

We Live Here: Constructing Place in a Canadian National Park Town.

Kim Orlando

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Abstract

We Live Here: Constructing Place in a Canadian National Park Town.

Kim Orlando

This thesis explores the notions of place and place making within a small town whose primary place identity is as a tourism destination. More specifically, this is an ethnographic study of the residents of the Town of Banff and of the issues they face that challenge their sense of placehood within this small national park town of roughly 8,000 people.

The issues faced by the residents of Banff are brought to life in this thesis by giving voice to some of the area's residents, predominantly to those with whom I worked or interacted over a 6 month fieldwork experience. By describing some of the challenges to the lived experience of Banff's residents, such as living in a highly transient town that must adhere to strict park regulations, while being a locale crafted to suit the needs of the tourists, it is hoped that a further understanding of the complexity inherent in making a tourism place a place of residence is realized. Consequently, this thesis maintains that despite the park policies in place and the toured nature of the Town of Banff, all attributes which can render a locale more akin to a non-place (Augé 1995), Banff is able to maintain the characteristics of an anthropological place (Augé 1995) through its residents' ability to manage the issues inherent within their town.

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Kim Orlando

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Banff is a place of great beauty, a nation's pride, a place to love and to fight over, as well as a world-renowned tourism destination. It is a place that contains people who are at times just passing through and others who stay to make a living. There are even those who, in the end, choose to be laid to rest in its quaint cemetery, surrounded by the tombstones of individuals who have left their mark on Banff; people such as Tom Wilson, Jimmy Simpson, Bill Peyto and Katherine Whyte, or more recently, Jon Whyte, Louis and Joy Trono, Mary Alice Harvey Stewart, and many more. Above all else, Banff is a place of multiplicity and diversity; made up of people with diverse points of views and diverse lifestyles to match. However, if there is a view that all can agree on, it is that Banff is a place steeped in movement.

From its birth as Canada's first national park in 1887, Banff was created as a place for tourists. Consequently, the town's primary place meaning was that of being a service center for tourists. However, as it now stands, the Town of Banff has a population of approximately 8,000 people and is situated on roughly 5,000 kilometres of land within Banff National Park. Owing to the inherent mobility attributed to toured places, Banff is often portrayed as a place where only the tourists go and not a town in its own right. This thesis will outline some of the reasons Banff is generally perceived as a place whose meaning is entirely based on tourism. Yet, paradoxically, it is also a place shaped by diverse and contested meanings going well beyond its status as a resort.

I will outline how the characteristics of a non-place associated with Banff affects the lives of those who try to make Banff a place that is lived in rather than only toured through. Banff is both a toured place as well as a lived place, and it is the struggle

between these two primary place meanings that creates a particular dynamic within the town. This dynamic not only adds texture to the place itself, but also motivates its residents to deal with issues generated for the most part by its situation within a National Park, as well as its status as a world renowned tourism destination. It is by coping with the issues that a national park town and tourism site generates that the people of Banff are able to transform it into an anthropological place (Augé 1995), rather than a site that is more akin to a non-place.

Chapter 2, 'Theoretical Issues in the Anthropology of Tourism and Place', will outline the various theoretical underpinnings of this thesis and is divided into three primary topics. The first theoretical topic covers *tourism* and *anthropology*. A brief outline of how the study of tourism is situated within the field of anthropology will first be discussed, followed by a discussion of some of the main topics found within the study of contemporary tourism anthropology, including notions such as authenticity, commodification, nostalgia and agency. A brief analysis of tourism situated within the global context will be given. The second part of the theory chapter will examine the topics of *space* and *place*; first, as situated within the field of anthropology, and second, how the field of anthropology has influenced the study of each of these topics. I will also discuss the concept of place-making, while considering the role mobility, identity and belonging play within place-making, followed by a brief discussion of how the local and the global influence place-making. The notion of place is then considered in contrast to that of non-place, while finally considering the notion of anthropological places. The third part of the theory section will discuss the notion of *toured place* within the context

of such topics as how toured places are constructed, their meanings, as well as how they affect the lives of those who reside in them.

Chapter 3, 'Methodology', will outline the methodological methods I employed in the field, while describing some of the issues I encountered during my fieldwork and how I coped with them. Also noted in this chapter is my relationship with the Town of Banff, as well as a brief description of my main informants. This information is all presented with the intent to 'set the stage' for the reader.

Chapter 4, 'The Making of a Canadian National Park', gives a brief historical overview of Banff National Park, noting how the Town of Banff has been perceived throughout the development of the park itself. Furthermore, this chapter outlines the most significant processes and documents that have influenced the crafting of the Town of Banff, including the town's incorporation, park and town policies, and the ecological assessments the area has undergone.

Chapter 5, 'The People of Banff', presents some of the major issues facing those who live in the Town of Banff as they strive to make Banff a lived place, while noting how park policies and being a resort town are the two main issues influencing the daily lives of Banffites. Further explored in this chapter is the notion that Banff, despite the efforts of some agencies and individuals to make Banff a lived place, is above all else a place designated as a service center for tourists. Also discussed in this chapter is how the two primary factors affecting the perception of Banff as a non-place—being both a toured place and a national park place—are what, paradoxically, encourages the townspeople and the various agencies to make Banff a lived place. In other words, the issues that the people of Banff face, which are generated by its location (i.e. a toured place as well as

national park place), and how their coping with these issues actually makes Banff more of a lived place. For example, one particular issue the Town of Banff faces is that it plays host to a highly transient work force. Having a population that is highly transient generates certain issues that must be addressed, such as providing sufficient accommodation or social services that are particular to this displaced population. Chapter 5 outlines some of the efforts the various agencies and individuals in Banff make to deal with the issues associated with being a place of mobility. Furthermore, the chapter explores how, despite identities forever shifting in Banff and how belonging can be tenuous within a place that is both toured through and set within a national park, some residents still achieve a sense of placehood within this ever-changing mountain setting.

As noted above, Banff is home to a very much needed transient work force, since they cater to Banff's seasonal tourism industry. Chapter 6, "The Seasonal Workers of Banff", attempts to present some of the issues this particular group encounters during their brief sojourn in Banff, as well outlining some of the perceptions this group has towards the town itself. This chapter further notes how Banff is a town made meaningful not only by long term residents, but also by those who are only temporary residents. Even for seasonal workers, Banff is a place, if not liveable for an extended period, one that is definitely worth visiting.

Chapter 7, 'Working and Housing', outlines the two more challenging issues shaping place-making for Banffites. The first are the working conditions particular to a toured town. A second are the housing issues in Banff, which are predominantly shaped by park policies and the high cost of living in a resort town.

Chapter 8, 'Theoretical Analysis of Fieldwork' presents an analysis of my fieldwork using the theoretical perspectives that were outlined in chapter 2. Consequently, this thesis' ethnographic analysis focuses on how living in a tourism site that is situated within a national park affects not only the Town of Banff itself but also the lived conditions of the town's residents. This analysis is achieved through the application of a theoretical context that is inclusive of theory centered on the study of tourism, place, place-making and tourism places.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Issues in the Anthropology of Tourism and Place

Situating Tourism in Anthropology

Tourism is considered to be one of the world's largest industries, generating approximately \$800 billion a year in revenue¹ and is characterized primarily as a service-based industry (World Tourism Organization, 2006:4)². Tourism has been generally described as 'getting away' from one's daily routine and place of residence with the express purpose of engaging in different experiences from the everyday and the commonplace (Urry, 1990:2).

Mass tourism is said to have first taken root in Europe and North America around the mid-1800s. Prior to that time, only the elite of European society would travel for pleasure and education (Urry, 1990: 4), although traveling did exist in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries primarily for religious reasons, such as in pilgrimages (Urry, 1990:4; Graburn, 1989: 29). By the late 17th century, traveling for pleasure had taken root within the young British elite; subsequently these travels became known as the 'Grand Tour' (Urry, 1990:4).

Over the course of the Grand Tour's two hundred years of history, the experiences sought by tourists repeatedly shifted. During the early period of the Grand Tour, tourists were interested in acquiring knowledge and observing sites such as museums and art galleries. According to John Urry, this form of observation required the use of a passive eye, since it involved a form of observation that was neutral rather than emotional (Urry, 1990:4). However, by the nineteenth century the Grand Tour's focus became more

¹ By 2020 this figure is expected to double.

http://www.unwto.org/media/key/en/pdf/tourism_enriches_eng.pdf

²The tourism industry is considered to have the largest service sector of any industry.

http://www.unwto.org/media/key/en/pdf/tourism_enriches_eng.pdf

romantic. Thus, sites inspiring passionate feelings based on experiences of beauty were sought (Urry, 1990:4), leading tourists to a quest for natural landscapes, as found in the countryside and on the coastlines, vistas which instilled a sense of awe (Graburn, 1989:29).

By the mid-nineteenth century, the democratization of tourism had begun, with transportation playing a key role in this process. During this period railway lines were being developed extensively across Europe and North America, providing the less wealthy with an affordable means of travel. Also influencing the emergence of mass tourism was the introduction of group tours³, which helped to further reduce the cost of traveling. With these processes taking place within the tourism industry, tourism was no longer affordable or accessible only to the elite, thus heralding the epoch of mass tourism (Graburn, 189: 29).

While the anthropological study of tourism took off during the 1970s (Nash and Smith, 1991:13), before then anthropologists seemed to have little interest in this field of study (Douglas and Lacy: 2005, 119). One of the reasons cited for the reluctance of some anthropologists to venture into the study of tourism was the perception that tourism was an aspect of modern society, which was then deemed to be of no relevance to the study of anthropology (Nash, 1981: 461, Nunez, 1989: 266). Tourism was also regarded as an aspect of culture that was more characteristic of play, a topic that at first was not seen as worthy of study (Nash, 1981: 461; Smith, 1977: 1). Finally, some anthropologists were fearful that by studying tourism they would be identified as tourists rather than anthropologists, and furthermore, to study a field that could threaten the very cultures

³ Thomas Cook of England is considered to be one of the first to introduce all-inclusive tours in 1842 (Graburn, 1989: 29).

anthropologists studied was perceived to be counter intuitive (Crick, 1995:207-208; Douglas and Lacy, 2005:119-120).

Anthropology's first interest in the study of tourism centered on the effects tourism had on host cultures, such as in the context of acculturation or development (Nunez, 1989: 1, Nash, 1995: 181) with a particular emphasis on the hosts in the Global South (Nash and Smith, 1991: 13, 15). Fittingly, the first book published on tourism within the field of anthropology, Valene Smith's: "Hosts and Guests", focused on the effects tourism had on host cultures (Nash and Smith, 1991:14-15). Smith argued that the impact of tourism on host countries, whether positive or negative, was associated with the extent and nature of the economic disparity inherited within the tourism encounter (Smith, 1977: 4). Thus, tourism was felt to have a more negative consequence on those host countries wherein a larger economic disparity existed between the hosts and guests (Smith, 1977: 4). The book "Hosts and Guests" is also recognized for Valene Smith's seminal definition of a tourist, a definition that has often been quoted in the various social studies on tourism (Smith, 1977: 2). Smith defines the tourist as, " temporarily leisured person who voluntarily visits a place away from home for the purpose of experiencing a change" (Smith, 1997: 1). Smith's 1989 revised edition of "Hosts and Guests" strived to portray an even more comprehensive view of the interchanges occurring between tourism and host nations (Smith, 1989, 6;Nash and Smith 1991: 15) by acknowledging that tourism along with modernization affects cultural change. (Smith, 1989, X).

Authenticity and Tourism

In the study of tourism, anthropologists have drawn heavily on research conducted in other fields, such as sociology (Nash and Smith, 1991: 13). One of the first sociological studies that anthropologists drew from was Dean MacCannell's: "The Tourist". MacCannell argues that tourists are on a search for the authentic, be it an authentic experience, place, object or an 'other', as a means to counter their own sense of alienation, fragmentation and inauthenticity, which MacCannell states is a product of modern day living (1976:2-3). Thus for MacCannell, tourists are perceived as being on a quest, or even on a secular pilgrimage, to regain what they felt was lost in their day-to-day living (MacCannell, 1976:13).

Another central point to MacCannell's treatise on the tourist's quest for authenticity is the notion of front and back regions, notions that he has borrowed from sociologist Erving Goffman's (1959) study of symbolic interaction (MacCannell, 1976: 4). The front region is described as the area where the hosts and guests interact (1976:92). The interactions that take place in the front regions are considered to be contrived and therefore inauthentic (1976: 93-94). Conversely, the back region is described as the area where only the service workers gather and it is in this area that a more authentic performance is believed to take place (1976:93-94). Thus, it is the back region that some tourists are hoping to access for it is here that they believe a more authentic tourist experience can be achieved (1976: 96-97). MacCannell further notes how the phenomenon of tourists seeking to experience "real" performances, has evolved into the creation of 'staged authenticity' (1976: 98). Staged authenticity is said to be the process

of making a 'back stage' available to tourists of, contrived purposely for them and including such experiences as ethnic or tribal dances produced for tourism (1976: 99).

However, McCannell's notion of authenticity has been criticized on the basis that not all tourists should be viewed as being on a search for authenticity, when some are only searching for fun or recreation (Burns, 1999:77; Selwyn, 1996:3). Thus, for Edward Bruner, authenticity within a tourism production does not exist, nor will it ever exist since what has been created is a production crafted solely for the tourists. Although Bruner does acknowledge that a tourism production is extracted from a particular cultural template, this does not render the production any more authentic. Rather it creates something 'new' since the elements of a tourism production, (such as an audience, a context and time) are constantly changing (Bruner, 2005:4-5). Bruner further concludes that tourists, after all, are not so much interested in the authenticity of the production, but in how well it is performed (Bruner, 1991: 240-241).

Furthermore, MacCannell's idea of the tourist's search for the authentic as a result of their sense of modern day alienation has also been criticized for lacking conviction in today's post-modern era. Thus, for some theorists, the post-modern era is largely centered on consumerism, rendering people not so much concerned with feelings of alienation (Bruner, 1991: 240), but with wanting to consume goods (Selwyn, 1996:3-4).

Nelson Graburn draws on Arnold Van Gennep's (1909) notions of rites of passage, as well as Victor Turner's (1959) related notion of liminality when describing tourists' experiences. Thus, for Graburn, the tourist experience is a ritual process similar to a rite of passage. He notes that just as a rite of passage incorporates three stages (i.e.

separation, liminality and incorporation), so too does the tourism experience include these three stages. Separation is typified by one's separation or removal from one's daily environment, and liminality is characterized as a period of betwixt and between, and involving a sense of marginality or isolation. Finally, reincorporation is described as the period where the person feels themselves to have returned or reincorporated back into their normative life (Graburn, 1983: 13). However, Graburn comments that in the case of a rite of passage, reincorporation involves the assumption of a new status. Whereas the tourist is motivated not by the search for a status so much as a rest or change from their daily life (Graburn, 1982:11).

However, as mentioned earlier, for some authors, the tourist's motivation to participate in a tourism experience is less about finding the authentic or getting a break from one's daily life, than about a desire to consume. Furthermore, commodification has been looked at not only in the context of cultures being consumed, but also within the context of landscapes being consumed by the gaze of the tourist. With the attention of the tourists being directed towards consuming, shopping has consequently also become a critical part of the tourism experience.

The commodification of culture is said to take place when an aspect of a culture, such as a ritual or dance, has been created for commercial use, such as in a tourism production. Anthropologist, Davydd Greenwood, first discussed this notion based on his own observations of the Alarde ritual in the Basque village of Fuenterrabia (Greenwood, 1977), Greenwood's study of the Alarde ritual led him to conclude that the commodification of a culturally meaningful ritual or event for the purpose of tourism, denies the locals the significance of a fundamentally important cultural event (1997:131).

Furthermore, as these events or rituals' meanings are being eroded for tourism purposes, what also deteriorates is the sense of social solidarity that these cultural events and rituals use to promote (Greenwood, 1977:137).

Landscapes have also been examined within the context of commodification. One author, who has written extensively on the commodification of landscapes during the tourism experience, is sociologist John Urry. For Urry, visually consuming landscapes or places is as much a part of the tourism experience as the consumption of goods⁴ (1990:120; 1995:1). Urry refers to the visual consumption of places by tourists as 'the tourist gaze' (1990). Urry points out that the tourist gaze is a social construct that is systematized and while not thoroughly guided by a specific institution as is the doctor's gaze (Foucault 1978), is nonetheless significantly influenced by the tourism professionals (1990:1).

Urry notes how there are many types of tourist gazes. He qualifies this observation by stating that for each social group there is a specific gaze, while also noting time as another influencing factor. The tourism gaze, Urry also contends, is created through difference. In other words, the tourism gaze is created through its opposite, that is, comparing it to non-tourism experiences such as work and home life (1990, 1-2). As such, Urry states that what is needed in creating a distinct tourism gaze is that the place that is visited has to have at least an aspect that is somehow distinct from what we experience in the everyday. Since tourism involves experiences that are outside of our daily routine, a binary relationship is created (1990, 11). This binary relationship is characterized by the ordinary (daily life) and its opposite, the extraordinary (tourism

⁴ Urry further points out that services, like material objects, should also be considered as consumable (Urry, 1995:129).

experiences) (1990, 11). Consequently, as a way of further enhancing their tourism experience, tourists look to cast their eyes on a site with the hope of finding something that is extraordinary or different from what they encounter in their daily lives (1990, 11-12).

With regards to tourist places being commodified, Urry makes the following observations. First he points out that places are being increasingly made into places of consumption; with activities increasingly revolving around the purchase or use of goods and services (Urry, 1995:1). The author also points out that not only are places being consumed visually, such as by the tourist's gaze, they are also being 'literally consumed' through outdoor activities such as hiking. And finally, Urry notes that some places can themselves become almost entirely defined by consumption, therefore having very little else to identify them with (1995, 1).

The notion that places are progressively becoming places of consumption through the activities that they engender is further discussed by Ritzer and Liska. They note how not only has tourism become a commodity as pointed out by Urry (1990), but that tourism should also be credited for its ability to entice the tourists to consume other goods (Ritzer and Liska, 1997: 103). As a result of this increased need to consume, Ritzer and Liska point out that this has translated into shopping having become a common activity for tourists, or what they refer to as the 'post-tourist', not only as an activity to do while on vacation but as a form of recreation in and of itself (1997: 103-104).

Drawing on Urry's notion that places are themselves being consumed, Beedie and Hudson have suggested that mountains themselves have been commodified owing to the

increase in consumer demand for adventure tourism (Beedie and Hudson, 2003:15). Tourists, the authors state, are increasingly consuming mountains through holiday activities such as mountain climbing, hiking, skiing and ice climbing with the expectation that these holidays will provide them with greater knowledge, new experiences⁵ and even new social identities (2003:15). Beedie and Hudson further note that although landscapes have been commonly included in the process of commodification, only recently has this included mountains owing to the increased interest in mountain holiday activities (2003:15).

A clear example of Urry's observation that certain tourist places have themselves become entirely devoted to the activity of consumption, would be theme parks. In the article, "Dissecting Disney's Worlds", Janet Wasko comments on how theme parks, in particular Disney parks, are focused mainly on consumption (Wasko, 2001:158). Furthermore, the author notes that the parks themselves can be considered commodities since to even enter the park gates the visitor is required to buy an entrance ticket (2001:158). Wasko also asserts that from the moment a tourist passes through the park gates they are encouraged to consume, as the parks themselves are designed with the idea of tourists consuming the goods that are for sale (2001:158). Theme parks, and in particular Disney parks, can be described as places that are, 'all consuming' (Urry, 1995:1).

As a final note, Urry remarks on how increasing consumerism in places affects the relationship people have with them. Thus, in places that are centered on consuming, people have little to base their sense of social identity on (Urry, 1995:21). Since consumed places have little that encourages a feeling of having lived there, they have a

⁵ Also refer to Wang's article: 'Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience' for further discussion on the authentic experience in outdoor activities

more 'simulated' or contrived feeling to them, which subsequently imbues these places with a feeling of placelessness (1995:21).

Preserving the Past

The consumption of landscapes has also led to an increased interest in protecting them. Urry points out that the phenomenon of tourists wanting to visually consume the environment has shaped the contemporary desire to protect the environment (1995:179). Urry notes numerous ways in which mass tourism has influenced our increasing concern for the environment. One of these influences stems from Western society's shift from an economy of producers to an economy of consumers. This shift has created specific regions that are purposely meant to be consumed including leisure spaces such as mountains and beaches (Macnaghten and Urry, 1998: 105). Furthermore, this shift to consuming our environment is based on an aesthetic judgment (Urry, 1995:180), which Urry credits to the Romantic Movement (1990: 20).

The Romantic Movement occurred in the West during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and has been described as a reaction to western industrialization (Tucker, 1997: 26). Thus, the Romantic Movement is said to have created a romantic cult of nature, based on the desire for a 'natural nature', as opposed to urban chaos (1997:26). Landscapes are perpetually being judged and examined aesthetically on the basis of appropriate consumption, using concepts of authenticity, exceptionality and unspoiledness. (Tucker, 1997: 28). The aesthetic judgement of landscapes guides the tourists to visually consume them with the belief that they exist solely for their aesthetic viewing (1997: 28). This notion is further attributed to what Urry refers to as the

'romantic tourist gaze' which he explains as tourists wanting to commune with nature on a very personal and almost mystical level (Urry, 1995:108). The tourist's attempt to experience this relationship with the environment, necessitates that the environment maintain those qualities that are capable of evoking these types of romantic notions for the tourist's gaze. Thus, the romantic gaze of the tourist contributes to the protection of the environment (1995: 108).

By preserving landscapes, tourists are able to continue experiencing and enjoying their tourism moment (Urry, 1995:108). However, Urry further notes how the tourist's attention creates a Catch-22 situation since the more a place attracts tourists, the more it risks being exploited (1995: 183-184) or 'loved to death' (Walker, 2005:60). Furthermore, with the implementation of preservation practices, the site maintains its status as a tourism site and thus continues to attract an ever-increasing number of tourists as the tourism industry continues to grow (Urry, 1995: 189). In being preserved for the needs of the tourism industry sites are imbued with a sense of timelessness so that they do not appear to have been touched by the passing of time; this allows the tourists to feel that although change is a part of the world around them, there are some places which have not been affected by change and have therefore remained the same (Rojek and Urry 1997:15).

The tourist's desire to gaze upon tourism sites that have been preserved leads to what Graburn has discussed with regards to the notion of nostalgia within tourism. In his article: "Tourism, Modernity and Nostalgia", Graburn points out that the tourist's longing to see and experience elements of the past has led some tourists to choose tourism experiences that are steeped in nostalgia (1995: 165-166). The increased desire for

nostalgia has generated, Graburn notes, an increased demand for heritage⁶ tourism sites (1995: 166).

The quest for those things that satisfy the tourist's desire for nostalgia, be it based on nature or on history, brings the argument back once again to the notion of the tourist's search for authenticity, as well as the tourist's experience of alienation within their daily lives (Graburn, 1995:166-167). Citing MacCannell's (1976) notion of alienation within the tourism experience, Graburn points out that the tourists' desire for things from the past is a direct response to the sense of alienation tourists feel in their day to day living (1995: 167). Thus, the tourist's longing to experience elements of nostalgia within their tourism experience, Graburn states, is because they want to experience a sense of harmony or unity, which they feel is part and parcel of times gone by (1995:167). Furthermore, this experience of nostalgic places is equated with a period of time that is thought to be more authentic than what the tourists experience in their post-modern life (1995: 167). However, as I pointed out earlier, notions of authenticity have been criticized on the grounds that not all tourists should be perceived as being interested in a search for authenticity (Bruner, 1991:240-241), nor are all tourists feeling alienated from their post-modern life (Burns, 1999:77; Selwyn, 1996:3).

Authenticity isn't the only meta-narrative that has been critiqued within the study of tourism; the concepts of consumerism and commodification have also been challenged, on the basis that not all tourists are solely interested in consuming cultures;

⁶ Heritage tourism has been defined as, "travel designed to experience the places and activities that authentically represent the stories and people of the past" (Hoffman et al. 2000:30; Nation Trust for Historic Preservation 2001). Thus, heritage tourism sites would include: parks, museums, archeological sites, as well as traditional and ethnic places of note or foreign countries of which "exotic" cultures maybe visited. Also included in this definition are foreign countries of which "exotic " cultures may be visited (Walker, 2005: 60).

they may also have an interest in the social organization of cultures. For example, Selwyn refers to how the tourists in “O’Rourke’s (1987) film “Cannibal Tours”, apply local body paints and dance after their boat leaves their tourism tour in Papua New Guinea (Selwyn, 1996: 15). Furthermore, Selwyn remarks that although some parts of culture may have been commodified, this should not imply that this is the case with all parts. Here, he refers to Black’s study (1996) in Malta, in which she notes that the interplay between those facets of cultures that have been commodified in comparison to those that haven’t may in fact help further sustain and strengthen those parts of cultures that have not been touched by consumerism (1996:15). Selwyn also notes, by referring to Cohen’s (1988) study, that in the case of the meanings contained within cultural productions, commodification may also help in establishing new meanings rather than just removing meaning from cultural productions (1996:15). Others note that tourism can be a platform where local cultures are able to showcase their culture to others in a manner that they feel is fitting, thus enabling locals to attain agency (Abram and Walden 1997:10; Hoskins, 2002: 817; Adams, 1997: 318).

Agency and Tourism

Bruner has also noted how the notion of agency within tourism production should be understood in such a way that all those who take part in the production of the tourism drama, such as the tourists, the locals and the tourism specialists, are bestowed with agency (Bruner, 2005: 12). Bruner also points out that the identities among those in the tourism production are anything but static. He cites as an example hosts who at one point in time may have been at the receiving end of the tourism production and may in other

instances become those who are hosted (2005:12). This observation would imply that identities are not to be perceived as fixed, but as flexible, since hosts and guests may at one time or another trade roles (2005:12). In sum, Bruner, taking into account the flexibility inherent within the tourism production, argues that those who take part in the tourism drama do not have fixed positions. Thus, the tourist professionals are not always in a position of control, nor are the locals always exploited, nor are tourists solely at the mercy either of the touring professionals or locals (2005:12).

An analysis of the power relations within the tourism scene has been detailed in the article written by So-Min Cheong and Marc Miller (2000), titled: "Power and Tourism: A Foucauldian Observation". In this article, the authors challenge the notion that tourists are the sole players with any power within the tourism practice. The authors instead perceive power as being 'everywhere in tourism' and note in particular how locals can have agency when having to contest tourism issues (2000: 372-373). Contrary to the generally accepted notion that the tourist encounter only consists of the host and guests, they instead opine that it is rather a three part social system that includes not only the tourists and locals, but brokers as well (2000: 379). The brokers are said to be those who work within the tourism industries such as hotel employees and owners, public sector employees who are directly involved in the tourism sphere, as well as a host of other individuals who are directly involved with tourism such as travel consultants and academics (2000: 379). The authors also assert that relations within the tourism context are fluid which means that identities may be reversed, citing as an example a tourist who acquires a tourism business, thus becoming a broker or that of a tourist who decides to move to a tourist site, thus becoming a local (2000: 379).

Furthermore, the power inherent within each group is perceived to also be in flux; for instance, a tourist may be in one moment be the one who is directing the local or broker, and vice versa (2000: 379). With regard to the notion of the tourist's gaze the authors remark how the tourists are the ones that are allocated the act of gazing. They note however that Urry fails to take into consideration how the gaze has been directed by both the locals and the brokers, thus allocating a degree of power to both (2000: 383-384).

Tourism in a Global Context:

As mentioned previously, in the more recent studies in tourism there has been a critique of the use of meta-narratives and of generalizations used in regard to such concepts of commodification and authenticity. Instead, the study of tourism now favoured is one that includes a broader analysis of the relationship between the local and the global (Burns, 1999:77; Selwyn, 1996:5; Bruner, 2005:12). This broadening in scope within the study of tourism has led to a more complex understanding of the dynamics inherent within tourism (Nash, 1995:182). For instance, anthropologist Christopher Nash, points out how tourism has in some instances been allocated sole responsibility on some issues, whilst other contributing factors were never taken into account. He gives the example of the depletion of ground water, which has in some cases been attributed to tourism (Nash, 1995: 183). However, he notes that other factors, such as industrialization, may have just as well played a role in the depletion of the water (Nash, 1995: 183). Or, in another instance, taking into consideration the power relations inherent within the tourism sphere, Cheong and Miller have stated that power should not be perceived to flow in one direction only, within the context of the 'global-local nexus' (2000: 373).

With a broader understanding of the dynamics persistent within the field of tourism, a more comprehensive understanding of the issues facing the tourism sphere is achieved. Therefore, tourism is not solely understood in terms of its negative consequences on host cultures, such as destroying the local environment, or of increasing social inequality and contributing to social disintegration (Nash, 1981: 465; Walker, 2006:62; Boissevain, 1996:6-7; Ioma and Thoma, 2002:39), nor are hosts and tourists seen to lack agency when participating in the tourism industry (Wallace, 20005:1; Bruner, 2005:12; Cheong and Miller, 2000:373; Douglass and Lacy, 2005: 121; Howes, 1998: 13).

Consequently, tourism has been studied more recently within a context that moves beyond the simple notion of it being either a positive or negative influence, to a consideration of its transforming influence. The transforming influence tourism has on local and global affairs is thought to be a result of its status as one of the world's largest trans-global industries (Wallace, 2005:9-10). Thus, Bruner points out, the tourism production should not be excluded from the wider context (2005: 12). This makes it essential that the study of tourism take into account the interplay between the local and the global, as the political and economic dynamics of a tourism site are influenced by both these factors (2005: 12-12). And as authors Lanfant, Allcock and Bruner have stated "tourism operates on a world scale, crossing many boundaries." (Lanfant et al.1995: VIII)

Having acknowledged the broader scope applied to the study of tourism, so too has this notion been applied to the understanding of tourism sites. In the following section, I will first discuss the notions of place-making taking first into consideration the concepts of space, place and non-place before embarking onto the topic of toured sites.

Space, Place and the Making of Anthropological Places

Owing to the contemporary forces brought on by globalization, such as mass migration and transnationalism, the conceptualization of space and place within the field of anthropology has been accordingly reassessed. In their article titled: “Beyond Culture”: Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference”, Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson first point out how the concept of space has usually been conceptualized in terms of discontinuity with an emphasis on distinct and separate groups, cultures and nations (1992: 6). According to Gupta and Ferguson, this perception of space is the basis upon which concepts such as culture contact, discord and misconceptions about cultures and societies have been premised (Gupta and Ferguson 1992: 6). Thus, world maps have been drawn in such a way as to give the impression that the space on a map is taken up by what appears to be neatly distinct countries (1992: 6). Gupta and Ferguson assert that this bounding of space into separate countries engenders the notion that each country represented on a map, which is assigned a specific color, stands to represent one totalizing culture rather than an agglomeration of cultures or groups (1992: 6-7). In a later work, Gupta and Ferguson contended that cultures and people should no longer be described as being “fixed in place” (1997:4). The relationship that exists between place and cultures should no longer be taken for granted, but should instead be recognized as being the product of continual political and historical developments (1997: 4).

Margaret Rodman, in her article, “ Empowering Place: Multilocality and Multivocality”, notes how in anthropological representations, places have become associated with particular ethnographic locales. As Rodman points out, this association of

place with ethnographic locales has led place to be associated with space. In other words, place has been conceptualized only as a background setting where life is lived. This passive view of place has led to places being perceived as metonyms; as an example Rodman cites Andalusia being equated with all of Spain (Rodman, 1993: 640-641). She further notes that when place is acknowledged to be more than just space, it can then be conceived as being, “politicized, culturally relative, historically specific, local and multiple constructions.” (Rodman, 1992: 641).

Gupta and Ferguson also comment on how the terms *culture* and *cultures* have been conceptualized within the field of anthropology. They first point out how perhaps just as important as the concept of “culture” has been to Anthropology, so too has the concept of “cultures”, which they describe as, “...the idea that a world of human differences is to be conceptualized as a diversity of separate societies, each with its own culture.” (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997:1) This shift from the concept of “culture” to that of the concept of “cultures” has led, Gupta and Ferguson say, to the viewing and discussion of “a culture”. Thus, cultures were now seen as clearly demarcated units; units, to which were affixed labels, such as “a people” or “a tribe”. The concept of “a culture”, perceived as such, was then applied as a framework, which could then be compared cross-culturally. The practice of comparing cultures, further engendered the application of ethnographic markers, such as ‘writing about the Masai or ‘living among the Bedouin’ within the field of anthropology (1997:1). And as pointed out by Hastrup and Olwig, conceiving of cultures as separate units aided in organizing a world that was perceived as being otherwise chaotic (Hastrup and Olwig, 1997: 1).

Gupta and Ferguson also point out that there is a recognition among social scientists that cultural groups are not bounded by nations and therefore cross nation-state boundaries. However, the authors comment how these individual groups are again situated within specific areas. Thus, the authors refer to how social scientists have used space as a means to organize groups or cultures by assigning them to specific areas, for instance referring to the Aborigines as living in the Australian desert. Space therefore, the authors point out, becomes a 'neutral grid' upon which cultures and their social make up, such as their histories, become embedded (1992:7). Space used in such a manner results in it becoming an instrument that helps organize cultures (1992: 7). However, space used as such, has led to the distinctiveness of cultures being glossed over, or to their differences being minimized, as well as to the exclusion of outside influences (Gupta and Ferguson 1992: 7; Gupta and Ferguson 1997:3; Hastrup and Olwig 1997:2).

Hastrup and Olwig comment further on the notion of cultures not being fixed in place, noting that in framing cultures within specific places the importance of relations outside of the culture-area are minimized (Hastrup and Olwig, 1997: 2). But in no longer fixing cultures in place, it is possible to acknowledge the heightened role mobility plays in the cultural setting. As such, with this framework in mind the study of a particular place would include not only those who are more established in a place, but also those that may only temporarily be living in a particular area such as migrant workers (1997: 5). Furthermore, acknowledging the role mobility plays within the study of culture and place would allow us to take into account "processes of deterritorialization and reterritorialization" (Hastrup and Olwig, 1997: 6). And as Gupta and Ferguson have pointed out, conducting anthropological research while maintaining this notion of

cultures as being separate entities would now be highly problematic, since no longer are there- if there ever were- thoroughly bounded cultural subjects, or in other words, “a culture” (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997:1). Thus, the concept of doing ethnographic research “among the so-and-so”, which the authors coin as fieldwork that is of a stereotypic mold, would be considered as lacking complexity (1997:1)

Gupta and Ferguson have also noted how this conceptualization of space, which they refer to as “the isomorphism of space, place, and culture” (1992: 7) falls short in addressing those who reside in the border areas of nations. What the borderlands put to test is the notion that cultures consist of neatly packaged constructs that inhabit specific spaces (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992:7). And how can those who live in borderlands, such as migrant workers and transnational employees, be assigned as belonging to one culture when they are not living in solely one area (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992:7). Also of note are those groups of people who have moved away from one local to another on a more permanent basis such as immigrants and refugees (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992:7). In this instance, how is the notion of space being representative of a culture reconcilable with those groups that have relocated on a more or less permanent basis, as in the case of Cambodian refugees who have moved to Canada; taking along with them what is perceived to be an implied notion of “Cambodian culture” (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992:7).

Another issue created by the concept of attaching cultures to specific places is that it fails to address the matter of differences inherent among cultures within specific areas, as noted earlier by Hastrup and Olwig (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992: 7). The authors point out how concepts such as multiculturalism, subcultures and ethnicity, address to some extent cultural differences within specific places (1992:7). But they also note that these

concepts are limited since what is implied within them is the belief that there is such a thing as a 'local' culture (1992:7).

Moreover, Gupta and Ferguson argue that the notion that particular cultures are bound to specific places does not adequately address the impact of cultural contacts, such as the colonial experience (1992:7). As such, the authors point to the complexities stemming from the colonial experience, questioning for example if a "new culture" could be considered to be created from the cultural encounters experienced during the colonial experience (1992: 7-8).

Continuing with this analysis of cultural encounters, Gupta and Ferguson point to how our perception of cultures and spaces, as clearly demarcated units, has also shaped our understanding of how changes have occurred within society and culture (1992: 8). Thus, as I noted earlier this disconnected perception of culture and space has led to a myopic understanding of contact experiences, such as colonialism (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992:8). The perception of space as an independent construct, has as a result masked the role power has played within a place (1992:8). To exemplify this notion Gupta and Ferguson argue that the colonial experience would be best understood if it were to be perceived as a process that occurred within the context of interconnected spaces, as such, space would be understood within the context of it containing an already pre-existing community. By perceiving space and social changes within this context, Gupta and Ferguson argue that social contact would be perceived as shifting from one already pre-existing social interconnection to another (1992:8). In perceiving space as hierarchically interconnected it would allow for social and cultural changes to be understood as a

process that involves the creation of ‘difference *through* connections’ (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992:8).

This more complex understanding of space, the authors note, helps to better grasp how space becomes a place of identity since what is incorporated within this view of space is the awareness of the existence of ‘hierarchical power relations’ (1992: 8). Thus, by including not only the physical space itself, but also the social interactions occurring within a defined space, the identity of a place is further made explicit when it is acknowledged as being embedded within a ‘system of hierarchically organized spaces’, of which community is its manifestation (1992:8).

Gupta and Ferguson further argue that as a result of present global processes, cultures and communities are not so strictly bound by space and that thereby these processes have created a broadening of how community or locality is emplaced, also noting how the process of identity making and belonging no longer require face-to-face contact since means of communication have also expanded (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992: 9). They finally note that the concept of space has not so much disappeared as it has been ‘reterritorialized’ (1992: 9). This change in the perception of space, has affected our understanding of social processes such as “community building, identity creation and cultural differences.” (Gupta and Ferguson 1992: 9)

Place-Making, Mobility, Identity, and Belonging

The increased mobility of people, cultural products and practices, along with the heightened appreciation of the dynamics of territorialization, have led anthropologists to question how this has affected identity formation, as well as what constitutes ‘home’ or a

sense of belonging (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992: 9; Lovell, 1998: 5). Gupta and Ferguson note that identity formation has been not so much “deterritorialized, but at least differently territorialized.” (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992: 9) As I’ve already noted earlier the movement of people has problematized the ability to assign specific cultures to specific places (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992:10; Lovell 1998: 10). Furthermore as some authors have observed, some people do not consider themselves as belonging to one particular place, thus for some, movement may be considered to be their way of life. As Olwig states:

“This emphasis on rootedness has been criticized in recent writings which have argued that movement, far from being an interruption in ordinary, settled life, constitutes a normal condition of life for a great deal of people.” (Olwig, 1998:18)

Lovell has also pointed out how some highly mobile groups, such as gypsies and travelers, although often pressured to settle, base their sense of group identity largely on their mobile lifestyle (Lovell: 1998: 4).

With regards to place-making and identity, Gupta and Ferguson, emphasize that place-making is formed through the construction of difference. Through this construction of difference, identities are to be seen not as emerging out of rooted communities, nor are identities subsumed by people or groups (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997:13), but rather, identities are made of, “...a mobile, often unstable relation of difference.” (1997: 13) This therefore leads to the notion that identity and alterity are together constructed in the making of “locality” and “community”. Gupta and Ferguson, also stress that community is not only about concepts of cultural similarity or social contiguity, but rather it is based on concepts of exclusivity and “constructions of otherness.” (1997: 13) Or as Lovell has

commented, “The ‘local’ is conditioned into being and invoked into existence, through the necessity of creating an ‘other’ who is as different from ourselves as possible” (Lovell, 1998: 4). Gupta and Ferguson, also remark how this perception and construction of “the other” aids in the creation of collective and individual identities. As Hastrup and Olwig have noted when cultures are no longer perceived as “neatly localized” identities can be viewed as constructed through cultural interactions (1997: 5). The notion of creating identity through difference can also be applied to place, such that one is not only located in a particular place, but that place is also constructed and perceived through its juxtaposition with other places (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997:13).

In their analysis of place-making and identity, Gupta and Ferguson also discuss the role of resistance in the formation of identity. Thus, the creation of a sense of belonging to a particular locale is based in part on being able to identify with those in the community, as well as through the awareness of ‘others’ who are not considered to be part of the community (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997: 12). In addition, identities are considered to be subject to change as they may be challenged and revised; while noting how resistance plays a key role in the formation and reformulation of identity (1997: 17-18).

In discussing the concept of resistance with regards to notions of place-making and identity, Gupta and Ferguson borrow heavily from Foucault’s description of the term *resistance*, particularly highlighting how power, “...categorizes the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity... a form of power which makes individual subjects.” (Gupta and Ferguson quoting Foucault, 1997: 18). Subject, is further defined as either in the context of being under someone’s control or that of being

attached to one's own identity through self-awareness. The authors also stress the idea that resistance is constructed out of, "...an ongoing struggle with the ever changing deployment of strategies of power." (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997: 18) As a final note the authors' stress that resistance should be considered an experience that helps in both making and unmaking an identity. The experience of resistance is further said to help in transforming, cementing and even maintaining a person's identity (Gupta and Ferguson, 1977: 19).

Gupta and Ferguson also note how paradoxical it is that as the concepts of place and locality become ever more elusive, this however has not diminished ideas of places being any less culturally or ethnically significant, noting for instance how the concept of 'imagined communities' (Anderson 1983) and 'imagined places' (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992:10) help anchor those who are displaced in an increasing deterritorialized world. In other words, people on the move may still maintain a sense of belonging to places, however tenuous a concept place has become (Gupta and Ferguson: 1992:11; Lovell 1998: 10).

As has been pointed out, the memory of place has always been used by those who are displaced as a means of building a sense of community (Ferguson and Gupta, 1992:11; Lovell: 1998:4). However, noting that the idea of 'home' may be even more contested during these 'deterritorialized times and settings' (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992: 11), does not deny the importance of how our lives are being lived locally (1992:11). Communities should not to be conceptualized as 'literal entities' (cf. Cohen 1985), but rather, locally lived lives should be connected to the global, or as Gupta and Ferguson

have referred to them, as lives that are lived “bifocally” (1992: 11). Thus notions of place-making should include both global and local influences (1992: 11).

Place-Making: Local & Global

In considering how the local and global are incorporated within the notion of place-making, Gupta and Ferguson have noted that traditionally “the local” has been studied as, “a given, without asking how perceptions of locality and community are discursively and historically constructed.” (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997:6) What this approach has lacked is a focus on not only how locality and community have been constructed through time, but as noted earlier, how they have been lived (Gupta and Ferguson 1997: 6; Hastrup and Olwig: 1997:11). Gupta and Ferguson thus point out that place making is less about “ideas” as it is about social and political processes and embodied practices, which in turn help create identities as well as allow for resistance (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997: 6).

What Gupta and Ferguson also emphasize is that locality and community are made of complex relationships, which aren’t always obvious, thus noting that these relationships aren’t solely constructed from the near, but from a broader grouping of social and spatial associations as well. As Hastrup and Olwig have commented, “Not all “local culture” is defined primarily by the “locals”, however, nor does it necessarily serve local interests.” (Hastrup and Olwig, 1997:10) As concluded by Urry, the notion of local is anything but straightforward as it involves a multifaceted process that includes elements that are spatial and social in character (Urry, 1995: 73).

Gupta and Ferguson also contest the idea that “the local” should be only associated with notions of authenticity or originality, as it has traditionally been in the field of anthropology. Rather, the local should be considered as being created through a broader set of “social and spatial relations” (1997:7). Gupta and Ferguson therefore refute the idea that “the local” is to be equated with its opposite, “the global”, with “the global” invoking notions of the new, the inauthentic and the external (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997:7).

Non-Places

In his analysis of space, Michel de Certeau is quoted as saying, “space is a practiced place’ (de Certeau 1991), but what of places that are not conducive to being lived in. In his book, “Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity”, Augé discusses this very notion of place (Augé, 1995). Through his analysis of how space has been affected by contemporary society, which he calls ‘supermodernity’, Augé has brought forth the concept of non-place.

Before embarking on a discussion of non-places, Augé first introduces the notion of anthropological places (Augé, 1995: 51). To Augé, anthropological places are rich with social relations, history and identity (1995: 52). An example of an anthropological place would be that of a church since it embodies all of the three characteristics of an anthropological place. Thus, places that engender a feeling of identity such as one’s place of birth, as well as enable social relations, which in turn create a sense of historicity, are deemed to be anthropological places (1995: 53-55, 58).

In contrast non-places are described as having no relational or historical identity embedded within them (1995: 77-78, 81, 107). Non-places are created without incorporating places from the past; they therefore do not have any historical markings embedded within them (1995: 78). Nor do they encourage social relationships, a sense of belonging or forge any sense of identity (1995:79). Non-places are reflected in areas that are used as transit points as they are meant to be 'passed through' (1995:103). Examples of non-places are parks, hotels, supermarkets and airport terminals. However, the author notes how (anthropologically) places and non-places are never found to be completely one or the other, and thus are never to found in a 'pure form' (1995:78).

Concluding Remarks

As noted earlier, mobility is a marked characteristic of post modernity and this is no more apparent than in the field of tourism. As previously noted, the tourism experience is marked by the effort at 'getting away'. This leads us to wonder, what of those spaces that are marked as tourism places, those places that people go to in order to get away; how have they been affected by their designated role as tourism places?

Having remarked on the commodification inherent within the tourism experience, some would argue that tourism destinations have also been commodified (Urry, 1990: 1; McCabe and Stokoe, 2004: 601), thus leading to the conclusion that tourist destinations themselves have been turned into non-places (Ness, 2005: 121). The following paragraphs will outline some of the broader dynamics influencing toured places.

Toured Places

Tourism affects places, for example, through overcrowding, increasing the cost of real estate (Boissevain, 1996:4, 8), as well as by placing the area in a constant state of flux, since these places frequently have to accommodate and adjust to the needs of the tourism market (Kuppinger, 1998: 106). However, the affect tourism can have on places and on the people who live in them, may be even more profound. In particular, a 'living town' (Selwyn, 1996:8) that caters solely to the tourism industry may effectively be transformed from an anthropological place (Augé 1995), rich with social relations, history and identity (1995: 51), into a place that is more characteristic of a non-place, thereby affecting the living conditions of those who reside in these toured areas.

As previously noted, the field of anthropology has expanded the notion of place by further contextualizing its meaning (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992:6). Thus, place is no longer viewed as an "inert container" where people just happen to live, but it is also understood as a constructed space (Rodman, 1992: 641). Therefore, the making of a place encompasses a multitude of dynamics, including political, historical, cultural, local and global influences. In sum, places are now perceived to be a "lived, event-defined, multilocational happening." (Ness, 2005: 120) Furthermore, places are said to be "deeply sensed and consequently instilled or emplaced in the inhabitants as emotional charged realities." (Ness, 2005: 120). While places are intentionally made meaningful, they help shape the actions of people (2005:120) who live there.

Changing Places, Changing Meaning

As places are transformed so are their meanings. Ness uses the notion of landscaping to describe the process by which a place is transformed. Thus, landscaping is said to represent the, “reconstruction, deconstruction, and all other constructions of place.” (Ness, 2005: 120) Through this process of landscaping, a place is not only transformed physically, but its meaning is also changed. The transformation of place is thought to affect peoples’ preexisting sense of place, since landscaping engenders a sense of displacement. Displacement is described as the experience residents have when their place has been transformed. Thus, the recognition that one’s place has either been physically changed or that the meaning it embodies has been transformed can create a sense of displacement among its residents (Ness, 2005:120). How displacement is experienced by the inhabitants depends on what changes have taken place as well as how each person reacts to these changes. Furthermore, it is noted that any form of landscaping is said to be transformative as they change, “preexisting places and their intentionalities and replace them with new ones.” (Ness, 2005:120)

Places that are designated as tourism places are said to be transformed places since they reconstruct what was once the existing cultural and physical characteristics of a particular place into places that are distinctly made for tourism consumption (Hughes: 1998, 20, Kuppinger, 1998: 106). The emphasis on tourism consumption is thought to create a particular type of displacement to the landscaping of the area. Specifically, this type of displacement is thought of as making a tourism destination into a place that is more akin to a non-place (Augé 1995). As such, what is perceived to occur to places that have been transformed into tourism places is not so much a ‘re-placing’ but a ‘de-placing’ (Ness, 2005: 120). Thus, places transformed into tourism places are not only

physically altered; their essence may also be transformed in a more profound way (McCabe and Stokoe, 2004:604; Ness, 2005: 120).

What is perceived as being the main determining factor in this transformation of a place into a toured place, or anthropological place into a non-place, is the notion that these places are made predominantly into places of consumption. As such, places that are thought to lose their sense of “placehood”, that is, the characteristics that make a place a livable place or a place steeped with affect, are not only transformed into places that have only the minimal services needed to make the place livable, but they also impede people’s ability of making a place into a living place (Rojek and Urry, 1997: 10; Ness, 2005: 121). Consequently, toured places are often typified as having services that cater predominantly to the needs of the tourism industry, along with being a temporary home to a mobile population (Ness, 2005: 121).

As some authors have noted, the sheer abundance of tourists who pass through a tourism town may in effect make the local population feel as though the town they live in is no longer ‘their’ town as it has been temporary overtaken by ‘others’ (Urry, 1995:166), and thereby jeopardizing a sense of social identity among those residing in the area. Residents’ sense of lived in or of having come from a locale is also compromised since it is transformed into a place that is predominantly for tourism consumption. (Urry, 1995: 20-21, 219). As such, tourism landscaping may have the effect of objectifying the tourism destination (Ness, 2005: 132) or commodifying it (Urry 1995), for the sole purpose of pleasing the tourist gaze (1995: 165).

Crafting for the Tourist Gaze

Along with the idea of creating a destination with the intent of pleasing the tourists' eye, it can be said that representations of tourism places are intentionally constructed, rather than passively made. In other words, the aesthetics of tourism destinations have been purposely crafted to attract the tourist's eye (Hughes, 1998: 20, Urry 1995: 165; Ness 2005: 132). As Urry has commented, toured places cater to those who are in search of something different from their own day to day living, and these places are therefore fashioned to satisfy the tourist gaze. Thus the space, the local economy, as well as the 'place-image' of toured places are effectively transformed into tourist objects specifically for the gaze of the tourists (Urry, 1995: 165). This intentional representational crafting of a tourism place is said to include the workings of a variety of interest groups such as travel agents, tourism agencies, tourists, governments and business associations (Hughes, 1998: 20). Guidebooks, advertisements and tourist brochures are just some of the means through which the representations of these destinations are made (Hughes, 1998: 24-27).

An example of how a place's existing cultural and physical characteristics are transformed for the needs of the tourism industry is through the refashioning of such structural constructs as homes, parks or forts. What should also be noted, however, is how the historical meanings may be changed along with these structural transformations (Hughes, 1998: 21, McCabe and Stokoe, 2004: 604). Again these changes that take place are meant to align the meaning of these artifacts or places, which the consumptive needs of the tourists (Hughes, 21). In so doing, these historical markers may wind up dismissing pertinent historical details, while at the risk of homogenizing particular facts (1998, 21). An example of the refashioning of a physical characteristic in Banff would be the springs

of the Cave and Basin, as well as the Upper Hot Springs, while their historical significance are contextualized within them being 'discovered' by Canadian Pacific Railway employees. Furthermore, how an area's place-image is packaged to spotlight their distinctive environmental characteristics or their local heritage may also engender strife. The environmental or heritage policies that are put in place for the benefit of the tourism industry may very well be contested by both local residents and those who have other investments in the area (Urry, 1995:169).

Spaces that are refashioned for the needs of the tourism markets are thought to be made hyper-real, in some instances, to suit the tourists' desire to experience something different to their own daily lives. Therefore, tourism destinations try to maintain an atmosphere that encourages the maintaining of ludic states. In order to achieve the sense of the hyper-real, toured towns try to maintain more pedestrian friendly areas, increase the use of street lights, encourage more night time revelry, highlight historical buildings, and extend store hours (Hughes, 1998: 21-22).

The tourists are said to not only want the hyper-real or ludic activities, but they are also said to be in search for liminal zones. Liminal zones are characterized as places that are removed from our usual surroundings (Shields as cited in Urry, 1990: 11, 31). Thus, destination places also emphasize characteristics of liminality, as tourists are in search of places, or activities that promote a sense of liminality (Graburn, 1983: 11). As previously noted, liminality is described as moments that are 'betwixt and between' (Turner, 1974), which can engender feelings of openness, ambiguity and liberty. Beaches are often cited as an example of liminal zones since they are perceived to be accepting of manners that aren't usually considered appropriate in non-liminal zones, such as the style

of dress or ludic behavior (Hughes, 1998:22, Urry, 1990: 31). Consequently, tourist space can also be characterized as being 'home' to the liminal practices of tourists. (Hughes, 1998: 23).

Tourism Place as a Social Construction

As noted earlier, tourists search for a place, culture or history that is distinct from their own. This is based on the cultural constructions of oppositions such as that of the 'everyday and extraordinary' (Urry, 1990: 11). As more tourists are attracted to these 'extraordinary' sites, the preservation and presentation of these sites become an increasingly salient issue (Craik, 1997: 124). However, as Cohen noted, the very fact that these toured places are subjected to preservation policies as a means of protecting the tourist attractions, creates a situation wherein that which was deemed authentic becomes contrived. Cohen notes how even National Parks, which are perceived as natural authentic attractions, may in fact be somewhat contrived as they are both visibly and symbolically set apart, and because of the park policies that are put in place. For instance, park policies that advocate the culling of the population of certain wildlife animals or the implementation of fire prevention strategies can be viewed as transforming something that is perceived as natural into something that is contrived. In effect, as Cohen points out, the 'placeness' of the tourism destination can effectively be endangered by the implementation of these place specific policies (Cohen 1995, 15, 23, 26). As Urry has noted, in order to 'save nature', culture is applied for the purpose of maintaining an appropriate place for tourism consumption and also with the intent of preserving the place-myth of the area (Urry, 1995: 180, 197). This use of culture to 'rescue nature'

(Strathern 1992), ultimately produces what Urry calls a 'hybrid landscape' (Urry, 1995: 194, 209-210), which has been shaped by a romantic worldview (Urry, 1990: 20, 138; Ringer, 1998: 8).

Squire offers as an example, the landscape and wilderness of the Canadian Rockies as having been socially constructed with notions that are pleasing to European Romanticism. He also points out that the construction of the Rockies tourism space has been influenced along the lines of race, class, and gender as well as between the polarities of work and leisure. Squire also notes that the area is influenced by the conflicts arising out of a need to sustain the ecological integrity of the area, while at the same time satisfying the needs of the tourism business (Squire, 1998: 80-81).

An Example of Place Becoming a Toured Place

A pertinent example of the above mentioned dynamics inherent in the making of a tourism town is clearly portrayed in the article: "The Giza Pyramids: Accommodating Tourism, Leisure and Consumption" by Petra Kuppinger. In the article, Kuppinger describes the process in which the area surrounding the Giza Pyramids, in particular the Pyramid Road that links Cairo to the Pyramids has been transformed to suit the needs of the Western tourism market. Kuppinger first points out how western concepts of civilization over time gave rise to the perception of the Giza Pyramids as European, "As spaces became redefined and abstracted, the pyramids were symbolically incorporated into the 'European Civilizational Map'" (Kuppinger 1998: 107). Furthermore, European states perceived themselves as being the true guardians of Egyptian artifacts and sites since they thought themselves to be more capable and superior to others. This, the

European states reasoned was motivated by a sense of global stewardship. However, the true motivation may not have been so much a sense of stewardship as a justification for the inappropriate acquisition of artifacts (Kuppinger, 1998: 107; Lowenthal, 1996: 240-241).

Thus began the expropriation of the image of the pyramids as an addition to Europe. What this entailed was a transformation of the surrounding infrastructure leading to the pyramids. Roads were built, bridges were erected, a tramway put in place, hotels and shops were set up all with the intention of making the Giza pyramids more accessible to tourists. Where once reaching the pyramids required an arduous and extensive journey, the implementation of these new developments made the journey to the pyramids a lot quicker, as well as more consumer friendly (Kuppinger, 1998: 108-111). The construction of the Mena House Hotel and the Cairo Zoo provided places for tourists and the wealthy to be entertained, and enjoy leisurely activities. Both these structures were also seen as being set apart from the rest of the area just as were the pyramids, since they were marked off as being western constructs. Inside the hotel and zoo an atmosphere that further gave the illusion of being 'elsewhere' was maintained, with local natives performing service work under the watchful eye of the consumers. The building of the new transportation infrastructures, as well as the Mena House and Cairo Zoo was just the beginning of the development to be further implemented. Subsequently, more restaurants and bars were built and more lighting was installed to provide a safer environment for the tourists along Pyramid Road (1998:111-113).

With the increased tourism infrastructure being built along Pyramid Road, an increase in real estate value ensued as the area became more amenable for foreigners and

wealthier Egyptians. The construction and reconstruction of the Pyramid Road area raised the ire of some locals, since they felt that the increase in development was destroying the beauty of Giza. Thus, the tourism development that had arisen around Giza was associated with a certain amount of destruction to the area (Kuppinger, 1998: 113). This fact, as pointed out earlier by Urry, is a common scenario among toured place as the more toured places attract visitors, the more they are likely to be damaged by that which they attract (1995: 183-184).

Presently, Pyramid Road and the surrounding area is acknowledged as an area that matches the needs of the contemporary tourism industry. The pyramids themselves are considered to be a World Heritage Site, thus they are still under the supervision of Western policies. Safety is still a dominant concern in this area as it is 'targeted by militant Islamic groups' (Kuppinger, 1998: 116). And still, as Kuppinger remarks, Giza locals still predominantly work in the tourism service sector, yet are denied access to the places they serve in, 'for security reasons' (1998: 117). Kuppinger concludes that, "Actors, social circumstances and material expressions have greatly changed in the last one-hundred years, but economic structures and line of segregation and exclusion have not." (1998: 117).

Concluding Observations

The factors influencing the construction of a tourism destination, such as the need to satisfy the tourist gaze or the tourists' search for liminality, creates places that are more appropriate to the needs of the tourists and fittingly perhaps as some locales have been constructed solely for the sake of the tourism industry (Urry, 1995: 166). Consequently,

places that are considered to be primarily consumable places are in effect reduced to being perceived only as tourist spaces. (Ness, 2005:121) Thus, tourism sites, rather than being perceived as what Augé would describe as anthropological places, are relegated to having characteristics more fitting of non-places.

However, tourism locales, like other places, are socially constructed and made meaningful by those who inhabit them. Furthermore, it is to be noted that multiple meanings are appended to these sites by the various groups that live, work or visit these places. (Squire, 1998: 82, Ness 2005: 134). Although a locale may be designated only or primarily as a tourism place this should not deny the fact that tourism places are constructed not only by global or transnational processes, but also by the local. Therefore, those who live in these places are poised to resist those processes that make a place placeless.

It has been pointed out that tourism places are places that cater to a highly mobile population. It has also been noted that the influx of a transient population may impose pressures on the host population (Urry, 1995:166). However, as some authors have pointed out, a sense of place and community may be strengthened as well as threatened by the presence of 'others' (Abram and Waldren, 1997: 3, Waldren, 1997:51; Gupta and Ferguson, 1997: 12-13). Defining the identity of the 'other' may be just as problematic as defining the identity of who is 'local' (Urry, 1995, 71; Abrams and Waldren 1997, 3; Hastrup and Olwig, 1997: 10). As Kohn has stated, "Identities are always multiple and hard to describe" (1997:24). Thus, identities such as 'local' or 'tourist' are not fixed and may over time be shaped and reshaped (Waldren, 1997:51).

Furthermore, as noted previously, agency is not to be denied to those involved in the tourism industry (Abram and Walden 1997:10; Adams, 1997: 318; Hoskins, 2002:817; Cheong and Miller, 2000: 372-373; 2002: 817; 318; Howes, 1998: 13, Bruner, 2005: 12; Douglas and Lacy, 2005: 121; Wallace 2005: 1). Boissevain, for instance, has noted how locals in toured places can resort to certain strategies to cope with the influx of tourists. Some of the strategies Boissevain mentions in the book: “Coping with Tourists: European Reactions to Mass Tourism” are passive resistance (e.g. providing poor service), or ‘hiding’, which entails the shielding of certain aspects of the ‘hosts’ lives from tourists (e.g. rituals), or ‘fencing’ tourists off from entering certain places or from seeing certain activities (Boissevain,1996: 14-18, Selwyn, 1996: 249).

Although it may appear that tourism has an objectifying effect on places, there also appears to be another dynamic at play within some of these toured areas. Residents living in toured areas and dealing with the effects of the commodification of their locale are, through this process, also maintaining or even further promoting the sense of placehood. The following chapters will review not only the issues Banff residents face while living in a toured town, but the means by which the residents try to cope with these particular topics of concern. In effect, through their efforts to contend with the issues engendered by tourism, a deepened sense of place is created.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Entering the Field

Knowing full well how difficult it is to find a place to live in Banff (see chapter 7); I had started to inquire about rentals a few months before my arrival. Since I had already lived in Banff from 1990 to 2000, I had a list of people I could contact to help me find a place to live. I made a few phone calls, sent out a few emails, mentioning to my friends that I was looking for a place to stay for the summer months. I also mentioned to my friends to ask whomever they knew if they also knew of a place to rent for the summer months. This process worked well for me, since within a few weeks a friend of mine informed me that her neighbor, Cecile⁷, was looking to rent her basement for the summer months. I emailed Cecile telling her of my interest in renting her place. We then set up a time that we could talk on the phone about the particulars of the rental. After our discussion, it was decided that I could move in by the beginning of June.

Little did I know how central a role my moving in with Cecile would play. Cecile was not only to become one of my main informants, but she was also instrumental in making me feel at home in a place that seemed to be always changing with people, work conditions or living arrangements. When I returned to Banff to do my fieldwork in June of 2004, most of the people that were my close friends had already left by the time I returned. Living with Cecile turned out to be one of the most important factors in my research as our living arrangement created a center of stability for me. It helped me focus on my research, as well as providing me with someone I could always turn to for clarification on a particular issue. In short, Cecile was my sounding board as well as my

⁷ Throughout this thesis I will be using pseudonyms to protect the confidentiality of the people who participated in fieldwork

informant. Though I had a number of other significant informants: Yvan, Karen, Albert, Alisa, Mimi and Trudy, what was particular about Cecile was the fact that she has lived in Banff for most of her childhood and part of her adult life since her family moved there to start a business that catered to the tourism industry. Adding to Cecile's 'rootedness' in Banff was the fact that part of her family still lived in Banff. Thus, Banff was for Cecile as close to home as classically a home can be defined. Since Cecile had lived in cities overseas, as well as in Canada, she had both an insider and outsider perspective of Banff. This was also beneficial to me as she was able to discuss Banff from an outsider as well as an insider's point of view. Cecile worked at one of the largest hotels in Banff, so her daily encounters with staff, clients or the hotel's bureaucracy were, besides entertaining to hear, another source of information on the issues facing workers in Banff.

The Restaurant

During my first few weeks back in Banff, after a four year absence, I had found myself searching out old friends, acquaintances or markers that would help me feel once again that I belonged to this town, nestled in the Bow Valley. For even though I had spent 10 years in Banff prior to leaving for Montreal in the summer of 2000, I felt that I hardly belonged. I did not return to a Banff where any of my family lived, and as I mentioned earlier most of my closest friends had left the town, except perhaps my neighbors Alisa, and Albert and Karen. While I knew many people in the town, this was for the most part only superficial acquaintances. However, trading 'old war stories' such as I had with Mark on that day on Banff Ave. and that I would subsequently have with

others throughout my fieldwork did bring me back to my history in Banff. However, these connections were not of the present, but rather of when I once lived in Banff.

After a few days of wandering the streets of Banff feeling more like a tourist than anything else, I decided that I would look for part-time work. Being an anthropologist in a small town was all good and well, but I felt it sorely lacked in giving me any feeling of belonging to the community. I wanted to participate in the community as much as observe it. In effect, during the first week or so in Banff, I was in the process of making *my place* in Banff.

After I decided to look for a part-time job, I went over to the Job Resource Centre on Marten Street. Standing in front of the many job listings at the resource centre, along with the few other seasonal workers looking for work, the third posting I read caught my attention; it was for a part-time morning serving position in a small hotel restaurant. I immediately walked over to the hotel's restaurant with my CV in hand. The restaurant was only a few blocks away on Banff Ave. I entered the restaurant, and asked to see the manager wgi I was told "Oh that would be Jerry". Jerry was the managing Chef and the manager of this small family restaurant. He greeted me with "Looking to waitress, eh? Where were you a few hours ago - we sure needed you back then, The Russians came through and devoured everything on site - it was madness!" Little did I know at the time how this episode of 'The Russians' would be retold to me throughout my time working at the restaurant. Jerry was very much surprised by the manners of this tour group.

Jerry, on first appearances was a bit 'gruff', a facet of his personality that did not change throughout the summer I worked with him. For my interview, we sat at a booth near one of the windows, which had an incredible view of Cascade Mountain. I remarked

to myself that no matter how many times I saw that mountain, seeing it from a different vantage point made it feel like I had seen it for the first time. Cascade Mountain is one of the most recognizable landscapes in Banff. The sight of that mountain made this small, innocuous restaurant a very special place. I offered to show my CV to Jerry, however he declined. He had no need for CVs, Jerry's hiring style consisted of hiring on site, which meant that he hired you if he liked the sight of you or not. In my case, he liked me on sight. We agreed that I would start the next morning at 5:30 am and work until the shift ended at 11:00 am. I stated to Jerry that I was in town for an anthropological research study on Banff, which didn't perturb him in the least. I was unaware that the moment I was hired to work the morning shift, I would find my sense of belonging in good part by the relationships I made with those I worked with all summer. Jerry, Wayne, Jake and Terry, along with Cecile, were to be my first moorings in this small town.

Switching Topics

During the first few weeks of being in the field, I did notice I was getting a particular reaction from the people I spoke to when I would mention my initial research interest. When I told them I was interested in doing field research on the working conditions of the seasonal workers in Banff, I did sense a bit of apprehension from some of those to whom I spoke. It wasn't as though they would tell me straight out that they were not particularly supportive of the topic; it was more in their body language and tone of voice. The seasonal workers or those who worked with me at the restaurant were very supportive of the idea, however I did sense a more guarded reaction from those who either worked for some of the community organizations or town hall.

Whenever I did perceive a somewhat lack lustre response to my initial interest in researching seasonal workers, I would mention that I wasn't so sure at this point in my fieldwork what topic I would focus on and that I might just do a general community study of Banff. This idea of doing a community study on Banff seemed to generate a more positive response. It was only after a few weeks of being in Banff that I learned one of the reasons my initial research topic caused some unease was the result of a television show that had recently been made Banff and Jasper. The TV show was broadcast on CBC's Country Canada program. This particular episode focused on how the seasonal workers' partying and sexual habits adversely affected the family resort image of Banff. The topic was treated in a somewhat sensational manner, focusing on some of the more salacious publications about Banff, such as the one written in the Rolling Stone Magazine in the spring of 1999. The article characterized Banff as being one of the best places to party in a Canadian ski resort. The article also referred to Banff as, "the STD capital of Canada" (Rolling Stone Magazine, 1999: March). The show also noted that the article was written on the heels of a report made by the local health authorities in Alberta. This report cited Banff as having one of the highest rates of alcohol consumption, the highest proportion of sexual partners per person along with the highest rate of STDs in Alberta. One of those interviewed for the show was a student anthropologist from an Alberta university. The student anthropologist was in Jasper doing research on the partying and sexual habits of the seasonal workers and the local kids in Jasper. One question that the interviewer asked the student anthropologist was, "Would you want to raise your children in a place like Banff or Jasper?" Her reply was: "No, because the drugs are too easy to get, and the alcohol is too easy to get, and it's too easy to get trapped." (Warrenchuck,

2004) While her research findings led her to deduce that the drinking habits of the locals, “were just as bad or if not worse than the seasonal workers [making her] wonder if that lifestyle is already...embedded in the town or if the seasonal workers bring it.” (Warrenchuck, 2004) For many living in Banff, it may have seemed that their image as a family friendly resort or even that of a place worth visiting for its natural beauty had already been skewed enough by the various reports and media coverage (See chapter 1). Having more research conducted on this topic would probably not be well received.

Therefore, after about a month in the field, I decided to switch my topic of interest to examining the facets of Banff that made it a community. It wasn't just the somewhat lukewarm response to my initial interest on seasonal workers that veered me in another direction. The first brief conversations that I had with some of those living in Banff often centered on topics about the place itself, such as what made it special, who belonged and who didn't, and what were some of the problems facing Banff. Through these brief initial discussions and the apprehension felt towards a study on transients, I decided to turn my attention to the various people, institutions, and issues of Banff. In essence, I wanted to cover as wide a spectrum of Banff as possible. I therefore set out to hear the views of not only the seasonal workers, but also of the long term residents and those 'in-between. I also wanted to interview the business owners, as well as the service industry workers. I set out to hear what the health care practitioners had to say, as well as the other community workers. I would in effect let the field decide for me where I would go to be a participant, observer or both, as well as who I would interview.

What I mean by letting the field guide my way, is that as the summer progressed I would read, hear or welcome suggestions as who to interview, or which places to visit,

and from there I would proceed with my fieldwork. For instance, I heard through one of my informants, Trudy, about a place in Banff that was called The Living Room. The Living Room is a youth drop-in center located in a house on Banff Avenue; it is managed by Banff Life, a Bow Valley non-profit organization. On the day I set out to find this place, I was lucky enough to find it open. When I walked in, I followed where the voices were coming from, and there in the kitchen were a few people at a table wrapping up condoms provided by Aids Bow Valley, along with leaflets promoting their use. I offered my help, which they accepted heartily. While sitting and chatting with these Living Room volunteers, they told me that the center's manager was usually in only on certain afternoons. I later returned to The Living Room and was able to spend about a half hour talking to the manager about the Living Room and its purpose. The Living Room also had free spaghetti dinner nights so I went back on one of those nights to do some participant observations (I helped serve the spaghetti), as well as informal interviews of some of the seasonal workers who were there at that time. As such, my visits to the Living Room provided me an opportunity to carry out both informal and formal interviews, as well as do some participant observations. In effect, many situations would lead me to pursue other places or persons of interest. For example, after my interview with the manager of the Living Room, she suggested that I interview those at Banff Life. In short, one interview or participant observation would lead me to other people and places of interest for fieldwork information. In effect, throughout my fieldwork, I followed the 'anthropological breadcrumbs' as they presented themselves to me along the way.

By the end of my fieldwork I had conducted just over a dozen formal interviews, these interviews included hotel industry front-end workers, such as housekeepers, as well as hotel industry managers or owners. Other formal interviews that I conducted included those that were from the community at large such as health care practitioners, law enforcement personnel, and community workers. I conducted informal interviews on an almost a daily bases. Although none of my interviews were taped, I did take notes during the formal interviews, while I recorded in my journal what I had learned during my informal interviews.

By October, business at the restaurant started to slow down and knowing that the guys at the restaurant weren't too strapped for staff, I quit work. During my last 6 weeks of fieldwork, I tried to focus more on conducting formal interviews. I felt a lot more at ease with setting up interviews at this time as I knew the big summer crunch was over and that the workers, managers and owners were under less work stress. By the fall, Banff was a very different place than the Banff I had seen at the beginning of June. Gone were most of the tourists and the seasonal workers. However, I did notice the proliferation of a different sort of seasonal workers who were coming into Banff, and these were the Australians and New Zealanders who in anticipation of the ski/snowboard season were starting to make their way to Banff. The Canadians ski/snowboarding season coincided well with the antipodes school season, as our school season was just beginning - theirs were just ending. The arrival of these new seasonal workers was a sign that another tourist season was about to begin and that my departure was imminent.

The Informants

Throughout my fieldwork I had especially frequent and regular contact with about a half dozen informants. I would describe these informants as friends more than acquaintances. Besides the fact that I had already known them prior to my research in Banff, with the exception of Cecile, during my time with them in the field, our friendship was either strengthened or created in the process. I would often turn to these informants for a second opinion or to clarify certain facets of Banff life. The informants were for the most part long term residents who had lived in Banff for over 15 years. Some were business owners; others were working in the service industry. One of my informants, Mimi, was born in Banff, though oddly enough I had met Mimi while I lived in Korea and by chance she was in Banff during the time of my research. Mimi was invaluable in giving me a 'local's perspective' on Banff, and as her parents were still living in Banff they too helped in expanding my perception of Banff. Knowing at least one person who was born in Banff helped me meet others who were born and raised in Banff. Since Banff is a town predominantly made up of people who were not born there, it is a lot more difficult to be able to meet this particular population.

Of my informants, those who were business owners helped me to understand the issues they faced with running a business in Banff. However, what was even more of interest to me was hearing their story of when they first arrived in Banff. All of these business owners had, like most who come to Banff for work, started at a low paying job in the service industry, some as dishwashers others as housekeepers. However, over their years in Banff they were able to open their own business in Banff. In fact, one of my

informants and neighbour, Alisa, has since started her own business after I left the field. She had lived in Banff about 20 years before opening up her gift shop.

Another small business owner that became one of my main informants throughout my time in Banff was a French Canadian by the name of Yvan. Yvan had lived in Banff for almost 20 years, and it was by chance that he wound up in Banff all those years ago. During the mid-80s, his original plan was to go to Vancouver, but while passing through the park gates he met a friend from back home who was working at the ticket booth. This chance encounter led him to spend a few days in Banff and having enjoyed his stay in Banff, he decided to stay in Banff instead of continuing on to Vancouver. I knew Yvan only casually before entering the field, but since Karen worked for him at his store full time I had the chance to befriend him. I would often stop by his store on my way home from work and chat with him, asking on occasion specific questions about his life in Banff. He was also a source of knowledge with regards to the nightlife in Banff since he played in a Banff band. During my frequent visits to his store, we would engage in conversations that ranged from his perception of the discrimination towards French Canadians in Banff, the policing style of the RCMP, retiring in Banff, the cost of living in Banff, the drug issues in Banff, tourists, and the list goes on.

A couple that also became good sources of information were Karen and Albert. Albert was one of the first people I met in Banff when I moved there in the fall of 1990. I always joked to people that he 'came with the house' my friend and I moved into back in the winter of 1991. Albert was friends with the previous tenants and at that time was doing carpentry work on a house that was across the street from my new residence. Through these circumstances, Albert and I became friends. Returning back to Banff for

my fieldwork gave me a chance to renew my friendship with him and his girlfriend Karen. Karen and Albert had lived in Banff since the late 80s. However, previous to settling in Banff, they too were once seasonal workers in the Rocky Mountains. They had met in the early 80s at Chateau Lake Louise, as they both lived and worked at that hotel. They had traveled extensively through Canada and Asia before choosing Banff as their primary place of residence. After a few years of settling in Banff, they started a family. I would often ask them about their experience of raising a child in Banff. I remember in particular Albert telling me that one of the things he liked the most about Banff was the fact that he and his daughter, because of the park's conservation practices, could walk along the same trails that he and his wife had walked on when they had first arrived in Banff. Given the extensive transiency of so many people in Banff, this sense of continuity is what endeared him the most to the area.

There was one informant I met only during the summer I was in the field. Trudy, who lived next to the trail I took everyday to go into town, was the sister of one of my friends. She worked for the Town Hall and was very much involved in community affairs. She too had been living in Banff for over 20 years and was in the process of raising a family in Banff. On my way home, I would often stop and have a chat with her about Banff and the issues that Banff faced, such as youth delinquency or issues facing young families wanting to acquire their own home. Trudy was of the view that if people really wanted to make a life in Banff they could, by this she meant raise a family and own a home, as she and her husband were proof of this fact. They had arrived in Banff in their early 20s and their first jobs were also low paying service industry jobs. Since Trudy worked for the Town, she was invaluable in explaining to me how the different

departments or community services worked. She would tell me who to see for information at Banff Community Services, as well as for the other non-profit organizations in town.

The Issues

As I noted earlier, it was easy for me to access information while I was in Banff. My previous connections in Banff helped me in setting up interviews and I already had a good idea of where to go for certain information. There was only one time in which I was refused an interview, and this was with someone that I had already known in Banff as we had worked together at the Banff Springs Hotel in the early 90s. He didn't give me any reason as to why he was uncomfortable if I interviewed him about his experience in Banff. He had immigrated to Canada from a North African country just prior to his arrival in Banff. I would have liked to hear his views on Banff, but not wishing to intrude, I accepted his refusal to be interviewed on my first asking.

Another time I was warned by a hotel owner that I could be sued for what I wrote about the hotel in my thesis. Even after that curt comment, I went ahead with interviewing the housekeepers, though I felt their answers were guarded. When comparing these interviews with those of two other housekeepers from a different hotel, I definitely felt a difference. The housekeepers I interviewed from the other property, and for which the manager was very helpful in my research, didn't appear guarded in any of the questions I asked them. My first interview at this hotel was so successful that I returned to the same property later during my fieldwork. As for the hotel I was warned

not to write anything compromising about, I never went back to interview the housekeepers again.

Even though there are many seasonal workers and tourists in Banff, Banff can still have a small town feel about it, for example in terms of how quickly news can spread. I remember someone once telling me how he and his friends would start a rumour at the Cascade lounge in the Banff Springs Hotel early in the evening and afterwards head out to the bar at the train station (at the other end of town). There, they would wait and see how long it would take their fabricated story to reach them. Phil said that the story would usually reach the bar before closing time. Terry once said to me, "They talk about there being seven degrees of separation in the world, but here in Banff there are only two." She made this comment after I asked her if she knew some sisters that I had worked with in Banff in the early 90s. I thought she might know them since Terry was about the same age as these sisters and because Terry was just as interested in snowboarding as they were. I was wondering if they were still in town, and, as it turned out the eldest sister was one of Terry's best friends in Banff. All this to say that I knew Banff was still a small town despite all the tourists and seasonal workers that pass through it. Consequently, I was very much aware that what I wrote in my ethnography could be easily deciphered by those living in Banff even if I did change the names of the places and people in my ethnography. Hence, although I did take measures to protect the privacy of those I have quoted, or whose information I have gathered, I still felt wary about using some of what I had gathered in the field when it involved particularly intimate aspects of the lives of those I worked with or was friends with. In the end, I felt that no matter how interesting

some of the information I had collected from my informants was, out of respect for those whose lives it involved, I would leave it out of my thesis.

Although working at the restaurant helped me feel more connected to the daily happenings in Banff, it did create another problem, which was that of maintaining my objectivity. For the most part, the goal of being an outside observer while working was nearly impossible to maintain, especially when there was a fair amount of stress to deal with at the restaurant because of a shortage of staff. I remember one particular morning getting into an argument with my boss over something that was fairly trivial. As I mention in chapter 7, as the summer progresses the working conditions deteriorate due to the staff being overworked. Thus, something as insignificant as asking the Chef (my boss) to cook the eggs in a certain way for my client could precipitate an argument. In this particular incident, all I remember is my boss yelling at me because of my client's meal request and I in turn yelling back at him as he walked out the kitchen. Clearly at that point, I had lost all sense of objectivity, as well as my Chef since he had walked out of the restaurant. At that moment, I wanted to quit work, but felt that I couldn't because of how this would affect those I worked with; it would have just added more work hours to their already overworked schedule. I continued to work for the restaurant until the tours stopped coming in and they were then able to manage the restaurant with only a few people.

Thus, the idea of being an objective social scientist seemed to be a very distant concept while I worked at the restaurant. In fact, I often felt more like a waitress than a person who was doing anthropological field research; however, working only about 20 hours a week did help me to distance myself from my restaurant work. Also, as the

managers were aware that my primary reason for being in Banff was for research, they would never give me more hours than I had asked for at the beginning of the season. They did this for me, despite the fact that they themselves were often working double shifts, with rarely a day off every 10 days or so. Some kept this schedule for over a month. To assuage my guilt about my short workweek, I would sometimes drop by the restaurant at night with a pizza for those who were working.

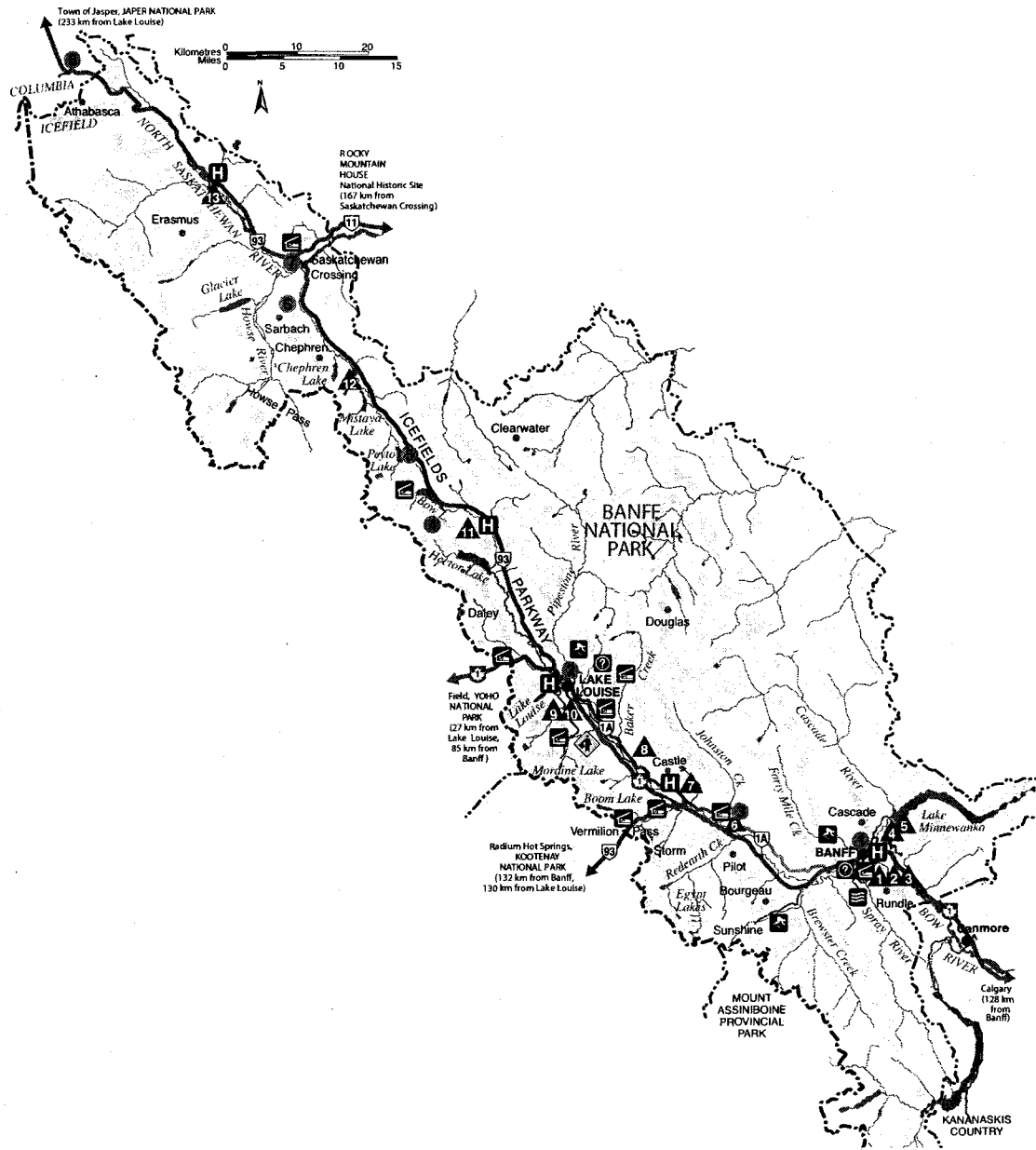
Another issue I had while I worked at the restaurant was that I wasn't able to take notes as I worked. There was rarely any quiet time at the restaurant, and after all, I was hired to work and not to take notes. More often than not, observing entailed looking at the buffet to see if it needed to be stocked or if there was anything else that I needed to clean or organize in the restaurant. In short, I was doing a lot more participating than observing while I worked. During the evenings of my morning shifts, I would try to write down as much as I could remember of what happened at the restaurant, but even though I worked there for about five hours each shift, my journal entries did not seem to come close to all that I had done or observed on those particular mornings.

As I noted earlier, I would spend my evenings writing up my fieldwork notes, or re-writing what I had written down during my interviews. I did once try to tape some of my housekeeping interviews, but as I had found early on in my fieldwork this didn't seem to go over too well with those I was about to interview. During one particular instance, while waiting for a group of housekeepers to enter the room I was in to eat their lunch, a houseman was already there having his lunch. I told him why I was there, and we started to chat. I asked him a few questions about his experience in Banff while I proceeded to pull out my tape recorder. As soon as I pulled it out of my bag and started to set it up, the

houseman asked me what it was. After telling him that I was hoping to record the interview, he said he didn't want our conversation to be taped. I didn't push the point and put my tape recorder back into my bag. After that incident, I did not try to record any of the interviews I conducted in the field.

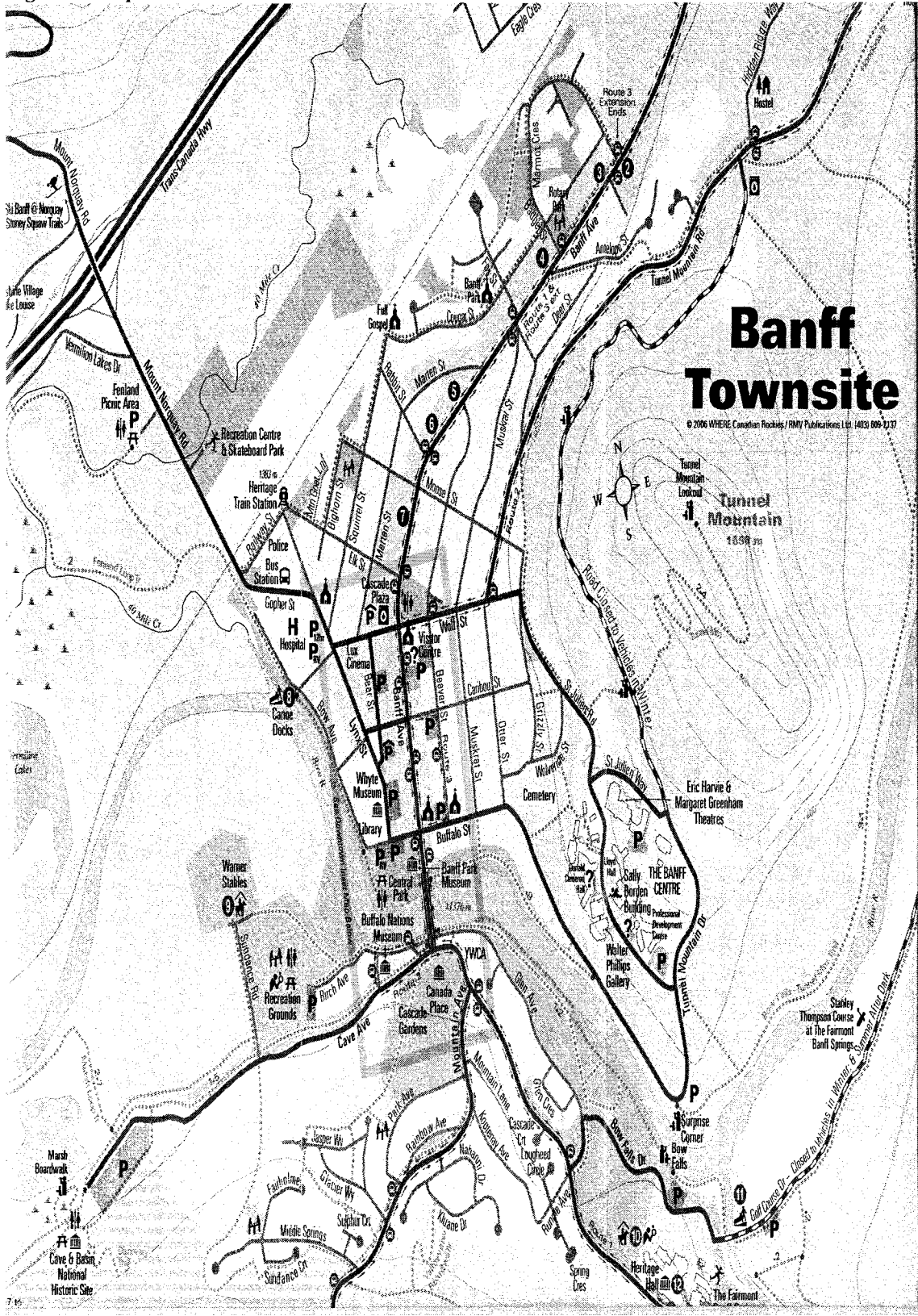
However, there was one particular bar that also seemed a bit apprehensive about my note taking. The staff would question what I was doing and why. I got a general sense that they weren't too pleased with me being there. Perhaps, my sitting at the bar where I was closer to the 'back stage' made them feel uneasy. Yet, in another bar I would also use as a place to write, I did not get the same reaction. The bartenders, waiters or manager didn't mind in the least that I sat at the bar and wrote, while occasionally asking them questions about their work. In short, this particular bar didn't have a particular issue with my writing out my field notes. Eventually, I stopped going to the other bar to write up my notes but I continued to write at the other bar, as well as in coffee shops. Just as I felt that some of the information I gathered in the field should remain in the field, I can only guess that some of my informants felt the same about what information they wanted me to take out of the field.

Figure 1: Map of Banff National Park, Alberta, Canada⁸



⁸ Source: <http://www.canadianrockies.net/maps/>

Figure 2: Map of the Town of Banff⁹



⁹ Source : Where : Canadian Rockies Map

Chapter 4: The Making of a Canadian National Park Town

The Setting of the Stage: The Historical Development of Banff Park

Banff is one of Canada's primary tourism destinations. As a result, people often perceive the Town of Banff as being no more than a tourism attraction and not a "real" town in itself. This is not altogether surprising as Banff was designated a tourism attraction during its inception. Not too long after the discovery, in the fall of 1883, of the hot water springs at the base of what is now called Sulphur Mountain in the fall of 1883, (Parks Canada, 2008: 04) the government of Canada designated the area as a national park. These facts, in tandem with the subsequent policies put in place, are in part responsible for this particular perception of Banff.

However, as pointed out earlier in the chapter 2 of this thesis, a place does not have only one meaning, but rather is a complex construction, crafted with influences that are political and cultural, as well as historical (Rodman, 1993: 641), and which may be either locally or globally initiated (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992:11). Consequently, to better understand the unfolding of Banff as a tourist site, I will outline below some of the pertinent policies and documents that have shaped the lived experience of those residing inside Banff National Park.

People Actually Live Here?

During the course of my fieldwork, on a few occasions, it was pointed out to me how passers-by would often stop locals to ask them: "What is that building?" In one instance, a worker at the Canada Place office, where I was conducting an informal interview, mentioned to me how this had happened to her one day while walking on

Banff Ave. The building the tourist was pointing at, in this case, was the Banff Community High School. The Canada Place worker described to me how after telling the tourist what building it was, the tourist looked at her with a questioning look, wondering out loud why Banff would need a high school? This worker further noted that it was understandable that some tourists couldn't see this town as a place that people lived in as some of the businesses and basic services that catered to the local population such as plumbers, the recycling depot, and electricians are in a place referred to as, "the Compound". The compound is situated on the outskirts of the Town of Banff and well out of eyesight as it is surrounded by trees. The worker explained to me, "That's why they have the compound, so they can hide everything there such as the plumbers, and all." Thus, to this worker, the town's administration was in effect trying to obscure its non-tourist dimensions. Accordingly, Banff is assumed by many of the tourists who pass through to not possess the basic institutions of a town, such as schools, hospitals, and libraries.

Understandably, perhaps, for the tourists, the site of a building that isn't part of the 'tourism stage' is bewildering, after all Banff from its onset had been created to draw people who are just passing through, in other words, tourists, and it has been marketed principally as a tourist attraction and a wilderness attraction at that! (Banff-Bow Valley Task Force: Summary Report, 1996: 13) Moreover, as previously mentioned in chapter 2, a toured place is often crafted to encourage a ludic atmosphere, and is associated with notions of liminality and contrivance (Hughes, 1998:21-22; Urry, 1990:11; Cohen, 1995: 15, 23, 26) rather than recreating an environment resembling the mundane everyday.

The cultivation of a transient population, ensured that Banff Park's pristine beauty would not be overly taxed by the presence of a large permanent human population. William Pearce, hired by the Federal Government in 1886 to resolve the claim issues that had arisen in the area of Banff, since the discovery¹ of the hot springs by two Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) workers (Hilderbrand 1995:8 as cited in Rettie 2000: 9) "...insisted that the government retain control of all park land for the purpose of developing recreation areas for public use, and restricting access only to resources that could be developed if there was no destruction of beauty." (Warner, 2006: 10) The first Rocky Mountain Parks Act was passed in 1887, and it stipulated the following:

2. the said tract of land is hereby dedicated and set apart as a public park and pleasure ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people of Canada, subject to the Act and of the regulations hereinafter mentioned, and shall be known as the Rocky Mountain Parks of Canada.² (Rocky Mountain Parks Act, 1887)

Yet as Rettie has noted, the designation of this particular area as a place worth preserving created a paradoxical situation such that:

The policies adopted during this phase of park development have resulted in many of the problems facing Parks Canada today. By actively promoting the parks as public pleasure grounds, the CPR and the Canadian government created an image of national parks which has persisted in the minds of many park visitors. (Rettie, 2000: 12; Rounthwaite, 1978: 47)

Such an image was not conducive to maintaining the ecological integrity of the area as it encouraged the use rather than the preservation of the park area³. Consequently,

¹ It is to be noted that both the First Nations peoples and the earlier explorers were well aware of the hot springs at the base of Sulphur Mountain before William McCardell and Franklin McCabe had come upon them in 1883.

² Rocky Mountain Parks Act, 1887 50-51 Vic. C32 (1887) Section 2.

³ The notion of satisfying tourists' needs while maintaining the ecological integrity of the area was also noted in chapter 2 page 2, such as pointed out by the author Shelagh J.Squire (1998:80-81).

the issue of development versus preservation or conservation⁴ has persisted throughout Banff's history, and subsequently came to a head with the findings gathered from The Banff-Bow Valley Study of 1996, and the changes it implemented within Banff policies.

Of course the idea of maintaining the beauty of the area has always been tied to economics; as Rettie, citing Bella, states, "The Canadian national parks system was founded on a vision that focused on the economic benefits of tourism" (Bella, 1987:1-3 as cited in Rettie 2000:24). Not maintaining Banff Park's surrounding allure would in itself threaten the revenue generated by the tourism industry. This does not mean that there has historically been a consensus about what needs to be involved in maintaining Banff Park (Banff-Bow Valley Study: Summary Report, 2000: 46). By the 1950's, aided by the influence of the post-war tourism boom, some started to question more vocally the management of the park, a path that surely didn't reflect what was stipulated in the National Parks Act set in 1930, which stated that national parks were "...to remain unimpaired for the enjoyment for future generations." (National Parks Act, 1930) Having two commercial ski areas, an 18-hole golf course, the Trans-Canada Highway, a rail line along with a host of other developments situated within the park by the 1950s, may not have been what was originally envisaged in the notion that the park should remain unimpaired.

The topic of how much development within Banff National Park was necessary for the benefit of the local tourism economy within Banff National Park, versus the negative impact it could have on the local environment was to persist for the next 50 years; the policies and studies that were created from the 1950s onwards are a reflection

⁴ For a clear definition of preservation versus conservation see Rosalind Warner's article: National Parks and the Challenge of Ethical Governance: Conservation or Preservation; <http://www.cpsa-acsp.ca/papers-2006/Warner.pdf>

of how the Federal government, the people of Canada and the people of Banff tried to resolve the issue of development versus that of maintaining the ecological integrity of Banff National Park (National Parks Act, 1930; Banff-Bow Valley Study: Summary Report, 1996: 4, 12; Hart, 2003: 207).

The idea that Banff was envisioned more as a place to visit rather than as a place in which to permanently settle continues to be reflected in recent Banff Park policies that have been put in place. Over the years, the 1930 Canadian National Parks Act has been amended to reflect the public's growing awareness of the need to conserve the ecological integrity of Canadian national parks. As noted earlier in chapter 2, this desire to protect the environment is often credited with the tourists' desire to preserve the landscape that they want to visually consume (Urry, 1995:108).

Banff: A Tourist Service Center

Although the Town of Banff was always conceived as a place whose primary purpose, "...was to be the service center for the hot springs." (Sandford, 1994: 45), the policies introduced in the 1960s recognized how townsites such as Banff were an "...intrusion and should be permitted to develop in a park only if, by reason of the services it provides, the visitor is better able to enjoy the park for what it is." (Rettie, 2000: 16, quoting Parks Canada, 1964) With the increase in tourism since the 1950s, came an added political awareness of the environmental issues. This awareness was subsequently reflected in Canadian national parks policies. (Rettie, 2000: 16). A revision in 1979 of the 1963 Parks Canada Policy stipulated that the main objective of national parks were to maintain the "ecological integrity" of the area. (Rettie, 2000: 17). The

increased environmental awareness that began in the 1960s cumulated in 1988 with the legislation of the first amendments to the Canadian National Parks Act of 1930. (Rettie, 2000: 16; Banff-Bow Valley Study: Summary Report, 1996: 12) As such, the newly revised Canadian National Parks Act states: “Maintenance or restoration of ecological integrity, through the protection of natural resources and natural processes, shall be the first priority of the Minister when considering all aspects of the management of parks.” (Canada National Parks Act 8.2)

To this day the Town of Banff has continued to be defined primarily as a town whose main purpose is to cater to the needs of the tourists, this purpose is stipulated in the Banff National Park Management Plan and the Town of Banff Incorporation Agreement, which states that one of the Town’s purposes is to: “serve, as its primary function, as a center for visitors to the Park and to provide such visitors with accommodation and other goods and services.” (Town of Banff Community Plan, 1998: 2) And further, those that reside in the town are: “...in the Park for one purpose: to serve the needs of visitors.” (Banff-Bow Valley Study: Summary Report, 1996: 52) This idea of a town being created primarily as a service center for the tourists, rather than for the expressed interest of the local residents may add to the unease that one may have in calling Banff: “My Town”, as it is clearly more legislated to be a tourist’s town. How odd to be living in a town that isn’t created for the locals but for those who pass on through! Surely, this must have some effect on those who think themselves locals?

In order for the Town of Banff to fulfill its specific purposes as they are outlined in both the Town of Banff Community Plan and the Incorporation Agreement, the town is only permitted to have basic and essential services. As Parks Canada’s policy states: “

Within national parks, essential services and facilities will serve the basic needs of the public, and will be directly related to the provision of understanding, appreciation and enjoyment of the natural and cultural heritage.” (Parks Canada, 2006) Yet, as was pointed out in the Summary Report of the Banff-Bow Valley Task Force: “ Neither the National Parks Act nor Parks Canada’s Guiding Principles and Operational Policies define essential services and facilities with any precision.” (Banff-Bow Valley Task Force, Summary Report, 1996: 52) However, since the Technical Report of the Banff-Bow Valley Study primarily designated Banff as a place for tourists, it therefore appears to be giving priority to the needs of the tourists over those of the local population:

Understandably, the views of visitors and residents may often differ. Where this is the case, it will be important to keep in mind that the townsites have been established as visitor service centers. As such, the experiences, facilities and services provided should focus on meeting the needs of visitors. (Banff-Bow Valley: At the Crossroads: Technical Report: 1996, 224)

Although the Banff-Bow Valley Study has tried to clarify what is actually meant by ‘basic’ and ‘essential’ services, the issue still rages on today (Banff-Bow Valley Study: Summary Report: 1996, 52; Banff Crag and Canyon: 2005, October 22). Should having a car wash in the Town of Banff be considered a basic service? Or how about a shoe repair shop, should that be considered an essential service in an area where hiking is a popular activity? (Crag and Canyon, 2006: July 11) In the spring of 2007 the Town of Banff released a study titled: “Town of Banff Commercial Capacity Study-The Effects of Commercial Build-Out on the Town of Banff. The study was a, “...detailed analysis of the implications of the approaching build-out of commercial space within the legislated boundaries of the Town of Banff.” (Town of Banff Effects of Commercial Build-Out Study, 2007: 1) One of the studies’ findings concluded that there weren’t enough retail

outlets that catered to Banff's residents, the study stating thus, "The community is under-supplied in terms of retailing catering to non-tourists, such as home furnishings, home improvement, electronics...." (Town of Banff Effects of Commercial Build-Out Study, 2007: 18) This finding might have little relevance for the practices of the tourists who troll the main streets of Banff. But for a local who has to drive 25 km to Canmore to purchase something as mundane as a chair, house paint or to have their shoes repaired can be quite exasperating. (The Banff Crag and Canyon, 2004: December 7)

The comments above outline some of the reasons (discussed further in my analysis of toured towns) why the Town of Banff is perceived as being only a town for tourists to tour through, particularly park policies that stipulate that the Town's main purpose is to serve the tourists, and those which encourage a transient rather than a settled residential population.

With a new Banff Community Plan set to be presented in the fall of 2007, The Town of Banff has asked the public to participate in the development of the newly revised plan by voicing their opinions on how commercial space should be developed in Banff and what additional essential services should be offered in the Town. Perhaps, once and for all the term 'basic and essential services' will be clarified, and Banff's local population will feel that they are more fairly considered in the new Banff Community Plan, all with the hope that their town is one step closer to a lived town.

The Park and Town Documents

From the time I left Banff in the summer of 2000, to the time I returned to do my fieldwork four years later, many changes had occurred in the world's landscape. It was evident that Banff was not spared from the effects of world events, such as 9/11 and

SARS. Yet, what was also evident when I returned was how Banff had been transformed not only by the world's events, but also by the plans and policies that had taken shape in Banff since 1990. Perhaps one could dismiss these plans and policies as just that- words written on a piece of paper. Yet these words that were so thoughtfully prepared and pieced together by those in the provincial and federal governments, and by the various experts and people of the community; not only set forth Banff's scenic landscape within a specific frame but also moved the Town's underlying values towards a distinct direction. The construction of these principles are very much a product of Banff's particular location; a location that draws tourists from around the world, that cater to the needs of these tourists, as well as the seasonal workers that pass through the Park's gates looking to fill the job vacancies created by the tourism industry. What was also kept in mind during the crafting of these various plans and policies were the needs of the more permanent members of the community. Also considered to be of utmost importance and upon which a priority was placed when documents such as the Incorporation Agreement of Banff, the Banff Park Management Plan and the Town of Banff Community plan were being assembled, was the preservation of the ecological integrity of this majestic ecosystem, which in 1984 had been declared a UNESCO World Heritage site.

Banff's Incorporation

In the spring of 1988, the people of the Town of Banff held a plebiscite on whether or not their town should be incorporated. The townspeople decided that Banff was indeed ready to manage itself. And so by January 1990 the Town of Banff was no longer entirely managed by Parks Canada. By voting for an incorporated town, the townspeople made the Town of Banff the first incorporated town within the boundaries

of a Canadian National Park. By gaining the status of an incorporated town, Banff would now have, “ ...all the rights, obligations, duties, powers and functions, and be subject to the same limitations and restraints, provided for by the laws of Alberta as they existed on January 1, 1989, that apply to towns incorporated pursuant to the Municipals Government Act.” (Town of Banff Incorporation Agreement, 1989: 5) In addition, the Town of Banff Incorporation Agreement, “... transferred most of the municipal government power from the Federal Government to an elected Town Council.” (The Banff Community Plan, 1998:1)

Along with the incorporation of the Town of Banff came a new Town ethos. The plans and policies that were created since the Town's incorporation, such as the Banff Park Management plan and the Town of Banff Community plan started to manifest themselves in the very fabric of this world renowned Alberta Rocky Mountain community, in short the Town's people now had an ethos to help guide them while living in one of only two Canadian municipal communities that are situated within a Canadian national park. Upon my return to Banff, I became aware of how much these policies and documents had become more than just words on a piece of paper, they were a philosophy to be lived by for those who visited, worked and lived in Banff.

Previous to its incorporation, the federal government had administered the Town of Banff for over a century. As it is now the Town is in large part administered in the same way as other municipal communities in Alberta. However, the administration of Banff is distinct from other communities in Alberta, not to mention from the rest of Canada, in that the town is still directed by the National Parks Act and regulations. As such, the federal government has the overriding power when it comes to issues that

involve town planning, the environment, the use of land and development in the Town of Banff. Further, it is to be noted that Banff is considered to be, “first and foremost, a town within a National Park and World Heritage Site.” (Parks Canada, 1997: 6)

To better understand the relationship the Town of Banff has with Parks Canada one needs to look at how the town is situated and envisioned within the Banff Park Management Plan. A consideration of the relationship the Town of Banff has with Parks Canada also contributes to the further understanding of the development of Banff's ethos. Every National Park in Canada has a management plan, as the National Parks Act requires this. These plans reflect Parks Canada's policies and legislations. These management plans, which are prepared with the input of the Canadian public, are maintained for fifteen years and are publicly revised, and if needed, are altered every five years. The Rocky Mountain National Parks, which include Banff, Jasper, Kootenay and Yoho National Parks, had their first national management park plans tabled in Parliament in 1988. The 1988 management plans for these parks were said to be the, “...result of an eight-year planning exercise involving nation-wide public consultation and in-depth analysis of the social, economic, and environmental conditions facing each park.” (Parks Canada, 2004) The 1988 management plans were revised in 1993 and out of this revision came what is now known as the Banff-Bow Valley Task Force.

I will now review the three main developments that have influenced the development of the Town of Banff since its incorporation. The Banff-Bow Valley Task Force, the Banff National Park Management Plan and the Town of Banff Community Plan, have played a fundamental role in the development of the Town of Banff over the

past fifteen years and the subsequent ethos that the community of Banff has adopted since the Town's inception.

Banff-Bow Valley Task Force

The Minister of Canadian Heritage commissioned the Banff-Bow Valley Task Force in the spring of 1994 (Community Plan, 1998: 9). The goal of the Task Force was to make recommendations with regards to the long-term management of the area, "...that would maintain ecological integrity while allowing appropriate levels of development and continued access for the visitors." (Parks Canada, 2004) The Task Force was also commissioned to: "...assess the cumulative environmental effects of development and use in the Bow river watershed within Banff National Park." (Community Plan, 1998: 9) The Task Force was an independent body that consisted of five people who had expertise in ecological sciences, tourism, public policy and management from both the public and private sectors. The Task Force relied heavily on the involvement of the public. A Round Table was created that included representatives from fourteen sectors such as tourism and marketing, culture and heritage, local environment, health and education, in effect any sector that was considered to have an interest in the Bow Valley and Banff National Park. These representatives created a guide that reflected the vision, principles and values that were commensurate with the area. Thus, the present Banff Park Management Plan is reflective of the recommendations that were made by the Round Table.

In the fall of 1996, the Task Force submitted its recommendations to the Minister responsible, at that time, for Parks Canada. In all, the Task Force submitted 500 recommendations. Once receiving these recommendations the Ministry established an Advisory Group, which was chaired by Parks Canada's Assistant Deputy Minister. This

group's task was to outline how the Department of Canadian Heritage would handle the recommendations made by the Task Force. The Advisory Group would also be responsible, along with the Mayor of Town of Banff, for integrating these recommendations into the park's management plan. Parks Canada maintains that all these initiatives, legislated changes, and studies have succeeded in strengthening Park's Canada's commitment, "...to preserving park resources in a way that integrates ecological, social and economic values." (Parks Canada, 2004)

The findings of the task force would have a profound influence on the town's future development. The task force's findings generated much controversy; initiating debates which were not only heard on the streets of Banff but across Canada. It was as though the Task Force had "unleashed" the Town of Banff. What I mean by the phrase, "unleashing of Banff", is that the town's development became a matter of public debate across Canada, played out in numerous newspaper articles both local and national, as well as in magazines and on radio and television shows. The "spin" generated by the media regarding the over-development issue in Banff sparked the illusion that this once pristine Canadian Rocky Mountain icon had a hotdog stand on just about every meandering turn of the Trans Canada Highway that carves through Banff National Park. In effect, this passive view of the Town of Banff portrayed by the Canadian media, led to what author Margaret Rodman has noted to this place to be perceived as a metonym (Rodman, 1993:640-641). Consequently, all the development occurring in the town was thought to be occurring throughout the park as well.

Subsequently, the Town of Banff was seen as even more of a blight on this world renowned Canadian icon. By the mid-nineteen nineties the Town of Banff had already

been incorporated for a few years and with its new found independence, the town, as well as the people who lived in its community were faced with pressing issues, such as the ecological impact the town and its people had on the park itself. It seemed by this point in time that Banff, by the mid-to-late 1990s, Banff was no longer solely on the map for its status as a world renowned tourist spot, but as a place that was in a slow environmental decline; a decline that could threaten the very nature of what Banff represented to Canadians, and perhaps even more importantly the revenue generated by the tourism industry.

The Banff National Park Management Plan (1997)

The current Banff National Park Management Plan, which was approved in 1997, was based on many of the recommendations made by the Banff-Bow Valley Task Force. The plan also took into account other developments, such as the 1988 amendments to the National Parks Act, Canada's Green Plan of 1990, and the Town of Banff Incorporation Agreement, to name a few. Since its approval, the plan has been amended, and like every other Parks Management Plan, it continues to be publicly reviewed and revised every five years.

If there is one overwhelming element that the Banff National Park Management Plan has stipulated for the Town of Banff, it is that the Town of Banff's population should never exceed 10,000, thus preventing the Town from ever acquiring the status of a city. The Town's boundary is itself surveyed and regulated by an Act of Parliament. Also of note, is the stipulation regarding the amount of commercial development that would be further permitted in the townsite. The limit was set at no more than 350,000sq. ft. to be granted for commercial development above the existing commercial development base.

In the summer of 2004, the last of the land available for development had been assigned; leaving no more commercial land left which could be earmarked for development in the Town of Banff.

Parks Canada has a set vision for Banff National Park, which is meant to be a guide for its future. Parks Canada adapted this vision from the Banff-Bow Valley Study Round Table's vision for the Banff-Bow Valley. Its core vision is as follows:

Banff National Park reveals the majesty and wilderness of the Rocky Mountains. It is a symbol of the Rocky Mountains. It is a symbol of Canada, a place of great beauty, where nature is able to flourish and evolve. People from around the world participate in the life of the park, finding inspiration, enjoyment, livelihoods and understanding. Through their wisdom and foresight in protecting this small part of the planet, Canadians demonstrate leadership in forging healthy relationships between people and nature of wonder, where the richness of life is respected and celebrated. (Parks Canada, 2004)

Parks Canada also recognizes that Banff National Park from its inception has been a place for people, which provides:

inspiration for artists, day use enjoyment and short vacations for Albertans, once in a lifetime vacation opportunities for families from further away, a window on Canada for visitors from foreign countries, a source of pride to Canadians as the flagship of the national park system, and a home for individuals and families who serve visitors to the park. (Parks Canada, 2004)

The Banff Park Management Plan goes further in defining the vision it has for Banff. Some of the key themes include protecting the environment while still allowing human activity in the park and supporting the role national parks play in establishing a Canadian identity. The plan also recognizes that national parks can contribute to the Canadian economy, that all levels of governments should co-operate in properly maintaining the park's area, and finally, that park communities can be stewards of the park. (Parks Canada, 2004) Also noted in the management plan are the components that

are deemed necessary in the attainment of this vision: the management plan also recognizes that those who are resident of the park will play the role as communicators to the park visitors so that the visitors will acquire a better, "...understanding of the nature, culture and history of the park." (Parks Canada, 2004) As noted earlier in my analysis chapter, through park policies, an identity has in effect been ascribed to those who are residents of Banff.

Parks Canada may have had their own idea as to what was an appropriate vision for Banff National Park, but this vision was not necessarily shared by all of those living in the Park itself. Part of the 500 recommendations (page 37 of study) made by the Banff Bow Valley Task Force, which Parks Canada had adopted, was the removal of the airstrip and the horse corrals for the purpose of restoring the area to a more wildlife friendly environment; an area that was part of the Cascade Wildlife Corridor. These two particular recommendations seemed to anger some local residents, especially those who made use of them. The horse corrals, which were near the Town, were the only public horse corrals in the Park. Not only were these corrals close to town, but they were also located in an area that had an adequate system of riding trails. It was decided that the corrals would be moved to an area that, although close to the Town itself, was sadly lacking in riding trails. As for the airstrip, it was recommended that it be completely removed. Those opposed to this plan were not only the local people who used the airstrip for their own private planes. Some argued that the removal of the Banff airstrip would take away the only airstrip in the area that could be used for emergency situations. There were numerous issues such as these that created tension among the townspeople. One recommendation in particular, to fence in the whole Town of Banff as a means of keeping

the elk outside of it and therefore away from the people, was viewed by most townspeople as the most absurd of all the proposals included in the plan. (Banff Bow Valley: At the Crossroads Summary Report, 1996: 37)

The tension brought on by the Banff-Bow Valley study was centered on two opposing views. One argued for stricter environmental regulations that supported the ideal of preserving the park as a pristine area while the other provided an opposing perception of the park as a place not only for wildlife but for people as well. The Bow-Valley study pushed the people in the Town of Banff to really assess what they wanted versus what Parks Canada wanted and what the people of Canada wanted. The direction the park should take, as well as the town, was a soul-searching process for all. The Town of Banff Community Plan was to help in this process of articulating for the people of Banff what they felt was their voice, their vision for this place of inspiring beauty.

The Town of Banff Community Plan

In 1990, when the Town of Banff became incorporated, it had to develop its own community plan. The Banff Community Plan is considered to be a Municipal Development Plan that is included in the Alberta Municipal Government Act. It should be noted that the “Community Plan” was named as such to reflect the inclusion of Banff’s community input. The Banff Community Plan is said to be, “... a statement of the goals, objectives, and planning philosophy for the community’s future.” (Banff Community Plan, 1998: 3) As such, it guides the growth and development of Banff as a town within a national park, and within a UNESCO World Heritage Site. The Banff Community Plan must be in agreement with the Banff National Park Management Plan, as it is specified in

the Town of Banff Incorporation Agreement that all plans and bylaws made for the town must conform to the Park's Management Plan (Banff Community Plan, 1998: 4). The plan is monitored and reviewed every year and the findings are presented in the annual "State of Town" report. The Town was given special purposes and objectives that were outlined in the Banff National Park Management Plan and Town of Banff Incorporation Agreement. They are as follows:

1. To maintain the townsite as part of a World Heritage Site;
2. *to serve, as its primary function, as a center for visitors to the Park and to provide such visitors with accommodation and other goods and services* (my italics);
3. to provide the widest possible range of interpretive and orientation services to Park visitors;
4. to maintain a community character which is consistent with and reflects the surrounding environment; and
5. *to provide a comfortable living community for those persons who need-to-reside in the townsite in order to achieve its primary function.* (my italics) (Banff Community Plan: 1998, 2)

In 1995, the General Municipal Plan, otherwise known as the Town of Banff Municipal Plan, was revised and updated by the Town of Banff. The Banff Town Council appointed a Committee to take charge of the community plan process. The Community Plan needed to be adjusted for several reasons, such as making adjustments for legislative changes, or the resolution of outstanding issues. There was also a perceived need for greater participation by the citizens of Banff in the development of a community plan. Accordingly, the Town's use of such consultive instruments as a householder survey, public workshops, a hotline and newsletters was successful in achieving greater participation from the townspeople. (Banff Community Plan, 1998: 8, 9)

The Committee divided the Community Plan into four different sections. Each section was based on a specific question. The questions addressed issues from the town's

present position to where it was going, as well as the direction the townspeople wanted the town to go in and how they would get there. (Banff Community Plan, 1998: 7)

With the public participating in the development of the new Town of Banff Community Plan a vision emerged which reflected what is deemed to be the general view held by Banffites about their community. The Banff community vision as expressed in the community plan has three key themes:

- 1 A Sustainable National Park Community
- 2 A Balanced Community
- 3 An Improving and Involved Community (Banff Community Plan: 1998:17-19)

Owing to its location in a National Park and within a World Heritage Site, the Town of Banff's community embraces a vision that is reflective of the National Park's mandate; as such the community prides itself on being a leader in environmental planning, sustainable development and sustainable tourism. As a balanced community, the Town focuses on maintaining a reasonable balance between the demands of the tourism industry, the community, and the ecology of the area.⁵ The Town of Banff is also focused on trying to maintain a community that is constantly improving and with the residents of Banff being encouraged to take on, "... an active role in finding "made in Banff" solutions to problems and desired improvements." (Banff Community Plan, 1998: 1, 17)

The Town of Banff also describes itself as a unique community not only because of its location but because it is Canada's first and one of only two, incorporated municipalities within a national park. It is seen as further distinct because the town has a leased land-base, thus no land can be owned outright, with the exception of the land owned by CP rail, which includes the Banff Springs Hotel. The town also has a fixed

⁵ The Town's ethos can be summed up in their community's mission statement: " Within our unique mountain setting, we strive to provide optimum quality of life for our residents and a quality experience for our visitors" (Town of Banff Community Profile, 2001: iii).

boundary, and a “need-to-reside” clause. Briefly stated, the need-to-reside clause stipulates that what is required for a person to live in Banff is a legitimate reason, such as for work. Also making Banff a distinct place are the restraints placed on commercial growth, and on the population of Banff. Lastly, the Town of Banff is strongly focused on maintaining a well rounded environmental program (Town of Banff, 2007).

Like many communities in Canada, Banff also has numerous institutions in place that cater to the arts and culture, the business community, and the environment, as well to the local population and seasonal workers and visitors alike. These institutions, some of which have been established for many years, are reflective of the vibrancy of the community (The Banff Resident Action Guide).

In 1990, the Town of Banff embarked on a new venture to define itself as a Town with a newly found independence. Along with this independence came an assembly of facts and data that led the Town and its people to re-evaluate their needs and wants. These elements had to be negotiated within the web of Canada’s first national park. This process pushed the people of Banff to reassess their sense of belonging to a place that was not only situated within a national park but was also further complicated by the new developments brought on by the incorporation of the town. Many a townspeople was faced with the question- did s/he really want to remain in a town that was being more restricted? With the town now being incorporated the “rules” could no longer be manipulated, since the laws and by-laws were now firmly in place. Whereas prior to the Town’s incorporation, one could put any old sign on a storefront or add an addition to one’s home, now rules and constraints were being enforced by Town Hall. This sense of belonging was already in a precarious position with the land not being owned outright by

the people but by the federal government, and the 'need-to-reside' clause being enforced with more vigilance since its inception in the 1960's. In short, the people of Banff now faced challenges that were distinct from other communities in Canada, as not only were they a town assigned the status of a resort destination, but also because the new national park policies put in place, further challenged their ability to make Banff a lived place.

Banff, like any other small town, is a place of many 'voices'. It is these 'voices' that contribute to the process of defining and creating a community. The following chapter will focus on the people who make up the more permanent population of Banff, and who are often referred to as the 'locals'. However, as will be discussed, the term 'local' is a term whose nuances are very often contested amongst those that live in Banff and the issues they face in trying to become locals are particular to living in a National Park and a tourism destination.

Chapter 5: The People of Banff

Who is a local?

In the summer of 2004, I had been in the field for no longer than a few days when I decided to visit the Archives and Library at the Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies. Since it was first established in 1966, the Whyte's Archives and Library have evolved to become a magnificent holding place of knowledge with a focus on such topics as exploration, family and personal life, arts and culture, to name a few, regarding the area surrounding the 49th parallel, Front Ranges, Columbia Mountains, and Peace River. The Whyte's Archives and Library are also noted for being the custodians of the Alpine Club of Canada Library. It was here, at the archives, that I first encountered the "who is local" debate, a question, which I thought was no longer discussed, thinking that it was a topic that had already been previously talked about to "death". But like the topic of housing, it seemed to be an ongoing subject of interest in the Town of Banff. I had heard talk about the issue of who is local and who is not local when I had first moved to Banff in 1990, and even back then it seemed like it wasn't a new topic, but a topic that had been around forever.

It perhaps should be noted that the question of who is local and who isn't, needs to be considered within the context of Banff being first developed in the late-1800s with the intention of becoming a premier tourism destination. Therefore, the first non-natives who came to Banff to live came for the work generated by the tourism industry. Thus, localness has from the start been embedded within the context of Banff's establishment as primarily a place for tourism.

It had been years since I had visited the Archives and I was looking forward to

going through the relevant information for my research that was housed in this facility. When I entered the archive, I walked over to one of the employees and introduced myself. I then mentioned to her that I had just arrived in town after being absent for some years. I also mentioned how I had returned to Banff as an Anthropology student with the intention of focusing my M.A research on the community of Banff, and therefore, I might be spending a bit of time during the summer doing some research in the archives. As is often customary in the laid back atmosphere of a small town such as Banff, impromptu conversations such as these arise quite easily. Although questions such as: ‘Are you from Banff?’ ‘Are you a local?’ are often heard asked in Banff, the answers are rarely given in a straightforward fashion. Questions such as these may seem trivial or pedantic at most, or even just plain boring! When put in the context of a town that is situated within Canada’s first National park, they take on a life of their own; at times mildly debated among friends and co-workers, and at other times hotly contested within the local newspaper; such as was the case in five of *The Banff Crag and Canyon* issues during the summer of ’04. The topic of ‘who is a local’ was debated in the opinion section of “*The Crag*”- as the local newspaper is often referred to. Again the opinions varied from the idea that only those who were born in Banff should be considered as ‘local’, to others who felt that having your principal residence in Banff was a sufficient criteria to consider oneself local or from Banff. (*The Banff Crag and Canyon*, 2004, July 20, 27; August 3, 17, 24; Sandford, 1994: 1)

And sometimes mixed in with this idea of localness was also the idea of status. In other words, the longer you have resided in Banff the more status you have acquired, pitting the tourist’s status at, “... the very lowest rung on the ladder of resort prestige...”

(Sandford, 1994: 64), or as one seasonal worker was quoted as saying in the Canadian Press, “In Ottawa, or anywhere else I’ve lived, being a local is nothing big. Here, there’s some prestige.” (Canada Press, 1996) And there I was, on that early afternoon at the beginning of June, finding myself talking with Cindy, a worker from the archives, and one of her other colleagues about the topic of who is ‘local’ in Banff. This topic had come up while Cindy showed me how to retrieve information from the archives. I had asked Cindy, how long she had been living in Banff. This question led us to the topic of who is ‘local’. Cindy felt that even though she had lived in Banff for twenty years, she still considered herself to be from Calgary, where she was born. Samantha, who was also working at the archives on that day, felt differently. Though she had lived about the same number of years in Banff as Cindy, she felt that she was from Banff and therefore considered herself a ‘local’.

What could account for the differences in people’s perceptions of their resident status or sense of belonging in Banff? And could the answers to that question point towards why localness is such a hotly discussed topic in Banff? Part of the answer to this first question could be found in the issues the people of Banff face, issues that were often brought up during my casual conversations with the people with whom I worked, lived, and socialized. For instance one day while I was walking down Banff Ave. during my first few weeks in Banff, I came across someone I had known in Banff since the early 90’s. His name was Mark and I had known him since he moved to Banff in 1991. We both worked at the Banff Springs Hotel⁶ in the same department. After a couple of years at the “Springs” I moved on to work at another property. Mark had since continued

⁶ Now known as The Fairmont Banff Springs since the purchase of Fairmont by Canadian Pacific Hotels and Resorts in 1999; CP Hotels and Resorts has subsequently been renamed as Fairmont Hotels and Resorts.

working at the Banff Springs Hotel. Whenever we would run into each other in the years subsequent to my time at the “Springs”, we would often reminisce, exchange laughs and shake our heads at what transpired while we worked together. Once again during the summer of '04, Mark and I continued with our tradition of ‘running into each other’. This time Mark and I were lucky enough to have spotted each other on a busy Banff Ave; Mark was sitting in front of Evelyn’s Coffee Shop, drinking coffee and watching the tourists walk by. Even with my four year absence from Banff and having not seen Mark for that length of time, this didn’t seem to affect our ability to fall into a casual conversation.

Mark had immigrated to Canada from a Caribbean Island and had lived in a few cities in Canada before moving to Banff in 1991. Even though Mark was in his late thirties and had lived in Banff for about 15 years, he still spoke to me of the need of having to “settle down, ‘maan’.” He went on to further explain that he was, “...spending too much money on alcohol and cigarettes.” I asked him what ‘settling down’ meant to him? He replied that moving to Calgary and buying a house there would mean for him that he had settled down. Buying a home in Calgary was, at one time, a lot more feasible than it was in Banff⁷. In 2001, the Canadian Census reported that the average cost of a home in Banff was close to \$400,000, whereas the cost of the average home in Calgary was closer to \$160,000. (Banff Community Indicator Reports, 2004: 17) Real estate prices being as high as they are in Banff prevent many people, who for the most part are living off the low wages generated by Banff’s tourism industry, from actually purchasing

⁷ Although, since the ‘oil boom’ in Alberta real estate prices have increased drastically in the major city centers such as Calgary, Fort McMurray and Edmonton while prices in Banff housing has remained steady in part because of the need-to-reside clause and the cap put on further development within the Town boundaries; exasperating some homeowners and businesses who would like to turn a higher profit on housing sales. (<http://www.cbc.ca/money/story/2007/04/02/realestate.html>)

their own home. (Alberta Government, 2006:2-3) Could the inherent difficulty in owning a home in Banff be a contributing factor to making someone who has lived in Banff, even for ten or twenty years, feel like they aren't from Banff? Does Mark's remark about 'settling down' being only achievable by moving somewhere outside of Banff result from his inability to purchase a home in Banff? Or does the Town's tourism industry, the low wages it generates and its association with a propensity to party, also play a factor in Mark's need to move away in order to 'settle down'?

A Need-to-reside

Tied in with this notion of Banffites living in Banff only with the purpose of serving the tourists comes the idea of the need-to-reside policy enforced in Banff. Think you would like to live in Banff, perhaps when you retire? After all, it surely is one of the loveliest places to live in Canada. If the scenery wasn't enough to convince me, the seniors at the Banff Senior Center certainly did their part in enumerating for me all that was great about living in Banff. When I visited their center one early winter afternoon, some of the seniors mentioned to me that a study had only been recently conducted in Alberta outlining how the seniors in Banff were healthier than any other seniors in the province, attributing this to a strong sense of community, as well as easy accessibility by foot to most local conveniences. I only had to look outside the Senior Center's common room window, which looks onto the Bow River, on that particularly cold and windy afternoon, to see just how well some seniors were faring in Banff. Outside we spotted David, an octogenarian, riding his Arabian horse along the banks of the Bow River! In any case, just the community center in itself is a draw; I was impressed by how well

organized the center was, how nice it was and how inviting it was. It was a locus of activities. However, retiring in Banff necessitates that certain requirements are met, such as stipulated in the Need-to-Reside Clause.

As I mentioned earlier, the people who are living in Banff are there to service the needs of the tourists, first and foremost, and as the total area of the Town of Banff has a set limit of development, a need-to-reside clause has been used as a means by which both the local and federal government can control the population of Banff. As such, the need-to-reside clause is in both the National Parks Act⁸ and the Town of Banff Incorporation Agreement (Town of Banff Community Plan, 1998: 8). This clause stipulates who is entitled to be a resident in a national park community. (Rettie, 2000: 114). The idea for a need-to-reside policy first appeared in the 1960s under the rubric of ‘eligible resident’ (2000: 151) when the Federal government commissioned studies on the town planning of Banff (Hart: 211- 213). These studies were a reflection of the: “ ever-increasing flood of post-war tourists with their demands for goods, services and facilities [which] made it inevitable that questions would emerge about how national park townsites...should develop.” (Hart, 2003: 207). One of the recommendations suggested by one of the studies (2003: 213) was that a restriction should be imposed on those who are eligible to reside in national park communities, such as those who are there to serve the needs of the tourism industry. As it now stands there are two main reasons why the Town of Banff and the Federal government need to enforce the need-to-reside clause within National park communities. One reason is to try and control the cost of housing in Banff so as to make living there affordable for those that are working within the tourism business; a business

⁸ National Parks Lease and License of Occupation Regulations (1991) Section 2 (1) interpretation of “eligible resident.”

that is known to have a low rate of pay. As well, the cap on development in Banff has also limited the housing available in Banff, thus making it hard for those who need-to-reside in Banff to find a place to buy or even rent (Rettie, 2000: 151-152). The housing issue will be more thoroughly discussed in chapter 7.

However, as noted earlier, a need-to-reside clause may be a benefit to the community of Banff as it helps control the cost of housing and further entrenches the Town of Banff as a place with only one meaning, which is that of it being solely a toured place. The implementation of a need-to-reside clause makes the Town of Banff accessible as a lived place only to those who have a legitimate reason for being in Banff. The following offers an example of how by putting this issue within context, Banff becomes less of an anthropological place. One day, while talking to someone born in Banff about her plans to move back to Banff after completing her university studies in architecture, she lamented that she wasn't sure what to do since she wanted to return to Banff to live. However, as a recently graduated architect, she was hard pressed to start a business in Banff because of the laws that specified she was only allowed to live in Banff if she was serving the needs of the tourism industry. She didn't think she could make a living as an architect in Banff by only having clients from Banff. She found herself in a bind, wanting to live in Banff where her parents continued to live and where she grew up, and having a career in the field she had studied for. Consequently, the need-to-reside clause, although beneficial, also has its downsides.

As it now stands, the basic requirement for a person to be eligible to live in The Town of Banff is that they have to either be working in Banff or own a business in Banff, or that they attend one of the schools in Banff on a full-time basis. With regards to

retiring in Banff, one has to have worked five years in Banff prior to retiring there. And lastly, one has to be married or be dependent on someone who fulfills any of the other criteria to be able to live in Banff.

To this day the need-to-reside clause continues to stir up controversy. I was made well aware of this when during the winter and spring of '04, some of the hottest topics to hit the local Banff newspaper were about the need-to-reside clause. Of interest at that time was the issue of a website that was created by a group of Calgary environmentalists as a means to publish the names of those people who were living in Banff, but who weren't considered to be eligible as is outlined in the need-to-reside policy. The website was aiming to become a type of 'hit list' of those who were living in Banff but did not meet the criteria as stipulated in the need-to-reside clause. The website had only named one person, but threatened to name more names of individuals considered ineligible Banff residents. The group, although refraining from making public the environmental group they represented, also encouraged others to send in information that would help expose other people as well. (Crag and Canyon, 2004: March 23). In the end, the website was taken down as some townspeople threatened to launch a libel suit against the group of Calgary environmentalists who had set up the offending website. (The Banff Crag and Canyon, 2004: March 16) On the other hand, some people in Banff have voiced the opinion that the need-to-reside clause is illegal under the equality and mobility rights sections of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. In the winter of 2004, about 60 local property owners banded together with the intention of arguing before the Federal courts that the need-to-reside clause is a violation of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. (Calgary Herald, 2004: Jan 26) But as this

debate now stands, it seems that those siding with the need-to-reside clause are more numerous than those opposed to it, as demonstrated in a council vote that took place in September 2004. Those in favour of the need-to-reside clause won 4-3 (Calgary Herald, 2004: January 26).

Landownership in Banff

Further aggravating the sense of belonging in Banff, is the issue of landownership within a national park. Since the Town of Banff is situated in a national park where landownership is not permitted; property in Banff is therefore only to be leased out. With the growth in tourism during the early years of Banff National Park (then known as Rocky Mountains Park), resulting from the area's hot springs, businesses that catered to tourists began to flourish. Along with the increase in businesses, came further development of the Town of Banff, and with increased development, came a need for clearer leasing policies. It would seem that during the Town of Banff's early years, the policies that surrounded the terms and conditions of the leases reflected the emphasis the government of Canada had placed on the idea of attracting a population that was more temporary than permanent. (Rettie, 2000: 12). The leases that were first handed out in the 19th century were reflective of this, as the then Canadian Prime Minister, John A. Macdonald, was quoted as saying in a parliamentary debate:

There is an objection to fixing a limit. We cannot say what length of time we can get people to take leases for in order to induce them to put up handsome buildings. Twenty-one years are suggested as sufficient but people will not build handsome houses on a 21-year lease. If there is to be a limit at all there must be the right to renewal. I think the honorable gentlemen and the House may trust any government with the settlement of that question in the interest of the property. (Lothian, as cited in Rettie, 2000:12)

As local resident, Ted Hart, has thoroughly described in his book: “The Battle for Banff”, the issue of leases has been a contentious issue, which has throughout time left, “Banffites constantly on edge.” (Hart, 2003: 207) The main concern generated by the leases handed out in Banff, centered on whether leases were renewable or not. Townspeople took issue when the federal government considered terminating the perpetual leases in Banff during the 1960s, as a way of having better access to the Town’s land, in case further development was needed (2003: 213). By the 1970s, the issue had been finally resolved after many heated debates had taken place, not only among the residents of Banff, but nationally as well. The lease issue was hotly contested not only amongst the Federal political players of the times, but it also attracted the interest of Canadians living outside of the park, with the Canadian newspapers also taking an interest in covering the issue of Banff leases. (2003: 2100. As they now stand, leases in Banff are usually handed out in perpetuity (Rettie, 2000: 16), but the federal government also has the right not to renew leases. Both the restrictions on land ownership and the need-to-reside clause may further promote the sense that living in Banff is not to be equated with permanency, by imparting to those living in Banff the feeling that perhaps they aren’t as secure in their living or work arrangements as they would be in other towns or cities in Canada.

Working in Banff

The nature of work in a tourist town such as Banff is another element that is influential in the construction of belonging within this mountain setting. The tourism industry in Banff is known to be seasonal and usually offers low skill work; attributes

which make workers easily replaceable, as well as low paid (Banff Community Indicator Report, 2004: 7). These factors all contribute to the sense of impermanency among some of Banff's tourism industry workers. I was reminded of this one day when I asked a fellow worker, Worn, who had been living in Banff for about 8.5 years, what he thought was different about working in Banff as compared to his hometown in Manitoba. He replied: "Here it is 'their' way or the highway. They can change you in a second." Worn was referring to Banff's business owners' easy access to a large pool of low-skilled labour. Being easily replaceable at work does not encourage economic security for those living in Banff, thus further deepening the sense that one's place in Banff is never fully situated on solid ground. A sense of belonging is not easily attainable in a town where workers, such as the low-skilled tourism industry workers in Banff, sense their disposability. Without a sense of belonging, acquiring an identity of localness would be hard to come by for those who hold jobs in such a volatile setting.

Retiring in Banff

If the nature of work can be identified as one of the influencing factors in the sense of belonging of those who live in Banff, then what can be said about retiring in Banff? How do the people of Banff perceive retiring in Banff? Does retiring in Banff play any role in the perception of belonging in Banff? I would contend that it does in fact challenge the notions of belonging and sense of localness. Firstly, it is to be noted that retiring in Banff isn't all that straightforward a matter. As mentioned earlier, Banff has in place strict guidelines as to who is permitted to retire in Banff. In other words, someone can't just move to Banff with the intent of retiring there if they have not satisfied the

conditions I outlined earlier, i.e. they needed to have worked or owned a business, requiring their presence in Banff for at least 5 years.

So what are some of the perceptions of those who are eligible to retire in Banff, would they want to retire in Banff? There is of course a wide variety of views with regards to retiring in Banff but what I felt was of particular interest is the two main reasons some people cited for not wanting to retire in Banff: 1) the cost of living in Banff, and 2) the idea of retiring in a town where one had worked for most of their lives wasn't such a big draw to some. Yvan, a Banff businessman for the past twenty years, assured me that he did not want to retire in a town where the winters were long and the cost of living was so high that to retire comfortably would be out of his reach.⁹ Others, who have also owned businesses in Banff, have told me that they didn't want to retire in Banff because for them it was too hard to retire in a town where they had worked for most of their lives; instead they opted to move out of town for their retirement. I was fairly surprised to hear this point of view when I first heard it. However, when I thought about those I knew who hadn't retired in Banff, even though they were able to afford it, I realized that it wasn't such an uncommon occurrence. Looking at it further it made sense why some would feel the need to move away from Banff just so they could feel like they had really retired. In a way, for those who have worked in Banff for most of their lives, retiring in Banff would almost be like retiring in a tourist attraction. Banff is a tourist attraction in itself, and for most of those who first went to Banff, it was with the knowledge that they could find work or start a business that would in some way cater to the tourism industry. In the end it does seem ironic, that for some the Town of Banff is

⁹ For further information on the cost of housing and living in Banff please refer to the Banff Community Indicators Report, 2004 and the Banff Housing Study, 2002.

more synonymous with work than it is with what it is most renowned for – a place of rest and holidaying. Therefore, for those who have worked there most of their lives, retiring isn't just a question of ceasing to work, it's also often a question of retiring from the whole town itself since the town itself is synonymous with work and not retirement. And as noted earlier, park policies stipulate that those living in Banff are allocated the role of stewards and park communicators. Ironically, some people go to Banff to retreat from their daily lives, while in contrast those who are living in Banff feel the need to leave Banff to get away from their daily lives.

In the end the question of retiring in Banff could be more aptly put this way: "Can people afford to retire in Banff? Would you want to retire in a town that is seen as anything but a place to rest? And finally, are you eligible to retire in Banff? All three questions point towards the uncertainty of being able to retire in Banff because of the cost of living, imposed restrictions, and for some, the town's identity as a tourist attraction, not to mention the inferred role of 'tour guides', making it hard for them to make the transition from Banff as only being a place of work to a place of retirement.

To sum it up, Banffites have a lot to contend with when trying to ascertain their sense of belonging in a place that is a world renowned tourism destination. Some of the key factors influencing the idea of localness or sense of belonging in Banff are the fact that the Town of Banff, being situated within a National Park, has to follow certain guidelines such as the need-to-reside policy, that no freeholds are allowed, as well as having only services considered to be essential, all of which contribute to the people's sense of belonging in Banff. One has to wonder if these factors might promote feelings of 'never, never land'-never feeling like it is a real town, or a real job, or really owning the

land you live on. And could all these factors be contributing to the sense of some of the townspeople that they will never be from Banff, or 'local', or firmly rooted, even if they have spent most of their lives there? Yet perhaps the sense of belongingness in Banff isn't dependent on the policies that are there to direct this town. As Bob Sandford has discussed in his book: "The Book of Banff: An Insider's Guide to Being a Local in Banff and the Bow Valley", a sense of localness or belonging may be based on something that is more ephemeral:

Over the years I have lived in the Rockies, I have seen many people captured, like me, by these peaks. Some become locals without even living here. They come for a week or two to hike and keep coming back until they die. Or perhaps they come to work for a few weeks during the summer and never go home again. There is a pattern to it all. It is often a painful process, filled with setbacks and disappointments. You come. You make a few uncomfortable and even dangerous mistakes. You suffer. You fail. Something inside you dies and something else is born. The landscape gets hold of you and somehow you grow slowly into its immensity. You begin to take the beauty personally. And gradually, any order less than the grand totality of the land seems small minded to you. The country has captured you and you call it home. (Sandford, 1994: 11-12)

Dying in Banff

When I first arrived in Banff during the summer of my fieldwork, I had sadly been informed of the passing away of Luigi, one of Banff's most prominent members. He was thought of as one of Banff's most distinguished community members. Luigi was a well-known and loved figure among the townspeople. Canada Day celebrations in Banff Central Park will never be the same as it once was when Luigi had always played a song or two on his trombone.

I had my own fond memories of Luigi, as he was my neighbour for a couple of years when I had first moved to Banff back in the early 90s. He and his wife Janice lived across the street from the house I shared with Robyn, my Australian roommate. We all

lived in Bankhead houses¹⁰, although Luigi had been born in the house that he and Janice were living in. I remember feeling that I had finally become a local in Banff after having moved out of the Banff Springs Hotel staff accommodation and then having moved into a neighbourhood where I was surrounded by people who had lived in Banff for many, many years or who were even born there. What made me feel even more like I was “finally living in Banff” was the fact that Luigi and his wife Janice would actually engage me and my roommate in conversation. Even though my roommate and I were new to town, Luigi and Janice always made us feel welcome.¹¹

There is one particular comment that I distinctly remember Janice telling me one quiet summer afternoon while we chatted about Banff. At one point during our conversation she just blurted out: “Community, community in Banff! There is no such thing as a community in Banff, there never was and there never will be, too many people coming and going to make this place a community.” That comment by Janice had stuck in my mind, and how ironic that 17 years later I would be studying the community of Banff.

What I now wonder is how Banff could not be considered a community after having experienced some of the events that had taken place the summer that I was there for my fieldwork. Even the workers that I had met at the Archives declared that how Banff was “just a business town” as compared to Canmore which they felt had more of a community feel about it. One of the workers remarked, “I envy Canmore people because

¹⁰ In 1904, Bankhead was established as a CPR mining town near Lake Minnewaka, at the base of Cascade Mountain. In 1922, CPR was forced to close down the mine due to the environment pressures and postwar depression; the town was eventually also shut down. Subsequently some of the Bankhead homes were moved to Banff. (<http://www.coalminer.ca/historicalhikes/bankhead.asp>)

¹¹ Janice passed away in July of 2007, and in her obituary it was remarked how she was particularly supportive of those who were new in town.

here it's always the same people who show up at the community meetings, but in Canmore you get a lot more people showing up." The notion that Banff has no sense of community was again brought to my attention during my fieldwork in a conversation I had with Ginette, a once transient worker now turned a full-time Bow-Valley resident. As Ginette sat next to me at a Corb Lund concert at Wild Bill's bar, I asked her why she had decided to move to Canmore instead of staying in Banff, to which replied, " In Canmore, there is a sense of community, while in Banff there isn't any." Just as being a local was often a contested issue, so too the idea of Banff as a community was often contested because of the constant influx and exodus of people during the summer high season and ski season.

There was one particular development that did stand out because it seemed to show that a strong and vibrant community did exist in Banff, and this circumstance pretty much lasted throughout the course of my time in Banff. When I had arrived in Banff, I was to hear some other sad news, that not only had Luigi passed away but that Steve, another long time resident of Banff, had been diagnosed with an incurable disease. Throughout the summer, I would receive reports on Steve's health and how his family was coping. I had first met Steve and his wife at the Town of Banff's 2nd incorporation party during my first 6 months of living in Banff, the party was held in one of the most magnificent rooms in The Banff Springs Hotel. There were perhaps 800 people who had attended the party.

What struck me about Steve and his wife was first the length of time they had already lived in Banff, which was about 15 years at that point. When I first moved to Banff, rarely did I meet anyone who had lived in Banff for a few years or more.

However, over time this was to change. The longer I lived in Banff, the more I would meet long-term residents such as Steve and Claire. Living in the Banff Springs Hotel residence during my first 6 months of Banff made it harder to meet these long time residents of Banff since most of those who lived in residence were seasonal workers, or didn't consider staying longer pass the ski season.

Steve and Claire had met "on the road"; Steve was travelling through Europe when he met Claire, who was from France. They had continued their travels back in Canada; having decided to stay in Banff and eventually raising a family there. They were ecstatic to be in living in Banff and were doubly happy about the incorporation of the town. They felt that it was now a town they could call their own because they now had more of a say in town matters. In meeting this couple that winter night I was struck by the fondness they had for Banff. I found it comforting to learn that there were some people living in Banff, not solely for the work opportunities and the skiing, but because of a broader appreciation of the town. This broader appreciation led them to make Banff their home.

It would seem that over the years this couple's affection for Banff had been, in a sense, reciprocated by the community. For example, a couple of years after I had met Claire, she was diagnosed with cancer. During the time she had fought her battle with cancer, many in the community had helped her and her family cope with this tragedy. I remember hearing at the Cake Company- one of the first local coffee shops to be started by a local couple back in the late 80's- people discussing how some of the town folks had organized a rotating schedule at the hospital where Claire was staying. They had set up a schedule in which Claire would never be left alone in her hospital room during the last

few days of life. Claire's friends and family had decided that they would maintain a vigil with her until she passed away.

Steve, too, was to succumb to his battle with cancer but the support he had during his illness, just as Claire had, was phenomenal. In the middle of June after only having been back in Banff a few days, I was invited to attend a fundraiser for Steve at one of the local bars. The bar was packed, having sold all their admission tickets. A raffle was held in which many local artists and businessmen had donated gifts, the intention was to raise money to give financial support to Steve and his family. By the end of the summer, Steve had succumbed to his illness. To celebrate his life, a memorial was held at Mount Norquay during the middle of October. I had attended Steve's memorial with a few of my friends. I was shocked to see how many people had attended his memorial; there must have been about 300 people who had gathered at the ski lodge that had been opened by the owners just for this special occasion. Along with speeches given by some of John's friends and family, a slide show was also presented depicting some of the moments in Steve's life. Steve had lived about 30 of his more than 50 years in Banff.

After leaving the field, I came across one of the comments I had made about Steve's memorial in my fieldwork journal, I noted how perhaps the amount of people who show up at one's funeral was a barometer representing how much one was a part of the community in Banff. From what I gathered on that early fall day, Steve was very much a part of Banff's community.

Despite the issues the townsfolk of Banff face, which challenge their sense of belonging or place meaning, such as the park policies and issues generated by a tourism town (e.g. the working conditions), Banffites have still been able to maintain a sense of

belonging and make Banff a place of meaning for them. In effect, a process of inverse landscaping was demonstrated through fundraisings, show of care, and memorials Banffites carried out during my fieldwork. Through these displays of place-making, Banff could be perceived as a place that is lived in, rather than one that is solely toured through. In effect, Banff, like other places, has many meanings (Rodman, 1993: 641) and is made meaningful, although it holds different meanings for each group (Rodman, 1993: 641; Gupta and Ferguson, 1992: 11). Consequently, for some, Banff is a toured place, while for others it is a place to work in for the summer, and still for others, it is a place they have lived in for most of their lives, such as Luigi. In other words, Banff can be rich with anthropological meaning, as it became for Steve and Claire (see above), while for others, such as for some tourists or even for some seasonal workers, it may be a place that is more akin to a non-place¹² (Augé 1995).

Just as Steve and Claire were once new arrivals in Banff, the tradition of newcomers arriving in Banff persists to this day. How does the town of Banff handle this influx of seasonal workers? What issues are raised when such a transient population passes through a small town like Banff? In the following pages I will outline some of the issues the Town of Banff faces when playing host to these seasonal workers, as well as how the town tries to manage these issues.

Managing the Seasonal Workers

Thirty five percent of Banff's population is between the ages of 20 and 29, and 25% of the population stay for less than a year; in short, Banff has a population that is

¹² A further discussion of how Banff is perceived by some seasonal workers is found in chapter 7.

very mobile and young in age. To address the issues that come with such a mobile young adult population, such as their willingness to participate in high risk activities, Banff's Family & Community Support (FCSS) Agency, along with other agencies in Banff, have implemented various strategies to deal with these issues.

When meeting with some of the community members who were in direct contact with the seasonal workers, the one thing I felt from all of them, be they from the RCMP, Banff Bow Valley Aids, the Banff Health Unit, The Living Room, BanffLife, The Town of Banff Community Development, or from Aids Bow Valley, and others, was that they were committed to helping this mobile population both for the benefit of the seasonal workers and for the town itself. One manner by which they accomplished this was by making the young seasonal workers better aware of the risks they could encounter in Banff, such as drug and alcohol abuse, STD infections and the vulnerability they face by being around people who for the most part are unfamiliar to them. Some of these organizations, such as BanffLife, The Living Room, YWCA, and others, were also focused on helping the new arrivals with issues that they may face, such as the feelings of alienation that may come with moving to a new town, finding housing and work, or simply on being there for them as a welcoming committee. These associations, it seemed to me, were always looking to find new solutions to the issues that faced their community, which included having to play host to a young adult mobile population.

In one particular instance, I was able to attend a Banff Interagency meeting an initiative set up by a core group of social service organizations from both Canmore and Banff. Their intent was to try to pool their resources together to better cope with the issues that faced the Banff-Bow Valley area. During this particular meeting, the group

focused on how best to manage a crisis situation such as suicide. Every member present, from health professionals to the Town of Banff Community Development and local non-profit organizations, discussed and made suggestions that could further their ability to deal with such a crisis, if one were to occur in their communities. When I returned to Banff for a quick visit in the Spring of 2007, I dropped by the Town Hall to see if there were any new brochures I could pick up for my research. I came across a new version of “The Local Lowdown”, which is a resource booklet published by the Banff YWCA for seasonal workers. In this particular edition, I found a card with specific information on suicide, such as where one could go for help and how to recognize the signs of a suicidal person. The card was titled; “Suicide Helpcard” with the accompanying words below: “Remember you are not alone”. This “Suicide Helpcard” was created in partnership with Banff Interagency. It was heartening to see that the interagency meeting on the issue of suicide I had attended in the fall of 2004 had produced results such as this help card. (The Local Lowdown, 2000: 7)

An organization that has taken root in Banff and which caters to Bow Valley’s seasonal workers, is BanffLife (formerly known as the Banff Services Industry Network)¹³. BanffLife’s main intent is to help the newly arrived seasonal workers establish themselves in Banff and to help bridge the gap between the seasonal workers and the community. This non-profit organization was established in 2001 and is supported by locals such as those in the business community, volunteers, board members¹⁴, and staff from The Living Room. (The Town of Banff, 2007:1). On one particular summer afternoon, I dropped in to The Living Room to see what it was about. Having heard about

¹³ BSIN was created out of The Town of Banff’s Late Night Noise Task Force, which was initiated in 2000.

¹⁴ The members on BanffLife’s Board of Directors represent a large cross section of organizations and businesses from Banff.

it, but not really quite knowing what it was, I decided to see for myself. The Living Room was situated in an old white house on Banff Ave. The house was owned by a local business owner, but with the business owner having no immediate use for it, he had lent it to The Living Room staff for the time being. On the afternoon that I had dropped in, the staff, some volunteers, as well as some seasonal workers were in the middle of wrapping condom packages with an information leaflet on Aids and STDs. The leaflets were supplied by Aids Bow Valley. I sat down with them and helped them continue with their wrapping of the condom packages; they were hoping to pass these free condoms to whoever came by their place. On Wednesday evenings, The Living Room also hosts a free Spaghetti dinner for young adults, which I had also attended. On the evening I was there, the place was packed, which apparently wasn't an unusual occurrence during the summer months. Again, there were a lot of volunteers to help out serving food or handing out free condoms. The atmosphere in the place was that of a casual quiet evening with a bunch of young adults from across Canada or from overseas. It was a good way for these newly arrived seasonal workers to meet people and to find out about the area and what activities were offered. The Living Room, had instituted their own 'Calendar of Events', outlining all the activities that they offered every month such as local hikes, movie nights, yoga, trips to Calgary, and an assortment of other activities.

Another event I had attended that was sponsored by BanffLife and by a host of other agencies, both non-profit and for-profit, was: "One Hot Summer". This event takes place at the beginning of the summer season and is an event that serves as a type of welcoming committee to all those newly arrived in Banff for the summer season. The "One Hot Summer" event that I had attended took place in Banff Central Park. Various

organizations, including Parks Canada and Aids Bow Valley, to name a few, set up booths in the park. They had also organized events, such as a rubber ducky race on the Bow River. The booths reminded me of the type of fairs universities are known to have, but instead of companies trying to attract the eye of potential workers, the organizations at “One Hot Summer” were more intent on handing out information to the young adults that were planning on staying in town for the summer months.

“One Hot Summer: was also a way for the towns’ stakeholders to reach out to the new workers with the hope of minimizing the issues generated by this particular population such as vandalism, noise complaints, and general rowdiness. Since the Town and its businesses are for the most part dependent on the tourism industry, it is in their best interest to try and manage this group as best they can. Maintaining Banff’s image as a clean and safe place for tourists to visit is crucial for a town that is exceptionally dependent on the Tourism industry. In 1999, Rolling Stone Magazine had published an unflattering article on The Town of Banff. The article was widely talked about in the Canadian media, as well as in Banff; locals refer to it as: “That Rolling Stone Magazine article.” The article described the town, as one of the best places to go for Spring Break, with and the “Dubious Distinction” of being, “...the STD capital of Canada, so the local motto is “Banff: Come and Take Your Chances.”” (Rolling Stone Magazine, 1999: 65). Local stakeholders such as Banff’s local business bureaus and tourism bureaus were quick to try and dispel this unpleasing image of Banff (The Globe and Mail, 1999: A13; National Post, 1999:A4). In short, events such as “One Hot Summer” are geared not only towards raising awareness of the issues facing the seasonal workers, but also to cater to

the needs of the local businesses and townspeople by trying to best manage the transient workforce.

One fall afternoon I bumped into Sara. By coincidence, Sara and I were both having a coffee at Banff's Starbucks. I hadn't seen Sara all summer so I mentioned to her why I was back in town. We started talking about the community of Banff; she had lived in Banff for almost 25 years, and felt strongly about the issues facing the town. I asked her what her opinion was on the idea that Banff had acquired more of a sense of community because of the increase in community organizations since the Town's incorporation, such as those created through Town Hall, and she replied: "The sense of community didn't come from the organizations, but from the people who have lived here for 20-30 years. These social organizations only came out of the self-interest of businesses." Perhaps, therefore Banff hadn't changed all that much since its inception. Banff was first created with the purpose of generating revenue both for the Canadian government and for businesses, and to this day this purpose still remains the same. In the end, managing youth workers benefits not only the townspeople and the youth themselves, but it also makes economic sense.

Shifting Perceptions: From Transient to Seasonal Worker

When I asked some of the locals I met throughout the summer about their perception of the youth that came through town, it seemed for the most part that these people felt favourably towards these temporary summer residents, some even commenting on how they brought a lot of spirit to the town. I had even asked the seniors that I had met one afternoon how they felt about the youth that came to town. Some felt

that they hardly even noticed them because they were living in separate worlds, with their worlds hardly colliding since, as they related to me, they rarely went out at night when the youths are more apt to be partying and at their rowdiest. The seniors also commented that Banff had always been a place that attracted the young and adventuresome, one commenting: “The kids have always been wild. Now it’s just that there are more drugs and alcohol available.” Another senior had commented: “Of course the kids are going to hang out in bars and party because they got no other place to hang out in and their living conditions are so cramped.” Not all of the people that I met in Banff had positive experiences with some of the youths that came through town. Chief among the criticisms were the noise complaints at night, especially if through bad luck one was living next to a staff accommodation building. Other complaints centred on the damage some seasonal workers had done to some rental properties, as one person commented to me: “Once I rented out a cabin to two people for the winter and before I knew it there were 6 snowboarders living in there!” It would seem, through from what I observed in the field, people’s perception towards the seasonal workers in Banff varied, across a wide cross-spectrum of opinions. Despite the varied perceptions people had of these mobile young adults, there was consensus with regards to them in at least one area, which was, that the townspeople very much depended on the labour of these seasonal workers.

When I first entered the field, I would often refer to the ‘seasonal workers’ as ‘transient’, but I was often corrected by those in the community who worked for agencies that dealt with the youth so that by the time I left the field, I had finally started to address these young temporary workers as ‘seasonal workers’. I asked Robert who worked for one of the agencies that catered to the youth why the term seasonal workers was used

rather than transient workers. He explained that there were negative associations attached to the term transient workers, whereas the term seasonal workers didn't hold as much of a stigma. It was all about changing people's perceptions towards the youths that came through town, and with that, hopefully the townspeople's perceptions about these seasonal workers would change accordingly. Robert explained to me their organization was trying to encourage companies to, "...shift their focus from only minimally supporting their seasonal staff, to actually trying to invest in them, and hopefully the companies would change their attitudes to that of seeing their staff as assets." But then, Robert also mentioned that, "There needs to be a shift from the perception that the staff only belongs to the business and not to the community towards the idea that these youth workers are here and they can contribute to the community, and not just by supplying a labour force." And at the same time, he was hoping that their organization, as well as the others that dealt with the seasonal workers, would inspire the youth to have "...a sense of ownership and commitment and not just be here with the idea that they are passing through" towards the Town of Banff. It was hoped, Robert explained, that by inspiring the youth to feel a greater sense of belonging towards the town, no matter how short a stay they had in Banff, they would somehow be encouraged to respect the town and its people. It also seemed that some of the seasonal workers were preoccupied with this notion of belonging, since while I was in the field I found the following interaction on the BanffLife website's Q&A section (a section in which seasonal workers were encouraged to ask questions of a local):

So how many years do you have to live in Banff before you can call yourself a local?" [Answer] "Well now I guess it depends on who you ask! As a local of 7 years, I would say that if you are living and working in Banff then you have the

right to call yourself a local as you are still a big part of our community, even if you are part of the transient population (BanffLife, 2004: July 7)

Creating Belongingness

The notion of instilling a sense of belonging among the seasonal workers may not be so easily achieved, not only because the seasonal workers are only in town for a short time, but also because of their perception of Banff. Just as tourists may perceive the Town of Banff as not being a real town in its own right, I have also found that this perception is prevalent among the seasonal workers that I spoke to during the summer months. When I conducted an informal interview with a group of 9 housekeepers from a hotel in Banff, the 'locals' topic came up. I asked them during the interview if they felt that seasonal workers were less respectful towards town property compared to those who were local? There didn't seem to be any consensus among the group, some felt that they had respect for property no matter where they were, while others felt they weren't so sure of that idea. But what I found particularly interesting in regards to the response I got to this question was when someone in the group piped: "What there are locals here? Really?" I then responded by saying: "Well yes, there are about 7,000 locals here." Then another worker asked: "But where do they live?" And another informant answered: "Yah, yah there are locals here they live across the river, on the other side of town." The conversation ended with one worker again commenting: "Really, there are locals here?" He still couldn't believe, along with a few others in the group, that people lived in Banff, that in effect Banff was a town in its own right.

This perception of Banff as not having much of a 'real' town feel was also expressed to me by another group of seasonal workers that I met at the Rose & Crown

Bar on a Sunday night. Every Sunday night at the Rose & Crown, or as it is locally referred to as 'The Rose', was an "Open Mike" night, any band or poet who wanted to perform were permitted to take the stage. The members of a local band, would play host to these Sunday open mike nights at The Rose. On this particular night the bar was packed with seasonal workers. I remember thinking that I had hit 'the jackpot' when I first walked into the bar since there were so many people I might interview. However, that thought was quickly pushed aside when the bands started playing since the noise level increased tenfold, making it almost impossible to talk to anyone. But I was able to have a short conversation with about five girls who were all from Eastern Canada. I asked them what they thought about Banff and our conversation led to us talking about their experiences in Banff. I asked them if they had been to The Living Room and if they felt that it gave them anymore more of a sense of being a part of a community. A few of them commented that although they had been to The Living Room and despite the efforts put on by The Living Room they still didn't "... feel that there is a real community living here." It would seem that what was more important for these five girls was the community feeling they had created among themselves. Perhaps the seasonal workers are more interested in creating a community among themselves because these friendships are more pertinent to them than feeling like they belong to a town, which after all will only be called home for just a few months.

A Change of Perception

But there are those seasonal workers who for one reason or another do decide to stay in Banff for longer than a season. It would seem that for some of the seasonal

workers their own perception towards Banff can change. For some, Banff then becomes a place to stay not only for a season or two, but for an indefinite amount of time. As Emelie pointed out to me when I was at the job resource centre one afternoon: “ You have to admit everyone goes through that partying in Banff phase, but after a while, real time sets in and some decide to make Banff more than just a party.” This comment by Emelie reminded me of a conversation I had with my travel agent before I left the field for my return home to Montreal. My travel agent’s name was Sebastien. I had recognized him from the years that I had lived in Banff, and so I knew that he had been living in Banff for at least 15 years. Out of curiosity, I asked him why it was that he had decided to stay in Banff. He replied that he just felt that this was a great town to live in and that he could never see himself going back to Quebec. Sebastien explained to me that over the years he had gone back and forth between Banff and Quebec, but that he had finally decided to settle in Banff about 10 years ago. He said that he really enjoyed the lifestyle in Banff, the easy accessibility by foot to all of the Town’s amenities and he particularly liked the sense of liveliness that was present in the town, which he felt was hard to find anywhere else. He mentioned how when he first came to town he started working like everyone else at the bottom rung, “cleaning toilets”, by this he meant that he had first worked in a hotel housekeeping department as a cleaner. However, Sebastien was able over time to eventually find a job that he enjoyed. Those who decide to stay in Banff for longer than a season or two, may start to see Banff as more than just a party town, but a town that they could actually enjoy living in for more than a few months, at which point they may start to ask themselves, yet not really find an answer to the question: “Am I a local?”

Drawing the Line

Among those who had decided to reside in Banff for longer than a season or two, I had noticed a desire to distinguish themselves from the seasonal workers. Thus, the non-seasonal service workers that I met, such as bartenders, waiters or housekeepers, wanted to make clear that they were different from the seasonal workers, even if they were of the same age group. One front desk clerk commented to me one morning on my way to work: “The way I see it, there are two types of people that come here, those that come here to party for the summer and those like me who stay for the work”. For this desk clerk as well as others, making it clear that they saw a obvious boundary between themselves and the seasonal workers was one way of signaling to others that they wanted to be perceived as a ‘local’ and not just someone who was passing through.

These non-seasonal workers, who were in their 20s, were also fairly sensitive to the stereotypes of them living in Banff only to party, rather than for Banff’s splendid outdoor offerings, pleasing lifestyle, or work. The partying image of Banff residents irked a great many of the people that I worked and spent time with. On one particular occasion, I had asked one of my co-workers, Terry who had been living in Banff for three years, if it would be alright for me to take video clips of them mountain biking. She replied: “Yah, that would be great, and then people would see that we didn’t come all the way out here just to party!” Those living in a resort town such as Banff, often seem to often feel like they have to justify their reasons for living in this town and that their identity is being challenged. It is as if those who are living in Banff are also being perceived by those living outside of the park and in a ‘real’ town as only being on vacation, thus, creating amongst the Banffites a perceived need to contest this stereotype of them as tourists, and

assert instead their status as residents who are working and trying to make a living in a resort town.

This stereotype of all Banffites as tourists or transients is carried over to the perception of Banff as not really existing as a town in its own right. This view clearly annoyed some of the people I spoke to who were long term residents in Banff, such as my friend Monica. Monica, who is from Nova Scotia, had settled in Banff in 1995, after having spent a few summers in Banff for her University summer breaks. After she had finished her studies, she had returned to Banff with the intention of paying off the debt she had accumulated while going to university. I had met Monica through work during the mid-90s; we worked together for about 8 months. On one particular August afternoon, I went to visit Monica at the house she had rented through a local. She and her husband felt that they were particularly lucky to have been able to rent the house that they were living in since the person who had rented it to them, initially, had no intention of renting out his parents' home, let alone to someone who wasn't part of his family. The owner was too concerned that his ancestral home would be misused if it were to be rented and so after his parents had died he kept the home without renting it out. However, Monica was able to convince the owner, a regular at the restaurant in which she worked, to rent the house to her. I was looking forward to meeting up with Monica at her new house, and I was keen to visit one of Banff's old homes. The house had gone through very little renovations since it had been built in the 1950s, which added to the feeling of walking through a part of Banff's recent history. After Monica showed me the house, we sat on her front porch on Muskrat street; I asked her about what she thought of some peoples' perception of Banff as not a real town. To this she replied: "I've had it with

people who think that this isn't a real town, what, I am a real person; I have a real job and a real life. Oh and people call Canmore a real town, what does that mean? Or do they mean like in Fernie where there aren't any jobs. Is that a real town?" In the mid-1990s, Monica and her then boyfriend Jeff had tried living in Fernie, a small town in the interior of British Columbia, but after having spent one ski season in Fernie they moved back to Banff. Besides the skiing, Monica and Jeff both had an uneasy time adapting to the lifestyle in Fernie after having lived in a town like Banff that caters to a large tourist population. Monica had found it incredibly challenging to live in a town whose stores, restaurants and coffee shops would close soon after dinnertime. She and Jeff had gotten used to living in Banff, a town that maintains extended business hours for the tourists. Monica also found it trying to adapt to the constant questioning by Fernie locals as to why she and Jeff weren't married yet, Monica saying: "For godsake we were only 24 years old, what were they thinking?" In Banff, Monica was never confronted with questions as to when she and her long term live-in boyfriend were to get married. In the end, the lack of a night life and the traditional views held by some of the Fernie locals persuaded Monica and Jeff to move back to Banff.

The perception of Banff as not really an actual town even filtered down to those who had for years worked in Banff, as Mark remarked on in Chapter 5. Throughout my years of living in Banff, I would often hear someone comment on how they had to leave Banff because they felt that for them living in Banff wasn't considered to be living a real life. In effect, they felt that they needed to move away from Banff in order to get a real life. Perhaps, for some working in a town that relies solely on tourism engenders a feeling that making a living in Banff isn't quite authentic. Or perhaps, for some the draw to party

is too strong to resist, making them feel that, although they are working and making a living, having too much of a 'good time' was not conducive to living a real life. But for some, like my friend Monica, if what is meant by a real town is a high unemployment rate, no night life and living in a town with traditional values, they would prefer to live the 'unreal' life in Banff.

As noted earlier, Monica was herself once a seasonal worker in Banff before actually settling down in the town after her university studies. However, prior to being able to settle in Banff at a job she enjoyed and in a place that she and her husband loved living in, she, like many other student summer workers, had to contend with the issues that come with working at a summer job in Banff. Although seasonal workers come to Banff from a variety of vistas and bring along with them diverse aspirations for their sojourn in Banff, they nonetheless often have to deal with the same issues. Like Monica, they may decide to stay in Banff longer and become more permanent members of the community, but until then, they are often faced with work that is unfulfilling and low paying, as well as difficult living conditions. In the following chapter, I will discuss some of the issues faced by seasonal workers, as well as their perception of this small town in the Canadian Rockies.

Chapter 6: The Seasonal Workers of Banff

Locating the Seasonal Workers

Often as I walked to work just as the sun was rising, I would come across a ‘story’ or two. What I mean by ‘story’ is that there was often some event or person that I would encounter on my way to work that was worth later relating to my workmates. Some of the stories centered on the mess that I saw on the streets from the night of partying or the vandalism that had occurred in town the night before, such as the broken front windows of businesses. Or stories of seeing someone stumbling along the bridge trying to get themselves back home or of those that were already late for their breakfast shift, grabbing a taxi to get to work as quickly as possible. However, there was one particular story that intrigued me above all others during those fieldwork mornings, and it involved a young couple who were probably no more than 20 years old. What caught my eye about them and made me want to stop to talk to them, was that one of them was carrying a box with a puppy inside and the other one had a squeegee in his backpack. I started off the conversation by commenting on how cute the puppy was; I then asked them if they were living in Banff. They mentioned that they had just arrived in town this very second, after having hitchhiked all the way from Quebec City. I asked them if they planned on staying, to which their reply was that they weren’t, but that they wanted to go up Tunnel Mountain to see the view because they had heard it was a good view of the area, after which they would continue on to the Okanagan to pick fruit. When I asked them how they knew about fruit picking in the BC valley they had no real answer beyond saying that one of their friends had told them. They also knew that there was plenty of available work in Banff, but for the time being they wanted to try their luck with the fruit picking

season, though perhaps on their way back they would stop in Banff for work during the ski season. They seemed to be in a rush to get up Tunnel and so the girl asked me to point them in the direction of the mountain, and then they left to continue on with their journey. When asked where they got the puppy, they simply said that they had picked him up along the way. Clearly, for these two travelers, Banff was just a place to transit through once they had a quick peek at the surrounding landscape. In essence, for them, Banff was a place that was more reflective of a non-place than that of an anthropological place. However, once their fruit picking finished, they might return to Banff with the intent of making it more a place with meaning, or perhaps as pointed out by authors Karen Olwig and Nadia Lovell, movement is how these two achieve a sense of belonging (Olwig, 1998:18; Lovell, 1998: 4).

I was to meet many of these so-called transient workers during my stay in Banff, but I have to say these were probably the most colorful of the bunch as their style of dress, and the look about them emitted a sense of adventure. However, their quest for adventure seemed to be fuelled in part by poverty and bravado. Like many, however, they seemed to come to Banff after having heard of the area through the adventures of their friends and of the work their friends were able to get. The route to Banff seemed to be carved out of some informal networks, at least for those youths who were from Canada - after all, how many Canadian youth would think of buying a Lonely Planets guide to Canada? At least I didn't see any seasonal workers walking about town carrying a travel guide or sitting in coffee shops pouring over a travel guide on Canada while I was in Banff. More often than not, when I would ask "how did you learn about Banff?" the reply was "A friend told me."

These youthful transients provide a much needed work force that caters to the tourists; especially during the summer months when the tourism season is at its peak in Banff. It is estimated that Banff becomes the home of about 1,500 of these seasonal workers, thus increasing the town's population during the summer time to about 8,500. (Banff Municipal Census, 2005:1). Once these seasonal workers have passed through the park gates and have unpacked their backpacks, they start hitting the pavement to find a job or two. If one arrives early enough in the season, around the middle to end of May, it is not uncommon to see any of these would-be seasonal workers on Banff Ave, who for the most part are students who have just finished C.E.G.E.P, College or University, looking for a summer job. These would-be seasonal workers are easy to spot, throughout this period, for they are usually carrying copies of their CV, with the hopes that someone will want to take one.

During the early spring in Banff there would seem to be more of these seasonal workers than there are tourists! This also brings on a feeling in the air of "what if", what if the tourists don't come this time? Where will all these people find work? But somehow things seem to all fall into place, a sigh of relief is felt by just about everyone when the tourists do show up; by the managers and owners of the premises who have hired all the workers for the summer, and by the workers themselves: "Finally, I'm getting some hours, they grumble". It is as though someone overnight had opened up the flood gates and let the tourists in through the park gates, but in actual fact what has occurred is that the school season, in most parts of the world, has ended allowing families to leave on their annual vacation. Accordingly, the once common scenery of seasonal workers walking up and down Banff Ave. is replaced by the throngs of tourists marching up and

down the main streets of Banff searching for a souvenir or two, or a place to dine. The seasonal workers, on the other hand, are busy working at a job or two.

The Housekeeping Group Interview

Throughout the course of the summer, I had conducted a few interviews with some of the seasonal workers that worked at the various hotels in Banff. Below is a summary of an interview that I did with some housekeepers at a hotel in Banff. My interview with them covered such topics as what they liked about Banff, why they came to Banff and what they thought about working in Banff, and finally, I asked them if they planned on staying in Banff. I was hoping that all of these questions would give me a further understanding as to the perceptions of Banff held by seasonal workers, and how this affected their desire to stay and make Banff more of a permanent home.

I had set up an interview with a group of housekeepers at one of the hotels close to the Banff campgrounds. I knew the manager of the property and I was fairly certain that he wouldn't mind my interviewing his staff; sure enough, Jerry had given me the go ahead to do interviews with the housekeepers. On July 18th, I headed up the hill to the chalet for my noon appointment with the housekeepers. I met Jerry in his office and we spent some time catching up on each other's lives. Jerry, like many who had come to Banff in his early 20's, has started off working at seasonal jobs and through time had eventually moved up to a management position at a fairly large hotel property in Banff. He had lived in Banff for about 25 years and had raised his children in Banff; only recently had he moved to Canmore. He had moved to Canmore from Banff because of the real estate opportunities and because he felt that Banff was getting increasingly noisy. It was nice to catch up with his news and talk about friends we had in common. At one

point he radioed the head housekeeper, Diana, asking her to come to his office to meet me and take me over to the chalet where the housekeepers were going to have lunch. While Diana and I walked over to the chalet, we struck up a conversation. Diana was in her late 40's and she had been living in Banff for a few years. She had a daughter who also lived in town with her. Diana was from British Columbia and she had come to Banff because of work. She had worked at one other property in Banff, previous to the one she was at now. On our short walk, she mentioned to me some of the reasons why she quit her other job. Her main reasons for quitting were because the job involved too much stress and she found it incredibly hard dealing with a boss whom she felt had very poor interpersonal skills. She commented that she was making \$7.00 less working in her current job than she had made at her previous job, but that despite the lower pay she was a lot happier working with Jerry and that it was a lot less stressful. She remarked: "After I quit the other place, I slept for 2 months." Before leaving me at the chalet door, she remarked how she had a great staff and she hoped that my research would come up with ideas as to how to keep staff in Banff, as she had constantly been confronted with this problem while managing in Banff.

One of the housekeeping staff was already in the chalet preparing his lunch when Diana let me in. Diana introduced me to him, as Jean. After explaining to Jean why I was there, Diana left us alone. Jean was working as a houseman for the property; he was from a town just outside of Quebec City. This was his second summer in Banff; he had already been here the summer before last, but he had left in the fall to do some traveling further west. After a few months of traveling, he returned to Banff for the snowboarding season, and he returned to the same job at which he was now working; Dave having hired him

back for the Christmas Holidays. I asked him if he thought of staying past the summer and he wasn't sure anymore if he would stay for another boarding season or go home. He said that he was now in a relationship with a girl from Calgary, making the decision even harder to make. He also felt torn about returning home since his father wanted to retire from farming. Jean's father was hoping that his son would want to take over the family farm. His father told him: "If you want to continue farming you have to really love it." He was also torn about going to University. Jean was in a real quandary about which direction to take. We then moved on to talk about living in Banff. I asked him what he liked about Banff and he commented how fun it was to live in Banff, how easy it was to meet people since there were so many young people in town such as himself. He also mentioned that he loved the fact that there were people from all over the world; noting that he was particularly thrilled to have met someone from Africa. Overall, he just found Banff an easy place in which to live. I asked him what it was that he missed about back home and he said the people, the variety of choices such as in bars and stores, and he missed not having any Poutine. I had to laugh when I heard that comment! He also mentioned how expensive everything was in Banff compared to where he was from. He had come to Banff to work, travel and improve his English. So far it looked like he had accomplished what he set out to do, but I guess for Jean the question now was, what next? Should he stay in Banff with his Calgarian girlfriend or should he head back home to Quebec?

"Should I stay or should I go" is a question that so many of those that come to Banff have to face at some point. Even the students that I had met through the restaurant in which I worked wondered if they shouldn't postpone their studies and stay in Banff,

although they had come to Banff with the intent of only staying for the summer. The question of staying in Banff seems to exist across all groups of people from the seasonal workers, to those nearing retirement as I noted in chapter 5. Those who start off as seasonal workers may through the course of the season re-evaluate their intention of leaving Banff. There are several reasons why they may reconsider going back home, some of which are their reluctance to leave behind the friendships they had made or the relationships they had started, or because of all the outdoor sports that are available to them in the Banff area, especially the snowboarding. Some who have discovered a newly acquired freedom by being away from their family and their local societal pressures may also dread leaving Banff for this reason. Or as Jean mentioned, it can be hard to leave Banff since it can be an easy place to live in because of the availability of work and the ease of making new friendships. All in all, the decision of staying in or leaving Banff is often based on two factors: 1) the types of jobs available in Banff, and 2) the high cost of living. As the interview progressed, the housekeepers also acknowledged these two factors, which are common to toured places.

Eventually the rest of the housekeeping staff had walked into the room that Jean and I were in. I explained to them why I was there and they all agreed that they wouldn't mind talking to me. There were in all nine housekeeping staff ranging in age from 19 to 23 years old. Most of them were French Canadian, except for two girls who were from Calgary; however, they also spoke French since they had attended a French immersion school. I conducted the interview in French and they all answered me in French except for the two from Calgary. There were 4 girls present. They had about a half hour lunch break. After a bit of chitchat, I started off the interview with a more general questions. So

I asked them what it was that they did and didn't like about Banff. They all agreed that one of the things that they liked the least about Banff was the cost of living; they mentioned: "Even McDonalds is more expensive than back home!" After having been in Banff for a few weeks, some said that they had just stopped going out to the bars and bought their own beer at the liquor stores or that they stopped eating out. One piped in that what he didn't like about Banff was the RCMP; he said that back in his hometown there was no such thing as a 'drunk tank', but that in Banff if the RCMP saw you drunk on the streets they would throw you in jail for the night. As to what they liked most about Banff, they seemed to agree that they liked the friendly atmosphere of the town; one mentioned how he could even strike up a conversation with a stranger at the local grocery store. But on the other hand, what made it an easy place to meet people was as one remarked: "Everyone is a traveler here," which also contributed to everyone leaving and was not such a pleasant phenomenon. And of course, they all agreed that the area was a beautiful place to live in. They also liked the party atmosphere of Banff. They qualified this by saying that with the presence of so many tourists in town created a continual party atmosphere so that one just didn't party on weekends, but that every night of the week could be a party night. I asked them what were some of the reasons motivating them to come to Banff, and some said for the mountains, others for the skiing or for the adventure. Besides the two from Calgary, they all said that they had come with the intention of improving their English.

I then shifted the conversation to what they thought about working in Banff. I asked them if any came to Banff with the intention of making money. They all agreed that there wasn't much money to be made in Banff and that they were pretty disillusioned

by this fact. One guy said that if he wanted to make money, he would have been better to stay at home since it was expensive making his way to Banff, the cost of living in Banff, and the low salaries all made the idea of saving money in Banff nearly impossible, besides he said: "If I stayed home I wouldn't have had to pay rent to my parents or pay for my food." There were three from the group that came to Banff with the intention of saving enough money to take home. They managed to save money by getting themselves another job that was part-time. To defray the cost of living in Banff all of the housekeepers I interviewed lived at the staff accommodation that the hotel provided. The housekeepers were making \$8.00 an hour and it cost them about \$200.00 a month rent. There were 8 housekeepers per apartment. Most of those in the group were students, except for the housemen Jean, Pierre, and Andre. This was Jean's 2nd time in Banff. Andre had a job waiting for him in Quebec City. Pierre said that when he got bored with Banff, he would either go back home for a while or go to Whistler for the winter in order to snowboard and work. Andre who had a job at Hydro Quebec said that he just couldn't justify staying in Banff for longer than the summer because of the salary he was making at Hydro Quebec. Andre had come to Banff only for the summer, knowing that his Hydro job was waiting for him in the fall. I asked the group if any had planned on either staying in Banff for a long time or coming back. All the students were planning on returning home by the end of August. I asked them if it was so fun to be here why wouldn't they want to stay longer or move to Banff permanently. They replied because there were no careers to be had in Banff. Bruno said that it was: "Fine to be a housekeeper for a summer or even a year, but that it was enough." Then he said: "You can't be a doctor here or a dentist." He further commented: "You can't party all your life, you have to do

something else with your life than just party.” One said that he couldn’t live in Banff because of all the tourists, there were just too many of them to his liking. I asked them if they partied so much while they were in Banff, how was it that they had a chance to enjoy the outdoor activities in Banff, and they assured me that though it was hard, they did do a lot of hiking and biking in the mountains. I asked them if they would have liked to be brought up in Banff and some had mixed feelings about it. Jean thought that it would be a fantastic place to have been brought up because of all the outdoor activities that were available, while others weren’t so sure because of all the partying that they felt might be too tempting. Jean however responded by saying: “Man, there is so much to do here, like hiking, skiing, biking climbing...I wouldn’t have the time to get in trouble!” I asked them what they thought of their job and they all agreed that it wasn’t very satisfying. One commented that the rooms were already clean enough and that there was no point in cleaning the rooms as much as they were, and that it was in fact, a sheer waste of time. One also commented on how boring it was and that it was too repetitious. Pierre then commented: “It’s like at one point you wake up in the morning and realize that for the next 8 hours you will have stopped living, you’ll have wasted 8 hours of your life.” After hearing this comment one of the other guys in the room said: “Wow that is depressing, I never thought of it that way.”

What struck me about this group of housekeepers was their pragmatism. All except Pierre and Jean, had decided to go back home with no thoughts of returning to Banff. Most of the group thought that it was a great experience to have spent the summer in Banff but that there was no reason to come back to this site. The lack of what they felt were worthwhile jobs, compounded with the cost of living in Banff made it an

unwelcome place for them in which to settle. Although, they recognized all the positive elements of living in Banff, it still didn't make up for what it lacked. Only Jean seemed to seriously consider Banff as a feasible place to reside and worthwhile because of all it had to offer, despite the work and cost of living in Banff. In the end, for most of the group Banff was a nice place to visit, but not to settle.

It is worth making special note of the housekeepers' notion that Banff is a place that only caters to the tourists, and as such only offers employment in the tourism industry. As one housekeeper commented, working as a doctor or dentist isn't possible in Banff. However, this in fact is incorrect as there is a hospital, private medical practices and several dentists in Banff. Therefore, for those who are staying a season or two in Banff, it appears that Banff is a place that is made meaningful through the tourism industry, while not having much of an identity beyond that of it being a toured place.

Although, the seasonal workers do appear to enjoy the ludic atmosphere, as well as the cosmopolitan feel of Banff, they do recognize that it is a place in which social relations aren't easy to maintain since many of the people they meet at the beginning of the season are gone by the end of it. Consequently, as noted earlier, the high cost of living, the perception of the town as a locale dedicated to serving tourists with jobs only in this industry along with the transiency of many visitors and residents makes Banff appear to be a site that has more of the characteristics of a non-place than an anthropological place. In other words, Banff was not perceived by most of these housekeepers as a place that could be made meaningful since it did not appear to encourage an atmosphere where social relations, history or identity could be maintained beyond a season or two.

One evening as my roommate Cecile and I were watching an episode of the CBC's Country Canada on the topic of Banff, my roommate commented that she felt that the young workers who came to Banff during the summer season did not perceive that the time they spent in Banff was altogether 'real'. She felt they came to Banff with the idea that they were 'away from their real lives' while living in Banff. In effect, they perceived that 'back home' was their 'real life' and that Banff was the opposite of that 'real life'. Perhaps this isn't too far from the truth, given the housekeepers equation of settling in Banff with continuing to party for the rest of one's life. Moreover, as noted earlier, toured sites are constructed on the premise of being places that are as far removed from the everyday, while being encouraged to maintain a ludic atmosphere. Based on this, it is no wonder that those who live in Banff for a season or two perceive the town as not being 'unreal' as it is created with the intent to fulfill a tourist desire to get away from the everyday.

Living in a tourism town does not only has its own unique appeal, it also has its own unique challenges, even for those who are of the more permanent members of the community. Like the seasonal workers, locals also face challenging working and living conditions as the following chapter will illustrate, and these challenges make those who live in Banff often wonder if they should not perhaps think of eventually leaving Banff.

Chapter 7: Working and Housing

Staffing and the Fluctuating Tourism Season

Like many other tourist destinations, the tourism industry in Banff is incredibly erratic: there are high seasons and there are low seasons. There are also fluctuations in the availability of workers, with the workforce sometimes keeping pace with the staffing demands of the businesses and at other times not. As such, the end of the Summer holidays season and Christmas holidays season are usually the times when Banff businesses experience a shortage of staff, whereas, in the late fall and late spring these businesses usually have a surplus of staff.

From the beginning of August until after Labour Day, I found that most of the conversations I would have with Banff residents would center around the issue of how many hours they had worked that week or how dire their work situation was due to the shortage of staff. One person who had lived in Banff for over a decade told me that he saw one of the restaurants, whose owners he knew, putting up a help-wanted ad. He had over the years helped them through this hectic period by putting in a few hours of work after his regular job, but this time he stayed clear of the restaurant for fear of running into one of the owners, and having to say “no” to his friend. Also, during this time of the season just about anyone who walks into an establishment is offered a job, so desperate are they for staff. In one particular situation my boss at the restaurant in which I had worked, had hired a cook without really verifying his cooking skills. This completely infuriated the other cook because he was the one assigned to work with this newly hired cook and he expressed his anger this way: “ How can Jerry hire a cook without even

asking him if he can make hollandaise sauce, I've never worked at a restaurant where they didn't at least ask the person that one question."

Compounding the staff shortage problems are the 'meltdowns' affecting some of the staff during this stressful time. Some quit without much notice, such as the head of one of the departments in the hotel in which our restaurant was situated who had been working so many overtime hours that she could no longer sustain the work pace that was required of her to run the department. I also have known of one instance where the owner of a restaurant was so overwhelmed by the stress at the end of the summer season that he shut the restaurant for a few days just so he could have some time off to recover. At our restaurant, one of our night cooks had to be let go because of his increasingly volatile behavior in the kitchen. From what I heard from the other staff, Brandon had "just lost it" the night before, and started screaming and swearing at one of the waiters after he had put in another order to the kitchen. In short, Brandon had a hard time dealing with the pressure of the job, and as the season progressed so did his temper tantrums. After this particular 'melt down' by Brandon, Jerry, our boss, decided to fire him, for his inability to work under pressure or with other staff members. The following morning, when Jerry went into the kitchen to notify Brandon of his decision, Jerry mentioned to me and Wayne, as we were the breakfast waiters that morning: "Call the cops if you hear a 'thud' in the kitchen." Wayne and I, who were at the cash counter next to the kitchen, were expecting 'all hell to break loose' in the kitchen, but surprisingly there was no shouting. Brandon just walked out of the kitchen, threw his apron on the floor and walked by us muttering something derogatory about Jerry and a rooster. Luckily, the client whose bill Wayne had been processing at that moment didn't seem to understand English, or at least

he didn't show any indication of understanding the rude comment made by Brandon. Wayne and I just tried not to laugh in front of the client and were also glad that the situation hadn't turned out a lot worse.

For many, Banff is seen as a place for some rest and relaxation; however, it is anything but that for those who work, especially during the peak season. I was often reminded of the stress and overwork that many had to endure during the summer months, not just at the restaurant in which I worked, but by those whose paths I crossed during the day. One particular business owner would on occasion, as I walked by her coffee shop, express her frustration by using such striking images as: "I have 60 sandwiches to make; I feel like running away!" On another occasion, she expressed her frustration about working in Banff by saying: "I'm going to get myself a mean old dog, a trailer and a case of beer..." On the other hand, during the slow tourism seasons, the staff have to contend with low wages reflecting the shortened work week hours, as well as the boredom that comes with there being so little to do and few people around to help pass the time. Some have told me that they preferred the rush of the summer tourism season as compared to the monotony that faces them everyday during the off season. You know when it is off season in Banff when you start to actually see the sidewalks on the main streets and you are able to spot a local or two walking on Banff Ave. It can be a haunting feeling walking down Banff Ave. during the month of November; it may not have quite the feel of a Ghost Town, but it can certainly come close to it and is a stark contrast to the approximately 25,000 tourists who walk down Banff Ave during the course of a summer day.

The students aren't the only ones that seem to come and go during the summer. Just like the other establishments in town, the restaurant in which I worked had its share of revolving staff. Our restaurant was a small 150-seat restaurant and we had a core of 5 workers, including me, who stayed the whole season. We were all Banff 'veterans'; each one of us had lived in Banff for at least three years. However, we did have another 15 workers or so come and go throughout the summer. Of those 15, 7 were students, while the other 8 staff members were a combination of long time Banff residents, one having lived in Banff for about 15 years, some having lived in Banff for a few months, while others had just arrived. Of those who weren't students, the average age was about 30 years old. Some staff members of either group stayed for either a couple of weeks or a couple of months. Some left because they felt they weren't getting enough hours or enough money from tips, whereas some decided to leave town or like Brandon, were fired. Most of the students who left, did so with the intention of returning to school, though, some did leave the restaurant before the end of the season with the idea of doing a bit of traveling further west before heading back home. Most of the staff who worked in our restaurant were from regions east of Alberta; only one was from B.C. and another from Alberta.

Sometimes it worked out for the better at our restaurant when people left since the tour business was thinning out, at other times it created an incredible amount of stress for those who were left, with the responsibilities of managing the restaurant. At our restaurant, three principal staff members kept the place afloat: Jerry, Jake and Wayne. By the end of the high season, these three guys had been put under an incredible amount of stress. Jake, the main cook, had to work double shifts for a few weeks at a time with no

days off. Jerry the manager and cook would show up at work around 8:00 am and leave at closing time, which was about 9:30 pm, seven days a week. Wayne the waiter filled in any shift that was missing staff; for at least two months days off were unheard of for these men. It seemed to me as the season progressed, and the stress of the work week increased so too did their consumption of alcohol and drugs, which by late September, and early October started to take its toll, particularly for Jake and Jerry. At one point, both just 'crashed' from the overwork and I also think from the drinking and drugs they used to deal with the incredible work stress they had put up with for months on end. The owner of the restaurant dealt with this situation by either coming in himself or sending someone else in from another one of his restaurants to help replace Jerry or Jake in the kitchen. At the beginning of the season, the restaurant ran smoothly, but by August when the students left, the remaining staff started to take on more hours. Once the students had left, we were hard pressed to find more staff, as there are less people looking for work at this time of the season. By the end of September-early October, Jerry, Jake, and Wayne were at the end of their ropes. At the end of October, Jake and Jerry both had to take time off work because of the hours they had put in for the past three months. It wasn't like they had requested time off, they just couldn't work anymore since they were both physically and emotionally beyond being able to request anything!

What happened at our restaurant is a fairly common phenomenon in Banff. What is particularly trying at the end of the summer season is that the staff that has remained has already put in a fair amount of hours during the previous three months, due to the fact that many have more than one job. Once the end of the season hits, the once part-time job could easily become a full-time job. Adding to the stress during this time of the year is

seeing all those friends leave, which one had made over the course of the summer. Even those who aren't so emotionally attached to the seasonal workers would be hard pressed not to feel untouched by the exodus of youth. During the month of August it is quite startling to look at the schedules in work places and see the lines crossing out the names of those that have just left and were about to leave.

Looking at these August schedules can be fairly stressful for those that are left behind, as they may notice that some of their shifts barely have enough staff to manage the work areas. Also, for some, the gloom of knowing that they have to stay in the same job, which they may not have particularly liked, is just another factor that plays into the end of the season blues. However, this is an ideal time to find another job, as there are plenty of jobs to be had in Banff during this period. However, if you were to quit the job you had for most of the summer it would mean relinquishing the status you had acquired over the summer and this could work against you during the winter months when the work hours are not as plentiful. As such during the quiet season, the inverse becomes true- workers start scrounging for work hours. This in turn creates another type of stress among the workers. This issue was pointed out to me one day during the late fall, when I decided to drop by a job resource center with the hope of fielding a few questions regarding the availability of work during the end of November. The worker at the counter, Emilie, assured me that there was very little work in town at the moment, as she pointed toward the job board. The job board was almost completely empty, a stark contrast to what it was at the beginning of June when I first visited the centre looking for work. Also, what I had noticed that was particularly different at the job resource center were the accents I was hearing in the office. Many more Australian and New Zealand

accents could be heard and in fact, most of the people who were in the resource center were from 'the land down under'. Emilie also pointed out to me, as we chitchatted about working in Banff, how at this time of year with so little hours available for those still in town, the stress between the longer term and short term workers increases, with that the long term workers starting to resent the short term workers because: " Many businesses have too much staff in November and the new people complain that they aren't getting enough hours, whereas the long term workers complain that they are losing hours to the short term workers." Rarely does it seem that a sense of stability is ever achieved in Banff's work environment except for about 2 months from about mid-June to mid-August. During this period, most of the staff are trained in their new jobs and are planning on staying for the rest of the summer, but once mid-August comes around, stability gives way to stress and mayhem.

The coming and going of these 'free spirits' can sometimes dampen the spirit of a few, leaving some feeling bitter towards them since the exodus of seasonal workers has placed the workers remaining behind in a highly stressful work situation. In the spring, when the new work force arrives in Banff to fill in the job vacancies, they bring along with them a renewed vibrancy and re-organization to the work area. However, in the late summer when seasonal workers leave town, for the most part to return to school, they leave in their wake workplaces having to cope with skeletal crews and stressful working conditions.

Staff Comments

Through the course of my fieldwork I did hear many grievances expressed about the working conditions in Banff, and as you would expect in a town whose main economy is centered on a tourist service economy, the complaints were frequently about the low wages and the tediousness of the work itself. People tried to best cope with the issue of low pay by either getting a second job, or by trying to live as cheaply as possible, for example by living in staff accommodations or by living with a surplus of roommates. To deal with the monotony of work, some took solace in the fact that they lived in a place that made up for the boredom of work. However, those who seemed the most perturbed by their working conditions in Banff were those who didn't see themselves as seasonal workers, but who nonetheless worked in the service industry. Although many seasonal workers I spoke with didn't particularly like the work they were doing, they tolerated it knowing that this was just a job in passing and that they came to Banff not solely or even primarily for the work. On one occasion I ran into Jake, a workmate; while we walked down Caribou street we started talking about work and he mentioned that he had just finished working split shifts for the past week, and although it was tiresome, it still beat his job at the previous restaurant in which he had worked. He mentioned that at this previous restaurant job, he was getting paid only \$9.50 an hour, and yet the restaurant, which was a mid- to high-end establishment, was serving about 600 people a night. He was so frustrated with the low wage, knowing full well how much money the restaurant was making that he decided to quit. He commented to me: "Yah, they don't want to pay us enough, they want more expensive cars." And then he continued saying: "You know how they see us—as expendable." After, leaving this restaurant he took six months off of

work and then started working for the restaurant in which we were both working, at a pay of \$3.00 more an hour.

Another issue that frequently came up among the more permanent town members with regard to work in the service industry was some of the negative attitudes the managers and owners had towards them. They resented being treated as transients and with little respect. Of course, low wages were a contributing factor towards the dissatisfaction of more permanent service industry workers, but it was not the only issue that concerned them. Other ways in which a lack of respect was felt by the workers was when their suggestions weren't taken into consideration with regards to work-related issues, thus, effectively feeling that their voice was not of any value in the work place. Being 'watched' by video camera while working was another issue that workers took offense to.

What perhaps makes these issues more salient when working in a toured town is the contrast these off-putting working conditions are to perceptions of Banff is perceived as a place most people go to for fun and not to work under the watchful eye of a security camera. Not taking the workers' suggestions into consideration is just another reminder of how tenuous their presence is in a place that doesn't encourage a feeling of permanence or of belonging. Consequently, when considering the working conditions faced by those who work in Banff, it is imperative to take into consideration the whole context they work in. Subsequently, I suggest that the working conditions in Banff and their affect on the living conditions of Banffites should be judged within a broader context. As such, the broader context of the working conditions for Banffites, includes not only that of working in a town solely designated as a resort town, but of a town

situated within a national park. Banff is highly regulated (i.e. need-to-reside close, population cap, etc.) because it is situated within a national park, a factor which may impede those wanting to make Banff a place in which to settle.

However, there were staff who praised managers and some owners/managers who truly went out of their way to make their staff feel appreciated. Salaries were not the only way that owners and managers showed their appreciation towards staff, though some owners I spoke to felt that paying staff well resolved many workplace issues. One owner commented that he had always paid his employees very well, at least twice the minimum wage and he felt that because of this he had fewer issues of delinquency at work, as well as transiency or finding staff during the high seasons. Other owners showed their appreciation towards their staff by assisting them financially with mortgage applications, giving them monetary advances or travel points. Even some small gesture, such as the owner lending their employees the use of their car for short trips in the valley was highly appreciated by the staff. I was personally lucky to have worked in an establishment that perhaps had one of the most well-respected and well-liked owner. One of the marked characteristics of this owner was how welcome a presence he was when he would walk into the restaurant. Rather than the staff having a feeling of: "Oh no here's the boss", with Russell the feeling was more: "How wonderful that the owner is here!" In one particular exchange I had with him when I had only been working a week or two at his restaurant, he asked me: "So how is it going Kim?" I replied: "Fine, just have to learn the system a bit more." To which his reply was: "The system! There is no system!" then he added a hearty laugh after his comment. Russell seemed to remember what it was like to move to a new town to try and make a new start. He was from an Alberta town, a few hours

outside of Banff, and he was also someone who had started at the bottom of the rung and worked his way up to being a restaurant owner. Perhaps this is what Robert, one of his workers, meant when one day he told me why Russell was such a wonderful owner. In Robert's view, it was because Russell took into account: "the big picture" when it came to dealing with the workforce, he was more effectively able to deal with the workers, Robert qualified this by saying:

Russell looks at the big picture. Instead of yelling at someone for just sitting and talking, he finds out why they are doing that, and then he understands why they are acting the way they are: He just doesn't jump to conclusions. He has people working for him for the past 15 years and yah we have people who come and go but there is a core of us that stays.

As in any town, there was a chance of working for a well-liked or not so well-liked management, however, the capacity of some local businesses to maintain a core staff throughout the year helped to maintain at least some stability within Banff's fluctuating work environment.

One of the things that struck me the most at my work place was the generosity of the staff and the owner towards those who had just arrived in town. I counted at least 6 separate episodes where Jerry, Jake or Wayne had lent out money to new staff. As it happened a few times they wouldn't be repaid. It seemed that Jerry, Jake, and Wayne had a fondness for those who had just arrived in town; perhaps they too, like our owner, remembered what it was like to start in a new town. As for the owner he would also give out advances to the new staff and some of the more permanent staff. Of the instances that I knew of where Russell had given out advances, included either damage deposit money for rent or in another case helping a worker buy a plane ticket to Nova Scotia to see his dying father. Whatever the case may have been where I have seen instances of staff,

management or owners lending out money or giving out advances, it all seemed to center on the particular circumstances that came with moving to or living in Banff. My fellow employees seemed to lend money to those who had just moved into town because they felt that these new arrivals needed whatever help they could use to defray the cost of moving to a town like Banff, such as the money needed up front to rent a place. I can only assume that they felt this way because they themselves had been in this same situation when they had first moved to Banff and as such empathized with the new arrivals.

Owner and Management Perspective

Banff business owners also have their fair share of complaints towards the seasonal workers particularly about the inconsistency of the workforce. Just about all of the housekeeping staff from one hotel quit without any warning. In this particular case word got around that the fruit picking season in the Okanagan Valley had started. Upon hearing this news, most of the housekeeping staff of this particular hotel had just got up and left, leaving the managers in a terrible predicament.

Thefts carried out by seasonal workers are also a recurring issue. The hotel in which the restaurant I worked was located had two thefts that I had heard of. One robber was literally caught 'red handed' as he was seen with his hand in one of the owner's purses! This apparently wasn't his first offense in town. The people I worked with were all shocked and dismayed by this news, as we all enjoyed his company and we never thought of him as untrustworthy. The other theft involved an even larger sum of money. This particular thief had her getaway well planned in advance, as it was noticed by the

staff that only days prior to her not showing up for work, she had dyed the color of her hair and changed her style of dress. In retrospect, my fellow workers and I realized that she was effectively changing her appearance so that the authorities would find it harder to find her. During my fieldwork in Banff, theft was not solely committed by transient staff, but by the permanent staff as well.

Employers also often complained about the workers partying. What I found particularly interesting is a comment that was made by a couple of the more permanent staff members at my restaurant. Terry, the waitress who had trained me at the restaurant, had remarked one day how odd it was that businesses would complain about how much partying their staff was involved with and how this affected productivity and how disruptive it was to the business. Yet, she said, referring to one particular ski hill: "They host parties for their staff, especially at the beginning of the season because they feel it creates a sense of bonding among the new staff. Plus, they think it helps motivate the staff to stay because it makes the place appear more 'fun' to work at." Monica, another friend of mine who had lived in Banff for about ten years, recounted how she had befriended a young man who had just recently moved to town. This man, who was about 20, had gotten a job working at one of the bars in town, and he complained to her that when he would show up at his shift there were lines of cocaine on the bar for the staff to have at their leisure. Monica told me that eventually the man left town because he had such a hard time dealing with the party scene in Banff. However, I should note that I did meet one man at the end of my fieldwork who was from a small town near Leduc, Alberta and he had told me that he came to Banff to get away from the monotony of his

town. As he said to me: “I came here to keep away from the crystal meth¹⁵...there is a lot more for me to do here in Banff such as snowboarding.”

I did find it ironic, however, and also disconcerting to see what was posted on the wall of a staff cafeteria that I had visited. One was a comment card from one of the rooms left behind by the clients complaining that the room was unclean. There were also two advertisements from two separate companies from Calgary, which offered to bus people around Calgary to party. Another two postings were warning signs from management about how lateness at work would not be tolerated and that employees would be fired if they showed up late for their shift. The final comment card up on the wall with regard to lateness stated the following: “Partying will not be accepted as an excuse for being late.” Mixed messages were definitely being sent out to the seasonal workers by business when it came to working and partying in Banff, and no doubt mixed signals such as these would just add to the confusion as to what management was expecting from their staff.

There were also occasions when some owners and managers expressed some resentment of seasonal staff as of the men I worked with said to me one day: “God, why don’t the owners just accept the fact that’s what Banff is about, people come and people go, why be so resentful about it.” I had heard one particular restaurant owner in town say that he felt the waiters and waitresses should pay *him* money because if it weren’t for him they wouldn’t be making the tips that they would be making since he was allowing them to use his restaurant to make money. In other words, he felt that they should be paying him rental money for the space they used for waiting on tables. After hearing this comment, I wondered if his attitude had more to do with the bitterness he felt towards the

¹⁵ Crystal meth is short for a narcotic called Methamphetamine that has been crystallized to make it smokeable.

staff who were free to go as they pleased, while he was ‘stuck’ having to maintain the restaurant and manage all the worries that came with owning a business in Banff, such as the high cost of rent and staffing issues.

Although the issues noted above are particular to the hospitality industry in general, what sets them apart is the context in which that they are situated. Consequently, having a highly transient population creates an even greater dichotomy between those who have lived in Banff for an extended amount of time with those who are only passing through. The contrast so often faced by those who consider themselves local and the seasonal workers creates an added tension within the work force, not the least of which is that of the owners and management being constantly reminded of how dependent they are on this volatile workforce.

Working it Out

Working in Banff has its advantages and its disadvantage. One of the advantages is the amount of work available. Even during the low seasons one only has to wait for a few weeks or so before a job becomes available. However, the jobs that are offered are mostly limited to the tourism industry. The limited types of jobs offered in Banff often play a role in deciding who will stay and who won’t. Work in the service industry is not appropriate for everyone, nor are the salaries that come with it. Of course there are high paying service industry jobs in Banff, but these are limited, and the idea of starting a family on a service industry paycheck in a town that has resort housing prices are often factors that play into the decision of people to leave Banff.

Having to deal with the incredible stress of managing or owning a business that is dependent on a very volatile industry is another factor that encourages people to leave Banff. In addition, adequate staffing is probably one of the most problematic issues facing any service dependent business in Banff. These issues involve such fundamentals as finding enough staff, or having too much staff or having constantly to retrain new staff over and over again. Having to deal with a transient work force whose main interest is perhaps not so much how good a job they are doing, but how much fun they are having in the Rockies, adds to the stress of managing or owning a business in Banff. After all, for many of these seasonal summer workers it is only a summer job and chances are they may not come back to Banff. However, if they do decide to come back the following summer they know that they can always find themselves another job at another establishment since at the right time of the year work is so easy to be had in Banff. And likewise, the owners know that they can find another person to hire, again depending on what period of the season they are in.

The shifting power dynamics between the workers and management in Banff are fairly apparent throughout the summer season. At the beginning of the summer, management can pick and choose whom they want, as this is the time that the students are coming to Banff in droves and therefore putting the seasonal workers at a relative disadvantage vis a vis employers. However, as the students start returning home by the beginning of August, the position of power shifts to that of the worker; now the worker has more power to pick and choose what work they want, and this period can last till about the end of September when the tourism season is still somewhat strong, though definitely starting to slow down. However, a service industry worker will want to find

work by the beginning of October because the availability of jobs dwindles during the fall months, November being one of the slowest tourism months in Banff. Being able to persevere through all these high and low seasons, as well as low pay and limited range of job opportunities, constantly challenges those who would like to move beyond the status of seasonal worker to that of making Banff their home.

Finding Shelter in a National Park: A Small Town, A Big Problem

Everyone needs a roof over their head and in Banff sometimes finding that “roof” can be a very frustrating experience. In the fall just before I was to leave Banff, I came upon a lineup outside one of the corner stores. Thinking that I might be missing something that wasn't worth missing (something anthropologically significant, that is), I asked one of the people standing in line: “What's up? Why the lineup?” To my amazement the lineup was for the local newspaper, *The Crag and Canyon*, or rather more for the information, which was contained within that newspaper, i.e. the rental listings. I had heard the buzz around town that the newcomers, mostly Australians and New Zealanders, were having a hard time finding a place to rent, but I hadn't realized the magnitude of the housing shortage until I ran into this lineup on Bear street. Last year, 700 Canadian work visas were issued to these foreign nationals and since these fellow antipodes had just finished their University semester and our ski season was just around the corner, they were flocking to this small town of roughly 7000 for a bit of work, and lots of northern fun. And so, our Canadian fall in the Rockies was greeted with the cheerful sounds of “Gad daay Mayt”, a greeting that could be heard in the streets, restaurants and bars of Banff.

No Job, No Apartment - No Apartment, No Job

Within the first week of my fieldwork in Banff, the issues surrounding housing was brought to my attention. Housing issues came up in many disguises, such as the noise complaints frequently heard by those who live along the streets that are closest to the bars, and therefore exposed to the night time party noises - seasonal workers and long-term residents alike or the quality of the residences offered, as well the 'need-to-reside' regulation that stipulates that only those who work in Banff are allowed to live in Banff. And of course there is also the issue of finding a place to put down one's backpack, snowboard, skis or mountain bike and all the other paraphernalia that is needed to enjoy the Rocky Mountains.

I was enjoying a pre-season "rush to madness" coffee at the local Starbucks on Banff Avenue one early afternoon in June, when I spotted some seasonal workers. This group of youths was clearly from Quebec as denoted by the truly distinctive French Canadian accent permeating their speech pattern. There were four of them, two girls and what seemed like a couple – I was tipped off by their sitting together snugly in the big cobalt blue colored armchair across from me. All four of them appeared to be in their early twenties, and they, like me, were sitting leisurely on the velour couches, sipping their coffees and the likes. They seemed upbeat and chatty amongst themselves. Sensing their openness I asked them in French, "Did you just get into town?" They said that they had just arrived the other day. I continued with my questioning: "Together, you came to Banff?" They replied no, and the two girls went on to explain that they had flown to Banff the other day, whereas the couple had driven to the town, and they all met at the

Youth Hostel's dormitory near the campground. The Youth Hostel, along with the YWCA, Tunnel Mountain campground and the rather recent backpackers' hotel on "Banff Av", are the frequent transitional housing stops for newly arrived backpackers before they find more permanent housing. I continued: "So did you find any work or housing?" They all replied 'no' to finding work and that they had spoken to one landlord about renting an apartment, but the landlord's reply was: "If you don't have a job, I cannot lease you the apartment." This the landlord further qualified by referring to the 'need-to-reside' clause, explaining that the town by-law does not allow people to reside in town unless they are employed in Banff. One of the seasonal workers in the group voiced the following mantra: "No job, no apartment and no apartment, no job."

For the many who have come to Banff for seasonal employment, which can reach in the upwards of 1500 workers during the summer season, this quandary is a common Banff reality. Many employers will only employ those who already have housing facilities, because they are fearful that those they hire who are without accommodation, will only quit their work once they find a job in another establishment that provides staff accommodation. I encouraged this young group of Quebecers to continue and not give up hope in their search, since the tourist season had not quite started yet and businesses were only just starting to hire for the upcoming tourist season. I gave them further suggestions as to where to find work and how to look for proper accommodation. They seemed grateful. The following day, on Banff Av, I ran into Francois, the man from the group. I asked him how the group was faring. He reported that he and his girlfriend had both found work, he was washing dishes at the local pizzeria and she was employed at a local diner as a busser. He added that he and his girlfriend, Marie, were able to rent an

apartment, but that the two girls I had met the day before, hadn't been so lucky as of yet, in either finding work or a place to rest their backpacks on more permanent flooring.

“Wanted: Housekeeper, Staff Accom Provided” (Lose your job / lose your housing)

Banff, June 18, 2004 [Fieldnotes: Journal Entry]

Jerry, my boss at work, told me today that he was going to buy a baseball bat, saying he's had enough of the all night staff parties in staff accom. "I'm going to beat the crap out of whichever one of those f__kers wakes me up again - I swear!" I think to myself that I might soon be out of a boss seeing that one of those "f__ckers" Jerry is talking about is the daughter of the owner of our restaurant!

Most businesses in Banff provide some staff accommodation for their employees. As I had heard throughout my fieldwork, there are both advantages and disadvantages to living in staff accommodation. Throughout the summer I was to hear some of the issues arising from living in *staff accom*.

The quality and style of *staff accom* can vary from one business establishment to another. Some are truly well thought out, such as the new staff accommodations being built on Marten street. The owner, prior to building this accommodation building, asked his staff for input as to what they thought were good ideas for such housing. Some of the ideas implemented included things such as locks on bedroom doors and a communal room for the staff to gather to watch TV or just to hang out - a good idea seeing that many of the seasonal workers only have bars as places where they can get together to hang out. At the other end of the spectrum are staff accommodations that would not pass a health inspection by the Alberta Health Board. Some residences provide private cooking facilities, while others provide communal kitchens. Most of the staff have to share their rooms or small apartments with other staff. Rarely is there a fully-equipped apartment available for a single person or a couple. Most of the staff accommodation

provided in Banff is suitable for entry-level service workers who come to Banff to work in the tourism business, such as dishwashers, housekeepers, bussers, housemen, and prep cooks. The cost of the accommodation is usually deducted from the workers' paychecks. One of the main drawbacks of living in staff accommodation is that if you lose your job you also lose your place of residence, putting those living at the accommodation provided to them by their employees in a very precarious situation.

I had interviewed a group of 7 housekeeping staff at one of the local hotels that provided accommodation for almost all of its workers. The accommodations were walking distance away from work. The hotel owner also owned the two buildings that housed the staff accommodations. Each building housed four apartments. The two upper apartments, which were adjacent to each other, were fully equipped apartments with three bedrooms each, with two staff per room, a bathroom, living room and kitchen. The downstairs apartments had one bedroom, a full kitchen, and living room. These basement apartments were reserved for middle and upper management, but as Dave the manager told me; "We don't have enough *staff accom* for middle and upper management. That is I think a real issue in Banff, not having enough place for those who aren't entry level and who want to stay longer – but we have enough for the housekeepers and front desk staff." During my interview with the housekeeping staff, I had asked among other things what they thought about *staff accom*? Did they like where they lived? Did they find it expensive? They all agreed that it was hard to work, hang out and live together. They mentioned: " There is always a drama going on in *staff accom*!" I asked them what they meant by this and they seemed reluctant to bring up the issues. Sensing that they didn't want to speak about the dramas in *staff accom*, I moved on to another topic. Did they like

where they lived, was it a nice place?' Some shouted out that it was dirty and others piped in and said: "Yah that's because of us, we don't clean the place!" I heard some grumbling in the room; no doubt housekeeping in their own living area was another contentious issue. I asked them how much the housing cost them? Among the shouts of: "Too expensive" they mentioned that it cost them \$8.50 a day, or roughly \$255.00 a month, to live in staff accom. The housekeepers were being paid 8.00\$ an hour when they first started work, and pay raises would only come after a three-month probation period. One of the housekeepers mentioned that he felt it was unfair that not only are they getting paid low wages, but they were also paying the mortgages of the places they were living in. He then went on to say: "Yah, the only way to make money here - is to have 2 jobs and live in a tent."

Cheap Digs: Home, Home on the Mountains Where the Elk and Bears Roam

Banff, July 13, 2004 [Fieldnotes: Journal Entry]

Bad day at work, Jerry didn't sleep last night, said he is going to buy that baseball bat (again) and beat the crap out of those "f__ck'n b__tards". I'm not sure if the staff that he lives with are scared of him but the German couple at table 8 seemed frightened...didn't get much in tip money - damn!

Working two jobs in Banff isn't illegal, but living in a tent outside of the campground is. Although the Wardens and RCMP stringently discourage this illegal practice of setting up camp in the wilds, every year in Banff people still try to evade the law enforcers - reasoning that after all isn't a National Park meant for camping? There are a few choice places in the town of Banff or close to its vicinity in which to camp illegally. One such place is under the Banff Bridge that crosses over the Bow River, or near the train tracks across the *Rec Center*, or even - as I was to find out one very early

morning - on Banff Avenue's roof tops. One day while I was walking to work at 5:15 in the morning, I thought I had heard what sounded like voices: French Canadian voices too. I looked up and down the desolate avenue, thinking perhaps that I would spot the faces associated with those voices, but then I realized that the voices were coming from the sky! So I looked up towards the CIBC building and that is when I spotted one person, and then another - they were using the roof of the CIBC building as their resting ground! I verified this with a friend of mine, whose parents owned the house next to the Bank. She confirmed that yes, every summer a group of youth usually find their way up onto that roof - creating a noisy nuisance for those who live by.

Banff, August 3, 2004 [Fieldnote Journal Entry]

While sitting at the net café, saw Jerry walk by. He was heading for Yogies, the local 'allware' store. Saw Jerry walk out of Yogies with a meat cleaver, should I be worried, even if he is a cook? Should maybe start thinking about relocating to another field or at least get another job...

Late in the summer of my fieldwork, I met someone who was able to successfully evade the wrath of the local law enforcers when it came to using a tent out in the wilds of Banff as their primary living quarters. His name: Paul, the icon of Banff. I met Paul at a local diner. He had taken the stool next to me at the counter. While drinking some fresh brewed coffee, I was engaged in a discussion, with one of the diner's waiters about his experiences in Banff, when Paul walked in and sat next to me. The waiter, Daniel, greeted Paul. Paul seemed to be a local as just about everyone who walked into the diner knew him. Some asked him how he was, and others reminded him to be careful about the bears in the area. It was mid-fall by now and the black bears were being spotted in town, looking for their last meals before they headed off to hibernate in the mountains. I started

up a conversation with Paul. Among the things that we talked about was his living in the bush. I asked him how it was that he was able to do this when it was illegal? He answered me by saying that in actual fact no one really bothered him, and if anything, the Wardens and RCMP would check up on him during the cold winter months to see if he was okay, just as the locals in the dinner were now inquiring, while we spoke, about his appearance. You see Paul was covered in soot from head to toe. With a chuckle, he explained to me that the night before one of his friends had given him a bottle of rum and after finishing the bottle he had passed out near his campfire. It is to be noted that campfires in the park are only legal in designated areas. I asked Paul how it was that he kept warm at night, especially during the winter months? He replied that he used a candle to keep his tent warm and that generated more than enough warmth. He also mentioned that once in a while he would move his tent to another place, whenever he felt that his site had become too known to strangers. He liked his privacy. I asked him how long he had lived in Banff, and to this he replied: "About ten years, the longest I have ever lived in one place, all the other places I lived in was for only a year." Paul was in his late fifties, and he had worked in Banff at several different restaurants as a dishwasher, some places he worked at for a few years, others less; he was presently picking up a few dishwashing shifts "here and there". He had a certificate in computer engineering but realized after working in the field that he did not like working with computers. I asked him what were his reasons for staying in Banff, longer than any other place he had lived. He said that he really didn't have an answer to that question. I wondered if it didn't have to do with the people in town, for in the half hour or so that Paul and I sat at the dinner's counter, there must have been about four people who asked if he was doing okay. Clearly the local townspeople

were concerned for Paul's welfare, a sentiment that was apparently shared by the local law enforcers.

Paying the Price to Live in a Postcard

Banff, October 21, 2004 [Fieldwork Journal Entry]

Arrived at work today - no Jerry, Russell (the owner) said that Jerry took some "time off". Apparently he needed to get some sleep.

A new housing development is underway in Banff; it is situated on the other side of the river near the Cave and Basin. I ran into Jane, the project coordinator for these new condo units. As she handed me her business card, she said; "Yah people get surprised when they see my business card, they don't think people live here." This sentiment was echoed throughout my stay in Banff. She went on to say that at first the development's purpose was to provide affordable housing for the community, but because of the land and the type of construction that would be needed for the area, the purchasing price increased so that a 750sq feet unit would now cost \$ 200 000; no small change for most who work in the Banff tourism industry. And herein lies one of the reasons the need-to-reside clause was introduced in Banff in the early 1960s, as a means of controlling the rising cost of housing in Banff, by limiting the total number of residents competing for housing in an area where no further new developments are allowed.

Going through the Whyte Museum Archives one fine Rocky mountain afternoon - the kind where you have a high chance of seeing a double rainbow over Mount Rundle, I came across an article by the late, great wordsmith, Jon Whyte. In one of his weekly Crag and Canyon articles, part of a regular column titled: Where Man and Mountain

Meet, Whyte discussed the following topic: ‘ What is the worst thing about living in Banff?’

What’s the Worst Thing About Living in Banff?” Someone else suggested real estate prices, the impossibility of attaining a home in keeping with the one’s dream of what living in Banff should be like; remote, woodsy, little stream by the cabin door, bluebirds on windowsills, Nelson Eddy and Jeanette MacDonald singing to each other on the police barracks steps, “ I guess it’s time to go out and milk the moose.” That kind of life. (Whyte, 1982: September 15)

They Come/ They Go

Banff, November 3, 2004 [Fieldnotes: Journal Entry]

Still no sign of Jerry at work today... also ran into François today - said that he is leaving town. I asked if he plans on coming back? He said that he might but that the next time he came back into town he would get his own apartment because: “ You need to sleep sometime, you can’t sleep when you are in staff accom - it becomes too much...”

However, if Francois were to return to Banff one day, he would surely learn that finding a place to live in Banff can be as problematic as making Banff a lived place. It is well noted that the Rockies can be a place fraught with dangers such as avalanches and grizzlies; steep and treacherous trails can turn a holiday into a tragedy within a few moments. Living in a resort town located within a national park, is also fraught with issues, as outlined above. Trying to make Banff a lived place rather than a toured place is an issue with which those living in Banff are constantly faced.

These issues were best summed up by one of my friends, Jonathan, who had lived in Banff for about 15 years. Before leaving the field I invited a few of my friends to my roommate Cecile’s house for dinner; these were people I had known prior to my fieldwork. Most of those sitting around the table that night had lived in Banff for at least 15 years. When I asked the group for their views of Banff, Jonathan piped in and said to all of us sitting around the table that evening, “Yah, that’s the thing with Banff, we are

made to feel like we are visitors here.” Those around the table conceded. Of the seven of us who were there that evening, only a couple, Karen and Albert, still remained in Banff on a full time basis, as of this writing. However, their flight from Banff may not be too long away for them either, as their daughter will soon be finished school, signaling to Karen and Albert that their time to leave Banff is coming soon as they will have one less reason to continue living in this town made of constant movement and multiple meanings. Jonathan and Thomas are inveterate travelers, with Banff being a regular stopover. In other words, for Jonathan and Thomas, Banff is a place to work, continue with their friendships and life in general before they head off to other points of interests, all with the intent of one day returning to Banff to continue once again with their Banff life. After all, one’s time spent in Banff does not suddenly disappear; it has perhaps only been momentarily interrupted, and can be picked up again at any moment, one just has to walk into a bar or coffee shop or grocery store to hear someone say: “Hi, how are you? Geez, I haven’t seen you in a while, did you go somewhere?” People come and go in Banff, some come back, some stay, but it appears that Banff, the place itself, never really leaves those who have experienced it.

Chapter 8: Theoretical Analysis of Fieldwork

Rocky Mountain Shopping

As noted earlier, tourism throughout Europe and North America flourished with the advent of the railway lines. This is no more apparent than in the case of Banff. Banff was created solely for tourism, with the intent of using the revenue generated by the tourism industry to pay for the construction of the Trans-Canada railway line, which traverses the Banff-Bow Valley area. Later, with the increased use of cars and the construction of the Trans-Canada Highway, tourism in Banff prospered even further.

As such, from its modest beginnings, the Town of Banff has grown from a small town with one major hotel, the Banff Springs Hotel, to what is now a full-fledged town that can accommodate up to 25,000 visitors a day during its peak summer season. With approximately 200 retail outlets, 125 restaurants, and 3600 hotel rooms in town, the area has not only become known for its natural beauty, but also for the commodities that the town offers its visitors (Sandford, 1994; 62). Appropriately, the increased tourism that the area has witnessed over the past one hundred years has contributed to the accelerated commercialization of Banff.¹⁶ The commercialization that is present in Banff is reflective of what Urry noted about the increased consumptive practices of tourists (Urry, 1995:1).

Since the Town of Banff is required to support the needs of the tourists, as is it stipulated in park policies¹⁷, the abundance of shops catering to tourists also corresponds with what Ritzer and Liska pointed out, i.e. that for many tourists shopping has become a key part of the vacation experience (1997, 103-104). Hence, Banff's growth over time is

¹⁶ For further information concerning the history of consumerism in Banff since the 1950s please refer to R.W.Sandford's book: "The Book of Banff: An Insider's Guide to what you Need to Know to Be a Local in Banff and the Bow Valley", pages 62-69, titled "The Gorby Years".

¹⁷ Please refer to page 3 and 4 of chapter 4 for a more complete discussion of the town's designation as a visitors' service center.

in part due to the town's various stakeholders, such as the business community, and federal and provincial governments, trying to keep pace with the demands of tourists. And, as pointed out earlier, one of these demands is the tourist's desire to consume goods as part of their tourism experience.

It is now estimated that over 3 million visitors pass through the gates of Banff National Park, bringing in an estimated 500 million dollars in revenue in 2003¹⁸. In other words, tourism has brought a large amount of business to the Bow Valley. However, besides having generated a lot of business for the area, tourism has also raised an equal number of issues for both the residents of Banff and the ecology of the area.

One particular issue that concerns the people of Banff is the lack of retail outlets that cater to their needs; of the couple hundred of retail outlets located in town, most are intended to fulfill the tourists' desires to shop. Hence, Banff Ave. is replete with shops selling souvenirs for the tourists, at the expense of the needs of the locals. For those who live in Banff, the lack of residentially oriented retail outlets selling goods for their daily needs has become a bone of contention, as outlined on pages 68-70 in chapter 4. Further exasperating the situation are the restrictions on land development in Banff¹⁹. As a result of land development restrictions combined with the premium placed on satisfying the tourists needs, the locals are faced with having to travel outside Banff to fulfill many of their daily shopping needs. As noted earlier, it is no surprise that Banff has placed a premium on providing for the needs of the tourists, as the town exists primarily for the tourism industry and various park policies support this vision of Banff.

¹⁸ With \$334 million going to the federal reserves and \$148 million going to the provincial reserves for the year ending December 31, 2003. (<http://www.Banff.ca//media/media-releases/2006-release-archive/economic-impact.htm>)

¹⁹ Please see chapter 4, page 7 for further information on the development restrictions that have been put in place in the Banff since 1997.

The proliferation of consumerism also plays havoc on the working lives of service industry workers. As outlined in chapter 7 section of this thesis, fluctuations in staffing along with extended business hours²⁰ can put a tremendous amount of strain on the working conditions of the service workers. Consumption, although of benefit to the economy, does have significant repercussions on the living conditions of Banff residents.

Preserving Rocky Mountain Consuming

Aside from the consumption of goods the Banff tourist experience also involves the consumption of mountains. As authors Beedie and Hudson have suggested, the mountains themselves have become commodified due to an increase in adventure tourism (2003:15). Thus, tourists in Banff are able to consume the area's mountains by partaking in activities such as skiing, hiking, and climbing, to name a few. Consequently, the tourists' desires to commodify the mountains through adventure activities combined with the park's policies aimed at satisfying the tourists' desires, has encouraged the development of ski hills and trails in the surrounding park area for example (See pages 66-67, chapter 4). These developments were later felt to be a detriment to the surrounding area, and as noted below, resulted in the introduction of new policies to rectify the issue of overdevelopment in the park.

This commodification of the Park's mountains brings to mind what John Urry wrote about the tourist's gaze upon the environment. As noted earlier, Urry (1990) remarked that tourists not only want to consume goods; they also want to visually consume landscapes. Thus, for Urry, what the tourists in Banff are seeking in their

²⁰ Many of the retail stores in Banff during the summer season are open everyday of the week from 10:00 A.M until about 10:00 pm.

experience of Banff is not only to consume goods in the Town of Banff, but also to consume the mountains visually (1990:120; 1995:1).

Linking the idea of the tourists' desire to visually consume the landscape is another notion discussed by author John Urry, which associates the tourists' desire to visually consume the environment with that of wanting to protect it (1995: 108). Throughout its history, Banff National Park has grappled with the need to balance the preservation of the ecosystem, since this is what draws the tourists to the area, to that of curbing the development of the area. As pointed out in Chapter 4, under the heading 'Banff-Bow Valley Task Force', Banff has recently undergone a major ecological assessment called the Banff-Bow Valley Study. The outcome of this study has renewed the sense of urgency towards maintaining the ecological integrity of the area while acknowledging that development in the park had to be curbed, if not reversed, not only for the sake of the environment, but also for the sake of the tourism industry. As such, it cannot be overstated how the preservation of Banff's ecosystem is synonymous with maintaining Banff's status as a world renowned tourism destination.

However, one could also note another of Urry's observations regarding the present concern for maintaining environmental integrity in Banff. As Urry stated, the "attempts to conserve a particular area because of its special environment quality may end up with the area being made so distinctive for visitors that it becomes over-run," (1995:189). The designation of places like Banff as National Parks or World Heritage Sites attracts more tourists, which subsequently places more strain on the area's ecosystem (re: hiking, mountain biking, skiing, etc) and creates in the end a catch-22 situation such as the one that Banff finds itself in today. As noted earlier, Banff is in the

process of trying to balance the ecological integrity of the area with that of economic interests. Chapter 4 of this thesis outlines the various documents that have been put in place as a means to manage these two competing issues, which are constantly being played out in the town of Banff.

Rocky Mountain Nostalgia

As noted in chapter 4, by the 1990s, it was observed that the development of tourism in Banff over the past decades had placed a severe strain on the ecological integrity of the area. It was feared that Banff's status as a World Heritage site would be removed if measures were not taken to address the development issues in Banff. To address this concern, in 1994 Parks Canada commissioned the Banff-Bow Valley Task Force to assess the condition of the park environment. In 1996, Parks Canada started to implement several of the task force's recommendations, such as placing limits on both the town's population and the town's periphery. Furthermore, some existing developed sites were removed, such as the horse corals, cadet camp and a hotel. As noted in chapter 4, the backcountry trails, which were considered to be overused to the detriment of the local ecology of the area were also subjected to further limitations.

The actions were also taken as a means of maintaining what was first considered to be the purpose of the Canadian National Park system, which as Canada's first Commissioner of National Parks, B.J. Harkin stipulated in 1930:

are hereby dedicated to the people of Canada for their benefit, education, and their enjoyment, and such parks shall be maintained and made use of so as to leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations. (Dedication Clause, Section 4, National Parks Act, 1930)

The view of preserving park lands, first set forth some 75 years ago, corresponds with Graburn's suggestion that nostalgia has itself become a powerful attraction for tourists (Graburn, 1995:164-166). As noted earlier, the tourists' appeal for nostalgia is credited to the Romantic Movement, which occurred in the West during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and is associated with the Romantic cult of nature (Tucker, 1997: 26). Therefore, places such as Banff National Park, which obtained the status of a World Heritage Site, are preserved in part to satisfy this longing for things or places of the past.

As previously noted in chapter 2 of this thesis, Rojek and Urry also touched on how tourists are drawn to areas such as National Parks because they are imbued with a sense of timelessness (Rojek and Urry, 1997: 15); this is no less apparent in relationship to Banff National Park policies. The Park policies put in place in Banff are there to prevent the wearing away of the environment surrounding the town. These Park policies could in a sense be perceived as trying to make time stand still in Banff, to a time when Canada was still 'undiscovered'.

The Representation of Banff

As mentioned previously, places are not perceived as 'inert containers', but are in fact complex constructs created through the interplay of political, cultural, historical forces, and influenced not only by the local, but by the global as well (Rodman, 1993: 641; Gupta and Ferguson, 1992:11). Furthermore, it was demonstrated that places are perceived as having multiple meanings (Rodman, 1993: 641). While noting that space, which is socially constructed, is made meaningful by those who inhabit it as well as by

others (Rodman, 1993: 641; Gupta and Ferguson, 1992:11). By perceiving the construction of space into place as outlined above, a more encompassing understanding of place can be achieved; one that does not consider place as being passively constructed, but as instead actively and intentionally created (Rodman, 1993: 640).

Throughout the time I spent in Banff during the summer of 2004, I was often confronted with the concept of Banff being a place to party, or a place where only the tourists go; implied within these caricatures of Banff was the notion that Banff wasn't a town in itself. Consequently, Banff wasn't perceived as having inhabitants who worked, raised families, studied, retired or even died there.

Perhaps, this isn't such an unexpected perception of Banff since, after all, it was created as a tourism destination, and as noted earlier, tourists seek a change from their daily lives with ludic activities such as partying (Hughes, 1998:21-11; Smith, 1997: 1). As such, Banff is advertised as a place to go for a holiday and not a place for work. As for the young seasonal workers in Banff, although they go to Banff to work for a few months, the town has also been portrayed in the media as a place that these young workers go to party. Therefore, as outlined in my methodology section as well as throughout the rest of the thesis, Banff's residents are left with having to deal with the repercussions of living in a town portrayed as solely a place to party or one that only caters to those passing through the park gates.

This one-dimensional perception of the town of Banff jeopardizes its image as an appropriate place for family holidays. Thus, for some Banff businesses, representation of the town as a place to party is not welcome publicity since it can put their sales at risk. Although Banff's party town image can create issues for both Banff businesses and local

community groups, another aspect, which is perhaps more problematic, is how this image can affect the locals' self-image.

As I have noted in chapter 5 under the heading 'Who is a Local' as well as under the heading titled 'Drawing the Line', for some of those living in a toured town like Banff, it is felt that this somehow diminishes the respectability of their lifestyles. In other words, those who find themselves living and working in a place which is branded as a 'party town' somehow wind up feeling as if their lives in Banff does not amount to what would be considered a 'real life'. As one particular seasonal worker exclaimed during an interview when asked if he would consider living in Banff on a more permanent basis, "You can't party all your life, you have to do something else with your life than just party." (See chapter 6, page 125-126). As such, working and living in a tourism place creates a feeling of inauthenticity in those living there, since a toured place is perceived as a place of fun and relaxation, which would imply that the representations of these places are as far from the daily grind as possible. Consequently, some who work and live in Banff and grapple with the belief that to live a life that is perceived by others, be it tourists, seasonal workers, their families or society in general as real or authentic, need to leave Banff to achieve such an 'authentic' lifestyle as I noted on page 4, chapter 5. However, as the following chapters show, in particular chapters 5 and 7, Banff is a place that is, despite its initial designation as a tourism site and all the qualities inferred by this designation, more complex and multi-faceted than simply being a place whose meaning is based solely on it being a town to party in. It is in fact a place that is fraught with issues, as are other towns; however, Banff's particular issues, such as having to deal with

a highly transient work force as noted in chapter 5, as well as the high cost of living, to name a few, all occur in the context of a resort town within a national park.

Margaret Rodman has pointed out that a place's meaning is not only created by those living or passing through it, but by those who are living outside of it as well (Rodman, 1993: 641). In this case, Banff has been crafted and made meaningful through time by government policies, business interests and by the media. It is these main outside influences that the townspeople have, through time, contested in order to maintain what they perceive Banff means to them. Having voted for the incorporation of their town in 1990, the townspeople of Banff have secured a means by which they can voice their opinions regarding their town's future. One example of the townspeople voicing their view is their objection to the lack of retail outlets catering to their needs as I outlined in chapter 4, under the heading 'Banff: A Tourist Service Center'. They have also contested the media's portrayal of Banff as one of Canada's premier party towns as I have noted in my methodology. In short, the townspeople have put into practice what they perceive is meaningful to them about Banff and through this process have made Banff a more meaningful place for them to live in.

Whose Place is it Anyway?

I will now continue with my discussion of place, space and Banff within the framework of cultures and place-making. As noted previously, authors Ferguson and Gupta have remarked that if "cultures" are no longer conceived as clearly defined units as the notion of a "a culture" implies, then the idea of going to a particular place to research a specific "culture and its people" is also challenged. What Gupta and Ferguson

emphasize is the idea that cultures are no longer ascribed to being “fixed in place”, but that “all associations of place, people and culture are social and historical creations to be explained, not given natural fact.” (1997:4), while further noting that the ‘local’ should not be considered either as “a given” without considering how this notion has also been constructed through time (1997:6). As such, these authors are emphasizing that the relationship that exists between places, cultures or localness should not be taken for granted, but should be “understood as complex and contingent results of ongoing historical and political processes” (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997: 4). Authors Hastrup and Olwig have also noted that the notion of cultures being perceived as being fixed in place has also led to minimizing the importance of the relations outside of the specified areas (Hastrup and Olwig, 1997:2).

In light of these particular comments, I would like to consider some of Banff’s early history at this point in my study. Prior to being given the status of Canada’s first national park, the area of Banff was a hunting ground for the Stoney, Kootenay, Tsuu T’ina, Kainia (“Blood”), Peigan, and Siksikawa (“Blackfoot people”) (Rettie, 2000: 8). I was reminded of this particular historical fact during my fieldwork on a mid-afternoon day in July as I found myself walking through the grounds of Canada Place, the appointed home of the Banff Park Administration building, an interpretation centre and the Cascade Gardens. While walking through this area, I noticed a small crowd of people had gathered. Upon realizing that an outdoor public talk was taking place, I stopped to listen to what was being said. The person speaking noted that he was a Blackfoot and he proceeded to give a brief commentary on the Blackfoot’s relationship with the first Europeans. He commented on how the first Europeans loved to own territory and to

divide the territory into separate areas. Through this process, he pointed out how the Blackfoot had also been divided into separate areas. He further went on to mention how the first Europeans tried to destroy their culture, though they were unsuccessful and the Blackfoot proliferated. He noted that through dance and storytelling, the Blackfoot were able to keep their culture alive. After the commentary, a few Blackfoot dances were performed as the crowd of people continued to look on to what author Dean MacCannell would refer to as “staged authenticity” (1976: 98).

I presented the above vignette to point out one of the historical and political processes that had taken place in Banff, prior to what we now know this space to be in contemporary society. As such, it should be noted that even prior to its inception, the area that is now referred to as Banff National Park, held meaning for those who used it as a seasonal hunting ground. Place meaning, in other words, did not come to the area only once the park was established. Banff National Park was never created out of an empty space, but in fact for some it was a place with an already established meaning.

Another point I would like to bring attention to is the concept of ‘landscaping’ as discussed by author Sally Ann Ness (2005:120). As noted earlier, the area that is now referred to as Banff National Park was once the seasonal hunting ground of various First Nation tribes. However, as this area was landscaped into that of a national park land, so did its meaning change from being a place where tribes hunted to that of a tourism place. As such, this area was not only transformed physically over time by the introduction of such infrastructures as a town, dams, railway tracks and roads, but its meaning was also transformed. Consequently, the displacement experienced by the first residents of the

area was monumental, as it transformed a place that was once their seasonal residence into a year round tourism resort area, at the exclusion of a group of First Nations people.

Those groups of people who currently live within the town's boundaries cannot be so easily enclosed within separate units nor can they be thought to be fixed in place. Thus, some who come to Banff as seasonal workers for a summer may wind up staying a lifetime, whereas others may keep going back and forth to Banff with no clear intention of making it their permanent place to settle. In short, by acknowledging the role of those who are mobile, such as the seasonal workers and the tourists, a greater understanding of the dynamics present within Banff can be achieved. Banff is a place that includes a relatively settled population as well as a mobile one. The interplay between these two dynamics and the spans in-between sets in place a very dynamic place to visit or live in, as described in the above chapters .

As chapter 4 clearly shows, the making of Banff National Park and of the town within the park's boundary is the result of a long and complex historical and political process; a process that has been both exclusive and inclusive. It has historically excluded certain cultures from taking part in the development of the space, while including the input from the governing bodies or industries of other cultures such as the various Canadian political bodies, as well as international bodies (i.e.: UNESCO) and industries (i.e.: Canadian Pacific Railway Company). As was earlier noted, tourism sites are not solely created by the local, but by the global as well (Bruner, 2005: 12; Lanfant et al. 1995: VIII; Gupta and Ferguson, 1992:11; Rodman 1993:641).

Place-Making, Identities and Belonging Within a Changing Field

I will now consider some of the points discussed in the theory chapter with regards to notions of place-making, identity and belonging as it pertains to Banff. Briefly, some of the main points included, for one, that place-making is created through the construction of difference, a difference that is based on mobility and instability rather than one rising out of rooted communities or identities. Thus pointing to the notion that in the making of a locality or community, alterity is required (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997: 13). As such, community or localness is based on concepts of exclusivity and “constructions of otherness” (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997:13; Lovell, 1998: 4). This perception and construction of “the other” aids in the creation of collective and individual identities, as well as a sense of belonging (Ferguson, 1997: 12-13). Hastrup and Olwig have noted that cultures no longer perceived as “neatly localized” has led to the understanding of identities being constructed “through cultural encounters (1997:5). Finally, Gupta and Ferguson have argued, that resistance is deemed to play an important role in the making and the remaking of the identity of subjects (1997:9, 17-18).

There is no better place than Banff to observe how the construction of difference has helped shaped a community. As such, with the influx of both the seasonal workers and the tourists, a dynamism is created wherein the ‘locals’ are poised with having to deal with the issues that arise with the arrival of these two transient groups. The efforts by the Town of Banff and its various agencies, such as Banff Life, The Living Room and Banff Interagency- which are further discussed in the latter part of chapter 5 under the heading “Managing the Seasonal Workers”- to deal with the issues generated by such a large mobile population passing through their community, serves to help the townspeople unite

with the purpose to better deal with these issues and as such generate a stronger sense of place.

Furthermore, with the presence of a mobile population, a need to establish a particular identity seems to be of utmost importance especially with regards to those who do not belong to either of these two groups (tourists and seasonal workers). As such, I noticed how it was imperative for some of those who had been living in Banff for longer than a season or two to differentiate themselves from being perceived as a 'seasonal worker' and to insist on identification as a 'local'. As noted on page 109, chapter 5, some seasonal workers are even compelled to ask the question, 'How many years does it take before one can call him or herself a local?' on a community blog. It is possible that those who were only in Banff for a year or two resisted being identified as seasonal workers because this group was perceived as having a lower status than those who were the more permanent members of the community. Conversely, by identifying themselves as 'local', it was perhaps a means by which they could acquire better working or living conditions. Or perhaps, by associating themselves as 'non-seasonal', they were aligning themselves with the 'real locals' and not just with the 'passers-by'. In short, by wanting to be identified as a 'Banffite'²¹, some people were vying for a stronger sense of belonging to Banff with the hopes of generating a stronger sense of place and better working conditions.

I came to notice the process of differentiation occurring between longer term workers and seasonal workers by how frequent the question "How long have you lived here?" was asked. It seemed that the answer to this question was a marker of how

²¹ In 2004 the Canadian Oxford Dictionary included in its 100-year anniversary edition of Oxford's Canadian Offices the word Banffite.

permanent a resident someone was considered to be in Banff. Yet, this question seemed to be inconsequential to those who were born in Banff or who had been living in Banff for decades. Instead, the question seemed to hold more importance for those who had only lived in Banff for less than a decade or so. Wanting to make clear how long someone had lived in Banff was perhaps a reflection of the insecurity of those still trying to establish themselves in Banff. As outlined in chapter 5, trying to create a sense of belonging within a national park, as well as a tourism town, is not an easy task when having to deal with such issues as the park's need-to-reside policy, the inability to own land in a national park, as well as the working conditions inherent in a toured town. Consequently, identities in Banff are forever shifting. A seasonal worker may decide to become a long term worker in the hopes of acquiring the identity of a local, while a tourist may decide to work for a season or two in Banff.

Adding further complexity to processes of place-making, identity and belonging is the notion that people may not consider themselves as belonging to one particular place; thus for some, movement may be considered to be their way of life (Olwig, 1998:18). And as Lowell pointed out, for some, their sense of belonging is achieved through movement (Lovell, 1998: 4). As pointed out in chapter 5 under the heading "Creating Belongingness", seasonal workers, such as the ones I met in a local bar one night, are seemingly more interested in creating a sense of community amongst themselves, rather than trying to embed themselves within the community of Banff.

Yet, some of Banff's town agencies, as outlined in chapter 5, page 109, try to instill the seasonal workers with a sense of belonging to the town, with the hopes that

they may encourage them to be more respectful of the area, and perhaps also invoke a sense that they are hosts to the guests (tourists) they have been hired to serve.

A place may hold different meanings for different people. As such, for the seasonal workers in Banff, Banff is a place that holds a particular meaning within their particular context and which may not include a sense of permanency or belonging to the area, but instead embodies a place that is to be passed through rather than a place to call one's own, as pointed out in my interview of a group of housekeepers, described in chapter 6.

However mobile the seasonal workers are in Banff, this should not in anyway minimize the role that they play in crafting a sense of place within Banff. Within this context of the role seasonal workers play within the community of Banff. Authors Hastrup and Olwig have noted, not all "local culture" is defined primarily by the "locals" (1992:11). Taking this notion into consideration with regards to seasonal workers, it can then be argued that they have as a category always been very much a part of the 'local culture' in Banff, even though individuals may stay only a season or two. I would argue that the vital role the seasonal workers play in Banff hinges on their being hired to fill in all of the various service work positions available in Banff during the peak tourist season.

The Town of Banff, with its approximately 8,000 residents year round and the surrounding national park area, is a place renowned for its wilderness and beauty, as well as for its entertainment venues, which help to draw the tourists as well as the seasonal workers. However, Banff is also a place where some people are trying to etch out a living. In sum, Banff is a place of many meanings, since for each and every category of people, Banff is a place that fulfills a particular want or need.

Living in a toured town can engender certain issues, such as challenging one's sense of belonging or sense of living an appropriate lifestyle, or on a more practical level, having to cope with high rents, low wages or lack of job opportunities outside of the service industry. In the following paragraphs, I will discuss the dynamics that associate a toured place such as Banff with notions of non-place, transiency, and liminality, with the intent of presenting a clearer sense of what the townspeople of Banff face with regards to making Banff a place to live in.

Living in a Non-Place

As noted earlier, according to Augé, a non-place has no relations, history or identity embedded within it. Augé contrasts these non-places with what he refers to as anthropological places, places that embody relations, history and identity (Augé, 1995: 77-78, 81). Since National Park policies do not allow anyone to live outside the town's borders, except for summer camping in designated areas, these policies create a space that is transited through, rather than lived in. A transited area inhibits people from forging an identity to the place, as well as from creating long lasting social relations within the space.

As mentioned earlier, Parks Canada's mandate to preserve Banff National Park for future generations has created, it would appear, a sense of timelessness outside the town's periphery. With time being made to stand still by means of park policies; history has therefore been manipulated, one might even say contrived, since what was once part of the park's history, such as the horse corrals, cadet camp and airstrip, have been removed in a quest to restore the area to the way it was when the park was first created.

The concept of non-place can also be applied to the town, if not to the same degree as the surrounding parkland. Park policies encourage people to transit through the area through its implementation of the need-to-reside clause. Also stressed in its policies, is the notion that the Town of Banff is mainly a tourism service center as outlined in chapter 4. In other words, the Town of Banff is a town made for the tourists and not so much a town made for the locals. Consequently, a struggle ensues between the construction of the town as a place for the locals (i.e. an anthropological place) versus as a place solely for the tourists, which lends it characteristics that are more similar to those of a non-place. As such, the policies put in place challenge the ease with which one can maintain social relations or establish a sense of identity and history in the area.

The sense that Banff is more of a toured place than a lived place contributes to the sense of unease that is felt among some who might consider making Banff a place to live for an extended length of time. Throughout my field work, I often came across a belief among those who had lived in Banff for at least a few years, that in order for them to settle down or get “a real life”, they needed to leave Banff as I noted in chapter 5. It is perhaps ironic to note that as MacCannell and other theorists have argued, tourists are searching for that which they deem ‘authentic’ (Graburn, 1995:167). Yet, for some working and living in Banff, the feeling is that their lives aren’t ‘authentic’ enough. Thus, not only does the high cost of living and the lack of variety in job opportunities play on the minds of those who live in Banff, so too does the idea of living in a resort town.

Also, as I previously noted in chapter 4, the Banff National Park Management Plan and the Town’s Community Plan ascribe to those living in the park the identity of park stewards, as well as park communicators for the tourists. This notion of park

stewards and 'tour guides' may leave those who live in Banff with the feeling that they do not have a separate identity to that which has been attributed to them in the park's plan. This could in fact add to the unease some feel towards retiring in the Park, as described in chapter 5 under the heading "Retiring in Banff". Since, even in retirement, one is still obligated to play the role of steward and tour guide.

This concern is yet another contributing factor to the town's transient nature, as not only are the seasonal workers and tourists bound to move on, but many of those who have lived in Banff for years decide to leave as well. As such, the high cost of living, limited industry, along with the park policies and the perception of the town itself as being a place to party rather than to forge a life in, all are contributing factors that challenge the identity, social relations and historical sense of place for those who live there. Consequently, because the Town of Banff is both a tourism destination and a national park, a dynamic is created within the town itself that gives the place characteristics similar to a non-place. This is what the townspeople, in their effort to make Banff a better place to live in, are resisting.

The Making of a Toured Place

The manufacture of the Giza Pyramids into a toured site follows a pattern that is similar to the Banff case. First, as previously mentioned, Banff, like the Giza Pyramids, was purposely constructed as a tourism place with the expressed desire of satisfying the needs of the Western tourism market. This was done with little regard for the First Nations people who once used this area as a seasonal hunting ground (Rettie, 2000: 8). It was felt that Banff would be better protected for future generations if it were designated a

national park. This also seems to be a recurring theme with regards to justifications commonly made when appropriating toured sites, i.e. the sense of global stewardship (Kuppinger, 1998:107; Lowenthal, 1996: 240-241). As such, Canada's first national park was created in 1887 (Lothian, 1987: 23) with notions of protecting the ecological environment of the area encompassing a newly designated national park. However, also worth noting is the fact that Banff National Park, then called Rocky Mountain Park, was also created with the intent of helping to finance the Trans-Canada railway line, and not solely with the goal of maintaining stewardship over the area (Lowry, 1994: 96). Since its inception, Banff National Park was created with the notion of it being a place that could generate money through tourism (Rettie, 2000: 24); this however, as outlined in chapter 4, has contributed to the area's ecological integrity being compromised.

Consequently, the area now recognized as Banff National Park has been transformed from a place that was part of the subsistence base of various First Nations people to that of an income-generating place for Canadian taxpayers. Along with the transformation of the area's place meaning, came many changes in the area's physical landscape. These changes were done with the purpose of making Banff more accessible and more accommodating to the tourists. Subsequently, roads, hotels and stores were built. The changes experienced in the surrounding infrastructure of the area parallels the developments in Giza outlined earlier (Kuppinger, 1998: 108-111).

The area's first big development was situated outside of the town itself, across a bridge, nestled at the confluence of the Bow and Spray rivers and overlooking the Bow Falls, was the Banff Springs Hotel, built by the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) in 1888. The hotel was built with the intent to serve the CPR's clients, local tourists, and the

Europeans who came not only to admire the scenic landscape, but also to take part in the local hiking, climbing, skiing and more importantly to experience the curative effects of the local sulphur hot springs. The Banff Springs Hotel added class and comfort for the tourists who visited the wilderness areas in Banff National Park.

The presence of the Banff Springs Hotel, along with the presence of First Nations people who were invited to display their cultural features²², all contributed to the creation of a place that was as far from ordinary as possible. In other words, Banff was crafted with the tourists' desires in mind. The Banff Springs Hotel, with its European chateau-like presence combined with the Stoney peoples' dances, teepee installations and displays of native dress while riding locally bred horses, all added to the enchantment of this already mystifying area surrounded by rushing rivers, hot springs, snowcapped peaks, forests and valley's teeming with wildlife. Banff, like the area surrounding the Giza Pyramids, was transformed into a tourism place (1998:111-113). Consequently, both these areas experienced a landscaping entailing the surrounding areas to be imbued with a sense of being 'elsewhere', of 'liminality' or of the hyper-real; notions that are particular to a toured place.

The Banff Springs Hotel was only the first of many major developments the area would experience. Soon after came the construction of the Trans-Canada Highway, a gondola, an 18-hole golf course, a dam, ski hills, a light airplane landing stripe, horse corrals, more hotels and restaurants, and of course—a town. Along with these developments, came the increased cost of living in a place that was now at the center of one of Canada's most frequented tourism spots. As it has been noted, the increased

²² This festival was called Banff Indian Days, which was started in 1889 and last until 1978 (Standford, 1994: 20).

accessibility of a toured place engenders an increase in the amount of visitors to the area. This in turn can adversely affect the integrity of area's environment. Consequently, along with the high cost of living, it was felt that the town's development was adversely affecting the park's ecology. Subsequently, as outlined in chapter 4, an increasing number of complaints were voiced about how the park was being maintained and developed, both by those living in the park and those living outside the park's gates.

The space that is now called Banff National Park was once a place that held meaning for the First Nations people. Over time, it has become a place that, although still meaningful to the First Nations people, now also holds meaning for the myriad of tourists passing through the area, as well as for the seasonal workers and those living there on a more permanent basis. It is a place regulated by federal laws, provincial laws, and town laws, and monitored by international bodies such as UNESCO.

It's present place myth of being a premier tourism destination challenges the living conditions of those who try to make Banff a place they can call home. While for its first inhabitants, the landscaping of this area has denied them their seasonal hunting grounds and homes. Most recently, the trend has been to try to re-landscape the area into a place that holds more of a sense of lived space than one that is only represented as a tourist service center.

Inverse Landscaping

Summarizing some of the main issues experienced by toured places will help put the Town of Banff into context with regards this topic. A toured place is a place that focuses on the needs of the tourists; fittingly so in some cases, as some toured towns are

created solely for the sake of tourism (Urry, 1995:166). This has led to some places being only perceived as spaces (Ness, 1005:121). As a result, these places are viewed not so much as ‘anthropological places’ (Augé 1995), but are more aptly perceived as having characteristics relevant to ‘non-places’ (Augé 1995).

However, it should also be underlined that places, being socially constructed, are made meaningful by those who live in them (Rodman, 1992:641, Gupta and Ferguson, 1992:11). Plus, places can engender a multitude of meanings (Squire, 1998: 82, Ness 2005: 134), which is no less apparent in a toured town such as Banff. Although Banff is a place that many pass through, it is also a place that people live in, and as such, represents different meanings to different people. Banff is a locale, like many toured sites, created with both the global and the local in mind (Bruner, 2005:12; Lanfant and Allcock et al. 1995:VIII), with the local wanting to make Banff a place of meaning and not just a place imbued with a sense of placelessness, i.e. no more than a picture on a postcard.

Toured places are faced with particular societal issues that include dealing with a highly transient population, which can create a host of issues for the toured places to deal with (Urry, 1996:166)²³. However, toured places may also benefit from having such as highly transient population, since often enough, the arrival of transients coincides with the fluctuating tourist season and seasonal workers are much needed to cater to the town’s tourists. Furthermore, some of these seasonal workers may, over time, decide to stay a while longer and through time gain the identity of a ‘local’²⁴. Identities are fluid (Waldren, 1997:51) and this is no more apparent than in a toured town.

²³ The transiency issues the Town of Banff has to deal with, as well as how they deal with them, are described in the latter part of chapter 5.

²⁴ Monica is one such person, who came first as a seasonal student and subsequently after her studies made Banff her home (see chapter 5 page 31-32), as well as Daniel (Please refer to chapter 5 p 29-30).

Above all, agency is not to be denied to those living in toured towns or who partake in the tourism stage (Abram and Walden 1997:10; Adams, 1997: 318; Hoskins, 2002:817; Cheong and Miller, 2000: 372-373; 2002: 817; 318; Bruner, 2005: 12, Douglas and Lacy, 2005: 121, Howes, 1998: 13; Wallace 2005: 1). In Banff, agency seems to have played out in an inverse landscaping process, in contrast to Ness's notion of landscaping with regards to toured sites. Those living in Banff seem to be trying to transform their place into a landscape that is more fitting of a lived town than a toured town. As noted by author Sally Ann Ness, places are intentionally made meaningful, which in turn helps shape peoples' actions (2005:120), as is the case in Banff.

As noted earlier, the area we now refer to as Banff National Park was first transformed from a hunting ground and seasonal residence of various First Nations groups into a tourism place. However, it is now seemingly being transformed from a tourism place into a lived place. As such, the townspeople are forever faced with the notion of the town being solely a transited place, with a focus on consumption. Ironically, it is this very idea that Banff is a toured place, which helps make Banff a place of meaning. Since those who live in Banff struggle against the issues that a toured town in a national park faces, for example, a fluctuating workforce, high cost of living, etc., the Town of Banff, in effect, becomes more of a lived place than a toured place.

Chapter 9: Conclusions

This thesis was an attempt to bring light the challenges Banffites face as residents of a tourism town situated within a Canadian national park, which continually test their efforts at place-making in Banff. Despite the issues Banffites face in making the Town of Banff a place of residence, the action taken by the townsfolk to cope with these issues subsequently renders the locale more reflective of an anthropological place. Furthermore, both the national park policies and the nature of the town itself challenge the area's sense of placehood, such that they bring into play elements reflective of what Marc Augé referred to as non-place.

Owing to its scenic beauty, Banff has become a place sought after by both tourists and non-tourists alike from around the world. Banff's seasonal tourism industry, distinguished by its low pay and limited job opportunities, attracts a large labour force that is for the most part young and transient. Thus, Banff is not only discernible by its landscape, but also as being home to a large population of young seasonal workers. This particular population, as noted within these pages, brings with it particular issues for the town to deal with. Coping with the issues brought on by having a significant transient population consisting both of a large seasonal labour force and tourists, in turn, contributes to the town's sense of placehood. Therefore, the efforts made by the townsfolk to manage a local issue, such as the transiency of the area, renders Banff a place that is more akin to an anthropological place, and through the management of local issues ensues a process of inverse landscaping.

Also outlined are the issues Banffites are faced with when living in a town built for the purpose of tourism. I have noted in particular how living in a tourism town that

caters mostly to the needs of the tourists and appears not to exist as a town in itself but solely as a tourist attraction, gives the town characteristics more akin to that of a non-place (Augé 1995). A town that is perceived as only a place for tourism effectively makes some of the townsfolk feel that their lives in Banff don't happen in the 'real world'. This notion of not living 'a real life', along with the high cost of living, lack of housing and limited work opportunities, are some of the more compelling factors that motivate people to leave Banff.

Another particular factor outlined in this thesis influencing the lived experience of Banffites, is the fact that because the town is situated within a national park, the Town of Banff is under stringent federal park regulations. These national park regulations restrict not only the amount and type of development allowed in the town, but also put a cap on the town's population. Even more noteworthy is the park's regulation that outlines who is considered an eligible town resident. Consequently, these park policies, while having been put in place to control the town's development for the sake of protecting the surrounding ecosystem, have in turn affected the living conditions of Banff's residents. As a result, living in a national park town with all of its regulations may leave some residents with the sense that making Banff a place to call home is tenuous at best.

Despite the issues confronting those trying to make Banff a place of residence, the town has, since its inception, attracted many a varied character who has felt that Banff was a place worth adding their own touch to. Consequently, despite Banff being a temporary home to a large transient population, it is still a place steeped in history, identity and social relations. In other words, Banff isn't just a party town that people pass through on their way to see a site or two, or a place to buy the tourist-centered

commodities sold on Banff Ave, or even to make a buck or two, rather it is a place rich with meanings.

What motivates someone to want to make Banff a place more than just a locale to pass through may be as varied as the meaning of the place itself. When Rene a hotel maintenance worker who after vacationing in Banff during the 1980s decided to move there, explaining that: “There is just something about a small town in the mountains.” It is folks just like Rene or Yvan, the small business owner I spoke about in chapter 5 who first came to Banff intending only to pass through on his way to Vancouver, who have chosen Banff as a place worth living in and have created a place steeped in identity, history and social relations.

The death of Steve and the subsequent act of memorializing his death at the base of Tunnel Mountain during the summer of my fieldwork, which I outlined in chapter 5, was just one of many events that took place during my 6 months in Banff that added another layer to the identification and sense of belonging, as well as to the making of history in Banff. The experience of this event and others all adds to a sense of placehood in Banff, and the memory of this experience is what sustains a sense of place for those who either continue to reside in Banff or who, like me, have since left this small town in the Canadian Rockies. However, identities, sense of belonging and history were not only constructed from the moment the town was put on the map with the creation of a National Park, but were also in place prior to the park’s inception. As such, this place now referred to as Banff National Park, is also the repository of the identity, belonging and memories of those who once lived, hunted, explored, and worked on the railway line in the Bow-Valley. Hence Banff is a locale that has always held multiple meanings, all of which are

at times contested by the First Nations, the environmentalists, the politicians, the local businesses owners, tourism bureaus and the locals alike.

For those who only just pass through, or stay for a season or two, Banff is a place that holds different meanings. In effect, a place holds a meaning to each and every one who passes through it despite the length of time of one's stay. In any case, we are all just passing through wherever we are at this particular moment in time, and depending on what we make of the place and of how long we decide to stay or who we meet along the way, a particular meaning emerges from the experience of it. In this, Banff is no different; it is a place of meaning regardless of reason or season, or of when or how long one was there. After all, Banff although a place steeped in beauty, is also a place constructed just as much by movement as by its contradictions.

And so, what is the 'real Banff'? this question was perhaps best answered when I met a health practitioner who explained that she implores every youth she encounters, to "look beyond main street, look beyond what you see in front of your eyes to see the real Banff." And if, per chance, one doesn't like what one sees in Banff, leaving the town is an easy option. Banff, in the end, is a place that is as much about leaving as it is about returning, as one of the bar managers said to me one night, "Well you know what they say about this place—you can always come back." And in the summer of 2004, I returned to Banff and was reacquainted with past relationships, reacquired my identity as a 'local', and was reminded of my once lived life in Banff. In the end, since one's sense of identity, belonging and history in Banff don't cease to exist once one leaves the park gates, but are rather simply moved to another context, Banff continues to have meaning, even when not being lived in.

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