FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE CIVIC PARTICIPATION IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
PLANNING: TOURISM IN THE VILLAGE OF NORTH UTICA, ILLINOIS
BY
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Submitted to the graduate degree program in Anthropology and the Graduate Faculty of the University of Kansas in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

Participatory economic development planning has been proposed as a means to address problems associated with more traditional "top-down" planning methods. Purposeful solicitation of participation in development planning by a wide variety of stakeholders is said to breed community consensus, ensure more equitable distribution of development's costs and benefits, and facilitate representative decision making that considers all stakeholder interests. Tourism development planning has also become increasingly "participatory" and for many of the same reasons. This dissertation reports on a nine-month ethnographic assessment of participatory development planning, generally, and tourism development planning, specifically, in the Village of North Utica, Illinois. Commonly called "Utica," the village has a long association with tourism due to the establishment of two nearby state parks at the turn of the 20th century and the presence of local water recreation and hiking opportunities. Village emphasis on tourism increased at the turn of the 21st century as a result of several events, including: the village government's adoption of a comprehensive plan that emphasized participatory tourism development; a deadly tornado killed nine people and damaged much of the downtown residential and business districts; and the village became home to the state's first indoor water resort. This dissertation describes the ways participation is incorporated into tourism development planning, factors that influence stakeholder participation in those decisions, and stakeholder perspectives on the industry and associated development planning processes. It raises questions about the consequences of participatory development and the contexts surrounding civic participation in economic development planning. Data analysis suggests that certain types of participation are enframed in the places in which that participation occurs just as certain economic growth ideologies are enframed in local geography. These ideologies and types of participation are reinforced by common linguistic frames and the practice of governmentality. Ultimately, I conclude that those interested in development should consider the physical, linguistic, and social contexts surrounding development and the assumptions and agendas entailed in specific development paradigms.

Acknowledgements

It is strange to be credited as sole author of a document that has been so vastly influenced by another. Though I am solely responsible for the thoughts that follow, this document would not be what it is without the varied and profound influences of Dr. Jane W. Gibson. Her input into this process transformed my mind, my life, and this dissertation. Dr. Gibson: Thank you for teaching me so many valuable lessons and skills and showing me the beauty of Costa Rica.

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After all is said and done, one graduate course stands out as my favorite and it was taught by a geographer, no less: Dr. J. Christopher Brown. Dr. Brown taught me that we can bear witness to the pain in this world, analyze the cause, and plan for change with hope and kind laughter; that it really is ok to be a scholar-in-progress and an expert-in-training while obtaining a Ph.D.; and that, as much as we might feel it, anthropologists aren't the only ones who care about culture. Dr. Brown: *Homo Geographicus* will forever hold a special place in my heart, as will you.

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Tables and Figures

Dedication

To all those who have cared for Utica, especially those who gave their time, energy,
thoughts, and support as I fumbled my way through research:
This document would not have been possible without you.
Thank you for welcoming, teaching, and allowing me to take part in your community.

To my parents: My life would not have been possible without you!
You believe in me when I do not, support me when I am weak, fund me when I am poor,
and put up with my many virtual and actual returns to your nest for respite.
Would that every child could be as fortunate as me!

To Dr. Dude: You know who you are. You know what you did.
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From outside of the tunnel, you directed me toward the light. Thank you.

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Your humor, intelligence, kindness, and faith brighten my walk.
I am honored and thankful to have you by my side.

Chapter 1: Introduction

It was a full house for a planning commission meeting. Thirteen people sat in the general seating area, and the usual officials—commissioners, clerk, attorney, engineer—sat at the tables arranged at the front of the room. The meeting began at 7:00 P.M. and I feared it was going to be a late night. Often these meetings ran well past 10:00 P.M. I had come to learn about participation in local tourism planning, and these meetings offered me the opportunity to witness participation in action—tonight's meeting would prove enlightening.

The first matter of business was a public hearing about a businessman's sign ordinance problem. The commission told him that if he could conform to set-back regulations they would grant him a variance for other infractions. A husband and wife working together as developers presented the commission with plans for an amusement park they wanted to develop north of the village. The commission asked questions and explained the timeline to which they would have to conform if they wanted village approval by October. The commission welcomed the couple and their park to the village.

Then, a 30-something woman from the audience, Ms. Blackwell,[1] presented her request: she wanted her three acres of land rezoned from residential to agricultural. She told the commission she wanted to grow pumpkins on her land and sell them to local retailers. The commission probed her agricultural interest. Ms. Blackwell told them that she lives at the end of a dead end, unpaved street that has no sidewalks or street lamps. She stated that since her land is in the flood plain and her soil is rather poor, growing pumpkins is about all she can do with the acreage. One of the commissioners asked the attorney if they could extend a "reasonable interpretation" of the zoning ordinances so Ms. Blackwell's land-use would not require rezoning; they could. Another asked the woman if she would get a tax break by rezoning. That was the point of her request. Ms. Blackwell described her home once again and told

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[1] The names of individuals are pseudonyms.

1

the commission that she pays $4,000 per year in property taxes. The commission was obviously confused and discussed why she might pay such high taxes. They settled on no particular reason.

The commission presented her with three options: 1) she could have her property reassessed, though she would be financially responsible for three separate appraisals and would not be guaranteed any tax relief; 2) they could allow her agricultural pursuit as a "special use" under residential zoning, which would not alleviate her tax problem; or 3) they could rezone her property as agricultural, which would not guarantee lower property taxes. If she continued with the rezoning petition she would have to pay for publication of notice for the required public hearing at which her request would be formally reviewed. She broke into tears and explained: "I've lived here my whole life. This is too much. I'm simply trying to save my house." She threw up her hands, said "I'm done," and walked out of the meeting. The chairman asked another commissioner to follow her and explain the commissioners' sincere concern and desire to help her. The chair explained the difficult circumstance they found themselves in, given zoning laws and the processes of reassessment to a silent audience (Fieldnotes 8/03/06).

What had I just witnessed? A local businessman wanted permission to improve and maintain a sign for his businesses. The commissioners could negotiate a compromise. A thirty-something couple presented their plans to improve a plot of land on the north end of town by developing an amusement park. The commissioners could welcome the couple and their business to the community. A lifelong resident asked her village to help her keep her home and there was little help that the commission could offer. Two sorts of entities engaged in the political process that night: business owners and a resident. The business owners proceeded through what appeared clear courses of action and negotiation. They could leave the meeting confident that their goals would be attained. The resident was not so fortunate. She came to ask help from a commission that could do no more than offer her costly possibilities. The situation was curious.

One month later, I sat with Maggie, a village resident and business owner, discussing civic engagement. She described how some residents resent local government:

> A whole lot of them won't even take the time…because they don't think one vote is going to do any good or they say the mayor is going to do exactly what he wants to do or somebody is paying the mayor or somebody is paying someone.…[I]t just goes back to the small town mentality. Well, and then the property taxes went up tremendously this year. (Interview, 9/28/06)

Maggie said taxes had doubled and tripled for many downtown property owners. When I asked why, she explained that buildings in town had not been properly assessed in years and their value had gone up. Maggie told me that many properties should have been reassessed at some point but, due to lax government, were not. She said one owner of a downtown building had been paying $400 per year in property tax, every year, for more than a decade. I questioned the $400, but Maggie assured me:

> This year it went up to $1,700, but they haven't assessed anything or reassessed anything.…[One building] was reassessed because someone] bought it and remodeled everything. Whenever somebody new buys the building then they kind of look at it and reassess it but they haven't done that in years here. (ibid.)

> Why were properties being reassessed now?

> Well, [one person] bought three buildings in a year. The winery bought their building. [A local restaurant] changed hands. So, when you have that many buildings in one block being resold they are going to stop and reassess.…They sold for higher prices, so the value actually went up... because they sold for more. That's—what?—five buildings in one block. (ibid.)

> I asked her why so many buildings had been bought and sold in recent years.

> Well, [some] had the insight to think that Utica was going to do something big and [bought]…at the right time for really great prices.…That's right after [the indoor water park] got started and people thought the area was really going to boom, so they thought Utica was the place to be, so everybody just kind of bought at once. (ibid.)

The village develops. Land values rise. Ms. Blackwell can no longer afford to pay taxes on her home in the town where she grew up. Such are the wages of economic development and tourism in the Village of North Utica, Illinois.

Rationale for Research

In recent years, social scientists have called for participatory and collaborative approaches to tourism development. They argue that residents' participation in planning and implementation of tourist initiatives will elicit greater consensus, less conflict, and more equal distribution of its social, economic, and environmental impacts than previous "top-down" efforts (Aas, Ladkin, and Fletcher 2005; Lalone 2005a, b; Mason 2005; Smith 2001; Stonich 1998, 2000; Vernon et al. 2005; Whittaker 1997; Yüksel, Bramwell, and Yüksel 2005). However, many have found that, despite their promotion as apt solutions to problems of top-down development, participatory methods frequently fall short of their ideals and reproduce the problems associated with older forms of development (Edelman and Haugerud 2005; De Araujo and Bramwell 2002; Duggan and Caldwell 2005; Folmar 2005; Lalone 2005b; Joppe 1996; Reed 1997; Stronza 2005; Taylor 1995). As a result, anthropologists such as Amanda Stronza (2001) and Erve Chambers (1997) have called for examination of host perspectives and the factors that influence their participation in planning to shed light on the relationship between participation, tourism development, and distribution of tourism's costs and benefits.

In answer to Stronza and Chamber's call, I sought answers to four research questions within the context of one rural Illinois village:

1. How is participation incorporated into tourism development planning in the village?
2. What factors influence individuals' participation?
3. What are individuals' perspectives on tourism?
4. Do those perspectives vary with individuals' participation in tourism development planning processes?

Over the course of nine months of fieldwork during 2006 and 2007, I investigated participation in tourism planning and individuals' opinions about tourism development in the Village of North Utica, Illinois.

In what follows, I establish my findings within the context of current anthropological, economic, tourism, political science, and urban planning literatures. As I discuss in subsequent chapters, the village has adopted a participatory approach to economic and municipal planning methods, which seeks to incorporate village stakeholders in planning processes. The Village of North Utica has a long association with tourism and, given its participatory approach to economic and tourism planning, provides a prime opportunity to examine these issues. The significance of this project rests in its empirical examination of the conditions of local participation in tourist development planning, a detailed examination of a community's experience with participatory planning methods, and a critical examination of current economic, political science, tourism, urban planning, and applied anthropological literatures.

The Village of North Utica, Illinois

Surrounded by corn and soybean fields in north-central Illinois (Figures 1 and 2), the Village of North Utica is long acquainted with tourism. The village, also referred to as "Utica" in both official and unofficial documents, was originally established in the early 1830s on the banks of the Illinois River, near the terminus of steamboat travel and trade (NUPC and NCICG 2002; Village of North Utica 2002). With construction of the state-funded, federally sanctioned Illinois and Michigan (I&M) Canal project, the village was moved nearer the planned canal route and officially platted in 1836. The canal project, completed in 1848, connected Lake Michigan to the Illinois and Mississippi Rivers and facilitated cross-country commerce and passage. While the canal brought goods, travelers, and tourists to the region, discovery of rich deposits of hydraulic lime during canal construction assured the town a future in cement production. At the turn of the 20th century, with a population of approximately 1,000, the town reached its residential and commercial peak and railroad expansion rendered the canal obsolete.

The Village of North Uitca

Chicago

Peoria

Rock Island

Springfield

East St. Louis

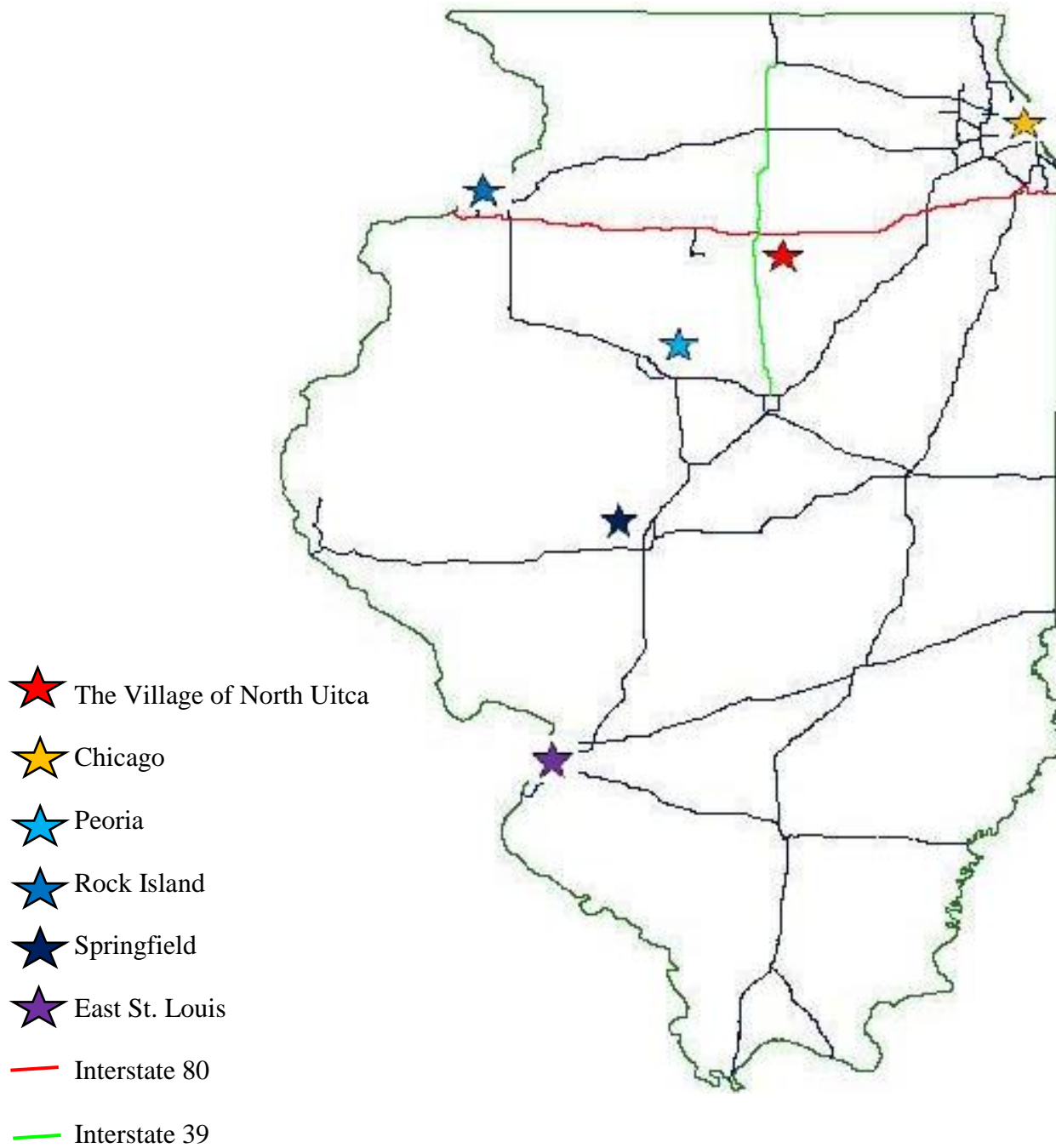—— Interstate 80

—— Interstate 39

Figure 1: Village of North Utica, Illinois, Major Metropolitan Areas, and Interstate Highways

Figure 2: The Village of North Utica and Points of Interest

★ Village of North Utica

✚ Fire and Emergency Services

▬ Village Hall and Police Department

⬤ Grizzly Jack's Grand Bear Lodge

★ Starved Rock State Park

★ Matthiessen State Park

— State Park Boundary

Concomitant with the decline of the canal in the 1890s, private investors created a park at a spot locally known as Starved Rock. The park boasted a hotel, dance pavilion, and swimming area. In 1911, the state purchased the land and made it the first Illinois state park (Cremin and Giardina 2002). During the 1930s, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) stationed three camps at Starved Rock Park. During their stay, these public works units constructed a lodge, crafted formal trails, and built up concession and swimming areas. In 1943 the state bought Matthiessen Park, just south of Starved Rock, from a private landowner who had developed the area. Matthiessen State Park offers hiking trails, picnic accommodations, an archery range, a model airplane field, and an equestrian campground and trails.

Little development occurred in the village during the 1950s and 1960s. However, in the early 1970s, the LaSalle County Historical Society, which was headquartered in a refurbished blacksmith shop in downtown "Utica," held a fundraiser, a burgoo festival. Burgoo, a hearty stew credited to Kentucky pioneers, was served in large quantities while local arts and crafts were displayed and sold. Now a perennial event, the annual Burgoo Festival draws upwards of 20,000 visitors and over 200 regional artists, artisans, craftsmen, and other entertainers to the village (Murphy 2005; The Times 2005; Ray, 2009; Fieldnotes 10/9/05). Coinciding with the growth of the Burgoo Festival, in 1984, Congress established the Illinois and Michigan Canal National Heritage Corridor. Sanctioned by the federal government, the heritage corridor is managed and promoted through the collaboration of a federal commission, the National Park Service, state and local agencies, and nonprofit organizations (Interviews 11/28/06 and 12/05 /06). The Canal Corridor Association (CCA) oversees maintenance and development of the canal as a tourist and historic destination, and the Heritage Corridor Convention and Visitors Bureau (HCCVB), the regional marketing entity for counties associated with the canal, occupies an office north of "Utica" (ibid.).

Aside from the growing awareness brought by the annual Burgoo Festival, the community was little noticed until a tornado devastated the village in 2004. In the aftermath, the town received national

attention from news media and volunteer aid organizations. This exposure generated a significant amount of "disaster tourism," though many local businesses suffered due to general decline in tourism over the subsequent year. That is, until Grizzly Jack's Grand Bear Lodge opened on the south side of the village just over one year later (Collins 2005a, b). The venture, undertaken by developers from the Chicago suburbs, consists of a 60-acre resort, including a 92-room lodge. It boasts the first indoor water park in Illinois, as well as the nation's first water slide featuring light and sound accompaniment. The resort offers its guests a video arcade, restaurant, miniature golf course, banquet and conference center, luxury vacation villas, sweet shop, coffee shop, snack shop, and a playground. According to one news report, some residents anticipated that the resort, which can accommodate 5,000 people, would draw many visitors from the Chicago area and bring great additional revenue to the town (Collins 2005a). In the years following the tornado, business owners began three annual celebrations: the Mardi Gras Parade, the St. Patrick's Day Parade, and the Nouveau Wine Festival. Though none of these events is as grand as the Burgoo Festival, all draw visitors (Churney 2/26/2006).

In 2006, the Frontier Lodge and Conference Center, another water resort, began construction of its villas less than three miles north of the village on land that had been annexed by the neighboring city of LaSalle. The establishment was projected to have approximately 635 units, including cabins and condos, with a 61,000 square-foot indoor water park, outdoor water park areas and cabanas, many food and beverage outlets within the structure, approximately 20,000 square-feet of meeting space, children's activity centers and arcades, and an adult spa (Interview 10/30/06). In addition, developers were granted permission to begin construction of a family-oriented amusement park on the northern edge of the village (Fieldnotes 8/03/06 and 9/13/06).

Today, the town's population is approximately 1,000. It retains the remnants of a large cement industry, as well as an active grain elevator. At the time of fieldwork, roughly 112 businesses were operating in the village. Of those, 76 (~67%) obtained some of their income directly from tourism,

including: 18 (~16%) that were primarily dependent on tourism; 36 (~32%) that were moderately

dependent on the industry; and 22 (~19%) that garnered some small portion of their income from tourism.

The area reportedly hosts over two million visitors per year and most are drawn from within a 150 mile

radius of the village (NCICG and CCA 2006). In March 2006, a referendum was passed making the

Village of North Utica a "Home Rule" community (NCICG and CCA 2006). Home rule status allows the

village to receive tax revenues from tourism, including sales and hotel/motel taxes, directly into the

community's general fund for use as the board of trustees deems appropriate. Prior to the tornado and

establishment of home rule, the village received approximately $4-6,000 per year in "other taxes," which

included hotel/motel tax (Annual Financial Reports for the Village of North Utica, Illinois 2003, 2004,

2005, and 2006). As of the 2006 annual financial report, the village received approximately $200,000 in

hotel/motel tax revenues.   However, village expenditures also increased from just over $1,000,000 in

2003 to just over $2,500,000 in 2006, especially in costs for transportation and public works, culture and

recreation, and environmental services (e.g., sewage treatment) (ibid.). Overall, businesses and the

village government have clear financial interests in the tourism industry. The visitors that are drawn by

the state parks, local festivals, and parades, the addition of the Grand Bear Lodge, and ongoing planning

of tourist oriented businesses indicate that significant hope exists for future tourist development.

Data Collection Methods

I conducted fieldwork for this project from June 2006 through February 2007. During that time, I

lived in rented apartments in the village, worked as a part-time server in a restaurant (August through

January), volunteered at the LaSalle County Historical Society, and attended meetings of the Village

Board, Planning Commission, Special Events Committee, Finance Committee, Governmental Affairs

Committee, and County Marketing Coalition. While observing village and county meetings, I noted the

attendees, which topics were discussed, and meeting organization and administration specifics.

Whenever possible, I audio-recorded meetings and obtained official minutes to augment and check the validity of my observations.

I participated in four community events. The first was the annual Utica Garden Walk in June. I purchased tickets to the garden walk and rode the trolley with other visitors. In July, I attended the village Fourth of July barbeque celebration and I participated in the Burgoo Festival in October. I toured the car show and volunteered to stir burgoo on the Saturday night before the festival and helped to staff a booth on Burgoo Festival Sunday. In February, I stuffed give-away bags, organized floats, and was a member of a float "krewe" during the annual Mardi Gras parade. The data I collected during observation of these events not only provided insight into what residents experience regarding local tourist development, they also revealed how tourist development decisions are made, who contributes to the decisions, and how the community interacts with and regards tourists.

I frequented the two primary local breakfast spots and conducted informal interviews with individuals encountered in my daily excursions into the community. I also conducted 45 semi-structured interviews with a purposive sample of 53 individuals who were selected based on their residential, business, or personal interests in tourism development in the Village of North Utica and, for residents, their varying lengths of residence in the town (Table 1; Reed 1997). I utilized a site-based recruitment strategy to obtain a non-random but representative sample (Arcury and Quandt 1999). Sites, or places, organizations, and services used by members of the population of interest, were selected based on their association with a wide variety of individuals who had varied interests in the community and included: the public library, the county historical museum, 3 local restaurants, 1 coffee shop, and organizational and governmental meetings. Sites were selected based on participant observation and gatekeeper referral. Participants were also recruited through direct referral from those gatekeepers. Sample recruitment procedures varied with each site. For instance, in the restaurants, coffee shop, library, and museum, I introduced myself and the project to gatekeepers and individuals encountered at the site and then asked if

individuals would be willing to participate in an interview or could refer me to someone who might be willing to do so. At organization or government meetings, I made a formal presentation introducing myself and the project and then solicited participation from anyone in attendance. After my first formal introductory presentation at such meetings, I attended subsequent meetings, introduced myself and my project to individuals that I encountered but I did not make additional formal presentations. I also contacted gatekeepers by phone and in person to request interviews. Through the semi-structured interviews, I collected information about respondents' personal histories, participation in tourism planning, as well as their perspectives on economic development and tourism (Appendix).

Table 1: Sample by Residence, Participation, and Financial Interest in Tourism

Sample Characteristics (n=53)	Non-Residents (n=24)	Residents (n=29)		
		New (n=8)	Long-term (n=15)	Life-long (n=6)
Financial Interest in Tourism				
Direct (n=24)	18	2	3	1
Indirect (n=29)	6	6	12	5
Nature of Participation				
Participants (n=28)	11	7	8	2
Former participants (n=11)	7	1	2	1
Nonparticipants (n=14)	6	0	5	3
Location of Residence				
Up on The Hill (n=11)	0	6	5	0
Down off The Hill (n=18)	0	2	10	6

Overall, I interviewed 29 residents, including: 14 women and 15 men; four government officials; four planning commissioners; 10 local business owners; seven members of the LaSalle County Historical Society; nine members of the Utica Garden Club; four members of the Utica Special Events Committee; one member of the Utica Bar Association; and 12 individuals who were currently unaffiliated with any of

the aforementioned offices, groups, or organizations. I also interviewed 24 nonresidents who had some

professional, business, or residential interest in tourism development in the village, including: 12 women

and 12 men; nine local business owners; one developer; seven members of the LaSalle County Marketing

Coalition; six members of the LaSalle County Historical Society; nine members of the Heritage Corridor

Convention and Visitors Bureau; one member of the Utica Bar Association; two members of the Utica

Garden Club; one member of the Utica Special Events Committee; two representatives of area taxing

bodies; and four individuals who were currently unaffiliated with any of the aforementioned offices,

groups, or organizations. Respondents gave their oral consent, and all interviews were audio-recorded

and transcribed.

During my stay in Utica, I found that many residents distinguished segments of the resident

population based upon length of residence and location of residence. Life-long residents and so-called

newcomers were very clearly distinguished from the remaining residents of the town. Residents were

considered to be "new" if they had lived in the town for less than ten years. Although none of my

respondents gave ten years as the exact year of demarcation, after analyzing which interviewees were

considered to be "new" residents, I noted that none had lived in the town for more than ten years.

Lifelong-residents were considered to be a small and continually decreasing segment of the population,

comprised of those born to parents living in Utica. The remaining resident population I have labeled

"long-term residents." They had lived in Utica for more than ten years, but were not born there.

Ultimately, I interviewed 6 life-long residents, 15 long-term residents, and 8 new residents.

Residents also often distinguished themselves as "downhillers" or "uphillers." Downhillers were

those who lived within an area at the bottom of a hill, or "down off the hill," in the area bounded by

Lincoln Street and East Grove Street to the North, Donaldson Street to the South (Figure 3). This area

was perceived by some to be the "original" part of the village. An area to the north of Lincoln Street and

west of Route 178 had seen a marked increase in residential construction and the addition of three
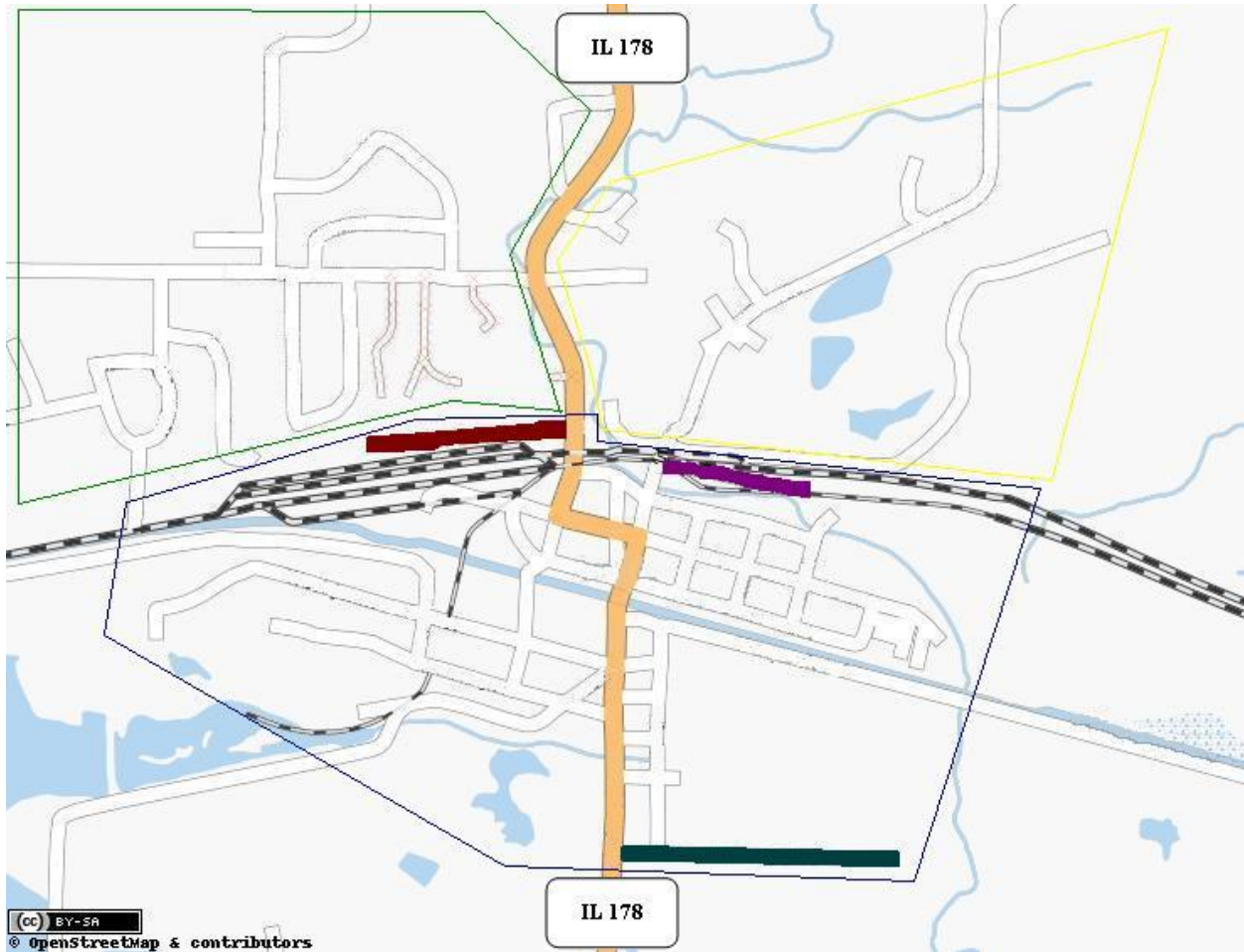
Figure 3: The Residential and Commercial Center of the Village of North Utica

— Lincoln St.

— East Grove St.

— Donaldson St.

— Uphiller Boundary

— Downhiller Boundary

— Clark's Hill Boundary

subdivisions since the 1970s. Residents that lived in this newer portion of town, or "up on the hill," were

classified as "uphillers." This distinction was often associated with length of residence and perceived

socioeconomic distinctions. Uphillers were often described as new residents of higher socioeconomic

status, while downhillers were conversely described as life-long or long-term residents of lower

socioeconomic status. I noted a mix of long-term and new-resident uphillers, while all of the life-long

residents I encountered lived "down off the hill." I was unable to collect systematic data on income, since

it proved to be a very sensitive subject during my fieldwork. Therefore, I cannot speak to the validity of

that aspect of the distinctions. Nonetheless, distinctions between length of residence and its tangential

association with location of residence did appear relevant to perspectives on tourism in the village. It is

interesting to note that residents living to the north of East Grove Street and to the east of Route 178 were

said to live "Up on Clark's Hill," a region named after an early settler whose surname also designates a

creek, "Clark's Run," that is periodically responsible for flooding in the village. For reasons unknown to

me, these residents were not incorporated into the uphiller-downhiller animosity.

Data Analysis

After transcription of the 45 semi-structured interviews, I used Atlas.ti 5.2, a qualitative data

analysis software package, to code the transcripts for themes regarding perspectives on tourism, economic

development, and participation in tourism planning. Based on others' findings regarding host

perspectives on tourism (Chapter 6 and Reed 1997), I organized the interviews into subgroups based on

respondents' residential status, length of residence, place of residence, participation in planning, gender,

and relationship to tourism. Salient themes, or those themes that were "widely shared" among

participants or subgroups of the sample, were identified (Arcury, Quandt, and Bell 2001). Salient themes

were not necessarily discussed by all members of the sample or the designated subgroup but were

discussed with emphasis by the majority of participants within the sample or subgroup (ibid.). I explored

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variations in theme salience by subgroup comparison. These findings are detailed in Chapters 4 and 5. I also supplemented my interview analysis with observational fieldnotes, meeting minutes, and other relevant documents.

Limitations

The data collected and presented here are from a nonrandom sample of individuals, and I was unable to conduct interviews with equal numbers of representatives from each subgroup, especially life-long residents and nonparticipants in village planning. I did not conduct a statistical survey of Utica residents as a means to validate my findings. Therefore, I relied on the established literature and archival data to authenticate the conclusions I drew from analysis of the interviews. Nonetheless, the findings presented here are consistent with other scholars' assessment of participatory municipal and tourism planning, though I situate Utica's residents within a larger context and draw additional conclusions.

Dissertation Overview

This dissertation examines participatory tourism planning in the Village of North Utica. In Chapter 2, I describe current economic development and urban planning practices and their histories. Chapter 3 is a detailed sketch of the village's planning documents and the ways individuals participated in decision-making processes. In Chapter 4, I present data on the factors individuals credited with influencing their participation in village tourism planning, and, in Chapter 5, I examine respondents' perspectives on tourism development. In Chapter 6, I analyze the findings presented in Chapters 3-5 in the context of scholarly literature and, in Chapter 7, I situate this analysis within a broader theoretical framework. Finally, in Chapter 8, I draw theoretical and practical conclusions from the findings and analysis. Ultimately, I posit that anthropologists and others may be asking the wrong questions about participatory development and its consequences. I conclude with suggestions for future research.

Chapter 2: Participatory Planning and Tourism Development in the United States

This dissertation examines participatory urban planning and economic development, specifically participatory tourism development planning, and the ways they have been implemented in the Village of North Utica, Illinois. This chapter is a synopsis of the evolution of participatory urban planning, participatory economic development, and participatory tourism development in the United States.

Evolution of Urban Planning

In 1916, *City Planning* was published. It was the first book to detail what is known as modern urban planning (Peterson 2003). Throughout the 20th century, planners campaigned for comprehensive city planning by trained experts (Burke 1979; Peterson 2003). Comprehensive planning rests on a particular view of cities and theory of how they are organized and function. Each city is seen as an integrated system that must be well organized to function properly. The paradigm assumes that properly functioning cities will possess profitable industries and labor forces that provide the necessary tax monies to allow city government to maintain and, when necessary, improve community infrastructure. Ideally, the city is self-sustaining and continually adapting to population and industrial needs. In contrast, many actual cities experience difficulties maintaining that balance of industry, taxes, and infrastructure. City planners address those issues through in-depth analysis of the geographical, climatological, geological, economic (industrial and commercial), residential, and transportation contexts of each city. Subsequently, they derive a development plan tailored to a city's particular circumstance.

Though some planners argue for one-shot planning that takes place over a specific period of time, others prefer ongoing and bureaucratically embedded planning (Peterson 2003). City planning was originally the province of trained planners (Levy 2009). After the advent of urban renewal projects in the 1940s, and the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s, urban planning experienced great pressure to become more "participatory" (Anthony 2007). Citizen participation, it was argued, could induce greater

community acceptance of comprehensive plans and their implications; encourage broader consensus around community goals; protect citizen rights; and assure more equitable distribution of developments' costs and benefits (Burke 1979; Levy 2009; Mattson 2002). Proponents maintained that through participation, citizens could be assured that their interests and concerns would be fully considered and represented within the planning process (Levy 2009). According to Levy (2009: 95),

> A more modern view is that good plans spring from the community itself. In this view, the planner's proper role is to facilitate the planning process and to aid it with his or her own expertise, rather than deliver the plan full-blown. Several points can be made in favor of the modern approach. First, it avoids elitism… second, there is no way that the planner, or any other single individual or group, can have a complete and accurate view of the interests of the citizenry as a whole. Only the individual can really know his or her own needs and preferences. If that is true, only by taking the citizenry into the planning process at an early stage can their interests be fully represented. Last, it can be argued that a plan formed with substantial community input is more likely to be carried out than a plan of equal quality that has simply been drawn up directly by professionals. The very act of participating in the planning process informs the citizen about the details of the plan. Giving time and energy to the process of planning builds the citizen's commitment to the plan. What was "their plan" now becomes "our plan."

In many instances, the participatory obligation became a matter of law (Burke 1979; Levy 2009).

As the concept and practice of "participatory planning" rose to prominence, a decades-long debate ensued about what defines appropriate citizen participation, whose participation should be sought and for what ends, and how participatory projects should be implemented (Burke 1979). Over the past 50 years, forms of citizen participation have included: response to survey questionnaires; participation in public hearings; overseeing planning processes; giving consultation during planning research (through formal or informal interviews); commenting on proposed plans; and participation in public workshops during which community goals are evaluated and plans prioritized (Anthony 2007; Levy 2009). What constitutes minimal or maximal citizen participation, what forms that participation should assume, and how participants should be selected, are questions that have yet to receive clear definition. Planners are free to implement whatever form of participation from whichever citizens they wish so long as their employers approve:

Alone, the planner does not have the power to do many of the things that cause change within the community: to commit public funds, to enact laws, to enter into contracts, or to exercise the power of eminent domain. Where the planner does have some legal powers, perhaps, in connection with the land-use controls…they are powers granted by the legislative body and removable by that same body. The planner's influence on events, then, stems from the capacity to articulate viewpoints and develop consensus and coalitions among those who do wield significant power. (Levy 2009: 95)

Though some early writers argued that participatory planning should focus on citizen participation as the goal or end in itself, the prevailing opinion was that such a focus inhibited expedient attainment of other planned goals, such as infrastructural improvements or economic development initiatives. Planners have generally accepted participation as part of the goal-attainment process but not the goal itself; hence, the debate about how best to include citizens in planning. As one author put it:

Among all the design professions, the planning profession is delegated the responsibility of being the guardian of the public interest or the common good. As the guardian of the public interest, the community planner is expected to allocate scarce resources in an impartial manner. It is in this task that plans frequently encounter political conflict….[P]lanning generates conflict because changes in the rules of the allocation game will often alter and affect the numerous and diverse stakeholders for extended time periods.…[P]lanners see their special knowledge as a means for protecting the public interest. Indeed, much of the planner's professional legitimacy is based on the premise that his technical expertise allows him to devise such allocation rules. (Mattson 2002: 102)

Within the planning literature, there is little clear definition of "stakeholders." The most direct definitions of stakeholders usually describe them as the "affected parties" (Forester 1999: 3); "people who understand the needs, assets, priorities, and dynamics of the community" (Lasker and Weiss: 2003: 121); or "community members" (Balaswamy and Dabelko 2002: 56). Interpretation and operationalization of the stakeholder concept is often implicit in the literature. As Forester (1999: 3) writes:

Planners…typically work in between these interdependent and often conflicting parties [stakeholders]. The state wants transportation improvements; the neighborhood residents want less traffic and safer streets; environmentalists want to protect open space and easements; housing advocates want to encourage affordable housing; and so on….[P]lanners have to work with many of these demanding parties at the same time— parties whose mutual distrust and strategic posturing regularly undermine their collaborative problem solving….In cities and regions, neighborhoods and towns, planners typically have to shuttle back and forth between public agency staff and privately interested parties, between neighborhood and corporate representatives, between elected

officials and civil services bureaucrats.…They work to encourage practical public deliberation—public listening, learning, and beginning to act on innovative agreements too—as they move project and policy proposals forward to viable implementation or decisive rejection (the 'no-build' option).

Frequently, stakeholders include government officials, businesspersons, developers, and community representatives (Forester 1999; Lasker and Weiss 2003; Rosenberg and Thomas 2005). Regardless of their definition of a "stakeholder," many scholars agree that it can be difficult to organize stakeholder collaboration since mutual stakeholder status does not necessarily mean mutually agreed upon goals, values, or concerns (Forester 1999; Lasker and Weiss 2003; Rosenberg and Thomas 2005).

Despite capricious stakeholder definitions and the potential conflict entailed in participatory planning methods, two new planning movements have developed that embrace the ideal of citizen participation, recognize environmental concerns, and reject the experience of urban sprawl and suburbanization: "smart growth" and the "new urbanism" (Anthony 2007; Bullard 2007; Frielich 1999; Leccese and McCormick 2000; Levy 2009; Mattson 2002; Porter 2008). Both of these movements incorporate goals of citizen participation, "green" development, and pedestrian-friendly community organization (Leccese and McCormick 2000; Porter 2002 and 2008).

While "smart growth" emphasizes mixed-use development (e.g., commercial retail stores that occupy the bottom floors of a building with residential units occupying the upper floors), the "new urbanism" focuses on high density development; that is, small, closely spaced homes arranged along narrow streets and walkways (Leccese and McCormick 2000; Porter 2002 and 2008). According to Bullard (2007: 3), smart growth "serves the economy, the community, and the environment." New urbanism seeks to "[revive] our lost art of place making… [re-order] the built environment into the form of complete cities, towns, villages, and neighborhoods—the way communities have been built for centuries around the world" (Porter 2008:26). As with earlier incarnations of participatory planning, neither movement gives a concrete definition of citizen participation.

Evolution of Economic Development

While development economics has evolved in a largely global context, this dissertation focuses on development efforts in the U.S. over the past 40years and, specifically the Village of North Utica, Illinois. Nonetheless, U.S. economic development is tied to development economics the world over. The dominant power in global economic development efforts, the U.S. shapes development initiatives in other countries. Similarly, U.S. methods of economic development, and their outcomes, are significant globally. In the following paragraphs, I discuss the evolution of economic development in the U.S. from the post-World War II "top-down" emphasis on the manufacturing industry to current participatory approaches that focus on the service industry. I subsequently examine the evolution of tourism as a form of economic development.

After the end of World War II and as the associated national economic prosperity began to wane, structural aspects of global poverty became a prominent concern for economists and politicians far and wide (Cooper and Packard 2005; Edelman and Haugerud 2005; Goodacre 2006; Higgins 1968; Levy 2009; Leys 2005; Naqvi 2002). Referred to as a "revolution of rising expectations" by Higgins (1968), concern with alleviating poverty and improving individual and national well-being spurred the evolution of development economics and economic development efforts, as well as formation of international agencies, such as the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), the World Health Organization (WHO), and what would become the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank. The primary purposes of these agencies were facilitation and monitoring of economic development around the world (Cooper and Packard 1997). Within the United States, economic development efforts first focused on Appalachia and, in the 1960s, the U.S. government began implementing policies that focused on encouraging and supporting economic development in other less-developed portions of the nation (Levy 2009).

From its beginnings, economic development was understood as "consciously sought and directed social change" with an emphasis on economic betterment of the human condition and, in some cases, protection of U.S. economic interests (Cooper and Packard 2005; Kindleberger and Herrick 1977; Rostow 1960). As a humanitarian effort, development economics seeks to improve the quality of life and well-being of impoverished peoples with the assumption that, "[a]ll advances, including reductions in infant mortality, release from continuous hunger, and even the spiritual elevation that the best of formal education can provide require economic (which is to say, 'material') resources" (Kindleberger and Herrick 1977: 2).

As a tool for national economic improvement and defense, economic development efforts served to create markets into which U.S. goods could be introduced (Rostow 1960). In the U.S., economic development policies focused on granting funds to county governments in areas characterized by poverty and unemployment—circumstances which indicate need for aid based on this particular understanding of economic development, social wellbeing, health, and economic growth (Cooper and Packard 2005). As Kindleberger and Herrick (1977: 3) put it,

> economic growth means more output, while economic development implies both more output and changes in the technical and institutional arrangements by which it is produced and distributed….As with humans, to stress 'growth' involves focusing on weight (or GNP), while to emphasize development draws attention to changes in functional capacities—in physical coordination, for example, or learning capacity (or ability of the economy to adapt).

Within development economics, it has long been understood that economic growth can occur without development but economic development cannot occur without economic growth. "Until an economy can produce more than its subsistence requirements…it is difficult to conceive its allocating a portion of its resources to other types of activity" (ibid.: 4). Development economists assume that participating societies accept capitalist economic systems with the goal of economically liberating and bettering the individual—the most basic unit of society (Ferguson 2005; Kindleberger and Herrick 1977; Leys 2005).

Federal support for economic development programs reached its peak during President Jimmy Carter's Administration (1977-1981). With the increased prominence of neoliberal ideology and free-market policies during and after President Ronald Reagan's Administration (1981-1989), federal monetary supports for economic development efforts have been drastically reduced and new methods of development have focused on the private sector (Naqvi 2002; Streeten 2002). According to Edelman and Haugerud (2005: 7):

> What the rest of the world terms "neoliberalism" or "liberalism"—that is, doctrines or policies that accord the market rather than the state the main role in resolving economic and other problems—is typically considered "conservative" in the United States.…[I]n the United States neoliberalism is a blend of neoclassical economics and political conservatism.

They continue to explain that after the economic neoliberalization of the 1970s and 1980s, "development became 'participation in a world market'" (ibid.: 17).

Communities that seek economic development do so for many reasons: to increase employment, expand the tax base, and support portions of the business industry (e.g., real estate investment, entrepreneurial development). For the greater portion of the 20th century, communities sought economic development through the manufacturing industry, but as the U.S. economy has moved from primarily manufacturing to primarily service industries, so have economic development efforts. As Levy (2009: 258) states, "[T]oday one is more likely to find municipalities and their economic development agencies pursuing retailing, service, office, recreation, and other categories where there is significant employment growth." This economic growth has become increasingly oriented to a global marketplace, including pursuit of tourism development.

With the introduction of the commercial jet airplane in the 1950s, international tourism increased significantly. By the 1960s, tourism had become a standard form of economic development; "tourism brought in foreign exchange, employed more people…and tourist expenditures had a large 'multiplier effect,' stimulating the local economy and raising the standard of living" (Graburn and Jafari 1991: 4).

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Nonetheless, within the context of decreased federal supports and increased emphasis on economic growth, from the 1980s on, communities often found themselves in competition with one another for economic development opportunities. As a result, many communities engaged in competitive municipal advertising and marketing, granting subsidies and tax incentives to developers, capital investments, and adjustment of land-use plans and controls (i.e., zoning regulations) as a way to entice investors away from other "less attractive" municipalities (Kindleberger and Herrick 1977; Blakely and Bradshaw 2002). While competition between communities still occurs, many specialists and municipalities have recognized that competition nowadays often comes from international sources more than neighboring municipalities. Therefore, an increasing number of regional economic development agencies and projects have formed through which neighboring municipalities organize regional marketing and advertising endeavors (Blakely and Bradshaw 2002; Levy 2009).

Development economics, like urban planning, has also taken on a decidedly participatory approach to planning and implementation. During the 1970s and 1980s, international organizations such as the World Bank and USAID supported several unsuccessful, expensive, and professionally formulated development projects (Rietbergen-McCracken and Narayan 1998). As a result, many development practitioners questioned the top-down methodologies that had formed those projects. With the advent of participatory rural appraisal, the practice of including citizens in the planning of local economic development took hold, especially within the context of tourism development (Cooke and Kothari 2001; Jamal and Getz 1995; Schianetz, Kavanagh, and Lockington 2007; Selin and Chavez 1995; Williams, Penrose, and Hawkes 1998). As with urban planning, participatory methods are still debated and definitions of appropriate or adequate participation are not concretely defined (Jamal and Getz 1995; Schianetz, Kavanagh, and Lockington 2007; Selin and Chavez 1995; Williams, Penrose and Hawkes 1998). With justifications similar to those of participatory urban planning, participatory economic development is said to encourage more successful, locally palatable economic development, breed

consensus among participants, and ensure more equitable distribution of the costs and benefits of

development projects (Blakely and Bradshaw 2002).

Much of the literature touts the advantages of tourism as a means of economic development

(Boissevain 1977; Edwards and Llurdés 1996; Fletcher and Cooper 1996; Mansperger 1992). These

advantages include the ability of tourism, when properly managed, to bolster national and local

economies and boost employment, increase quality of life, strengthen social cohesion and community

identity, preserve traditional culture, and decrease dependency on foreign aid and investment (Boissevain

1977; Mansperger 1992). When considering participation, some scholars advocate a locally

collaborative, participatory, grassroots, or bottom-up development model (Aas, Ladkin, and Fletcher

2005; Lalone 2005a, b; Mason 2005; Smith 2001; Stonich 1998, 2000; Vernon et al. 2005; Whittaker

1997; Yüksel, Bramwell, and Yüksel 2005). For instance, Crick (1989:317) writes:

> The lesson has not yet been adequately learned by national tourism authorities that in
> tourism development Schumacher's dictum "small is beautiful" applies. Grass roots
> developments are far more likely to lead to local employment, the stimulation of other
> local activities, and the avoidance of capital indebtedness to overseas concerns than the
> standard hotel-based industry involves.

These and other writers argue that participatory tourism development, through local consensus building,

planning, and project design, mitigates negative impacts that have been associated with tourism and

ensures mutual cooperation of and benefit for members of local host communities (Duggan and Caldwell

2005; Lalone 2005b; Madrigal 1993, 1995; Peck and Lepie 1989; Vernon et al. 2005; Whittaker 1997;

Williams and Papamichael 1995). For, as Haywood (2006b: 34-38) writes:

> [Within the context of tourism development] the ultimate source of both community and
> organizational wealth is determined through relationships with critical stakeholders, not
> simply transaction with visitors and suppliers. The critical challenge, therefore, is
> recognition of the mutual interests among the stakeholders, leading to the development of
> consistent and supportive policies.…Growth and development of destinations is [sic]
> dependent on the careful nurturing of relationships with an extended number of
> stakeholders, who are increasingly being recognized as the ultimate sources of destination
> wealth and longevity.

Chapter 3: Of Comprehensive Plans, Tourism, and Modes of Participation

In the last chapter, I described the evolution of participatory planning and economic development through tourism. In this chapter, I present how the models of participatory planning and economic development through tourism are embedded in the Village of North Utica's planning documents, the processes that formed those documents, and ongoing decision making processes in the village. As some of the planning documents were formed long before my fieldwork, I recount descriptions of participation in those planning processes based on the information provided in the documents themselves. Subsequently, I describe the methods and patterns by which individuals can and do participate in ongoing economic and tourism development decision making in both public and private settings in the village. I demonstrate that participation in economic and tourism development planning in the Village of North Utica is undertaken by a range of constituents and commercial interests and is often an opportunistic practice rooted in immediate interests and concerns.

The Village of North Utica's Planning Documents

The Village of North Utica is well acquainted with participatory municipal and economic planning. During an annual meeting of the Illinois Chapter of the American Planning Association (IL APA) in 2001, 20 Illinois planners volunteered to jointly assess the village's development potential and presented their results to the community. The planners, "heard from community leaders about the issues facing North Utica and took a walking tour of the downtown and canal area…[and] provided the village some written results…their first impressions of North Utica [and] recommendations/ideas for improvement…" (NUPC and NCICG 2002: 1.1). In 2002, the North Utica Planning Commission (NUPC) and North Central Illinois Council of Governments (NCICG) compiled a comprehensive economic assessment and plan. During the development of the plan, the Utica Planning Commission

sought "citizen input into the plan" through a mailed, communitywide survey and two public meetings

(NUPC and NCICG 2002: 1.1). The first of these meetings is described in the comprehensive plan:

> North Utica residents, residents of the 1 ½ mile planning area, and village officials
> attended the meeting. A presentation was given on what a comprehensive plan is and
> how [it] will benefit North Utica. During the participatory part of the meeting a sheet of
> paper for each of the following categories was taped to the walls around the room:
> community services, economic development, education, housing, land use, recreation,
> and transportation. Each one of these sheets had statements about what North Utica
> needs to do in the future. Many of these comments were taken from the results of the
> survey completed in the spring of 2001. Participants were asked to mark a (+) for agree
> with the statement, (-) for disagree with statement, or (0) for do not have an opinion.
> Everyone was also asked to comment on and provide possible solutions about these
> statements. 5" x 8" cards and a drop box were also available in case someone wanted to
> leave an anonymous solution or comment. (ibid.: 1.1-1.2)

The second public meeting was held for purposes of gaining public comment on the goals, objectives and

policies developed by the planning commission and proceeded as follows:

> Sheets were posted around the room with each showing the goals, objectives, and
> policies. Participants were given a blue dot to be placed on their most important overall
> goal, objective, or policy. For each goal category, they were given three green dots to be
> placed on their highest priority, objective, or policy. The dots could be placed all on one
> objective or policy or placed on three different ones. They also [received] 11 orange
> dots, one for each goal. The orange dot was to be put on an objective or policy under
> each goal category which they were not in favor of. Comments were also taken on the
> existing and future land-use maps. Various land use stickers were available to
> participants to put on the map….All of the comments and voting results were taken into
> consideration when finalizing the goals, objectives, policies, and the existing and future
> land-use maps. (NUPC and NCICG 2002: 1.2)

The goals and objectives evaluated at that meeting and finalized in the original comprehensive plan were

tragically halted in April 2004 when a category F-3 tornado ripped through the downtown damaging and

destroying historic buildings and killing nine people. In the aftermath of the tornado, the Federal

Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) carried out a "Sustainable Recovery Initiative" in the

community, conducting interviews and holding public meetings over a four-week period. A draft of the

recovery plan was presented to residents in June 2004 and their commentary on the plan was requested.

The final recovery plan was presented to the village in July 2004 (FEMA 2004). In 2005, working in

conjunction with FEMA, the NCICG, and the village board of trustees, Teng, a design firm from Chicago, developed a streetscape master plan for the village and presented it to them in April 2005 (Teng 2005).

The following year, the NCICG and Canal Corridor Association (CCA) completed an "Economic Development and Tourism Strategy Report" that had been commissioned after the 2004 tornado disaster and was funded by the U.S. Department of Commerce—Economic Development Administration and the Illinois Department of Tourism (an arm of the Illinois Department of Commerce and Economic Opportunity) (NCICG and CCA 2006). Those responsible for the report, "sought the advise [sic] of local tourism officials, business owners, and local citizens concerning the status of Utica tourism, its strengths, weaknesses, threats, and opportunities…[and] asked for their recommendations for increasing and enhancing tourism in Utica" (NCICG and CCA 2006: 8). Public participation was also incorporated into the plan through a public meeting, though the details of that meeting and the nature and methods of incorporating public input into the final plan are not stated in the final report. Finally, in June of 2006, the "Village of North Utica Downtown Plan" was published. The product of collaboration between the village board, planning commission, other village officials, and the NCICG, the plan was funded by the U.S. Department of Commerce and Economic Development Administration and the Illinois Department of Commerce and Economic Opportunity (Village of North Utica, NUPC, and NCICG 2006). It is unclear exactly how the downtown plan was formulated or how an assessment of community consensus was obtained but it is stated in the plan that: "The consensus of the North Utica residents is that they favor the redevelopment of the downtown but would like to expedite the effort" (Village of North Utica, NUPC and NCICG 2006: 4).

Participation was not only incorporated into the formation of many of the village's planning documents, the plans themselves emphasize the importance of public participation in local planning efforts. The comprehensive plan states that success of the comprehensive planning program: "will be measured by the degree of acceptance and import it receives from the residents of the village…[so that it]

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can become the expression of the combined will of the community through a vigorous process of citizen participation" (NUPC and NCICG 2002: 8.21). The plan suggests that citizen participation is to be attained by: encouraging citizens to attend planning commission meetings, form citizen groups, and "focus on Utica as a unified 'community'"; urging "the concept of planning and development at the community level in Utica to enhance the overall character in defense of a small community"; publishing and communicating planning commission activities through local media; scheduling of regular reevaluation of the comprehensive plan; provision of handouts describing development information in the village for the general public; and, placement of "a copy of the Comprehensive Plan for Utica on file with the library" and "making copies available for purchase at a low cost" (NUPC and NCICG 2002: 8.21-8.22). Despite the emphasis on public participation in planning, it is made clear that the elected Village Trustees will have final decision making authority in future planning decisions.

Carrying on the participatory emphasis, the downtown plan explicitly defines the village government's role in implementation of the plan, which is to "coordinate a comprehensive process of maintaining communication among all of the various downtown stakeholders" (Village of Utica, NUPC and NCICG 2006: 54). These stakeholders are business, property, and land owners, though no explicit definition of the term is offered. The plan also advocates Village implementation of the Main Street Program's downtown revitalization strategies, which include:

> …building a base of driven volunteers from throughout the community to build consensus and clearly delineate responsibilities…[assembly by the various stakeholders of] the necessary human and financial resources to implement the plan….[marketing of] the downtown by creating a positive image of the district and establishing special events to attract new and old customers. Increased promotion will increase confidence that residents, visitors, and potential investors have in the future of the downtown…[continued] maintenance of buildings and public spaces…to create an inviting atmosphere…[and strengthening of] the existing economic base while accommodating new growth by recruiting compatible businesses that meet the changing needs of consumers…[and identifying] [v]acant or underused properties…to make the downtown more competitive. (ibid.: 55)

In addition to the importance of participation, an additional, more prominent theme infuses the

Village of North Utica's planning documents: the need for economic growth, especially through tourism

development. The stated purpose of the original comprehensive plan is to guide elected officials' future

decisions about zoning, subdivision, and capital improvement in the Village of North Utica as it seeks,

"appropriate growth" (NUPC and NCICG 2002: 8.1) that will:

> [avoid] forfeiting the characteristics that make Utica a desirable community in which to
> live and work…[and] establish and maintain an enjoyable, healthful, coherent, and
> workable environment for the residents and visitors of Utica. (ibid.: 8.2)

The comprehensive plan is to aid the village in its efforts "by minimizing the costs of urbanization by

orderly and planned development" while building a "stronger sense of community" and avoiding a

homogenized landscape (ibid.: 8.4). The authors discuss the issue of traffic congestion in the Village but

characterize the matter as a consequence of economic development "that other towns would enjoy

experiencing" (ibid.: 3.2). The plan suggests that commercial businesses not only contribute to the

"overall livability and amenity of Utica," but also "supply the needed tax base to fund capital

improvement projects" (NUPC and NCICG 2002: 8.10). Therefore, maintenance of an "adequate supply

of well located and designed commercial facilities to serve existing and future populations," is an explicit

desire expressed in the plan (ibid.: 8.10-8.11). Furthermore, the plan clearly states that Utica:

> is in competition with other cities for industry; therefore, it must be accepted that if the
> Village is to share in the industrial expansion of the region is [sic] must make things
> happen itself and not just wait for industry to 'come knockin' at the door.' In addition the
> Village must establish a climate that will give confidence to private investors because
> only through private dollars can Utica expect to improve its competitive economic
> position. (ibid.: 8.13)

Part and parcel with this desire to keep the village competitive against other locations is the desire to

"promote the village of Utica as a location for tourists" (ibid.: 8.10-8.11). However, contingencies are

written into the plan which emphasize the importance of "fair distribution of costs and benefits" of

development and suggest that developers pay for extension of public utilities to their developments that are, if possible, "green" (NUPC and NCICG 2002: 8.15).

In support of the goals laid out in the comprehensive plan, the FEMA recovery plan is intended to serve as "an action-oriented menu of key projects" to help the village "take full advantage of the chance to rebuild a more vibrant community" (FEMA 2004:2). The plan includes rebuilding and landscaping the downtown, additional economic planning, and restoration and enhancement of the Illinois and Michigan Canal area and the local train depot. Similarly, the streetscape master plan for the village is intended to help it create an attractive, "viable, cohesive, and lively place to live, work, and visit" with easily controllable growth options (Teng 2005).

As its title suggests, the Economic Development and Tourism Strategy Report also emphasizes economic growth. The stated overall goal of the strategy is to: "create jobs, foster more stable and diversified economies, improve living conditions, and provide a mechanism for guiding and coordinating the efforts of persons and organizations concerned with economic development and tourism" (ibid.: 13). The authors explain that "tourism will be playing…a big role in the future economy of the Village of North Utica" but also acknowledge the potential for negative impacts (ibid.: 9). They suggest that the village "[minimize] the costs of urbanization by orderly and planned development" and restrict development that will produce "undesired effects to the public health, safety, convenience, and general welfare" (ibid.:81).

The report acknowledges that the village could "become strapped for cash…due to stress of services by the additional tourist [sic] coming to North Utica" (NCICG and CCA 2006: 41). Yet, the authors argue that additional monies the village receives through hotel/motel taxes and its home-rule status should offset "some of these issues that are being strained by the amount of tourists coming to town" (ibid.: 41). They maintain that the town has "significant potential for development of its recreation and tourism industries" and offer many suggestions for how that potential can be exploited; for example,

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creation of a brochure for placement at visitor centers and other such informational areas, increased and

more efficient utilization of web site publication, specific marketing to target tourist populations, and

creation of a visitor friendly area map (ibid.: 43). The report reiterates and enhances what is presented in

the comprehensive plan, but adds strength to the emphasis on tourism development, specifically "in the

active market (traveling with and without children) and the cultural/historic/nature-based tourist market"

(ibid.: 9).

Finally, in concert, the downtown plan's purpose is to identify ways to "strengthen the existing

downtown core while supporting an expanded commercial district," bearing in mind the need to balance

residents' concerns and the needs associated with the tourism industry (Village of Utica, NUPC and

NCICG 2006: 4). This plan summarizes the findings of past planning efforts, analyzes the existing

downtown business district, and suggests that while the annual Burgoo Festival places a strain on village

parking and other facilities, it is still a "boon for the village and its businesses" (Village of Utica, NUPC

and NCICG 2006: 15). The authors conclude that additional, similar events should be developed as a

means to drawing additional visitors. The plan also discusses the fundamental function of visitors to

sustain village business:

> Since the village of Utica itself is not large enough on its own, the town is reliant on both
> LaSalle County residents and visitors from the Midwest and Chicago area who travel to
> Starved Rock to sustain the various businesses….Utica will begin to experience pressure
> as the market becomes more inviting for residential, commercial, and industrial
> growth….Most of the businesses on Mill Street cater to the tourists to Utica and Starved
> Rock, though restaurants serve both tourists and residents. The businesses have been
> able to survive because they have found a niche in the market….All of the businesses,
> particularly restaurants, should see a positive effect from the opening of Grand Bear
> Lodge and these trends should be closely followed in the years to come….The
> redevelopment of the northern downtown will shape the continuing success of the
> commercial retail base….This block will also be important because it will be a strong
> visual reminder to vehicles traveling south on the realigned Illinois 178 that an appealing
> shopping experience is available nearby….More specialty stores are likely to be attracted
> to the redevelopment. (ibid.: 39)

The downtown plan states that the village government's role in implementation of the plan is to maintain communication between "various downtown stakeholders" (Village of Utica, NUPC and NCICG 2006: 54), specifically business, property, and land owners, but no explicit definition of the term is offered. The plan also advocates implementation of the Main Street Program's downtown revitalization strategies, including: "building a base of driven volunteers from throughout the community" as a means to consensus-building and definition responsibilities; assembly by the various stakeholders of the resources necessary for implementation of the plan; and marketing of the downtown by "creating a positive image of the district and establishing special events to attract new and old customers" (ibid.: 55). The authors of the plan maintain that such marketing will "increase confidence that residents, visitors, and potential investors have in the future of the downtown" (ibid.). The plan also emphasizes the importance of purposeful maintenance of downtown buildings and public spaces to "to create an inviting atmosphere" that will serve to strengthen "the existing economic base while accommodating new growth by recruiting compatible businesses that meet the changing needs of consumers" as well as "make the downtown more competitive" (ibid.: 55).

The comprehensive and municipal plans developed for the Village of North Utica have all been situated within the paradigms of participation and economic growth. While it is not always clear exactly how individuals participated in the formation of the documents or just what impact individual input had upon them, efforts were made by those in power to incorporate perspectives of individuals interested in the town's future. In addition, while the plans acknowledge that economic growth can be double-edged, it is accepted as the way that the village can sustain and improve its infrastructure and residents' quality of living. While I was not present during formation of these plans, I did observe economic and tourism development decision making processes during my field work. Now, I turn to how individuals, both residents and nonresidents, participate in ongoing decision making processes in the Village of North Utica.

Planning in the Village of North Utica: Regularly Scheduled Meetings at the Village Hall

Several different groups held regularly scheduled and formally organized meetings at the Utica Village Hall (Table 1). What follows is a brief description of each of those meetings and the opportunities for public participation in them. After I describe these formal public meetings, I move on to informal methods of participation, meetings of private organizations who influence tourism development, and professional organizations that also contribute to local tourism planning. As will be seen, residents of the village and others may participate in local tourism planning through a variety of means.

Regularly Scheduled Meetings of the Board of Trustees

One entity has the final decision making authority regarding tourism development in the Village of North Utica and its 1.5 mile planning jurisdiction: the Board of Trustees.[2] Village trustees and the village president are elected to four-year terms and must be residents of the municipality. The village clerk is also an elected position but is not afforded decision making power. The village trustees and president are scheduled to meet once per month and the meetings are generally open to the public, though "executive sessions" are held privately in an adjacent conference room and only include the village trustees, president, clerk, and attorney. These meetings are advertised on the village web site (www.utica-il.com) and, sometime before the meeting, the associated agenda is posted on an announcement board that hangs next to the main entrance to the village hall. Village decisions are made by majority vote. The village clerk compiles the meeting agendas and proceedings are directed by the village president. The agenda is provided to the village trustees and president, the village attorney and engineer. Other attendees can pick up a copy on their way into the meeting from a stack on the desk at the entrance to the hall.

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[2] There is an exception to this rule. The neighboring city of LaSalle annexed land within Utica's 1.5 mile planning area and has allowed construction of a golf course and water resort within those areas. The latter development is supposed to have a significant impact on Utica tourism, but as I did not conduct research on the LaSalle tourism industry, I cannot speak knowledgeably about the decision making processes that preceded its acceptance.

Table 2: Characteristics of Regularly Scheduled Meetings at the Utica Village Hall

Organization	Creates Agenda:	Directs the Meeting:	Schedule:	Makes Decisions?	Has an Advisory Role?	Meeting Advertisement:	Meeting Length:	Regular Attendees:	Public Comment?
Board of Trustees	Village Clerk	Village President	Monthly	YES	NO	Website & Village Hall Information Board	1.5-3.5 hours	Officials, Press, 2 Planning Commissioners, 2 residents	YES
Gov. Committees	Unknown	Committee Chair	As Needed	NO	YES	None	1-3 hours	Officials, 1 Village Trustee	NO
Planning Commission	Village Clerk	Commission Chair	Monthly	NO	YES	Website, Village Hall Information Board, & Newspaper (Public Hearings)	1.5-3 hours	Officials, Press, 3 Citizens	YES
Special Events Committee	Committee Secretary	Committee President	Monthly	NO	NO	None	1-2 hours	Members, 1Village Trustee	YES

The meeting is called to order on the second Wednesday of the month at 7:00 P.M. by the village president. After most of the trustees, the village attorney, and village clerk have taken their seats, the village president stands at the front of the room, turns toward the United States flag and begins reciting the Pledge of Allegiance. Others follow his lead. After the Pledge of Allegiance is completed, the village trustees, president, attorney and clerk sit at three banquet tables at the front of the meeting area (Figure 4). Two additional banquet tables are arranged to accommodate the village engineer and a local member of the press who is assigned to cover the village's governmental affairs. Others occupy seats behind the village engineer and press tables, all of which face the three head tables.

The village president (a.k.a. the mayor) guides the trustees through each item on the agenda. Those individuals who are in attendance due to their association with a particular item on the agenda are given time to represent their concerns or present their requests to the trustees who then discuss the matter with the president, attorney, and engineer. Each item is discussed until the board takes some action or asserts that it is time to move on to a new topic of discussion. In most instances, this occurs naturally after all of the interested parties' questions are answered and the board has completed their discussion of the matter.

Each agenda includes an item labeled "Executive Session," which pertains to an unspecified amount of time during which the village trustees, attorney, clerk, and president privately discuss administrative matters. As the board reaches the "Executive Session" item on the agenda, one of the trustees will motion to enter the session and the trustees, clerk, president, and attorney will then vacate the main meeting area and enter into a closed conference room. Upon completion of the session, which can last anywhere from 10 to 45 minutes, the group returns to the general meeting area and one of the trustees motions to conclude the "Executive Session." Once that motion carries, the board moves on to the "Public Comment" item on the agenda. There is no specified amount of time granted for public

US Flag

C   P   ATT

Entrance to
Conference Room

T   T

T   T

T   T

PR   E

General Seating Below This Point

Front Desk

Entrance to
Meeting Area

Figure 4: Arrangement of the meeting area in the Utica Village Hall. T= trustee, P= president, C= clerk, ATT= attorney, E= engineer, PR= press.
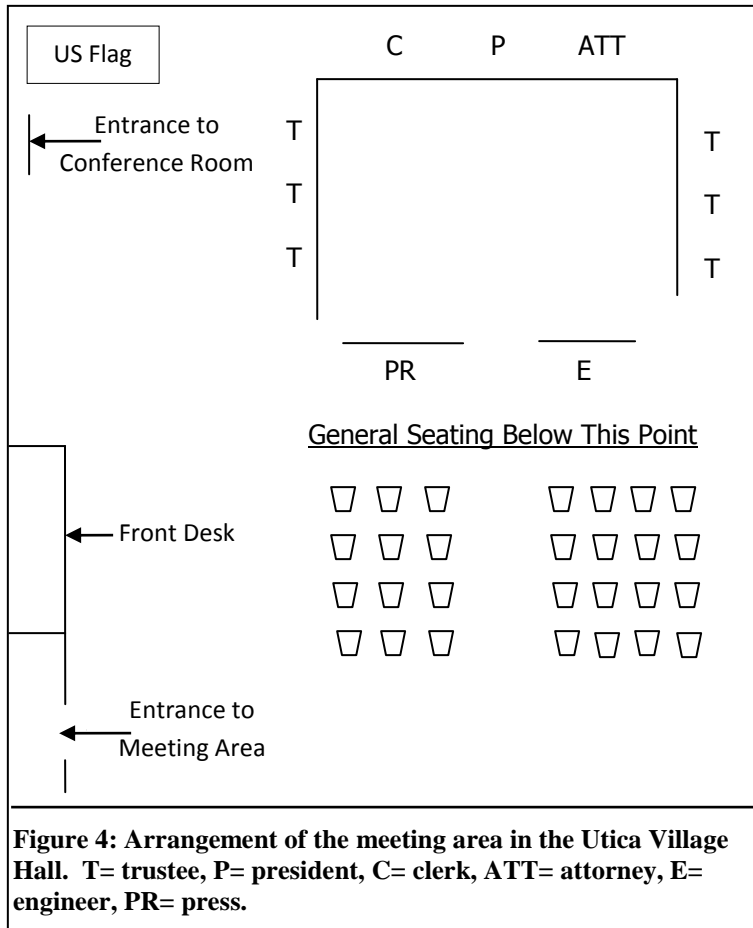
comment and the item is opened for discussion when the president asks if there is anyone who has something they would like to discuss during public comment. At that time, any individual in general seating may address the board by standing or raising a hand and being recognized by the president. Those who wish to make such an address may do so for as long as the board deems appropriate. When each individual's concern is addressed, the board usually ends the discussion by taking some action or committing to some action regarding the matter. Subsequently, the president asks if anyone else has something to discuss during public comment. If no one else is recognized to participate, a motion is made by one of the trustees to end the meeting. When that motion carries, the meeting is ended. Aside from people who were present for particular agenda items or to discuss something particular during public

comment, only two planning commissioners, two citizens, and I regularly attended meetings and remained through executive session. These meetings lasted approximately 1.5-3.5 hours.

Participation during public comment is not for the shy or timid. During my first meeting of the Village Board of Trustees, I planned to introduce myself during public comment. Near the end of the meeting, when the Village President asked if anyone had anything they would like to say, a citizen who was seated just in front of me stood and explained her concerns about parking near the gazebo downtown. As she finished her statement, I stood and waited for the Village President to acknowledge me. However, before he did so, a Trustee motioned to end the meeting, another seconded, and the meeting was ended. The President caught my eye just as the motion carried and smiled apologetically. The resident who had spoken moments before laughed and suggested that the next time I should just "jump in there" (Fieldnotes 6/14/06).

Subcommittees of the Village Board of Trustees, including the Governmental Affairs Committee and Finance Committee met as needed. These meetings were not advertised, unless such meetings were scheduled during a regular meeting of the Village Board of Trustees. The meetings were held in the evening and did appear open to the public. During the three Governmental Affairs Committee meetings I observed, agendas were provided to those in the general seating area, though no specific time was allotted for public comment. These meetings were attended by three trustees who comprised the committee, the village attorney, and the village president and lasted between 1.5 and 3 hours. The actions of these committees were reported at the regular meetings of the Village Board of Trustees. At the committee meetings I observed, most of the audience was there for some specific agenda item. Only two regular meeting attendees who were not present for a specific reason: me and one Village Trustee.

Regular Meetings of the Planning Commission

On the Thursday prior to the regular meeting of the Village Board of Trustees, the North Utica Planning Commission holds its monthly meeting at 7:00 P.M. The planning commission was organized

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by a former mayor who personally recruited the original eight commissioners and chairperson.

According to one current commissioner, the mayor purposefully chose commissioners from a wide range

of professions, most of whom were not life-long residents of the Village. This commissioner explained

that the mayor selected non-native Uticans to ensure that new ideas and perspectives were represented by

the commissioners. However, the commissioner also noted that the mayor's selections ensured mistrust

on the part of many long-term and life-long residents and contributed to a disregard of community

traditions.

Presently, planning commissioners are appointed, as needed, by the village president, approved

by the board of trustees, and are supposed to represent "the overall views of the community" (NUPC and

NCICG 2002: 9.2). According to the village comprehensive plan, the most important function of the

Planning Commission:

> is to ensure that the board is aware of the community's viewpoint on direct planning
> issues. The commission acts as the mediator between the public and elected officials,
> spending time researching, studying, and listening to public opinion and comment, and
> making recommendations to the board to reflect the community's views. (ibid.: 9.2)

Planning commissioners are responsible for assessing any proposed land uses, holding public hearings,

and providing recommendations to the Village Board of Trustees about zoning, land-use changes, and

proposed developments, including local ordinance enforcement, modification, and formulation. Regular

planning commissioner's meetings are advertised through the village web site and an announcement

board that hangs next to the main entrance to the village hall. In addition, all public hearings are

advertised in the classified section of one of the two local newspapers.

The meeting is held in the same room as the regular meetings of the Village Board of Trustees.

The planning commission chairman calls the meeting to order and begins with the Pledge of Allegiance.

The planning commissioners, commission chairman, the village attorney and village clerk sit at the three

banquet tables arranged in an open rectangle at the front of the meeting area with the chairman taking the

president's seat and the commissioners sitting in the places of the trustees (Figure 4). The village engineer and a member of the press occupy their usual seats, as do any additional attendees who occupy seats in the general seating area.

The chairman guides the commissioners through each item on the agenda, which is prepared by the village clerk. Those who wish to comment on an agenda item are given time to present their concerns or requests to the planning commission. The commission, then, discusses the matter, in conjunction with the chairman, attorney, and presenter. The commissioners arrive at decisions about each agenda item through majority vote. Many of those decisions will be recommendations to the Village Board of Trustees regarding local development or zoning requests. The planning commission does not have the power to approve or deny any of the requests presented to them. It serves as an advisory commission whose recommendations are presented to the Village Board of Trustees for final evaluation and judgment.

Time is allotted for public comment at the end of each meeting. Persons must stand and be recognized by the chairman. They may then address the commission for an undefined time period. Upon completion of each address, the chairman asks if anyone else would like to speak. If no one else is recognized, one of the commissioners makes a motion to end the meeting. If that motion carries, the meeting is ended. In addition to me, one trustee and three citizens regularly attended the planning commission meetings regardless of the agendas. However, on several occasions, a wide range of citizens and interested parties attended the meetings to support or witness discussion of particular agenda items. These meetings lasted approximately 1-3 hours.

The Utica Special Events Committee

Participation in tourism planning in the village is also possible through the Utica Special Events Committee, which meets the first Wednesday of the month at 6:00 P.M. Formed after the April 2004 tornado by a business owner, the group was first composed of business owners who wished to actively promote tourism and organize events to encourage tourism in the village. The committee's board is

selected by nomination and majority vote, and the group is comprised of representatives from local businesses, three citizens, and a village trustee who serves as a liaison to the Village Board of Trustees. The committee is responsible to: facilitate any events held in the village and make certain that they are properly insured; decorate the village for holidays; organize village marketing and advertising campaigns; and develop additional festivities aimed at drawing tourists to the village. At the time of my fieldwork, the committee was interested in becoming an advisory arm of the local government, similar to the planning commission, which would serve as a clearinghouse for all proposed events, decorations, and marketing campaigns and would present recommendations to the board.

The group holds open, monthly meetings at the village hall. All of the committee members sit at the tables arranged at the front of the meeting area and meeting attendees who are not committee members sit in the general seating area (Figure 4). The meeting is called to order by the president who guides discussion according to the agenda prepared by the committee's secretary. Aside from me, there were no regular attendees to these meetings. Others frequently present were business owners or representatives from area businesses who were there to present specific issues to the committee or were interested in a specific agenda item. At the end of the meeting, time was allotted for "The Good of the Order" or an open forum, though this time was rarely used. These meetings are not advertised, though they are open to the public, and last approximately 1-2 hours.

Unscheduled Participation in Regularly Scheduled Meetings

Frequently, individuals in the general seating area were allowed to comment on the proceedings throughout the course of the regularly scheduled meetings, whether the meetings were of the village board, a governmental subcommittee, the planning commission, or the special events committee. Interjections were generally tolerated and those interjecting into the conversation were usually acknowledged, even when the discussions became heated. During particularly intense "interjection sessions," meetings often appeared more like open forums than structured meetings.

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One Governmental Affairs Committee meeting was particularly illustrative of unscheduled participation within a scheduled meeting (Fieldnotes 8/01/06). There was an unusually large number of attendees sitting in the general seating area. As it turned out, most were nonresident members of the LaSalle County Historical Society, area tourism boosters, and business owners, all of whom had concern about one particular item on the agenda: the historical society's request for funding of their annual Burgoo Festival. The meeting proceeded as usual and the Historical Society representatives made their request.

As the committee was deliberating about how much funding to offer the society, a nonresident tourism booster and historical society member asked a nearby resident business owner about meeting protocol and whether she could speak. The business owner replied that there is no protocol and moments later she stood and addressed the committee, disputing their suggestions regarding vendors' fees and detailing the festival's positive economic impact on the village. The nonresident booster and a committee member began to debate the issue and, moments later, another nonresident business owner and tourism booster said that the village would not exist without tourism. While the two nonresident tourism boosters debated with the one committee member, another committee member wrote on a tablet of paper and the third covered her face with her hands and shook her head. The president silently looked on.

The discussion increased in intensity and additional representatives from the historical society, tourism boosters, and business owners interjected from their seats. As the conversation began to die down, another nonresident local business representative stood and asked if she could address the committee, to which the president replied flatly, "What do you need?" The representative discussed the possibility of the event moving to another more supportive location while the one committee member continued taking notes and the other continued rubbing her head and covering her face with her hands. The third committee member and the president continued discussing the issue with the group.

The president finally offered a conciliatory apology for the town's inability to offer more financial support and it seemed that the committee would finally be able to move on to a decision. However, the committee member who had been covering her face with her hands then expressed her love of the event and the historical society and, moments later, another nonresident tourism booster stood and empathized with the constraints surrounding the committee's decision. He said that he only hoped they would decide to support the event as substantially as possible. The village president reemphasized the village's desire to give more and the note-taking committee member made a motion: the committee should recommend that the village offer more support than the previous year but less than the historical society had requested. When the motion carried, the majority of those sitting in general seating area left the building.

Unscheduled Participation: Event Organizing and Informal Coalitions

Individuals participated in tourism development in the village through two, additional, unscheduled means: 1) organizing events in the village and 2) organizing informal interest groups to address particular concerns outside of official public participation. Three business owners are responsible for organizing and executing three of the four main events that took place during my fieldwork: the St. Patrick's Day Parade, Mardi Gras Parade, and Nouveaux Wine Festival. Each of the event organizers solicited aid from residents, business owners or the village board, obtained permission from the village board, and through their efforts brought tourists into the downtown. Though the events may receive approval or even financial support from the village, it is not necessarily the case that the village board or any other official group from the village has input into the planning or execution of the event. For instance, the Annual Mardi Gras Parade was spearheaded by one business owner, who handled all of the planning, organization, original financing and execution of the event with the aid of a select few who were personally recruited by the business owner-in-charge. As one of those recruited for aid, the event organizer told me that help from other groups was unwanted because the business owner's expectations

for the event were exact, unwavering, and a potential source of unnecessary conflict. The business owner

made it clear that, to be maximally authentic, the event required a certain aesthetic, sequence of events,

and adherence to specific rules. The event organizer explained that potential objections to those standards

were most easily avoided by limiting the number and selection of helpers. Hence, though costs for the

event were partially reimbursed by the village government, the entire event was conceived, planned, and

administrated by one business owner. Similarly, several other business owners and the Utica Bar

Association planned and executed the St. Patrick's Day Parade and Nouveau Wine Festival.

In addition to event development, on at least two occasions, informal, ad-hoc interest groups were

formed by individuals, primarily business owners, to address tourism concerns. In one significant

instance, after the Governmental Affairs Committee meeting described above, many residents and

business owners were debating appropriate village funding of the Burgoo Festival. Fearing relocation of

the festival due to funding disagreements between the historical society and the village board, one

business owner called an impromptu "emergency meeting" of many of the local business owners.

Although I was told that the meeting would occur, I was explicitly asked not to attend. The meeting

organizer assured me she would tell me what happened during the meeting after it ended. She feared that

the presence of any non-business owner, including me, might make those who did attend feel

uncomfortable. The organizer feared that the presence of any non-business owner might discomfort those

in attendance. This group discussed how to help the historical society raise money, especially for the

Burgoo Festival. The group drafted a letter to the historical society's administrative board and

participated in a joint meeting with that group. According to both business owners and historical society

board members, this method of participation had a significant impact upon the historical society's

decision to keep the festival in the village for that year. In the second instance, an informal association of

business owners whose establishments lie on the south end of the village gathered periodically to discuss

how to increase business in their portion of town and to partner in their participation in village festivities, e.g. sharing the costs of parade floats.

Participation by Invitation: The Bar Association and County Marketing Coalition

Two additional organizations are not open to the public and have recruited or invited members: the Utica Bar Association (UBA) and the LaSalle County Marketing Coalition. The UBA is an association of area drinking establishments. It holds regular, private meetings, is responsible for organizing the annual Christmas Walk and Pub Crawl, and is involved with several additional events throughout the year. The LaSalle County Marketing Coalition was organized by a tourism director for a nearby town and an area tourism and real estate developer. The coalition is comprised of representatives of all major towns, tourist destinations, and tourism-related organizations in the county, most of whom were recruited by the founding members. The coalition holds closed meetings each month and is responsible for organizing county marketing campaigns, as well as advising the La Salle County Tourism Committee which events' advertising costs the county should support through pillow tax monies. The coalition periodically invites the village board to participate in cooperative marketing campaigns. The regular meetings of the UBA and LaSalle County Marketing Coalition are advertised only to those who are invited to attend or who request and are given permission to attend.

Professional Participation: The CCA and HCCVB

With tenuous ties to the village, the Canal Corridor Association (CCA) is a professionally staffed, regional organization responsible for developing and maintaining the I&M canal as a tourist destination. The CCA periodically asks the village for its support (financial or otherwise) in developing various aspects of the canal for tourism. The Heritage Corridor Convention and Visitor's Bureau (HCCVB) is the agency responsible for marketing and advertising the region surrounding the I&M Canal. The HCCVB is also professionally staffed and maintains a visitor's center on the north side of the village. The HCCVB

periodically asks the village to support events that take place in the I&M Canal Corridor and offers the opportunity for the village to participate in regional marketing campaigns.

<u>Unofficial, Unscheduled, Informal Participation?: The Rumors</u>

During my time in the village, I was told of two additional ways that people participate in decision making about economic development and tourism in the village. The first was through unofficial discussion by the trustees, president, clerk, and attorney during the "Executive Session" portion of the trustees' meetings. As no one other than the trustees, president, clerk, and attorney were allowed into those sessions, I was unable to verify that such discussions took place. However, it was suggested on more than one occasion that discussions were had and decisions made during those sessions that the rest of the community were not allowed to witness. The second form of such participation was through participation in what might be called "after meetings." During fieldwork, I was repeatedly told that after trustees and committee meetings, several of the attendees would meet at a local pub to socialize and continue discussion of what occurred at the meetings. I was only invited to one such gathering and, upon my arrival at the pub, the person who invited me explained that the group must have decided to skip the "after meeting" that night. I was not invited to another. In both cases, those who spoke of these supposed unofficial "meetings" were suspicious of them and their consequences. However, I did not witness either and, therefore, cannot substantiate the validity of their existence or their consequences.

Summary

Following the logic of participatory economic development, the planning documents for the Village of North Utica emphasize the importance of economic growth, competition with other communities, and the role that tourism development can play in the community's pursuit of economic development. In addition, most of the village's planning documents were formed with solicited public input of one sort or another and emphasize the need for stakeholder involvement in future decisions

within the village. On paper, the community conforms to the prevailing trends within the urban planning and economic development disciplines.

Participation in tourism planning in the village can be formal or informal in nature. The town has made public participation in planning and decision making part of formal governmental proceedings, though the final decision making power lies in the hands of the traditional, elected officials. There is no systematic method outlined in the official planning documents or in the meeting procedures for how citizen input will be incorporated into the Village Board of Trustees' decisions, and people are given regular opportunity to offer their input into the decision making processes through solicitation of "Public Comment." In most instances, those that do participate in tourism planning processes tend to do so out of political, personal, or financial interests in the matter. To better comprehend the reasons behind these patterns, in the next two chapters, I present host perspectives on participation in tourism planning processes and tourism development in the town. In Chapter 4, I answer two questions: 1) What motivates people to participate in tourism planning in the village? and 2) What discourages their participation?

Chapter 4: Professed Factors that Influence Participation

In this chapter, I describe the factors that the individuals I interviewed said influence their participation. To comprehend encouraging and discouraging factors, I divided the interview respondents into three groups: 1) participants: those who were currently participating in Utica's tourism planning processes, as elected or appointed officials, committee members or by attending or participating in any of the meetings described in the previous chapter (n=28); 2) former participants: those who had been participants in the past but were no longer participating (n=11); and 3) nonparticipants: those who had not participated at any time in tourism planning and decision making (n=14). I looked to participants and former participants (n= 39) for insight into the salient factors that encouraged individual participation and former participants and nonparticipants (n= 25) to grasp the salient factors that discouraged participation. Thematic content analysis of interview transcripts by respondent subgroups revealed that the salience of factors varied with individuals' financial interests in local tourism (n=24).

In this chapter, I discuss the salient factors that encouraged and discouraged participation across the sample and specific subgroups of sample (Table 3). Among those interviewed, three salient factors encouraged participation: 1) community concern; 2) a personal interest in participation; and 3) having been invited to participate. For those who were directly financially impacted by tourism, a business interest was the most salient encouraging factor. Regardless of one's relationship to tourism, the most salient discouraging factors were an aversion to social cliques and power struggles and a lack of time to devote to participation. For those with a direct financial relationship to tourism, the perception that participation is inefficient or ineffectual was the second most salient discouraging factor. For those without a direct financial interest in tourism, a sense of volunteer burnout was also a salient discouraging factor.

Table 3: Salient Factors that Influence Participation in Tourism Planning

	Direct Interest in Tourism (n= 24)	No Direct Interest in Tourism (n= 29)
Encouraging Factors among Participants and Former Participants (n= 39)	• **Community Concern** • **Personal Interest** • **Invitation** • **Business Interest***	• **Community Concern** • **Personal Interest** • **Invitation**
Discouraging Factors among Former Participants and Nonparticipants (n= 25)	• **Distaste for Cliques and Power Struggles** • **Lack of Time** • **Ineffective***	• **Distaste for Cliques and Power Struggles** • **Lack of Time** • **Volunteer Burnout***
*= factors that are unique to a given subgroup		

Factors That Encourage Participation in Utica

Community Concern

A sense of concern for the village community was a salient factor encouraging respondents to participate, regardless of their relationship to tourism. This concern ranged from a desire to do something beneficial for the village to a desire to "build community" within the town. Community concern was expressed through attempts to beautify the village, obtain infrastructural improvements, and expand the number of celebratory and tourist events. Many of the business owners who expressed community concern are either new residents or nonresidents. One nonresident developer explained:

> The nice thing about what we do is that we can help towns save themselves, help save the schools and this is a fun thing for us…especially if you grew up in a smaller town.…[To be doing something] that makes a difference in peoples' lives….[W]e add to employment in heavily unemployed areas.…[I]f you look…you'll see the unemployment history in the village of Utica… and you can see how disastrous it was and we've turned that around, I mean, dramatically around. (Interview 11/02/06)

One interviewee explained that his business was economic development for Utica and the surrounding area. He wanted visitors to come and spend money in the community—such "additional" monies are an obvious asset to the village.

Community concern was also a primary factor encouraging participation for those not working in the tourism industry. One lifelong resident described an event that he participated in for many years:

We used to have an organization in Utica called the Old Timers, which had no officers, no bylaws, no rules, and no organization. It was just the Old Timers and the Old Timers were responsible for starting the pig roast. So, once a year we would have a pig roast over at the ball diamond and the money that we got from the pig roast would be used for improvements at the ball park….It was a wonderful thing and that was all done by the money that the Old Timers raised and volunteer labor from the Old Timers because a lot of them were by trade cement finishers and carpenters and electricians and roofers and so forth….Every person in town had to make the pig roast. If you didn't, they wouldn't even bury you here when you died. (Interview 9/27/06)

Another resident explained that her involvement in local tourism planning and governance resulted from a sense of gratitude toward the community:

After we had our tornado in 2004, it seemed to me that there was money and things weren't getting cleaned up the way I thought they should. I felt that this community was so good to me and to my family and it's such a wonderful place to bring up children and I wanted to give something back to the community. (Interview 9/28/06)

Similarly, one new-resident couple accounted for their involvement by telling me:

[He:] It's fun and it's a wonderful community. A lot of communities guard their power structures in a very tight manner. Utica is overall very open. There is access.…[B]eing part of Utica, it's a lot of fun.

[She:] It's rewarding to give something back and you feel like you're helping. You're helping to achieve something and make things better. (Interview 2-10-07)

Invitation

An invitation to participate was also a salient encourager of participation. While some respondents were asked to spearhead event planning or develop tourism development strategies, others were asked to contribute their professional expertise or personal knowledge to a specific organization or event. For instance, one business owner was specifically recruited to the special events committee because of his many years of business-experience; another was asked to contribute her professional expertise on tourism and destination development to public hearings about the potential impact of proposed local industrial developments. A marketing professional was asked by a regional organization to organize a workshop to help Uticans promote their town and increase local "hospitality." The planning commission, special events committee, and marketing coalition were all formed through invitation. The

mayor who formed the original planning commission is reported to have personally invited the original commissioners. As one respondent put it:

> [A]t the time, we'd never had a planning commission in Utica, [and the mayor at that time] had a concern that our growth was such that our ordinances for zoning and other things were very poor, in terms of being old and needing updating. We had no comprehensive plan, which is what a planning commission usually does, and he felt there was a need to start a planning commission.…[R]ather than…choose people that have lived here forever, he [took] an opposite tact and instead looked to new people who were coming in the area that might have some special expertise. For instance, there are several realtors on the commission and initially there was an engineer, a CPA, [and a] lawyer …[and they] were almost all new people to the area. (Interview 2/28/07)

Several of the special events committee members were invited by the local business owner who was responsible for forming it, while others were invited by friends. One special events committee member explained that she had met a friend through her work with the Utica Garden Club and the friend was working with the special events committee and invited her to join. The LaSalle County Marketing Coalition is also comprised of individuals whose participation was solicited by the original organizing members: representatives from local destinations, individuals working to develop tourism in La Salle County municipalities, and representatives from the local convention center and visitors' bureau.

Personal Interests

Personal interests were also salient motivators for individual participation in tourism planning. The nature of this personal interest included specific community concerns, such as getting an ambulance service, protesting water meter installation or grain bin construction, or to address specific community needs. For instance, one resident became involved when the village lacked a clerk and another because it needed another trustee. Some became involved because they wanted to encourage change in some specific aspect of local government or tourism planning, while one business owner remains involved to monitor how Utica's hotel/motel taxes are spent. One respondent participates because he wants to facilitate more functional relations between the village and the fire district.

Others participate out of more individualistic interests such as enjoyment of particular holidays or general event planning, a desire to preserve local history, and even an all-purpose interest in gardening. Some individuals pointed to their personal interest as a germinating force behind their organization of local events, while others' personal interests lead to their involvement in some already-established organization or event. Others have an intense interest in facilitating tourism growth in the area. One nonresident explained: "I have a passion for tourism in Utica....I've said many times that this is the love of my life….Twenty-something years ago I was down here trying to promote Utica to do something" (Interview 1/24/07). Some residents combined their personal interests and skills to develop local events. As one resident explained: "We are into cars and there was a need for an activity that would bring men and women and kids that wasn't totally related to a beer garden. And we've been to a lot of car shows and knew we could pull one off" (Interview 1/08/07).

While some said their personal interest connected them to work in tourism and, thereby, participation in the town's tourism planning, others became involved as a result of their personal interest in volunteerism or helping their fellow community members. A couple explained that they simply enjoy volunteerism and, therefore, participate in a wide range of village activities such as meetings, events, and aspects of "destination development" (Interview 9/28/06). A long-term resident said she became involved because, "It's kind of fun. You work really hard at it and you see it come together and you see the benefits from the event and you have a good feeling about it" (Interview 1/08/07). For others, the thrill of social drama keeps their interest in participating. One resident became involved in local governance not only to address a specific need but also to satisfy his curiosity and desire to do something "fun and challenging" (Interview 2/20/07). He said of his participation in village government activities, "It's like following a TV series or Days of Our Lives" (ibid.). Another resident justified her participation saying, "I'm interested in the village and I come from a family that's been involved in politics. It's something I've known all of my life" (Interview 12/19/06).

<u>Business Interest</u>

For those who are directly and financially affected by tourism, the most salient factor that encouraged participation in tourism planning was a business interest in tourism or its continued expansion. Several business owners point to their business interest as the rationale behind development of local festivals, such as the Mardi Gras celebration, St. Patrick's Day festivities, the Nouveaux Wine Festival, and Christmas Walk, all of which were started by individual business owners or an association of business owners. In addition, a business interest not only encourages people to organize local events but encourages involvement in local government activities. One business owner explained that, through attending village governmental meetings:

> I [met] everyone and let them know that I wanted to be involved and…help the place to grow in a contained but progressive manner. So, I attended a lot of the meetings. I attended all the City Council meetings that had anything to do with tourism and growth and I wanted to be informed about what was going on and also to see what impact it would have on my business and the decisions I would have to make relative to those decisions that were being made by the Village council. (Interview 9/28/06)

Another business owner explained that by attending meetings one could demonstrate to local residents and Village board members that "I'm not that…outsider that's just going to run a business and run away. I'm going to be here" (Interview 10/17/06). Many of the business owners in Utica became and remained involved in local tourism planning because, as a business owner put it:

> We push events and tourism because it affects our business. It affects our money. Unless there were village board members whose businesses were affected by tourism in a positive way, they're not going to spend their energy [developing tourism]. I wouldn't either....I wouldn't spend my energy on that, unless I had nothing else to do, which I know they all have other things to do because they probably have other jobs. (Interview 1/26/07)

In addition, for those who perceive a potential business threat from the Village Board of Trustees, participation in local governance is a means to protect their interests. According to a business owner:

> If there is a request coming up that I know they are going to deny [then I go to meetings]. There are a couple members of the board that seem to think that the businesses are detrimental to the city and don't want to cooperate with any of our requests. If an individual business goes to the village board, they have an extreme problem getting them

to agree with it…to acknowledge their application....[N]umbers tend to make them listen just a little bit more. (Interview 10/17/06)

Another connected the influence of a business interest in tourism planning with a sense of community concern. While explaining the success of the local Mardi Gras and St. Patrick's Day festivals, this business owner explained:

> Interestingly enough…the Mardi Gras was the brainchild of a local businesswoman. She came up with the idea to do it, organized it, whipped everyone into shape, got everyone enthused, sourced out for all kinds of great materials to throw to the crowds and she did a marvelous job and it was the initiative of one person that people gravitated toward and it created a community event that people liked and wanted to repeat and it keeps getting bigger and bigger and better and better all the time. It's the same thing with the St. Patty's day parade….One individual comes up with an idea that not only benefits his or her own business but also the community, as a whole, as long as they extend that invitation to participate to all of the members of the community. It becomes an inclusive thing and when you become inclusive that creates community. (Interview 9/28/06)

Factors that Discourage Participation

Aversion to Social Cliques and Power Struggles

An aversion to the unofficial group alliances that exert local social, political, or financial power and the associated conflicts was a salient deterrent of individual participation in tourism planning. This sentiment ranged from a general perspective that "small town government sucks" to disliking certain specific aspects of local social dynamics. A lifelong resident told me:

> Well, at least when we were on the board, we were pretty independent. There were a lot of split votes and so forth. Now, of course, you know what the vote is going to be. You don't even have to go. All you have to do is look at the agenda and go, "Oh, that's six to nothing." Well, we used to have discussions and some pretty heated ones but now they're afraid to discuss….They don't want to turn down something or they don't want to upset some developer. Why go there and fight for two hours? You've got to have somebody who says flat out, "I don't give a damn what you think." He probably won't change anything but at least there will be a voice there. (Interview 9/27/06)

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While some would just rather not deal with local social conflicts, others have been offended by their sense of being excluded. A nonresident with an interest in tourism development explained: "It's a bad taste in my mouth as far as the cliques not wanting to make people feel a part of things" (Interview 1/28/07).

One couple explained that they do not work with the historical society because: "We feel like they're focused on social status. If you join the museum board, you're joining for the social status that you gain, not that you're interested in history" (Interview 9/17/06). A lifelong resident echoed: "I have a bad outlook on all of that because it always gets back around to who is in the clique" (Interview 10/29/07). Still others wish to avoid the social conflict that comes with participation. A long-term resident explained her reluctance to become involved:

> To participate would mean that everyone would know your opinion and arguing with your husband is one thing but arguing with the whole town—I don't think I could handle that….[If my opinion] was to offend anybody—and it probably would—I just would rather avoid that. So, I don't get involved. (Interview 2/23/07)

Perceived Ineffectiveness

Another salient inhibitor was associated with this aversion to social cliques and power struggles: the sense that participation was a waste of one's time or energy. As a local businesswoman explained:

> It doesn't make a difference. I feel like it doesn't make a difference. I think most things are cut and dried before you even get there and if not they have those little closed door sessions that decide what's going to be done and what's not going to be done. (Interview 9/27/06)

Another business owner explained: "I don't belong to organizations and stuff like that because of the fact that I'm a great believer that there has never been a meeting held anywhere that has amounted to shit" (Interview 2/07/07). Another told of trying to help the other local businesses with some advertising opportunities and being rejected. He explained: "At that point, I said, 'I'm not wasting my time. I'm not giving my energy. I have my own business to mind and that's what I do'" (Interview 2/09/07). He continued:

There is a big difference between profit and nonprofit in tourism. If you're a salaried person, you might have a certain philosophy or attitude, but you're getting a salary anyway. But, if you're a business owner in tourism, you're not going to waste a lot of time volunteering, doing unnecessary things that aren't going to have an impact on your business.…[I]f I'm just a volunteer board member working for X-agency, then I can…make my recommendations and give you my opinions and whether it works or not, I will be ok. If you're in the tourism business for profit, for survival, you can't make too many mistakes or you're gone…So, I'm not going to be foolish with my time, my money, and my events. (ibid.)

Some individuals connected the "waste of participation" to the way local politics play out. A business-owning couple told of making several efforts to participate in a local organization and promote the local businesses and having those efforts thwarted. In response to that experience they decided: "'We've been there. We've done that. We're done.' That's what happens. You come in as a newcomer and after a couple of years you're like 'Ugh, I don't want to be bothered'" (Interview 9/17/06).

Lack of Time

Lack of time was one of the most salient factors cited for failure to participate. In general, this lack of time was associated with work and family obligations. Many businesses are "single proprietorships." That is, one person owns and runs the business, whether it's a restaurant, gift shop, or other business. In many instances, the owners came from dual income households and several business owners are nonresidents who must commute to work each day. A nonresident business owner explained:

Whoever has been participating is working a full-time job. So, [participation] is always extra.…I'd rather spend most of my free time with my family than doing work. So, it's really hard for me to get down here. I try to do everything during the day if I can. There aren't enough hours in the day, so I have to prioritize what I do. (Interview 1/26/07)

Another echoed: "I don't have the time. I have a wife and four kids that are 70 miles from here. That's two hours a day of driving. On top of that, I own a company that distributes nationally and I'm president of [a professional organization]. So, I don't have a lot of time for things" (Interview 2/06/07).

Even for those who do not own local businesses a lack of time weighed heavily on their ability to participate. One single, childless resident in his mid-20s explained the situation thus:

Once in a blue moon I go but it depends on what's on the agenda…[G]enerally, it's more time than I want to spend on it. When I was at school, I was not up here. I was gone from Monday through Thursday and I'd be back Friday, Saturday, and Sunday. And it was time to make some money so that I could go to school. I didn't have free time….[W]orking up in the city, when I was up there full time, I was gone from 8:00 in the morning until about 9:30 at night Monday through Friday and that just took the life out of me and that's how it is for a lot of the people up where I live. A lot of them are union workers and there's no work down here for them….There's nothing. Everything is going up in the city and, yes, the city is coming this way but they have to go up there and it's the same thing as with me. (Interview 10/28/06)

A retired, long-term resident clarified:

I haven't really had time to get involved.…Six kids will keep you busy and then the grandkids you babysit and stuff like that. Then I used to, for five years, go down to the church once a week and we'd make raviolis and I took care of my elderly mother. So, there was quite a bit to keep you busy. (Interview 1/22/07)

One resident and mother of adult children explained that even before one has grandchildren and elder-

care responsibilities, participation can be difficult to manage:

I have to get up at three in the morning and I'm in bed…by 7:30. I don't go to a lot of the meetings and stuff because they're always past my bedtime.…[W]hen the kids were in school it was the school that you were involved in. Now that the kids are grown and gone, we're just looking forward to retirement. Maybe then we can get more involved in things and have the time for it. Right now, we have no time for anything. Our whole life is centered around our jobs. (Interview 2/23/07)

Volunteer Burnout

Those without an interest in tourism were often dissuaded from participation by volunteer

burnout. A former village trustee explained: "[T]here is only so much you can take of that…eight years is

enough" (Interview 9/27/06). One nonresident and former volunteer described understaffed events and

exhausted volunteers: "This is not volunteerism. This is stupid" (Interview 10/31/06). He continued:

[I]f you get a group of volunteers and you don't donate a couple hundred dollars for their "volunteering," then they're never coming back again. Volunteerism here is dwindling partially because, in my opinion, there is just so much need for "volunteerism." I think they need to understand that. Any organization needs to understand that. If you do certain things, you might burn people out and, if you want to keep them, then you have to do something to keep them and if you don't you will lose them. (ibid.)

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Freedom from participation and volunteer burnout were described by one resident in this way: "When you can wake up in the morning and say, '[W]hat am I going to do today?' that's a good day. Rather than saying, 'Ah, Christ, I have to do this" (Interview 2/27/07). A former village trustee explained his experience:

> It's hardly worth it to get some of the petty complaints that you get or some of the irrational things you get asked to fix that you have no possibility of fixing. As an example, I came home from my father's wake. Now, this is Utica. Everybody knows what's going on. My dad lived here for 76 years. Everybody knew what was going on and the phone rang. "Hello. Yeah." "There've been a couple dogs running through my back yard. Are you going to do anything about that?" "Yeah, I'll take care of it tomorrow." It was absolute goofiness. (Interview 9/27/06)

Another former participant was reluctant to become involved again: "I don't want that. I don't want the headaches that they've started over there, the mess that gets handed to the next person" (Interview 2/27/07).

Summary

Participants are frequently motivated by specific personal and business interests; others because they were asked or invited to do so. The rest do so out of a sense of concern for the community. Sometimes those individual or self-interests conjoin with the communitarian values to produce a dually motivated participation. But not all Uticans participate in local decision making. For some, the social, political, and financial pressures and conflicts inherent in the social politics of the community are too much to bear for the sake of participation. For those with a business interest in tourism development, one's inability or desire to avoid "wasting" time or energy on an ineffectual or inefficient participatory endeavor hinders their participation. Others simply do not have schedules that allow them to devote the required time for participation. Obligations to work, family, or congregation crowd out the responsibility of political or civic engagement. Hence, while Uticans have their reasons for not participating, those reasons leave participation to those with specific or financial interests in decisions, and those who have

been elected, appointed, or invited to participate in the decision making processes. But the question

remains: Does this participation do what participation is purported to do? Specifically, is participation in

tourism planning associated with consensus about tourism development in the village?

Chapter 5: Perspectives on Tourism Development

What follows is my answer to Chambers' (1997) call for incorporation of "local voices" into examinations of participatory tourism development. In this chapter, I explore the salient perspectives on tourism development in the Village of North Utica and some variations in those perspectives. Analysis of interview transcripts demonstrated that tourism is commonly perceived to have a variety of positive and negative impacts. There are also some subgroup variations in perspective that seem to be associated with direct financial interest in tourism development, the location and length of residence in the village, and participation in tourism planning processes. I begin with discussion of tourism's perceived costs.

The Costs of Tourism in the Village of North Utica

Participants throughout the sample acknowledged that tourism development has negative impacts upon the Village of North Utica. The most salient cost was stress on infrastructure and an increased demand for services. A local EMS volunteer explained:

> The lovely people from Chicago who walk on asphalt all day come down here to the parks. They have no idea how to walk on trails or bother to stay on the trails….So, when somebody falls or gets hurt at the park, it's nobody local. It's somebody that has never been to a park. (Interview 1/30/07)

As one life-long resident put it:

> [T]he bigger this place gets the more it's going to cost….[Y]ou're going to have to hire full time firemen….You're going to have to hire full time police men. The sewage treatment plant is not going to be able to handle [the increased demand]…You're going to have to put up a new treatment plant. (Interview 9/27/06)

Another oft-heard complaint regards the traffic and congestion that tourism brings. Many cited examples from local festivals, such as the Burgoo Festival, and motorcyclists cruising through the area on a sunny weekend. While eating lunch at a local restaurant during the spring, a waitress complained to me about the tourists and, while watching a group of children roam the streets, exclaimed: "Why don't they

just go back up to Grand Bear?!" A village trustee told of a relative's recent visit to the village: "We went uptown and she said, 'What's going on?' There were no parking places uptown and I said, 'There's nothing going on today. This is just Friday'" (Interview 9/28/06). Despite his conviction that tourism is "what our town was meant to be," one former resident and government official explained that he would not want to live in Utica now that tourism is increasing. He explained, "I like the quiet. I like the space. I like the room. I don't want to feel everyday that if I'm going to move out in public that I don't want to deal with it—the crowds, the people, the congestion" (Interview 7/24/06).

Increased property values and taxes were also common concerns. One business owner described the situation:

> We haven't seen any real expansion around here. Once some of this stuff comes in, it's just going to get worse. I'm talking about prices and local people. I think a lot of people are going to leave Utica that just live in a house because of the prices. A lot of people came to Utica because everything was cheap in Utica. It's going to go the other way now because of tourism and values going up. (Interview 9/17/06)

She went on to explain that many people leave "Chicagoland" and find local real estate prices very reasonable, while local residents find themselves unable to compete with exurbanites' higher incomes and cash assets. A business owner added: "Everything costs more. The price of land is silly around here. It's not even rational. It's so expensive" (Interview 2/06/07). During morning coffee on a fall day, some area residents discussed tourism and one exclaimed: "They're going to tax us right out of here!" (Fieldnotes 6/20/06).

Tourism is often recognized as a source of resentment. A lifelong resident explained: "One of the great tourism stories, as far as I'm concerned, is that you go into [a local grocery store] or [a local restaurant] and the first sign you see is, 'No checks, no credit cards.' Well, welcome tourists!" (Interview 9/27/06). A long-term resident explained that "the average Utican resents the invasion of these tourists...the common terminology around burgoo-time is 'the pillage of the village'" (Interview Transcripts 9/28/06). A business owner expanded the theme:

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[Utica residents] are used to their quiet little town and would prefer it to stay a quiet little town where they have the say in everything and I think they feel like they're losing control because there are people with more money and more power coming in and I think they're afraid that the village government is going to listen to them more than they're going to listen to the people that have been here because they're not as powerful. (Interview 9/28/06)

Some business owners complain that many businesses do not want to remain open long enough on enough days during the week. One business owner explained:

The people that don't want to stay open more days and more hours are generally a husband and wife that run the place and don't want to spend 18 hours per day in the shop and don't want to have to hire someone else to keep it open.…For very small shops,…[t]hey can't afford to hire additional staff to stay open those hours. (Interview 10/17/06)

But others worry that resultant irregular business hours cause tourists to have inconsistently positive experiences in Utica's downtown, a sort of "hit-or-miss" shopping experience, which may reduce the number of repeat visitors.

Subgroup Variation in Perceived Costs

Participants

For participants in tourism development planning, the contentious nature of tourism as a local topic for discussion was a salient concern. This perception may be associated with the resentments and inequities described above but as a planning commissioner explained:

It's unrealistic to assume that there is just one "feeling" [about tourism].…For years…one of my friends [would ask], "Is the 'Tourism Sucks' sign, still at the corner of so-and-so?" Somebody had done a hand painted sign on a piece of plywood right at one of the major corners where people turn that just said, "Tourism Sucks." For whatever reason, this person didn't want to have the people come through and it was sort of an embarrassing looking thing and it's not up there anymore, but obviously that person lives here and didn't care for tourism. Well, there's a good group of those people that say, "Just leave me alone, I never want anything to change in Utica." There are other people that are here that don't care about the old times and want to make it in the style of what they want and I think that's wrong, too. I think we have to honor the old and be realistic about the new. (Interview 2/28/07)

Whether such contention revolved around governmental funding of local events or how much the village

spends on marketing and beautifying the town, those who participate in tourism planning processes

agreed that attitudes toward tourism there can be passionate, widely varied, and controversial. As one

business owner predicted:

> Utica will never do anything, not that it should…because that involves someone having
> an opinion and saying, "we should do something," which would immediately be shot
> down in Utica because no one's in the middle. Everyone is on far opposite corners on
> every issue and no one's ever in the middle. (Interview 2/06/07)

Those without Direct Interest in Tourism

Individuals without a direct financial interest in tourism voiced concern that the costs and benefits

of tourism may not be equally distributed among those invested in the village. For many, tourism appears

to cater to non-residents more than residents. A former village official said:

> If the people down here have to pay excessive taxes to support those things because [the
> tourists] are getting things free, that's not right. That's why a lot of people will oppose
> expansion and tourism expansion, because it costs more money. That's the bottom line.
> (Interview 7/24/06)

A new resident explained: "I think you have to strike a balance between having a community for the

people that live here and a community that welcomes people coming through, and I think that's always

going to be a challenge" (Interview 2/28/07). According to a trustee:

> We have a lot more problems in this town than promoting tourism to put our money on.
> The water system, that is something we have to get done.…That's a little bit more
> important than putting [money] on the Mardi Gras parade, from my point of view,
> because you are servicing the tax payers of this town and that should be our first and
> foremost concern. (Interview 2/20/07)

A local official clarified: "One of the downsides of tourism is that it is transient and it is not about people

who live in this community and stay in this community and care about this community. They're just

passing through." (Interview 1/22/07). A life-long resident lamented tourism's demands on local services

and explained:

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[A]ll of that "new tax money" is going to be eaten up and then some. There's a price to be paid. Nothing is free and growth is not free. This is not cutting a fat hog in the ass by any manner or means because another subdivision goes up or another business comes in and this whole tourism thing…doesn't do me any good. It's doing 15 people who own shops…some good. So, the whole hullabaloo about "Let's make this a tourist town" is for the benefit of 25 people. (Interview 9/27/06)

Those without a direct interest in tourism are also concerned about the unpredictable nature of the industry. Some pointed out the seasonality of the industry and others emphasized how rapidly people can lose interest in a given tourist attraction. Regardless of the cause, individuals expressed concern about how those working in tourism will maintain their livelihoods in the long term and for how long the village will be able to rely on tourism monies to support infrastructural works. A long-term resident explained: "You don't know what you're going to get. Maybe last year was a very good year and this is a better year and next year will not be a good year. There is no consistency." (Interview 9/28/06). Another highlighted the cyclical nature of tourism in the area and explained that hope for a "tourism boom" arises whenever something new comes into town, although one has never actually occurred. Two new residents explained:

He: Tourism helped build this town but the town can't live off tourism. It won't grow off of tourism because there's just not enough money there.

She: There's no predictability. Tourism is not predictable steady income whereas industry is more, it's not very predictable, but it's more predictable…

He: …with tourism it's all dependent on the weather and the politics and what's going on and let's face it when the gas prices got way up there people weren't driving. (Interview 1/09/07)

Even a local business owner who relies heavily on tourism for his income acknowledged: "Tourism is an elusive thing." (Interview 2/07/07).

Downhillers

Many residents who live "down off the hill" lamented tourism's contribution to a lost sense of community identity. While a business owner and Village worker asserted that it was a matter of local

residents fearing the loss of places they consider "their niche," others described a weakening of social

bonds between residents:

> There are people in town now that live here and I think they're tourists because we've
> had such an influx of people up on "snob-knob" that you see them and you say, "Geez,
> are they from Utica or not?"….[B]ack in the good old days, we knew a lot of
> people….[Y]ou knew all the kids then….There are people on my street and I don't even
> know their last name. (Interview 9/27/06)

Another lifelong resident poignantly expressed the difference between the experiences and relationships

of those who have spent most of their lives in the village and those that are coming as a result of tourism:

> I've been here for 55 years and, of course, everything changes in 55 years. It's not as
> quiet as it used to be, which I don't think is a bad thing either….[T]he only thing that
> bothers me is that it becomes all about the money. It's just all about the money….[A
> local business woman] and I were sitting in a restaurant talking and [she] was talking to
> [the owner of the indoor water park] and she said something to the effect of, "Well, the
> people in this town just better get used to it. There is change coming and they might as
> well get on the band wagon or get the hell out"….Well, I grew up in an apartment
> downtown and I grew up with [another family that lived downtown]. I remember when
> [their oldest son] was drafted into Vietnam. One day while [he] was home on leave, I
> was sitting in the alley behind the apartments and I said, "I'll see you when you get
> back."   [The soldier] said, "I'm not coming back." A month later, I was outside at the
> drinking fountain on the corner and I watched the car with the officers pull up and heard
> [the mother of the soldier screaming.] You know, the people that come here for the
> money didn't go through all of that shit….But you let go of it. It's just a part of life.
> (Interview 10/29/06)

The Benefits of Tourism in the Village of North Utica

A salient theme in discussions of tourism development in the Village of North Utica is that it has

benefits for the town, which range broadly from bringing interesting people to town to the funding of

curb-repairs. However, two sorts of benefit were most salient: 1) increased tax monies and 2) a stronger

or increased local business district. Many of the infrastructural concerns discussed above were abated for

those supportive of tourism development since, as one long-term resident explained: "If people are

stopping, we've got their money and you've got the infrastructure dollars [to accommodate it]" (Interview

1/08/07). As a planning commissioner explained: "Tourism development supplies, through tax monies,

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monies that will allow the village to add amenities or improve their amenities" (Interview 2/28/07).

Another long-term resident said: "I suppose tourism is good. It brings revenue into the town, money from

the Grand Bear and everything. It will help us maybe lower our taxes" (Interview 1/22/07). A village

trustee told me:

> As far as hotel/motel tax goes,…[i]t can be used for infrastructure, improvement of the streets or sewage disposal plant, beautification of the community, those types of things…without raising people's taxes because we would be able to use the money that's…coming from tourists because they're being charged a tax when they go to Grand Bear or when they go to the bed and breakfast places....I guess it's a never ending circle. In order to be able to do things for the community, you have to bring in the tourists. In order to bring in the tourists, you have to do things that improve the community….one feeds off of the other. (Interview 9/28/06)

> The potential for increased tax monies is associated with tourism's contribution to the business

district. One resident explained that tourism is important:

> for viable dollars to the businesses. If you don't have customers and you don't have people stopping, you don't have the money. If you can't capture them and you can't get them here, what good is a tourist? We need their money. (Interview 1/08/07)

Another resident noted:

> If we don't have tourism, we're a dead dog. We're going to be a residential bed community. A bedroom community is all we are going to be. We won't have any industry. If we don't have the tourism, we don't have anything. (Interview 9/28/06)

> For many, having vibrant downtown businesses is central to having a vibrant community. Thus,

many believe that if the businesses are sustained by tourists, then tourism is good for the village. In

essence, many argue that what is good for businesses is good for the village:

> [They] promote tourism…for a twofold reason—if [tourists] spend money, it's the sales tax and if they stay overnight it's the pillow tax and now that we are home-rule that money helps infrastructure of Utica. So, you have the infrastructure being enhanced and we need the money for the sewage disposal plant and our water lines and things of that nature and the other side of the coin is that it's nice to help the businesses. It creates jobs and money flows in through sales tax, too, but also people get paychecks and get money. Tourism enhances the whole community. (Interview 2/10/07)

The Future of Tourism in the Village of North Utica

A salient belief was that the village "has potential." For some, that potential was the motivation

for starting a business in the town. As one resident business owner explained:

> I had the insight to see that Utica was going to be really good for me.…I used to go…and count cars…and I knew right away that I could make big bucks there.…I got the people that I wanted to come into this town….I didn't advertise here. I advertised all around the state and I got people to come here….I knew that Saturday and Sunday they'd almost need a traffic cop outside [of my shop]. (Interview 2/07/07)

Two resident nonbusiness owners explained their advocacy of the village's tourism industry:

> He: This town could be the Galena of LaSalle County, if you would ever get the people to...

> She: Promote what you have.

> He: Promote what you have. They have everything here.

> She: It's here already. We have the natural resources. We have the parks. We have the river. It's here. God put it here. Nobody bought it and moved it here.

> He: We didn't build it here.

> She: And we were lucky enough to have forefathers that built the town in the midst of it. Take advantage of what you're given. (Interview 9/28/06)

A developer went on:

> When I drive around LaSalle County and Utica, I see that we have a basis that is much stronger than what Galena started with, whether its architecture or existing tourist attractions. It attracts over two million day-visitors per year.…I really believe that with our proximity to Chicago and with the basis that we have to start with that we will get there...if all the groups continue to work together and people understand that tourism is an economic development driver.…[E]conomic development is what a community needs to keep a good quality of life and when tourism money comes in, it's all new money….It's not something you can budget for; it's just money that's coming in from outside the area….I see this area as on the brink of booming and branding itself as a tourist destination. (Interview 2/02/07)

There were two salient opinions about how tourism should be handled by the village in the future:

1) exploit the present level of tourism and 2) expand on the present level of tourism. Suggested

approaches to exploiting present levels of tourism ranged from belief that the present level is enough to

the opinion that the present level could be more efficiently and effectively exploited. A planning

commissioner offered his assessment of why the village should more fully exploit current tourism:

> They're already coming through....[W]e already have to plan for the fact that our roads
> and other things have to support hundreds of thousands or a million people coming
> through the area. Well, as long as they're doing that you might as well have them stop
> and spend some money here. (Interview 2/28/07)

Others asserted that the village should take better advantage of tourist resources already present in

the area, such as the I&M Canal, state parks, water parks, and the downtown shops and unique lodging

facilities, and expand upon them. Discussion of expansion ranged from a rare, no-holds-barred approach

to the more common cautious and tentative statements about expansion, with an emphasis on maintaining

the "small town aesthetic." Individuals proposed a variety of tourist events and activities that the village

could fund or simply host, including development of an annual triathlon, canal paddleboats and tours and

horseback riding on the canal towpath, annual fall and winter festivals, sanctioned street performers, and a

designated pedestrian-only downtown shopping area. One couple even suggested that one of the defunct

quarries on the outskirts of town could be purchased, filled with water, and turned into a local water

recreation site.

While few residents wanted the village to significantly increase its permanent resident population,

many believed that the best outcome would be for the town to evolve into a resort area with many part-

time residents who would contribute to the local economy during their vacations through consumption of

local goods and services and annual payment of property taxes on their vacation homes.   Several

nonresidents argued that the village should begin branding itself for more effective and consistent

marketing to a broader audience. One respondent asserted that since the town already has a growing

"family recreation" theme, with the combined attraction of two state parks, the I&M Canal, two water

parks, and amusement parks, it should begin to brand itself as a family-centered vacation destination and

focus on becoming such a place (Interview 12/05/06). Many participants suggested that, if tourism is to

be successfully expanded, there must be cooperation and collaboration between the Utica government and

public service institutions or stakeholders such as the Special Events Committee, the Bar Association, the

Canal Corridor Association, the LaSalle County Marketing Coalition, the Heritage Corridor Convention

and Visitors Bureau, and interested business owners and residents.

Throughout the sample, participants emphasized a need for cautious expansion of local tourism.

A planning commissioner explained:

> I would like to see Utica continue to grow but I'd like to have it be controlled growth…so
> that it's done in a good manner…with the understanding that I can't control [it].…[I]t's
> going to be driven by the market. (Interview 2/28/07)

In their desire for "controlled growth" respondents were concerned that the local natural beauty and

"small town charm" be maintained, while developments embracing those goals should be encouraged and

allowed. A new resident said:

> I hope we'll always have the main reason people come here is the beauty of the canal, of
> Starved Rock and other state parks…with the other things being supportive tourism
> things—a hotel, a place to eat, shops on a rainy day so that people have something to do,
> that kind of thing. (Interview 2/28/07)

Another explained that while expanding tourism would be good for the village, she believes:

> They have to go at it in a way that it's not an inconvenience to the people that live
> here...[I]t's a good location for tourism and they can benefit from it but it's got to be done
> tastefully and it's got to be done in a way that keeps the village atmosphere. People come
> here for the quaintness and the hometown atmosphere. The people that run the
> businesses uptown live here. We don't want to get a bunch of people that buy a place
> and pay people to run it and don't come down.…I want it to keep the hometown
> feeling.…[T]hat's what draws the people to Utica is that hometown feeling. It's all
> family businesses [uptown] and I think it would be better if they kept it family
> businesses. (Interview 1/31/07)

Subgroup Variation in Views about the Future

In response to the perceived financial benefits of tourism and its future "potential," many

participants and former participants emphasized the need for the village government to support tourism

development. The kinds of suggested support ranged from government funding of events organized by

individuals and organizations to government development and marketing of the village as a tourist

destination. Regarding pillow tax monies and the home rule ordinance, a long-term resident couple

voiced their concern:

> He: If they'd come out and said, "We're going to take 10% of that money and still spend
> it on tourism, which would be $30,000 or $40,000…or 20%...and we're going to take the
> other 80% and put it in our general account." I'd have said, "Perfect idea. That's great."
> At least we would know that they would be spending 20% of that money, or
> approximately $80,000, on tourism….They want the money but they don't want to
> promote it.
>
> She: They don't want tourists….There's a good percentage of Uticans that do not want
> tourists…unless they're going to go to the bars.
>
> He: They want sidewalks. They want nice streets. They want sewer. They want water.
> They want all of the fringe benefits but they don't want the tourists and they don't
> understand that there are only 800 people that live in this town, or 1000 people. There
> isn't enough tax dollars coming in…to do the things they want. So, the only other thing
> you can do is get it from outside people and we have got the best thing going for us and
> that's tourists. (Interview 9/28/06)

Summary

In Chapter 4, I addressed the question "What factors influence individuals' participation in

tourism development planning?" In this chapter I addressed the question "What are individuals'

perspectives on tourism?" I explored salient perspectives on tourism in the Village of North Utica and

discussed several variations in perspective that were associated with particular subgroups within the

sample. This chapter also sheds light on the final research question: "Do those perspectives vary with

individuals' participation in tourism development planning processes?" For the most part, participation

was not associated with unique perspectives on tourism; that is, with the exception of describing tourism

as contentious in the village and asserting that the village government should more actively encourage

tourism development. There is a general consensus that tourism contributes to stress on infrastructure and

increased demand for services, increased congestion, increased property values and taxes, and creation of

resentment. Those I interviewed also agreed that tourism benefits the local government through increased

tax revenues and provides for a stronger and expanded business district. Participants also agreed that tourism should be exploited and cautiously expanded in the future. There was some variation in the salient costs and benefits based on one's relationship to tourism and the length and location of one's residence in the village, but only one salient perspective—the appropriate role of government in tourism development—was specifically associated with current participation in tourism planning processes. Based on these data, participation does not appear explicitly associated with individuals' general thoughts about tourism or it may be that the consensus is a consequence of participatory tourism planning in the village. The findings from the Village of North Utica may also be unique. To examine the potential uniqueness of the findings, in the next chapter, I contextualize the findings presented in Chapters 3-5 within the established literature. Subsequently, in Chapter 7, I address the issue of the potential origins of consensus in the village.

Chapter 6: The Village of North Utica, Participatory Tourism Development, and the Literature

The concept of community participation is an ideal which is applied to a wide range of programs, even when that participation is diluted of influence or empowerment. Frederick Cooper and Randall Packard (2005:134)

I began this dissertation with four primary research questions: 1) How is participation incorporated into tourism development planning in the village?; 2) What factors influence individuals' participation?; 3) What are individuals' perspectives on tourism?; 4) Do those perspectives vary with individuals' participation in tourism development planning processes? In this chapter, I examine my findings in light of preexisting literature.

Factors that Influence Participation: Comparing the Findings from Utica

Examinations of participatory methods have focused on two primary topics: 1) the limits of participatory models and practices and 2) explanation of individuals' involvement in participatory projects. Investigations of participatory models' practical limits emphasize two primary issues: 1) concern for adequate representation of diverse community perspectives and values and 2) uncertainty about whether participatory methods can overcome traditional power relations within given populations (Cooke and Kothari 2001).

In 1968, Edmond Burke (1968) examined forms of citizen participation in urban planning and pointed out that citizens who participate may be unrepresentative of other citizens. He also discussed the problems that arise when conflicting goals are held by citizens and the organizations or projects with which they work. Sherry Arnstein (1969: 216), argued that "citizen participation is a little like eating spinach: no one is against it in principle because it is good for you" but locally powerful individuals and groups can exert influence over the nature and impacts of that participation:

> Participation without redistribution of power is an empty and frustrating process for the powerless. It allows the powerholders to claim that all sides were considered, but makes it possible for only some of those sides to benefit. It maintains the status quo.

In his examination of American capitalism, Daniel Bell (1979: 204) alluded to the relationship between power and heterogeneous communities:

> Participatory democracy is one more way of posing the classical issues of political philosophy: namely, who should make, and at what levels of government, what kind of decisions for how large a social unit? And there are no clear-cut answers to these questions.

Concerns about the representative nature of citizen participation and distribution of power are echoed in the literature of economic development and planning (Gardner and Lewis 2005; Mattson 2002; Mosse 2001) and political participation (Carpini, Huddy, and Shapiro 2002). Cooke and Kothari (2001: 1) explain:

> [C]onversations with [development] practitioners and participants were often characterized by a mildly humorous cynicism, with which tales were told of participatory processes undertaken ritualistically, which had turned out to be manipulative, or which had in fact harmed those who were supposed to be empowered.

Frances Cleaver (2001: 36) offers a summary of concerns with participatory development and matters of power:

> Participation has…become an act of faith in development, something we believe in and rarely question. This act of faith is based on three main tenets: that participation is intrinsically a "good thing" (especially for the participants); that a focus on "getting the techniques right" is the principal way of ensuring the success of such approaches; and that considerations of power and politics on the whole should be avoided as divisive and obstructive.

However, Arnstein (1969) points out that representation of the general citizenry in participatory processes does not ensure that all citizens' concerns are incorporated into community decisions. Rather, Arnstein maintains that the form of citizen participation determines the influence citizens have over decision-making processes. Arnstein organizes various forms of participation hierarchically in a "Ladder of Citizen Participation" based on the distribution of citizen input and control of decision making (ibid.: 217). At the bottom of the ladder are "manipulation" and "therapy" (ibid.). Arnstein (1969) maintains that such forms of participation are actually "non-participation" by which traditional powerholders use

"citizen advisory committees" to educate the general public about decisions or rules that have been made or implemented or to garner community support and cooperation in a given activity. Non-participation also characterizes those citizen committees that serve as sounding boards for general citizen complaints but do not feedback to the powerholders (ibid.). Arnstein (1969: 217) describes other forms of participation as possessing varying "degrees of tokenism." These forms of participation include instances when (1) citizen committees are used to inform citizens of their rights, responsibilities, and options but do not facilitate two-way communication between the citizens and the traditional powerholders, (2) those in power gather citizens' opinions about a given matter without assurance that those opinions will be incorporated into any subsequent decisions, and (3) citizen advisory committees conduct planning for or advise the powerholders but do not, themselves, possess any decision-making power (Arnstein 1969). Finally, levels of actual citizen participation entail some distribution of power to the general citizens, including instances when (1) powerholders and members of the general citizenry enter into equal partnerships for planning and decision making, (2) powerholders delegate certain decision making responsibilities to members of the general citizenry, or (3) when the general citizenry controls decision making (ibid.).

Discussions of participatory tourism development, in particular, focus on matters of participatory procedure and the sociostructural factors that influence individual participation in tourism planning. This literature demonstrates that, even in instances where deliberate efforts are made to include a broad range of residents in the planning process, some groups, by default or opportunity, garner a disproportionate amount of control over development activities and goals (Edelman and Haugerud 2005; Taylor 1995; Joppe 1996; Reed 1997; De Araujo and Bramwell 2002; Duggan and Caldwell 2005; Folmar 2005; Lalone 2005b; Stronza 2005). As Stronza (2005: 183-184, emphasis in text) relates:

> As everyone grappled with the issue of how to foment participation, we discovered
> another point of disconnect on the question of *who* should participate and *how* . . . we
> need to pay attention to the heterogeneity of needs and priorities within communities, as

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well as to different kinds of participation. Not everyone in any host destination will participate equally in tourism.

Similarly, Kathleen Adams (2005:50) notes:

> [W]hile many community-based resource management programs have met with success in including local voices in the planning process, these local voices are often drawn from a small, non-representative pool, as there is still a tendency to approach local communities as "homogeneous sites of social consensus."

According to Susan Stonich (1998, 2000, 2005), Vernon et al. (2005), and Fisun Yüksel, et al. (2005), grassroots programs are often neither democratic nor representative. Rather, the local participants who are often selected represent specific local interest groups. These writers argue that this sort of local participation can often generate new or exacerbate existing conflicts within the community (Stonich 2005; Stronza 2001). Haywood (2006b: 37) adds:

> [T]ourism areas contain, as well as interact, in pluralistic worlds of stakeholders with differing values and agendas. These worlds compete as well as cooperate with each other in their individual struggles for survival; therefore there is a dialectic theory in play here…stability and change are explained by reference to the balance of power between competing entities.

In the Village of North Utica, in instances of invitation to participate in planning, clear selection bias was introduced: the original planning commissioners were purposely selected for their recent emigration to the village and their status as professionals and those who were originally recruited to the special events committee were those with a business interest in local tourism development. Furthermore, despite the implementation of participatory planning methods, ultimate decision making power rests with the traditional holders of power—the elected officials. Under Arnstein's model (1969), the modes of general citizen participation in village decision making fall under "degrees of tokenism."   There is no formalized procedure for ensuring that broader community concerns are incorporated into those decisions or the means by which such concerns are to be addressed. Rather, it is left to those elected officials to incorporate and address those concerns as they deem necessary and appropriate. There is no guarantee

that participation will lead to incorporation of all perspectives into final decisions and the ultimate power to decide remains in the hands of the elected few.

The influence of power upon participation in planning was also demonstrated in the "dots on walls" participation that was solicited during formation of the village's comprehensive plan (Chapter 3). In that instance, those in control of the meeting, planning experts and government officials, defined the objectives, goals, and policies that were to be evaluated by members of the broader public. The community evaluations were supposed to influence the nature of the comprehensive plan, though the nature of that influence was not explained. In the Village of North Utica, potentially non-representative participation was incorporated into official decision making processes by the traditional decision makers who define and control the objectives, goals, and nature of those processes and the ultimate direction of development in Utica.

Public comment is deliberately incorporated into the proceedings of regularly scheduled village board and planning commission meetings but often as the last item on the agenda. These meetings are frequently very long and end late in the evening during the time when many potential participants must tend to bedtime rituals of children, elders, or themselves. Individuals who are present at the appropriate time and wish to participate must first be recognized by those running the meetings (e.g., the village president, chairman of the planning commission, or president of the special events committee). If one fails to obtain recognition before the motion to adjourn is made, then one must wait until the next month's meeting for the opportunity to make a formal, public statement. One's ability to participate, though solicited, is under the control of those who have been elected or invited to run the meetings, those who are in positions of power and authority, or those who are not sitting in the "general seating area."

Concern with representation carries over into literature that examines the factors that influence individuals' participation in participatory projects, whether in the realm of politics, economics, or planning (Cooke and Kothari 2001). This literature can be divided into two overlapping branches. The

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first focuses on sociostructural influences that modify individual capacities, opportunities, and desires to participate (Cooke and Kothari 2001; Olsen 1982; Verba et al. 1995). The work of Sydney Verba, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Henry E. Brady exemplifies this focus. In *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics* (1995), they emphasize the impact that socioeconomic markers (e.g., education and wealth) and social networking (e.g., through voluntary, work, and religious institutions) have upon individuals' abilities and opportunities to participate in political arenas (1995: 3-4):

> [T]he participatory process rests upon two main factors: the motivation and the capacity to take part in political life. A citizen must want to be active….it involves choice. However, the choice to take part in a particular way is a constrained one. Various forms of participation impose their own requirements….Thus, those who wish to take part also need the resources that provide the wherewithal to participate….[Moreover, those] who have both the motivation and the capacity to become active are more likely to do so, if they are asked….[B]oth the motivation and the capacity to take part in politics have their roots in the fundamental nonpolitical institutions with which individuals are associated during the course of their lives….The foundations for future political involvement are laid early in life—in the family and in school. Later on, the institutional affiliations of adults—on the job, in nonpolitical organizations, and in religious institutions—provide additional opportunities for the acquisition of politically relevant resources and the enhancement of a sense of psychological engagement with politics.

Though my research in the Village of North Utica did not focus on the social, economic, and professional characteristics of those participating in tourism planning in Utica, there were clear points of consonance with the findings of Verba et al. (1995). In the village, those who participated had clear reasons, or motivations, to participate: concern for the community, individual interests, financial or business matters, social issues. They also had the capacity to participate: "free time," social support for participation, a comfort with participation due to past experience. Finally, many participants were invited to the activity and cited that as contributing to their willingness and motivation to do so (e.g., planning commissioners, special events committee members, and LaSalle County Marketing Coalition Members). Those who did not participate emphasized their lack of "free time," their anxiety or distaste for local social cliques and power struggles, and volunteer burnout.

The second branch of literature examining individual participation emphasizes the cultural ideologies that influence individual choice and behavior. Going beyond the sociostructural explanations of Verba, Schlozman, and Brady (1995), Bellah et al. (1996) argued that American culture, with its strong emphasis on individualism and economic self-sufficiency, while idealizing the value of participation, also discourages it in many instances. They write, "…[T]here are, at every level of American life and in every significant group, temptations and pressures to disengage from the larger society" (ibid.: xi).

In their assessment of American participation, Bellah et al., distinguish three general types of participants: 1) natural citizens, 2) civic-minded professionals, and 3) professional activists (ibid.). For the natural citizen, "a long-term involvement in the community has led them to define their very identity in terms of it…to harm the town would be to harm oneself" (ibid.: 175). In contrast, civic-minded professionals are primarily identified with their work and pursuit of career advancement and define community interests in light of competing individual interests (Bellah et al. 1996: 186). For civic-minded professionals, participatory methods are the only means by which a fair consensus regarding community interests may be obtained, though this is based on the assumption that "in the long run, the interests of the parties to political conflict are not fundamentally incompatible" (Bellah et al. 1996: 189). Finally, professional activists argue that individual interests within a community often are fundamentally incompatible and the only means by which fairness and justice may be attained is through the empowerment of the poor so that they may join in the decision making processes and pursue their own individual interests (ibid.: 190-192):

> The language of the professional activist thus has the same basic structure…as that of the civic-minded professional: needs and wants are relative and justice is a fair chance to get what one wants. The only difference is that professional activists insist that a fair chance can only come about when all groups have equal power….The civic-minded professional and the professional activist are often motivated by community concern, but they see the community largely in terms of a variety of self-interested individuals and groups….[T]hey tend to view community as a context in which a variety of interests should be expressed and adjudicated…[it is] difficult for them to conceive of a common good or a public interest that recognizes economic, social, and cultural differences

between people but sees them all as parts of a single society on which they all depend [as do the natural citizens].

After examining the factors that influenced individuals' participation in tourism planning in the Village of North Utica, it also seems that my findings echo those of Bellah et al. (1996). Many of the participants I interviewed resembled "civic minded professionals" who sought the good of the community through analysis of the competing interests of others and themselves and were frequently motivated to participate by specific personal and business interests. This was most clearly demonstrated in the conflict over village funding of the Burgoo Festival (Chapter 3). That sequence of events demonstrated individuals' abilities to offer input to decision making processes and the ways that the village president and trustees function as mediators between the competing interests of tourism boosters, business owners, and local citizens. In that particular instance, discussion was not focused on the best decision for "our community," but, rather, what decision would satisfy the interests of the various groups within the community.

Aside from elected or appointed officials, most of the regular participants in tourism planning were those that possessed some direct financial or topical interest in the matter and sensed their need to represent, defend, or protect their concerns through competition with others. Those lacking such obvious interests in the industry were conspicuously absent from such meetings, despite the recognition by all those I interviewed that tourism development has community-wide costs and benefits. Nonetheless, some other regular participants expressed the ideology of "natural citizens" for whom the good of the community was synonymous with their own personal interests. For those individuals, participation was a means to produce, protect, and sustain the communal good. They were interested and concerned about anything having to do with the village, present and future; the specific topic of discussion or debate was irrelevant. Their concern was the good of the village as a whole. I did not encounter anyone that I would characterize as a professional activist during my time in the town.

The data from the village also align with Bellah et al.'s (1996) finding that individual self-interest frequently inhibits participation in community decision making. Several individual interests inhibited individuals' participation in the village's planning processes: a desire to avoid social conflict with other members of the community; prioritization of work and family responsibilities over civic duties; and the desire to not "waste" time or energy on a seemingly ineffectual or inefficient endeavor. Just as Bellah et al. (1996) suggest, the conflict between communitarian and individualist values influence individual participation in tourism planning in the Village of North Utica.

However, a key assumption is made in many of the discussions of citizen participation and representation: that more representative participation will lead to more generally acceptable and beneficial development outcomes for all stakeholders. There is little discussion of how such ends will be ensured. Rather, most authors implicitly assume that individuals who have a voice in development decisions will act in their own best interest and, thereby, protect their own welfare and that of other similar citizens. Thus, the need arises for fully representative participation; if all "kinds" of people have a voice in the process, then all "kinds" will have their concerns, interests, and needs incorporated into the final decisions. This incorporation of representative perspectives will, then, presumably generate similarly considerate development outcomes. The planning documents and models of participation in the Village of North Utica are vague in their description of the processes by which citizens' concerns and interests will be incorporated into final decisions by the board of trustees. However, citizen participation is assumed to be an important part of that decision-making process, even if under Arnstein's model, that participation is a form of tokenism.

Perspectives on the Village of North Utica's Tourism Development in Light of the Literature

Those I interviewed about the town agreed about some of tourism development's costs. They agreed that tourism leads to increased: 1) stress on infrastructure and demand for services; 2) auto and

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pedestrian traffic congestion; 3) property values and taxes; and 4) resentment of tourists on the part of local residents. Among those without a direct financial interest in the village's tourism development, concerns were raised about unequal distribution of the industry's costs and benefits and its unpredictable nature from year to year. Those who participated in village tourism planning believed tourism was a topic that caused conflict among those concerned, and downhillers mourned a lost sense of community they associated with the growth of local tourism. Those I interviewed recognized two primary benefits of local tourism: 1) strengthening and increase of the local business district and 2) increased tax monies for the local government. While these may be the particular concerns and beliefs about tourism in the Village of North Utica, the tourism literature demonstrates that they are not unique to tourism in that town.

Much of the tourism literature touts its advantages for economic development (Boissevain 1977; Edwards and Llurdés 1996; Fletcher and Cooper 1996; Johnson and Snepenger 2006; Mansperger 1992). For instance, Jeremy Boissevain (1977) and Mark Mansperger (1992) maintain that tourism, when properly managed, can bolster national economies and boost employment, increase quality of life, strengthen social cohesion and community identity, preserve traditional culture, and decrease dependency on foreign aid and investment. However, much scholarly writing is critical of tourist development (Butler 2006c, 2006f; Greenwood 1976, 1989; Nash 1981, 1989; Smith 1989).

A common criticism of tourism development is inequitable distribution of the economic, social, and environmental effects of the industry and its ability to cause or exacerbate social conflicts between locals who may or may not benefit from the industry (Chambers 1997; Crick 1989; Haywood 2006 b; Johnson and Snepenger 2006; Murray 2007; Papatheodorou 2006; Stonich 1998, 2000, 2005; Stronza 2001; Urry 2002). Ryan and Montgomery (1994) and Faulkenberry et al. (2000) found that many residents of host communities sense that tourism's benefits are spread unequally across the populations, with greater benefits accruing to very specific segments of the host community. As two residents of a host community in South Carolina put it, " 'Granted,…tourism puts a lot of money in Beaufort [South

Carolina]—but who gets the buck?'" and " '[T]he few really reaps of the harvest" (Faulkenberry 2000:

90).

Another common criticism of tourism development is its toll upon local resources, services, and

infrastructure. As Haywood (2006b: 35) argues:

> [R]esearch has shown that tourism activity can cause any part of the bundle of tangible
> and intangible resources attributed to a destination and the composite of organizations
> within it, to become overburdened, stressed, and abused. If these resources are not
> protected and/or maintained, their deterioration is magnified.

Papatheodorou (2006: 81) adds: "[T]he point of maximum private profitability may deviate significantly

from the one that optimizes the public benefit." The stress upon resources that tourism imposes is often

attributed to the pressure tourist destinations are under to constantly out-compete other destinations for

visitation by tourists (Haywood 2006a, b; Papatheodorou 2006). As Papatheodorou (2006: 67) states:

> [C]ompetition should be seen as an evolutionary phenomenon where the characteristics
> of the successful tourist firms and destinations are endogenously determined by a
> perpetual battle for the survival of the fittest.

As early as 1860, writers noted that tourist destinations display regular patterns of growth and

decline that many scholars suggest are an inevitable, natural characteristic of tourism areas. These

patterns were systematically described and called the Tourism Area Life Cycle by Richard W. Butler

(Butler 2006d and 2006e). Writers such as Johnston (2006) have pointed out that just as any other

product is vulnerable, tourist destinations are subject to shifts in consumer demands, tastes, product

innovations, and macrostructural change (e.g., environmental, political, technological change):

> Depressing though it may be to consider that some traditional destinations may have to
> exit tourism, it is almost inevitable. Few products retain their attractiveness and market
> appeal indefinitely, and those which recognize this and prepare for an exit under their
> own control and in the direction of their own choice are more likely to emerge
> successfully from tourism than those who let exogenous forces make the decisions for
> them. (Butler 2006g: 182)

Some argue that the regularity of the patterns calls for vigilance against the ultimate demise of tourist

areas through ongoing adaptation and evolution of the destination to visitors' desires and in competition

with other areas (Butler 2006d; Haywood 2006a, b; Johnson and Snepenger 2006). Others question

whether tourist areas should be purposefully transitioned away from dependence upon tourism to ease any

negative consequences of destination demise (Baum 2006).

In her examination of the impact of community power structures upon participatory tourism

planning, Reed (1997) points out how the power issues that were discussed in the last section can

intertwine with the variation in perspective on tourism development and development in general:

> Historically, local development has been determined to a large extent by the decisions of
> individual private entrepreneurs in the community who make decisions that are primarily
> market-driven….[C]onventional local elites include real estate developers, landowners,
> lending banks, and the local chamber of commerce or business association. Local
> government is also a conventional player in development policy because it is responsible
> for land development within its own boundaries and it relies on local businesses to
> provide jobs and tax revenues. A local government may act on behalf of developers
> through favorable zoning or building bylaws or, if necessary, by mustering its energies
> and skills to lobby senior government on behalf of developers. Conventional local elites
> usually maintain a strong adherence to the ideology of growth… in particular, local
> business people whose fortunes are tied to growth in the vitality of the community, are
> considered most active in community decision making and policy formation. *Conflicts*
> *are likely to emerge between those who seek to maintain the status quo or at least*
> *encourage business starts that are consistent with it, and those who seek to change the*
> *nature of economic activities in the local community. These conflicts may arise when*
> *new residents and entrepreneurs enter the community and challenge the existing*
> *substance of development policies.* (ibid.: 571; emphasis mine)

In Squamish, British Columbia, Reed (1997) found that resident perspectives on tourism's costs

and benefits varied with length of residence: "[R]esidents of five years or less…showed stronger levels of

agreement with statements concerning the benefits of tourism…than did longer-term residents. In

addition, longer-term residents were more pessimistic about the ability of long-term planning to manage

the negative impacts of tourism…" (ibid.: 576). While some residents wanted Squamish to become a

semiresort area, others feared a lost sense of community and economic insecurity that accompany tourism

development (ibid.: 579-581)—concerns echoed by Faulkenberry et al. (2000) and Himmelgreen et al.

(2006).

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Research by Faulkenberry et al. (2000) and Stonich (1998) supports the association of length of residence and differences in sociopolitical power with variations in individuals' assessments of tourism. While the residents Faulkenberry et al. (2000) interviewed in South Carolina agreed that tourism brings money into the community, they also recognized that with the increased tourist population comes increased strain on infrastructure and costs of its maintenance and improvement, which are often paid by residents through increased taxes (ibid.). Those residents also recognize that as property taxes increase with development, their ability to develop their own land becomes more difficult. Many residents believe that increased tourism development ultimately could force current and historical landowners to move out of the community, simply because improving their land could become too expensive (ibid.). Despite the recognized costs of development, other residents in the study by Faulkenberry et al. (2000) argued that the goal should be to "manage tourism development" so that the costs are minimized and the benefits are reaped (ibid.: 91). Similar findings have echoed throughout the tourism literature. For instance, Martin (2006) found that many residents of Hilton Head, South Carolina, were concerned with the traffic congestion, land-use regulations, and uneven distribution of tourism development's benefits. As Haywood (2006a: 51) explains,

> Tourism is place-sensitive…place-demanding and place-exhausting; that is, the development process and the usage of a locale (natural and cultural resources) by a typical, seasonal insurgence of users, mainly visitors, has a tendency to undermine attractiveness of an area….Even citizens are susceptible. They grow weary of the stress.

He continues,

> Competitiveness problems are inescapable as increasing numbers of places hitch to the tourism bandwagon. In fact stagnant growth, declining margins and falling market share are not characteristic simply of the mature phase of the cycle, but of too much supply chasing demand or the not-too-uncommon disruptive phases of business cycles….Every destination and tourism organization is being challenged to improve their understanding and anticipation of the underlying dynamics of change, not only within the industry, but particularly within the destination. (ibid.: 53)

Summary

Tourism planning in the Village of North Utica is prone to the same concerns of representation, motivation, and orientation that have been highlighted by others (Adams 2005; Arnstein 1969; Burke 1968; Cooke and Kothari 2001; Duggan and Caldwell 2005; Edelman and Haugerud 2005; Folmar 2005; Gardner and Lewis 2005; Lalone 2005b; Reed 1997; Stronza 2005; Vernon et al. 2005). Nonetheless, despite many individuals' concerns about tourism development and its perceived costs and weaknesses, those I spoke with generally agreed that the industry should be pursued and expanded. It did not matter whether one was a participant, owned a tourism-dependent business, or was a long-term resident, tourism was to be exploited and extended in the village. In general, participants were mainly concerned that tourism was handled properly; that is, minimizing the costs and maximizing the benefit for all those impacted by the industry. Participation in tourism planning seemed to be irrelevant to acceptance of the belief that it should be pursued. This led me to wonder if participation might be associated with consensus about tourism development but not responsible for it. Subsequently, I pondered what other factors might account for the general agreement that expansion of the industry was desirable. Based on a closer examination of the village, itself, and consideration of additional literatures, in Chapter 7, I present an alternative explanation of this consensus.

Chapter 7: Of Enframed Places, Selves, and Governmentality

> According to the theory, phenomenology, and behavior of the market…[the] organic conception of society is here dissolved by two synergistic processes: communality and mutuality give way to personal self-interest, and commodities, not persons, dominate social being.…The market established basis of livelihood becomes in effect a constantly lived out daily ritual, which, like all rites, joins otherwise unconnected links of meaning into a coherent and apparently natural network of associations. Michael T. Taussig (1980: 26)

Of Framed and Enframed Selves

Upon analyzing my data and comparing it with the scholarly literature, I was confused by the common reliance on tourism development as a means to economic security for communities, despite the evidence in the literature and belief by some in the village that the costs and benefits of that development may be uneven at best and elitist and fickle at worst. While reading through some of the urban planning material, I was struck by one critic who questioned whether those who were opposed to so-called smart growth were necessarily for "stupid growth." That question offered insight into the puzzle of tourism development. In the case of smart growth and its critics, the question was never about whether communities ***should*** grow but, rather, ***how*** they should grow. This brought to mind the village resident who argued:

> If we don't have tourism, we're a dead dog. We're going to be a residential bed community. A bedroom community is all we are going to be. We won't have any industry. If we don't have the tourism, we don't have anything. (Interview 9/28/06)

The need for tourism development to maintain a viable business and commercial district was not in question for those I interviewed. The need for an active local marketplace economy was assumed. The only question that was apparent to those I interviewed was how that marketplace could and should be created, sustained, and expanded. Why was this so?

George Lakoff's (2004) book *Don't Think of an Elephant! Know Your Values and Frame the Debate* offers insights. According to Lakoff (2004), certain ideas are reinforced by how they are discussed. For instance, if one is told "Don't think of an elephant!" one cannot help but think of one.

How could one ***not*** think of an elephant? Lakoff (2004) argues that as long as we discuss a concept—like an elephant—even if we argue against it or tell one another not to think of it, we reinforce it:

> When we negate a frame, we evoke the frame. Richard Nixon found that out the hard way. While under pressure to resign during the Watergate scandal, Nixon addressed the nation on TV…and said, "I am not a crook." And everybody thought about him as a crook….that is what framing is about. Framing is about getting language that fits your worldview. It is not just language. The ideas are primary—and the language carries those ideas, it evokes those ideas. (ibid.: 3-4)

Are the people of the Village of North Utica (and, perhaps, anthropologists) stuck in a certain linguistic framework? Are economic development and growth ideologies reinforced by linguistic frames, even when used for purposes of critique?

Timothy Mitchell (1988) argues that cultural ideologies can be naturalized and assimilated indirectly through a reordering, or "enframing," of one's physical environment. Within Mitchell's concept of enframing, it is difficult to conceive of concepts outside of the nature of a given structure. Innovations are evolved within a given physical and conceptual framework but do not breach the boundaries of that structure. In this case, Uticans—and many others—exist in communities that are economically and physically structured around and within local, state, national, and global capitalist markets. Following Mitchell's argument, evaluation of that marketplace is bounded by the physical and ideological structure of that particular economic system. It is enlightening to consider the ways the physical layout of Utica might delimit the innovations and evaluations of residents or visitors (Figure 5). The area emergency services are headquartered at the north end of the village. The village hall and police department are located at the south end of the village. Route 178 runs through the village and is primarily lined by commercial businesses with residential units peppering the thoroughfare. The business district is, quite literally, central to the Village of North Utica. The "downtown" business district is accessed by Route 178 from all sides of the Village. The northern and southern ends of the business district line the Route 178 corridor. Culturally, the physical structure of the village enframes the centrality of the marketplace and its attendant ideologies.   The interview data support this hypothesis: many of those I
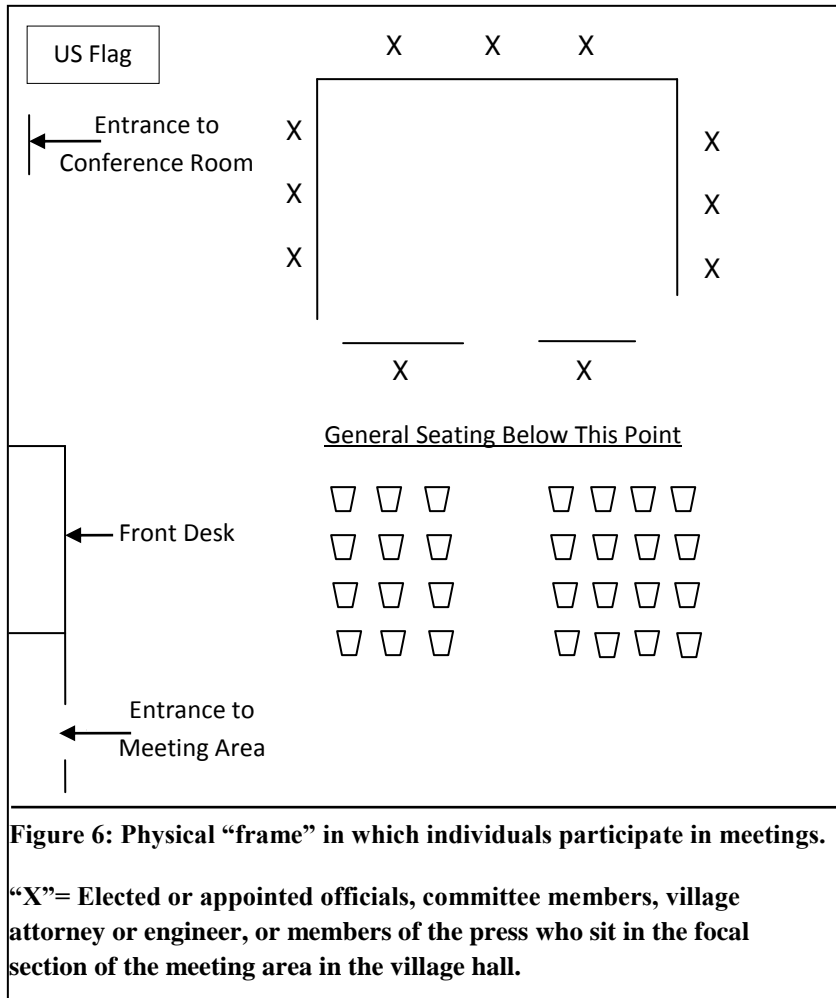
Figure 5: Central Thoroughfare (Route 178) is also the Central Business District.

Fire and Emergency Services

Village Hall and Police Department

Route 178/ Business District

spoke with supported expansion of local tourism for fear of losing a functioning business district. It did not matter whether the residents themselves intended to patronize those businesses; the marketplace simply had to remain functional.

The physical layout of towns like the Village of North Utica, where the central thoroughfare is also the business district, highlights the importance of local marketplace viability. For residents like the one quoted above, if the central business district were to disappear, then the community would also be "a dead dog." The status of "bedroom community" was not acceptable because the heart of the town, its vitality, is measured by the vitality of the local business district or marketplace and the strength with which it circulates monies, preferably monies brought into the village from other places, throughout the town. Consequently, so long as the village can maintain a viable marketplace, the village itself can be considered viable. The physical layout of the town enframes the cultural and ideological centrality of the business district for residents and visitors alike. When one considers the community's situation in the midst of several public and private tourist and recreational sites, tourism development as a means to economic growth appears a natural choice for the Village of North Utica.

With further consideration of the impact that physical space has upon ideology, similar observations can be made about individual participation in decision making. If one considers the physical layout of the meeting area in the village hall (Figure 6), it becomes clear that a certain mode of participation is enframed in the physical space of that room. For each of the regularly scheduled meetings, the trustees, commissioners, and committee members sit at tables located at the front of the room. With the addition of tables for members of the press and the village engineer, a sort of decision making circuit is visually and physically closed off from the remaining seats where those associated with a particular agenda item or generally interested in the meetings are expected to sit. If one is not part of the focal group—a village trustee, planning commissioner, committee member, member of the press, or the village engineer—then, one is expected to sit outside of that focal circuit. This gives the sense of an

Figure 6: Physical "frame" in which individuals participate in meetings.

"X"= Elected or appointed officials, committee members, village attorney or engineer, or members of the press who sit in the focal section of the meeting area in the village hall.

active focal and a passive observational section within the context of the meeting area. The "officials" are separated from the "observers."

After some temporal and physical distance from the village and fieldwork, I was surprised to recognize that I unwittingly described the general seating area as "audience" seating in my fieldnotes. Without recognizing it, I was impressed with the "proper" role for "unofficial" meeting attendees: that of audience members, a traditionally passive observant category of individuals in American culture. The same seems to hold true for decision making and tourism planning in the Village of North Utica. While there were exceptions, in village public meetings, "unofficial" participation was regulated by a prevailing norm of quiet observation. Decision making was controlled by the decision-makers and power-holders

seated in the focal circuit. Consideration of the "informal" participation in decision making that was once a routine part of the village meeting arrangement, as demonstrated in the vignette regarding "after-meetings" that were—and are rumored still to be—held in bars (Chapter 3), highlights the possibility that the nature of place impacts who voices their perspective. The men who described the after-meetings openly acknowledged that people who would not feel comfortable enough to partake in formal discussions at the village hall felt free to do so in a local bar. These men were nonchalant in their recognition that the location of discussions was a significant factor affecting local participation. Nonetheless, they maintained that those who wished to participate nowadays must overcome their discomfort and make their voices heard at formal meetings in the village hall. Just as a certain understanding about the importance of the marketplace is enframed in the Utica landscape, so is a particular form of participation enframed in the public meeting area and to the exclusion of certain portions of the community.

Elaborating on the relationship between place and identity, Sack (1997) argues that place and self (i.e., identity) are mutually constitutive. Places and selves draw nature (i.e., physical space) together with social relations and meaning (i.e., culture). These components constitute places and selves and alter one another in dialectical relationship:

> [D]ynamics of place have a direct effect on our selves. Changes in the dynamics affect our power and control, our degree of independence, our need and trust in others, and our vulnerability. These in turn alter our identity and self-esteem, and our orientation to the world. They also affect our capacity to belong and be members of communities. (Sack 1997: 253-254)

By organizing the town around a centralized commercial market district, the physical place that is the Village of North Utica reinforces the individuals' identification with the business district. If I am a resident of the village and the marketplace is, literally, central to "my" village, then the well-being of the marketplace is vital to my well-being because I identify with the place that is centered around the market. Likewise, if I am attending a meeting in the village hall, then decision making is centered in the closed

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circuit of tables at the front of the room and with those individuals seated around those tables. If I am seated outside of that circuit, then I will not identify myself as central to the meeting activities. Rather, I will identify myself as peripheral to the decision making that occurs within the confines of that closed focal circuit.

In towns like the Village of North Utica, the core value of the community, patterns of decision making, and identification of those in power are clearly defined by linguistic, physical, and social boundaries. If Lakoff, Mitchell, and Sack are correct, then regardless of the participatory ethic and one's attendance or involvement in meetings, the language of development and the organization of space reinforce hierarchical notions of decision making and validate the centrality of economic development and market-centered values. In this light, consensus regarding the importance of tourism and economic development in the Village of North Utica and the patterns of participation in village planning appear matters of course.

The rhetoric of participatory tourism development aims to help communities meet their basic material needs in ways that are maximally beneficial to the most residents with the least possible cost. But, in many instances, a belief that a just democracy is predicated upon citizen participation is conflated with a belief that maximally equitable outcomes are ensured through representative participation in decision making. Though definition of democratic justice is a philosophical matter, especially under representative democracy, the association of generally agreeable or just outcomes with participation is an empirical question more than an article of faith. The ability of capitalist exchange to result in ultimately just outcomes is a long debated question (Lubasz 1992) and the role that civic participation plays in moderating the outcomes of capitalist development remains to be seen. The literature discussed in the previous chapter suggests that even when explicit efforts are made to incorporate participation, the outcomes of tourism may not be mutually acceptable to all stakeholders.

Nonetheless, those pursuing economic development often operate within systems of "bounded rationality" wherein: "decisions are limited by [individuals'] perceptions, imperfect knowledge, and subjective feelings…making the best possible choice…often too costly; it [takes] too much time and effort to find out all [one needs] to know to make the best choices" (Wilk and Cliggett 2007: 73). The industrial emphasis on specialization in work, knowledge, and roles has allowed evolution of various sorts of "experts" whose opinions are to be considered and respected. When bounded rationality meets deference to experts, and communities are forced to figure out how to meet material needs they cannot presently afford, it is not surprising that they accept the standard solution so often proffered by planners, anthropologists, and others: economic growth through participatory tourism development (Aas, Ladkin and Fletcher 2005; Duggan and Caldwell 2005; Lalone 2005a and 2005b; Mansperger 1992; Mason 2005; Porter 2002; Schianetz, Kavanagh, and Lockington 2007; Selin and Chavez 1995; Stonich 2005; Stronza 2001; Vernon et al. 2005). As a consequence, many scholars and the communities they serve continue to tweak participatory economic development methods despite frequently repeated unintended and undesired consequences. The pressing question continues to be: Why?

The Marketplace Society

After examining participatory tourism development in the Village of North Utica and the scholarly literature, I was left thinking that many anthropologists are working in a frame that is defined by the concept of economic development and growth ideology. The pervasiveness of those ideologies called to mind Gramsci's discussions of "cultural hegemony." Though many scholars debate the nuances and implications of the concept, cultural hegemony refers to something like "dominant ideologies" that better serve certain portions of a population than others (Agnew 2005; Ives 2004; Morton 2007; Wilk and Cliggett 2007). Writers like Richard R. Wilk and Lisa C. Cliggett (2007) praise Gramsci for drawing attention to the role that popular culture plays in reinforcing these ideologies through music, the arts,

religion, and mass media and argue that hegemonic ideologies often retain their power because they are enriched with enough commonly experienced "truth" that the social system they support appears "natural and inevitable." That is, cultural hegemonies "put words and ideas into people's minds and mouths in ways that make it very difficult for exploited people to challenge the system that exploits them" (Wilk and Cliggett 2007: 99).

In John Agnew's (2005: 1-2) words, "hegemony is the enrollment of others in the exercise of your power by convincing, cajoling, and coercing them that they should want what you want". The hegemony present in the U.S., he suggests, is that of the marketplace society:

> American society has brought to the world…ideas and practices about the centrality of marketplace society to social life; from mass consumption and living through commodities, to hierarchies of class hidden behind a cultural rhetoric of entrepreneurship and equal opportunity, to limiting the delivery of what elsewhere are thought of as public goods and sponsoring an essentially privatized vision of life. This "central market" paradigm is not simply a package of ideas but a set of social practices in which instrumental (market) behavior tends to displace customary (communal) and command (state-mandated) behaviors as the social standard. (2005: 3)

Agnew has a point. The hegemony of American marketplace society, combined with the framing and enframing of its attendant ideologies, and capitalist development's ability to accumulate resources (to individuals, states, or corporations) reinforces participatory economic growth and development mantras among anthropologists, development practitioners, politicians, and citizens, as they seek to meet material needs and correct development's failures. As the quote from Taussig (1980: 26) suggested at the beginning of this chapter, marketplace society is an American ritual that is enacted daily and appears natural and ubiquitous. The same may be said of participatory approaches to economic development.

One can debate the existence of contemporary hegemons who seek exploitation of the masses, but Agnew (2005: 118) points out that one doesn't need a "central directing hegemon" for hegemony to persist—a society can itself accept and perpetuate a hegemonic ideology through which portions of the society are oppressed and exploited. In the Village of North Utica, those who are do directly benefit from tourism development may perpetuate the marketplace ideology that supports tourism development

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without necessarily having been directly manipulated by those who it does directly benefit. For Agnew (2005), the marketplace society, which allowed formation of the United States from a conglomeration of divergent immigrants and indigenous peoples, has allowed the growth and perpetuation of materialist consumer culture and values based on capitalist economics:

> What the coming of marketplace society did was to democratize desire; to make it possible for the multitude to consume goods in ways previously available only to the rich.…More significantly socially, removing people from preexisting local statuses and giving them new ones in wider spatial divisions of labor required new measures of social value…[which] were attained through commodification of people and goods.…[T]his commodification is best regarded as neither a simple "top-down" process, nor, in functionalist terms, a deliberate trick to make people conform to what their betters desire. People actively demand distinctions from one another. Thus, the demand for distinction in the absence of customary and command mechanisms endows persons and things with their particular values in a marketplace society.…If the early narratives about what was later called "the American Dream" were predominantly about religious and political freedom, the more recent ones are all about upward social mobility, home ownership, and achieving fame and fortune.…[W]hile clothed in the rhetoric of democracy versus totalitarianism, American ideology represented the victory of the promise of ever-increasing consumption over open and deliberative democracy. (ibid.: 5-6)

The heterogeneity of the American population made the ideal of participatory democracy untenable while participatory consumption was a social act in which all segments of the population could engage (Agnew 2005).

It seems clear that market ideologies are hegemonic. In the words of Cooper and Packard (2005: 130): "[T]he development construct has become a framework that rationalizes and naturalizes the power of advanced capitalism in progressivist terms—as the engine bringing those on the bottom 'up' toward those who are already there." But it is not only individuals that gain their value through market valuations. One only need return to the Village of North Utica's planning documents to recognize that it is generally accepted, if by only those who are involved in decision making, that the village is in competition with other communities for the resources and monies provided through tourism. As one village trustee explained, "I feel that …if we maintain a set of goals—[such as,] population not to exceed 2,500—Utica could be one of the richest villages in Illinois because it could feed from tourism and

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economic development" (Interview 1/31/07). The improved wealth and, thereby, status of the village

government translates into improved status for the community members' identities, as well. In the case of

the Village of North Utica, the marketplace values that Agnew analyzes apply not only to individuals but

the community they comprise.

The notion of "participation" may also be characterized as hegemonic, at least in the realms of

municipal development and planning. For Cooke and Kothari (2001: 4):

> Participatory development's tyrannical potential is systemic and not merely a matter of
> how the practitioner operates or the specificities of the techniques and tools
> employed…the discourse itself, and not just the practice, embodies the potential for an
> unjustified exercise of power.

For them, the question that should be asked:

> is not how much people are empowered, but for what….[P]articipatory approaches shape
> individual identities, empowering 'participants' to take part in the modern sector of
> developing societies. This empowerment is tantamount, in Foucauldian terms, to
> subjection. (ibid.:12-13)

In other words, by participating in tourism planning, individuals are active agents in subjecting

themselves to the marketplace society. That is, they become active agents in reaffirming traditional

modes of participation and reinforcement of market-centered communities and selves. If Agnew (2005)

and Cooke and Kothari (2001) are correct—and the evidence from the Village of North Utica suggests

that they are—then these hegemonies also envelope those of us working to address the weaknesses of the

marketplace and the limitations of participation. Participatory economic development, including

participatory tourism development, conjoins marketplace values and the ideal of participatory democracy.

Hence, we reproduce the ideologies, tweak the methods, and rarely step outside of the hegemony of

participation within a ubiquitous marketplace society.

Ives (2004) writes that because one's world may be arranged by economic and political systems

that are supported by dominant ideologies, alternatives seem implausible simply because the world one

exists in is organized and functions according to the principles of the dominant paradigm. The dominant

ideologies make sense because they are rooted in the system that seems to be functional, though that function may be limited. The models we formulate, the ideas we invent, and the economic system within which we satisfy our needs are all supported by a linguistic system filled with concepts of progress, development, and economic growth, which are organized according to principles of the capitalist marketplace. As Edelman and Haugerud (2005: 40) point out, development is not a "neutral language that describes reality" but is a linguistic system that helps to construct reality, even the reality within which anthropologists, development practitioners, and their "clients" exist. Yet, this does not explain the general acceptance of the benefit from tourism development as a communal good for those in the Village of North Utica. Following the lead of Cooke and Kothari (2001), I turn to Michel Foucault (2007) and his discussions of "governmentality."

Governmentality and Perpetuation of Ideology

For Foucault (2007), the art of governing that characterizes present-day American and European societies arose in the 16th and 17th centuries. During that period, European nations moved away from pastoral governments rooted in cosmological or theological beliefs about the nature of sovereignty and sovereign leadership toward government that is rooted in the maintenance of equilibrium between autonomous states and their conglomerate populations (Gordon 1991a, b). "Governmentality" may be defined as the methods and tactics governments employ to order the conduct of individuals who comprise their populations within a given territory. Governmentality seeks to maintain security of that population from internal conflict and threat through law enforcement and socialization and from external conflict and threat through military and diplomatic action (Davidson 2007; Foucault 2007). Governmentality orders individual conduct through a variety of institutions (including political, legal, economic, social, moral, and educational systems) (Davidson 2007; Foucault 2007; Sigley 2006). The goal of governmentality is to maximize the efficiency of economic exchange and wealth accumulation for and by maintaining

internally and externally secure territorial populations (Foucault 2007). Continually perfected methods of

ordering individual conduct (internal security) ensure maximum individual liberty for the pursuit of

individual economic interests and perpetual, efficient circulation of goods and services through capitalist

markets (Sigley 2006). The financial capital accumulated by way of those markets, in turn, supports

those institutions and tactics by which internal and external securities are maintained.

Ultimately, the simultaneous rise of this "governmentality" and the evolution of classical liberal

economics formed the nature of modern U.S. and European governments, in which:

> Competition will be allowed to operate between private individuals, and…this game
> of…competing private individuals who each seek maximum advantage for
> themselves…will allow the state…to pocket the profits, as it were, from this conduct of
> private individuals….The good of all will be assured by the behavior of each when the
> state, the government, allows private interest to operate, which, through the phenomena
> of accumulation and regulation, will serve all. The state is not therefore the source of the
> good of each….It is now a matter of ensuring that the state only intervenes to regulate, or
> rather allow the…interest of each to adjust itself in such a way that it can actually serve
> all. The state is envisioned as the regulator of interests. (Foucault 2007: 346)

In this new sort of government:

> freedom, and the specific limits to this freedom within the field of governmental practice
> has now become an imperative….Growth within order and all positive functions will be
> assured by a whole series of institutions, apparatuses, mechanisms, and so on, and then
> the elimination of disorder will be the function of police.…Society, economy, population,
> security, and freedom are the elements of the new governmentality. (ibid.: 353-354)

As described in some of the Village of North Utica's planning documents and supported by the

majority of those I interviewed, tourism development is necessary not only because it fosters the local

marketplace but also because it provides financial resources and revenues to the local government. These

government revenues are said to ensure the good of all through provision of a "functioning" marketplace,

whose primary purpose is the circulation of capital in monetary form. In the Village of North Utica, the

government must facilitate capitalist exchange in the form of tourism to glean wealth from the population

it governs and its visitors. The wealth it gleans from tourism allows the village government to preserve a

secure local community by outcompeting other communities for economic growth and warding off the threat that the community may become "a dead dog" by losing its own marketplace.

> This belief in the necessity of economic growth is associated with the "growth machine":

> people and organizations with interests in places…affect use and exchange values….[P]lace entrepreneurs [continuously attempt] to increase local rents by attracting investment to their sites, regardless of the effects this may have on…residents…these strivings for exchange value create a competition among place entrepreneurs to meet the preferences of capital investors…making places safe for development….It is a system…that stratifies places according to the ease with which they can attract capital—a stratification that then alters the life chances of local individuals and groups….[T]he pursuit of exchange values so permeates the life of localities that… [the] city becomes, in effect, a "growth machine." (Logan and Molotch 1987:13)

The ideologies of the growth machine have been successfully enframed, framed, and made hegemonic, even for those who seek economic and social well-being for communities like the Village of North Utica: "Perhaps no single idea is more deeply embedded in modern political culture than the belief that economic growth is the key to meeting most important human needs, including alleviating poverty and protecting the environment" (Korten 2001: 43).

Within governmentality, social, legal, and political institutions socialize individuals into fulfilling roles and behaving in ways that facilitate and enhance the capitalist exchange required to fund maintenance of internal and external security. In the United States and the Village of North Utica, specifically, educational systems train students to be productive members of society, earning wages, and paying taxes. The legal system, through tax law, requires that those same individuals find ways to contribute to government tax revenues under threat of prosecution and imprisonment. The ubiquity of the monetary system reinforces the need for market exchange as a means to satisfy those same tax requirements. Economic growth ideology is, thus, reinforced through a variety of techniques.

Furthermore, the same educational system that normalizes and socializes individuals into the economic system particular to governmentality also reinforces certain forms of participation, as do mainstream religious organizations. The physical and social organization of traditional classrooms and

the public education system and the social ordering of religious organizations and religious meetings emphasize consolidation of decision-making authority in the hands of a few teachers or religious leaders and constrained participation by generally passive masses of students and congregants. In addition, United States political organization and that of communities like the Village of North Utica operate through representative democracy in which the generally passive citizenry elects representatives who are, then, charged with the privilege, responsibility and power of decision making for the population. The combination of the mainstream educational, religious, and political institutions naturalize generally passive forms of civic participation, as practiced in the Village of North Utica.

Within this context, the findings from Utica seem inevitable. Uticans, and many others who are involved in the trajectory of its tourism development, think and speak within linguistic frames defined by economic growth and development ideologies that reinforce the imperative nature of that growth and development and are, themselves, reinforced through a variety of social systems and institutions. The physical layout of the village emphasizes the central importance of the local marketplace or business district to those who live in or visit the town. All of this occurs within the context of a heterogeneous American society united by the ideal of participatory governance and the democratic appeal of marketplace society and consumerism—a society that is facilitated and preserved by a government dependent upon tax revenues that are provided by wealth gleaned from the capitalist exchange between citizens who have been socialized into hierarchical forms of civic and political participation. In such a context, how could one not resurrect the elephant that is participatory tourism development?

Of Counter-conducts and Reflexive Actors

According to Foucault (2007), each form or practice of government provokes "counter-conducts," or social and intellectual oppositions, what Gramsci called "counter-hegemonies" (Morton 2007) and Polanyi termed "counter-moves" (2001). Within governmentality, maximal individual freedom is

guaranteed as far as possible while maintaining the internal and external security and free market exchange within the population (Sigley 2006). While this freedom facilitates the maintenance of governmentality it also allows for the development of counter-conducts and their attendant ideologies. Though by nature governmentality appears to exert pervasive control over individual conduct, in the absence of violence or coercion, Foucault maintains that the practice of governmentality is "an endless and open strategic game" in which individuals can resist such exertion of power through purposeful and specific refusal to comply with the dominant rules of conduct (Gordon 1991b: 5).

As reflexive actors, individuals' actions are shaped by the social structures, practices, and institutions that are continually reenacted and reinforced over time (Giddens 1984; Ritzer 1996). Reflexivity, however, allows individuals and the groups they comprise to recognize unintended consequences of chosen actions and modify future behavior to mitigate or enhance those unexpected outcomes (Giddens 1984; Ritzer 1996). Thus, within governmentality, individuals may act in ways that facilitate capitalist exchange and maintain internal and external security. But, when those actions result in unintended negative consequences, those same individuals may modify their behaviors to address those unwanted ramifications. Counter-conducts are one way that individuals reflexively attempt to alter outcomes of their chosen actions.

Counter-conducts in the United States include broad ideological arguments for alternatives to capitalist development (Escobar 2005; Korten 1997, 1998, 1999, 2002, 2005, 2009; Cahn 1994, 2004) but small-scale counter-conducts can also be recognized in the Village of North Utica. Uticans' participation in tourism planning outside of the enframed and traditionally sanctioned methods may be characterized as one form of counter-conduct. This is especially true of the rumored "after-meetings" and other informal and unscheduled methods of participation that occur both during and outside of public meetings. Though these counter-conducts were often based on belief in the importance of capitalist exchange through tourism, they demonstrate that individuals are not completely constrained by the hierarchical and passive

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forms of participation enframed in the layout of the village hall. Similarly, events like the former annual

pig roast (Chapter 4) demonstrate that individuals can and have undertaken group action to meet

communal material needs through methods that did not require economic growth or development

initiatives. Such efforts demonstrate that some individuals recognize their ability to provide for

community resources, such as the municipal ballpark, without reliance on economic development.

The challenge for governmentality is to contain or redirect counter-conducts toward facilitation of

capitalist exchange and maintenance of internal and external security. In the Village of North Utica, some

of the counter-conduct that I witnessed (e.g., the sudden coalition of business owners seeking to entice the

historical society to keep the burgoo festival in the village) was undertaken for the explicit cause of

maintaining or increasing economic development in the village. In addition, the practice of

governmentality in the village also constrains the prevalence and intensity of any counter-conducts that

arise within the context of citizen participation. For instance, the planning commission and government

committees serve the role that Arnstein (1969) described as tokenism by providing Uticans the

opportunity to voice their opinions, interests, and concerns but without assurance or guarantee those

opinions, interests, and concerns will be incorporated into the decision-making processes. Similarly,

scheduling time for public comment at the ends of meetings constrains the input of would-be participants

who cannot attend late or long meetings due to other obligations. Further, confinement of public

participation in meetings to one evening per month (less in the case of governmental committee meetings)

disallows participation by those who are unavailable at that particular time. Finally, by organizing the

meeting area in a way that suggests that unofficial meeting attendees serve as a generally passive

"audience" also discourages counter-conducts within the context of the meetings. In this way, the

practice of governmentality limits the impact of couter-conduct by constraining citizen participation and

its potential impact on the capitalist exchange or development it requires. Nonetheless, individuals are

able and do break free of the dominant frames, if in ways that leave the dominant hegemonies intact.

Whether counter-conducts can completely break from governmentality or the capacity of governmentality to mitigate the impacts of counter-conduct are empirical questions that this dissertation does not address.

Of Local Traps and Participatory Assumptions

In light of the hegemonic dominance of marketplace ideology and participatory democracy, the appeal of participatory economic development models appears natural. However, there are many implicit assumptions in much of the participatory development literature. Namely, proponents of participatory development suggest that increased participation by "local" stakeholders will increase the likelihood of just, sustainable, mutually beneficial and acceptable outcomes. J. Christopher Brown and Mark Purcell (2005; Purcell and Brown 2005) have labeled such assumptions about "the local trap." In their work, Purcell and Brown (2005: 280) maintain that "local-scale control over development is no guarantee that a just or sustainable outcomes [sic] will result." They outline a number of false assumptions within the participatory development literature and point out that localization does not necessarily lead to democratization or increased public participation in decision making (Purcell and Brown 2005: 282). In light of the local trap, scales are strategic tools employed by individuals and groups to attain specific agendas (Purcell and Brown 2005). As a result, the nature of development's consequences cannot be assumed based on the scale at which they are initiated.

A similar argument can be made regarding the level and representativeness of participation: representative participation of any sort is not necessarily associated with certain social, economic, or political outcomes. While public participation may be just within a democracy, public participation in decision making does not guarantee just outcomes. A variety of individuals with a variety of agendas may participate in decisions and vary in their understandings and desires for wealth, equity, justice, sustainability, or consideration of other citizens' interests. Furthermore, if certain understandings, concerns, and desires are dominant within a given group, then representative participation by members of

that group will reflect those dominant understandings, concerns, and desires. It will not necessarily incorporate and address any dissenting understandings, concerns, or desires. The outcomes of the actions undertaken through participatory democracy will, then, reflect the dominant goals, interests, and agendas of the participating groups. Thus, when the majority of participants are focused on economic growth as the desired end of action, the representativeness of participants will have little effect on the outcomes of that development. That is, unless, those individuals deliberately choose to incorporate other understandings, concerns and desires.

In the Village of Utica, it would be imprudent to assume an association between representative participation and incorporation of varied agendas in decision making. Throughout the sample, regardless of one's financial interest in tourism, length of residence, or participation in planning, those I interviewed agreed that tourism should be exploited and expanded in the village. Only one participant voiced direct opposition to the growth ideology and the belief that tourism development would be generally beneficial to the community. All others agreed that, despite its drawbacks, tourism growth was a desired economic pursuit. Hence, even if the village trustees were comprised of a representative sample of Uticans, the data presented here suggest that dissenting voices would be a tiny minority in discussion of tourism development and economic growth.

According to Purcell and Brown (2005), rejection of the local trap allows for more critical examination of participants' agendas. This, in turn, will allow for more purposeful and critical evaluation of the intended outcomes of development. Purposeful description and consideration of the chosen agendas and actions will also allow for systematic reaction to any unintended consequences. Rejecting the assumptions inherent in the local trap allows for more reflection upon the nature and evolution of development efforts and their desired outcomes. This reflexivity may also allow for increased criticism of the social, economic, and political agendas that characterize governmentality, marketplace society, and participatory development paradigms. For citizens in communities like the Village of North Utica,

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evaluating the assumptions and agendas encapsulated in the development options they consider will allow

for greater critical evaluation of those options and their potential outcomes. It will also allow decision-

makers to be more purposeful in their consideration of the alternative understandings, concerns and

desires that may be present in the communities they represent and the ways the inherent agendas of a

given development option address those minority interests. For, as Brown and Purcell (2005: 614) point

out: "[P]olitical interests and agendas…produce a given set of scalar arrangements. Those agendas, not

the scales themselves [or levels of public participation], lead to social and ecological outcomes."

Summary

The previous chapters have demonstrated that public participation and implementation of

municipal planning have been implemented to alleviate problems that arise with economic development

and growth (Warner and Molotch 2000). In the Village of North Utica, as elsewhere, the notion of

participatory tourism development as a means to economic growth has been generally accepted as a

worthy pursuit. Though the primary purpose of this dissertation was not to assess the direct causes of the

perceived consensus, there is reason to question the causal role of participatory decision making and

planning. In this chapter, I have argued that the consensus regarding the need for tourism development in

the Village of North Utica is rooted in the framed and enframed nature of the American marketplace

society and is encouraged by the practice of governmentality. Nonetheless, as Giddens (1984) pointed

out, humans are reflexive agents who evaluate the consequences of action and alter their behavior in

pursuit of more desirable ends. As a result, individuals are able to practice counter-conducts and derive

alternatives to the dominant paradigms. In light of the local trap, individuals and communities can

undertake more critical evaluation of their possible courses of action and the intended and unintended

outcomes. Morton points to "the key role that intellectual activity plays in constructing ***and contesting***

hegemony" (2007: 78; emphasis mine). In the final chapter (Chapter 8), I suggest some ways that future

research may take part in the reconstruction and contesting of the hegemony of participatory

development.

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Suggestions for Future Research

But government is not just a power needing to be tamed or an authority needing to be legitimized. It is an activity and an art which concerns all and which touches each. And it is an art which presupposes thought. The sense and object of governmental acts do not fall from the sky or emerge ready formed from social practice. They are things which have had to be—and which have been—invented….[T]here is a parcel of thought in even the crassest and most obtuse parts of social reality, which is why criticism can be a real power for change, depriving some practices of their self-evidence, extending the bounds of the thinkable to permit the invention of others. Colin Gordon (1991a: x)

Conclusions

I moved to the Village of North Utica to seek answers to four questions: 1) How is participation incorporated into tourism development planning in the village?; 2) What factors influence individuals' participation?; 3) What are individuals' perspectives on tourism?; and 4) Do those perspectives vary with individuals' participation in tourism development planning processes? Within the first month, I witnessed elected officials making tourism decisions with seemingly minimal input from "audience" members. I listened to residents who had not attended the village meetings criticize the enframed context of participation. As I learned over the next several months, participation in decision making was a tool used for specific purposes by specific people in patterned, though varied, ways. Participatory planning and decision making methods in the village were what Arnstein (1969) would characterize as tokenism and did not appear guarantors of representative participation to ensure that all stakeholders' concerns are voiced, considered, or satisfied. This study echoes much of what has already been written. In line with U.S. economic ideology and the physical layout of the village, the town's community members, new and old, agree that economic growth is a must.

Despite adoption of "participatory" methods for tourism development planning, among other things, the unintended problems of tourism development seem to persist. The concerns of Verba et al. (1995) and Bellah et al. (1996) reverberate in the Village of North Utica: individual participation in planning often depends on the balance between individuals' personal concerns, community obligations,

and available resources, especially free time. As Arnstein (1969) and others argued, social power and structures also influence individuals' willingness to participate, regardless of their available free time. As for individuals' thoughts about tourism, the village mirrors findings of authors such as Faulkenberry (2000), Reed (1997), and Stonich (1998) and those without a direct interest in tourism in the village are concerned about inequitable distribution of the industry's costs and benefits.

Notwithstanding the perceived costs of the industry and some individuals' concern that they are unequally distributed, most of those I interviewed supported the industry's expansion, regardless of their participation in local tourism planning. Growth through tourism was the accepted means of addressing local material needs, especially maintenance of a diverse local business district and provision of tax monies to the village government.   The well-being of the business district meant well-being for the community. Viable alternative means of meeting those needs were not salient. As the village trustee I quoted in Chapter 5 said: "I used to say that we were going to have to hold a village bake sale to get that sewer paid for but now, with the pillow tax, that's getting taken care of" (Interview 2/20/07). A bake sale certainly seems an unlikely source of the millions of dollars it would take to replace the sewer system but finding an alternative to the current economic growth model appeared laughable.

This dissertation affirms the previously noted concerns about participatory planning methods and tourism development. Even though the message of participatory planning has been received and efforts to incorporate representative stakeholders have been made, the complaints and concerns are still the same 40 years after the "participation movement" began. In fact, many working in development haven fallen into the local trap and have assumed that localized, participatory approaches to development will result in more equitable, palatable, and sustainable outcomes. But such assumptions are based on false understandings of scale and participation and ignore the importance of the political, social, and economic agendas that participants bring to development decisions.

The extant literature and my findings from the Village of North Utica suggest that participation is not necessarily the most probable source for community consensus about development nor is participation necessarily a guarantor of certain outcomes. Consequently, it seems prudent to question the linguistic, physical, and cultural frames within which decisions about economies and governance are made and actions taken. As the writings of Brown and Purcell suggest, it is wise to consider the social, political, and economic agendas that influence local participatory development initiatives, as well as those undertaken at wider scales and or with less democratic emphasis.

While writing the last chapter, I recalled a comment by a local, long-term resident with no direct financial interest in tourism: "It's time to run the village like a business. No more good ole boys club" (Interview 1/08/07). It is reasonable, she suggests, for the government to be brought under the paradigm of the market. This notion seems a logical conclusion if the capitalist growth ideologies and modern governmentality are as hegemonic and pervasive as I and others suggest. Nonetheless, despite the apparent hegemony of participatory economic development paradigms, counter-conducts are possible given individuals reflexive abilities to evaluate the consequences of action and attempt to modify them. Evaluation of counter-conducts and their agendas could prove enlightening for those seeking alternatives to the oft-repeated consequences of development.

Despite the human capacity for counter-conduct, I fear that Ives (2004) is correct when he suggests that such alternatives face unfavorable odds for acceptance; the game has been rigged, so to speak. I would modify a statement by Butler and suggest (2006f: 232):

> While tourism [and/or economic development] may be criticized by many academics on the grounds of its impacts on culture and society, its environmental effects and its inflationary economic impacts, the fact remains that it is often the only alternative **[offered]** to abandonment of many communities.

If we so-called experts do not offer the communities that seek our advice a full explanation of the common intended and unintended consequences of established methods of development, as well as

alternatives to them, then we hinder their ability to reflect upon, critique, and develop maximally suitable

methods to address their communities' specific needs and chosen agendas. As applied anthropologists, if

we are looking to get different answers to questions about participatory development, including tourism,

the time has come to ask new and different questions and begin facilitating reflexive consideration of the

variety of ways material needs can be satisfied outside of the local trap.

Ultimately, I agree with Morton's statement that "All too often, a host of questions related to

'counter'hegemonic forms of resistance are left for future research" (2007: 133). It is my conclusion that

anthropologists need to begin examining the alternative forms of development as well as alternatives to

development. As Cooke and Kothari (2001: 7) write:

> [T]he time has come to ask whether the constant methodological revisionism to which
> some of us have contributed…has obscured the more fundamental problems within the
> discourse, and whether internal critiques have served to legitimize the participatory
> project rather than present it with a real challenge…how many such concerns need to be
> raised before participatory development itself comes to be seen as the real problem?
> Essentially, our problem at this stage…lies…with what participatory development does
> as much as what it does not do.

When we acknowledge the role that agendas play in the evolution of development initiatives, the

strategic use of scale by individuals and groups, and the framed and enframed ideologies within

which those agendas are formed, we will be able to more systematically and purposefully

facilitate action that suits the informed and reflexive understandings, concerns, and desires of the

communities in which we work.

Suggestions for Future Research

The findings presented in this dissertation suggest several areas that beg for additional

investigation. It would serve us well to better comprehend the means by which individuals critique

dominant hegemonies and propose counter-conducts. Detailed understanding of how Americans navigate

the pressures of individualist and communal social values within the context of democratic political

ideologies could also enlighten discussions of civic engagement and democratic participation within the U.S. Anthropologists would do well to ask two very basic questions: 1) Under what social and historical circumstances are humans capable of acting as agents of creative and constructive control over their environments? and 2) Under what circumstances are humans likely to naturalize a potentially detrimental sociocultural system?

More practically, evaluation of the social, political, and economic agendas that shape development activities could enlighten often simplistic participatory growth ideologies and practices. In addition, we would benefit from an understanding of: 1) what circumstances give rise to counter-conduct? and 2) in what contexts do counter-conducts succeed and to what extent do they thwart governmentality? To offer communities a variety of options that can be suited to their particular interests, we must understand how alternatives to the dominant methods have been conceived and implemented and the nature of their intended and unintended outcomes.

It does not seem wise, given the wealth of empirical evidence and the insight provided by the local trap, to argue that participation, however defined, is the solution for problems traditionally associated with "top-down," capitalist economic development, at least not tourism development. Yet, the traditional economic growth methods described in Chapter 2 are often the only solutions offered to communities and individuals struggling with material, social, and political troubles. It seems unrealistic to expect that any one method or practice will address all social, economic, and political needs. It does not, however, seem unwise to search for and test complementary approaches to the subject. Participatory methods may not be the means by which all development problems may be cured, but hope may reside in an understanding of alternative methods of development that are based in a variety of social, political, and economic agendas.

While Ferguson may be correct that anthropologists' limited impacts upon economic and political policy are due to the complex, uncertain, and context-dependent nature of our work—and its

implications—it does not follow that anthropologists can make no headway whatsoever (2005: 147). Whatever impact we have in the realm of community maintenance and economic or political policy must be rooted in work that truly questions the status quo, the taken-for-granted best practices, the dominant paradigms, and the alternatives that may indeed exist. According to Kathy Gardner and David Lewis (2005: 354-358):

> If anthropologists are to retain a commitment to improving the world they…need to move beyond deconstruction…to shift their focus away from development and on to relations of poverty and inequality.

They point out that anthropologists' unique contribution to the question of resource distribution and change lies with our demand that those in positions of power "be constantly reminded that change is inherently social…[and encouraged] to listen to other people's stories, to pay attention to alternative points of view and to new ways of seeing and doing" (ibid.). Anthropologists are able to survey human diversity and call into question our generalized assumptions, cultural boundaries, and taken for granted approaches to matters of culture change and economy. If we as applied anthropologists can follow that suggestion and remember the role that criticism can play not only in the evolution of development discourse but also in our own work, we may be able to rise above the dominant paradigms, survey the world of possibilities, and find a path to more equitable, sustainable, and just satisfaction of material needs for specific peoples, in specific places, with specific needs and specific means.

Appendix: Semi-Structured Interview Questions

1) What is your connection with Utica?

   a) Are you a resident of Utica?

      i) How long have you been a resident here?

         (1) {If not born in Utica} Where from originally?

         (2) {If not born in Utica} How did you come to move here?

      ii) {If not a resident of Utica} Where do you live?

   b) How do/did you make your living?

      i) Do you, now, or have you ever owned a business in Utica?

         (1) What kind of business?

         (2) Does or did tourism in Utica impact your business in any way? How so?

      ii) Are you or were you ever an employee in Utica?

         (1) If so, where are/were you employed?

            (a) What is/was your work there?

            (b) Is/was that business impacted by tourism in Utica? How so?

2) Are you (or have you ever been) actively involved in decisions about tourism in Utica? If so, How so? If not, why not?

3) Have you ever participated in Utica government?

      i) If so, when were you involved?

      ii) If so, what was your involvement?

      iii) During your involvement, were any decisions made about local tourism?

         (1) What were those decisions?

         (2) How were those decisions made?

         (3) Why were those decisions made?

4) Have you ever participated in local social organizations (e.g., the La Salle County Historical Society, the Heritage Corridor Association, the Utica Garden Club)?

    a) If so:

        (1) with which organization(s) were you involved?

        (2) when were you involved?

        (3) what was your involvement?

        (4) were those organizations affected by tourism in Utica? If so, how so?

5) Have you ever organized or helped with festivals in Utica (e.g., St. Patrick's Day, Mardi Gras and 4th of July Celebrations, the Burgoo Festival)?

    i) If so:

        (1) why did you participate?

        (2) how did you participate?

    ii) If not, why not?

6) So, what's your take on tourism in Utica?

    a) Why?

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