

**Canadian Mural Communities:
A Summary Report on the Spread and Use
of Murals as a Tourism Strategy**

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I. Introduction: What is the Purpose of this Study?

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

What is it that makes a community chose a particular set of development strategies, amongst the known possibilities? The increasing demand for and use of tourism as an economic diversification strategy has arisen out of complex and interrelated circumstances. Simply stated, it involves the relationship between economic insecurity and transition, often in primary industries and smaller communities, and the growing leisure population associated with the retiring baby-boom generation. The tourism activities sought by baby boomers increasingly include heritage-based attractions. Heritage-based tourism is one of the growing segments of the tourism industry, with approximately 43% of visitors to Canada citing heritage as a reason for their visit (Canadian Tourism Commission 2002).

It is evident that rural areas and small places often experience economic downturns most harshly and as a result try to find ways to diversify their economy, often turning to community-driven strategies that include tourism. Tourism is touted as one of the fastest growing economic sectors, with total expenditures at \$54.6 billion, from 93.4 million visitors, amounting to \$22 billion or 2.3 percent of Canada's total Gross Domestic Product in 2001 (Table 1). The development of murals as a tourism attraction is a strategy chosen by a number of communities, as it marries the increasing interest in heritage with the apparent need for economic diversification.

Table 1: Canadian Tourism 2001 Statistics

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

Source: Canadian Tourism Commission 2002

¹ Moose Jaw Times Herald 2000a

Painting murals is a conscious development choice. Developers are not capitalizing and promoting a naturally occurring feature. Rather, they are making a conscious choice to pursue tourism by creating something that previously did not exist; the re-creation of local history on the walls of a community to attract visitors.

This report is based on research conducted for a PhD program at the University of Saskatchewan, Department of Geography. This report summarizes the findings of how murals as a tourism strategy have spread and been adopted across Canada, where the idea originated from, why these Canadian communities have chosen murals, what the outcomes of those choices have been and how we might evaluate the success of these strategies

How the Report is Organized

This report is organized into the following sections:

Method

- a. How the research was conducted
- b. How the data were analyzed

Findings

- a. How mural-based tourism strategies spread and were adopted across Canada
- b. Why murals were chosen as a strategy
- c. A discussion of the outcomes of mural development

Conclusions

II. Method

A.) How the Research was Undertaken

To determine which communities across Canada utilized murals as part of their tourism package, vacation guides were obtained from provincial tourism boards/ministries across Canada. The vacation guides were examined to select the communities that identified themselves as having a mural-based tourism attraction. Several provinces, notably British Columbia, Alberta, Quebec and New Brunswick, did not have guides that provided detailed attractions for individual communities. In such cases the tourism board was contacted directly and a list of the communities having mural attractions was obtained. Searching the World Wide Web provided a broader indication of mural attractions in all the provinces. To verify whether all possible communities had been located, a list was sent to the provincial tourism boards, and to the chair of the Global Mural Arts and Cultural Tourism Association, based in Chemainus, British Columbia².

² Karl Schutz is the man most often touted as responsible for mural development in Chemainus, B.C. He has since utilized his expertise to provide consulting services to communities wishing to

It is important to note at this point that the chosen sampling method outlined previously included only those communities that market themselves as having a mural-based attraction. This does not imply that all of these communities were automatically successful in the application of this strategy; simply that it was a chosen strategy. In addition, there are communities that develop murals and do not market them as tourism attractions and such areas were not included, as they did not address the scope of this research.

Once the communities were identified, persons in the appropriate municipal and provincial government offices were contacted (by email/fax/ mail and/or telephone) and asked to fill out the survey. Thirty-two communities were identified (Table 2) and 31 completed the survey, for a response rate of 96.8 percent (Table 3).

Table 2: Canadian Communities Identified as Having a Mural-based Attraction

Province	Communities Identified
British Columbia	Chemainus, Lumby, Sparwood, Vernon
Alberta	Grand Prairie, High River, Pincher Creek, Stony Plain
Saskatchewan	Biggar, Churchbridge, Duck Lake, Humboldt, Moose Jaw, Wadena
Manitoba	Boissevain, Morden, Winnipeg, Snow Lake
Ontario	Athens, Grimsby, Kenora, Midland, Pembroke, Oshawa, Timmins, Welland
Quebec	none ³
Nova Scotia	Amerst, Truro (no response)
New Brunswick	none
Prince Edward Island	Mont Carmel, Summerside
Newfoundland /Labrador	Bell Island, St. Anthony
Yukon/ North West Territories/ Nunavut	none
Total	32

Source: Author

Table 3: Canadian Communities Survey Results

Province	Number of Communities Identified	Completed Surveys	Number of Surveys Completed by...			
			Email	Phone	Fax	Mail

develop murals. Mr. Schutz is the founding chairperson of the Global Mural, Arts and Cultural Tourism Association, which holds a biannual Global Mural Conference. This conference has been held in New Zealand, British Columbia and California. Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan hosted the October 2002 conference.

³ In the provinces of Quebec and New Brunswick and the Territories of the North there are murals but these are not marketed as tourism attractions. Both of the provinces have developed mural projects aimed at addressing graffiti in urban spaces.

British Columbia	4	4	3	0	1	0
Alberta	4	4	3	0	1	0
Saskatchewan	6	6	3	0	1	2
Manitoba	4	4	2	2	0	0
Ontario	8	8	3	1	2	2
Quebec	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nova Scotia	2	1	1	0	0	0
New Brunswick	0	0	0	0	0	0
Prince Edward Island	2	2	2	0	0	0
Newfoundland /Labrador	2	2	1	0	0	1
Yukon/ North West Territories/ Nunavut	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	32	31	18	3	5	5

Source: Author

B.) How the Data were Analyzed

Based on the results of the survey, a profile of the communities was created in a spreadsheet format in the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). The questionnaires were complemented by community profiles as constructed from the 2001 Statistics Canada data (Statistics Canada 2001). The overall profiles allowed a comparison of communities in a number of areas, including reasons for mural development, where the idea for mural development came from, what year the project was undertaken, how projects were funded, community involvement/board structure, if the projects were considered successful, and socio-demographic structures of the communities. By determining the year that each community began using its particular tourism strategy and where the idea came from, it was possible to map the diffusion and adoption of mural development across Canada and to place this development within a generation tree as is often done in genealogy. The data gathered from both the survey and the Statistics Canada Community Profiles allowed for an examination of the various characteristics of place that may have an impact on the success of the mural-based tourism strategy and if time is a factor.

III. Findings

A.) The Spread of Murals Across Canada

Three Stages of Mural Development, One Epicentre

By analyzing the survey responses, it became apparent that there were distinct time periods in which mural development took place and that the majority of places were linked to one community as the source for the mural strategy idea. A generation tree of mural development was created (Figure 1) to graphically demonstrate the spatial and temporal pattern of mural expansion.

On the survey, respondents were asked to indicate when they began the mural project and if a particular place influenced their decision. The three time periods were derived based on the responses to these questions. As Figure 1 and Table 4 illustrate, only six communities did not trace the origin of their idea for mural development to Chemainus, British Columbia (i.e., Grand Prairie, Alberta; Winnipeg, Manitoba; Bell Island, Newfoundland/Labrador; Wadena, Saskatchewan; Biggar, Saskatchewan and Mount Carmel, Prince Edward Island). It was also apparent that there were three distinct time periods in which mural programs were implemented. As such, the stages of mural development were designated in 5-year intervals following the development of the Chemainus murals in 1982. The remainder of this section discusses each of the stages and associated mural developments.

Figure 1: Generation Tree of Mural Development

Source: Survey Results 2002

Table 4: Aspects of Mural Development

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

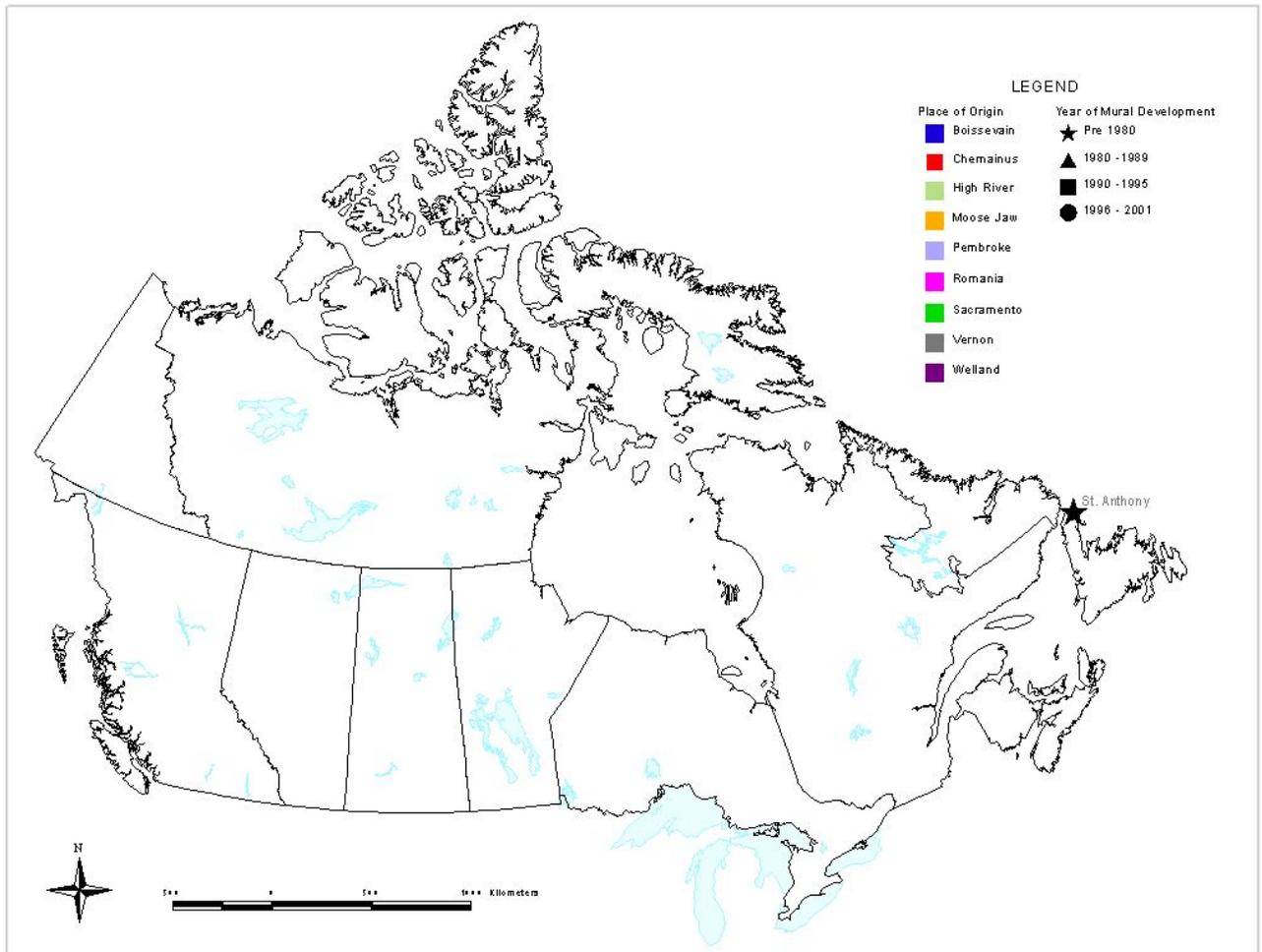
Source: survey results 2001

There is one set of murals that pre-date the development of the Chemainus mural project (Figure 2), and is considered an anomaly. The murals (i.e., The Jordi Bonet Murals in St.

* T = Tourism, CB = Community Beautification

Anthony, Newfoundland) are located inside a hospital and were commissioned by a local hospital group to honour a doctor from the region. This example is not included in further statistical analysis, as the survey response was incomplete and inapplicable. St. Anthony has been included only because it meets both the defining criteria of the population and that these murals are considered an attraction within the community and are advertised as such within the provincial tourism guide.

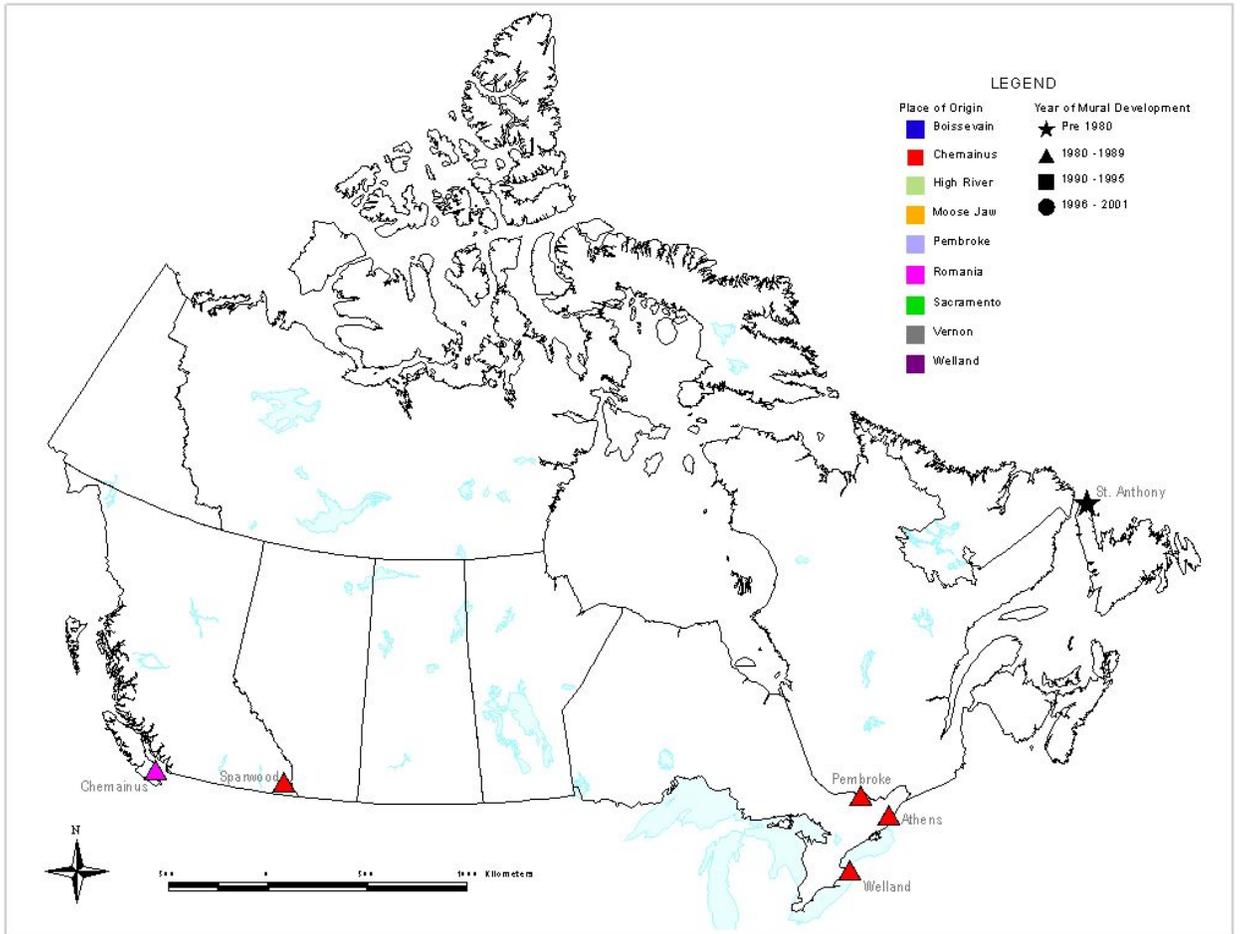
Figure 2: Mural Development Pre-1980



Source: survey results 2001

Between 1985 and 1989, four communities undertook mural development based on the example provided by Chemainus in 1982 (see Figure 3). This time period is distinct from the next two in that the murals in all of the communities have a historical theme, formalized boards existed to develop the murals and all artists were paid professionals. During this time period, the combination of tourism and community beautification are cited most often as the reasons for developing the murals.

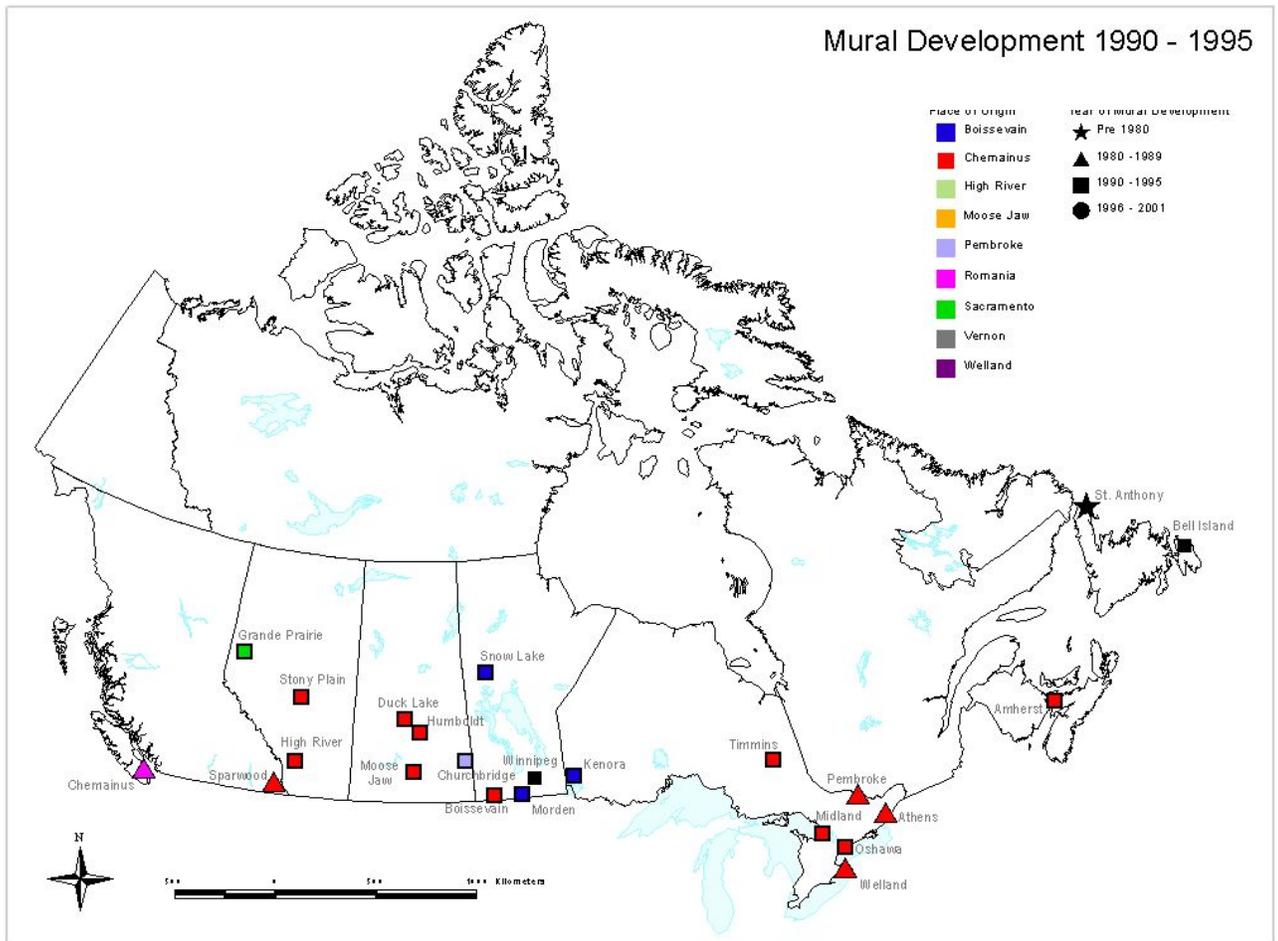
Figure 3: Stage One - Mural Development 1985-1989



Source: survey results 2001

The period between 1990 and 1995 was witness to the most mural development, with Chemainus, British Columbia remaining the primary source for the mural idea, either directly, or indirectly through another community (for example, Boissevain, Manitoba) (Figure 4). There are some exceptions, with respondents from Grande Prairie, Alberta indicating that they based their mural project on the example of Sacramento, California and those from Winnipeg, Manitoba and Bell Island, Newfoundland/Labrador stating that they developed their murals with no influence from any other community (Figure 1).

Figure 4: Stage Two – Mural Development 1990-1995

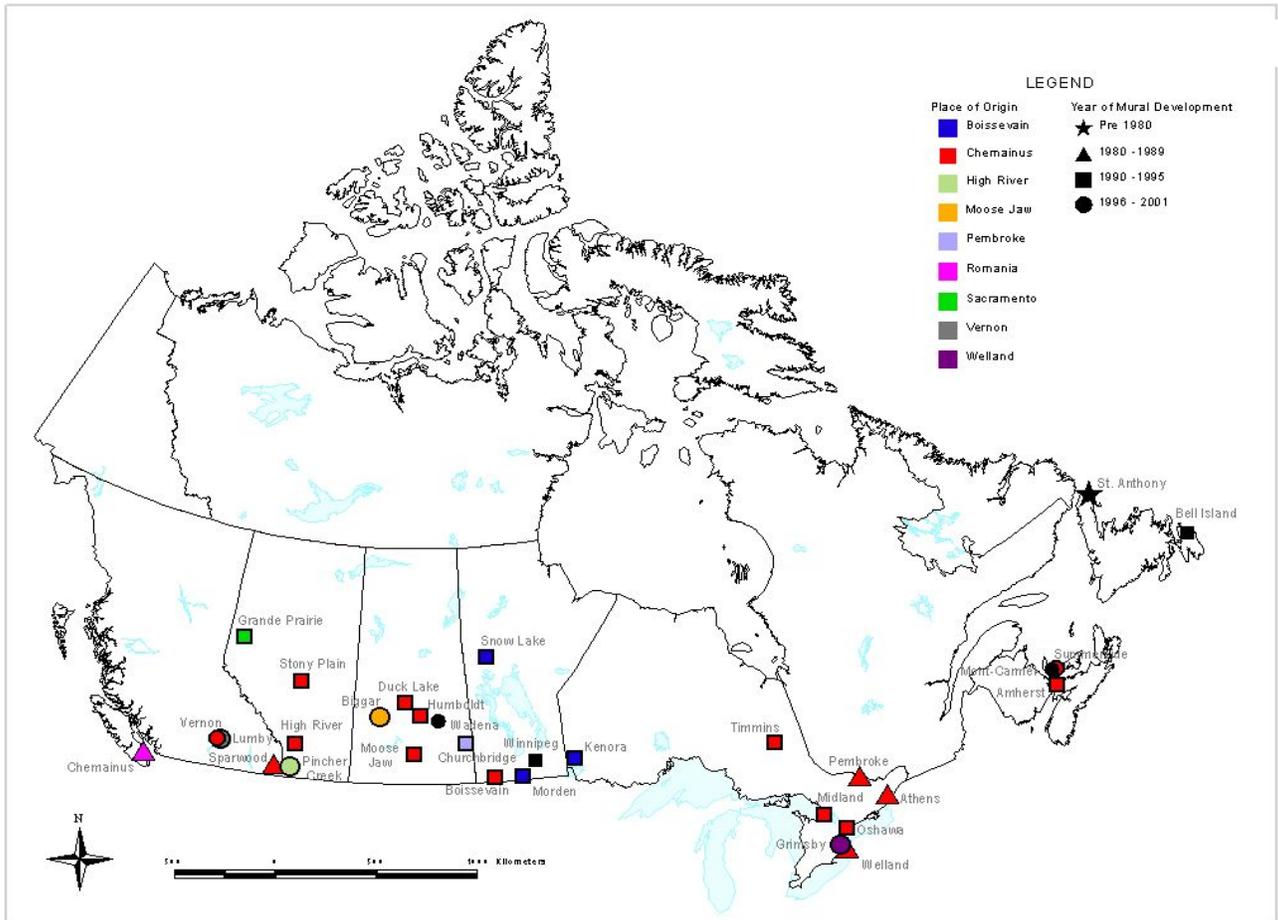


Source: survey results 2001

During this second stage there is greater diversity associated with the types of artists painting the murals. Twelve of seventeen communities utilized professional painters exclusively, two communities (Morden and Snow Lake of Manitoba) relied on volunteer painters, while a further three communities used a combination of both professional and volunteer painters (Table 4). Although most murals (fifteen of seventeen) are historically-based, there are two communities in which a more diverse array of mural styles was developed. Interestingly, these are also communities that have utilized volunteer painters. The purpose of mural development has become more focused on tourism in this time period, with nine of seventeen respondents citing tourism as the main purpose of mural development. However, several of those surveyed (in five communities) also cited community beautification as the sole purpose and three cited the combination of both as the purpose for developing murals. There is also a more mixed approach to the administrative structure for mural projects, with only ten communities having formal boards and seven having either informal or no board structure whatsoever.

During the third stage, there was limited mural development (Figure 5), but increased variation in several aspects of tourism development. Of the eight mural projects started during this time period, only three utilized professional painters solely, while the remaining five made use of a combination of volunteer, professional and youth artists (Table 4). Likewise, there was a wider variety of mural types, with less use of history as the primary theme for murals and a greater inclusion of eclectic images. Similarly, the purpose for mural development was cited more often as a combination of community beautification and tourism. As the sole purpose, tourism is only mentioned once (Mount Carmel, Prince Edward Island). In only two communities was a formalized board created to develop the mural projects and the remaining six either have an informal board or no board at all. Finally, in only two communities was the idea for mural development taken directly from Chemainus, with individuals surveyed in the other three communities citing alternate places that in turn originally obtained the idea from Chemainus as their source for the concept. This demonstrates that the idea for mural development has diffused throughout various provinces. Respondents from three communities (Wadena and Biggar in Saskatchewan and Mount Carmel, Prince Edward Island) believed that their idea for mural development did not come from another community, although it is difficult to assess the accuracy of these claims.

Figure 5: Stage Three – Mural Development 1996-2001



Chemainus as the Epicentre of Mural Development

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

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

environmental assets to assist its development as a resort community (Lehr and Kentner-Hildalgo 1998).

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

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

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

Although disputed by Schutz as a factor, the importance of place situation has to be considered in Chemainus' success (Schutz 2002). The town is located along one of British Columbia's most intensely traveled tourism corridors between the island-mainland ferry terminal at Nanaimo and the provincial capital of Victoria. This traffic undoubtedly provided the community with an enviable advantage over other communities that do not have access to this large flow of potential visitors. Due to the success of 'The Little Town that Did' (the copyrighted slogan attached to the community as part of its marketing strategy), Schutz has become a key figure in the spread of mural-based tourism development to many communities across Canada. Due to his influence in the diffusion of mural-based tourism strategies, the next section provides a more detailed look into the man behind the idea.

The Man Behind the Murals – Karl Schutz

Karl Schutz was born in Heidelberg, Germany and immigrated to Canada in 1951 at the age of 21 to work as a journeyman machinist (Meisler 1994). Like many others at that time, he settled in Chemainus and was employed by the MacMillan Bloedel sawmill. After five years, Schutz left and developed a very successful woodworking shop and by 1971 had acquired considerable landholdings, sold his business and retired (Meisler 1994). While vacationing in Europe during 1970, Schutz visited 15th to 16th century outdoor 'frescoes' or murals on the walls of monasteries in Romania. These murals left such an impression that he felt

Chemainus could utilize the same idea to build and attract a tourism industry, especially as the town was already struggling with threats of mill closure and downsizing. He took the idea to the Chemainus Chamber of Commerce in 1971, but it was rejected (Schutz 2002).

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

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

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

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

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

Cultural Tourism Association (GMACTA), established in 1996 after Schutz attended a Mural Festival in New Zealand.

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

...Two communities hired me jointly to split the cost of getting me there. One of them forged ahead like gangbusters and the other one didn’t do anything, and then blamed the successful one for taking all the lead. Well it was strictly their fault because they were not doing anything. They just watched what the other one was doing and thought it would rub off on their community (Schutz 2002).

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

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

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

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

grows, getting bigger and bigger. But you first had to have the nucleus to start with (Schutz 2002).

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

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

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

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

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

We have locally for instance an entrepreneur and he is a fabulous marketer and is not even a good cook, but he put up a restaurant in the most outlandish place and everyone came there not because of the food, but the whole ambiance. Then he sold that restaurant and opened up another in a different place and within

about two years the other one just withered away...because they just haven't got it. It is definitely about individual leadership (Schutz 2002).

When questioned about how a small, relatively isolated community would access a large enough visiting population to make the tourism industry viable, he stated that this was simply missing the point.

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

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

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

Schutz's view on geography not influencing the success of mural-based tourism developments may also be clouded by his frame of reference. Several of the communities involved in the Global Mural Arts and Cultural Tourism Association (GMACTA) have what can be considered extremely positive geographical site and situation characteristics. For example, Katikati, known as New Zealand's Mural Town, is located along the Pacific Coast Highway; a route identified as potentially one of the best coastal touring routes in New Zealand by the New Zealand Coromandel Peninsula tourism association (Coromandel Peninsula 2003). Another community, Twenty-nine Palms, California, is enviably located next to Joshua Tree National Park (Action Council for Twenty-nine Palms 2003). Finally, Ely

Nevada is the gateway to Great Basin National Park, home to the Nevada Northern Railway and is located 320 kilometres northwest of Reno and 245 kilometres northeast of Las Vegas (Nevada Travel Network 2003). Within Canada, Schutz's home community of Chemainus is one hour north of Victoria B.C. and located on one of the main transportation arteries linking the island south to north. Finally, Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan, another GMACTA member, is located on the Trans Canada highway. All these communities have access to a large traveling population as a function of their location on a major transportation artery, several are located within developed tourism regions while others are located close enough to large centres to facilitate the day trip traveler. Many rural communities do not share these same advantages, and arguably the success of their mural-base tourism projects is hindered by their inaccessibility.

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

B.) Why Murals?

This research was driven by a desire to determine where the ideas for development came from, why communities choose specific development strategies, and what the outcomes of those choices are. The previous section has provided an answer to the first of these questions, and this section addresses the latter two questions.

Communities of all sizes and in particular those that are considered rural, have sought to establish themselves as unique destinations through place marketing, with tourism becoming an increasingly integral part of that motivation. The findings from this research would support the literature in that mural-based tourism strategies were undertaken primarily to beautify the community in order to attract tourists. As shown in Table 5, 29 percent of the communities cited tourism as one of the reasons for initiating the murals, 19.4 percent cited community beautification as the sole purpose and 45.2 percent cited a combination of community beautification and tourism product/attraction development. The remaining 6.4 percent cited heritage preservation as the reason for mural development.

When the communities were grouped into the three different periods of development and compared (through crosstabulation) with why murals were chosen, an interesting pattern emerges (Table 5). Tourism development in combination with community beautification remains one of the strongest reasons for developing a mural project across all time periods. However, there is some change in exclusive (tourism OR community beautification) reasons. Whereas community beautification does not even enter into consideration in the first time period, it becomes relatively more important over the next two time periods.

**Table 5: Summary of Why Murals Were Chosen by Year Grouping
[Number of Cases & Percent]**

Year Grouping	1985-1989	1990-1995	1996-2000
Tourism	1 25%	6 35.3%	2 25%
Community Beautification	0 0.0%	4 23.5%	2 25%
Tourism & Community Beautification	3 75.0%	7 41.2%	4 50%
Total	4	17	8

Source: survey results 2002

However, simply examining these communities within a certain time period does not clarify mural development within a complete range of communities, many of which can be considered rural. Although it may seem obvious to those living in rural communities, there is limited consensus on how to define what is rural and what is not, within the Canadian geographic context (Bell and Newby 1971; Gilg 1985; Hoggat and Buller 1987; Lapping *et al.* 1989; Halfacree 1998; Deavers n.d.; Mendelson and Bollman 1998). For the purpose of this research, communities were defined as rural (and peripheral) if they were located a minimum of 100 km from an urban population of 10,000 or more. Those within this distance or having a large population (more than 10,000) were considered as central. This definition gave consideration to the role many larger communities play as service centres within a rural area. Under such a definition, 60 percent of the communities were deemed rural (or peripheral) and 40 percent urban (or central).

By distinguishing central and peripheral communities on the basis of their choice of mural development, it is apparent that murals are chosen strictly for tourism purposes in peripheral locations, while a combination of tourism and community beautification is more often associated with central locations. As Table 6 indicates, the period of mural development was then crosstabulated with location and motivation for mural development. Table 6 also illustrates that while the differences in motivations between central and peripheral communities are not that large, there is a discernable pattern. Peripheral communities are choosing murals increasingly for community beautification or in combination with tourism more often than for tourism purposes alone. This latter motivation declines consistently in relative terms for peripheral communities over the three time periods. In contrast, while central sites also chose murals for a combination of both community beautification and tourism, tourism as the sole reason is cited more frequently.

Table 6 Summary of Why Murals Were Chosen by Year Grouping and Central or Peripheral Location [Number of Cases & Percent]

Why Murals	Peripheral Communities			Central Communities		
	1985-1989	1990-1995	1996-2000	1985-1989	1990-1995	1996-2000
Tourism	1 50.0%	4 36.4%	1 20.0%	1 33.3%	3 50.0%	1 33.3%
Community Beautification		2 18.2%	2 40.0%		2 33.3%	
Tourism and Community	1 50.0%	5 45.4%	2 40.0%	2 66.7%	1 16.7%	2 66.7%

Beautification						
Total	2	11	5	2	6	3

Source: survey results 2002

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

C.) Murals and Intended Outcomes

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

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

Responses to these eight items were subsequently collapsed into three categories for analysis; *economic* (adding jobs, creating new business, bringing money into the community and increasing economic diversification), *community* (increase in community pride and understanding of local history) and *CED* (goals for tourism development). Table 7 provides a summary of the data by taking the average of the percent responses provided in the surveys.

**Table 7: Does This Strategy Achieve Its Intended Purpose?
Average Percentage of Agreement**

Goals	All Cases	Year Grouping			Location	
		1985-1989	1990-1995	1996-2000	Central	Peripheral
Economic	62%	65%	73%	48%	82%	51%

Community	74%	80%	73%	65%	82%	74%
CED	50%	60%	55%	29%	50%	47%

Source: survey results 2002

All Cases Analysis

As Table 7 demonstrates, a general finding applicable to all respondents is that mural-based tourism has had a positive impact in achieving the goals set out by the community. It appears that this strategy has had the greatest positive outcome in terms of generating increased pride in, and understanding of, the community. These statistics are supported by statements within the open-ended portion of the survey including the following.

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

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

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

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

However, why did half of the respondents feel that mural-based tourism had not aided them in reaching their CED goals? Part of the answer lies in exploring the types of additional activities the communities had undertaken. An open-ended question on the survey asked respondents about other types of activities being pursued in the community. Based on the responses, six categories of activity types were identified (Table 8). Activity type was then crosstabulated with the location variable to determine if a) there was a difference in opinion regarding the perceptions of CED success between those communities that did undertake other activities and those that did not, and b) there was a relationship between the types of activities undertaken and the community location.

Table 8: Types of Activities Pursued and Community Location

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

Source: survey results 2002

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

of resources (e.g., money, people, businesses) it may be more difficult for these peripheral communities to realize their goals (e.g., Winnipeg versus Churchbridge).

Crosstabular analysis regarding types of additional activities and community location (Table 8) indicated that the most often cited activities were community beautification and business attraction. Spatially, respondents in central places more often cited community beautification than did peripheral locations (60 percent versus 40 percent). Conversely, those in peripheral locations were far more likely to cite business attraction as an additional activity than were those in central locations (99 percent versus 1 percent). The other types of development activities were more equally cited, but centrally located communities were more likely to have undertaken entertainment and sports attraction and development and infrastructural improvements while peripheral communities tended to undertake community and youth-related activities and broader tourism development.

Cases by Time Period Analysis

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

Over time, for both the community and CED goals, there is a consistent decline (60 percent to 29 percent) in the perception that mural-based tourism has assisted the community in achieving their goals. The change in level of agreement is least for communities in the Stage Three (1996 – 2001) grouping. However, when the ‘neutral’ responses are examined, we see that the proportion of responses in this category is higher during Stage Three than in the earlier stages (Table 9). This may suggest that there is more uncertainty as to how tourism will impact the community when the strategy has been newly adopted. Although respondents generally agree that mural-based tourism has assisted them in achieving their community-related goals, the level of agreement does decline over time with the strongest support coming in the primary period.

**Table 9: Does This Strategy Achieve Its Intended Purpose?
Average Percentage of Neutral Responses**

Goals	All Cases	Year Grouping		
		1985-1989	1990-1995	1996-2001
Economic	24%	15%	16%	37%
Community	12%	20%	11%	7%
CED	6%	0%	27%	43%

Source: survey results 2002

A general conclusion is that there appears to be greater uncertainty as to whether mural-based tourism will benefit those communities that adopt mural development late. This suggests that time spent in product development and marketing plays a crucial role in how the success of such a project will be viewed. In one interview, a Community Development Officer suggested that it takes two years for a community to see the benefits of an ad campaign or brochure. The findings from this research would support such sentiments.

Cases by Community Location Analysis

As Table 7 illustrates, there is a much higher level of agreement that mural-based tourism has assisted the communities in achieving their economic, community and CED goals in more accessible communities. A comparison of community location and time period of mural establishment indicated that 89 percent of peripheral communities had undertaken mural projects between the second and third time periods, compared to only 75 percent of central communities. Given that peripheral communities have more recently undertaken mural development, it is informative to compare peripheral and central communities with the combination of neutral and disagree categories of responses. Such an examination determined that respondents in peripheral locations tended to disagree or be ambivalent while respondents in more accessible places had a greater level of agreement (Table 10). Again, there may be a greater degree of uncertainty concerning the nature and level of impact on the community for those places that are developing their tourism product more recently, especially in smaller peripheral communities where murals may be one of very few tourist attractions.

**Table 4.10: Does This Strategy Achieve Its Intended Purpose?
Combined Average Percentage of Neutral and Disagree Responses by Location**

Goals	Community Location	
	Central	Peripheral
Economic	9.5%	25%
Community	9.5%	13.5%
CED	24%	26.5%

Source: survey results 2002

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

members in centrally located communities tend to have higher levels of education and more frequently appear to believe that their mural-based tourism developments have been positive.

IV. Conclusion

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

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

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

References Cited within Text