businesses. The presence of many heritage buildings adds to the overall ambiance of the community (Figure 5.8). There is a comparatively wide array of both accommodation and restaurant choices and the service is generally very friendly and of high-quality. Based on my experience in Moose Jaw, I would recommend the city as a destination for a range of tourist types (e.g., individual, couples or families for day trips or overnight stays).

Figure 5.7: Crescent Park, Moose Jaw

Source: City of Moose Jaw Web Site
5.3.2.2 Humboldt

Humboldt had a slightly lower score, at 60.5 out of 70. Although classified as a city, this community is significantly smaller than Moose Jaw and, as a result, the variety of services and facilities is rather limited. The City has also succeeded in developing a very attractive cityscape. Many of the businesses in the downtown core have been resurfaced in a half-timber style that makes the area picturesque (Figure 5.9). The city has some beautiful green spaces and the overall appearance of the community can best be described as ‘neat and tidy’ (Figure 5.10). Where the community falls short is in adequate accommodations, restaurants and shopping opportunities. Although there are a number of other attractions around Humboldt and the Willikomen Centre does a good job of providing tourism information, there is not much to do in Humboldt. It is unfortunate as the overall ambiance of the community is extremely pleasant, but the services to encourage a longer stay appear to be limited. As a result, I would certainly encourage potential visitors to stop in Humboldt if they are in the area or plan a day trip, but not as a destination.
Figure 5.9: Main Street, Humboldt

Source: Author

Figure 5.10: Residential Streetscape, Humboldt

Source: Author
5.3.2.3 Wadena

Wadena had an overall ranking of 56 out of 70. This community is also attractive and well kept (Figure 5.11), with a fairly wide array of both tourism and general services for a town of its size. The service received in any of the facilities (tourism or businesses) is first-rate and extremely friendly. However, there is no signage on Highway #5 (running north-west into the community) indicating where the tourism booth / museum is located (on Highway #35 south of the town). The accommodations are limited, but appear in adequate condition. The museum is a wonderful facility, as is the Ducks Unlimited Center, both of which are worth visiting (Figure 5.12). Proximity to the Quill Lakes, offering both fishing and birding opportunities, provides additional attractions to those located within Wadena. I would recommend a visit to Wadena if in the vicinity, but not necessarily as an overnight destination.

Figure 5.11: Main Street, Wadena

Source: Author
5.3.2.4 Biggar

It is interesting to note that while Biggar has no real tourism attractions developed or promoted, it ranks fourth among the six case study communities with a score of 39 out of 70. Other than the museum, the Sandra Schmirler Olympic Park and a regional golf course, there are no attractions within the community. Although there is a mixture of general services for local residents and visitors alike, accommodations are lacking and have a suspect appearance. The service received in the local businesses is friendly and helpful. The townscape is quite attractive (Figure 5.13), although there are a number of lots and buildings that are in a state of disrepair (Figure 5.14). Despite these more negative aspects, the overall ambiance of community is positive and I would certainly recommend attending one of their festivals or plays.
Figure 5.13: Residential Streetscape, Biggar

Source: Author

Figure 5.14: Building in Disrepair, Biggar

Source: Author
5.3.2.5 Churchbridge

Due to its small size, Churchbridge has very limited services (restaurants, accommodations, grocery stores, gas stations, etc), contributing to an overall low ranking of 37 out of 70. Another limiting factor is the rather desolate appearance of the Main Street (Figure 5.15) and lack of community beautification throughout the community (e.g., no flower boxes, limited sidewalks, unkempt parks). Despite these limitations due largely to a limited tax base, Churchbridge has managed to develop a set of tourism attractions and facilities located along the highway in addition to the murals. They have built a small tourism booth with knowledgeable and friendly staff and provide a diverse array of information for both Churchbridge and the surrounding region. Beside the booth, a monument of Swanson’s winning coin has been tastefully done (Figure 5.16). Located next to this is a small ice cream shop that also sells souvenirs. Additional attractions include a private golf course and a well-kept campground managed by the Town. As a mother of a family that enjoys camping, I would recommend Churchbridge as a rest stop if one was required during a trip as the camp ground and swimming pool were attractive in addition to the murals. However, as noted, additional services are limited.

Figure 5.15: Main Street, Churchbridge

Source: Author
Figure 5.16: Swanson Coin, Churchbridge

Source: Author

5.3.2.6 Duck Lake

Finally, Duck Lake has an overall ranking of 30.5 out of 70. Like Churchbridge, Duck Lake is a small community with limited services (accommodation and restaurants). Unlike Churchbridge, it has an assortment of tourism attractions, both in the village and in the surrounding region. Unfortunately, it has not chosen to work collaboratively to promote the district as a tourism destination, and as a subjective visitor, I felt that the attractions within the community were not promoting each other. Service in the stores, restaurants and museum was not as friendly or helpful as in the other communities. The Main Street had been refurbished (Figure 5.17) and had perhaps the most pleasant appearance of the small communities visited. However, the remainder of the community did not have a well-kept or positive appearance, perhaps best exemplified by the playground (Figure 5.18). Although not clearly visible in the photograph, this children’s park was surrounded by a chain link fence, with a small gate at one end. The fence was topped by barbed wire, which made for an uninviting appearance overall. Despite having some of the most artistic and moving murals of all the communities studied, along with a very good museum and a well-known art gallery, Duck Lake does not possess the
ambiance that lends itself to being recommended as a place to visit, and as such, I would not recommend it as a destination, but as a potential stop-over if one is required.

**Figure 5.17: Main Street, Duck Lake**

Source: Author

**Figure 5.18: Playground, Duck Lake**

Source: Author
5.4 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to provide an overview of the mural development process in each locality to better understand the practice of community development more broadly within rural places. This examination has demonstrated that communities of differing sizes have undertaken murals for varying reasons with tourism being an outcome in each situation. Although the populations of the case study communities varies from over 35,000 to less than 700 and appears to have been in decline since the 1996 census, the activity level (as denoted by the number of clubs, services and businesses) in each place defies the myth of ‘dying rural populations’. The time I spent in each place with a number of citizens suggested to me that these residents do not see their communities as dying, perhaps at worst as ‘holding their own’. There is a sense of optimism, of having choices within parameters that are only limited by what members are willing to invest in time and effort. There are obstacles (largely relating to fiscal limitations and government) but these are not considered insurmountable. Mural development provides an indication of the level of commitment of rural peoples and their will to find creative solutions and options to provide a quality of life for residents who chose to make these communities their home.

In the next chapter, a grounded theory analysis will be undertaken to draw out the main themes. It critically compares the experiences of the six communities to address the broader objective of contributing to the debate and understanding of how tourism-based CED is understood, defined and carried out, and how successes, both tangible and intangible, are measured.
Chapter 6
MURAL INTERPRETATION:
AN ANALYSIS OF MURAL-BASED TOURISM AS A COMMUNITY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

What we have seen once again this past summer certainly underlines the fact that tourism continues to hold tremendous potential for this area.¹

6.1 Introduction
Chapters 4 and 5 provided an analysis of mural development across Canada and the ‘story’ of mural development for the six case study communities in Saskatchewan, respectively. The purpose of this chapter is to address the objectives of this research project and is organized accordingly.

Chapter 6 begins with an investigation of specific themes relating to the adoption and diffusion of mural-based tourism strategies within the case study community data set. As will be demonstrated, murals and tourism are a cross-cutting theme throughout the analysis as it provides a way to examine Community Economic Development (CED) in rural places. It is also within this analysis, at a case study level, that the role of place is examined in the adoption and diffusion of mural-based tourism.

The main objective of this research is to contribute to an emerging theory of CED by creating a conceptual link between various theories associated with rural and community development and the actual practice of CED. The middle section of this chapter therefore examines the four theoretical areas of institutional thickness, embeddedness, governance and leadership, with tourism, murals and other economic development strategies serving as cross-cutting themes. Such an analysis aids in determining if these concepts have relevance within CED and to determine their use as a lens though which to assess the sustainability and success of a tourism-based

¹ Four Town Journal 1998a
strategy for rural areas. In so doing, this analysis addresses several ancillary objectives including an examination of the sustainability of rural places, how CED is practised within rural communities and a fuller examination of how certain strategies become attached to development approaches.

The final section of Chapter 6 addresses the third objective of contributing to the development of a framework for evaluating the potential and success of tourism development within a CED process in a rural context. In addition, this section examines the viability of tourism as a CED strategy in creating community sustainability, another of the sub-objectives outlined in Chapter 1.

6.2 Understanding the Adoption and Diffusion of Mural-based Tourism as a Strategy for CED in Rural Places

Chapter 4 provided an examination at the national scale of the adoption and diffusion of mural-based tourism strategies and provided some insight into why and how these decisions have been made at a macro level. Chapter 5 has provided an overview of how the mural strategies were started in each of the Saskatchewan case study communities, how the murals projects were/are funded, how the projects have been viewed by the community and an indication of the other kinds of tourism-related activities undertaken within each of the communities. The purpose of this section is to examine the adoption process at a case study community level to more fully understand how it is that communities have chosen mural-based tourism as a strategy for CED.

6.2.1 Leadership and Adoption

Information regarding the decision making process surrounding the choice of developing a mural project in each community provides a window through which we might view the adoption of murals and demonstrates the influence of governance structures and individual leaders, a theme discussed more fully in the next section. It is important to point out at this juncture however, that the types of strategies community groups chose to undertake appear to be influenced by where government
grant dollars are being focused, what programs government agencies are promoting and through the influence of particular community leaders.

Individuals exogenous to the community also have influence on the decision to develop mural-based tourism, as discussed in Chapter 4. Karl Schutz and the example of Chemainus, B.C, influenced how the mural projects were undertaken in those communities where the purpose was specifically as a tourism development strategy. These communities followed Schutz’s model of mural development, either directly by purchasing his consultative services (Duck Lake and Moose Jaw) or indirectly as in the case of Humboldt whose mural committee visited both Duck Lake and Moose Jaw. How these communities structured their boards, funded the mural projects and created the murals were all based on what Schutz advocated as required for a successful mural project development.

6.2.2 Community Support and Adoption
The mural communities generally had support and if there were critics they were largely ignored in the sense that the mural committee would seek to prove that the idea had merit (Moose Jaw and Humboldt). In the communities that were smaller and where volunteers were creating the murals, there was strong support largely because of community pride. This aided in the adoption of the idea and even its promotion (or spread) to other communities. For example, neighbouring communities to Wadena along Highway 5 decided to develop murals as part of their millennium project to create a regional attraction, based on the success, artistry and assistance of the women in Wadena. “The Wadena Mural artists have been very helpful in guiding us in our pilot projects. We are looking forward to the challenge of this new undertaking and working together in this worthwhile project” (Wadena News 2000a).

6.2.3 Heritage as the Dominant Mural Theme
The heritage theme of murals has a relationship to their adoption as a tourism-based strategy. Heritage is viewed as a common theme that people can relate to, while contributing to a sense of pride in the community, which results in local support of
the project. Local heritage, as a theme, is tangible to the populace rather than other forms of art or subject matter that could be chosen. For example, of the two murals that adorn the museum in Biggar, the one depicting heritage receives more attention than the abstract one created by the students. When asked why heritage was chosen as a theme, a mural committee chair responded that, "if you do modern [art], where do you start from? What do you paint? ...It is important to be reminded of where you came from. That all of this is because of what others have done before us...to honour those on whose shoulders we stand.” What this suggests is that locally shared heritage brings the community members together and allows the community more broadly to adopt the mural project. It is part of choosing a development strategy that is embedded within the community psyche\(^2\), a theme that will be more fully developed in a subsequent section.

### 6.2.4 Place Characteristics

An additional theme that emerged in this section is the importance of the characteristics of place, both physical and cultural/historic. In geographic terms, the situation of the community is often viewed as a strong support for tourism. For example, Mural Board members in Duck Lake believed the town’s location on the major highway leading to northern Saskatchewan would be of benefit in developing its tourism industry. Their hope was to have 10% of the 20 million vehicles passing Duck Lake annually to stop. Moose Jaw Tourism has felt its location on the Trans Canada highway to be of benefit. There are those in Churchbridge, located on the Yellowhead Highway, who feel the town could do more to benefit from its location.

The variety of visitors signing the guest book points out just how fortunate we are to be living on a major trans-Canada highway. During the peak summer months hundreds if not thousands of tourists pass by our business doors each and every day. These are customers who otherwise are not accessible to local entrepreneurs but who, for the fleeting few minutes it takes them to pass through, or past the communities along the Yellowhead, do become potential customers. They represent a

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\(^2\) The phrase ‘community psyche’ was selected from interview transcripts as it effectively captures what is meant by the fit of a chosen strategy within the internal social, economic and political culture that develops within communities.
huge opportunity in terms of generating tourist dollars. They best thing about that revenue is that it is “new” money, meaning it is completely injected into the local economy from outside. (Four Town Journal 1998a)

One interviewee suggested that Saskatchewan should capitalize on its ‘space’,

I have drove [sic] on the East Coast of the States and you can almost drive from Florida to Boston and never really leave an urban area. And you know to get those people out of there and into a tent in say the Bear Hills. …You know, put them outside and show them space. You know I think there is a huge untapped market in Europe, the States…. I always go back to the same thing that what we have to sell here is our night time skies, our space [and] our fresh air. It is the same old thing, people from here go to mountains because it is different than here and people from mountains come to the plains because they don’t know what flat lands look like. And you know that is what we have to sell.[wording in square brackets and in italics added by author]

Visitors from the United States to the Wadena area, who come during the shore bird hunting season, support this claim. One hunter’s comments were, “I can’t believe my ears when people say the plains are boring. The incredible skyscapes, the unpredictable weather, and the incredible myriad of nature – I love this country!” (Wadena News 2000b).

Furthermore, within a close range, visitors can have a variety of different experiences within a particular region. An interviewee from Biggar described some of the tourism experiences that could be sold in terms of space and the region in the following quote,

You know we’ve talked about wagon trains, or bringing people out to the area and having maybe a western theme. Have them come out to Perdue at Whippits Gun Site and then have them come by wagon train and have them stay out over night at maybe a bed and breakfast between there and here. And then have them come here …
In addition to the physical space that exists in rural Saskatchewan, there is also a sense of capitalizing on their rich heritage and past, a place-based attribute. For Duck Lake, this includes its strong Metis, French, First Nations and Anglo settlement heritage and for Humboldt, its German heritage. In some instances, communities have chosen to exploit a cultural history that is either contrived or may have tenuous connections to reality at best, in order to attract a wider audience of interest. Biggar provides an example of the first instance, where tourism committee members have explored capitalizing on its adopted motto of “New York is big, but this is Biggar” through mural paintings on local landmarks, which would depict similar buildings found in New York. For example, the Biggar Water Tower could have a mural of the Empire State Building and the Biggar Museum & Gallery could be associated with the Guggenheim Museum. Moose Jaw provides an example of the latter, where tourism developers in that city have chosen to exploit its history as Saskatchewan’s Red Light District and tenuous connections to the Chicago illegal alcohol trade associated with Al Capone during the prohibition years. This has been accomplished through the development of mural art, the Tunnels of Moose Jaw (an attraction based on a series of ‘interpreted’ tunnels that exist below Main Street) and the redevelopment of River Street (famed for its brothels and illegal gaming and drinking establishments during the 1920s).

Beyond mural development as a CED strategy, murals become a place characteristic that provides community members with a sense of pride. The following quote from a mural committee member in Humboldt provides an example of how the murals and other tourism developments within that community have given a sense of pride to the city.

...This community is ... proud of itself, it shows itself off...if we create an atmosphere where there’s beauty and joy and ... [people from outside the community] sense that it’s a happening place, then things are going to happen to you. Good things happen to an active, energetic, happy people. ...We have to be positive, outgoing and show that we believe in ourselves, that we like ourselves, that we’re proud of our community; we want to tell our story.
Murals within smaller places act as a positive symbol to those from outside the community that there is a reason to consider the community as a place of residence. For instance, a member of the Wadena Mural Images shared a story of a woman whose husband was offered a transfer to Wadena through his work and when she visited the town and saw the murals, she knew it was a place she could consider moving to.

6.3 Exploring Possible Linkages to Community Economic Development Theory

The purpose of this section is to examine the four theoretical concepts of institutional thickness, embeddedness, governance and leadership to determine if they may contribute to an emerging theory of CED and if they do, to use these concepts as a lens though which to assess the process, sustainability and success of tourism-based strategies for rural areas. In addition, this section further examines how certain strategies become attached to particular development methodologies. As the following analysis will demonstrate, these concepts and theories do have a role to play in both instances.

It is important to acknowledge at the outset that various theories or concepts could have been utilized to provide a fuller understanding or theorization of CED. Why choose these four over various other possibilities? Initially, these concepts were chosen because of their relationship to the set of constraints outlined by Brown (1981) as critical to an understanding of why certain innovations are adopted within particular locations. A further examination of CED-based research indicated that the social and human ‘capacity-based’ literature had been theorized and understood as part of the CED process (see for example Markey and Vodden 2000; Flora et. al 1999). However, there appeared to be a void in discussions surrounding the relationship of CED to economic factors, government and leadership. The literature concerning institutional thickness, embeddedness, governance and leadership holds potential for filling this void. It was apparent while reading this literature that collectively, these individual conceptual areas overapped each other to potentially provide a more complete picture to address a theoretical void in the CED literature. This intuition was verified during the analysis for this research in very practical
ways. For example, I found myself struggling to decide where something fit between leadership and governance due to the connections between the two and to embeddedness. It became apparent that such divisions, although necessary to analysis and writing, were artificial to the reality of how these concepts are interconnected. As a result, these conceptual areas emerged as areas that benefit our understanding and theorization of CED.

Prior to presenting the findings of this research, a summary of the analysis process is required to fully acquaint the reader with the data and how the findings were derived. In the methodology chapter (Section 3.3.2), two types of Grounded Theory were described as the method of analysis for this research. The first approach is inductive wherein the researcher allows new themes to emerge from the data as it is read, avoiding any preconceived ideas (Hueser 1999). The second form of Grounded Theory is deductive in nature, where the researcher searches through the data for specific themes, while at the same time remaining open to emergent ideas (Miles and Huberman 1994).

Although it was the intent to conduct both styles of Grounded Theory, as described in the methodology section, the reality was that a more deductive approach influenced the analysis process. As the researcher, I found myself predisposed to examine the data within the context of the four conceptual areas and their literature. I realized too, that my primary and secondary data collection had been organized around themes I had predetermined through my literature search. Although this could be considered as a flaw in research methodology, I believe it is more an expression of the reflexivity in qualitative research (Dupuis 1999), wherein appropriate analysis methods emerge as one becomes more intimately involved in the data. This is not to say that all themes were predetermined and the analysis that follows is simply a summation of the data collected under those themes. Rather, to paraphrase Bernard (2000), I knew what the major themes were that I wanted to investigate (those associated with institutional thickness, governance, embeddedness and leadership) but at the same time, was open to discovering additional themes within the text relating to these areas or pointing in a different direction. It also seems appropriate that such an analysis methodology would emerge when one of the
objectives is to determine if these four conceptual areas have relevance and a contribution to make to the theorization of CED.

The themes for each of the primary and secondary data collection were partially predetermined by the objective of examining the relationship between CED and the four theme areas, evaluating success and the adoption and diffusion of murals as a CED strategy. Table 6.1 provides a summary of the themes that emerged from the interviews. Table 6.2 presents a summary of the emergent themes associated with the secondary data sources, primarily newspaper articles, economic development documents and mural committee documents. Once the analysis was complete, it became obvious that mural development, tourism development and other types of economic development were objectives that cross-cut the other areas as these provided a fullness to understanding the process of CED in rural areas and to theorizing CED and its role in the sustainability of rural places.

The remainder of this section is organized to present the findings of the analysis, based on the primary and secondary data collected during the field research. It is structured under each of the conceptual areas of institutional thickness, governance, embeddedness and leadership. Each section begins with a brief review of the concept and is followed by the findings. Section 6.4 provides the analysis and findings relating to success and evaluation.
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**6.3.1 Institutional Thickness**

Institutional thickness, as discussed in Chapter 2, is a theory developed by Amin and Thrift (1995) as part of the institutionalist movement in economic geography, and
refers specifically to urban areas and regions within a globalizing economic environment. Their concept is formulated around four factors (Amin and Thrift 1995):

1. A strong and varied institutional presence (including firms, financial institutions, Chambers of Commerce, training agencies, economic development agencies, government agencies, etc);
2. High levels of interaction between the institutions at a local level;
3. The development of structures of control, coalition building and collective representation in order to minimize sectionalism and unwanted behaviour, and;
4. The development of mutual awareness and involvement in a common agenda among and between these institutions.

In discussing the emergence of institutionalism in economic geography in a special edition of AREA, Amin addresses the criticism that only local institutions are highlighted and the theory fails to address the influence of national and international institutions. Instead he suggests “there is no reason why these distanciated institutions cannot be placed centre stage in any institutionalist study of local economic development and change” (Amin 2001, 1239). Although Amin (2001) does speak to the importance of the influence of non-local organizations, he refers specifically to national policy interaction regulations, remote business elites (multinational corporations) and their impact on an urban region. For this research, the concept of institutional thickness is applied within a rural context, and although evidence supports its inclusion in understanding CED, it becomes apparent that the region plays a dominant role in understanding the successful outcomes of that development and that indeed, institutions exogenous to the local arena, but within a provincial or national context, play a significant role in determining outcomes.

Another criticism of institutional thickness comes from MacLeod (1997) who suggests that “the emphasis on global-local dynamics can lead one to downplay the continuing significance of the nation state as a key site in governing political economy and geography”. As subsequent analysis will demonstrate, this is a key factor in sustainable rural CED.
It is apparent through the data analysis that there is a relationship between institutional thickness and Community Economic Development, but within a rural context, its structure is different than envisioned within Amin and Thrift’s (1995) urban context. There are various ‘Thickness Levels’ that are identifiable in rural communities, each with a role to play in the development and sustainability of the rural community. Part of this analysis responds to the criticisms levelled at the theory of institutional thickness. But in essence, it does demonstrate that the four premises of the theory do provide a way of understanding CED in rural and small towns and cities. However, the ‘thickness’ level varies in scope, function and scale. Through the analysis of both primary and secondary data collected, it became evident that various thicknesses were important to the sustainable function of primarily rural communities and, more importantly, that some of these thicknesses can actually work against the process of CED. The following sections provide the findings of this analysis.

6.3.1.1 Community Organizations/Committees

A Community Organizations/Committees level includes such organizations as Chambers of Commerce, credit unions, service groups (e.g., Lions, Lionettes, Jaycees), churches, other volunteer associations and various economic development, tourism and social development committees that are present within the community. These groups are crucial to the sustainability of rural communities as they provide the framework upon which various economic, social and recreational projects are based.

This thickness is evident in the support various projects garner from these organizations and committees, for example the commitment of organizations such as the Kinsmen, Jaycees and Lions within a particular place to support projects such as the town hall in Wadena (Wadena News 1997c) and the swimming pool in Humboldt (Humboldt Journal 1985, 2000a). In the smaller communities, such organizations provided monetary assistance to the mural projects. What this indicates is that within a small community there exists an ‘institutional thickness’, a network of participants (Douglas 1989; Bryant 1992, Ashton, 1999), that can and
does support community improvement or community development projects. Moreover, this type of thickness is critical to the success of endeavours, especially those that are at a large scale and cost a considerable amount of money.

In addition to supporting and fostering community-based projects, it is evident that organizations also provide a level of thickness through their support of other organizations. For example, the Business Improvement District (BID) voted unanimously to give $10,000 from their own downtown beautification fund to the mural project because it benefited what the BID was trying to accomplish (Moose Jaw Times Herald 1990a). In a similar manner, the Community Development Officer indicated that the Churchbridge Community Development (CCD) organization and the Lion’s Club in Churchbridge supported the mural project in that community.

A further level of thickness is supplied by the Chamber of Commerce, which provides another area of support for the community, ranging from its traditional role as ‘community booster’, to promoting local businesses to acting as part of a lobby effort to obtain community recognition at provincial or federal government levels. There are various ways in which the Chamber of Commerce functions in its traditional role of community promotion. For example, the Chamber in Wadena developed a television add campaign to promote the community, which included a contest to develop a ‘jingle’ for the community by local residents. The campaign, both visually and aurally focused on Wadena as a family oriented place with young families (all people under the age of 30) and children as the focus (Wadena News 1985). In 1996, the Town Council approved making yet another promotional video, this time focusing on the wildlife and wetlands of the area (Wadena News 1996e).

The Chamber of Commerce and/or the economic development committee undertakes business promotion but usually as a result of a provincial government program, such as the ‘buy local days’ competition sponsored by Saskatchewan Tourism in the mid-1980s. This is what you would expect from such groups and it is not scale specific (i.e., all case study communities participated in these events). What is interesting is that business promotion is dependent on leadership; that is, there has to be a leader and group willing to develop around that leader in order for
such actions to be undertaken. It is evident by examining the documents that economic development leadership (either through the Chamber of Commerce or a committee) has ebbed and flowed over time in the communities. The Chamber also provides alternative methods of business promotion such as sponsoring an essay contest to raise awareness of the importance of shopping locally among youth (Humboldt Journal 1997a).

In speaking to the newly (re-)formed Chamber in Wadena, Wynyard’s Chamber executive director stated that in the difficult economic times rural communities are facing it is now necessary for communities to consider the big picture by prioritizing events. “It is time to lobby, help and pull together in this time of farm crisis...lobbying government and an active town council and supportive local newspaper result in community recognition and local support” (Wadena News 2000c).

Another level of thickness that appears to be more scale specific is the role that credit unions play in the smaller communities. In conjunction with the local businesses and to support buying locally, the Credit Unions in several communities (Humboldt, Biggar, Wadena) offered a form of interest free loan to purchase items from local merchants only (Biggar Independent 1988, Wadena News 1991b, Humboldt Journal 1991a). The Mayor of Biggar acknowledged the support of the local Credit Union in giving a substantial donation to the Biggar Committee for Community Development (BCCD) organization to allow the group the opportunity to move forward in its meeting plans without having to worry about funding issues.

### 6.3.1.2 Volunteerism

The volunteer element of rural and small urban communities comprises another critical level of thickness. It is evident throughout the documents and interview transcripts that such places have a strong reliance on the willingness of its citizens to donate their time and money to various projects within the communities. The volunteer commitment in these rural places is very high, with small numbers of residents often required to participate in a variety of capacities on numerous boards, as evidenced in the following quote from an interviewee in Biggar.
You know the problem is, and it’s not really a problem, but it is one of the things that happens in all small towns...the thing is, Town Council, the Biggar Committee for Community Development, the Rural Development Corporation, the Regional Economic Development Authority, its all the same people.

This leads to volunteer burnout, limits innovative thinking and can result in individual agendas being advanced to the exclusion of alternate ideas. This is often the result of the overlap of members on various committees within a community. Not only can this lead to individual agendas being advanced, it also serves to limit the capacity of groups to accomplish their goals. These issues do not appear to be scale specific as the sentiment was shared by interviewees from Duck Lake to Moose Jaw. For example, a councillor from Wadena indicated that

Well you get a lot of that [volunteers] overlapping. ...when you’re talking about 30 to 50 year olds playing a big part in every organization and every fund raiser it is kind of tough, they end up doing a lot of the work....You can only spread yourself so far. And when it comes to too many things happening, some guys kind of back off and say ‘whoa, it is time to slow up a little bit here’. You know, if they are quite active in hockey and curling and most people with two in the household working, it has quite a bearing on it.

In Moose Jaw, where most committees are created and governed by city bylaws, there was difficulty in processing results from a Regional/Urban Design Assistance Team (R/UDAT) study because the members of the committee set to undertake analysis and implementation of the R/UDAT recommendations were too busy on other City Council committees (Moose Jaw Times Herald 1993a). In this way, volunteerism as a thickness is not a positive layer because there are too many committees doing similar work and in the case of Moose Jaw, there appears to be little desire to amalgamate these groups. Other communities (such as Humboldt and Biggar) have combined committees doing similar work, such as the Tourism and Economic Development committees. In addition to the relevance of overlapping leadership are concerns regarding the limited participation by a broad range of community members. When the range of participants is limited it calls into question
whether the process has moved from CED to LED where participation is limited to an ‘elite’ community leadership (Gill 1999).

The volunteer capacity presents a challenge for leaders of committees within small communities in particular, because of the large aging population. For example, those interviewed in Duck Lake and Churchbridge indicated that their seniors comprise nearly 40 percent of their total populations and although they are very supportive, it does leave much of the organization and work to the 30 to 50 year old population that is also struggling with family and work commitments. For example, in describing the Churchbridge Community Development (CCD) group, the Community Development Officer (CDO)(a volunteer position) stated that,

We have 8 [members] and most of them are older gentlemen so I have a bit of a problem in the fact that they are not savvy when it comes to computers and almost anything I do they are very thrilled with! (laughs) But at the same time it is sometimes difficult to get them moving on things because they don’t understand what is available out there. ... So basically, a lot of the stuff I just have to do on my own .... They give me backing and say go for it but they have no idea how it all works. But it is good just to have that moral support.

Although examined in a later section, it is important here to identify the volunteer thickness that is required of rural communities for the successful implementation of tourism. Whether or not such reliance is sustainable is questionable and will be addressed later. The mural projects perhaps best exemplify the required commitment as discussed in Chapter 5, but there are additional examples from other tourism attractions. For example, in 1986, the provincial government turned over responsibility for the provincial park located near Churchbridge to the town, because the government no longer wanted responsibility for the park (Four Town Journal 1988a). The cost of operating the park was estimated to be $7,000 per year, with no revenue potential to that date. In 1998, the park made its first ever profit of $1,425, attributed to the small group of seniors who volunteer their time to collect campground fees and perform various other tasks in the park (Four Town Journal 1998b). This demonstrates the importance of volunteers to small communities, but also demonstrates how communities are forced
to rely on volunteers if and when government offloads responsibility for, in this case, facilities.

Another example comes from the museum in Wadena, which demonstrates how valuable volunteers are to maintaining attractions for the tourism industry in rural communities. The Wadena and District Museum, established in 1993, hosted 1,200 visitors\(^3\) in 1995, with guests from across Canada, the United States, Europe and Australia (Wadena News 1996f). The museum also acts as a tourism information centre giving out promotional materials, brochures and information regarding gas stations, restaurants, garages, accommodation etc. The volunteer-based museum committee sustains the enterprise, putting in an estimated 5,000 hours of work at an estimated minimum value of $35,000. This volunteer work promotes tourism, preserves community heritage and benefits visitors to the area and includes all aspects from labour to fundraising projects for the facility. By the end of 1996, the museum had hosted over 800 visitors from outside Saskatchewan, including visitors from Japan, Netherlands and the United States (Wadena News 1996g). Visitor notations in the guest book suggested that in comparison to city museums the artefacts and machinery at the Wadena Museum are located in the area where they were actually used, resulting in a more authentic and interesting tour.

6.3.1.3 Businesses and Individuals

It is evident within these communities that both businesses and individuals work together to support development projects indicated by the financial support and volunteer time devoted to specific projects, such as mural development. For example, the Wadena Mural Images group indicated that when they held an initial organization meeting they garnered the commitment of ten local businesses to have a mural painted on a building wall. All offered to help with painting costs. And when the group held an open house fundraising event, asking for donations of baked goods for the sale, they were able to raise $1,800 based on the sale of those goods.

\(^3\) Because there are no admission fees to the museum, the only way to monitor visitor numbers is through the guest book. The number of tourists to the museum therefore only reflects the number of people who chose to sign the guest register and are considered to be the minimum number of visitors.
There are a variety of ways, however, in which this thickness level is dysfunctional and can actually be a detriment to the CED process, especially when it comes to understanding the tourism industry. Businesses need to understand how they can capitalize on and benefit from the broader tourism or other activities in the community. An example from Biggar demonstrates this lack of cohesion. The arts, including music, dance and theatre, are an important element to the community members of Biggar. Each year, Little Apple Productions stages a major theatrical production, attracting a large audience, not only from Biggar but also from surrounding communities. Despite the fact that a large number of residents participate in the production and volunteer many hours, similar support is not evident from local businesses during the run of the production. Evidence comes from a Letter to the Editor in which a visitor from Rosetown (a community located 58 kilometres from Biggar) noted that after the production was over, there was not one restaurant open to have a coffee or something to eat (Biggar Independent 1985b). Instead the visitors ended up with a bag of chips and a pop from the local gas station for their drive home. The author of the letter suggested,

It should not have to be so, but perhaps the organizers of the program should inform the businesses that here is one of Biggar’s major events of the year, and they could all cash in by providing a welcome and a coffee, especially to out-of-towners. Progressive merchants would plan a week of sales promotions around the theme [of the play]. (Biggar Independent 1985b)

Local businesses must provide a level of ancillary services to augment the activities or attractions within their community in order to entice visitors to stay and to “get into their pockets” as one interviewee so eloquently stated.

Another dysfunction of the businesses-as-thickness-level is the connection between business ownership and Town Council. This can serve to act as a negative thickness, when business owners view the addition of new businesses as a threat and can be exacerbated when roles overlap between Town Council leadership and business ownership. If Council is made up of business owners, their willingness to

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4 For example, the 1985 production of *The Sound of Music* drew 2,000 people (Biggar Independent 1985a), while the 2000 original production of *New York Is Big, But This Is Biggar – The Musical* drew a crowd of 3,800 (Biggar Interviewee).
encourage more business development may be limited by the direct competition that would present to their own business. For example, a new Co-op store was constructed in Wadena, as the old store could not handle the business needs of the community and surrounding area. However, other businesses were concerned about the expansion and questioned how it might affect their business. These owners were, in some cases, Council members. The owner of the Co-op countered that “our new store will attract more people to our community. It is then up to each storeowner to decide how he or she will capitalize on the increased traffic in town” (Wadena News 2000d). In another example, hoteliers in Humboldt were concerned about Council’s decision to encourage a Bed and Breakfast industry within the region, citing increased competition for their businesses as the reason (Humboldt Journal 1994a). Although Town Council thought the addition of a Bed and Breakfast industry would be fair competition, they did decide that local government should not take an active role in establishing or promoting a business. In such cases, business as a thickness level may serve as a barrier to reaching the outcomes of a CED process. This thickness level does not appear to have the same dysfunction in smaller urban centres (Moose Jaw), perhaps as a result of a larger population base and greater variety of businesses.

There is strong evidence for community support of projects that are undertaken within the community, and this seems to be the case regardless of whether the project is facility creation, community health, economic development and even the mural projects. The evidence is in the number of people who support events, who give generously to the project fundraising and who will assist in whatever other capacity they are able. There does seem to be some scale-related differences between communities in this regard, as the types of support described here are not as evident in Moose Jaw.

Examples of such monetary and participatory support for facilities include Biggar’s Majestic Development Corporation that formed to build a recreation/theatre complex in the community (Biggar Independent 1985c), the commitment to develop a new town hall in Wadena (Wadena News 1997c), the building of a new pool facility in Humboldt (Humboldt Journal 1985, 2000a), and the creation of three
major facilities in Duck Lake (interview with Town Councillor). Examples such as these relate to the CED literature, which suggests that community members must maximize their community capacity to undertake projects or to provide self-sustaining programs for community benefit.

An example of providing community health services comes from Wadena where a group within the town decided a community vehicle was required to transport those in need of health care. The Town Council committed $5,000 to the endeavour to support the loan application, while the rest of the money was raised by community donations and fundraising events (Wadena News 1996h). Prior to the corporation even being legally formed, donations amounting to over $3,000 had already been received by the town office from supportive community members (Wadena News 1996i; Wadena News 1996j). In the end, individual community member donations amounted to $70,000. A further example of the type of individual support given to community driven projects is provided by a couple in Wadena who hosted an open house at Christmas with a silver collection for the van corporation. “The fact that they open their house to the community reflects the true sharing that can be experienced at Christmas and that this couple practices year round” (Wadena News 1996k).

There is also support of economic ventures by individuals as well. For example, the North East Terminal project in Wadena offered public shares to develop the grain handling facility and 80 percent of those approached did purchase shares (Wadena News 1991b). Although the community is located within an agricultural region and there would be an obvious reason for people to be interested in such an endeavour, this does demonstrate that individuals are willing to take some risk to support their community.

Individuals emerged as an important element of institutional thickness related to mural projects, especially in the three smallest communities (Churchbridge, Duck Lake and Wadena) where the projects required a significant investment of volunteers. Individuals contributed not only by donating their time (as artists or to work bingos to raise funds) but also in donating goods (e.g., bake or craft sales) and money for supplies. Individual contributions to the mural projects in
Wadena and Churchbridge included significant time and out-of-pocket expenses for the artists and individual community members who provided food and shelter for the painters.

### 6.3.1.4 Local Government

Local government is another level of institutional thickness within a community that can either aid or hinder the projects undertaken. Although governance is discussed separately, local government as a thickness level in rural community economic development is fully explored in this section.

As a level of thickness in rural or small urban places, a Town/City Council can demonstrate support for economic or community development projects in a variety of ways. Often their financial or mentoring support is critical to the continuation of community groups and the outcomes they are trying to achieve, for example the commitment of Moose Jaw City Council to the Murals of Moose Jaw project, or the Town Council in Biggar providing funding for community members to undertake the SCCD leadership training that led to the development of the Biggar Committee for Community Development.

There are times however, when a local Council may be hesitant to support a locally based project for the perceived risk that is involved. An example comes from the development of the Temple Gardens Mineral Spa (TGMS) in Moose Jaw. City Council’s support of the development of the TGMS was difficult to obtain, due to their initial hesitancy to embrace the cooperative organizational structure upon which the TGMS is based. The TGMS proposal, given to the City Council Spa Committee in April of 1992, was based on a community co-operative effort of raising the required $4 million through local investors and community shares, along with a City Council contribution of $2.2 million in tax abatements, water from the geothermal well and piping to the spa (Moose Jaw Times Herald 1992a). Although the City Council Spa Committee believed the proposal was sound, the feeling was that “there is no good reason to support the co-operative to the exclusion of other groups with proposals” (Moose Jaw Times Herald 1992a). The council set a deadline of May to accept spa proposals, and the TGMS were the only group to
submit a plan. In June the council rejected the TGMS proposal stating that the business plan was flawed. In September council received a plan from another group of outside investors and in October they accepted that proposal in a 6 to 1 vote, providing the group could prove they could obtain the $4.5 million required from investors within 90 days (Moose Jaw Times Herald 1992b). The dissenting vote came from one councillor who felt that the committee had not dealt fairly with the TGMS group, stating “I am not happy and I don’t feel proud being a member of this group and the process that we went through...if the financing doesn’t come through and the deal fails, I doubt that any local spa group would ever try to deal with council again to get a community-based spa project off the ground” (Moose Jaw Times Herald 1992b). City Council wanted the spa developed with private money and because the group only required $1.2 million from the city (in the form of the already constructed well) their risk was limited and that made their decision for them. However, the financing plans for the outside investment group fell through, allowing the TGMS group to move forward and develop the community-based spa they had envisioned. As the Executive Director for the Moose Jaw REDA explained, the City did give a loan to the group, which was repaid in full and although the spa did not develop in the manner the Council had originally envisioned, it has opened up a new ‘trust’ as the Council has done this type of financing support subsequently for the building of a parkade across the street from the TGMS and the casino development beside it. The Executive Director for the Moose Jaw REDA indicated, “it is being done to facilitate the development ...the City [has] a capital trust fund, so they are looking at this as an investment that provides a return along the same lines as the return they are getting on their other investments anyway. So they are putting their money into infrastructure, which is something that cities tend to do. And this is sort of an innovative way of doing that.”

However, there are times when a council’s actions are detrimental to committee activities. Churchbridge’s Community Development organization (CCD) is a case that demonstrates the discord between community and local governance in small communities. This organization was formed as a result of a visible void in community service provision within the town, which the existing Economic
Development Committee, due to terms of incorporation, could not address. The CCD provides a wide range of services, from family programming to assistance with grant applications. Although the group received considerable recognition for its activities as discussed in Chapter 5, the Town Council remained hesitant to invest public money to support the organization. For example, in 2000, Council voted to pay $2,037.50 to remain a member of the Yellowhead REDA, but did not provide the requested $10,000 to the CCD. Council members were divided on whether the CCD provides $10,000 worth of services to the community and refused to give the requested amount (Four Town Journal 2000b). There are additional interpersonal issues that have a bearing on the relationship between the Council and the CCD that are explored further in this analysis.

Another example came from Wadena where the current Mayor indicated that the town administration had lost two employees and the Council had decided to try and hire one person and create a new volunteer committee to do what two people were formerly doing.

Well we are trying to create [an Economic Development Committee]...Our town engineer is leaving at the end of August as well [as the Economic Development, Tourism and Recreation Director]. So if it is going to be restructured, now is the time to do it. And we might try to do one man or one and half men to replace the two of them. If it will work,... because the economic development committee plus one member off council can handle that part of it, then the gentleman that replaces the two of them could maybe handle the rest, so we’re trying to go that route.

As was indicated in Chapter 5, the former Economic Development, Tourism and Recreation Director had felt unsupported by the Town Council and that there was too much overtime associated with the position. The fact that the Council would consider replacing two positions with one person puts in question how much the Council values the contributions these positions make, and demonstrates how critical the support of Council is to sustaining development projects within a community.

Part of the relationship between local governments and various community committees is to oversee or guide the direction of the often-disparate groups towards
the larger vision for the town or city. Essentially, it is following the framework from institutional thickness, in getting the ‘thicknesses’ to become aware of what each other is doing, of having a common objective and of having a framework to keep everyone going in the same direction. This in turn relates to the CED literature on the importance of networks and local capacity building (Douglas 1989; Bryant 1992; Ashton 1999). There are several examples from the case study communities where such a process is in place and it appears not to be scale-based. For example, Moose Jaw City Council implemented an interim by-law to prevent anyone from undertaking development that did not fit in with the embryonic Municipal Development Plan, which among other items, addressed ongoing downtown redevelopment (Moose Jaw Times Herald 2000b). In this instance, local government is proactively supporting the work of countless committees to ensure they reach their broader goals. In addition, the City Council utilized public consultation rounds and questionnaires to invite local participation and input in developing the municipal plan. This was not a process favoured in the City, although it had been recommended by the R/UDAT study. This example demonstrates how local governments can monitor the process of CED by providing frameworks that augment and protect the committee level undertakings and which move the community towards the identified outcomes.

An additional example is provided by a revised policy report written by the Economic Development and Tourism committee in Humboldt, assessing economic development projects and proposals to be used by the Economic Development and Tourism committee, Town Administration, Town Council and the Humboldt Community Bond Corporation (Humboldt Journal 1991b). The revised policy stated that each project proposal be assessed the same so as not to favour one over the other and be assessed on the basis of whether or not it will benefit the community economy and to take into account the constraints such development may place on existing infrastructure and capacity. In addition, the report defines the roles of each of the committees to augment the process of development and prevent overlap, with Council acting as a final decision maker to ensure that the project fits within the economic development objectives of the town.
6.3.1.5 Regional Thickness

An important aspect of institutional thickness, as applied to rural places, is the regional context within which each community operates, as it has an important impact on the sustainability of rural communities and the projects they choose to undertake. When applied to a rural context, institutional thickness must be considered beyond an urban municipal border, and as MacKinnon (2002) argues, consideration of relationships to the national and international scale must be taken into account. Although institutional thickness should be inclusive of these scales, I would argue that the first step for rural communities in Saskatchewan is to move their frame of reference from a town focus to one that includes the region that surrounds them as the concept of regional economic and service coordination amongst rural communities is often not easily embraced. As an illustration, a former Economic Development Officer (EDO) of the Yellowhead REDA in Langenburg, Saskatchewan explained that the concept of working on a regional basis through the REDAs was very foreign and met with scepticism by Town Councils.

I believe there was resistance right from the start from every community. The REDA concept was so new that it was constantly under scrutiny by all members, particularly because of the monetary contributions. This opposition has dissipated over time as the member Councils become more familiar with the REDA concept and see progression/tangibles.

All the various thicknesses that have been previously identified as at work within a rural context and CED must be expanded beyond a single town and must be coordinated at the regional level. This brings the concept of networks to prominence, as there must be an effort of leaders (municipal, business, committees) to work together to capitalize on the surrounding regional options in economic and community development. However, networks as utilized in the context of institutional thickness are defined as ‘interconnections’ referring to the connections between individuals within a region and their willingness to exploit shared needs to benefit the region as a whole, not an individual town. Interested community members must capitalize on or develop levels of connections to outside expertise.
and funding opportunities to build the internal capacity of the community to undertake a chosen project. For example, the CDO in Churchbridge utilizes her connections with individuals to obtain support for the various programs she runs and in return opens these programs to the surrounding communities.

I am very fortunate because I have very good contacts with the Saskatchewan Association of Recreational Professionals, Saskatchewan Culture and Industry Canada so I’m often feeding information to the REDA office in Langenburg. ...If you have membership, boy you sure can get good information on different grants and stuff.

The Executive Director of the MJ REDA identifies this issue as “getting on the radar screen”.

We are not on anyone’s radar screen. I mean, what decision makers think, ‘yeah, Moose Jaw’. They don’t, so we have to get better known. And to get better known you have to have proper referrals, qualified entrance to decision makers. ...If someone is looking at doing a plant relocation or locating an operation, we need someone who knows that individual, knows their decision making process, knows that industry and is able to get access to decision makers to get us in front of them. But it has to be viable too, we have to do our homework. ...You need the right people looking in the right areas so that you don’t waste a whole pile of money on something that is speculative.

As this example illustrates, it is critical to develop interconnections between business and industry leaders and between community leaders so that each can assist the other. In addition, these statements indicate the importance of choosing development strategies and exploring opportunities within the existing capacities of the community. This is a theme that is explored in the section on embeddedness.

Each community in the case grouping has to varying degrees and for various purposes worked together on a regional basis and their experiences are explored here. The best example is provided by the Mayor of Humboldt who indicated that civic leaders over the past several decades have worked with surrounding communities on a regional basis to develop a viable health region, to build a regional waste management program, to create a regional fresh water supply system and to develop a functional regional economic development association to support the communities in the region. The following quote from a former mayor echoes the
sentiments of the current Mayor of Humboldt. It demonstrates the need for regional approaches and that regionalism is a thickness that is required in rural places to achieve outcomes for a larger population.

One of the most significant changes has been the new approach to inter-municipal cooperation among urban and rural governments in the area...it was not uncommon in the past for local governments to mistrust and occasionally scrap with each other. We can no longer afford to do that; by working with other communities in the area, we have been able to get more done together than by working alone and trying to outgun each other (Humboldt Journal 1994b).

What is interesting about this community is that the current mayor credits tourism for providing the initial framework for the communities to begin thinking and working on a regional basis.

As a matter of fact, [tourism] brought the district together... part of the offshoot of that today is the Regional Economic Development Authority. People learned that we weren’t competing with each other, we were together. And it really helped the district. We had 10 to 12 people around the table from Wadena, Humboldt, Watson, Wynyard and they had never talked. They had no reason to ... But now we had Mayors together and we had people at meetings in every community. That started a whole different regional thing. Out of that I believe grew REDA, it grew the regional water supply system, the regional waste system. So many things we’re doing regionally now started from that tourism thing, because there were community leaders that were right there.

Humboldt had given consideration to the development of a REDA since 1993 and the Town Council voted to join the REDA in 1997 (Humboldt Journal 1994c). Interestingly, those interested in forming the Carleton Trail REDA identified the basis of their region on those communities that were linked by history and current trading patterns. The aims of the REDA were the future expansion and development of products and industry that relate to the agricultural industry, identifying opportunities suited to each town and the overall objective was to work together so that the benefits to all parties is greater than that which can be attained by acting independently (Humboldt Journal 1994d).
Along with the previously mentioned regional projects completed in the Carleton Trail REDA, there have been a number of innovative projects coordinated for the region that capitalize on and strengthen the existing capacities. The REDA, in conjunction with Heartland Live Stock (Saskatchewan Wheat Pool), built two hog production sites. The REDA coordinated an application to the federal government for a community-based Hog Production Industry Youth Internship program in order to supply the trained work force required for the hog operations (Humboldt Journal 1997b). The REDA also undertook to develop a model of education that meets the needs of the local job market in partnership with the college and local industry. The program provides training for welders within the region to meet the needs of local industry. Area industries helped develop the program by committing $200,000 to consultation, on site training and supervision of students during the work experience period of their program (Humboldt Journal 1997c).

The remainder of this section presents information on how the different communities are working on a regional basis for a variety of reasons, excluding tourism-based initiatives. Duck Lake is the only community that to this point does not participate in any of the regional economic development initiatives in their area. In an interview with the Town Administrator and the Executive Director of the Prince Albert REDA (PA REDA) (to which Duck Lake would belong) I found that there were sound reasons for this, as previously discussed in chapter 5. The Director of PA REDA explained that while Duck Lake had belonged to the REDA as a founding member, the PA REDA had experienced some operational difficulties that resulted in several communities (including Duck Lake) not renewing their membership. His hope was that once their process of restructuring was complete, the PA REDA would be able to entice members back. The Town Administrator of Duck Lake stated that the Town Council would likely give this consideration once it was evident the PA REDA was functioning properly.

The Moose Jaw REDA (MJ REDA) has been in existence since 1996, functioning primarily as the economic development arm for the City (80 percent of the MJ REDA resources are focused on the city, the remaining 20 percent on the 12 rural municipalities that make up the MJ REDA). When the MJ REDA incorporated,
the Board of Directors worked to identify their strengths and weaknesses as a way of determining the economic development strategies upon which to build. These included diversified livestock, becoming the top growing area for lentils and canary seed, providing transportation access for meat packers, capitalizing on the Saskatchewan Institute of Applied Science and Technology education system, the spa and Western Development Museum for tourism, along with their proximity to Regina (Moose Jaw Times Herald 1997).

Despite a R/UDAT study recommending that Moose Jaw undertake a more regional approach to economic development, (Moose Jaw Times Herald 1993b), the MJ REDA has only recently begun to address the needs of the RMs that make up its region. In 2001 the MJ REDA held regional meetings to address the needs of these RMs and found that the participating communities were looking for assistance with individual priority areas. As the Director for the MJ REDA indicated,

> About half of what was done in each community was things that the community was going to do for themselves through volunteers. I would say probably another 40 percent of activities were ones that we provided research assistance and background information gathering to help the communities...And then the final area was, well there seemed to be some obvious things of a regional nature when it came to promotion or trying to get a certain type of activity going that we were... already working on.... These were things that were identified by the community that they spent 10 percent of their time working on. ...I think they’re focused on what they are working at a community level and it is kind of a nice thing that we are around at a regional level. You know people, there main interests are close to home and I don’t have any problems with that, that’s where they have to start...

Although providing such assistance is part of the interconnected thickness that is important to the development and sustainability of local communities, the ‘things of a regional nature’ that the MJ REDA are focused on, are ones that the Board of Directors have determined, suggesting LED is more the focus as these are not priorities determined by the communities themselves, as the following indicates.

> But when it comes to our board, these are things that our board identifies [regional priorities], and we consider the other stuff in the context of our planning. But we tend to do our own
SWOT [Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats] analysis and then pick what seems to make sense. And we really haven’t diverted much on our project course of action over the last 3 years.

Both Churchbridge and Wadena have been involved in various regional relationships over time, but neither of these communities have participated as actively as Humboldt or Moose Jaw. There are interesting issues surrounding Churchbridge’s association with the REDAs in its region that speak to issues of individual leadership and its impact on regional participation. Churchbridge belonged to the Rural Development Corporation beginning in 1991, the aim of which was to develop industry in rural communities in its area including the RM5 of Churchbridge, Saltcoats and Langenburg along with the town of Langenburg (Four Town Journal 1991a). The Yellowhead REDA replaced the RDC in 1993 and Churchbridge remained as a member. The Yellowhead REDA is based out of Langenburg, a neighbouring town located 15 kilometres east of Churchbridge. As a former EDO indicated, the process to establish the Yellowhead REDA was based on the assumption that strength comes in numbers and it is time for the communities to support one another given the challenges faced in rural Saskatchewan. [The Director of the time] felt there were two choices: "We can go down on our own and cry about it" OR "We might go down, but not without a kicking fight." Many of his steering committee believed this idea.

The Yellowhead REDA was founded with five members and has now grown to 11 (5 RM5s and 6 communities). The current Director of the REDA indicated that the Town Council of Churchbridge initiated the community’s membership and although development ideas are rarely brought forward from this community’s representatives, there is always a willingness to participate. The Director indicated that there may be a few reasons to account for less activity than in other communities. The decision to locate the office for the REDA in Langenburg may have had an impact and, as the former EDO of the REDA suggested, “If the REDA office was situated in Churchbridge, things may be completely different in relation to the resistance.” The decision to locate in Langenburg was based strictly on finances as office space was offered free of charge for several months. Another
reason is that Churchbridge is the only community in the region that has its own CDO, resulting in less need for the services of the REDA.

The CDO of the Churchbridge Community Development organization is influential within the community and as many of the services required by community members are offered through the CDO (which normally the REDA would assist with) there has been a limited relationship between the two organizations. The CDO stated that she has not found the Yellowhead REDA helpful and as a result the CCD has membership in the Good Spirit REDA based in Yorkton. The CDO’s explanation for this membership suggests that despite the regional association and the need to partner on projects, the desire to protect the interests of individual communities still exists.

Because within our region we have the Yellowhead REDA and they are basically very centred around Langenburg where they have their offices. So we actually have membership with the Good Spirit REDA out of Yorkton because they seem to be a little more eager, maybe because they don’t feel threatened by us at all. You know I think there is always that kind of turf protection and that seems to be maybe where we are having a little bit of a hard time getting tips, or resources or whatever out of the Yellowhead REDA.

However, in an interview with the current Director of the Yellowhead REDA, it became evident that ‘turf protection’ may exist at a personal level for the CDO. The Director indicated that the REDA’s assistance has been offered on several occasions, but each time the CDO has refused. The Director views the CDO to have very strong leadership skills that some people find overbearing as, “you know when your ideas aren’t considered, people get frustrated”. The Director also suggested that because the CDO was not successful in her application for the position of Director of the Yellowhead REDA, there has been less willingness to work with the REDA.

The Director also indicated that the relationship between the Churchbridge Town Council and the CCD has soured because of some “deals that were not upheld by [the CDO] and so the Town Council has decided not to fund the CCD at all. This has caused an ongoing war so to speak, between the two.” So although the CDO can access the services of the Yellowhead REDA for free (because Town Council pays
the $2,000 fee), she has chosen to take out an individual membership with the Good Spirit REDA, at a cost of $1,000 per year.

Outside of the REDA framework there have been initiatives of a regional nature undertaken due to the limited resources of individual communities and inspired by what the Mayor of Churchbridge views as “the future direction of government in this province”. The Town Councils of Churchbridge and Langenburg developed a regional sanitation system because of the limited space and financial constraints facing both communities (Four Town Journal 1991a). The Churchbridge Mayor finds that, “if you want any funding these days, you need to have partnerships and in this case it has worked out well for both of us.”

It is apparent that various communities have different attitudes towards regional participation, and although the interviewees stated that working on a regional basis was important in today’s climate, there is some evidence that community members do not share this sentiment. For example, Wadena’s participation in the Carleton Trail REDA, based out of Humboldt, began in 2000. The Town’s participation was facilitated by the Economic Development, Tourism and Recreation Director, who had to sell the town council on the idea by stating, “It won’t do us any good unless we are willing to help ourselves… it [membership in the REDA] will provide the town with much needed resources for organizational development, promotion and marketing” (Wadena News 2000e). Council members in Wadena were hesitant to support the development of a new hospital in Humboldt (Wadena News 2000f), with opponents suggesting that the money would be better spent on community projects such as the town hall or pool. However, the opinion that “if we are going to use the new Humboldt hospital we have a certain responsibility to contribute” was embraced and the Town Council chose to invest the money in a regional hospital (Wadena News 2000f).

Such examples would suggest that regional participation or contributions to a regional project are not readily accepted. However, when asked if it is difficult to convince community leaders to participate in projects beyond the town’s interests, those interviewed suggested it was not a problem. For example, the Mayor of Biggar believed that,
... we've been doing that for like a 100 years already in rural areas. I go back to when I was a kid 25 years ago growing up in a small town. The town 25 miles down the road was building a rink and even at that time it was a regional rink. Because small town Saskatchewan even then knew that they could never afford, even if they build the damn thing that they could never afford to keep it going without resource support. And I mean that, we’ve been depopulating Saskatchewan for so long that we’ve been thinking that way forever. And I don’t mean just in Biggar because I’ve only been in Biggar for 11 years. I mean anywhere I’ve been people are looking out for there own town, but there is always a regional component too.

Yet evidence from the *Biggar Independent* newspaper suggests otherwise and similar to the experience of other communities in the case study, there was opposition from the Town Council who chose not to join the REDA in 1994 because they felt the interests of Biggar would not be served (Biggar Independent 1994a, 1994b). By 1997, Biggar had membership with the Mid Saskatchewan Community Futures Corporation operating out of Outlook, the West Central Saskatchewan Regional Tourism Association and the Mid West REDA based in Biggar (Biggar Independent 1997a).

Despite participation in a variety of regional organizations, there remains an underlying current that suggests the focus for development remains centred on Biggar.

Quite frankly what we work on is quite regional. I mean the REDA and the RDC those are both regional things. And when I say Biggar and area, I certainly mean we have to work very closely with the RM's that surround us. I mean Biggar is the economic centre here and we plan to be the regional economic centre at some point [emphasis added by author], I mean that is how we plan to grow. But obviously this is a regional thing. It has to be. I mean we can’t be isolated out here. Lots of what we do and lots of meetings we attend are all based on a regional basis. ... I mean I go to these meetings and obviously I am from the town of Biggar and anything I can do for the town of Biggar [I will]. But at some point we know that we ...have to be bigger than just the town.

These sentiments would suggest that perhaps the regional participation of the Mayor (and other representatives of the town) is to see how Biggar can be situated within
the region to further their aim of becoming the regional service centre. The Director of the Good Spirit REDA suggests that this is not uncommon.

Although representatives will all say they value a regional approach they are always concerned when "we seem to be spending a lot of time, effort and dollars in X community - what about my Y community." It is the nature of the beast.

He suggests that in recognition of this, REDAs need to expand their membership base by recruiting more business and regional organizations, with the hope being that such involvement will "dilute these more parochial concerns".

6.3.1.6 Tourism and Institutional Thickness
As discussed in the previous section, the boundaries of institutional thickness have to be extended beyond the limits of one community in rural areas to include the attributes accessible to the population on a regional basis, and this is especially the case when consideration is being given to tourism as an economic development strategy in rural areas. There are several layers of thickness identifiable in this regard and required at the regional level, termed attraction and partnership, and at a more localized level, termed infrastructure and facilities.

The institutional thickness required at a regional level refers to the presence of enough attractions and a sufficiently high level of service to become a destination area. Although local governments, businesses, individuals and various committees support tourism (murals in particular) to varying degrees, regionalism in tourism development is a crucial thickness for rural communities that are dispersed. Individual small rural communities rarely have enough or varied attractions to entice visitors to come for the extended period required to garner the economic benefits that are possible. Tourism may not be an appropriate industry to consider in every case because there must be a threshold level of services to make the industry viable.

When communities chose to work independently of the region and surrounding attractions, they do not experience the same benefits as those that choose to work together. The Museum Director and Mural Chair in Duck Lake explains that the need to work on a regional basis has become evident.
[At the time of the mural project (1990)] the focus was to get them to Duck Lake. Period, you know. And the reality was that, ... you could get them to Duck Lake, but they could do the museum and ... the murals and be done in a half a day. And then they’re gone. ... there’s no economic boost unless they stay overnight. And that’s what the whole idea behind our marketing strategy right now, is to try to get people to come into this area and stay in this area. Now whether they stay here or at Jack Pine Stables; then Jack Pine Stables and Duck Lake reaps the benefits or if they stay in Bellevue, then Bellevue reaps the benefits. But at least we’ve got them in this region. And we’ve given them a good package.

Not only does this quote indicate a need to work on a regional basis in tourism development, it also demonstrates that to reap the potential economic spin off benefits of tourism, visitors must stay overnight. Moreover, in order to stay, there has to be enough to see and do, so they have discovered that they need to create a regional package. It is something that tourism advocates in Humboldt recognized from the beginning and therefore they have worked to promote the region. For example, the Mayor of Humboldt indicated,

... each of us I guess knew we couldn’t do it alone because when we started this thing, I always gave them the phrase that when my wife and I go to San Francisco for holidays we don’t just go to San Francisco. We go to the area and we sit there for a week and we look at different things. And we have to create that here. So that people can come to central Saskatchewan, the welcoming area, and that would be the spa at Watrous and a day trip to Humboldt and a day trip to the Quill Lakes and a day trip to Mount Carmel, things like that. So, we thought we could do this if we’re together.

The need for partnerships, as expressed in CED, is a critical thickness in tourism. Attractions and businesses have to work together to promote one another and not view each other as competitors. They also need to pool their often-limited resources, for expenses such as marketing. Advertising is extremely expensive; for example, a business-card sized ad in the Saskatchewan Tourism Literature Series is $500. In response to such costs, the Director of the Museum and Mural Board Chair in Duck Lake is developing a ‘lure brochure’ with multiple partners within the region in order to develop a destination package for tourists. It includes Scrimshaw
Everyone has basically tried to do things on their own for so long. And as I said, marketing, even if you want to put in a business card ad in any of the tourism publications You’re looking at anywhere’s between $450 and $500 dollars. ...It’s ridiculous and ... this is why we strongly felt that if we could pool our resources, ... then we could actually put together a marketing strategy, a ploy that will go out and we will advertise as a region. So one full-page ad might cost $1000, but it will advertise everybody and if you divide it amongst the players, then it comes out to less.

The need to work with neighbouring towns and attractions points to the necessity of partnerships between tourism businesses or attractions to augment the number of attractions available, thus increasing visitation. For example, two women from Humboldt developed a brochure of businesses and industries in Humboldt and surrounding region for tourists, based on a similar brochure they had seen from Minnedosa, Manitoba. It “features businesses that are off the beaten trail, that aren’t immediately visible like the ones on Main Street. These are places that represent the strong cottage industry in our area” (Humboldt Journal 2000b). The brochure includes maps with the locations of the places. The women conducted a phone survey of businesses and received commitments from twenty-two of them. Although they were hoping for more, “the ones we got for the brochure are the ones that are ready to receive visitors.” The response to the brochure has been positive and the women have found that, “people are just shocked to see collectively the number of businesses we have off the beaten trail in this area”. These women are bringing regional business interests together to promote them collectively along with the region as a whole to potential visitors and those living in the area. Such networking between business builds the financial capacity of communities to become self-supporting, another key element of CED (Pell and Wismer 1983; Boothroyd and Davis 1993).

In addition, the importance of local business supporting each other in tourism development was evident in the case study communities. For example, the development of the Cultural Centre in Moose Jaw was made possible by financial
contributions of, among other institutions, tourism businesses in the city including Casino Moose Jaw and Temple Gardens Mineral Spa because they recognized that in assisting such locally-based developments it would boost visitation, benefiting their businesses (Moose Jaw Times Herald 2001a).

It is important to acknowledge that the exclusive development of murals will not provide enough of an attraction to garner economic benefits of any magnitude. Instead, murals are to be created as part of a set of tourism venues and the resulting ‘agglomeration of attractions’ will hopefully serve to provide an economic ‘critical mass’ that may aid a community. This is a key factor relating specifically to mural development as a tourism strategy that community members need to be clear on. The murals are not the end product but should be considered as part of a larger set of attractions to the community or region. Of the case study communities, the Mural Board in Humboldt deliberately chose to create their murals to augment the existing attractions within their community. For Moose Jaw, murals were credited as being the catalyst for greater tourism development within the city. Although Duck Lake’s Mural Board understood this premise of mural development, they were not able to exploit their potential to the extent they had hoped.

There also has to be an infrastructure and facilities thickness at a local level for tourism to be successful. This level of thickness takes time and a financial commitment that is not always available within a small community. Although discussed within the section on embeddedness, this thickness level is what makes tourism a more complex industry than most community leaders understand. Tourism development is based on having a package of services, attractions and ambiance much of which requires investment of capital that does not have an immediate return. The following quote comes from a councillor in Moose Jaw, who advocated such investment, recognizing that,

fixing up streets and laying sidewalk bricks may not seem like a viable way to attract investment, but it’s part of a cycle. You can’t have a run-down road and expect people to believe there’s a first-class spa at the end of it. If you make the surrounding environment attractive and unique, it makes the existing businesses successful and, in turn, brings in more business (Moose Jaw Times Herald 1990b).
This cycle of investment is critical to the successful outcome of a tourism strategy. Much as the work of Richard Florida (for example, Florida and Gates 2001; Florida 2002a; Florida 2002b) suggests for urban growth, investments must be made in community tourism infrastructure, broadly defined as sidewalks, quality street surfacing, signage, creative lampposts and flower boxes, among others. It also must be made in tourism-related facilities, including everything from swimming pools, parks and playgrounds, to museums, restaurants and shops. Several of the case communities in this study, including Humboldt, Moose Jaw and Duck Lake, have made these investments.

The case community of Duck Lake provides an illustrative example of how all these thickness levels work in combination within a given rural place. As indicated, Duck Lake developed the murals as an attraction with the intent of becoming a single destination for tourists. However, the mural committee has realized that the murals and the regional museum are not enough to bring visitors to the community and stay for a long enough time period to be of economic benefit to the businesses in the community. Instead, there is a recognition that they need to work with other communities and attractions in the region.

In so doing, they are also developing partnerships to pool their collective resources and promote one another to develop the kinds of destination packaging that tourists want. As the Mural Chair indicated, tourists are

\[ \ldots \] starting to look for a day excursion, a two day excursion or they're starting to look for packages, an itinerary. Something that's all planned for them, all they have to do is put their dollar down and off we go. \ldots I think every one of us realizes too that we are just not financially able to do the level of marketing that we need to do on our own. \ldots I was saying to the mural board it makes way more sense to invest a couple hundred dollars to a strategy like this, than try to do it on our own because we just don't have the coverage.\ldots We cannot purchase the kind of mileage that this little package is going to bring.

An interesting aspect of Duck Lake's mural project was that the committee recognized the need to do more than just murals and invested in the tourism infrastructure required to support tourism by beautifying their Main Street (see...
Figure 5.18) and developing good signage for the murals. Unfortunately the planning beyond this was not cohesive and the committee did not choose to capitalize on the existing facility attributes. Located within the centre of town is a green space area that includes a playground, an existing movie set from a documentary on Almighty Voice\textsuperscript{5} that creates a turn of the century, prairie community Main Street and which includes the actual sod jail that Almighty Voice had been kept in as well as the 1940s two-story school that had formerly housed the museum. These existing structures could have been refurbished, expanded and updated to create an agglomeration of attractions, which would have augmented the mural attraction resulting in people spending time walking through the community.

Instead, a new museum was created outside of the town along the highway (the murals are in the community off the highway) and the restaurants that developed to support the ‘hoped-for-soon-to-be-booming’ tourism industry and Glen Scrimshaw’s Art Gallery are located on the highway, not in the community. The result is a disjointed and largely uninterpreted set of tourism attractions. For example, visitors to the community would not find nor understand the significance of the green space previously described unless it was pointed out. And even though the town is small, the different attractions and services are located far enough away from each other that it does not encourage pedestrian activity but instead, ‘drive by tourism’ which does not get the tourist to stop, get out of their vehicle and spend money.

The following quote from the Economic Development, Tourism and Recreation Director in Wadena provides a description of what is the quintessential ingredient of rural tourism and planning,

Wadena, has to realize or make a decision, if its going to be a port, to places like Green Water, Fishing Lake, people going from Manitoba to Saskatoon... Or is it going to be a

\textsuperscript{5} Almighty Voice was a member of One Arrow First Nation who was arrested by the North West Mounted Police in 1885 for the killing of a stray cow. It was said that the meat was destined for Almighty Voice's wedding feast. He broke out of jail and spent the next year being hunted throughout western Canada. Despite the offer of a reward of $500 for his capture, the North West Mounted Police were unable to capture Almighty Voice until a stand off in May of 1879, which resulted in his death (Ricketts 2004).
destination. And if its going to be a destination, then what’s going to be our niche?

This is the key point for rural community leaders to recognize if considering tourism as an economic development strategy. Tourism must be developed on the basis of something that fits within the community’s existing and future capacity to develop and sustain, and the town itself has to be viewed as a destination within a region. Moreover, planning must capitalize on the facilities and capacities (historic, cultural, volunteer, money) that the community possesses.

6.3.2 Governance

The term governance is widely used within both academic and practitioner circles and its use signifies a concern with a change in both the meaning and the content of government. Its application is wider to include the ways in which governmental and non-governmental organizations work together. Although speaking directly of the experience in Great Britain, Goodwin (1998) suggests that at a local level, the institutional map of rural local government has been transformed into a system of governance, which involves a range of agencies and institutions drawn from the public, private and voluntary sectors.

There has been a similar transformation within rural Canada and specifically Saskatchewan with such programs as the Regional Economic Development Authorities, Tourism Authorities and Health Districts along with various kinds of voluntary agencies. Stoker (1996 as cited in Goodwin 1998) suggests that the utility of the governance perspective is to formulate important questions regarding rural issues, and he sets out five different propositions including, 1) an examination of those involved in governance, 2) responsibilities for social and economic issues, 3) power relationships, 4) self-governance, and 5) the capacity of such arrangements to ‘get things done’. In the context of this research, the important questions to address concern the actors/institutions involved, the relationship between them and importantly, the role of formal governing bodies in supporting CED endeavours. Because CED is understood to be a ‘bottom-up’ strategy, it is important to examine how government policy can and does influence decisions made at a local level.
6.3.2.1 Top Down Versus Bottom Up

When examining the data, it became apparent that the central premise of CED as a grass roots, bottom-up approach to development was challenged at a governance level. Does the idea really come from within the community or is it a result of outside government influence? Does government encourage certain community responses through the types of programs and grants it offers? The top-down versus bottom-up distinction is critical in rural places, especially when the implication or supposition is that bottom-up is inherently more sustainable and will help in keeping a rural place ‘viable’.

What emerges from this research is that in fact many communities do try to capitalize on grant dollars available and therefore what they undertake can be influenced by the investment agenda of the government. For example, the economic development and tourism committees in Humboldt elected to merge their two committees to avoid overlap and to capitalize on grants, stating that “today’s thrust behind economic development is tourism and grants currently available are more geared to tourism as opposed to economic development issues” (Humboldt Journal 1991c).

Another example comes from the current mayor of Biggar who indicated that they are watching what the provincial government is interested in. “Anytime the province is talking about anything we perk our ears up and look to where we fit in. They start talking about Ethanol, we know we have some feed lots here, we’re going to be on line to look at that.”

Is planning really from the bottom-up if a community can only get funding support when governments choose to support such endeavours because it is now on their “radar screen” as one economic development officer so eloquently stated? In 1986, the provincial government would not support a tourism proposal to revitalize the downtown of Moose Jaw based on its 1920s heyday of illegal drinking and gambling (Regina Leader Post 1986). Fifteen years later, the provincial government has committed $3 million to assist the city in its project (Moose Jaw Times Herald 2000c).
One could argue that the role of government through policy is to utilize available expertise to determine opportunities within the current economic climate, invest accordingly and devise programs to aid in that investment. However, in order for such ‘investments’ to be sustainable, governments should devise them in such a way as to not create an unstable dependency on the government program; that is as soon as funding for the program is gone, so is the program, for example the Heritage Program in Moose Jaw (Moose Jaw Times Herald 1985a; 1985b). Instead, programs should be created in such a way that builds capacity so that by the time the program runs out, the community has developed a way to continue and has the education to do so, for example the Federal Government’s Community Access Program.

The Community Tourism Assistance Program (CTAP), introduced by the Saskatchewan government through the Department of Economic Development and Tourism in 1988 is an example of a program that significantly influenced several communities to undertake tourism development. Within the case study communities, Wadena, Churchbridge and Humboldt all utilized the available funding. The premise of the program was that tourism can be an economic engine for growth and that many communities want tourism development but need assistance. Through CTAP, interested parties could obtain funding providing a tourism committee and plan were in place and endorsed by local government. Funding was provided for marketing (up to $24,000 maximum over 4 years) or product development ($75,000 maximum over 4 years) (Four Town Journal 1988b; Humboldt Journal 1988a). The program had both positive and negative aspects. It provided the impetus for the development and promotion of tourism within the respective communities, but it did not provide lasting support and the community profiles and promotional materials were not updated in the smaller communities of Wadena or Churchbridge once the funding ran out. This result however, also has to be considered within the context of the tourism-related thickness discussed previously as neither of these communities has evidence of such thicknesses.
6.3.2.2 Civic Leadership

Associated with governance is leadership and evidence within this research would suggest that community sustainability has a clear link to civic leadership in CED. Each development program or project is only as good as the mandate of the elected leadership. Time and again projects are derailed mid-stream because they do not coincide with the policies of the new official. Governance frameworks, where local government and community groups work together, may not be in a position of stability within CED because the individuals do not have equal power, are often led by volunteers and have unstable funding relationships. In such cases the funding or volunteers may be lost and therefore so is the program. Moose Jaw provides an example of this.

In 1991 Aldermen Mitchell wanted to cut funding to the Business Improvement District (BID) group. This organization had developed a five year downtown improvement plan which included flowers, light standards and a sidewalk replacement plan in which businesses where paying 58 percent of the cost, in conjunction with the city (Moose Jaw Times Herald 1990c). His proposal to cut funding was rejected, but when he became mayor the following year, he not only cut their funding but he also withheld city money for the sidewalk improvement agreement (Moose Jaw Times Herald 1991a; 1992c). This issue calls into question the ability of community groups to maintain the integrity of long-term plans when funding is dependent on or in partnership with local government.

Elected officials have a short-term planning horizon and therefore control the fate of economic and community organizations. If the council changes then the vision for the community may also change. The people who deliver plans and services to the community (for example economic development or tourism officers) may also have to ‘retrain’ or renegotiate with the new officials. This reality has repercussions beyond simple mobilization of resources as evidenced in the following quote from the Tourism and Economic Development Director in Humboldt responding to the question regarding what her plans are for tourism development:

Try and convince council, I have a year and a half left to go… because council is only in for three years, I have no idea what
will happen with the next municipal election, whether or not this same council is going to stay in or its going to be a brand new council. If it is a brand new council then it is basically starting over, trying to teach them.

The sustainability of programming for communities is jeopardized by different levels of government where funding is cut or not renewed without notice for local governments by the provincial government. This is demonstrated in the following example. In 1991 the provincial government changed the funding structure for capital assistance grants to urban municipalities (Humboldt Journal 1991d). The result of the restructuring meant that several communities (notably Humboldt) lost considerable funding ($491,000) that had been earmarked for capital projects within the town. The council was not informed of the change prior to making the 1991 budget. The Humboldt Mayor of the time indicated that,

if we had known this was to be the case perhaps we would not have gone ahead with all of the programs or not spent as much money. We would have built according to the grants and the time frame. All requests that were made qualified under the previous funding formula. We were in a financial situation where we had our share of the money to proceed with the projects. Now we are behind the eight-ball because the government has changed horses in mid-stream. They expect us to have a five year plan for Humboldt. How can you have such a plan when the government changes its mind without prior notification? (Humboldt Journal 1991d)

The variation in local government support for mural-based tourism projects indicates that the inclusion of municipal leaders (i.e., a governance structure) in the mural board may garner both moral and financial support for the projects. In Duck Lake, Humboldt and Moose Jaw, the mural boards all included a Town/City Councillor and those interviewed in these communities indicated that the Council was considered supportive of the projects. In contrast, neither Churchbridge nor Wadena had a council member involved and it is in these locales that the perception of lesser support exists.

Does governance have a role in CED? Governance structures work when personal conflicts between the leadership of both community organizations and local government are minimized and the good of the larger community is kept at the
forefront. In some cases, such as Duck Lake and Moose Jaw, the working relationship between the Council and the community groups is viewed as positive. In others, such as Wadena and Humboldt, the relationship has varied over time. This perhaps provides the answer to the question – the effectiveness of a governance structure in facilitating CED is dependent on who is in power, and as will be discussed, it depends on the embeddedness of the chosen strategies and the variety of organizations (thickness) that exist to support the development choices.

6.3.2.3 Communication and the Development Process

This research has highlighted the need for effective communication between community members and town/city council as a critical part of the development process in CED and as an ingredient for the procurement of broad-based support for projects. The Majestic Development Corporation in Biggar provides an example of effective communication between community-based project leaders and the public, where public meetings were held,

to give a better understanding of the proposed multi-purpose family facility, a public relations committee has made a presentation of the facts to nine local organizations. If other groups are interested in seeing a presentation they may contact the chairperson of the board. ....When the feasibility study is completed, the campaign committee will be taking the presentation to town hall meetings in the surrounding communities (Biggar Independent 1985d).

This demonstrates not only effective communication, but also an important factor in effective and sustainable CED. Because it is a community-driven initiative, not sought because of government funding but because of the importance of the arts and recreation to community members, they utilized government programs to provide assistance with market and feasibility studies, business consulting, financial analysis and accounting services to access community support. In so doing they garnered strong public support for the project. This also demonstrates how a project’s positive outcome is further ensured when the project is embedded in the community, a theme that will be explored in a subsequent section.
Despite attempts to obtain public input on community-based projects (ranging from recreational facility building to downtown/main street improvements), there remains conflict between what a town council proposes and what the public will support. This does not appear to have a scale-based relationship as the conflicts in Moose Jaw were mirrored in Wadena, Churchbridge and Humboldt. There did appear to be less conflict in Biggar and a greater consensus on moving forward within that community.

For example, the downtown revitalization plans for Moose Jaw began in 1986 with the Mayor’s Task Force on Downtown Revitalization. The corner stone of this plan was the redevelopment of River Street, complete with casino gambling and an enclosed street mall reminiscent of the 1920s heyday of the street (Regina Leader Post 1986; Moose Jaw Times Herald 1988). Both the city council and the Business Improvement District were in full support of the plan, but the provincial government of the time would not support the development of gambling within the province and community members were ill at ease with gambling as a means of attracting people to the city. Because of the discord between community and council views of gambling as a means for renewal for the downtown, during the 1988 election only two councillors were re-elected (Moose Jaw Times Herald 1988).

This example further highlights the need for effective communication between community members and Town/City Council to procure broad-based support for projects. In Moose Jaw, the Mayor’s Task Force on Downtown Revitalization was criticized for its emphasis on gambling. Its proponents defended the project by indicating that the gambling-style development was only a small part of the plan and that there were many other aspects that had not been effectively communicated to the public at large (Regina Leader Post 1986). The Business Improvement District was in favour of the plan and felt that “the decision is courageous because change always creates controversy and often the debate is too one-sided in favour of the status quo” (Moose Jaw Times Herald 1988).

Wadena perhaps best exemplifies the discord between council and community members, highlighting the need for effective communication and decision-making that is inclusive of the public. It also demonstrates that when
government and community groups come together in discussion it often proves to be beneficial. The public and Town Council in Wadena had a history of discord over a number of different projects (e.g., swimming pool, curling rink, town hall) that resulted in a petition from concerned community members in 2000, requesting a public meeting to discuss three problematic areas:

1. Lack of support for public based projects;
2. Lack of consideration by council regarding recommendations made to council by various committees; and,
3. Council’s preoccupation with building a large monetary reserve without considering the wants of the people (Wadena News 2000g).

The petition called for an impartial person to chair a public meeting to address these concerns; however a storm prevented a Saskatchewan Justice mediator’s attendance so a former mayor chaired instead. The outcome of the meeting was that community members were able to voice their opinion that Wadena was perceived as a dying town and that people were interested in seeing projects like the swimming pool completed to contribute to a feeling of growth and vibrancy within the community. Consensus of the meeting was that the need for new facilities should be prioritized and undertaken on the basis of most urgent need. It allowed the various committees (e.g., the swimming pool and hall committees) to discuss their projects and reach a consensus with the Town Council on which project should be supported first (Wadena News 2000g).

Local governments engage the public in their decision-making process in various and often creative ways, although it does not mean they always listen to the recommendations that are brought forward, but they do attempt public consultation. For example, in trying to decide where the new library should be located, the Churchbridge Town Council put an information letter and ballot into the residential water bills (Four Town Journal 1988c). Others hold town hall meetings or conduct public surveys.

Sometimes the public can force effective communication if they do not agree with Council’s decision. In such instances, a council must decide if its constituents had enough information to make an informed decision. Such a case occurred in
Churchbridge in 2000, when Town Council decided to give $15,000 to Big Sky Farms (from Humboldt) to develop a hog operation in the McNutt area. The ‘loan’ would be given back to the town once the production facility was established (Four Town Journal 2000c). However, a petition was brought forward from the community (signed by 271 of 796 community members) asking the council to reconsider the expenditure as it was suggested that the money could be better spent elsewhere. Council felt that the petitioners simply did not have enough information when they signed the petition and that the community would benefit from the hog industry development in the region. As a result, the council deferred the petition and decided to hold a public meeting to properly inform the community of the benefits of hog operations (Four Town Journal 2000d).

At times the potential for discord between a Council’s decision and the public reaction determines the course of action, as indicated in the following examples. When the Churchbridge Town Council was debating tax exemptions for various community groups, including the seniors group and curlers, the mayor suggested that council needed to take into consideration the fact that the seniors group is very vocal (Four Town Journal 1998c). Similarly, the Mayor of Humboldt suggests that it is important to allow people time to support a project, especially when the group you are targeting is influential.

They [Council] were building a curling rink in Muenster because the old one had reached past its days, and they wanted to build a new curling rink right away. So, they went around town and they said they wanted all the seniors to kick in some money and, of course, they turned them down. I told them you can’t do it that way. You have to go slow. Put it out there and let them chew on it for a year and say, ‘look what we can do if we do this’. You know, they went through with it the next fall.

These examples demonstrate that local groups and individual citizens can and do have an influence on what decisions are made within their communities. They highlight the need for effective communication strategies between government and citizenry in order to procure broad based support for projects.
6.3.2.4 Partnerships

This is connected to the institutional thickness concept discussed in terms of regional participation, but it specifically addresses the types and numbers of committees or organizations that are developed at arms length from the local government, but which act on behalf of the local government to address a specific mandate. These include economic, tourism and social groups. It also speaks to the level of support community groups receive from the different levels of government.

For example the current mayor who chairs the newly formed Biggar Committee for Community Development, stated that he hoped eventually “It will become, … a governing body for our long term planning and … working with Town Council, …[who] has the final say as far as planning, and building and financing”. He also stated the Town Council fully supported the formation of this organization and felt that

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\text{as a Town Council we have so much to worry about. And long term planning and fund raising and all that kind of stuff, for us to do it as a council it becomes so cumbersome. So for us to be able to give that to a different group, working in that way is just wonderful.}
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What this suggests is that such organizations can make decisions and carry out projects within a long-term plan, independent of, but supported by, the Town Council. As a result, the Town Council is freed of some responsibilities, which allows them to focus on other areas.

The Mayor of Humboldt has purposely chosen to develop an Economic Development Committee independent of the Town Council to address the void in local level economic development planning (the Carleton Trail REDA is responsible for regionally based developments). What is interesting in this example is that the mayor sees this independence as a positive.

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\text{Just so that they can do their own thing and they don’t have to go to a committee meeting. … It will be their choosing if they want to be enrolled under the Town. Like, if we do it out of the [Council], then you need a bylaw that just establishes things like that, and then the council is involved in maybe making some appointments. That might be all right, but on the other}
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hand they can be just a bunch of independent people that want to talk to council and say "hey, guys, why don't you look at this."

The committee that has been struck is made up of a variety of business people from various industries for which there is already a base in Humboldt and from which they can expand. This has been intentional because the mayor views the "variety of contacts" each has as extremely beneficial, bringing an invaluable source of knowledge and a wellspring of advertising and promotion for Humboldt.

We've put a good cross-section in there. Like, we've added a lady who has ... been the president of the Canadian Jewellers Association. And she's just a dynamic person. And a young car dealer here in town who has just been really good for the community. He's a good dynamic leader. And we have one young fellow, home-grown, who is in the hog industry, on the management side of the hog industry. So, [for] every one of these people ... their contacts are different.

Part of the governance - partnership connection relates to the ways in which different levels of government provide financial (or other) support for community-based projects through various funding programs or relationships. Such programs vary from Federal Government summer student work programs to provincial government funding for specific projects (e.g., the Cultural Centre in Moose Jaw) to municipal support of projects such as funding for the Moose Jaw Murals.

A provincial government program that supports community development is the Small Business Loans Association (SBLA) program. The following quote from the CDO in Churchbridge describes the benefits to the community and businesses.

And actually right now the SBLAs, government raised them last year to $10,000. So businesses can borrow up to $10,000 which is really helpful because it is substantially more for people to be able to use to buy, like for myself, when I started my business, ... I bought a photocopier and a computer and all those kinds of things and it sure helps if you can get that 5% loan. And with 5% interest going back into the community it is even a bigger plus. And the way it is right now, with the $10,000 we also had our terms of loan changed so that now we can load to anybody in SK. Most SBLAs can only loan to
businesses within their own communities because that is the way it is figured out by the government. ... And the nice thing about SBLAs is that if people renege on their loans, the government picks it up. We never have to absorb it.

Local governments have a variety of partnerships with local organizations and are viewed as a vital support for economic development. These relationships can take the form of tax breaks or actual dollar support, to working with other community organization or tourism attractions, as in the following example provided by a Town Councillor in Duck Lake.

Well, we go along with the museum on trade shows, or with Glen Scrimshaw. We partner with them a lot. By involvement do you mean monetary support? Well if we can. But we work more together as partners. They go to these things and we support them by not charging taxes on their buildings and stuff. It is a working together and I think it works pretty good. We also work with some of the other communities around here (Fort Carlton, Batoche, St. Laurent and Jack Pine) to promote one another.

Another element of governance structures is the volunteer aspect. In every case study community the governance structures set up were based on volunteers who made up the committees and which either included municipal government representation or was endorsed or struck by the local government. Duck Lake is a case in point where a councillor indicated that much of what happens within the community is a result of the strong volunteer base

Our volunteer base is really something. We built three major projects in a fairly short time period, a new seniors centre, the interpretive centre and the rink and the community really helped to raise all that money. Everyone is willing to pitch in and help out for the community.

6.3.3 Embeddedness
Embeddedness embodies the understanding that the manner in which people act 'economically' and therefore the extent to which they can undertake development is wrapped up with the kinds of social relationships to which they belong and that this in turn is connected intimately to the way in which they understand the world...Consequently, instead of separating
culture from economic action and treating one as the ‘cause’ of the other, the two must be seen as fused together, within a framework of established social relationships (Day 1998, 95).

In their discussion of institutional thickness, Amin and Thrift (1995) speak of a defined locus of control to prevent rogue behaviour and a commitment of the players to a defined set of goals, both of which relate to embeddedness and leadership, but which are not fully explored within the theory. The presence of these levels of thickness along with a willingness to work together towards a common goal or vision is enhanced by the level of embeddedness of the idea within a community culture. In this way the concept of embeddedness goes beyond institutional thickness by emphasizing the importance of the local cultural context and the connection to successful and sustainable outcomes in economic development. It points to the importance of the types of economic activities chosen as needing to be intricately tied to the ‘culture’ of the local economy. Strategies that do not fit within this culture potentially face more challenges and failure than those that are complementary to the existing economic order.

The specific ideas for community development may differ but the vision is shared within a CED context when embeddedness is a factor. It is this vision that has to be embedded in the community. As Day (1998, 97) states,

Instead of local cultures being seen as an obstacle to development, or as a legacy to be swept away, or at best mummified and elevated as a ‘heritage’, in this approach local and regional cultures figure as a vital potential resource and vehicle for development, since genuine development seems most likely and most capable of being sustained, when economic arrangements are properly embedded in local social and institutional patterns.

The Chair of a community development committee stated that, “we all come to these meetings with the same ideas, feelings and thoughts I guess. I mean we are here for the town and the town’s future.” What this suggests is that although the ‘how to’ part is important, the first hurdle is having a cohesive vision that a large portion of the community members can unite behind. The implementation of community beautification strategies is an example of the importance of embeddedness as it
requires a commitment of dollars, volunteers and time to undertake and then maintain.

The Chamber of Commerce, Business Improvement District (BID) organizations, Economic Development groups and others often come up with ‘minor’ improvement strategies (such as flower pots) to improve the look of the community’s Main Street. The financial commitment and maintenance support for these initiatives appears to be limited over the long term, such as in Churchbridge where the Chamber purchased flower pots in 1987 and by the mid 1990s, no one was maintaining them (Four Town Journal 1991b), or Moose Jaw’s BID looking for funding for maintaining flowers, benches, light standards and continuing with their sidewalk replacement (Moose Jaw Times Herald 1991a; 1992c). If local business owners or the Town Council do not believe that it is necessary to undertake and if there is no evidence of community beautification benefits, long-term support of such endeavours is limited. Evidence suggests that although all case study communities undertook some sort of community beautification plan, it is only in Moose Jaw where such strategies have been maintained. This is likely due to the fact that tourism has become a realized industry and is therefore embedded in the community.

This emphasizes a critical aspect of embeddedness; if community members (broadly defined) are not supportive of and understand the purpose of an idea, the strategy will not be sustained over the long-term and it may not even reach the intended outcome. Within a rural context, this is critically important, as residents of such areas are often focused on and fully understand the economics associated with primary industries such as agriculture. Other industries are often less understood or appreciated for their potential. This is particularly the case with tourism, which has not been an embedded industry. Unlike agricultural investment, which is digestible in the psyche of the rural population in Saskatchewan, tourism is not something people readily understand or believe money should be invested in. When community leaders do decide to try tourism development, it is generally viewed as a soft industry, one with limited financial commitment (or associated risk). This is a theme that will be fully discussed within the context of embeddedness.
6.3.3.1 Attitude and Leadership

An alderman from Moose Jaw suggested that murals and tourism “is a form of industry that we can control, that won’t pick up and move away when it isn’t competitive” (Moose Jaw Times Herald 1990b). This is an interesting quote as it speaks to the strong relationship that the tourism industry has to place and the potential for local control and therefore how important leadership and community support is to the successful outcome of the tourism project. It also relates to the embeddedness of the industry, as an essential element to the successful development of tourism within a place. Community members must understand and believe in the potential of tourism for their community. Connected to this is attitude, a belief and a pride in the community so that it becomes possible to place market the community in a way that will attract visitors. Karl Schutz, the mural consultant, speaks of leadership and attitude as a critical component of any development project, including tourism.

Creating a positive attitude requires letting the people with the drive, energy and want, do the job. The positive people have to speak out firmly and leave behind the negative people – what we call the ‘yes-buts’ (Moose Jaw Times Herald 1990d).

Community members must have a sense of collective belief in the opportunities available within the capacities of the community and be prepared to exploit them. As the Executive Director of the Moose Jaw Chamber of Commerce stated, “If we believe in our abilities, capabilities and strengths as a community, we can truly succeed. If, however, we choose to be naysayers and doomsdayers, then that is what will befall us by default’ (Moose Jaw Times Herald 1996a). In the following passage, the current Mayor of Humboldt explains that the Humboldt region has a history, an attitude or a culture of entrepreneurialism and of embracing change or industry. He sums this up as an attitude of optimism, which has translated into growth and development.

Our community is growing. Why does it grow? I don’t know. One thing feeds off another. The golf course feeds off the fact that people come to town for one thing and then the guys are going to golf. I don’t know, what comes first? I think it all just adds up to an explosion of goodwill and optimism. And we’ve
always been known as the heart of the sure crop district and we’ve really never had a crop failure up here. ... I don’t know, there’s just an optimism in the area and we’ve wanted to harness it. It’s done well for us. There’s always people expanding. Doepker Industries has moved into the community. They brought in about 45 jobs and took over a plant that had gone belly up through some poor management. And they took it over and they’re a dynamic company that ... sell across North America. They did start out in Anaheim, they were enticed to go to Alberta and all over and they chose us. They wanted to be part of their heritage here. Like, they’re German and they wanted to be part of us. I think part of it had to do with the dynamics of the area that they want to be part of.

In addition, he suggests that the city has been able to attract industry and individuals because of their shared German heritage. It may be that people are attracted to Humboldt because of the shared vision of the community and its focus on this heritage.

The attitude of the Town or City Council towards economic development influences how well embedded and sustainable a project can become. The Council must believe in the potential of the community in order for economic development to take place, otherwise, no one will be looking for opportunities. The Town Council and business attitude towards economic development and community development was a hindrance in Wadena, and it reflected in their decision-making process. For example, the current Mayor indicated that now that they have lost both the Economic Development, Tourism and Recreation Director and Town Engineer, they are hoping to “get away with hiring a town manager type position” to cover off both positions. Yet the former Economic Development, Tourism and Recreation Director felt overworked as it was and had left the job. The mayor also describes Wadena as a town that is “holding its own” and identifies the lull in economic development activity as a result of there not being a lot of “opportunity out there right now”. Both of these things would indicate a lack of priority on economic development within the community.
6.3.3.2 Understanding Tourism as an Industry

Not only does embeddedness in CED require positive attitude, it requires that community members and leaders fully understand what the chosen industry is and how it works. Embeddedness in this case refers to what fits within the culture, the mindset of the residents of the community and the surrounding region. As indicated, unlike agriculture, tourism has not been an embedded industry within a prairie rural context.

It should be noted at the outset that discussions with economic development officers in a number of the smaller communities indicated a shared sense of frustration regarding “progressive development ideas” in that Town Councils would not readily support alternative project ideas, at least not without a great deal of discussion and persuasion. This was not reserved for tourism endeavours only, but included any project ideas that were perceived as ‘new’ (from projects for youth to developing retirement homes).

Even once communities decide to develop tourism as a viable option, committees see tourism as a relatively small investment, a non-complex industry. For example, the chair of the Economic Development and Tourism Committee in Wadena sees the murals as part of a number of attractions and the community simply needs to improve local tourism services. Importantly, she sees tourism development as easier than “the search for viable alternatives in the value-added field [which are] more complex and … require input from everyone” (Wadena News 1996). Another example of this attitude comes from Humboldt in the following quote from the Economic Development Committee and the Chamber who were urging Council to implement the CTAP. “Tourism is big business and a growing industry. It involves relatively small capital expenditures and generates locally grown industry that everyone can get involved in with tremendous spin offs” (Humboldt Journal 1988b).

Despite such advocacy for tourism development, there remain difficulties in acquiring business, local community and even local government support for the idea, largely due to a lack of understanding of how the industry functions. The Tourism and Economic Development Director in Humboldt suggested that business
participation in tourism-related activities is low because they simply do not understand how tourism works.

A lot of business owners want to see a direct impact. They can’t. With the marketing and promotion that is done in the tourism industry with communities, you don’t know when you are going to see results from what you do. ... What I have found too with a lot of business owners, is that they compare retail marketing with tourism marketing and there is no comparison. You can put a flyer in the paper and you’ll know how beneficial that is if people come in.... With tourism marketing that I did two years ago, I’m getting phone calls now. So that’s why I say it is an educational industry, they just don’t understand what the industry is all about.

It means educating the people so they understand. This is obviously a long process that is exacerbated by changing municipal leadership and a long process even for businesses. The former Tourism and Special Events Director in Humboldt was working on educating the local population in the early 1990s and according to the current Tourism and Economic Development Director, businesses are still not supporting the industry. For example, she created a local area guide to highlight the attractions and businesses in the city and area, and only one business participated. A similar situation existed in Moose Jaw where community leaders have been working on tourism and associated developments since the late 1980s and it has really only been since the mid-1990s that refurbishing of Main Street and business front enhancement has taken place (Moose Jaw Times Herald 1990e).

Schutz has commented that one of the biggest challenges facing committees in developing tourism is getting residents and community leaders to understand what tourism is and specifically what murals can do. “In many communities where we go, we face a mayor and council who don’t understand tourism. The difficulty is getting councils and other stakeholders you need to participate. Once they see the murals and the tourist potential, the project acts as a catalyst for tourism development” (Moose Jaw Times Herald 2002). In his consulting experience on mural projects all over North America, Australia and New Zealand, he feels there are fewer challenges to tourism development now than there were ten years ago, but the challenges are still there. This is interesting because it presents another issue in the question of top-
down versus bottom-up development, where timing appears to be a factor; tourism investment from a government (all levels) perspective appears to take place when it becomes a safer, more proven, investment than when tourism was considered as risky.

Lack of understanding is a major challenge for municipal councils in rural communities who often do not understand the investment that is required to support tourism development. This is largely a result of the idea not being embedded and when they are asked to provide funding for what does not look like a ‘normal investment’ it becomes difficult, especially when the direct financial return on the investment is limited. As the Tourism and Economic Development Director in Humboldt shared, a barrier she faces is getting the Council to invest in tourism.

...Getting them [Council] to understand that if we want people to come here, if we want to grow and prosper, I need money to do it. I am not a moneymaking industry as far as my revenues will not become more than my expenses. ... It is trying to convince council that we need to invest money...like if you want to make money you have to spend money. But it is the businesses and the community as a whole that [will make] money, not me specifically.

She goes on to describe that she has to do the same kind of ‘educating’ of business owners and community members. Her argument is that dollars spent on tourism are not subsidies, but an actual investment. She suggests that she has to convince them to, “buy in to something that you can’t see. ... And once they see it the first time it is easier to understand and it is easier to buy in to it.”

Lack of understanding of the contribution that ancillary service industries make to the tourism product within a community further limits the successful outcome of the endeavour. For example, visitors to both Humboldt and Biggar commented on the positive attributes of their tourism attractions as an effort to diversify small town Saskatchewan economies, but felt that local businesses have not contributed the additional services required in a tourism destination area. Specifically, a visitor indicated, “The point I’m trying to make is that if you are
trying to attract tourists to your town, then the service industry should be co­ordinated to that end” (Humboldt Journal 1991e).

There are instances where the required elements of a successful tourism industry come together under a group of community members who understand what is necessary. The Wadena Hunters Promotion Committee provides a good example of a group that understand how this particular segment of the tourism/recreation industry works for their community. The committee has worked very hard to market Wadena as the prime hunting area for waterfowl, they do much to promote the related businesses within Wadena (accommodation, restaurants, suppliers and outfitters) and hold three, free, suppers for the hunters (Wadena News 1996m). This investment has paid off with a steady increase in the number of hunters attending the suppers, and therefore, the number of hunters to the region (Wadena News 2000h). It is an example that demonstrates how well tourism can work when it is embedded in the community and when appropriate investments of time, promotion, marketing, volunteers and dollars are made.

6.3.3.3 Murals As Embedded
There appears to be a connection between mural content and how a mural project can become embedded in the community. Evidence from the case study communities suggests that a shared heritage is a tie that binds people to the murals, that makes the endeavour a community project as there are those who can identify with what is being painted. It acts to ‘embed’ the project in the community, resulting in increased support (both financial and volunteer) for the undertaking. As Schutz suggests “history is good because young people are interested and old people are interested because it is their history” (Moose Jaw Times Herald 1990f). A Councillor suggests that by painting scenes of local history on the walls of the community, it creates ‘a district that tells the story of Moose Jaw’s heritage, the people here will have a better sense of their own identity, and that will lead to pride in who they are’ (Moose Jaw Times Herald 1990b). Although speaking specifically about Moose Jaw, this quote provides what appears to be a truism of mural development for many communities within the study group. Whether natural or
cultural, heritage-based murals provide a sense of pride in place that serves to embed the project within the community.

In addition to the heritage aspect embedding the idea of mural-based tourism, there also appears to be a connection to the ‘cultural fit’ between the development choice and the broader community. The Mayor of Humboldt spoke about the existing cultural side of the city as part of what supports tourism development broadly and murals in particular. People are familiar with art and so have an appreciation for the murals that translated into monetary support.

I think there’s a sense of – I don’t know, I think people around here appreciate beauty. …We have a couple who took over an old church 15 years ago, Mel Boulin, and … Karen [are potters] … it’s world class art that they produce in there. …they have major shows. And we’ve got an artist here in town [who’s] paintings are sold across Canada. … And people are aware of that. They know that there’s more to life than hockey and summer fallow, you know. So, I’m really proud of the community. … We’re steeped in music around here… we always used to have band programs in school. That has since taken off. We’ve got a junior band. We’ve got a community band. And out of that grew what we call the Little German Band and the Beer Tent Gang grew out of that. …. So, there’s always been that cultural side. We have a chorus group. We have a dance group that grew out of the [German theme]. So, I think Humboldt is as good as many communities in art and in music and the cultural side.

The successful development of a mural-based project also requires a certain level of ‘architectural embeddedness’. By this I mean the murals need to be placed on buildings and within a setting that will enhance the mural and the theme that it is portraying. Schutz suggests that murals and the buildings on which they are located, “must complement each other. They can’t clash. The architecture [in Moose Jaw] is a great treasure. It was one of the first things I noticed coming into the city. Downtown Moose Jaw has the heart. All we have to do is put some blood back into it” (Moose Jaw Times Herald 1990f). Such complementarities enhance the tourism ambiance. The Mural Board in Humboldt understood this requirement, resulting in the use of German-style frames to augment their murals. Duck Lake’s Mural Board also understood this with regards to Main Street redevelopment, but they missed an
opportunity by not capitalizing on the existing heritage-based infrastructure (i.e., the old school/museum discussed previously). Churchbridge, Wadena, and Biggar did not explore this aspect of tourism infrastructure development, though there was evidence of discussions in Wadena and Biggar (Wadena News 1996n; interview with Biggar Museum Director).

Despite the level of embeddedness that murals seem to garner within the psyche of the community, there are challenges. Part of the challenge of developing a mural-based tourism strategy is that local people have to understand that murals are only part of the tourism puzzle and cannot be used as the sole attraction for community-based tourism development. As discussed in Chapter 4, according to Schutz murals are only the beginning or part of attraction development. And they must not be considered as art, but rather as an investment in tourism infrastructure (Moose Jaw Times Herald 1990d). Dale Cline, founding member of the Murals of Moose Jaw Board and artist of three murals stated that he does not believe the murals will ever, "be heaven and earth to Moose Jaw as a tourist draw, nor will the spa. They’re just small pieces of the picture. I think we actually have all the pieces now" (Moose Jaw Times Herald 1996b).

A way to embed a project such as mural-based tourism is by encouraging community member participation and interaction. Getting youth involved specifically in the project occurred in Churchbridge, inviting people to come and give comments on ‘the works in progress’ in Wadena, painting people into the murals in Humboldt and Churchbridge are all examples of how the communities tried to engage people in the project. For example, the Chair of the Arts Club shared,

I had to paint a house that was just started in the background and I did put somethings on it that I thought I saw in the photograph [they had given me]. Well when the young grandchildren saw that they said, ‘oh that is uncle so and so, and that is uncle so and so’. They could pick them all out! That just about blew me away because I didn’t know I was painting anybody’s uncles!

She also shared a very touching story that speaks to the spirit of these small places and how mural boards can make deliberate choices that serve to embed the project within the community. In the following passage, the Chair is speaking about the War
Memorial Mural that is painted in three panels and located on the highway beside the tourism booth and the coin.

On the left there is a sailor and the wrens, ... Rita did that and I painted the corvette in the background. The other two I painted and I had the girls [from the Arts Club] come out, because most of them aren’t really painters. And they would help with the lettering. One of our most precious memories is the lady who did the poppies because she died of cancer in 1989. She came out that last day to try and finish her poppies but I had to prop her up, you know so she could paint. And that was the last time she was out. So another lady from Redberry finished them that belonged to our club. And it wasn’t that I couldn’t paint the poppies, but I wanted everybody involved. So that it is everybody’s mural.

Who paints the murals and their connection to the community appears to influence how the project becomes embedded in the community. Schutz spoke of the interaction between artists and the community in Chemainus, the initial opposition to the murals and how that was overcome once people saw what was meant by a mural and once they could see themselves as involved or having input into the murals.

One of the people told me that artists can’t create unless they are on drugs and the opposition was strong. But the first mural – a history theme of logging with donkeys – won over most people and when a logger ‘straightened out’ an artist painting a mural we had instant communication. People came forward, talked to artists and gave them hints and suggestions on the historic aspects of the murals, right down to the colour of people’s hair (Moose Jaw Times Herald 1990f).

It is apparent that the artist has to ‘fit’ within the community when it is a professional artist and this personality connection ends up being part of how the artists are chosen, as indicated in the following quote from the former Executive Director of the Biggar Museum who was part of the process of hiring the artist to complete the mural. “So we juried it, put the call out in various artists publications and had a deadline and looked at slides. And then just talking to Gus. He was definitely the right choice when he came to Biggar he just clicked with the people there.” In the communities where local artists volunteered their time to develop the murals (Churchbridge and Wadena) the level of support for the murals was evident
in the interactions they had with community members who gave them ongoing advice and support by supplying food and beverages. In the communities that undertook their project based on professional artists, the level of interaction was significantly reduced and, although pride was cited as an outcome, there was less support discussed by mural board members.

A way of measuring the embeddedness is the lack of vandalism, as not one community in the case study group has experienced any vandalism, with several of those interviewed pointing this out. The Mural Board Chair in Moose Jaw offered that,

there has been no graffiti at all. Rumour was that a local biker gang decided they liked this idea when [the] first mural went up and put out the word that if anybody hurt or defaced the murals, they would answer to the gang. Although I don’t know if it is true, there has been [no vandalism].

The former Economic Development, Tourism and Recreation Director from Wadena indicated that spray painting of public property by youth was a serious issue in the town, but they had never defaced any murals.

When, I talked to my kids there, ... cause they used to spray paint the buildings...[I asked] How come you guys never touch the murals? “Well, why would we?” And I was like, ok, so you spray paint the rec center, but you won’t touch a mural, hey, ... I’m cool with that. Don’t start.

6.3.3.4 Community Support and Inclusion as Indicators of Embeddedness

The decision to develop a mural project within the case study communities was met with both negative and positive community support. Residents of Churchbridge, Duck Lake and Wadena demonstrated full support for the murals, as evidenced in both newspaper articles and interviews. For example, community members in Duck Lake worked bingos on a volunteer basis to raise the $100,000 necessary to paint the murals. Wadena perhaps best exemplifies community support of all the communities because they had the greatest (documented and indicated) support and were able to finish 19 murals, more than any other non-municipally funded mural project in Saskatchewan. The mural committees in these communities worked to include a
variety of community members and encouraged their input in the mural project through various methods that included public meetings, inviting participation in mural painting and through fundraising events.

In contrast, there is evidence in interviews and newspaper articles that suggests residents in Moose Jaw and Humboldt did not initially support the idea of mural development. For example when asked about community support for the mural project, a Mural Committee member in Humboldt stated that, “they [the community] wondered ‘what the heck are you guys up to?’ People were wondering why, but just kind of, ‘well, I hope you guys know what you’re doing’. But ... they didn’t petition against it.” Although this would seem an indication of support, he seemed to need to explain a great deal. The former Tourism Director and Special Events Coordinator also stated, “there was opposition as people didn’t want walls that looked like other places which they felt were too cluttered. But the committee decided to just go ahead and develop one mural, to prove the nay sayers wrong.”

In Moose Jaw, there was also scepticism about the project and in some cases complaints that city money was being spent on painting pictures while there were still areas needing sidewalks (Moose Jaw Times Herald 1990g). As one mural committee member indicated,

> I think that they were fairly receptive, but I think there was also a lot of scepticism. Especially at first. Businesses have been more receptive than the average citizen. I’d say we have 70 percent receptive and 30 percent who feel, well it has happened and it is ok, maybe, but we still don’t really like it. And you now, you’ll probably find that some still are, often if people were against it at the beginning, they still will be.

It is likely that the businesses where more supportive because they could see and were experiencing the economic benefits of mural development and downtown revitalization discussions had been ongoing since the 1970s (Moose Jaw Times Herald 1990h).

In Biggar, the choice to develop more murals as part of their tourism development strategy appears to not be widely supported by other community members. When asked if the tourism committee, developed under the Biggar Committee for Community Development (BCCD), was looking at mural
development as one of its tourism options, a member of the executive stated, “I don’t
know if there’s just me…or if there’s others…I haven’t heard to many other people
voice that. I’m certainly going to push it though.”

These examples, in combination with the variety of support for or criticisms
of mural development within the case study communities, leads one to question that
if mural committees (made up of elected officials along with other business and
community members) chose to press forward with their ideas is it really CED based
or has it become LED (Gill 1999)? Although support was evident for all the mural
projects after they were underway, there was some initial scepticism. All the mural
committees, at some point, had to address the issue of sceptics and all of them chose
to ignore this (usually) marginal group. And in the end, community support did
result. There has to be consideration given to the hesitancy of people to embrace
new ideas and that is why a combination of ‘ignoring the doubters’ and encouraging
community inclusion is necessary to attempt to embed the project in the community.
It also points to the importance of communication between the committee and
public. As the Chair of the BCCD pointed out, there are always cynics in every
situation.

You know, there is always grumbling and people that think we
are just pie in the sky and you know that we are all just wasting
our time. But I don’t care what town you are in, you aren’t
going to get 100 percent support. You know, there are negatives
and negative people and who cares? We’re not going to let that
or them stop us.

Another theme that emerged during the analysis is the drive to include
community members in the mural projects. For example, although murals were not
chosen for tourism-based reasons in Biggar, the former museum curator board did
include youth to develop the murals for the museum, because they, “wanted to have
children or high school students do the smaller mural because we though it would be
a good thing to challenge them and have community involvement in that way”. The
Chair of the Arts Club in Churchbridge also sought youth and broader community

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6 It should be noted that the greatest resistance was associated with Moose Jaw’s Mural program due
to the commitment of municipal dollars to the project. Evidence in the Moose Jaw Times Herald
would suggest that the opposition was minimal and support was greater. In every other community
private, corporate or organization donations funded the projects.
participation stating that, “We [the Arts Club] wanted to get them involved and have them part of the community... so that it is everybody’s mural”. Wadena Mural Images also sought similar community participation, but only received support from community members in terms of food and companionship. The other communities all chose to hire professional painters and that limited resident participation in the projects and relegated them to bystander status. The point here is that it appears that there is a difference in community participation in the mural project, dependent on whether volunteers or professional painters are hired to complete the project. However, all of the ‘boards’ (whether formal or informal) were contingent on volunteerism among members. In some cases, there were deliberate attempts to attract a diverse group of people to reflect the varied cultures in the community, as in Duck Lake and Wadena.

6.3.4 Leadership
Leadership development and active encouragement of local residents have long been viewed keys to community sustainability (Christenson 1982; Youmans 1990). As such, many leadership training programs have been developed and utilized in rural places to affect change and development. As Brown and Nylander (1998) suggest, the focus has been on the psychology of leadership, the actual personal characteristics that make up good leaders. They suggest that effective and sustained rural community leadership also depends on the perpetual organization of the community and its leadership structure and that one of the most important of these characteristics is the ability of leaders to mobilize resources and generate collective action at the community level. The viability of a rural community can be predicted by how well-identified leaders are connected to each other, to other members of the community and to other communities (O’Brien et al. 1991). Rural development requires resources both from within the community and from exogenous sources. Effective leaders have connections that will allow access to both sets of resources through the networks they have established. Therefore, an important component is to have an effective leadership structure so that when the head of the organization or project steps down, an effective succession plan has been developed to replace the
leadership without having to reorganize and remobilize, thus wasting valuable and often limited time and resources.

Leadership issues appear to be ubiquitous in each case study community, and is a cross cutting theme for the other three areas of institutional thickness, embeddedness and governance as has been indicated throughout this analysis. Although the importance of good leadership can appear inflated in some instances, the findings of this research would suggest that leadership is the key ingredient to CED in relationship with the other theme areas. Community leaders must be present in order for any of the thickness levels to be developed and utilized; they have an obvious association with governance structures since leaders are the conduit through which information is shared and relationships are built; and leaders can aid or hinder the process of choosing projects that will fit within the psyche of the local population and will therefore have greater potential of being sustainable.

An example that best exemplifies the collective experience of the case study communities is found in Moose Jaw’s Mural Board. Initially the mural board was municipally funded to the extent that a full-time Executive Director was hired to oversee the development of the murals, based on the decisions made by a volunteer board. After the third year, program funding was reduced to the point that the Board could no longer afford to have a full-time Executive Director, so the position was eliminated and it became the responsibility of the volunteer board to manage the development of the murals (Moose Jaw Times Herald 1992d). The issues here are two-fold. First, with respect to governance structures, projects can be derailed by a government leadership that cuts funding (as discussed in the Governance section). Second is the issue around volunteerism and leadership. The capacity of the Mural Board was significantly reduced when it became the sole responsibility of the volunteer board. In the first three years of the program, sixteen murals were painted (Moose Jaw Times Herald 1992e). No other community in the case study group (or even in Chemainus for that matter) was able to accomplish such a feat. But no other case was municipally funded or had a paid Executive Director. After the dismissal of the Executive Director, the pace of mural development within the community more closely resembled that of the other communities. What this points to is that effective
leadership is very important but volunteerism and financial resources have a significant bearing. This is echoed in discussions regarding the hiring of Economic Development Officers in many communities, with the sentiment being “If this is what we feel is important, we need to hire someone to facilitate it” (Humboldt Journal 1988b).

An additional idea regarding leadership is the difference between de facto and designated leaders. In some cases the leaders who emerged in the research are actual ‘titled’ leaders (i.e., Mural Board Chair, Economic Development Officer, Community Development Officer) while in others they are only an EDO or CDO reporting to a set of decision makers (i.e., a Board or Town council) but they view themselves as the leader and certainly appear to take on that leadership role. However, they do experience and express limitations to their leadership ability because of the higher powers from which ultimate (and usually financial) approval must come. This is where the ‘teaching’ of higher leaders or officials comes in. It is here that the link between governance and leadership comes into play because these relationships have a bearing on how and what is accomplished within a community. Because many of these organizations or positions are made up of volunteers, there is another linkage. Figure 6.1 demonstrates these associations. All of these levels or groups can be made up of either volunteer or paid positions (which includes those that receive renumeration for their participation such as council members). In this schematic, local government has responsibility for the final decision-making and it is up to the other groups to lobby them for resources for their projects. While all local government positions are elected, levels of mayor and councillor renumeration vary between rural and urban councils.

Governance structures are defined as those associations that contain representation from both local government and civil society, which are working jointly on projects for the community or region. Often such organizational arrangements require final approval from the town/city council, especially in situations with financial commitment. Unlike community organizations, some positions within a governance structure may be paid.
Another element of the schematic is a community organization. This is defined as any locally-based committee that is made up of community members on a volunteer basis and which reports either directly to the local government through a governance structure or indirectly through an Economic/Community Development Officer. These types of groups can be mandated from both local governments and residents, for a variety of reasons. For example, some committees may be community-driven such as mural development, others may be struck by local governments such as a tourism and recreation committee and others may develop due to a perceived need for specific service provision such as the Churchbridge Community Development organization.

The remaining element of the schematic is an Economic or Community Development Officer (E/CDO). These positions may or may not be volunteer and are responsible to either a governance structure or a town/city council directly. The E/CDO often works with community organizations in lobbying for government support of projects.
The point of this schematic is that leadership and volunteerism have a strong linkage with governance in rural communities and small places. Although there is a strong reliance on volunteers to lead and undertake projects, ultimate control of these undertakings lies with the local government (and in some cases, with the provincial government). Further, what this analysis demonstrates is that in small cities and various sizes of rural communities these types of relationships or levels of organization exist and there is very little difference in the struggles they face. The following sections outline the issues of leadership that emerged from this research. The linkage between leadership and volunteerism is so strong and the issues that emerged in this research overlap to such an extent that they are discussed together.

6.3.4.1 Local Government Support of Leadership
How does local government support the efforts of organizations in their community? Do those involved in community organizations view their local government as supportive? For example, the Mayor in Churchbridge sees the Town Council as extremely supportive of the organizations and committees in the community, as they never stand in the way of their ideas and instead, “We tell them to go for it”. However, both the CCD and the Arts Club do not share this opinion and instead view the council as unsupportive, as evidenced in the following statement from the CDO of Churchbridge.

[The extent of Town Council support is to] cut the ribbons and accept the cheques and that kind of thing. So we know where we stand, and we don’t mind doing these things. But sometimes you could almost choke them (laughs) because it just gets kind of frustrating when you are trying to work, when you know there is good things happening and they tell you, ‘oh [there are] good things happening’ and so you go to a meeting and make a presentation and ask [for] a few hundred dollars for this that or the other and they go, “nope, not in our budget”. And after us being 5 years old you would think they could factor us in somewhere.

Given the difficulties in the relationship between the CDO and Town Council as discussed previously, it could be suggested that this has an influence on the perceived lack of support. However, the Chair of the Arts Club shares the view of an
unsupportive Council. As a result, these organizations find partnerships and support among themselves. In this case, the CCD gives money to support the Arts Club.

6.3.4.2 Leadership Tenure and Succession Planning

Evidence suggests that as long as one person is willing to do the job, others will not step forward to take on the role of leader. This appears to be an issue in all communities, regardless of scale. For example, the snowmobile club in Churchbridge fell apart after the CDO handed over the reins.

We got a snowmobile club going last year. I only planned to hold their hand for a year and I told them that as of December I don’t hold their hands anymore. And I got a phone call last month saying I think the club is going to have to fold because no one wants to do all the work. I said that is fine. We did our jobs and helped you get going but we can’t hold your hand all the way through. We get your project up and going and find you a few dollars to do things... But all of a sudden when the ball got passed to them, they dropped it. ...[There were group members who helped]... but they always come back and you know this and this need doing and give us a hand kind of thing and you know there were three of them that I thought could have taken it on but they kind of crashed (laughs)... it seems you need to have that nucleus of people in order to keep things going. And some people only want to show up for the fun, and as far as the rest of it, well, sometimes it is pretty weak.

Although this woman works hard leading various committees within the community, an inability to delegate tasks may influence how much guiding she as a ‘leader’ is capable of undertaking. This suggests that it may be difficult for certain individuals to create the mentoring relationship that is necessary to allow for the passing on of control.

It appears that people will only step forward to assist or lead projects when there is an obvious need. For example, the Chair, Secretary and Treasurer of the Curling Committee in Churchbridge all threatened to close the curling rink after only ten people attended the annual meeting (Four Town Journal 1991c). As a result, a subsequent meeting was held and 35 people attended and an additional 25 came to help get the arena ready for the curling season. The Mayor of Biggar, who is also
active on other committees and boards, suggests that leadership is a personality issue
and he knows that should he choose to disassociate himself from any of these
commitments, someone else will replace him.

And you know in every organization, I mean it happens. There
are people, there are people in Biggar that you know, it is easy
for people to sit back and say “well, let [this person] do it
because you know, he has been our chair for 5 years and he can
keep doing it”. But there are people that could do the job every
bit as well as I can. And if I ever step down, they would be
there to fill it. You know they just take a back seat now. And
that is part of a personality thing you find that. I mean there are
lots of people that come to organizations and work hard and
have lots of great ideas, but they don’t want to be making
decisions or be on executive. And that happens. But at some
point, people step up and take [over]. I mean its not going to
die. There is enough interest…out there that there would be
somebody to take over.

Although the limited number of volunteers and the length of time they serve on
committees is long, there is often not a mentoring of leadership or a succession plan
in place. The Murals of Moose Jaw Board has a succession plan in place within their
terms of incorporation, where the Chair and Board members are supposed to have a
three-year term. But as the current Chair states, “I haven’t been able to get them to
stick to that.”

In contrast, there are those who recognize the importance of changing
leadership and succession planning and are working to mentor new individuals into
positions. For example, the Mayor of Humboldt is looking for and mentoring new
people to replace him and other council members in the next election.

I’m the mayor now but I’m encouraging two young people
already. [Through the Winter Games we just hosted] we
developed some terrific leaders. And two of them, I’ve already
told them that ‘you are council material and I expect you to run
next time’. …And I just told them [that] ‘I would be so
confident in you running the city’. … I think you have to
nurture them [new leaders]. I think part of the business is
moving aside at the right time.
6.3.4.3 Leadership and Volunteer Capacity

Capacity in this instance has two meanings. First, having enough people, paid or otherwise, to do the job and accomplish the desired outcomes. Second is the ability of the leader to accomplish the outcome based on the abilities and strengths of supporting members.

Examples of the first type of capacity, having enough people to do the job, are exemplified in Humboldt and Wadena. In an interview with the former Tourism and Special Events Coordinator in Humboldt, it was suggested that many of the festivals and tourism activities that had been developed have fallen by the wayside because people did not seem to be as, “willing to work as hard as I had”. The current Tourism and Economic Development Director cannot organize bus tours to visit Humboldt in addition to her other responsibilities, because

the manpower just isn’t there. ...We do whatever we can to try and get them in...but like I said, right now it is the manpower. That is the challenge.

This is also related to volunteerism as there is only so much a committee can do and at some point there needs to be a dedicated and funded position to implement the ideas, as evidenced in the following quote.

And then Council hired [a Tourism Development and Events Coordinator], because we thought we better take this one step further. Because...it’s one thing to have a committee...volunteers are good for ideas, but you need somebody to work between the meetings, to carry things out.

This was also an issue in Wadena for the former Economic Development, Tourism and Recreation Director who found the position demanded more time than was reasonable for a single individual. “I got to the point that I just went straight to council and said, ‘You know what boys, I’ve worked four hundred overtime hours and I just can’t take it anymore.’ And ... that was within seventeen months.”

Secondly, it is not so much the capacity of the leader *per se*, but of the ‘supporting cast’. An example from Churchbridge exemplifies this situation, where the Chair of the Arts Club suggests that the group is limited in what it can undertake due to the abilities of the membership.
Actually the club at the moment is, um. How would I say this? In a stage of remission? (laughs) Because the club members... they come along to meetings, but none of them paint. Most of them that belong are not artists. So I have really found it difficult to initiate things ... I don’t mind spending money and doing things and the club members [are supportive] ... but either you are a visionary or you are not. You know what I mean? You can read between the lines. I don’t want to get myself into trouble (laughs).

As indicated earlier, voluntary capacity can be limited by a small pool of volunteers and an aging population.

6.3.4.4 Terms of Government Officials

In this instance, the issue of leadership refers to the short term planning horizon of elected officials based on their election mandate of three/four years, in relation to the ongoing planning and project implementation of community employees or committees. When Council membership changes, the vision for the community may change also and those who deliver plans and services to the community (e.g., EDO) may have to (re)educate incoming officials. This is an additional dimension to Brown and Nylander’s (1998) comments on succession planning in that it has repercussions beyond simple mobilization of resources. As discussed previously, the Tourism and Economic Director in Humboldt suggests that long term planning is difficult because of the need to convince the newly elected council that the previous framework for tourism development within the community was appropriate. She indicated that the previous council was fine but the new council wanted to see some changes, and as a result, all the city departments are struggling. Her view is that the changes they want are not progressive, just change. Yet the Mayor, who is new, appears in his interview to be visionary and newspaper articles concerning his ideas since the 1980s would also suggest this to be the case. Perhaps the perceived problems are a result of stagnation in membership on the previous Council (1992-20007), resulting in city departments continuing to use traditional models.

7 Ken Kolb, Senior Policy Analyst with the Department of Government Relations and Aboriginal Affairs compiled a list of the tenure of mayors for each of the case study communities.
6.3.4.5 Attitude

There are several different attitude attributes woven throughout the analysis, relating to how community leaders viewed change and their vision for the community. One of the identified detriments to a leader was an attitude that supported the \textit{status quo} instead of the initiative to affect changes within the community. It appeared as a sense of ‘we are doing fine, holding our own’, best exemplified in the following statement from the Mayor of Wadena. “Wadena is not a dying community. We are holding our own.” Not only was the view that the community was holding its own in terms of economic development, Council members were hesitant to support new community programs. The former Economic Development, Tourism and Recreation Director from the community indicated that he could not understand the community leadership, stating he had to fight for every program.

It was just constantly fighting. And all of sudden something would get through and boom, you’d have a new program. And you’d think, ‘I fought for four months for this and I finely got it.’ And everyone would be like, ‘this is the greatest thing ever, this is awesome, this is great we need more new programs...’ ‘Well how about we try this one?’ ‘No.’ ‘Well, why not?’ ‘Cause, its new.’ And it was like, ok, here we go again.

As a result, he viewed the leadership and their attitude as a limiting factor in a community that otherwise had untapped potential for growth and development.

I used to sit in my office and I’d look at something like that \textit{[the murals]} or I’d look at the amount of money that the pool fund raisers raise, and I’d sit there and I’d go, like how does this community not push forward? I just don’t understand it. But I came to the conclusion that people probably get tired ... of constantly fighting with people to keep things moving, keep things going, keep people on the committee. People get tired and they say, you know what, know matter how much I love this, that’s enough. And boom, that’s when its stops.

Such attitudes contradict those who view their community as not having tapped all the possible resources and who want to have a larger vision and plan for the growth and sustainability of the community. However, such leaders often face opposition within their Council or from community members who do not share this view. This was evident in an interview with the Mayor of Biggar,
But I'll tell you, in the last civic election here, we lost a couple of councillors, both were defeated, that had that same attitude [of status quo]. Both of them were ... satisfied with what we had. They were very much opposed to my vision and my joining of officials, of economies, opposed to any joint activities with the RDC, every time, it didn’t matter. There were lots of those that were very active and very vocal, some not even on the town council.

At the opposite end of the spectrum are leaders who have a vision and are optimistic about what can be achieved within the community, exemplified by the following quote from the Mayor of Humboldt, who feels that an optimistic attitude is essential.

You need positive people in leadership. ... There’s a restaurant here in town called Grumblers Row... [people] go there and they kind of grumble. They hang their head in their coffee. And other ones are just really positive. That’s key to a community’s growing. I think Duck Lake was a great example of that. They thought they could do it and they did it. Now they’re moving on to another stage. ... They are better for it.

He goes on to talk about Moose Jaw being an example of positive leadership and accomplishing goals.

There’s a spirit of optimism about that place. When you mention Moose Jaw you think oh, tunnels. You know, you think of the spa... One of the lady’s here had supper with one of the councillors from Moose Jaw who had done a lot of work there and boy, it was interesting to hear her story of what has happened there. And how just two or three or four positive leaders got that done.

6.3.4.6 Overlapping of Volunteer Leadership

If it is the same people who sit on all boards within a community (such as the Rural Development Corporation, the Regional Economic Development Authority, the Committee for Community Development and Town Council), or even boards that have a relationship with one another (such as Downtown Revitalization, Tourism and Murals in Moose Jaw) then this affects the inclusivity of the options being undertaken and importantly, such overlap allows for an individual agenda to be advanced to the exclusion of others. For example, when asked if a subcommittee of
the BCCD is looking at developing more murals as part of their plan, a member of the Executive stated, “I haven’t heard too many other people voice that. I’m certainly going to push it though.” Importantly, if the agenda of an executive member is not the agenda of the broader community, it may have an impact on the sustainability of the projects that are undertaken. Further, if the same people sit as decision makers on a variety of boards, how representative are they of the community more broadly and how much of what goes forward for public input is actually an agreed upon agenda? For example, the Mayor of Biggar describes the collection of individuals that are involved in a variety of committees in the community as a, “… funny little group because we all sort of end up on the same wavelength and the same committees – active in the Chamber, active in the Rural Development Corporation, active in the REDA and active in the town”. Further he states that, “We all sit on those same boards. So we are all coordinating so much now.”

In some instances, it is difficult for committees to move forward on projects or plans due to the commitment of individuals to a variety of organizations. Further, when there are a limited number of volunteers, with limited capacities of support but who sit on a large number of committees the natural consequence is burnout. Although each of the case study communities shared this experience, two different examples are provided to illustrate that various committees experience such limitations. As discussed previously, committee members in Moose Jaw had difficulty in processing results from a R/UDAT study because the members of the committee set to undertake analysis and implementation of the R/UDAT recommendations were too busy on other city council committees (Moose Jaw Times Herald 1993a). A mural committee member in Humboldt indicated that because so few people were doing so much on the project,

We [the mural committee] have kind of just backed off a bit. … it’s kind of hit a plateau. You know, we’re just going with a half-timber thing now. … like some of us were just burnt out for a while. …We don’t have the drive that we had in the [beginning]. … We were really strong and dynamic for about four or five years. …We’ve just kind of taken a breather for a while. Besides we were running out of money (laughs).
6.3.4.7 Networks
Evidence from the interviews suggests that leaders recognize that effective leadership requires that connections between themselves or other members of their town, be made outside of their community in order to draw people and potential industry. The case study communities’ demonstrated different ways of accomplishing this, one of which was the newly formed Economic Development Committee in Humboldt, developed by the Mayor and Deputy as an arms length group composed of a variety of business people in the community. In this situation, the Mayor hopes to capitalize on the connections and contacts these people have to attract additional industry (as discussed previously).

Networks between communities are especially important when developing tourism. As discussed previously, often it is not normal for the people involved to be making these linkages as neither cooperation between different communities nor support for tourism development is embedded. For example, those concerned with tourism development in Duck Lake were initially interested in attracting tourists for the benefit of their community. It has become apparent to the organizers that it is important to network with other communities to create a destination package and attract people to the region. This is a critical component of leadership in rural-based tourism.

6.4 Evaluating the Potential and Success of Tourism Developments
The exclusive use of traditional measures for success in economic development such as Gross Domestic Product, employment and dollar value of trade are too limiting as CED indicators because they do not incorporate the intangible accomplishments related to community mobilization and capacity building (Theobald 1997; Flora et al. 1999; Markey and Vodden 2000). As previously identified, Markey and Vodden (2000) have developed a ‘success factor framework’ as a system for monitoring success. Researchers with the North Central Regional Centre for Rural Development (NCRCRD) at Iowa State University have developed a similar indicator framework, the foundation of which is an outcomes model where a community must define the goals or outcomes it wants to achieve, determine how the goals can be reached and
identify what internal capacities it possesses and is able to commit to achieve the
goals (Flora et al. 1999).

Unfortunately, neither these nor other frameworks include how community
members evaluate the results of the chosen actions. Nor do these models explore the
linkages between CED, sustainability and the four theoretical areas this research has
examined. If the distinguishing characteristic of CED is community member
participation in the economic development process, it necessarily follows that
including community views or opinions on whether a particular venture has been
successful is critical in evaluating its success. Development actions ripple
throughout a community, thereby creating intangible outcomes that are critical to
fostering the diversity associated with sustainable community development. If the
development idea is embedded in the psyche of residents, they are more likely to
support the project in their multiple roles within the community, contributing more
broadly to the initiative and ensuring its sustainability, as was discussed in the
example of community beautification.

Although existing frameworks include various human, social and economic
capacities, they do not provide an indication of the importance of the connections
between these capacity areas (or thicknesses) and how these areas may hinder the
successful outcome of the endeavour, or at least its long-term sustainability. This is
of particular importance when evaluating tourism developments within rural areas.
Further, these frameworks do not highlight the importance of leadership and
governance structures in affecting the outcome of CED strategies.

This discussion however, opens up a series of questions as to how such
relationships and intangibles can be evaluated. The following sections outline the
themes that emerged from the analysis of documents and transcripts relating to
definitions of success and what were viewed as supports and hindrances to the
successful outcome of a CED strategy within rural places. Based on this information
and the preceding section on the four theme areas, the final section of this chapter
focuses on a framework for evaluating success in tourism-based CED strategies in
rural areas.
6.4.1 Defining Success

Two tables have been created to provide an indication of the types of attributes each of those interviewed in the case study communities identified as measures or definitions of success. Much of the discussion centered on the mural projects, but there was a broader discussion of economic and community development for which measures or ways of defining success were also supplied. The discussion begins with definitions concerning success more broadly, as summarized in Table 6.3 and will be followed by a discussion of mural-based tourism success.

Table 6.3 Definitional Elements of Success – Economic and Community Development

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town/City</th>
<th>Attributes</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Population Growth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biggar</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Churchbridge</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duck Lake</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humboldt</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moose Jaw</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wadena</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author

In many cases, traditional economic development measures were employed as ways of defining success, including population growth, numbers of businesses, industry attraction or expansion and housing starts. It is predominately within the larger centres that these attributes were utilized (i.e., Moose Jaw and Humboldt). Interestingly though, non-traditional methods such as volunteer support, (broadly defined as those that participate in activities in the community and those that give donations), were also utilized in communities of all sizes within the study group.
What this indicates is that volunteerism is an important thickness within rural communities that can act as both an aid and a hindrance to success. This relationship has been discussed previously in terms of providing support to a variety of undertakings within a community, but also as having the potential to restrict innovative thinking, advance personal agendas and contribute to the burnout of volunteers.

For the city communities of Moose Jaw and Humboldt, having ‘Big Box’ stores or international retail or food outlets coming into the community is considered a way of measuring the success of the community because the perception is that these organizations ‘do their homework’ and would not consider establishing themselves in a community where there is not a guarantee on their investment. The following statements, from the Mayor of Humboldt and the Executive Director of the MJ REDA respectively, elucidate this point.

I think since [tourism development based on the German theme, Humboldt has] grown, since we’ve done all that, we’ve taken on some national chains here in town, like the big Peavey Mart store has expanded. ... A & W has come into town here. McDonald’s is coming here. Those folks, those national folks, they don’t go into towns where they don’t do their homework. They see you as, ‘god dang it, these guys have potential.’

And you know there has been a few firsts [in Moose Jaw]. We’ve got the first Safeway Gas Bar in the province. It is no big deal, but when we went from having the highest gas prices in the province to the lowest gas prices, it is a nice thing to have. And we have the first stadium seating movie theatre in the province, the Galaxy Cinema, and that is a $4 million investment. And you know, why would they choose Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan? Well, why not? And some of these decisions aren’t going with the normal flow, and they are nice to see....There has been fairly strong activity between tourism related activity and big box related investment. In 1999 Walmart opened in Moose Jaw one of their new style stores with over 100,000 square feet. ... And SuperStore came here in 1995. They are looking at an addition. Garden Market IGA is under construction. Staples is coming as well. ... So there is a lot of that kind of investment going on.
For Churchbridge, the only community that discussed social-based programs, success is measured by the larger number of children able to participate on school teams and field trips and increased use of the pool. Importantly, the CDO views this as an opportunity to “make these kids feel like they are equal with everybody else. ... I think it has created a happier community”.

In terms of volunteer support, it is not only individuals attending and funding donation drives, but also the fact that the events the volunteers are putting on have waiting lists for participants. This element was evident from interviews in the smaller communities of Churchbridge, Duck Lake and Wadena.

Success is also defined by the creative ways in which people are willing to look at service provision within their existing capacities, as evidenced here, in a conversation with the Executive Director of the MJ REDA.

Another community... has been looking to get a better restaurant for the community so they set up something on an ad hoc basis in their curling rink all year. And you know, it is something, better than nothing.... I guess from my perspective [success] is about what steps the community undertakes and what does it do to try and make things occur. ...Job numbers are important, but it is also important that a community has pride in itself and keeps jobs. It is a whole number of conditions. But from my point of view, you have to be in a planning process, find out what you want to go after, set some objectives, and take some steps to work on that.

Although those interviewed in each of the communities spoke of similar attributes as providing an indication of the success of their mural projects, interviewees also indicated that not all measures of success were obtained in every instance. For example, interviewees from Duck Lake suggested that the development of ancillary tourism services to produce economic spin offs would demonstrate the success of their mural project, but none of these anticipated developments actually occurred. Table 6.4 summarizes how success was defined with regards to the mural projects.
Table 6.4 Definitional Elements of Success – Murals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town/City</th>
<th>Community Pride</th>
<th>Number of Tourists</th>
<th>Website Hits</th>
<th>Economic Spin Offs</th>
<th>Community Support</th>
<th>Business Support</th>
<th>Positive Comments</th>
<th>Friendship</th>
<th>Requests to Paint In other Communities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Biggar</td>
<td>🟢</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Churchbridge</td>
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<tr>
<td>Duck Lake</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humboldt</td>
<td>✅</td>
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<tr>
<td>Moose Jaw</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wadena</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author

It should also be noted that definitions of success were not provided by those interviewed in Biggar, as the mural was neither part of a community beautification plan, nor tourism-based. Those interviewed simply agreed that the mural was a good idea as an identifier for the museum and that mural development in other communities appeared to be a good idea and was something that could possibly be considered for the future beautification of Biggar.

In their evaluation of mural development, traditional methods of measuring economic-based successes were included, including the number of tourists, retail spending within the community (i.e. for gasoline, food purchases, broader based retail purchasing), bus tours and visits to their respective website. Despite the inclusion of these elements, the majority of those interviewed, particularly in the smaller communities, cited more intangible definitional attributes of success.

Community pride was perhaps the most oft cited attribute of mural project success, both from those interviewed and from the documents analysis, and is a measure that cannot be minimized. Although those interviewed in Moose Jaw did not mention this element, documents from that city indicated that even at an urban scale, citizens were proud of what had been accomplished. A former Murals of Moose Jaw Board Chair suggested that,
not only are the murals a tourist attraction, they have given Moose Jaw residents a reason to look forward to the future. The people of Moose Jaw are starting to believe in their worth, in their future. The murals are theirs. They have taken possession and are proud to show the murals to visitors (Moose Jaw Times Herald 1992f).

A director of the Student Business Association at SIAST Palliser Campus suggested that the murals are, “something we can really be proud of. I’m sure we’re the only city in Saskatchewan that has challenged a project like this with such success’ (Moose Jaw Times Herald 1990i). Finally, a local mural artist felt the murals made, “the people of Moose Jaw feel better about being here” (Moose Jaw Times Herald 1990i).

Pride in community was evident on many levels. A collective pride in a shared heritage was apparent in all communities, as was a sense of pride in how attractive the project made their community and resulted in ‘outsider’ visitation. A sense of pride resulting from what they were able to accomplish through fundraising to get professional artists to paint for them was evident in Duck Lake, while a sense of pride in the local talent predominated views from Churchbridge and Wadena.

This sense of community pride is an extremely important definitional attribute, especially as it relates to tourism development. Research concerning the development of sporting facilities (Chapin 2004) and retail development (West and Orr 2003) as engines of economic growth, suggest there is a positive relationship with increasing community spirit and civic pride. These studies, among others, indicate that having pride in the product facilitates the sale of that product (Reilly 2003; Novacka 1994). Evidence from this research would suggest that pride has a similar impact within a rural tourism context. Residents within a community must believe they have something to attract tourists and pride in the community is a first step towards that end.

Business and community support were two additional indicators of success as defined by those interviewed. Support of local businesses refers to their willingness to have a mural painted on their building and to provide monetary or in-kind donations to the mural project. As is evident in Table 6.4, all communities
experienced such support, but perhaps this was most evident in Wadena. Initial meetings with area businesses garnered commitment from ten people to support the development of a mural (Wadena News 1996c). In addition, members of Wadena Mural Images indicated that the support they received from the local businesses was tremendous, not only in terms of their financial support but even in providing access to the interior of buildings after hours, which allowed them to store equipment rather than hauling it from home to the site.

Community support includes the donation of time of local artists in Churchbridge and Wadena to paint the murals, donations of time to supply goods for sales or to raise money to have the murals professionally painted such as Duck Lake residents working bingo, and the provision of assistance to mural artists during painting through the provision of food and shelter and by assisting with the accuracy of images. These elements predominated in the three smaller communities where artists were local and volunteered their time (e.g., Churchbridge and Wadena) or where artists were billeted in the community (e.g., Duck Lake). In Humboldt community support was only indicated through monetary donations.

Another intangible measure of success for the mural project is through the friendships and kindnesses of the people. This is most evident in Wadena and Churchbridge, communities that had local painters complete the murals, rather than those communities that used external professionals. Interaction among community members and muralists appears to vary with community size and who is painting. This may be a function of population size because there is a greater likelihood of people in a small town knowing the individuals who are painting regardless of whether they are professional. Further, it was only in Wadena and Churchbridge that friendship and relationships were used in describing success, as evidenced in the following passage, summarized from the Wadena News (Wadena News 1997d).

The impact of the work of the Wadena Mural Images artists has been evident in the number of tourists and community residents who take pictures or simply take a moment to stop on the street and enjoy the murals that depict the heritage of this area. They began working ‘directly on the scene’ in the spring and have found “the experience of working in the public eye to be both amusing and rewarding at times. Countless people have stopped
by or offered encouragement as they viewed the work in progress. The interaction between the artists and community members clearly benefits the project. "All the feedback from people to stop in or pass by has been the greatest reward."

The positive comments the artists received, both from local people and from those outside the community, serve to reinforce the success of the project. For example, the Chair of Wadena Mural Images thanked, "the many motorists and other people who have stopped to take pictures and tell us what a terrific job we are doing. The involvement of the community has greatly encouraged the continuation of the mural effort" (Wadena News 1997d). The Chair of the Arts Club in Churchbridge echoed this sentiment, indicating how much the group appreciated the support from community members.

We had company all the time because it was across from the hotel, and people would bring us lunch. Another older lady in town will fill the back end of her car with pie or hot buns. We had so much food!

Associated with these positive comments and related to community pride is the recognition the various projects have received at regional, provincial, national and international scales. The mural groups in both Wadena and Churchbridge have been asked by other communities and organizations to paint murals for them and this has created a sense of individual pride in addition to broader community pride in their talents. In addition, the town of Wadena won 5 of 10 awards in the Land of the Living Skies regional tourism awards (Wadena News 1997e), two of which went to the Wadena Mural Images group.

The mural projects in Moose Jaw and Humboldt received provincial recognition through awards given by Tourism Saskatchewan (Moose Jaw Times Herald 1998; Humboldt Journal 1994e). Perhaps most indicative of the success of the murals and tourism in Moose Jaw was the fact that not only did they win but were encouraged to apply to host the 2002 Convention for the Global Mural Arts and Cultural Tourism Association (Moose Jaw Times Herald 2000a).

At a national level, the murals in Humboldt were highlighted in the September 1997 edition of The Canadian Geographer, a level of attention that
confirmed the positive outcomes of tourism development for that community; “I think it is another example that the tourism program we have in Humboldt is paying off. It’s hard to relay to people sometimes what benefits will come of promoting tourism. But getting national recognition is a feather in our hat” (Humboldt Journal 1997e). The Tunnels of Moose Jaw received an Attractions Canada Award, which was felt to be a boon to the tourism industry in Moose Jaw as, “it signifies we are a tourist destination, we are worth a visit”(Moose Jaw Times Herald 2001b). Finally, Duck Lake’s mural project received international media attention when the project first began, which instilled a sense of pride, according to the former mural Chair, as well as motivating the volunteers associated with the endeavour.

The awards these communities have received serve to verify or enhance community pride and a belief in the community and in the province, that they represent a tourism destination. The recognition that individual places receive from their respective regional and provincial tourism awarding bodies brings a belief to community members more broadly that tourism is perhaps a good idea, that the Town/City may have something to offer, and in so doing it acts to embed the project into the community. For practitioners and policy makers these awards serve to further promote tourism within the province and region, and allows them to lobby funders and policy makers for additional resources to develop more tourism projects.

6.4.2 Identifying Supports and Obstacles to Facilitating Success in CED

Part of measuring success or facilitating the successful outcome of a chosen endeavour involves understanding what those involved in community development activities view as supports or obstacles to the undertaking. The following sections provide a discussion of the elements identified by those interviewed as critical to supporting and hindering the successful outcome of a project, and are summarized in Table 6.5. What is interesting is that many of the suggested attributes, such as ‘attitude’ are listed as both constraints and supports. These attributes reflect those voiced by the community and are not listed in a prioritized order.
Table 6.5 Summary of Supports and Hindrances as Identified in Interviews

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Source: Author

6.4.2.1 Supports for Development

A key attribute identified by virtually all those interviewed was a positive attitude towards development opportunities within the community. An important element, and one that illustrates the connections between embeddedness, success and sustainability is what one interviewee from Humboldt referred to as ‘the power of We’.

But, you know, I got a real lesson in progress in [the late 1970s] when we were raising funds to build our Uniplex [a multipurpose recreation facility] ...I was a young businessman here in town. ... on the Chamber of Commerce and the School Board and all that kind of stuff. We [decided to build] the Uniplex and we had to raise funds for it ... So, we had to go to the city for a municipal bylaw to borrow money [meaning that it required a public vote]. We literally had to shake every vote out of the tree... [and] businesses were allowed to vote. ... We went out and we made sure every business voted. That thing scraped through by about 51 or 52 percent. That was as close as we came to being ordinary and not going ahead. The seniors primarily were against it at that time. Within six months of [the Uniplex] being in the ground, the cars that were going around the building were [being driven by] old people. They would take their kids out there with them, and they were saying, ‘look what we’re building’. That ‘we’, Rhonda, is a hell of a word. If you say ‘look what we can do’, if you got ‘we’, you don’t have to sell it. They’ll sell it for you. You can do a lot if you use ‘we’ and not ‘I’. The seniors after that kind of sold it. They
were onboard for the pool after that. ... There’s always caution involved. I get that way too sometimes. But if you use the ‘we’ word and have a lot of optimistic people, you can do a lot. You can draw people in. Have committees of positive people. Don’t listen to the nay sayers. You can’t bulldoze them.

Further, having a positive internal and external image is a key factor. As the Executive Director for the MJREDA stated, “we are a winner provincially” because of the growth in tourism. It was the attitude of this individual that this has allowed the city to be considered for other economic development opportunities. Both those interviewed in Moose Jaw and Humboldt feel that the tourism developments within their communities were the catalyst for other and continued economic development, because of the attention and pride it brought to the community.

Those interviewed indicated that success is more likely if the goals of the community are within the capacity of the community and area to achieve. In essence, a community must chose a development option that is embedded in the attributes that exist within the community. An interviewee in Humboldt described this as,

If you took the sun and the water out of Florida, there’s nothing there. It’s just a flat piece of sand. So they work with their attributes, what [they] have. Like, we have the German theme. We have a German culture. We have people who appreciate beauty. So it was kind of a little easier to build on for us because we had a base to go from. The road was an untapped base but it was there. Everybody ...you know, we knew of the neighbours who were good at things, and we just tapped into that. I think you have to know who you are. Like, if you’re six foot six you should probably be a basketball player. If you’re five foot six, you maybe should be a dart player. You have to go with what you have, you know, assess your strengths and build on them.

In addition, there was also an indication from those interviewed in communities such as Humboldt and Biggar that the chosen strategies must also be embedded within the community. When development strategies are driven from within the community there is a greater guarantee of long-term support.

There are two aspects of place that serve to support a chosen project, in this case, tourism development through murals. The influence of location and the
attributes of place have a long history in geography-based economic theory (Massey 1995; Storper and Walker 1989). Although much geographic research has been conducted in this area, relevant to this thesis is the work of Dahms and McComb (1999), which suggested that location and place-based characteristics including location in the urban field, amenity attractions and the commodification of rurality have contributed to increased population growth of rural spaces in southern Ontario. Although there are fewer studies of this nature within the tourism literature, there are those that have examined the relationship between the location of attractions and visitor impact on the environment (Uysal et al. 1994) and how tourists plan their vacation relative to destination/attraction location (Lue et al. 1993). However, Wall (1978, 5) indicates that, “recreation sites do not exist in isolation. They are found within a context of competing and complementary facilities. Thus, given the mobility of most pleasure travelers, it is likely that they will frequent more than one site or destination on a single trip.” Given that most trips are multi-destination in nature (Hanson 1980; O’Kelly 1982) and that tourism sites exist within a competitive environment, the concept of intervening opportunities is particularly relevant to this research (Stouffer 1940; Hartshorne and Alexander 1988).

In Saskatchewan, travelling distance between points can be significant and therefore being located on a major transportation route may be beneficial for developing tourism. Indeed, most of those interviewed felt their community was ideally situated to attract visitors, for example on main highways, meaning that location was an important contributing attribute to a successful outcome. For example, a mural artist from Chemainus, B. C. suggested that, “what happened in Chemainus is due to the mural project and because the people volunteered to work to promote the area. Moose Jaw has one hundred times the potential Chemainus had to create something. Imagine what you can do with the Trans-Canada Highway right at your doorstep” (Moose Jaw Times Herald 1991b). When asked what supported tourism development in Moose Jaw, a City Councillor identified their location as an asset. Those interviewed in Churchbridge and Wadena spoke of their location as an asset and in Duck Lake, it was the amount of automobile traffic that passed by the community that convinced them to undertake mural-based tourism development.
The second set of place-based attributes are the facilities that the town or city possesses. In this case, they were not always tourism-related, but factors people cite for continuing to live within the community. In Biggar, this was the new school and health facility along with inexpensive recreation opportunities for children and adults. The good water supply, inexpensive lots for purchase and low property taxes, along with the friendliness and safety of the community in which to raise a family, were cited by those interviewed in Humboldt, Duck Lake, Wadena and Churchbridge.

As suggested in the literature (Christenson 1982; Youmans 1990; O’Brien et al. 1991; Brown and Nylander 1998), leadership was identified as a crucial element that supports the successful outcome of a project by those interviewed. Even Schutz suggested that leadership is the key ingredient. The Executive Director of the MJ REDA suggests “There needs to a community leader for us to have a process...And without a local driver there is no local success.” Every project needs someone to come up with and oversee the implementation of an idea and manage it through to completion. The personal characteristics of that leader, notably a positive attitude, serve to garner additional support for the project. As one interviewee suggested, what is required is “Positive leadership and people that think that we can do this. That we can get it done.”

Several of those interviewed identified supportive Town/City Council as a key to the success of any project undertaken within the community. For example, the Executive Director of MJ REDA feels “the city has demonstrated in the past with the relationships they’ve had with the spa, that they’ve been willing to do things, or set up a subdivision or other things that a municipality does” to support development within the city. In fact, all but Churchbridge viewed their Council as supportive, though there was some hesitancy in Humboldt from one interviewee as discussed previously. This may be a result of the recent change in Council and as a result of the fact that this employee was new to the position. The Mayor does feel that the Council is supportive, but it may be that he and the previous Tourism Director have a different view of how support works, considering they see such developments as needing to be driven from the bottom-up. It is likely that he feels his job as a Council
member is to provide the opportunities and climate of support for individuals to take
the initiative. In contrast, the interviewee feels that the current Council does not give
her serious consideration ("they don’t read the reports"), although she acknowledges
that her budget has not been reduced. In addition, part of the responsibility of the
position is economic development, in which she admits to having a limited
background. What this suggests is that it is important to ensure that the people in
positions have the capacity to do the required job.

Interviews suggest that the Town Council is supportive of the development
of the Biggar Council for Community Development (BCCD) because the committee
may provide long term planning that the Council struggles to manage. Town Council
support does not always come with direct financial commitment, but they always
underwrite the project, which is what a community group needs. Groups in Duck
Lake recognize the financial limitations of their local government and feel that they
provide moral and financial support when needed.

Most of the communities feel that they would not have been able to achieve
what they have without the support they have received from provincial and federal
government. Wadena is the only community that did not receive, or importantly
apply for, grants from the government for the mural program. Humboldt and Duck
Lake received grant money to redevelop their Main Streets and the provincial
government through the Saskatchewan Liquor and Gaming Corporation gave money
to reface Humboldt’s liquor store, which included interior murals, to match the half-
timber construction. Churchbridge received some money to make post cards of the
murals and Moose Jaw City Council has received a significant injection of money
from both levels of government to assist with their various tourism attraction
developments.

As discussed in terms of the importance of volunteerism as a level of
thickness for community development, those interviewed also identified the support
of community members as crucial to the success of any project. Community support
includes not only individuals coming out to support activities, but also the donations
of time (for meetings, etc), money (through monetary donations) and ‘items’ (baked
goods, crafts etc that are required to raise money in fundraisers). Many of those
interviewed stated that it was the volunteer capacity of their communities that made every undertaking possible. Such support is clearly visible in the smaller communities of Wadena and Churchbridge. The Duck Lake Mural Board was able to accomplish significant tourism development within their community primarily with volunteers and donations from the community at large.

In Biggar, community support for development projects and the BCCD is evident through participation in town meetings and the interest that has been generated, as a member of the BCCD executive indicated in the following passage.

The image of the town and building on what we have is a huge topic and everybody is pretty supportive of it. They understand that to bring people to the community, you’ve got to market yourself and became that sort of tourism type place. Exactly how that’s done, nobody will say for sure yet, but they’re all pretty supportive. ... People are always bumping into me and asking me how things are going. So, that’s encouraging. And some of them are people that weren’t – I don’t even recall seeing at the meetings. So, they’re keeping their eyes open and their ear to the ground.

6.4.2.2 Hindrances to Development

Findings from this research suggest that individual or group attitude towards development has a major impact on the potential outcome of a chosen project. Negative attitudes were identified by those interviewed as something that hinders development. For example, a former Mayor from Biggar felt that in the past, negative attitudes of residents have cost the town. He supports the idea of an economic development officer to help promote the community and aid in marketing the benefits of Biggar and area. “We’ve started to believe in economic development a little bit more than we have in the past and to me that is the only route” (Biggar Independent 1997b). According to the Mayor of Humboldt, “not dreaming or thinking about what you can be” holds a community back, as does “lots of negative attitude.”

One of the biggest hindrances to success in rural Saskatchewan was identified as an attitude towards living in a small town or that “to make something of your life, you need to leave town”. Although it is true that to obtain a post secondary
education individuals will have to leave, there is no incentive for these same individuals to come back, as evidenced in the following passage from a former Economic Development, Tourism and Recreation Director.

Wadena is losing 12.5 people per year, which is pretty much your graduating Grade 12 class. Now, they don’t see it, because these kids go to Grade 12 and they’re expected to go to university. What they don’t notice is that these kids never come back. … You know, they sit there and say well we’re losing all our young people, well definitely. Why should the young people stick around when there’s no business opportunities for them, there’s no working opportunities for them, there’s no education opportunities for them. Instead of saying, you know what, stay here, go to school in Wynyard, get your first year Arts and Sciences while you’re working at say, the NET terminal, if you’re going into agriculture. They don’t do that. They’re just like; alright, see ya later….So, its actually dying a slow death, that they won’t see until all of sudden, its too late.

An interviewee in Biggar stated that two income families and the attitude that two incomes are required for a quality of life is part of what causes the demise of rural Saskatchewan. (This same person who identified Biggar as being a “progressive town”).

Well, attitude. People don’t want to live in a small town. I hate to sound like a dinosaur here, [but] working women have just killed rural Saskatchewan in lots of ways. I have trouble getting people to stay in Biggar, like doctors and Mounties. I have a lot of single Mounties in town because [for] Mounties that are married, there isn’t a lot for their wives to do here. … That is one of our big obstacles. People truly believe that … either they have to have two jobs for economic reasons or they need two jobs to be fulfilled. And I can’t do [anything] about the fulfilled part. … But I think I could prove to you, prove to anyone that really cared to listen that unless that second job you have is real cracker of a job, … you can live in Biggar on one salary cheaper than in the city on two. That is probably one of our biggest obstacles.

Another detrimental attitudinal factor related specifically to rural-based tourism is the idea that a single community or attraction can create the type of economic development it is seeking on its own (Baird 1999; Schutz 2002). Instead,
tourism organizers must recognize that it is necessary and beneficial to work together as a region. Results from this research corroborate such findings, as evidenced in the following passage in which the Mural Board Chair and Museum Director in Duck Lake discusses why they are now exploring how to market the community as part of a regional attraction base.

I think the biggest obstacle is a mindset. ... You know for years and years, every attraction and every small business has been trying to do it for themselves. And so they've developed their own little brochure and they've developed their own little marketing strategy, etc.. So the mindset is still there, you know, what's in it for me, and what we have to do is try to get beyond that. To try make them see the bigger picture ... that if you can get them to come your little facility, they'll stay for a couple of hours but then they're gone. But if you get to come and stay in your area for three days, they are more than likely going to visit everything they can in those three days. They are going to need the grocery store, they are going to need the fuel, they are going to use your bakery, etc. They'll go for coffee and your meals at a restaurant. So, not only do the attractions profit, but the services profit. And I think people are starting to look at that.

As the next example demonstrates, apathy and contentment with the status quo around business development are additional attitudes that serve to hinder development within a community. A new Chamber of Commerce Chair felt that members needed to demonstrate their support in more ways than paying their annual membership, as only 50 of a possible 300 business people attended a meeting. Many of those attending (such as financial advisors, lawyers and accountants) do not benefit from Chamber involvement and certainly not the new plans it has for retail and tourism promotion (Humboldt Journal 1997d). Information from interviewees in Humboldt would support the Chamber of Commerce concerns that the retailers are not doing enough to support the city. A similar "we are holding our own" attitude was evident in Wadena. Those interviewed suggested that these types of attitudes derail or set roadblocks to innovative thinking and creative options for development and service delivery. Often these same people hold long-term influential decision-
making positions in the community (e.g., Town/City Councillors), representing a barrier to change or development.

An inferiority complex is a strong element related to attitude within the case communities but it is even suggested in the province as a whole, as evidenced by the Saskatchewan, Our Future is Wide Open Campaign to promote the benefits of Saskatchewan to both those outside and inside the province. Within the data set this attitude of inferiority takes several forms, some relating specifically to tourism, others relating to economic development and entrepreneurialism more broadly.

This attitude of inferiority permeated the discussions with many interviewees and was also evident in the documents analysis. The following quote comes from the Mayor of Humboldt,

> When [I] give our state of the city address or something like that, I tell them we have to get over the inferiority complex. And that we used that to sell the tourism theme earlier, like we can do better than this. ... If people can just believe in themselves and positive attitude and just think we can do it.

Within a tourism context it relates specifically to the lack of belief that there is something worthwhile to promote. The result is often that the community at large needs to receive outside verification of the value of their attractions. For example, a City Councillor suggests the city and the prairies are unique but “because the west has such a young history, people who live here think they don’t have much of a culture” (Moose Jaw Times Herald 1990b). She goes on to say that,

> Moose Jaw can build on its heritage as a thriving railroad town, where businessmen came to seek their fortunes and farmers came to make a new start. Regina on the other hand was established for political reasons so it has a less colourful past. And Moose Jaw’s past economic troubles can be turned to profit: while Regina has boomed its residents have cheerfully torn down many of its old buildings...Meanwhile, Moose Jaw hasn’t been able to afford to rebuild, so almost all of its main street is still intact.

This campaign is based on a series of television, print and internet site advertisements (http://www.wideopenfuture.ca/) developed and funded by the Saskatchewan Government, Department of Industry and Resources.
As discussed previously, a brochure highlighting the cottage industry in Humboldt and area underlines an attitude of “we don’t have much to offer” as the creators of the brochure found there was a collective surprise at the “number of businesses we have off the beaten trail” (Humboldt Journal 2000b).

Related to attitude and inferiority complex is the need to have outside confirmation of the value of a particular development strategy. Outside experts bring recognition of the capacities and strengths of the community to those in the community. External expertise legitimizes the project idea, often serving to embed a development strategy that does not fit within the historical norms, or what this research has termed, the community psyche. Furthermore, even though some local leaders may see the strategy as positive, it does not resonate with the local population who may view such suggestions as part of a personal agenda and not good for the community more broadly. When outside experts suggest a project should be pursued it helps, as demonstrated in the following passages from community leaders in Moose Jaw. An interesting viewpoint comes from a local developer who stated, “It is beneficial to bring in people from outside the community - people who have no axe to grind within the community” (Lloyd 1981,7). It highlights the notion that perhaps people are more ‘able and willing’ to listen to an outside expert rather than a local person whom they may view as only after personal gain or who may personally gain from the project. In another example, a former Mayor suggested that “When outside analysis put that much emphasis...on the assets and the resources of the community, then maybe that view is more easily accepted by others...than it would be if we were just saying it ourselves” (Moose Jaw Times Herald 1993b).

Community members often see government at all three levels as a barrier to development and the success of particular projects. In Churchbridge, as discussed previously, there is a sense that the Town Council is not supportive of development ideas. When asked what obstacles were faced by the CCD in achieving their goals the first statement was, “Weak Mayor and Council and a controlling Administrator”. This attitude is likely a result of the personality conflict between the CDO and the Council, and is exacerbated by the Council’s attitude that the town is dependent on
potash so there is no point in looking at how to exist beyond or without that. Even the Arts Board Chair expressed the feeling that the Town Council provides merely moral support. For example, when the Chair approached the Town Council for assistance with purchasing metal brackets to hang banners, the Council did not come through with as many as promised, which resulted in the Arts Club feeling as though they were not a priority for the Town Council. “But it just has been aggravating because we had the banners ready a year ago. And I guess there were other priorities and they never got around to getting this done. It’s really dampened our spirits.”

Within Humboldt, the Tourism Director sees Town Council as a hindrance,

Because all of my money comes from Council and so getting them to understand that if we want people to come here if we want to grow and prosper that I need money to do it. I am not a moneymaking industry as far as my revenues will not become more than my expenses. It is just not possible.

Provincial and federal government are viewed as obstacles for specific projects, especially those relating to municipal infrastructure. For example, although the water reservoir in Duck Lake has been identified as too small to safely combat potential fires, infrastructure grants to aid the town in expanding the reservoir have not been provided to the community despite repeated applications.

Although viewed as a positive attribute in supporting success, both communities located within an hour of Saskatoon (Humboldt and Biggar) view this proximity as a detriment to their development. The Mayor of Biggar views the proximity, in combination with shift work at the industries in the community, resulting in less support for local businesses and it means people live in Saskatoon and commute to work in Biggar. The Tourism and Economic Development Director in Humboldt sees this proximity, in combination with a lack of a dedicated EDO, as limiting retail business development because people shop in Saskatoon. In contrast, the Mayor of Humboldt views this proximity as a chance to entice visitors to the region.

When we started the Land of the Living Skies, everybody thought that Saskatoon was – viewed it as a bit of a threat because everybody was going there shopping. And so, we turned that around and we said, you know, there are 200,000
people -- at that time there was about 200,000 people and that’s a real market for us. And if we can get people to come out of Saskatoon and drive to Watrous and make a day trip to Watrous, make a day trip to Humboldt, check us out, make a day trip to the lakes, and make a day trip up to St. Brieux, visit our – just a little day trip out here. There’s thousands of people that would do that. So look on it as an opportunity. So we thought if we just sell ourselves independently, we have less of a chance than if we do it regionally. You know, we’re getting bus trips through here. They’ll go to Watrous, to the spa. Then they’ll slip up here. Wadena has done a terrific job with their waterfowl exhibits. And so they really have. So, I think there’s a real opportunity.

A reliance on volunteerism, the resulting overlap of responsibilities and the lack of resources to employ people were all identified as hindrances to success. Too few people sitting on too many committees means there is reduced capacity. The volunteer capacity of the community is further limited when the population base is heavily weighted in the 60+ age cohort, as suggested in both Wadena and Duck Lake. The result is that there are too few people sitting on several committees. In addition, there are often too many groups that functionally overlap and are therefore competing for limited resources. This needs to be coordinated to one end goal or one larger vision, such as the town of Biggar is attempting through the development of the BCCD. However, there are those involved with this process who remain frustrated with the level of overlap and the extra work this entails.

Finally because the volunteer base is stretched, there is a need for a dedicated person to work between meetings to accomplish all the work that is necessary to reach the determined goals. Further, their expertise or capacity is needed to access all the programs and grants that are available. In Humboldt, this position does not exist. The Mayor recognizes the contribution of the REDA at a regional level but as he believes that a similar organization is required to address local economic options, he has struck an economic development committee. But, as the Tourism and Economic Development Director points out, as a city, Humboldt should have a position to look after this and suggests that the lack of dedicated economic development planning is a concern for her.
It is a concern of mine, that if something doesn’t happen within the next 5 to 10 years then yeah it will be a mere dot on the map. That is why right now I say that I think Humboldt is just a city by name. There are some businesses and services that could be available here that are not and that is why I think an EDO could actually go out there and say ok this is a great community to start up a business. ...Our trading area is over 27,000 people so if we can maintain and have those businesses that are required here in Humboldt then you don’t have to do that drive [to Saskatoon].

Finances were an issue identified by everyone interviewed. From a Town/City perspective, it is difficult to balance limited financial resources against municipal responsibilities and community organization requests. From a project leader basis, financing is a two-fold issue of whether or not the project is a priority of the Town/City Council and if there is the capacity within the community to access alternate means of funding. Community groups need people who know where and how to apply for different governmental and non-governmental programs. For example, the Chair of Wadena Mural Images wrote unsuccessfully to several paint companies to obtain donations for the mural project. In contrast, mural committee members in Kuroki, Margo and Invermay (communities located on Highway #5, east of Wadena) applied for funding through the Millennium Bureau of Canada and were successful (Wadena News 2000a).

Having to fundraise for everything and having a limited capacity to do the fundraising was identified in Duck Lake as a barrier to expanding the mural-based tourism theme in that community.

Because the funding is my biggest problem. If we had, you know, you look at the city of Moose Jaw and theirs is so successful for the simple reason that they are municipally funded. ...They can afford to repair, they can afford to put new ones up. Whereas for us it’s all fund raising. And so it takes a long time. And really we work bingos but the bingo hall that we’re working through has really cut us back. And, you know, its very, very difficult when you only have six bingos a year, to make the kind [of money that is needed]. So that’s why it almost takes us a couple of years before we can raise enough money to do a repair job let alone put a new mural up. That’s why we decided to go through tee shirts and postcards now, last year to see if we can maybe stimulate our funding a little bit.
With specific reference to what deters tourism development, the former Mural Board chair in Duck Lake identified the lack of supporting infrastructure and facilities as an issue. This is a critical thickness that is required to support tourism development, as discussed previously.

A related hindrance is a lack of understanding of how the tourism industry works, what is needed to develop and promote the industry and the level of service and attractions that are required. The Tourism and Economic Development Director in Humboldt referred to tourism as an “educational industry” because of the level of learning and teaching that is required to make the industry work and to convince businesses and Council that tourism is an investment. What this points to is the necessity of rural communities working together on a regional basis and pooling their attractions, marketing, services and expertise to develop a destination region and package.

6.4.3 Success Framework Evaluation in Tourism-Based CED

There are several purposes for a framework to assess the success of a project. First, frameworks, like those developed by Markey and Vodden (2000) and Flora et al. (1999), should provide a reflexive opportunity for community members to evaluate their chosen endeavour on human, social, economic and environmental capacities. Throughout the development process such frameworks provide an opportunity to re-evaluate the method and progress towards the envisioned goal. What is required at the end however, is a way to evaluate whether or not that goal has been reached and if the intended outcome has been achieved. As discussed at the beginning of section 6.4, for rural-based CED strategies such as tourism, traditional methods of evaluating economic development strategies do not provide a complete picture of success. Instead, as has been indicated in Chapter 5 and throughout this analysis, other less tangible measurements must be included in such an evaluation. In addition, this analysis points to the inclusion of other theories within a CED framework to more fully evaluate and predict the successful and sustainable outcome of the chosen strategy.
However, such assertions present questions as to how a) an intangible ‘feeling’ or perception of success can be evaluated, and b) the concept of sustainability can form part of this evaluation in rural tourism. With respect to the first question, part of the answer is to compare the outcomes to the stated objectives when the program was implemented, taking into account whether emphasis was placed on the Community Development or Economic element of CED. Any framework for measuring success in community economic development must include community attitudes towards the chosen endeavour. Theories of embeddedness, institutional thickness and governance provide a basis to evaluate the sustainability of tourism within a rural context. The following two sections provide a framework for, and theorization of, success in CED, as a way of addressing these two questions.

6.4.3.1 Evaluating Intangible Elements of Success

Within the CED literature, traditional methods of evaluation are utilized to define success in CED as achieved when chosen strategies bring more money and employment to the community, result in increased community control over planning and resources or creates resiliency to external change (Douglas 1989; Voth 1989; Dykeman 1990; Nozick 1991; Boothroyd and Davis 1993; Ashton 1999; Gill 1999). These elements are identifiable and measurable within the community being studied and provide an important aspect to evaluation. Current frameworks account for such measurement methods.

However, as has been demonstrated throughout the analysis, there are other less tangible aspects of success that have an influence on the well-being of residents within a community and that are used to define the success of a project. Because these characteristics are more difficult to measure, they are generally acknowledged less frequently or given less weight in assessing success within academic studies. These definitions relate more to community pride, beautification and fostering social linkages than the numbers of jobs created or retail sales generated. They are the outcomes of mural development initiatives most often cited in rural communities. This suggests that, as researchers, planners and policy makers, our measures of
success must be broad enough to reflect the diversity of objectives within communities.

Utilizing mural-based CED as the strategy being evaluated, a two-dimensional framework (see Figure 6.2) has been utilized to depict how the objectives and the tangibility of community economic development define the success of a project. In the framework, the Y-axis represents the objectives (tourism or community beautification) and the X-axis represents both intangible (e.g., community pride, knowledge, compliments) and tangible (e.g., number of visitors, number of jobs created, dollar value of tourist-related sales) measures of success.

Figure 6.2: Intangible and Tangible Success Evaluation Framework
The further from the base of these axes, the greater the perceived or measured success. Biggar is not evaluated on this framework as the attributes used for evaluation relate only to those communities with a mural project.

On the basis of interviews and documents analysis as previously discussed, each of the case study communities have been placed on this framework based on how the outcome of the project is viewed by those interviewed against the intended objective. It is clear that those interviewed in both Wadena and Churchbridge see their projects as successful, regardless of the total revenues or jobs generated, because their frame of measurement was defined by intangibility and community beautification. The terms relating to success were subjective and included comments relating to the attractiveness of the community, the subsequent pride residents felt towards their community and the talents they possess, the increased awareness about local history for all age groups, the fun associated with the process of mural creation, the creation of friendships and relationships, and finally, how it benefited local artists who were subsequently commissioned by other communities.

In contrast, those interviewed in Moose Jaw described their mural initiatives as successful in a tangible, economic-based tourism sense. The increased numbers of visitors and the use of murals as indirect catalysts for other tourism developments were cited as previously discussed. Tourism development was credited for reinvigorating Main Street, attracting new or expanding existing industry and encouraging national retail chains to consider establishing in Moose Jaw. Although conceding that the murals have created a relatively small number of jobs, those interviewed suggested that the murals and subsequent tourism developments have become an indicator of broader economic successes within the community, both now and in the future. As the Executive Director for the MJ REDA stated, “they [the murals] have helped put us on the radar screen.”

Both the objectives of mural development and the tangibility of success were more mixed in Humboldt, and not everyone viewed the initiative as successful. Tourist-based economic development, in the form of increased numbers of visitors and retail activity, were both original objectives, as was community beautification augmenting the German cultural heritage of the region through the selection process.
and the art. The former Director of Special Events and Tourism for Humboldt believed that the murals had achieved a mixed success, in that they had brought in six bus tours a year to the community, but that participation by local businesses had been limited and the number of tours and festivals has decreased recently. The current Mayor felt that the murals and broader tourism developments associated with them were instrumental in developing an attitude of regional cooperation in addition to providing a signal to businesses that Humboldt is a good place to live and do business. A consequence of this has therefore been an indirect increase in economic activity.

The former Chair for Duck Lake’s Mural Committee suggested that the community has had a “fifty percent success rate”. When questioned on this response, he said this number means that the murals have beautified the community, but had largely failed in achieving any long-term economic development, both goals of the original project. The Mural Board had expected further revenues from the creation of both paid guided and self-guided tours for visitors, retail sales of mural pamphlets, books, shirts, prints, post cards, and the display and sale of the modellos (original paintings submitted to the community for adjudication). It was expected that these would lead indirectly to increased business and the creation of new enterprises to support the tourism industry. Because the anticipated objective for the mural project was tourism and the actual outcome was community beautification, Duck Lake has been placed at the axes of the figure. As far as tourism is concerned, tangible successes have been very limited, while the community beautification outcome is viewed as more successful, especially if evaluated in intangible terms.

The utility of this evaluation framework lies in its inclusion of community member evaluations of success against their chosen objectives. It is therefore possible to evaluate strategies other than mural projects in a similar fashion, retaining the x-axis intangible and tangible success measurements and altering the objectives (y-axis) to reflect the community’s evaluation criteria. It is conceivable that the figure may become multidimensional to include a variety of objectives beyond those evaluated here.
6.4.3.2 Theorizing Sustainability and Success in CED

The second element in evaluating success is the sustainability of the project under question. Sustainability in this context refers to the actual capacity base of the community to maintain the project and expand it over the long term in order to obtain the desired outcomes. Both the literature and the analysis contained in this research would suggest that within a CED framework, the sustainability of a chosen strategy is an important objective in achieving the long-term growth or stability of the community. Therefore it appears that theorizing institutional thickness, embeddedness and governance into CED may assist in predicting or achieving this sustainability.

The existing frameworks previously discussed provide the types of capacities and decision-making pathways that community leaders or groups may want to consider in developing their community economic development strategy. These capacity areas can be considered as thicknesses that need to be present within the community. The pathways or decision making strategies can be considered as ways of embedding the project within the community, while governance structures and the associated leadership serve to connect these two areas. As discussed in Section 6.3, there are specific thicknesses, ways of embedding and governance/leadership issues related to tourism development within rural communities that form a crucial aspect of the sustainability and success outcomes for these communities.

Sustainability is an inherent theme in CED, based on the understanding that effective CED is driven from the bottom-up, the implication being therefore that the idea of the project is embedded in the community, where it is based on the internal capacities and where there are positive leaders and relationships built with governments so as to obtain the sustainability of the project over the long term. Sustainability is more likely when the development project fits within the psyche of the people and their community’s economic culture. This embeddedness is critical to its sustainability as the project is likely to receive broader support from the community when people endorse the project in their multiple roles within the community. Community beautification efforts (e.g., flower boxes) provide a good example of the importance of embeddedness.
The relationship between institutional thickness and sustainability is critical and complex, especially in relation to tourism as the development strategy. In this instance, the institutional thickness required relates to the existing and potential attraction capacities within the community and, even more importantly, the region in which the community is located. A supporting infrastructure and facilities are required, that are endorsed by local business, government and community members. Without the presence of such thicknesses, tourism strategies will not generate the kind of sustained economic development benefits that are possible, regardless of scale.

Leadership is an attribute that contributes to the sustainability of development projects as there needs to be an effective succession plan to replace leaders, a volunteer pool that is not tapped and minimal overlap of leaders so that individual agendas are not advanced and burnout does not occur. This attribute has a direct relationship to governance, as effective leadership is required within both the government and community organization sides of the governance relationship. These partnerships can only be sustainable when they allow for a planning horizon that goes beyond a particular electoral period and allows for secure funding commitments and support over the long term.

Table 6.6 summarizes the relationship between these attributes and sustainability within CED while assessing the success of each of the mural-based tourism projects in the case study communities. Sustainability and success in Biggar is assessed on the development of the BCCD as the town does not have a mural or tourism development strategy. Its inclusion demonstrates the applicability of such a framework to other types of CED strategies or planning processes.

The previously discussed attributes relating to the four theoretical areas and those that support and hinder the successful outcome of a development project have been utilized in Table 6.6 to assess their influence on the success and sustainability of the mural project within each community as either positive (P), mixed (M) or negative (N). The assumption is that a positive presence of the attribute is necessary for a project to be considered sustainable resulting in the increased likelihood of success over the long term. Given the level of overlap of some of the attributes and
Table 6.6 Success and Sustainability Evaluation Framework

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicators of Success and Sustainability</th>
<th>Attribute Present in Case Study</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Biggar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>EMBEDDEDNESS</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Understanding of Tourism</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murals as Embedded</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>INSTITUTIONAL THICKNESS</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Support</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volunteerism</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short Term (first 5 to 8 years)</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long Term (8 plus years)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>REGIONAL THICKNESS</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attractions</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partnerships</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LOCAL THICKNESS</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infrastructure</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facilities</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GOVERNANCE &amp; LEADERSHIP</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Top-down versus Bottom-up</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Driven</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development Process</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclusive of Community</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership Issues</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership Capacity</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Government Support</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Networks</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Positive/Mixed Presence</strong></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

M = Mixed Presence  N = Negative Presence  P = Positive Presence

Source: Author

9 These areas are not applicable to the case of Biggar as there was no mural project and the volunteer capacity based on the BCCD has not yet been tested beyond the short-term framework.
to avoid confusion, Community Support (broadly defined to include individual, business, committees and organizations) and Volunteerism have been included under Institutional Thickness and Local Government under Governance and Leadership. The Volunteerism attribute has been evaluated in two stages, short term (the first 5 to 8 years of the project) and long term (8 plus years) to address the issue of capacity over time.

The outcome of the evaluation is based on how the community scored on the positive presence of indicators relating to success resulting in greater likelihood of sustainability of the tourism project. The communities have been ranked based on the total number of positive (P) and mixed (M) indicators on a range of 0 to 15, with P+M scores approaching 15 signalling a greater likelihood of sustainability and success for the project and P+M scores approaching 0 indicating less probability of sustainability and success.

The results of this evaluation suggest that the likelihood of achieving success when tourism development is chosen as the method of diversifying the community economy is significantly increased when the positive presence of the indicators associated with embeddedness, institutional thickness and governance/leadership are present. From this analysis it is apparent that Moose Jaw and Humboldt have the greatest likelihood of sustaining their tourism product and experiencing continued success. This evaluation matches those resulting from the Intangible and Tangible Success Evaluation Framework discussed in Section 6.4.3.1. The duplication of results from both frameworks would suggest that for Moose Jaw, the indicators of embeddedness, institutional thickness, governance and leadership have been developed and utilized to a point where the outcomes are likely to be sustained over the long term. Tourism development in Humboldt demonstrates a strong presence of positive indicators and evidence from those interviewed in that community suggests that with continued training and support from Council, businesses will begin to understand the industry, allowing for the continued development of tourism within the community and region.

Ranking results for Wadena, Duck Lake and Biggar suggest that the potential of success in tourism development exists but has not been fully developed, while
Churchbridge has the lowest score, suggesting that the community has the least number of positive attributes relating to institutional thickness, embeddedness and governance/leadership required to aid a community-based project in achieving tourism as an outcome.

The assumption of this evaluation is that tourism was the chosen objective for the development of murals, though this was not the case for Churchbridge, Biggar and Wadena based on the Intangible and Tangible Success Evaluation Framework discussed in Section 6.4.3.1. In that evaluation, both Wadena and Churchbridge were considered to have experienced success, as the objective was community beautification, evaluated primarily on intangible factors relating to community pride, social network development and attractiveness of the community. If only the positive presences are counted in the Success and Sustainability Framework (Table 6.6), both Churchbridge and Wadena have the lowest rank of 5. Their positive scores are from theme areas that relate to the embeddedness of the murals, community support, short term volunteerism, being community-driven and inclusion. The other theme areas receiving mixed or negative presence evaluations relate primarily to the economic characteristics of tourism development, including attitude towards development, infrastructure and facilities and governance and leadership issues. What this suggests, or reaffirms, is that the objectives of mural development must be taken into account in evaluating success. The mural projects in both towns have achieved the desired results for the community and have provided some additional interest for visitors. However, as an outside observer, this research would suggest that should tourism become a specific objective for diversifying the community economy in either of these communities, the indicators on which the scores are low must be addressed for any possibility of sustained success.

If the objectives for mural development in Duck Lake had been community beautification, the community could be considered to have had success based on the Intangible and Tangible Success Evaluation Framework. Because tourism-based economic outcomes were desired, those involved with the project considered it to have failed. As a result, a revamped Mural Board, with input from the Museum
Board, have begun to examine what they need to do to achieve these tourism-based goals. In so doing, they may achieve those outcomes over time.

Biggar's ranking, although low, is reflective of the initial stages of development. Members of the community are still in the process of completing a vision for the town and compiling the information necessary to make informed decisions on how to best utilize the existing capacities (human, social, economic and environmental) within the community. The presence of a positive attitude towards development, community support, volunteerism, willingness to develop partnerships, the fact that the process has been community-driven and inclusive, along with a strong leadership capacity and supportive municipal government all point to the strong potential that exists within this community to achieve positive outcomes.

It is interesting to compare the results of the Success and Sustainability Evaluation Framework against the subjective site evaluations survey (as discussed in Chapter 5, Section 5.3.2) The site evaluations were undertaken on my first visit to each community and were intended to capture my impression of each community as a tourist. Comparing the two rankings (Table 6.7) is not an attempt to verify findings, as the data in each evaluation are not similar. The utility of this exercise is in gauging perception (mine as 'tourist') against the data (the information provided by and collected from community members).

The equal rankings between the two evaluations for Moose Jaw, Humboldt and Wadena suggest an accurate perception of tourism development in these places. This is not to suggest that those involved in tourism in these communities do no need to continue to develop their products, but it does suggest that the potential for sustained positive outcomes as a result of tourism are possible based on the positive presence of the indicators. Where we do see a significant change in ranking between the two evaluations is for Duck Lake.
Table 6.7 Comparative Rankings between the Success and Sustainability Evaluation Framework and the Subjective Site Survey Outcomes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Success and Sustainability Evaluation Framework</th>
<th>Subjective Site Survey Outcomes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Community</td>
<td>Rank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moose Jaw</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humboldt</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wadena</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duck Lake</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biggar</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Churchbridge</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Possible</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author

The displacement of Duck Lake to a lower ranking in the subjective survey best exemplifies the difference between initial perception of place and the understanding that is gained through time spent in the community and the knowledge subsequently gained. Duck Lake, as discussed in section 6.3.1.6 (Tourism and Institutional Thickness) has potential for tourism development that were not coordinated effectively. The Success and Sustainability Evaluation Framework appears to have the ability to souse that out, as it provides the opportunity to address a variety of layers associated with the development of a tourism product within a community. Duck Lake has a positive presence of many of these indicators but these have not translated into a product that the initial tourism committee was able to sustain. This is largely a result of a heavy reliance on volunteers and therefore a limited capacity for continued fundraising, uncoordinated planning of the tourism product, insufficient leadership succession planning and the lack of a regional approach to tourism marketing and partnerships. Tourism organizers in the community recognize these deficiencies and are trying to address them. Results from other communities that have a positive presence of these
indicators suggest that Duck Lake may experience a similar outcome if the current negative indicators can be turned into positive ones.

6.5 Conclusion

The title of this dissertation includes the phrase “jumping on the bandwagon” in reference to the number of communities that appear to be adopting tourism development as the latest popular development strategy. This analysis suggests that a more appropriate subtitle might be “Jumping On The Bandwagon, And Look Who’s Driving?” as the choice for the adoption and development of murals is not only a result of a downturn in economic fortunes, but it is influenced by government programming and grant allocation, which appears to sway local leaders in the development choices they make. Tourism industry investment is a rather small expenditure on the part of government (a few key programs like CTAP, community profiles, etc.), leaving interested community leaders and Councils to procure the remaining funds.

At first glance tourism can appear to be a small investment for the community in question, often viewed as a few signs, flowers and a tourism booth. On the basis of this research it appears that characteristics of place, both the physical location and the cultural heritage, serve to influence the choice to develop murals and in fact seem to aid in establishing a sense of pride in place. However, as the community members become more involved in the industry and place marketing, it becomes apparent that the investment required is really much greater, with little immediate return on those dollars.

In addition, economic development or tourism committees find themselves simultaneously vying for limited dollars from a Town or City Council struggling to manage ever greater demands on their financial capacity while at the same time trying to convince a community membership, with an attitude unfamiliar with the operations of the tourism industry, that investing in tourism is a viable and sustainable option.

What this rather bleak picture indicates is that theories of institutional thickness, governance, embeddedness and conceptualizations of leadership do
provide a body of literature that can aid in furthering our understanding of CED and tourism as a strategy. It demonstrates that tourism is a complex industry that communities cannot enter into lightly. There must be a degree of thickness at a regional and local level for tourism to be an option. Rarely does a single rural town have enough attractions to garner the level of visitation required to provide economic returns. Instead, the research suggests that communities, attractions and businesses must partner on a regional basis to market as a destination, and further research is required to verify this finding. In addition, there must be a certain threshold of facilities and infrastructure at a local level to provide for, and facilitate the creation of, appropriate ambiance of a tourism site.

There must also be a governance structure in place to facilitate and nurture tourism development. This is often a difficult prospect as local governments struggle to maintain services to the community and feel unable to provide the necessary investments to tourism-related infrastructure. This requires innovative and positive working relationships between community groups and their local governments, where positive communication contributes to the development of a common vision for the community. In other words, there must be a set of leaders and connections between those community leaders to facilitate and coordinate tourism development.

Finally, the tourism industry must become embedded in the psyche of the population. There must be a level of understanding of the tourism industry and an acceptance of its required investments from the community membership. Importantly, community members must have a positive attitude and community-self image in order to believe in the possibilities of tourism and to market it as such. The case study communities demonstrate that tourism can present a sustainable community economic development strategy, with assurance of positive outcomes strengthened when these factors are present.

Finally, this research has observed what those involved in tourism and economic development have identified as indicators or definitions of success and has examined the factors that support or hinder the successful outcome of a chosen project. In so doing, this research has identified the need to evaluate success based on both tangible and intangible attributes in association with the objectives the
community intended when undertaking the project. It further demonstrates that when the indicators associated with the four theme areas of embeddedness, institutional thickness, governance and leadership are present, there is a greater likelihood that the project will experience success and be sustainable over the long term. Whether or not tourism as a development option will lead to community sustainability is dubious. However, the sustained growth of tourism as one way of diversifying the community economy is possible for some communities and it may attract new businesses and population as has been the case in both Humboldt and Moose Jaw. Tourism can provide a level of diversity for rural and small urban places, but it requires a long-term commitment of resources and time and is more complex than community leaders often understand.

The final chapter provides a summary of the findings of this research, addresses some of the methodological issues associated with the data collection and analysis and concludes by pointing to some future areas of research resulting from this study.
Chapter 7
THE MURAL TOUR:
WHAT HAVE WE LEARNED AND WHERE ARE WE GOING?

I think we're living proof that the negative scenario that rural Saskatchewan is dying is false. The idea that we're all in a holding pattern waiting for the last person to leave turning out the lights is absolutely untrue.¹

7.1 Summary of Findings
The painting of murals within communities of any size or location is undertaken for many reasons, often not associated with tourism development. Beautification of the streetscape or community is usually the initial goal. In some instances mural projects are specifically chosen as a positive method to engage youth and avoid uncontrolled graffiti. There are however, a small number of communities across Canada that have developed murals, either as a community beautification project or a deliberate attraction, that have resulted in tourism developments. These communities are found in diverse locations and vary in size across Canada, with the exception of New Brunswick, Quebec and the territories of the north.

As a result of visionary leadership, Chemainus, B.C. provides the epicentre for the diffusion of murals as a tourism strategy with a local entrepreneur, Karl Schutz, largely responsible for its spread. As this research has indicated, of the thirty mural communities responding to the survey, twenty-four indicated that the idea came either directly (or indirectly) from Chemainus. As discussed in Chapter 4, Schutz’s entrepreneurial vision resulted in his becoming a mural consultant for projects across Canada, the United States, Australia and New Zealand. His vision

¹ Humboldt Journal 1997f
and experience with Chemainus provided an opportunity for other rural communities and small urban places to consider alternative development strategies. Caution must be taken in interpreting the importance of Schutz in the spread and adoption of murals as a tourism strategy. His influence may be exaggerated due to the questions asked and the method employed in this research. Only adoptive communities, which constitute a small percentage of all the possible communities in Canada, were surveyed. As there was no indication of possible choices from non-adopting communities, the influence of Schutz cannot be measured.

The results of this research indicate that early adopters of mural-based tourism express greater satisfaction and belief in their product than those that have more recently undertaken the project. Although peripheral communities were more likely to choose to develop murals as a tourism strategy, it tended to be those that are centrally located to larger population bases and other amenities that perceived their product as successful.

Without question, small urban places have a greater opportunity for success as measured in tangible economic terms, for example Moose Jaw, but size alone is not a guarantee. This research has identified a number of attributes whose presence within a community signals an increased likelihood of success that can be sustained over the long term. These attributes are associated with theories of institutional thickness, embeddedness and governance and conceptualizations of leadership. Further, it is apparent that these theories do aid in furthering our understanding of CED as well as providing a base from which to build a theory of CED, when applied within a rural or small urban context.

What this research has pointed to is the importance of institutional thickness at a regional and local level for tourism to be an option. Communities, attractions and businesses must partner on a regional basis to market as a destination and collectively they must have a certain threshold of facilities and infrastructure. The tourism industry must become embedded in the psyche of the population, meaning that a level of understanding of the tourism industry is required along with an acceptance of its required investments. Importantly, community members must have a positive attitude and community self image in order to believe in the possibilities
of tourism and to market it as such. In addition, there must be governance structures in place to facilitate and nurture tourism development. This requires innovative and positive working relationships between community groups and local governments, where positive communication contributes to the development of a common vision for the community. This requires a set of leaders and connections between those community leaders to facilitate and coordinate tourism development at a regional and local level.

A final objective of this research was to contribute to the development of a framework for evaluating the success of CED strategies such as tourism. It is apparent that although traditional methods of evaluating success are useful, they do not completely address the value of a chosen strategy nor do they reflect the views of those involved in, or impacted by, the chosen endeavour. Community-based strategies, those driven from within, must be evaluated based on a comparison of the intended objective of the project and the outcome. For many of those involved in mural-based developments, the success measures were based on intangible attributes relating to community pride, social network strengthening and relationship building. These attributes are integral to embedding the development project within the community and, it is argued, provide a basis from which larger more tangible economic-based developments can take place to augment or build upon the tourism industry in that community and surrounding region.

Within rural places, the regional scale is a critical thickness for the sustainability of tourism development options. Individual communities rarely have enough or varied attractions or facilities to hold visitors for the length of time necessary to extract the economic benefit of their visitation. Further, small towns often do not have the resources to market themselves adequately. Instead these places need to collectively identify all the attractions, services and facilities within the region and work together to provide a destination package for travelers. Humboldt has recognized this from the inception of tourism development in their region and Duck Lake has now taken on this approach, the outcomes of which remain to be seen.
What these successes point to is the importance of effective leadership in driving the initiative and an associated strong relationship within the governance structures at work within the community. In those communities where local governments worked with the community in supporting the tourism effort, the outcome has been positive (for example, Moose Jaw and Humboldt). In these situations the infrastructural investments have been made to provide the ambience base to support tourism attraction and facilities development. In these cases the working relationship between government and community groups was positive and supportive, although that has changed over time, depending upon who the leader was, thus verifying the importance of leadership. Because tourism within rural places is dependent upon a regional base, the interconnections between leaders and sources of financial and information support is critical to the successful outcome of the project.

Does tourism provide an option for the sustainability of rural and small urban places? Of the communities surveyed, including those in the cross Canada study, there were very few that were looking at tourism developments as the economic saviour upon which they would rely. Instead, murals and tourism development in general were viewed as potential methods to diversify the local economy by capitalizing on locally-based assets. What this implies is that unlike some suggestions to the contrary (Barnes and Hayter 1992), tourism is not simply another form of ‘smoke stack chasing’ within rural communities, but rather is viewed as a way of diversifying the local economy. However, this does not mean that the community members undertaking to develop tourism fully understand the industry, which may result in an unsuccessful or unsustainable outcome.

This research would suggest that tourism may provide an option for diversification for those communities that are located within a region that is accessible to a large population and that has developed a number of attractions and services to augment the tourist experience. In the end, mural-based tourism provides an essential ingredient to facilitate further tourism development, a sense of pride in place and a belief that the community has the capacity to accomplish something that other people want to see. It provides the opportunity to open community members to
alternate development ideas beyond building on the agriculture (or other primary) industry. This is the key ingredient that may lead to community sustainability.

7.2 Theoretical and Methodological Contributions
Combining and analyzing the ideas of institutional thickness, embeddedness, governance and leadership as they relate to CED have made an important contribution to the emerging theory of CED, a central objective of this research. Findings of this research suggest that these theoretical veins assist in understanding how economic actions are inextricably and uniquely tied to the socio-cultural relationships associated with a particular community. In fact, these conceptualizations have utility not only in distinguishing CED processes, but also in evaluating their potential for success and sustainability, as they relate to tourism in rural areas. In addition, there is justification in applying these findings to other economic strategies that are undertaken within a CED process, based on the variety of examples interviewees provided outside of those relating to tourism-based projects.

The results of this research demonstrate the importance of place to the process of community economic development, thereby contributing more broadly to the discipline of Geography and its understanding of place. Geography plays a critical role in determining how community members construct their options from all of the possibilities that are available to them; their institutional arrangements, factors of embeddedness, governance and leadership structures all play a role in the determination of the options that are considered, how they undertake to develop and implement those options and how the outcomes may be evaluated. This research also represents an important contribution to the sub disciplines of rural and tourism geographies in that little research has been conducted into the role of tourism in Canada’s rural places in addressing the challenges facing this population and their sustainability.

Through this research, two frameworks have been developed to assist rural communities in assessing the viability of their chosen tourism (and possibly other) development strategies and as such, form a methodological contribution to the field
of community economic development. The first is a success measurement framework that allows an understanding of success beyond the tangible economic indicators by including subjective, intangible elements that relate more to the social capital of the community. Such measurements are critical to include in understanding why community members make the development choices they do and how they evaluate the outcomes upon which they base future options.

The second framework, based on the theoretical/conceptual areas, offers a way to assess the potential success and sustainability of proposed projects in rural communities. This framework indicates that there are several layers within a CED process that contribute to the outcomes of the strategy. These relate to how the project fits within the community membership’s understanding of and attitude towards the project (embeddedness). It relates to the volunteer capacity of the community collectively, the infrastructure to support the project locally and the willingness to work on a regional basis (institutional thickness). Finally, the governance and leadership structures and the relationships between them are considered within this framework. By working through these multiple layers, community members may come to understand the complexity associated with tourism industry development.

7.3 Methodological Issues and Limitations
Because this was a first experience with field research, first person pronouns are utilized in the following discussion, to effectively present the knowledge that has been gained (Dupuis 1999; Berg and Mansvelt 2000). In undertaking research of this magnitude, the process is as much a learning experience as the actual subject matter. The central question therefore is, was the chosen method appropriate for determining the research questions and objectives as set out? Although there were some limitations, as discussed below, the methodologies employed provided an appropriate lens through which to examine answers to the questions, posed from a rural tourism geography perspective. The findings of the research may have taken a different form if I had utilized a strictly social geography approach. Within such a methodology, a more thorough consideration of the roles of gender, ethnicity and
race may have had a central role to play in the analysis of how communities undertake the decision making process. There were cases, such as Duck Lake and Wadena, where ethnic and racial inclusion was a specific objective of the board’s structure and mural images. What this suggests is that the questions we ask as researchers influences the methodologies we chose and the analysis we undertake.

A mixed methods approach, using surveys, guided interviews and documents provided abundant data, which proved to be complementary and provide comprehensive research outcomes. However, the first limitation was with the cross Canada survey. The initial survey was too long and relied too heavily on open-ended questions, resulting in a limited return rate on the pilot survey. One of five mural communities responded, with the reply being, ‘this is too long to complete’. As a result, the opened-ended questions were turned into a series of scale-based, ranking, and agree-disagree questions, resulting in a greater return rate (thirty-one of thirty-two communities). However, the shortened survey did not provide as rich a source of data for analyzing the macro mural-based population at a detailed level. It did provide a good base from which to understand the context of mural development in the Saskatchewan case study communities. In addition, because the study population of mural communities across Canada was so small, only descriptive statistics could be utilized with a survey structured as it was. Nonetheless, this data still provided a meaningful context to understand how murals were adopted and diffused across Canada and how those who undertook it viewed this strategy.

One of the intended outcomes of this research was to contribute to the broader field of economic geography by offering a deeper understanding of how certain strategies become attached to different development approaches. Although the data collected from survey provided contextual information, the survey was not an effective tool to determine this outcome. The survey only allowed the determination of broad generalizations and perhaps exaggerated the influence of Schutz in the diffusion of murals. Developing a fuller understanding of the adoption characteristics therefore did not emerge from this research.

One of the limitations I experienced as a researcher was that I found myself at odds with the community members I phoned to set up interviews with. Although
they were eager to discuss their project and experience, there was some uncertainty about my position as ‘PhD Student’ and ‘urban dweller’. Many of those interviewed shared their lack of experience with the post-secondary education system and I think this initially put them ill at ease with me. I found that because I undertook my field research with my family (husband and two children aged six and eight at the time), people became more comfortable with me as my role as mother and wife were visible to them. It also helped when I shared that I grew up in rural Saskatchewan. These were not insurmountable barriers to my research. On the contrary, it pointed to the importance of developing relationships and having effective communication with the people who inform your research project (Dunn 2000).

From an analysis perspective, the issues involved the time consuming nature of qualitative research methods, exacerbated by the fact that all interview transcribing and data analysis were done ‘by hand’ with no outside assistance. Future research projects of this nature will involve paid transcribers and computer software to aid in data analysis.

As mentioned in Chapter 6, although the intent was to undertake an inductive approach to Grounded Theory analysis of the data, this was constrained by prior reading of the literature and the specific hypothesized themes. This did not limit the outcomes of the findings, but it does point to the fact that as researchers, the questions we ask and how we go about finding those answers is a result of our own personalities, the interest we have and the influences we have received through our reading, past research experience and our colleagues (Dupuis 1999).

7.4 Future Research
A particular study often leads to a variety of other potential avenues for investigation and this chapter concludes with the future research projects that have arisen as a result of this analysis.

As discussed in the methodological issues, the examination of how mural-based tourism has spread throughout Canada was rather cursory. From this initial study it has become apparent that there is a need to more deeply examine the broader process of diffusion and adoption of mural-based tourism as one possible CED
strategy. This investigation is more than about just murals; it addresses ‘how’ and ‘why’ communities appear to ‘jump on the bandwagon’ of the most recent economic development fad, and what the resulting diffusion is over time and space. Such an investigation would contribute to the broader field of economic geography as it would allow for a deeper understanding of how certain strategies become attached to different development approaches.

Much critical literature has been written regarding murals as a commodification of history and culture (Bell 1997; Widdis 2000; Osborne 2002), cultural representation in public art (Hodder 1999) and in theme parks (McIntosh and Prentice 1999; Halewood and Hannam 2001; Law 2001). What has emerged from this research is that just as our ways of defining the process and success of CED must include intangible measurements that are place specific, our ways of interpreting the commodification of history or accuracy of cultural representation in murals must be considered within the context of each community.

The analysis of supports for and hindrances to success in CED provided an opportunity to give a voice to those issues as viewed by community members. This is an important exercise in qualitative research (Fine et al 2000) because it allowed these issues to emerge as understood by those involved. This exercise needs to be repeated by myself, as a researcher and emerging ‘expert’ on the process of CED-based tourism and is important for two reasons. Because I am an outsider to each of the communities and had the opportunity to obtain a ‘big picture’ view of the issues they all shared with me, I am positioned to determine what the supports and hindrances are more generally and to examine them in a prioritized order. In addition, such an analysis could provide an indication to communities considering their own potential for tourism-based CED, especially if utilized in conjunction with the attributes outlined for success and sustainability. The results of this exercise could then be developed into a handbook for interested communities.

Several times throughout the analysis and evaluation of success it was stated that rural places require a threshold of attractions and services in order to make tourism viable within their community and region. This begs the question of how many attractions and services constitute a threshold. It was not within the scope of
this research to determine this number, but a future research option would be to
determine this threshold and the relevance for the development and sustainability of
a tourism project in rural areas. A review of the literature would suggest that such a
study is warranted because as Richards (2002, 1048) points out, “attractions are vital
sub-elements in all whole tourism systems, and yet their study suffers from lack of
theoretical depth and empirical foundation.” Indeed, although attractions have been
viewed as central to the tourism process, research to date has not addressed the issue
of how many attractions or what kind of development is required to provide for
sustained tourism, especially as it relates to rural areas.

Most studies have addressed the production and consumption of attractions
(Edensor 1998; Gunn 1988; Leiper 1990; Lew 1987; MacCannell 1976), with more
recent studies examining the function and meaning of attractions (Pearce 1999), the
process of sight sacralization (Jacobsen 1997; Leiper 1997) and the dialectic
relationship between production and consumption (Dietvorst 1993). Leiper’s (1990)
articulation of “attraction systems” provides a theoretical basis for the examination
of the relationship between tourists and attractions, but falls short of determining the
number or ‘thickness’ of attractions that are necessary for small, rural communities
to experience long-term economic benefit. Research undertaken within this thesis
may provide a starting point to examining these phenomena, thus contributing to the
tourism and community development literature, while also providing guidance for
those considering tourism as a possible strategy for CED in their community.

Moreover, research addressing regional participation of communities
utilizing tourism as economic development strategies is limited. Various related
aspects have been addressed such as the support necessary for rural tourism
(Fleicher and Felsenstein 2000), tourist movement within regions (Fennell 1996) and
the issues relating to tourism development in peripheral regions (Hohl and Tisdell
1995). Dredge’s (1999) work integrates various models, such as travel patterns (Lue
et al. 1993), attraction systems (Leiper 1990), and nodal structure (Gunn 1993;
Leiper 1990) to depict destination regions and how they may be linked. Although
her model may be used as a functional planning tool, it does not address how single
destinations may function together to create a destination region and concentrates
more on the patterns of visitation and how tourists structure their vacation. As a result, further examination of the relevance of regional participation in attraction development and marketing for rural places is required.

Findings from this research suggest that the opportunity to attract tourists and retain their visitation within a particular area is increased when individual places work co-operatively. Indeed, research examining tourism districts\(^2\) "... supports the notion that ... if well planned, these areas can co-exist and even create a synergy where the attraction of the region is more than the sum of its constituent areas" (Dredge 1999, 786). This is especially important when the space between places is significant and when large potential visiting populations are distant. Such research could be of particular relevance to those involved in tourism development and located in similarly rural-based geographic areas throughout the world.

Finally, an extension of this research into community economic development and tourism is an examination of the relationship between CED and ecotourism in rural areas. Such an investigation would seek to more fully explore how ecotourism attractions are developed and marketed and how local rural communities are involved in, or impacted by, such developments. A large and growing body of literature has examined the potential role of ecotourism to community development, primarily in developing countries (see, for example, Barkin and Bouchez 2002 for Mexico; Stem et al. 2003 for Costa Rica; Wearing and MacDonald 2002 for Papua New Guinea; Victurine 2000 for Uganda). In comparison, similar research regarding ecotourism within a developed world context is relatively absent (Garrod 2003; Fennell 1999). Given the growth of this tourism sector within both developed and developing countries and the propensity of the activity to be located within rural areas, it would seem that such examinations are necessary (WTO 2002). Further as the concept of sustainability in ecotourism is contested (Honey 1999; Weaver 2001), research that examines the potential of such tourism for community economic development in rural areas must be undertaken.

\(^2\) Defined by Dredge (1999) as areas in which one particular style or focus of tourism dominates, for example, the Niagara Region.
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MOOSE JAW TIMES HERALD 1990e ‘Consultants Study For City Strategy 
Approved By Council’ January 26th, pg.11A

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MOOSE JAW TIMES HERALD 1990f ‘Moose Jaw Circumstances Ripe for Murals Project’ February 27th, pg. 4A

MOOSE JAW TIMES HERALD 1990g ‘Mural Painting Draws Large Crowd, Mixed Reaction’ August 20th, pg. 2A

MOOSE JAW TIMES HERALD 1990h ‘Murals Could Turn Band City into Eye-catching Tourist Spot’ February 20th, pg. 6A

MOOSE JAW TIMES HERALD 1990i ‘Three ‘Mini Murals’ Selling Like Hotcakes’ November 14th, pg. 4A

MOOSE JAW TIMES HERALD 1991a ‘Funding For Downtown Improvement Pits Councillors Against Each Other’ April 22nd, pg. 4A

MOOSE JAW TIMES HERALD 1991b ‘Artist Challenges Moose Jaw To Build A Better Community’ February 2nd, pg. 6A

MOOSE JAW TIMES HERALD 1992a ‘Spa Plan Wins Support But No Commitment’ April 28th, front page

MOOSE JAW TIMES HERALD 1992b ‘6-1 Council Vote O.K.s Spa’ October 21st, front page

MOOSE JAW TIMES HERALD 1992c ‘BID Request For $$ to Water Main St. Flowers Buried’ March 20th, pg. 3A

MOOSE JAW TIMES HERALD 1992d ‘Editorial – Former Mural Board Chairman Explains Resignations’ July 28th, pg. 4A

MOOSE JAW TIMES HERALD 1992e ‘Murals Board Funding Reduced’ February 21st, pg. 2A

MOOSE JAW TIMES HERALD 1992f ‘City Aims to Advertise our Murals’ September 9th, pg. 6A

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WADENA NEWS 1996g ‘Museum Boasts Over 1500 Visitors’ December 11th, pg. 17

WADENA NEWS 1996h ‘Town Commits $5,000 to Community Van’ September 4th, pg. 17

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WADENA NEWS 1996j ‘Wadena Van Corporation Formed’ June 6th, pg. 25

WADENA NEWS 1996k ‘Van Funds Benefit from Open House’ December 4th, pg. 5

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 Macro Investigation – Canadian Communities Survey
Appendix 2 Micro Investigation – Guiding Questions for Case Study Interviews
Appendix 3 Site Evaluation of Case Study Community
Appendix 4 Summary of Community Businesses and Services: Wadena
Appendix 5 Summary of Community Businesses and Services: Churchbridge
Appendix 6 Summary of Community Businesses and Services: Duck Lake
Appendix 7 Summary of Community Businesses and Services: Moose Jaw
Appendix 8 Summary of Community Businesses and Services: Biggar
Appendix 9 Summary of Community Businesses and Services: Humboldt
Appendix 1: Macro Investigation – Canadian Communities Survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Affiliation:</td>
<td>(EDO, Mayor, Committee Chair, Interested Community Member etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Address/Phone/Fax/Email:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the following questions, please check the appropriate box and provide any additional comments in the spaces provided.

1. Where did the idea for developing murals originate?
   - Individual Community Member
   - City/Town Council Member
   - Mayor
   - Tourism Organization
   - Other (please specify)

2. Was there a particular community that provided an example for your community to follow? A place where the idea came from?
   - Community Name/ Province

3. Why were murals initially chosen?
   - Community Beautification
   - As part of overall tourism product development
   - As a tourism attraction
   - Other (please specify)

4. Please indicate why tourism was chosen for your community by checking the appropriate spaces: (checking more than one space is acceptable)
   - Economic Diversification
   - Increase Job Opportunities
   - Increase Community Spirit
   - Community Beautification
   - Low Infrastructure Cost
   - Capitalize on Community Assets

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5. What year did you implement your mural plan?

6. Where did the funding to implement the plan come from?
(Please indicate all sources)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Federal Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincial Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town/City Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corporate Donations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fundraising Events (please list examples)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Donations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (please specify)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. Does a committee manage the development of the murals?

   Yes
   No

If yes, how is this committee structured?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Formally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(executive positions, registered as a non-profit organization, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(interested persons getting together to decide where and what to paint next, how to raise money etc., no executive membership)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. What individuals make up this group – please list their role on the committee, their gender and age and what job/position they hold within the community.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Committee Role</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender (m or f)</th>
<th>Employment Position in community</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9. Who has painted your murals – local artists or professionals hired from outside the community? What process did you go through to chose these people? Please check appropriate boxes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Local Artist</th>
<th>Professional Artist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Volunteer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advertised competitions and interviews</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (please specify)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10. Are there any plans for further development of the murals? If so, what are they?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>More murals are planned for the community</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No more murals will be painted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Will be continuing with upkeep of murals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developing a tour package of the murals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developing a marketing plan for the murals (t-shirts, prints, post cards etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (please specify)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11. What are the types of products associated with the murals? Have they been successful in generating revenue?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Products</th>
<th>Revenue Generating</th>
<th>Not Revenue Generating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Post Cards</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prints of Murals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T-Shirts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tours of Murals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamphletes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Books</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posters</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (please specify)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12. Please indicate how many tourists you received in the last year (2000 - 2001):

|----------------|-------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|
13. On a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 represents “Strongly Agree” and 5 represents “Strongly Disagree”, please respond to these statements by providing the number that corresponds to your belief in the left-hand column:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tourism/Murals have added jobs to the community</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tourism/Murals have given people a reason to remain living in the community</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism/Murals have brought more money into the community</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism/Murals have provided a way to diversify our economy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism/Murals have allowed for more businesses to be created</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism/Murals have provided the community with a sense of pride in our heritage/natural environment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism/Murals have provided the community with a new understanding of our history/environment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism/Murals have assisted our community in reaching our community economic development goals</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14. Has the community pursued other projects as well as tourism?

| Yes | No |

If yes, please list any additional activities:

15. Please include any additional comments you may want to add.

Thank you for your participation in this survey!
Appendix 2: Micro Investigation – Guiding Questions for Case Study Interviews

1. Community:
2. Community Representative:

| Name | Affiliation (EDO, Mayor, Committee Chair) | Address/Phone/Fax/Email |

Mural Tourism Product Development

3. Where did the idea for mural development originate?
4. Why was tourism chosen?
5. Were there other possible economic activities that the community considered? If so, why were they discarded?
6. Has the community pursued other projects as well as tourism?
7. What year did you implement your program?
8. Where did the funding to implement the program come from?
9. What groups/individuals were involved in the planning process, and what were their affiliations?
10. Did you hire people from outside the community to develop your tourism product, or to manage and run it?
11. Was the community involved in the planning process? If so, how? (public forums etc.)
12. What role did the greater community play in developing the tourism product?
13. Did you take stock of what skills and knowledge your community members possess that may contribute to the development of your tourism product?
14. Did you provide the community with information regarding the plan to develop tourism within the community?
15. How is the tourism product managed now?
16. What facilities have been developed specifically for your tourism product? (i.e. tourism office, guides, interpretative centers) How were these financed?
17. Has the community done any other upgrading to facilitate the tourism product? (i.e. mainstreet face lift, painting, demolition of unsightly buildings etc.) How was this financed?
18. How many visitors do you receive each year?
19. What is the economic contribution that tourism makes to your community?
20. How did people become part of the mural committee?
21. How is leadership decided?
22. Does/has this project required volunteerism? How many volunteers have taken part in this project?
23. Are your meetings well attended by the community, or is it the same groups of people all the time?
24. Has there been any new business starts with the development of tourism, either directly related to the tourism product or because of the tourism development?
25. Are there training programs in place or that your community has access to, that assist interested community members in starting new businesses?

Community Attributes
26. Does your community have:
   a. Elementary School
   b. Secondary School
   c. Post Secondary Education Centres or access to via telecommunication
27. How many of the community’s businesses are locally owned? What proportion of the community do they employ?
28. Does the local community (including surrounding population) support the local businesses?
29. What are the various community organizations located in your community?
30. What are the various services that they provide? (i.e. social, cultural, educational, recreation, environmental, economic etc.)
31. Who participates in these organizations?
32. Are these community organizations stable in terms of their length of operation, financial situation, leadership and service provision?
33. Do you have any healthcare facilities in your community (clinics, hospital, doctor/nurse, care homes, healing centers etc.)
34. What are the various events that your community holds each year? (i.e. festivals, celebrations, events)
35. What are the levels of attendance at these events?
36. Does the community have any partnerships with other communities, government organizations or other organizations that facilitate its development?
37. Is there a planning mechanism in place that considers the multiple uses of land and resources in the community? Are these plans compatible with the CED goals of the community?
38. Does your community have programs in place to encourage recycling, composting, energy conservation, habitat protection and preservation?
39. Were these programs developed as a result of conscious community action or by an external organization?
40. Does the community take an active role in supporting these programs?
41. What are the recreational programs and services that are available in your community?
42. What are the facilities to house these recreational services?
Appendix 3: Site Evaluation of Case Study Community

1. What specific facilities exist within the community to support the tourism product? (i.e. restaurants, gas stations, gift stores, picnic areas, signage etc.)
2. What ‘general’ services exist within the community (post office, grocery, gas, library, community center, recreation center, churches/religious facilities, hospitals, care homes, general merchandise (hardware, clothing etc.))
3. Rating of community “ambiance”, where 5 represents “Excellent” and 1 represents “Extremely Poor”:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ambiance Characteristics (appearance/feeling)</th>
<th>Rating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Condition of Homes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condition of Service Buildings</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condition of Tourism Facilities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condition of Roadways</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condition of Pedestrian Infrastructure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green Space Provision</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architecture</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presence of Community Beautification</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heritage Sites</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall Community Attractiveness - Total</td>
<td>/45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. What infrastructure does the community have locally and what is its condition (New or Old)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infrastructure</th>
<th>Present in Community</th>
<th>New or Old</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>power and water</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sewage treatment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transportation routes and options</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>communication and information services (cable, internet)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>availability of useable buildings</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. Take pictures of the community.
6. Provide a rating of the community in terms of whether or not I would recommend visiting the community on the following points, where 5 represents “Strongly Recommend” and 1 represents “Strongly Not Recommended”:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recommendations (based subjectively on perceived quality)</th>
<th>Rating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accommodations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism Product (i.e. murals or bird/wildlife watching)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism Facilities (information, souvenirs, signage etc.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality of service (i.e. friendliness of community)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>/25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. Provide an overall rating of the community by combining the ratings for Questions 3 and 6, (Total = /70).
### Appendix 4: Summary of Community Businesses and Services: Wadena

#### Education
- Elementary, High school

#### Medical Services
- Hospital, nursing home, two doctors, local ambulance service, pharmacy, dentist

#### Recreation
- Nine hole golf course (grass greens), outdoor pool, Wadena camp ground / picnic area, sports grounds, Wadena and District Museum

#### Churches
- Wadena Baptist Church, the United Church of Canada, Saint Mary's Roman Catholic Church, Lutheran Church, Anglican Church, the Kingdom Hall of Jehovah's Witnesses, the Ukranian Catholic Church and the Ukranian Orthodox Church

#### Clubs
- Lions, Lionettes, CWL, Welcome Wagon

#### Industries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Businesses &amp; Services</th>
<th>Wadena Rental</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>drug store</td>
<td>glass and window repair shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>post office</td>
<td>water pump and plumbing shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SaskPower</td>
<td>welding shops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sasktel</td>
<td>metal fabricators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>local newspaper (Wadena News)</td>
<td>workshop for disabled adults (woodworking, catering and shoe repair)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banks (CIBC and Royal, Credit Union)</td>
<td>SARCAN recycling depot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accountant</td>
<td>five gas stations and convenience stores</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two law offices</td>
<td>two car washes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two funeral homes</td>
<td>two autobody shops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hotel / motel / restaurant, a motel, and a motel/restaurant</td>
<td>a tire repair shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suds and Sew Laundromat and alteration shop</td>
<td>garage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>massage therapist</td>
<td>GM dealership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hair salons</td>
<td>two farm implement dealers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>six restaurants</td>
<td>two farm supply shops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three grocery stores</td>
<td>Inland grain terminal (North East Terminal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>butcher</td>
<td>Saskatchewan Wheat Pool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wadena Bakery</td>
<td>two auction markets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two local bars</td>
<td>library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>variety store (electronics, Engraving, and trophy sales), bargain variety shop</td>
<td>flower shops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a clothing store</td>
<td>picture framing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jewelry store (with Sears order center)</td>
<td>The Home Hardware (building supplies, house wares),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>craft stores</td>
<td>lumberyard</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


---

1 The quality, accuracy, level of description and format of the data contained within each table varies for each community as it is dependent on the information available from each website. This information is intended only to provide an indication of the type and variety of services available within each community.
Appendix 5: Summary of Community Businesses and Services: Churchbridge

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elementary School (K – 8), High School (9 – 12), Parkland Regional College</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Medical Services</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public Health Nurse Visits, Home care nursing assistance</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recreation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>33 site camping park, ball park, 9 hole golf club, swimming pool, skating and curling rinks and playgrounds</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Churches</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lutheran, Catholic, Church of God, Gospel Outreach, United Church, Anglican</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clubs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lions, Lioness, Cultural Council, Evergreen Club (senior's), 4-H, Curling Clubs, Agricultural Society, Dance Studio</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IMC Potash Mines, Agriculture, Retail Services, Tourism, Construction</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Businesses &amp; Services</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accounting Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gas / Confectionary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Airport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Air Conditioning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grocery &amp; Farm Supply</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antiques</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autobody Repair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Newspaper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beauty Salon(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locksmith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massage Therapy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanical Repair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car Wash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cement Plant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outfitters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction / Contractors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plumbing / Heating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Credit Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restaurants / Lounges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drafting &amp; Design</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seed Growers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dry-cleaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Business Loans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egg Farm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanning Salon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flowers &amp; Crafts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tire Sales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funeral Home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trucking Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furnace/Airduct Cleaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variety Store/Liquor Outlet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture Store</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welding &amp; Repair</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: compiled from Churchbridge, Saskatchewan web site
### Summary of Community Businesses and Services: Duck Lake

#### Education
- Stobart Elementary School (K – 7), Beardy’s Memorial Elementary School (Nursery, Preschool and K – 8), Stobart High School (8 – 12), St. Michael’s College (10 – 12)

#### Medical Services
- Nursing Home, Medical Clinic (doctors visit twice weekly), Dentist (twice per month), Pharmacy, Home Care Services, Public Health Nurse, Baby Clinics (once a month)

#### Recreation
- Horse back Riding, Curling, Snowmobiling, Sports Grounds, Arena (skating and curling), Cross-country Skiing, Soccer, Canoeing, Biking and Hiking, Hunting, Fishing

#### Churches
- Blessed Sacrament Roman Catholic Church, Anglican Church of Canada, Horselake Mennonite Church, Wingard Anglican, 1910 Mennonite Church, Lady of Lourdes St. Laurent Grandin

#### Clubs
- Curling Club, Recreation Board, Royal Canadian Legion, Lions Club, Duck Lake Murals Project Committee, Economic Development Committee, Senior’s Citizen's Club, 4H Club Light Horse, Eagles Hockey Club, Minor Ball Assoc., Cubs/Boy Scouts

#### Industries
- Bell Pulse Industries (pea packing facility), Tourism

#### Businesses & Services

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Medical Services</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nurse, Medical Clinic, Dentist, Pharmacy, Home Care,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Public Health Nurse, Baby Clinics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreation</td>
<td>Horse back Riding, Curling, Snowmobiling, Sports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Grounds, Arena, Cross-country Skiing, Soccer,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Canoeing, Biking, Hiking, Hunting, Fishing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Churches</td>
<td>Blessed Sacrament Roman Catholic Church, Anglican</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Church of Canada, Horselake Mennonite Church, Wingard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Anglican, 1910 Mennonite Church, Lady of Lourdes St.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clubs</td>
<td>Curling Club, Recreation Board, Royal Canadian Legion,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lions Club, Duck Lake Murals Project Committee,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Economic Development Committee, Senior’s Citizen's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Club, 4H Club Light Horse, Eagles Hockey Club, Minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ball Assoc., Cubs/Boy Scouts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industries</td>
<td>Bell Pulse Industries (pea packing facility), Tourism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businesses &amp;</td>
<td>A&amp;M Septic, Beardy's Treaty Land Entitlement Office,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>Belle Pulse Ltd., Carlton Trail Pharmacy, Chester</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fried Chicken, Country Choice Meats, D&amp;H Lumber,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Debray's Plumbing and Heating, Duck Lake Agencies,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Duck Lake Billiards, Duck Lake Hotel, Duck Lake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Laundomat, Duck Lake Variety and Liquor Vendor,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Family Center, Fiolleau's Towing, Fisher's Service,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Highway Service 88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Keepsakes Photography, Lanovaz Contracting, Lanovaz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Family Foods, Lanovaz Family Foods Catering, Lenz-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Schichemeyer Trucking, Norman Epp Handyman Service,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Northcote Art'n Antiques, Pioneer Cafe, Porta Crete,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prince Albert Credit Union, R.B. Grocery, R&amp;D Auto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Clinic, R.M. Office #463, RPM Productions, Rothenburg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>er Electric, Sask. Wheat Pool</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: compiled from Town of Duck Lake, Saskatchewan web site
(accessed January 2004)
### Appendix 7: Summary of Community Businesses and Services: Moose Jaw

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pre-School</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bonjour House/Canadian Parents for French, HeadStart Community PreSchool, Northwest Community Association, Southwest Day Care Centre, Sunrise Pre-School, St. George's Nursery School, St. John's Pre-Kindergarten Nursery School, Tumbleweed Nursery School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Moose Jaw Roman Catholic School Division</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sacred Heart (K-8), St. Agnes (K-8), Ecole St. Margaret (K-8), St. Mary (K-8), St. Micheal (K-8), Vanier Collegiate (9-12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Moose Jaw Public School Division</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empire (K-8), King George (K-8), Palliser Heights (K-8), Prince Arthur (K-8), Ross (K-8), Sunningdale (K-8), Westmount (K-8), W.M. Grayson (K-8), A.E. Peacock Collegiate (9-12), Central Collegiate (9-12), Riverview Collegiate (9-12), John Chisholm School (9-12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Post - Secondary Institutes</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIAST Palliser Institute, International Bible College, Adult Basic Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Medical Services</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moose Jaw Union Hospital, Sr. Citizens Care Home (Providence Place), Nursing Homes (Chez Nous, Extendicare, Oxford Place, Pioneer Housing, Ina Grafton Gage), Mental Health Facility (Valley View Centre), Home Care, Public Health, Medical Clinics (Moose Jaw Clinic, Town n' Country Medical Clinic), Doctors (40), Dentists (15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Recreation</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indoor &amp; Outdoor Swimming Pools, Spas (Temple Gardens Mineral Spa), Ball Diamonds (13 Little League Baseball, 4 Softball, 1 Baseball Stadium, 20 Slow Pitch), Tennis Courts (Crescent Park, SIAST Palliser Campus), 18 Hole Golf Courses (Hillcrest Sports Centre, Lynbrook, Crescent View Par 3), Mini-Golf Courses, Sports Grounds, Curling Rinks (Hillcrest Sports Centre, 15 Wing Moose Jaw - total of 14 artificial sheets of ice), Outdoor Skating Rinks (10 neighborhood rinks), Indoor Skating Rinks (3 arenas, Civic Centre, 1 speed skating oval), Downhill Ski Facility, Water Slides (2), 10 &amp; % Pin Bowling Alleys, Playgrounds (15), Casino, City Parks (Crescent Park, Spring Creek Park, Happy Valley Park, Elgin Park, Sunningdale Park, Smith Park), Bike/Hiking Trails, Wakamow Valley</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Churches

| Baptist | Calvary Baptist Church, First Baptist Church, Moose Jaw Baptist Church, Unaffiliated Westmount Baptist Church |
| Lutheran | Central Lutheran Church, Emmanuel Lutheran Church |
| United | Chinese United Church, Grandview United Church, Minto United Church, St. Andrew's United Church, Trinity United Church, Zion United Church |
| Pentecostal | Church of God, Elgin Park Pentecostal Church |
| Roman Catholic | Church of Our Lady, St. Joseph's Church, Ukrainian Catholic Church |
| Anglican | St. Barnabas Church, St. George's Church, St. John's Church, St. Michael and All Angels Church |
| Other | Christian and Missionary Alliance, Church of Christ, City Oasis Foursquare Church of Moose Jaw, Destiny Ministries, First Free Methodist Church/House of ROC, St. Mark's Presbyterian Church, St. Vladimir's Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Brethren Assembly Stadacona Gospel Chapel, Associated Gospel Churches of Canada, Sunningdale Community Church, Victory Church, Hillcrest Apostolic Church, Holy Trinity Orthodox Church, Jehovah's Witnesses, Fellowship of Christian Assemblies, Lakeview Christian Church, Mennonite Regal Heights Community Church, Salvation Army Church, Seventh-Day Adventist Church |

### Clubs


### Examples of Industries


### Businesses & Services

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Visitors Accommodations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bed &amp; Breakfasts: Latimer on Oxford Bed and Breakfast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campgrounds: Besant Trans-Canada Campground, River Park, Buffalo View, Buffalo Pound, Heritage Pavilion, Prairie Oasis Campground</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotels: Temple Gardens Mineral Spa, Best Western Heritage Inn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motels: Best Western Downtown Motor Lodge, City Centre Motel, Dreamland Motel, Knowles Motel, Matador Inn Motel, Maynard Motel, Super 8 Motel, Prairie Oasis Tourist Complex</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Businesses & Services, Continued

**Shopping & Services**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Libraries</td>
<td>Moose Jaw Public Library, Palliser Regional Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movie Theatres</td>
<td>Capitol 3 Theatre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laundromats</td>
<td>Gould's Coin Op Cleaning Center, Snow Hut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service Stations</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Churches</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug Stores</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cemeteries</td>
<td>Sunset Resthaven, Rosedale Cemetery, Moose Jaw Cemetery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meeting/Convention Facilities</td>
<td>Heritage Inn, Temple Gardens Mineral Spa, Moose Jaw Exhibition Heritage Pavilion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Office/Outlets</td>
<td>Moose Jaw Centre-Ville Comptoir Postal, Moose Jaw Downtown Post Office, Moose Jaw Downtown Post Office at Ottawa Real Estate Company, Shoppers Drug Mart, Sutherlands 9th Ave. Drugs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restaurants/Coffee Shops</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veterinary Services</td>
<td>Caribou West Pet Clinic, Moose Jaw Animal Clinic, Swine Health Services, Veterinary Clinic of Moose Jaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing Stores</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grocery Stores</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shopping Malls</td>
<td>City Square Mall, Town n' Country Mall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial Institutions</td>
<td>Bank of Montreal, Moose Jaw Credit Union, Bank of Nova Scotia, Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce (CIBC), Toronto Dominion, Royal Bank, Royal Trust</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Arts, Culture**

| Galleries                      | Cranberry Rose, Emerald Glass & Gallery Ltd., Yvette Moore Fine Art Inc. |
| Museums                        | Moose Jaw Art Museum, Crescent Park, Western Development Museum, Diefenbaker Drive, Sukanen Ship Pioneer Village & Museum Historical Sites, Murals of Moose Jaw, Downtown Heritage District |

Appendix 8: Summary of Community Businesses and Services: Biggar

### Education

| St. Gabriel's Roman Catholic School (K – 9), Biggar Central School (K – 12), Prairie West Regional College |

### Medical Services

| Biggar Union Hospital, Biggar Home Care, The Biggar Health Centre, The Diamond Lodge Nursing Home |

### Recreation

| Tennis court, recreation complex, 3 public parks, trout pond, 9 hole golf club, swimming pool, skating and curling rinks and The Sandra Schmirler Olympic Gold Park |

### Churches

| Associated Gospel Church, Church of God, Jehovah's Witness Kingdom Hall, Redeemer Lutheran Church, St. Gabriel Roman Catholic Church, St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, St. Paul's Anglican Church, United Church |

### Community Groups and Clubs


### Examples of Major Industries

| Prairie Malt, Advanced Ag. & Industrial, Kurulak's Poultry Ranch, Milner Greenhouses, The Miller Western Palo Salt Mine and Agriculture |

### List of Biggar Businesses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Al's Precision Archery</th>
<th>de Moissac Jewellers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Angie's Hair Salon &amp; Barber Shop</td>
<td>E &amp; J Catering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APA Innovations Inc.</td>
<td>East Hills Transport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Battleford's Community Cablevision</td>
<td>Excell Tirecraft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beadle's Computer Solutions</td>
<td>Grand Slam Glass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Biggar Businesses Continued</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bear Hills Rural Development Corp</td>
<td>Grant's Mobile &amp; Repair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beaulah's Special Care Home</td>
<td>H &amp; R Block</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beeson Barber Shop</td>
<td>Hannigan's Restaurant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bielby Agency Ltd.</td>
<td>Homestyle Motel &amp; Lunch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Big R Taxi</td>
<td>Independent Printers Ltd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biggar Accounting Services</td>
<td>JDC Mobile Sizing &amp; Cleaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biggar and District Credit Union</td>
<td>Krueger, Optometrist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biggar &amp; District Health Centre</td>
<td>KRF Automotive Detail Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biggar Ark Mobile Welding</td>
<td>Kurulak's Poultry Ranch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biggar Auto Body Shop</td>
<td>L J Confectionery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biggar Bowl</td>
<td>Lancer Music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biggar Bus Depot</td>
<td>Plaza Mobilehome Park &amp; RV Park</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biggar Confectionery</td>
<td>Pollock Brick &amp; Tile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biggar Courier</td>
<td>Polowick, Craig Master Handyman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biggar Electrical Services</td>
<td>Prairie Malt Limited</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biggar Fix-it Rentals</td>
<td>Prairie Moon Lamas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biggar Flower &amp; Gift Shop</td>
<td>Prairie West Regional College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biggar Funeral Home</td>
<td>Quick Stop Convenience Store</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biggar Homestead Restaurant</td>
<td>Race Trac Gas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biggar Hotel</td>
<td>Rack Petroleum Ltd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biggar Leisure Centre Ltd.</td>
<td>REDlick Ink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biggar Massage Clinic</td>
<td>Rob's Welding Ltd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biggar Museum &amp; Gallery</td>
<td>Rock-N-C Tub Grinders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biggar New Horizons Project</td>
<td>Roe &amp; Co. Law Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biggar Plant Center</td>
<td>RBC Royal Bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biggar Retirement Villa</td>
<td>Royal LePage Dynasty Realty Inc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biggar Salvage &amp; Repairing</td>
<td>Sagon Catering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biggar Sand &amp; Gravel</td>
<td>Sunshine Care Home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biggar Super A Foods</td>
<td>Semi Satellite Sales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biggar Sparkle Car Wash</td>
<td>Sears Canada Inc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biggar Transport</td>
<td>Susy Q's Gourmet Blends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biggar Veterinary Clinic</td>
<td>SARCAN Recycling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biggar Water Well Drilling &amp; Service</td>
<td>Spyder Autobody Ltd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boisvert Underground Services</td>
<td>Shear Touch Hair Team</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Busse Law Office</td>
<td>Shop Easy Foods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biggar Businesses, Continued</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C &amp; G Car Wash &amp; Laundromat</td>
<td>Sibbald Motors 1978 Ltd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C &amp; M Gifts</td>
<td>Silver Eagle Landscaping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian Scholarship Trust Plan</td>
<td>Snow White Family Restaurant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carter's Plumbing &amp; Heating</td>
<td>Springwater Drilling Inc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicken Corral Restaurant</td>
<td>T &amp; T Trucking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chico's Auto Works</td>
<td>Thuro Carpet &amp; Upholstery Cleaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIBC</td>
<td>Town &amp; Country Restaurant (1998)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-operators Insurance</td>
<td>Town of Biggar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Cotton Shop</td>
<td>Trends &amp; Tresses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Custom Signs &amp; Designs</td>
<td>TWH Financial Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delainey Service</td>
<td>We Hair Ent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delores' Beauty Salon</td>
<td>Weekes Custom Feeding Inc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designs By Ann</td>
<td>Westwinds Motor Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dove Chartered Accountant</td>
<td>Wheelex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duperow Co-op Association</td>
<td>Wylie's Seed Cleaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duraline Medical Products Canada</td>
<td>YH Truck &amp; Trailer Repair Ltd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DW Upholstery</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

# Appendix 9: Summary of Community Businesses and Services: Humboldt

## Education

- St. Augustine (K – 8), St. Dominic (K – 8), Humboldt Public School (K – 8), Humboldt Collegiate Institute (9 - 12), Carlton Trail Regional College

## Medical Services

- 9 physicians, 3 dentists, 1 orthodontist, 2 optometrists and 5 chiropractors, St. Elizabeth Hospital, Nursing Home

## Recreation

- tennis courts, ball diamonds, a gun club, 18-hole golf course, camping and picnicking, cross-country skiing, *Volksmarsch* (a walking club), uniplex (pool and leisure centre)

## Churches

- Alliance (Humboldt Alliance), Anglican (St. Andrew's), Charismatic (Living Word Ministries), Community (Humboldt Bible Church), Lutheran (St. John's), Roman Catholic (St. Augustine), Ukrainian Catholic (All Saints), United (Westminster)

## Clubs

### Service Clubs

- Al - Anon, Alcoholics Anonymous, Al-Teen, Alzheimer Association of Saskatchewan, Big Brother - Big Sisters, Canadian Diabetes Association, Carlton Trail Citizens Pro-Life Group, Family Counseling Services, Good Neighbour Organization, Lions Club, Saskatchewan Association for Community Living

### Community/Volunteer Organizations

- All Saints Ukrainian Catholic Women's League, German Heritage Society, Chamber of Commerce, Kinsmen, Ministerial Association, Kinettes, Housing Authority, Jaycees, Knights of Columbus, Royal Canadian Legion, St. Elizabeth's Hospital Foundation & Ladies Auxiliary, Victorian Order of Nurses, Welcome Wagon, Saskatchewan Registered Nurses Association

## Examples of Major Industries


## List of Humboldt Businesses

<p>| 5-West Car/Truck Wash | Humboldt Janitorial Sales and Service  |
| 7-Eleven Food Store | Humboldt Journal |
| A &amp; W Humboldt | Humboldt Lawn &amp; Leisure |
| A-1 Auto Wreckers | Humboldt Lumber Mart Ltd. |
| Acklands Grainger Inc. | Humboldt Medical Dispensary |
| Action Carpet Cleaning | Humboldt Motors Body Shop |
| Advance Appliance Service | Humboldt Plumbing &amp; Heating Ltd. |
| Agricore United | Humboldt Real Estate |
| Alexi's Steakhouse | Humboldt Reliable Roofing |
| A-Line Furniture &amp; Appliances | Humboldt Shell |
| Alvin's Remedial Massage Clinic | Humboldt Storage Systems |
| Animal Management Services | Humboldt Store It All |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>List of Humboldt Businesses Continued</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Assante Financial Management</td>
<td>Humboldt Therapy Centre</td>
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<td>Associated Information Management Inc.</td>
<td>Humboldt Tourism</td>
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<td>Auto Ethics Enterprises Ltd.</td>
<td>Willkommen Centre</td>
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<td>Awareness Corporation</td>
<td>Humboldt Uniplex</td>
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<td>B W B Wealth Management</td>
<td>Humboldt Vacuum</td>
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<td>Bank of Nova Scotia - Scotiabank</td>
<td>Humboldt Yard Care</td>
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<td>Bauer's Creative Crafts &amp; Hobbies</td>
<td>Image Printers</td>
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<td>Bay Trail Environmental</td>
<td>Insurance Associates</td>
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<td>Beauty Boutique</td>
<td>Investors Group</td>
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<td>Behiel, Munkler &amp; Will law practice</td>
<td>Irene's Leather Works</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bella Vista Inn</td>
<td>Jacques Dance Academy</td>
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<td>Bernauer Electric</td>
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<td>Between the Pages</td>
<td>Jades Securities Inc.</td>
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<td>Big Brothers &amp; Big Sisters of Humboldt</td>
<td>Janet's Hair Salon</td>
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<tr>
<td>Big Sky Farms Inc. Pork producers</td>
<td>Jeunique International (Canada) Inc.</td>
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<td>Boyd Autobody &amp; Glass</td>
<td>Joanne's Dry-Cleaning &amp; Laundromat</td>
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<td>Brian's Electronics Inc.</td>
<td>Johnny's Small Engine Service</td>
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<td>Brockman Enterprises Ltd.</td>
<td>Jopa Industries Inc.</td>
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<td>Brockman's Prairie Llamas</td>
<td>JPK Computers Inc.</td>
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<td>Bronco Motor Products</td>
<td>JT Used Appliances</td>
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<td>BV Bar</td>
<td>K &amp; D Drilling</td>
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<td>C.I.B.C.</td>
<td>K.M.K. Sales Ltd.</td>
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<td>Canada Post Corporation</td>
<td>Kal Tire</td>
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<td>Canada Saskatchewan Career &amp; Employment</td>
<td>Kemper Seeds Ltd.</td>
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<td>Services</td>
<td>Kemway Lanes</td>
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<td>Canamera Foods</td>
<td>Kentucky Fired Chicken/Pizza Hut</td>
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<td>Canapatatoe Trading Co.</td>
<td>Kids Only Clothing Club</td>
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<td>Cargill Horizon Ltd.</td>
<td>Klimosko Construction</td>
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<td>Carlton Cards</td>
<td>K's Pooch Boutique</td>
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<td>Carlton Environmental Services</td>
<td>Leaserite Rentals &amp; Leasing Inc.</td>
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<td>Carlton Trail R.E.D.A. Inc.</td>
<td>MAC'S Convenience Store</td>
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<td>Carlton Trail Regional College</td>
<td>Magic Carpet Cleaners</td>
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<td>Carmel Hotel</td>
<td>Main Profit Signs</td>
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<td>Cash's Car &amp; Truck Wash</td>
<td>Main Street Studio &amp; Gallery</td>
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<td>Cathy Nickel, BA(Adv) Psy</td>
<td>Management Accounting Systems</td>
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<tr>
<td>Central Plains Health District</td>
<td>Mario's Souvlaki</td>
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<td>Centre Stage Music</td>
<td>Mark Seidel Holdings</td>
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<td>Chick Allan's Restaurant</td>
<td>Mar-Shell's Janitorial Service</td>
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<td>Chiropractic Associates</td>
<td>Mary Kay Skin Care &amp; Cosmetics</td>
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<td>Cindy's Clip &amp; Curl</td>
<td>Mary Kay Skin Care &amp; Cosmetics</td>
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<td>Clara's Stained Glassworks</td>
<td>Massage Therapy by Andrea</td>
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<td>Clearly Clean Janitorial Services</td>
<td>McKee Moving (Tisdale) Ltd.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cobblestone &amp; Kettle Tea &amp; Herb Merchants</td>
<td>Member Care Financial Services</td>
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### List of Humboldt Businesses Continued

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<th>Meyers Norris Penny</th>
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<td>Commercial Industrial Manufacturing Ltd.</td>
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<td>Connections Counseling and Consulting Services</td>
<td>Mid-Sask Tire Ltd.</td>
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<td>Misty Gardens Florist</td>
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<td>Country Corner Computers</td>
<td>Modern Meat and Abattoirs Ltd.</td>
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<td>Monarch Construction Ltd.</td>
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<td>Craddock Farm Financial</td>
<td>Monico Cresting Inc.</td>
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<td>Credentials Security Inc.</td>
<td>Morris Sales &amp; Service</td>
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<td>Crone's Plumbing &amp; Heating</td>
<td>Mr. Sub</td>
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<td>Curves For Women</td>
<td>Mueller Construction</td>
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<td>Custom Drapery Shoppe Ltd.</td>
<td>N &amp; L Transport</td>
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<td>Danish Oven Coffee shop</td>
<td>North Star Pottery</td>
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<td>Dave's Drywalling Ltd.</td>
<td>Northhome Comfort Windows Inc.</td>
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<td>Dawn Food Products Ltd. Canada</td>
<td>Nutter's Bulk Foods</td>
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<td>Del-Air Systems Ltd.</td>
<td>Office Experts</td>
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<td>Desk &amp; Disk stationary</td>
<td>Old Country Quality Decorators</td>
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<td>Diamonds of Detroit</td>
<td>Ollerich's Septic Service</td>
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<td>Opportunity Employment &amp; Independence</td>
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<td>Discovery Ford Sales Ltd.</td>
<td>Group Inc.</td>
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<td>Doepker Industries Ltd. - Humboldt Division</td>
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<td>Dusk to Dawn Hot Tub Rentals</td>
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<td>DWI (Driving While Intoxicated) Program</td>
<td>Pinpoint</td>
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<td>E &amp; L Appliance Repair</td>
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<td>Prairie Piling Construction Ltd.</td>
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<td>&quot;Evergreen Grove&quot; Bed &amp; Breakfast</td>
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<td>Saan Stores Ltd.</td>
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<td>Feed Rite Ltd.</td>
<td>Sanders Family Restaurant</td>
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<td>First Bus</td>
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<td>List of Humboldt Businesses Continued</td>
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<td>First Light Outfitters</td>
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<td>SaskPower</td>
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<td>Scott &amp; Weber lawyers</td>
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<td>Gene's Memorials</td>
<td>Sears Catalogue &amp; Dealer</td>
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<td>Seasonal Styles</td>
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<td>Select Towing</td>
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<td>George Nicholson Franko &amp; Associates Ltd.</td>
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<td>Gingersnips Family haircare centre</td>
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<td>Shoppers Drug Mart</td>
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<td>Golden West Video</td>
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<td>Sixth Avenue Stylists &amp; Boutique</td>
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<td>Hergott Farm Equipment Ltd.</td>
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<td>Hi-Tech Welding, Machining &amp; Fabrication Ltd.</td>
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<td>Humboldt Co-operative Day Care</td>
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### List of Humboldt Businesses Continued

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<tr>
<th>Humboldt Dairy Queen</th>
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<td>Humboldt Dental Clinic</td>
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<td>Wong's Restaurant</td>
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<td>Work World</td>
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<td>Your Dollar Store With More</td>
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<td>Yuen's Cellular &amp; Satellite Centre</td>
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<td>Yuen's Family Clothing Ltd.</td>
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