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Place Construction, Identity, and Capital Investment: An investigation of two tourist landscapes in Michigan

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Place Construction, Identity, and Capital Investment:

An investigation of two tourist landscapes in Michigan

A thesis

Presented to

The College of Graduate and Professional Studies

Department of Earth and Environmental Systems

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by

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Abstract

Tourist communities exist all over the world. They are areas that are focused on tourism and are often tailored to resemble specific regions or themes to better achieve capital gain. In this study, two cities in Michigan are examined to better understand how the cultural landscapes are experienced and what practices are employed throughout the landscape. Specifically, this thesis investigates the spatial practices that are involved in re-creating and re-presenting “themed” landscapes. Another question analyzed is whether the “themed” landscapes reflect the resident’s daily lives and/or their histories. This thesis examines the two Michigan cities of Gaylord and Frankenmuth, re-presenting and re-creating Alpenfest and Frankenmuth, respectively, and their emphasis on tourism within their respective communities.

To better understand the cultural environment and themed landscapes, digital images are used throughout this thesis of both cities. The data for these themed landscapes were geocoded and analyzed. Also, photographs of both cities were used to demonstrate that only modifications to the façade and additions to the structures were merely aesthetic in nature, and are not realistic but stereotypes of the regions they were representing.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This research will examine the landscape dynamics of tourist communities, chart the observed location of “themed-spaces”, and explore how these communities exist within the context of Lefebvre’s Triad, or more specifically, the representation of space, place and practice. This research will investigate two cases: Frankenmuth, Michigan and Gaylord, Michigan and the connection between space and place. Understanding the connection between space and place is essential, in so far as people cannot be reduced to points on a graph. The lived experience is important to understand since subject and object are engaged in a reflexive process; the subject and object are directly influenced by one another. Understanding the connection can be achieved by participating in a perceived environment such as an ethnic festival, “theme-ing” the built environment, or creating other culturally relevant events. In concert, these and other combined efforts draw a unique cultural landscape (or “place” image) and generally facilitate capital investment, tourism, and consumption. The objective of this thesis is to examine space, place and practice within the context of the observed material landscape of these two tourist communities.

Rational

This study presents an unique opportunity to compare and understand the physical/cultural context of the communities and their impact on the perceived environment. By using these two Michigan study groups, we get a better understanding of cultural landscape and the effect a community has on the perceived landscape, and thus proves that these communities exist within the Lefebvre's Triad.

Objective

The purpose of this study is to examine these tourist communities and how their localities enliven space, place, and practice through the construction of a unique tourist landscape by focusing on place construction and the cultural landscape. This thesis compares the old urban settlement to the new recreated settlement and subsequently establishes any correlations. In order to do this the following research questions are asked:

1. How are the cultural landscapes experienced and what practices are employed?
2. What role do spatial practices play in re-creating and re-presenting "themed" landscapes?
3. Do "themed" tourist landscapes reflect the everyday realities of residents and/or their shared histories?

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This study unlocks socio-spatial dynamics of tourist landscapes in two Michigan cities by using inter-related disciplines. In the following section, Culture: Space, Place and the Material Landscape, tourism geography and Lefebvre will be used. This chapter concludes with a discussion of the combined conceptual framework that informs this thesis.

Culture: Space, Place and the Material Landscape

Cultural landscape refers to the combined socio-spatial impact of human beings on the physical environment. As such, the beliefs, ideologies and values of the residents reflect their perceived landscape. This thesis will demonstrate how local communities intentionally mold and shape the landscape in order to better facilitate economic development which promotes cultural tourism. Such enhancements are important to cultural tourism as communities tend to develop the local place for the specific goal of generating more capital. Gaylord, for example, developed its downtown as a Swiss village for the specific goal of attaining more tourism to boost its capital. Consequently, the landscapes of places such as Gaylord are constructed in such a fashion as to create a shared identity and a well defined “culture space.” This cultural representation, as a means of place attachment, is important to connect with cultural meaning (Low, Taplin, and Scheld 2005). By creating a themed landscape, the local residents have intentionally created a

unique culture space and landscape. Not only are the residents fulfilling an economic need but “are creating” a global and local identity as well. Regions and communities use this economic development process to use space. As such, space is delimited and regionalized to promote economic development.

Tourism Geography

This thesis draws tourism geography. Tourism geography is a concentration on the interaction of guests, the communities, and local businesses to better apprehend the complex reality of everyday life, based on two unique cultural landscapes. One of the major divisions of tourism is cultural tourism (also known as heritage tourism), which has seen growing popularity in the last few decades. This cultural tourism usually defines towns such as Frankenmuth and Gaylord, Michigan. With cities and urban centers designed around a particular theme or representative place, whole regions can be influenced by these cultural tourism sights, from local farmers to local alcohol breweries and distribution centers (Berglee, Larson 2002). But typically these tourism centers tend to alter their landscape in order to facilitate a more ‘authentic’ experience.

Tourism geography has impacts on the landscape both in positive and negative ways. The social impacts of a tourism area can have a positive effect. For example, the residents perceive pride in their town, a specific heritage, or by creating a better understanding of their own culture, and thus driving the tourist community to better understand this culture (Girard and Nijkamp 2009). This can also lead to a better understanding and tolerance of foreign cultures and traditions that normally would have been overlooked.

There are also physical impacts that happen with tourism geography, such as, a desire to preserve the landscape and better upkeep of the urban area. This can also lead to the creation of

new infrastructures for the tourists and the local residents (Girard and Nijkamp 2009). By doing this an urban center puts capital into the existing area to increase revenue and also to preserve and expand its own landscape which can create a niche market.

Niche markets, a small division of the market as a whole, change a town or area for the purpose of developing the area for increased capital. Research indicates that these specific niche populations are often more educated and informed of their cultural values than the population at large (Girard and Nijkamp 2009). Being more educated and informed of cultural values leads to a greater desire of cultural understanding and identity, which increases the desire for tourists to experience a local slice of foreign customs and traditions.

Niche markets can be constructed around different themes, such as, historical, religious or environmental. When a region builds upon a unique place-themed identity, the markets compete for more capital investment (in both large companies and infrastructures), which promotes an increase in tourism. Girard and Nijkamp (2009) note, that by articulating niches, tourist communities can be highly effective at attracting capital and visitors. Frankenmuth and Gaylord present themselves as niche markets; Frankenmuth being an example of Little Bavaria, and Gaylord being an example of a Swiss village. This case study analyzes Frankenmuth and Gaylord, for the purpose of understanding the space-place relationship between the two cities, and how the communities promote local tourism in order to form a niche market for themselves. These communities capitalize on a unique representative landscape that is dependent on tourism which is created by the communities for the sheer purpose of gaining capital. Smaller markets and communities tend to approach cultural tourism uniquely which can be more effective. According to Bendixen (1997), cultural tourists (which may be smaller in

number) tend to impact the economic and tourist communities more than visitors who are interested in “recreational” activities.

In the case of the study communities (both of which have less than 4,000 residents), cultural tourism appears to be ideally positioned to compete in the cultural or heritage tourism market. The core themes of the small populations of Frankenmuth and Gaylord, and “rural” nature of these communities, are reinforced by the core themes of their profitable cultural identity.

Frankenmuth and Gaylord are prime examples of local communities positioning themselves specifically for tourism based on a place market. Gaylord made a deliberate and calculated effort to capitalize on a specific cultural niche which is the Swiss village. The local businesses gathered together and started augmenting their establishments so they were perceived as looking like a Swiss settlement. This included pitched roofs, exposed wood beams, and other cosmetic amenities. These signature buildings are a direct link to the economic value of land and structures which helps establish their own need for cultural identity and understanding (Zukin 1993). These iconic buildings are seen as a corner stone for the community. Whether it is the local Wal-Mart in Gaylord, or a European themed restaurant in Frankenmuth, these buildings are identified as company images and sellable to private and public entities (Zukin 1993).

The cultural identity and a niche market are established with the iconic buildings, for example, the local populations’ desire to fit into a community and the tourists’ desire to experience a particular culture. Also, these structures and land features have economic and cultural value associated with them (Girard and Nijkamp 2009).

With any community, these cultural representations are not static. The communities are always reinventing themselves with the expansion and the landscape remodeling. This constant reinvention makes this field of tourism more dynamic and ever changing, so the consumer always has something new to draw them back to the community (Girard and Nijkamp 2009). And because of this, it keeps tourism at a peak with visitors returning year after year and more enterprise entering the communities. This conception of place is then solidified by cultural identity, and results in the community having room to build and create more expansion.

Since cultural landscapes unlock the relationships between space, place and practice, festivals and other celebrations have received a greater interest by geographers. Because of these spatial practices (or notion of practices), the cultural landscapes serve to create a community memory into the event and bring the participants to pay respect to the past which helps them remember their history (O'Reilly and Crutcher 2006). These practices typically direct community more into their cultural identity, which has a positive effect of making the tourists' experiences seem more engaged and, thus, increases trade and commerce. But this practice can also have a negative aspect that is rarely considered. This negative aspect happens because the population tends to destroy the cultural landscape by trying to synthesize a foreign culture (Girard and Nijkamp 2009). Cultural representation to place is important to connect with cultural meaning (Low, Taplin, Scheld 2005). Since cultural representation is a reflective process, the communities try to understand their world and their own unique place on the landscape through participation.

With communities embedding themselves in these activities, we can start to understand the historical and cultural processes that shape local places. Researchers can begin to unlock observed socio-spatial relationships (Gatrell and Reid 2001). With this knowledge we have the

ability to not only understand a culture but also why this local place is important to residents, how and why the landscape was shaped and what capitalistic purpose it facilitates. By looking into Frankenmuth and Gaylord and how these communities perceive their local place, we have a better notion of how space is seen and observed. But when landscape becomes developed, you have the natural landscape forever changed by culture and how that culture transforms the physical landscape (Sauer and Leighly 1927). You never have a true representation of that particular landscape, but more of a perceived space and this landscape is best perceived to gain capital through the tourism trade. It must also be mentioned that these tourist landscapes in public space bring in real and perceived ideas of festivals which local shop owners use to get capital gain during the social event (O'Reilly and Crutcher 2006). At the core of the desire to exhibit local space, everything revolves around gaining capital and expanding on that capital. One can argue that is why Wal-Mart has few cosmetic amenities to its structure; it is to suit this identity.

Tourism geography has also used "branding" strategies as a marketing approach to increase capital by packaging unique features and attractions for tourists (Kolb 2006). Branding, as a practice, is central to the creation, maintenance, and niche marketing of themed landscapes such as Gaylord and Frankenmuth. When marketing a city everything from the built environment, festivals and food combine into the tourist's experience (Kolb 2006). Location also plays a great deal into the brand of the city. Where a city is located determines what kinds of services a tourism community can offer.

Tourism community also creates a need for services and goods to be more specialized based on the specific niche of the local tourism trade (Dietvorst 1998). This means that local suppliers of goods tend to make "normal" goods seem more authentic to the themed landscape. It

also brings more capital to the surrounding areas which in turn keep the increased capital localized.

According to Dietvorst, tourists visit locations that exhibit their own expectations for the “themed landscape” (Dietvorst 1998). With the tourist looking for this type of “themed place” the local communities construct their landscape and facilities to the tourist’s expectations. Examples of this are Solvang, in Southern California (Larsen 2007) and German festivals in Central Texas (Adams 2005). These locations create their landscape to appeal to what the tourist perceives what the “themed place” should be. This phenomenon is not confined to the United States the Netherlands sells holiday villages that have a subtropical theme, but are located in a temperate climate (Dietvorst 1998). In this case the landscape has been altered to appeal to what the tourist desires or observes, not what the landscape has to offer. Another example of this is how California in the late nineteenth century deliberately shaped the landscape through tourism. Railroads and streetcar companies laid out tracks deliberately for the purposes of increased revenue from attractions, and promoted their goods by spreading their services through mass media (Davis 1999). Later in the late 1950s San Diego changed its downtown directly and deliberately to increase the tourism market of the area (Davis 1999). But the goal was not only to get tourists into the down town, but to keep them there, considering there is a connection between length of stay and amount of capital spent (Davis 1999).

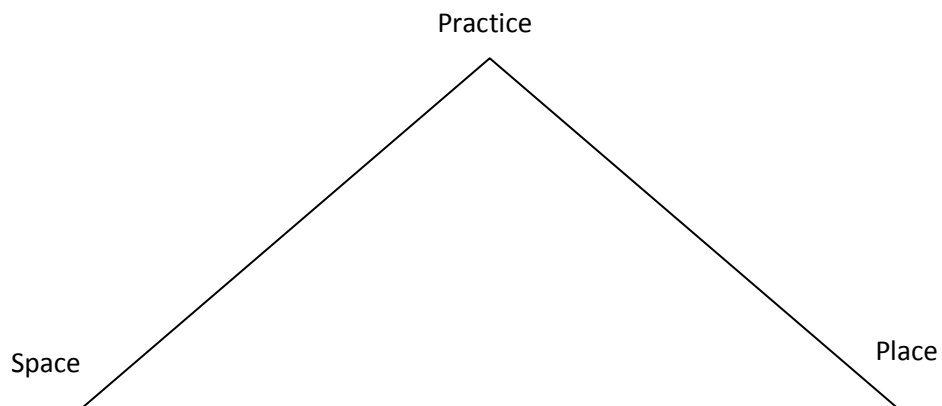
With hotels in the region promoting conventions, and selling areas of historical romance it was easy for the San Diego region to sell and help expand the tourism market (Davis 1999). So by having the hotels and the tourism market work in tandem, more revenue can be created which helps fuel more development in the region. By developing this region into a controlled

landscape, the developer creates a more concentrated tourism landscape, through, in turn the developers can generate the type of revenue they wish based on the demographic of the tourists.

In a study in Los Angeles, all tourists for 1997 who stayed in hotels and motels spent more than guests who stayed with friends and family (Davis 1999). This shows the importance of showcasing hotels and resorts to the tourism region, not only to increase the revenue for hotels, also because the tourist who stays at a hotel is more likely to spend more on food and souvenirs than the tourist who only stays with friends and family.

Figure 1. Festival Schedule

City	Major Themed Event		
Frankenmuth	BavarianFest <i>June</i>	World Beer Expo <i>May</i>	OktoberFest <i>September</i>
Gaylord	Alpenfest <i>July</i>		

Figure 2. Lefebvre's Triad

Lefebvre

By understanding place one can grasp the concept of space and its influence on the cultural landscape. Space can be broken down into three separate entities: The spatial practices (Lived), the representation of space (Space), and the representational place (Place) (Merrifield 2006). In representations of space, space becomes fluid, almost alive, and exists at the same time almost superimposed onto one another (Merrifield 2006). This is constantly changing, as the conceived notion of the perceived space changes with time and space. Representation of space can be defined as conceptualized space, the space of planners. The representational spaces on the other hand are those spaces that are lived and experienced directly.

Theories and ideologies inhabit this side of the triad and are ever changing and ever moving. Lefebvre states that this area is very chaotic and it is here that imagined ideologies are created and formed in this section (Anderson 2007). This area might have scientists, urban planners, cartographers and architects included into it (Merrifield 2006). The bulk of everyday life happens here; where capital takes place and laws form.

Practices mediate the realities between planned/imagined and lived/perceived. This contains the routines and the day to day life of most people. This ideology exists between the lived and the conceived space (Merrifield 2006). Space is seen more as abstract and is constantly being overcome by the perceived space. Spatial practices would change with the implied meaning of political boundaries and the lived experience of landmarks and reality. These relationships between space, place, and practice must be understood and unlocked as the practices become embedded in the cultural landscapes of the case studies. Another essential

element is to understand how such spaces are transformed into spaces of consumption, thus co-modifying place.

Summary

Tourism communities tend to gear their central business districts for economic gain, but also to fulfill a cultural identity. This identity is created to show a stylized “themed place” in which the tourist wants to visit. By doing so, the community can insure an increase in revenue generated through tourism. This need also increases the need for stylized goods and services that the communities can sell to the tourism market. Whether it is the Netherlands, selling holiday villages that are geared towards the tourist’s notion of perceived place, or Frankenmuth and Gaylord creating a “themed place,” space is more abstract in the comparison of perceived and lived place and the overlapping use thereof.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The methodology of this study consists of data collection and analysis of this data. The data collection was of primary data with an emphasis on participant observation. The observer interacted with the landscape by taking digital images of the landscape to assess the material landscape. Analysis is comprised of geocoding concentrations of modified buildings to facilitate tourism capita.

Methods: Fieldwork and Data Collection

This study uses a mixed methodological framework, which includes participant observation, cartographic data, and other archival materials, such as, newspapers. Also, this thesis utilizes primary and secondary data. Along with information from the represented spaces, gathered in the field for comparison analysis based on common themes and design structures, this data are compared.

Primary Data: Participant Observation

Participant observation involves the observer physically interacting with the landscape. The primary data was collected via participant observation due to the researcher's close observation to the subjects and the close familiarity with the subject. This type of data collection is often classified as qualitative research, as it aims to collect an understanding into human

behavior and how it relates to the place. Participant observation is beneficial in this study as it can open up new insights, whereas people who are not familiar with the concept may overlook it or take the concept for granted (Dereshiwsky 1999). The observer might also discover something that the subjects might not want to discuss or are unaware of themselves (Dereshiwsky 1999). To compare and understand the physical/cultural context of the communities, I made visits to the field so that my data was collected through direct observation. In the field I obtained digital images and other attributes to document and assess the material landscapes of each community.

Primary Data: Mapping the Cultural Landscape

All observations were geocoded. Geocoding is the process that enables researchers to map field observations using addresses and/or GPS points. Using addresses has a drawback in assuming that all even numbers are on one side of the road and all odd numbers are on the other. Another assumption is that all parcels are evenly distributed. It is difficult to accurately depict a given point if there are uneven parcels or the possibly of uneven parcels. A combination of both techniques, geocoding and addresses, was used to limit errors and achieve a more accurate result. To compare building structure with the contemporary place the researcher used the geocoding and address records. By doing map overlays in ArcGIS and comparing the maps with one another with the intent of showing whether it is possible to identify special clustering, the comparison was achieved.

Secondary Data: Census Data

For the purpose of analyzing local income and population density for the purpose of locating distributors and local business markets, locate tax data, calculate the income for the study communities and show the population density of the area, census data were obtained and

used. In addition to census data, the thesis obtains County Business Pattern data for each of the communities to determine how the local economies have changed since 1978. The County Business Pattern data will compare local economies to the state in several key employment sectors as a percentage of total employment: Retail (NAICS44 or SIC54, 56, and 58) Arts/Recreation (NAICS71 or SIC79); and Accommodations (NAICS 72 or SIC70) for 1978, 1983, 1988, 1993, 1998, 2003, and in 2008. For years prior to the implementation of the NAICS system, were used the NAICS bridge for prior SIC codes. Unfortunately, the bridges from the old to new classification do not allow for exact comparisons—however, the old and new data will provide an overall sense of the local economy.

Limitations

Like all research, this study has inherent limitations. The methods were selected to shape the scale and scope of these limitations; to the extent that the participant observation, which has the inherence from the insider/outsider issue the focus of the research, was of the observations and experiences of an outsider based on the specific research questions whose assessment. Because of this, there are noted limitations because the festivals are seasonal.

CHAPTER 4

CASE STUDIES

Introduction

Gaylord and Frankenmuth Michigan are both vibrant communities, which depend on tourism as their main source of capital. Both communities made a deliberate decision to develop themselves into tourism communities, and have changed the landscapes by doing so. In this regard, they are both perfect candidates for this study.

Study Areas

Gaylord, Michigan: The Alpine Village

Gaylord, Michigan will be the first case study. Gaylord is a vibrant community and as of the 2000 census, the population was 3,681 with a medium income of \$36,654 (Census.gov 2010). Gaylord is the county seat of Otsego County in Northern Lower Michigan. Gaylord began as a lumbering community in the late 1800s for Pines and hardwoods (www.gaylordmichigan.net). However, it was not until the 1960s that Gaylord would have its iconic Swiss Village façade.

Gaylord did not evolve into this gradually, it was decided January 16, 1964, that a community project would be conducted to gear the town towards the look of a Swiss village (Drullinger 1967). Facades of buildings were torn down and new ones were erected to have the

architectural style of a Swiss village, which included exposed beam ceilings and the use of native stone (Drullinger 1967). U.S. Plywood scheduled a plant opening in mid-1965 and a festival was formed as U.S. Plywood wanted a way to celebrate its opening. This festival is now a yearly event in the third week of July called Alpenfest. This festival includes performances geared towards Swiss heritage, as well as, food and spirits of the same nature.

There are other forms of tourism entertainment venues, which include a Ferris wheel and forty-five other rides (gaylordalpenfest.com). Gaylord is known for its 21 golf courses (www.gaylordmichigan.net). This also reinforces the Alpine theme within the community considering The Alps are well known for their skiing. This is another way that Gaylord is capitalizing on the Alpenfest theme and cultural identity. Skiing also reinforces the Alpine brand. The structured and deliberate push towards cultural tourism makes Gaylord an ideal candidate for this study.

Frankenmuth, Michigan: Little Bavaria

Frankenmuth, Michigan, is the second area of study. It is located in Saginaw County, Michigan. Germanic Lutherans originally settled this vibrant community in the mid-1800s (www.frankenmuth.org). The community began as a farm community and slowly changed as craftsmen and businessmen started businesses. Saw and woolen mills and the creation of Germanic foodstuffs (www.frankenmuth.org) eventually replaced this.

Frankenmuth is known as “Little Bavaria” and started as a Christian mission in the 1800s (Frankenmuth.org 2010). The settlement gradually increased over the course of the next few years until 1845 when 680 acres of land from the U.S. Government was purchased for \$1,700.00

(Frankenmuth.org 2010). Eventually, the settlers, who were primarily farmers and loggers, invested in a dam and a mill, which increased farming and trading in the region. The pine forests of the area were cut down and replaced by more farms. With the construction of the dam and the mill other craftsmen were drawn into the area. This influx of trained craftsmen opened up other mills and increased capital. After World War II interstates opened Frankenmuth to the country and increased tourism and trade, on which the town capitalized. Today the 4,838 residents make a living capitalizing on the German feel of the town. The biggest event Frankenmuth capitalizes on is Oktoberfest, which has its origins as a reception for the wedding of Prince Ludwig and Princess Theresa (Frankenmuth.org). Celebrating this event with themed eating and drinking reinforces the brand of Germanic heritage, which revolves around eating and drinking. Oktoberfest brings in thousands of tourists a year to the budding community, which goes for the celebration as well as the food and drink. Another attraction is Bonner's CHRISTmas Wonderland. This retail store boasts to be the "World's Largest Christmas Store" (www.bronners.com). This store boasts that over two million people visit the establishment yearly. This boasting is an example of Frankenmuth's brand which is retail and food.

Landscapes & Place Construction

Landscapes, such as Gaylord and Frankenmuth, are constructed in a way to create a shared identity. This shared identity is achieved by making the tourist feel as if they are experiencing an authentic version of place. This representation is important because it connects with cultural meaning (Low, Taplin, and Scheld 2005). The local residents fulfill this need by intentionally creating a unique cultural space and by the tourist who interacts and observes the same perceived space. This space for Gaylord has a unique architectural style of pitched roofs,

angled sides and awnings. Most of the outside buildings also have fake shutters and wood trim to help it appeal to what the tourist believes is an accurate representation of an Alpine village.

Additionally, human-environment interactions serve to reinforce the “brand” and themed landscape. For example, Frankenmuth settlers, who were Germanic in origin, came from the Northern European Plains, which has glacial topography similar to the area in which Frankenmuth is located. The original settlers likely selected the site, as it is similar to the landscapes of agricultural regions of Germany. This adds to the construction of the community and helps it be more “authentic.” Likewise, Gaylord’s brand is that of a Swiss village. Switzerland’s topography encompasses the Alps Mountains. With this in mind it is very important for Switzerland’s tourism, as well as Gaylord’s, to revolve around skiing during the winter months. This, and the fact that the owner of U.S. Plywood was a native of Switzerland, all contributes to the brand of a Swiss village to Gaylord.

While in Gaylord, I had the unique opportunity of witnessing Mary’s Tavern renovated after a spring fire destroyed its façade. I noticed how the building itself was mostly constructed of plywood and 2X4’s (See Figure 4) with no real structural purpose other than for tourism. This structure was retrofitted with the sole purpose of making the business seem more “authentic.” It also occurred to me how much investment they needed to create such a façade with the sole purpose of tourism. This likely included architects and construction workers to add to the building, which in turn adds revenue back into the surrounding areas. In Figure 5, you can see that the awning is built from the same materials as the façade, 2X4’s and plywood. It also shows that the awning is not a part of the main building with no ductwork or the like available and the sure purpose of its existence is for ascetic purposes and to add to the structural integrity of the

structure. The purpose of the pitched roof in Switzerland would be to help with the heavy snowfall that they have for the year.

Another observation I made in Gaylord was the prevalence of shutters next to windows that served no purposes other than esthetic (See Figure 6). The light blue shutters fixed on the outside wall of The Alphorn Shop's second story provide the structure with a Swiss accent. Below the window also illustrates a platform which should serve as a balcony, but with the windows being as small as they are it has no real purpose other than to create a more Swiss-themed building. With tourism being one of Gaylord's chief revenue source, it should also be noted that the signs in the storefront windows are all geared towards tourism crafts and items. Part of the roof is also able to be seen and is made of wood planks, which are expensive, and time consuming to replace. It would be more economical for the store to have standard roofing for convenience and cost saving, but the business opted for a more

Figure 3. Bonner's CHRISTmas Wonderland



Source: bonners.com (2011)

The above picture shows Bonners interior as well as a view of it from the outside.

Figure 4 Mary's Tavern 1



authentic façade.

The local hair stylist also has added structure amenities to its outside façade. In Figure 7, you can see that the outside windows of the structure have a diamond construction. Like other establishments, the Styleworks Hair Studio also uses wood shingles on the outside of the roof (See Figure 7). The structure also has a multistory tower with a pitched roof. Like the hair studio, Main Street Shoes also continues the trend of having wood shingles and a pitched overhang roof, which can be seen in Figure 7.

Gaylord has a sister city, Pontresina, Switzerland, which seems to have none of the facades that Gaylord has. Though most of the buildings have pitched roofs, none has the color and extensive woodwork that Gaylord has, as seen in Figure 9. Pontresina also has one feature that Gaylord does not, the Swiss Alps.

Frankenmuth, Michigan also has a vibrant downtown region with many structures geared towards themed landscape. On the way into town there was a billboard for McDonalds that has German style text and even characters of two German style people (See Figure 10). The purpose of this is to have tourists eat at the McDonalds, an American corporation, and still have the Germanic themed landscape while they eat. This will draw tourists who want to experience the themed landscape, but may not want to eat authentic food.

Downtown Frankenmuth also has road signs that are in the façade of European road signs; American road signs tend to be green with standard measuring system while European signs tend to be yellow with distances in the metric system. Here in Frankenmuth the road sign (See Figure 11), is clearly in the European style to add to a more immersed experience. Another amenity that Frankenmuth has is a cuckoo clock on the main street that plays scenes from

popular nursery tales. In Figure 12, it shows a scene from the Pied Piper leading the children into the mountains after charming the rats to flee the city. This is shown on the hour and tends to draw a large crowd of spectators. This clock and public storytelling serves to draw the attention of tourists and the cuckoo clock reinforces the German theme.

Figure 5. Mary's Tavern 2



Figure 6. The Alphorn Shop



Figure 7. Styleworks Hair Studio



Figure 8. Main Street Shoes



Figure 9. Pontresina Switzerland



Source: Pontresina Tourism (2010)

The tower is attached to the Bavarian Inn, which is a corner stone of Frankenmuth. The front of the building has pitched roofs, as do much of the themed buildings in Frankenmuth. It also has colorful shutters that focus the front of the building, Figure 13. The building also has fake wood accents on the front of the building to add to the façade of the “German” architecture. Wood is used throughout the structure to make it resemble old world buildings, but the wood is only superficial and offers no structural advantage. There are also accents on the corners and peaks of the buildings to help achieve a more “authentic” experience. With the focus of Frankenmuth’s capital being tourism, it is easy to see that there would be an emphasis made on common goods to make them seem more exotic. An example of this would be the mustard in the Bavarian Inn. Figure 14 shows how the mustard was made locally and exclusively sold at the Bavarian Inn.

Just as in Gaylord in Frankenmuth, major companies try to capitalize on the niche tourism market. In Frankenmuth, the Marriott Hotel is built in Germanic styled construction, Figure 15. The towers on the sides of the structure hold no real purpose other than to look more Germanic. The woodworking that is pictured also has no real purpose other than esthetic. The base of the structure also displays a rock base to make it seem as if the foundation of the structure was made out of rock and mortar.

Figure 10. McDonald's Sign



Figure 11. Frankenmuth Road Sign



Figure 12. Bavarian Inn 1



Figure 13. Bavarian Inn 2



Figure 14. Bavarian Inn Mustard



Figure 15. Marriott Hotel



Place Construction in Context

While in the field, observations of the themed landscape were noted and recorded. During analysis these observations were input into ArcGIS as points in a shape file. Both maps 1 and 2 show the concentration of the themed landscape around the central core. In both cases this concentration is in the central core of the town and only exists in a one to two block radius from it. These cultural features were additions to the structure that made it fit into the themed landscape. Frequently, the structures that had cultural additions to the themed landscape were businesses.

The cultural features that were used in both cities were stylized to what the tourist perceived as the “themed place.” For example, Frankenmuth had a multi-story cuckoo clock (See Map 2), which in a one would expect to see a Germanic “themed place,” and Gaylord had pitched roofs and other structural amenities that added to the tourist’s perception of a “themed place.”

The placements of the structures that have been altered to fit the “themed place” are located downtown and on major intersections and roads. This was designed in order to have the highest trafficked areas coincide with the themed landscape. By designing the layout this way, the cities can insure increased capital and traffic in the area, so commerce in the region should be more concentrated than outlying areas.

Concentration of the “themed place” also coincides with the historic downtowns of both cities. This is a deliberate and symbolic act of the community changing the core image of the town and area to fit the stylized image of the themed location. With the historic downtown being the focal point of cities and communities, it illustrates that the communities want the

concentration of their towns to be that of the “themed place,” and that cultural identity is now that of the created “themed place.”

In Map 1, when going past the areas of the concentrated themed landscape, the observer is put into a seemingly normal Midwestern town. Average homes surround the urban center of Gaylord, and the cultural features have no visible connection to the themed environment. The points clearly illustrate a concentration of themed features which dramatically change the landscape from themed to non-themed. As one travels down North Otsego Avenue and West Main Street, which has the highest concentration of traffic for the area, the observed change is quite dramatic with one side of the street having themed landscapes and the other side without.

The same can be said for Frankenmuth. To the east of the themed environment is the Cass River. Across this river are three baseball fields which are not authentic representations of a Bavarian village. Also, northwest of the concentration of cultural features is a well-developed subdivision which has no cultural representations of the themed environment.

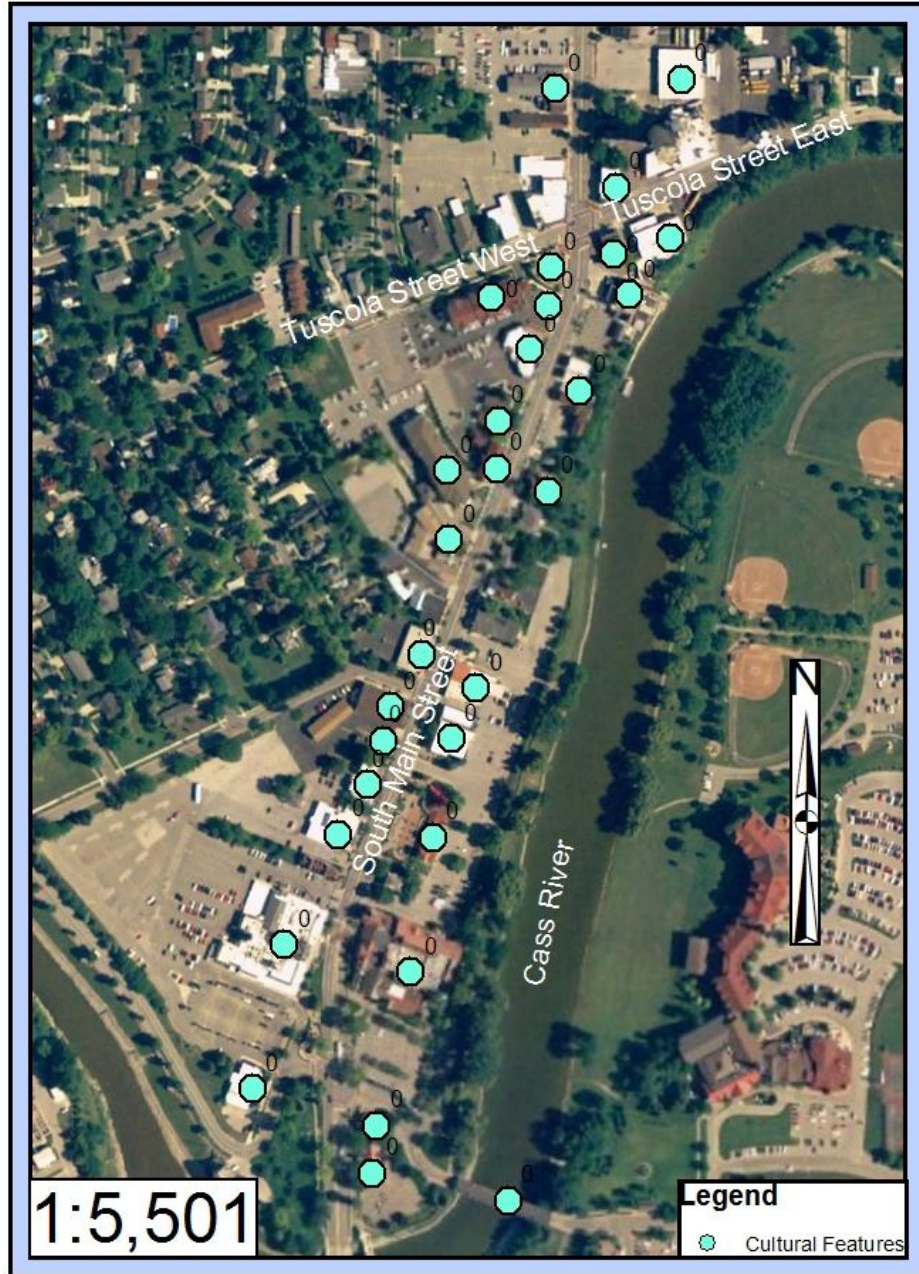
Map 1. Location of major Alpine theme landscape features, Gaylord, MI

Gaylord, Michigan



Map 2. Location of major Bavarian Themed Landscape features, Frankenmuth, Michigan.

Frankenmuth, Michigan



The Frankenmuth data, like Gaylord, illustrate that beyond heavily trafficked areas, the themed landscape features are limited. Concentrated themed spaces are clustered in the downtown areas of both Gaylord and Frankenmuth. This illustrates that the areas for the themed environments were deliberately picked for traffic to increase tourism flow and capital gain.

Figure 16.

Miles from Metropolitan areas

	Lansing	Bay City	Midland	Detroit
Frankenmuth	58	21	40	90
Gaylord	173	123	125	232

The Gaylord and Frankenmuth data are also different in many aspects. While Frankenmuth is often above the state in key indicators (See Figure 19), Gaylord always is and to a greater degree over time. A possible explanation of this is that Frankenmuth is often a day-trip from major metro areas such as Lansing, Bay City, Midland, and Detroit. In contrast, Gaylord is a destination, not an activity location.

CHAPTER 5

THE TOURISM ECONOMY

This chapter charts the observed change in the structure tourism sector, SIC and NAICS data. The study has obtained data for key work force variables for the following codes: Retail (NAICS44 or SIC54, 56, and 58) Arts/Recreation (NAICS71 or SIC79); and Accommodations (NAICS 72 or SIC70) for 1978, 1983, 1988, 1993, 1998, 2003, and 2008. The results illustrate that, for the majority of the years and industries, the trends was for both counties (Otsego and Saginaw), have a higher percentage of employees and a larger percent of the payroll than Michigan as a whole. It also demonstrates that tourism has intensified since 1978 and has now become of greater importance to both counties, as well as the state of Michigan. The results also show that Otsego County, has a higher focus on the tourism market compared to the state, and Saginaw county.

Results

The analysis of the data from SIC 54 food stores shows that from 1978 to 1993 that both Otsego and Saginaw counties had an increase in both total employees and total payroll. Figure 16 shows that for the years indicated the total percentages for total employees and total payroll were greater in Otsego and Saginaw counties than in Michigan as a whole. The only codes (NAICS/SIC) that did not illustrate an increase in 1993 in Saginaw County for total payroll. This

shows that, for the dates indicated, Otsego and Saginaw had more people and capital involved in food stores than did Michigan as an overall percentage.

Figure 18, SIC 56 data for apparel and accessory stores, demonstrates a higher percentage in Otsego and Saginaw counties for all years but in 1983. Michigan had .04 percent more total payroll than Saginaw and in 1993 and 1998. For all other total percentages, both Otsego and Saginaw showed more total percentages for total employees and payroll. This indicates that both counties had more people and capital involved in apparel and accessory stores compared to the entire state of Michigan (see Figure 18). The data for most industries also indicate a significant decline in 1983 and then a subsequent increase in the following years. This is more than likely the symptom of an observed economic decline in the early 1980s, with the tourism industry generally being the hardest hit industry during a recession. SIC 56, (See Figure 18) also adheres to this trend of Michigan by having significantly lower percentages and having a decrease in overall percentages for all areas in the 1983 data.

SIC 58 sum data for Michigan indicates a departure from the trend, with a general increase in Michigan and Saginaw (see Figure 19). SIC 58 data also show over a 10 percent decrease in employment and payroll sums for Otsego County for 1978 and 1983, but subsequent increases in the following years.

NAICS 44 continues the trend of increasing development and higher percentages in Otsego and Saginaw compared to Michigan (see Figure 22). The NAICS 44 data clearly shows a heavier concentration on retail trade than the combined retail trade for Michigan overall. This indicates that Otsego and Saginaw receive more of their capital in retail trade compared to the

Figure 17**SIC 54 Food Stores****1978**

	Total Employees	Total Payroll	Sum of all Tourist Industries Employees	Sum Of all Tourist Industries Payroll	% Total Employees	% Total Payroll
Michigan	2921639	42910212000	76099	676544000	2.6	1.57
Otsego	4070	38376000	292	1408000	7.17	3.66
Saginaw	79657	1266244000	2105	18998000	2.64	1

1983

	Total Employees	Total Payroll	Sum of all Tourist Industries Employees	Sum Of all Tourist Industries Payroll	% Total Employees	% Total Payroll
Michigan	2569676	51637568000	77195	864430000	3	1.67
Otsego	3903	54840000	NA	NA	NA	NA
Saginaw	66168	1427951000	2494	27260000	3.76	1.9

1988

	Total Employees	Total Payroll	Sum of all Tourist Industries Employees	Sum Of all Tourist Industries Payroll	% Total Employees	% Total Payroll
Michigan	3208214	75683982000	99600	1068255000	3.1	1.41
Otsego	5913	100374000	417	4331000	7.05	4.31
Saginaw	74775	1778930000	2437	23499000	3.25	1.32

1993

	Total Employees	Total Payroll	Sum of all Tourist Industries Employees	Sum Of all Tourist Industries Payroll	% Total Employees	% Total Payroll
Michigan	3450693	92520045000	98498	1151744000	2.85	1.24
Otsego	7577	152321000	308	3791000	4.06	2.48
Saginaw	80487	2188921000	2484	23626000	3.08	1.07

Figure 18**SIC 56 Apparel and accessory stores (ret.)****1978**

	Total Employees	Total Payroll	Sum of all Tourist Industries Employees	Sum Of all Tourist Industries Payroll	%Total Employees	% Total Payroll
Michigan	2921639	42910212000	40687	267100000	1.39	0.62
Otsego	4070	38376000	NA	NA	NA	NA
Saginaw	79657	1266244000	1572	9143000	1.97	0.72

1983

	Total Employees	Total Payroll	Sum of all Tourist Industries Employees	Sum Of all Tourist Industries Payroll	%Total Employees	% Total Payroll
Michigan	2569676	51637568000	36571	306328000	1.42	0.59
Otsego	3903	54840000	73	467000	1.87	0.85
Saginaw	66168	1427951000	1051	7780000	1.58	0.54

1988

	Total Employees	Total Payroll	Sum of all Tourist Industries Employees	Sum Of all Tourist Industries Payroll	%Total Employees	% Total Payroll
Michigan	3208214	75683982000	44739	396281000	1.39	0.52
Otsego	5913	100374000	NA	NA	NA	NA
Saginaw	74775	1778930000	1385	11075000	1.85	0.62

1993

	Total Employees	Total Payroll	Sum of all Tourist Industries Employees	Sum Of all Tourist Industries Payroll	%Total Employees	% Total Payroll
Michigan	3450693	92520045000	44105	452416000	1.27	0.48
Otsego	7577	152321000	76	688000	1	0.45
Saginaw	80487	2188921000	1818	17328000	2.25	0.79

Figure 19**SIC 58 Eating and drinking places****1978**

	Total Employees	Total Payroll	Sum of all Tourist Industries Employees	Sum Of all Tourist Industries Payroll	% Total Employees	% Total Payroll
Michigan	2921639	42910212000	179475	761066000	6.14	1.77
Otsego	4070	38376000	514	2540000	12.62	6.61
Saginaw	79657	1266244000	5121	21869000	6.42	1.72

1983

	Total Employees	Total Payroll	Sum of all Tourist Industries Employees	Sum Of all Tourist Industries Payroll	% Total Employees	% Total Payroll
Michigan	2569676	51637568000	180817	1068118000	7.03	2.06
Otsego	3903	54840000	392	2649000	10.04	4.83
Saginaw	66168	1427951000	5380	33474000	8.13	2.34

1988

	Total Employees	Total Payroll	Sum of all Tourist Industries Employees	Sum Of all Tourist Industries Payroll	% Total Employees	% Total Payroll
Michigan	3208214	75683982000	238573	1557975000	7.43	2.05
Otsego	5913	100374000	500	3513000	8.45	3.49
Saginaw	74775	1778930000	6212	41867000	8.3	2.35

1993

	Total Employees	Total Payroll	Sum of all Tourist Industries Employees	Sum Of all Tourist Industries Payroll	% Total Employees	% Total Payroll
Michigan	3450693	92520045000	262013	2041534000	7.59	2.2
Otsego	7577	152321000	747	6493000	9.85	4.26
Saginaw	80487	2188921000	7067	58659000	8.78	2.67

Figure 20**SIC 79 Amusement & recreation services****1978**

	Total Employees	Total Payroll	Sum of all Tourist Industries Employees	Sum Of all Tourist Industries Payroll	%Total Employees	% Total Payroll
Michigan	2921639	42910212000	24459	170498000	0.83	0.39
Otsego	4070	38376000	187	826000	4.59	2.15
Saginaw	79657	1266244000	631	4165000	0.79	0.32

1983

	Total Employees	Total Payroll	Sum of all Tourist Industries Employees	Sum Of all Tourist Industries Payroll	%Total Employees	% Total Payroll
Michigan	2569676	51637568000	22718	240165000	0.88	0.46
Otsego	3903	54840000	135	1108000	3.45	2.02
Saginaw	66168	1427951000	486	4413000	0.73	0.3

1988

	Total Employees	Total Payroll	Sum of all Tourist Industries Employees	Sum Of all Tourist Industries Payroll	%Total Employees	% Total Payroll
Michigan	3208214	75683982000	28556	380945000	0.89	0.5
Otsego	5913	100374000	44	445000	0.74	0.44
Saginaw	74775	1778930000	822	7387000	1.09	4.15

1993

	Total Employees	Total Payroll	Sum of all Tourist Industries Employees	Sum Of all Tourist Industries Payroll	%Total Employees	% Total Payroll
Michigan	3450693	92520045000	36426	585923000	1.05	0.63
Otsego	7577	152321000	54	1332000	0.71	0.87
Saginaw	80487	2188921000	788	8381000	0.97	0.38

Figure 21**SIC 70 Hotels and other lodging places****1978**

	Total Employees	Total Payroll	Sum of all Tourist Industries Employees	Sum Of all Tourist Industries Payroll	% Total Employees	% Total Payroll
Michigan	2921639	42910212000	26755	142829000	0.91	0.33
Otsego	4070	38376000	151	893000	3.7	2.32
Saginaw	79657	1266244000	635	2845000	0.79	0.22

1983

	Total Employees	Total Payroll	Sum of all Tourist Industries Employees	Sum Of all Tourist Industries Payroll	% Total Employees	% Total Payroll
Michigan	2569676	51637568000	21907	190485000	0.85	0.36
Otsego	3903	54840000	108	1066000	2.76	1.94
Saginaw	66168	1427951000	575	4428000	0.86	0.31

1988

	Total Employees	Total Payroll	Sum of all Tourist Industries Employees	Sum Of all Tourist Industries Payroll	% Total Employees	% Total Payroll
Michigan	3208214	75683982000	28183	267835000	0.87	0.35
Otsego	5913	100374000	488	3738000	8.25	3.72
Saginaw	74775	1778930000	718	7411000	0.96	0.41

1993

	Total Employees	Total Payroll	Sum of all Tourist Industries Employees	Sum Of all Tourist Industries Payroll	% Total Employees	% Total Payroll
Michigan	3450693	92520045000	32279	358760000	0.93	0.38
Otsego	7577	152321000	594	7071000	7.83	4.64
Saginaw	80487	2188921000	827	8356000	1.02	0.38

Figure 22

NAICS 44 Retail trade

1998

	Total Employees	Total Payroll	Sum of all Tourist Industries Employees	Sum Of all Tourist Industries Payroll	%Total Employees	% Total Payroll
Michigan	3919567	128649484000	537895	9629527000	13.72	7.48
Otsego	10356	242080000	1755	29678000	16.94	12.25
Saginaw	86367	2715939000	14944	247812000	17.3	9.12

2003

	Total Employees	Total Payroll	Sum of all Tourist Industries Employees	Sum Of all Tourist Industries Payroll	%Total Employees	% Total Payroll
Michigan	3885221	143974115000	521126	10712001000	13.41	7.44
Otsego	10427	268491000	2025	44214000	19.42	16.46
Saginaw	87470	2816622000	13816	262893000	15.79	9.33

2008

	Total Employees	Total Payroll	Sum of all Tourist Industries Employees	Sum Of all Tourist Industries Payroll	%Total Employees	% Total Payroll
Michigan	3636241	147812891000	466350	10359065000	12.82	7
Otsego	8870	264936000	2075	45931000	23.33	17.33
Saginaw	77754	2671583000	12531	253859000	16.11	9.5

Figure 23**NAICS 71 Arts, entertainment & recreation****1998**

	Total Employees	Total Payroll	Sum of all Tourist Industries Employees	Sum Of all Tourist Industries Payroll	% Total Employees	% Total Payroll
Michigan	3,919,567	128,649,484,000	44,339	926,128,000	1.13	0.71
Otsego	10,356	242,080,000	113	2,770,000	1.09	1.14
Saginaw	86,367	2,715,939,000	610	9,495,000	0.7	0.34

2003

	Total Employees	Total Payroll	Sum of all Tourist Industries Employees	Sum Of all Tourist Industries Payroll	% Total Employees	% Total Payroll
Michigan	3885221	143974115000	56354	1497531000	1.45	1.04
Otsego	10427	268491000	139	2848000	1.33	1.06
Saginaw	87470	2816622000	696	10636000	0.79	0.37

2008

	Total Employees	Total Payroll	Sum of all Tourist Industries Employees	Sum Of all Tourist Industries Payroll	% Total Employees	% Total Payroll
Michigan	3636241	147812891000	49788	1485241000	1.36	1
Otsego	8870	264936000	190	5917000	2.14	2.23
Saginaw	77754	2671583000	694	11173000	0.89	0.41

Figure 24

NAICS 72 Accommodations & food services

1998

	Total Employees	Total Payroll	Sum of all Tourist Industries Employees	Sum Of all Tourist Industries Payroll	% Total Employees	% Total Payroll
Michigan	3919567	128649484000	320768	3167701000	8.18	2.46
 Otsego	10356	242080000	1540	19565000	14387	8.08
 Saginaw	86367	2715939000	8957	83979000	10.37	3.09

2003

	Total Employees	Total Payroll	Sum of all Tourist Industries Employees	Sum Of all Tourist Industries Payroll	% Total Employees	% Total Payroll
Michigan	3885221	143974115000	56354	1497531000	1.45	1.04
 Otsego	10427	268491000	139	2848000	1.33	1.06
 Saginaw	87470	2816622000	696	10636000	0.79	0.37

2008

	Total Employees	Total Payroll	Sum of all Tourist Industries Employees	Sum Of all Tourist Industries Payroll	% Total Employees	% Total Payroll
Michigan	3636241	147812891000	49788	1485241000	1.36	1
 Otsego	8870	264936000	190	5917000	2.14	2.23
 Saginaw	77754	2671583000	694	11173000	0.89	0.41

state. This also suggests that Otsego and Saginaw have a more concentrated tourist trade than Michigan.

Figure 21 shows a steady increase in both total employees and total payroll in Michigan through the 1980s. It also shows a dramatic decrease in Otsego County between 1978 and 1988 of a loss of 3.85 percent. This trend also persists with NAICS data for 1998, 2003, and 2008 with Michigan having higher sum data for all three years compared to Otsego and Saginaw (See Figure 23), except for the 2008 data, where Otsego has a higher percentage than Michigan's sums.

Otsego County also has observed concentrations for SIC 70 and NAICS 72 (see Figures 21 and 22). The sum data trend is a general increase in percentages in both employment and payroll, with Michigan having less of their sum population involved in employment in the industry and a smaller percentage in payroll as well. NAICS 72 has similar results with Otsego and Saginaw by having higher percentages in sum employment and payroll compared with Michigan. With Otsego and Saginaw having higher sum data for hotels and other lodging places, it indicates that each community has increased its hotel room occupancy for an increase in tourism trade and has done so more than Michigan.

This trend goes to illustrate that Otsego and Saginaw counties generally have higher percentages involved in all areas of tourism. This indicates that Otsego and Saginaw counties focus on tourism more than Michigan does as a whole. The data overall shows that Otsego usually has a significant increase of total percentages than Michigan does, for example, for 2008 the NAICS 44 data for Otsego shows a 10.51 percent more total employees in retail trade. Otsego and Saginaw communities have expanded tourist related employment and payroll, and

the total proportion of employment compared to the overall employment of the state of Michigan has increased. This is directly proportional to the deliberate place construction of themed place of Frankenmuth and Gaylord compared to Michigan overall.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Themed-tourism landscapes exist for the purpose of promoting capital investment vis-à-vis tourism. In this study, Gaylord and Frankenmuth, Michigan were examined as examples of two tourism communities with “themed” landscapes. The study, used a mixed methodological framework with Gaylord and Frankenmuth, Michigan for analysis of the “themed” places. The objective of this research was to determine the following: (1) How are the cultural landscapes experienced and what practices are employed; (2) What role do spatial practices play in re-creating and re-presenting “themed” landscapes; and (3) If “themed” tourist landscapes reflect the everyday realities of residents and/or their shared histories.

In both cities, the cultural landscapes exist within a multi-block radius in which the participant is subjected to stylized structures that create the themed landscape. In both Gaylord and Frankenmuth, structures were changed or built in order to facilitate this demand in the façade, but sometimes, the construction of the building as a whole. The decision to change the structures was deliberate and, in both Gaylord and Frankenmuth, was a planned endeavor by the community (leaders, businesses, and civic groups) to increase tourism traffic and promote capital investment.

Specific spatial practices are used to re-create and re-present the “themed” landscape. Buildings were changed in shape and design in order to have them re-present the “themed”

landscape. Analysis of the data the themed-tourism landscapes illustrates a focus in gaining capital and tourism traffic to the area, not to highlight the community's heritage. Also, the changes to the structures are present throughout the community and typically are concentrated in the core of the community to showcase the main businesses and attractions. In both Gaylord and Frankenmuth, the everyday realities are not represented in the "themed" landscape.

After the analysis of the SIC and NAICS data was completed, Otsego and Saginaw counties concentrate a great deal more to tourism than compared to the entire state of Michigan. These two tourist communities have made deliberate and calculated changes to the landscape in order to create a stylized environment.

With this in mind, my conclusion is that Frankenmuth, Michigan and Gaylord, Michigan are not accurate representations of place but more stylized versions of place. This is the desired effect of the communities, in order to increase trade and commerce. This is conclusive due to the increasing percentages of employees and payroll that have been accumulating with these two communities, which far exceed the entire state of Michigan's.

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