THE ORDINARY NIAGARA FALLS

by

Michela Janelle Stinson

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Examining Committee Membership

The following served on the Examining Committee for this thesis. The decision of the Examining Committee is by majority vote.

External Examiner	DR. CLIFTON W. EVERS Senior Lecturer in Media and Cultural Studies School of Arts and Cultures Newcastle University
Supervisor	DR. BRYAN S. R. GRIMWOOD Associate Professor Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies Faculty of Health University of Waterloo
Internal Member	DR. HEATHER MAIR Professor Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies Faculty of Health University of Waterloo
Internal Member	DR. KELLEE CATON Adjunct Professor Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies Faculty of Health University of Waterloo
Internal-external Member	DR. CRAIG FORTIER Associate Professor Social Development Studies Renison University College University of Waterloo

Author's Declaration

This thesis consists of material all of which I authored or co-authored: see Statement of Contributions included in the thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

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Statement of Contributions

Michela J. Stinson was the sole author for Chapters 1 and 5 which were written under the supervision of Dr. Bryan Grimwood and were not written for publication.

This thesis consists in part of three manuscripts written for publication. All three manuscripts were sole authored papers.

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This research was conducted at the University of Waterloo by Michela J. Stinson under the supervision of Dr. Bryan Grimwood. The manuscript was written in full by Michela J. Stinson. Dr. Bryan Grimwood provided initial feedback on the manuscript. The manuscript abstract was then submitted to the Tourism Geographies Special Issue on Unsettling Geographies of Tourism. After review by Special Issue Editors a full manuscript submission invitation was offered. Special Issue Editors provided advance reviews of the manuscript, which was then revised and submitted for peer review. Peer reviewers provided additional feedback during the standard review process. This research is published in Tourism Geographies. It is included here under permissions from Taylor & Francis and the Copyright Clearance Centre's RightsLink® service. The citation follows:

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Abstract

When you write about something that lots of people also write about, doing so in a unique and compelling way becomes challenging. I am not aiming to be unique and compelling: I am aiming to talk about the ordinary Niagara Falls.

Tourism is a practice traditionally geared *away* from the ordinary; by virtue of its opposition from everyday life tourism is an act through which we see and do extraordinary things (Urry, 1992). Over time, tourism scholars have complemented and amended these conceptualizations of tourism as a spectacular practice, bringing in more nuanced understandings of tourism as a part of (and not apart from) ordinary life (Larsen, 2008). These orientations include situating the body in tourism (Veijola & Jokinen, 1994), turning toward the mundane and the proximate (Rantala et al., 2020), and positioning tourism as an ordered and assembled performance (Franklin, 2004; van der Duim, 2007). As Niagara Falls, Ontario remains a place dominated by material and discursive spectacle, I am drawn to considering the power of its "ordinary" aspects (Stewart, 2007) in the overall maintenance of its position in the global tourism landscape. Broadly, this dissertation argues that the construction of tourism at Niagara Falls is, indeed, ordinary, achieved not only thorough the larger representational work of advertising and marketing, but through the individual and collective actions of tourists, researchers, residents, and people living with/in and subsequently worldmaking (Hollinshead et al., 2009) with/in Niagara Falls, Ontario. This dissertation also argues that this ordinary work has extraordinary outcomes, and helps to locate tourism as enrolled in the further production of Canadian nationalism, settler colonialism, ruination, and state-sponsored reconciliation in Niagara Falls, Ontario. These are not new arguments, but they are arguments that I believe have urgency in the wake of accelerating climate crisis, global pandemics, and geopolitical conditions that are converging in the changing practices doing of "ordinary" tourism.

The three manuscripts and the bridging materials that make up the body of this dissertation have six refrains (repetitions) and one refraining (aversion).

First, this is a dissertation about **tourism**. "Tourism is about change and movement" (Little, 2020, p. 162). Considering both of these things are unavoidable, I am unavoidably writing about them.

Second, my dissertation centres around the tourism "place" of **Niagara Falls, Ontario**, although the spatiotemporal scope of this place varies from the end of my driveway on a cold night in April of 2020 to the ratification of the Treaty of Niagara in 1764 (and the legal boundaries of the land captured by this agreement). This place—Niagara Falls—is both the object of my obsession as well as my home, workplace, and field of study.

Third, my dissertation attends to matters of **affect**, both in the broad sense of how affect is manufactured and maintained as a collective structure of feeling (often by state powers and for political purposes, i.e., nationalism), and how embodied affective states might lead (or not)

toward new ways of engaging with the world. Both of these things happen in and through tourism in Niagara Falls.

Fourth, my dissertation is concerned with **unsettling** tourism, both as an ethical imperative aligned with Indigenous resurgent and decolonial aims, but also as a disruptive practice toward reforming current settler relations to things like research, ruin, and land. Because I live in Niagara Falls, my unsettling practices are located here.

Fifth, my dissertation affirms the power of **infrastructures** in the material and discursive maintenance of tourism places like Niagara Falls. Here, infrastructures refer to both those physical things that support tourism (i.e., roads, lighting, waterways), and also the methodological tendencies that build our knowledge about tourism places (i.e., actor-network theory).

Sixth, this dissertation is dedicated to **postdisciplinarity,** and the practice of postdisciplinarity in an intentional, responsible way—through an ethical orientation to excess. I bring together work from sound studies, settler colonial studies, affect theory, media studies, and elsewhere to care-fully flood tourism research with other ways of thinking about things.

And finally, this dissertation works alongside Grimwood's (2021) assertion that one of the most important things we might learn as settlers is how to **stop colonizing.** I believe that to refrain from colonizing means settlers like myself must both illuminate hidden colonial formations in our homes and lives, and also work to care for the lands we live and tour with, even when doing so is hard. This dissertation details my attempts to do this work.

Acknowledgements

I have tacked back and forth here with a want to be expansive and a want to be ruthlessly concise. I can never decide these things. There's no purity here, which is something that I will continue to learn. There is ambivalence (inevitable attachment) here too.

To the land
I've lived in a lot of different places while I've been alive. I was born in Winnipeg, Manitoba on Treaty 1 Territory, the traditional lands of Anishinaabeg, Cree, Oji-Cree, Dene, and Dakota peoples, and the Homeland of the Métis nation. I didn't spend much time there before moving south across the American border to Lincoln, Nebraska, where I spent most of my youth. Lincoln is the traditional territory of the diverse Oto, Pawnee, and Oceti-Sakowin-Sioux nations. In the late 1990s my family moved to Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario, the traditional home of the Neutral, Anishinaabeg, and Haudenosaunee peoples, where I remained for almost the next two decades, though I moved countless times from house to house within the bounds of the twin cities.

Kitchener-Waterloo is also home to the University of Waterloo, which I have attended for all three of my degrees. It is institutionally suggested to explain that the University is situated on the Haldimand Tract—the land promised to the Six Nations people in 1784—which includes ten kilometers on each side of the Grand River. The Grand flows south-east from its source near Wareham, Ontario to its mouth near Dunnville on Lake Erie, and is a truly remarkable river, despite its positioning in Kitchener-Waterloo as a runoff facility for factories and not as a central part of the cityscape. The Grand is, however, central to some of my most powerful memories of Kitchener-Waterloo, spanned near Victoria Street by a train bridge that for a long time exclaimed *'Twas Now.* (When?)

As of early 2019, I continue to spend most of my time on the traditional lands of the Anishinaabeg and Haudenosaunee peoples here, where I live now in Niagara Falls, Ontario. The research housed in this dissertation took place on and with this land, and particularly with its enchanting waterfall. I am very much still new to this land, to this place, and so I'm still learning how to care for its complexity. I try to notice the chicory along the sidewalks when I'm running in the late summer, and the flight pattern of the heron that commutes over the city. I spend time when I can with the local creek, jumping into its reversed waters when I have the bravery. I listen for the Falls from my driveway whenever the wind blows the right way. I hope I can continue to rise to the occasion of this care for a very long time.

To my committee (and then some)
Lisbeth: Your absence is felt here, but only in some ways, because your presence in this work is unavoidable. I have such gratitude for the time you were able to give, and admiration as well for your tenacity. Thank you for your many teachings over the years.

Dr. Clifton Evers and Dr. Craig Fortier: I appreciate so much your willingness to be brought along on this (slightly) chaotic journey. Thank you for your time, attention, and capacity when the world we live in means all three of those things are often in short supply.

Heather: I feel so fortunate to have benefited from your care and critique at the bookends of my two graduate degrees as well as the work we have been able to do together sitting on committees and in long meetings. I appreciate your allyship and your support not only with my scholarship, but with so many other institutional complexities, too. Thank you for your true solidarity.

Kellee: Your closeness is not a facet of physical space, but of your proximity to my work felt through care. In this way you've been at the very heart of my writing and my obsession with how to cope with the imperfections of getting attached to things that are hard. Distance is hard, also, and you have made it much less so. Thank you for collapsing spacetime.

Bryan: It is impossible to communicate the effect your mentorship has had on my life. I could not have planned or anticipated any of this, could not have dreamed it up in the most speculative of fictions. Thank you for allowing me grace, for letting me make (endless) mistakes, for trusting me. Thank you for imparting on me a truly unwavering ethic of compassion, of teaching me the value of slowness, stillness, and care. You have been my biggest supporter, a harbinger of the weird, and unafraid to suggest truly chaotic fieldwork practices. (I will always regret having not broken into and slept overnight in the IMAX.) You live out your values in a way that truly has changed my relationship to activism, to work, to scholarship, and to being a human being. Thank you for your patience.

To my family
I think I thanked you, last time, for your support of my unconventional timeline. I know it's not really so unconventional when viewed in context—I have tried to strike a balance between two modes of living, between my father's commitment and passion for research, teaching, and learning (and a life in the academy) and my mother's restless want to travel, to be among and care for the world, and incredulity when things are unjust (and urge to correct said unjustness). I have done both quite imperfectly. Thank you for letting me be who I am.

To the RLS academic community
You are my people, theoretically and otherwise. We were robbed of what that could have meant due to pandemics and circumstance and we made it work despite such things. There are too many of you to name; know you are included. Thank you for undergirding absolutely everything I have learned these past few years. Thank you for your care in chaos, for your theoretical jabs, and for lunch on the banks of the Ottawa Canal. Thank you all for fielding my text-based and in-person crises, beers, walks, rants, and institutional frustrations. Thank you for your foundational teachings. Thank you for allowing (and encouraging) me to be institutionally annoying.

Mawutor: Thank you for the work of your hope.

John: Thank you for doing your own thing.

Luke: Thank you for your inspirational curiosity (and for the text chat that led to Chapter 2).

Chris: Thank you for being so very steadfast.

R: Thank you for your (endless) witnessing.

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[1] Photos included in figures are my own images, unless indicated otherwise.

Quote

And the real wonder of the world
Is that we don't jump too

Daredevil, The Tragically Hip

Chapter 1: The ordinary Niagara Falls

1.1 Niagara Falls

There are two cities called Niagara Falls—one in Ontario, Canada, and one in New York, in the United States of America. Niagara Falls is also a grouping of three waterfalls; the so-called "Niagara Falls" of Canada—the large, curved waterfall—is actually called Horseshoe Falls and is accompanied in America by the American Falls and the much lesser-known Bridal Veil Falls. The region (and its corresponding Provincial Regional Tourism Organization) is also named for Niagara, although its boundaries stretch far beyond the Falls. Niagara means many things to many people and is named as such, its name carrying a heavy burden of thunder, anatomy, or a general description of the land[2], depending on which language you wish to mark it with.

When I tell people I live in the city of Niagara Falls most of them look surprised, as if they never considered that people actually live here; as if they never considered the city wasn't just a waterfall and a handful of souvenir shops. Lots of people do live here, of course, and have for a long time. People live here, and get married here (not just in honeymoon hotels). People go to school here, open businesses here. And the lived everyday of tourism in Niagara Falls—the business of doing ordinary life in a place of spectacle—is what makes it so extraordinary. I'm not the first person to suggest this—Alex Soth does, in his photography book *Niagara,* where he details not necessarily the spectacle of the landscape, but that of human desire. And Jesse Wong does too, in his Master's thesis *Niagara Prospects,* a sweet accounting and assembling of motels and the ache of a downtown never-realized. But I never tire of seeing the looks of surprise, never tire of having to respond with a quick laugh, because then I get to explain just the smallest bit about what Niagara Falls is, and tell some of its many ordinary (and extraordinary) stories.

1.1.1 The extra-ordinary Niagara Falls

Niagara Falls is an empty parking lot and a broken signpost. It's a firework of pamphlets left on the ground, all guiding you to the CN-Tower lookalike observation structure that stands next to the river. Niagara Falls is a string of motels and a laceration of canals and a honeymoon hashtag. It's a cheap date and a 10% tip at the Kelsey's on Clifton Hill. Niagara Falls is a YouTube video of an abandoned IMAX theatre interspersed with advertisements for waterparks and casinos. It's a cancelled drone show and a two-hour backup to cross the American border. It's a semi-secret country-western concert in the back lot of an ATV facility, a straight shot through the still-contaminated land of the former Cyanamid plant. Niagara Falls is a burned-down pizza place and a raised eyebrow about insurance money. It's a heart-shaped bathtub (Image 1.1). It's a whale graveyard and a wax museum (and a war graveyard, too). Niagara Falls is the mist and the dust and the Highway 420. It's sleepy and strange, half suburb half slot machine. Niagara Falls is the deep rumble of the world's most famous waterfall reaching all the way to your house.

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[2] Niagara Falls is called *Oniahkarà:k* (Kanein'kéha [Mohawk]) for The Nape and *Kahkejewung* (Ojibwa) for The Water Falls. I learned these names from The Great Niagara Escarpment Indigenous Cultural Map (n.d.). It is also frequently called called *Onguiaahra,* which is accompanied by various translations online ranging from "The Strait," "The Neck," "Near the Big Waters," or "Thundering Waters."

Image 1.1: Heart-shaped bathtub.

I could start here with Ginger Strand (2008), who writes of Niagara that "[o]n every level, Niagara Falls is a monument to the ways America falsifies its relationship to nature, reshaping its contours, redirecting its force, claiming to submit to its will while imposing our own upon it" (p. 6). Strand (2008) is a bit like me when it comes to the Falls (although American): she's obsessed with them, with their stories and contradictions, with the slippages between truth and fiction, with the cascade of material and discursive constructions and reinventions (of nationalism, of nature) churned up in the foam.

I could also start here with Father Hennepin, as most people do, because he was allegedly the first white man to overlook Horseshoe Falls in the late 1600s (Page, 1876). Hennepin later recounted that "[t]he waters which fall from this horrible precipice do foam and boil after the most hideous manner imaginable, making an outrageous noise, more terrible than that of thunder, for when the wind blows out of the south their dismal roaring may be heard more than fifteen leagues off" (Page, 1876, as cited in Mutrie, n.d.). The natural accompaniment to Hennepin's terror is the flippancy of Oscar Wilde (1883) (who was famously critical of the Falls) expressing "[the] sight of the stupendous waterfall must be one of the earliest, if not the keenest, disappointments in American married life" (n.p.).

I could start here instead with some iconography and pop-culture: Marilyn Monroe's famous film *Niagara,* or Canadian historian Pierre Berton's similarly-named book on the subject. I could direct you to the long-running *Niagara: Miracles, Myths and Magic*, the most-watched IMAX movie in Canada—now screening daily at the Greg Frewin theatre—or even the tourism-critical short film made by a bunch of Toronto Metropolitan University media students that the city's

mayor demanded an apology for. I could bring back my reflections on Alex Soth's work, or on Jesse Wong's not-read-nearly-enough Master's thesis. I could get you to read one of BlogTO's many snarky articles about how Niagara Falls is the worst tourist trap in the world or a Reddit thread about how the city's gone to pot, that it's nothing but boarded up houses and tourist tax on your (undercooked) Hooters Wings. I could get you to close your eyes and picture Niagara Falls, and you could probably do it. (Can you?)

But I will instead start with the ordinary things. I will tell you about the time I went to what was later deemed the worst bar in the area[3] and the bartender described to me the beer on tap as being "like motor oil." I will detail for you the smell of the air near Clifton Hill, the tourist epicentre of the city—it smells like Shreddies, like unburnt fuel. I will explain that the Shreddies factory is not only one block from Clifton Hill, but is also next to the now-abandoned Russian-owned *International Sand Sculptures Exhibition*[4] in the city's former hockey rink. I will admit that my latest obsession is with the never-built Maharishi Veda Land, a transcendental-meditation themed theme-park backed by Canadian magician Doug Henning[5], which if it were built would have sat proximate to a beautiful canoe route just outside of the city. I will tell you that people still do go over the Falls (some in barrels) but few of them survive. I will tell you that most people who live here give you directions by referencing landmarks and buildings that no longer exist. I will tell you about how much I love it here, about how it is *easy* to love it here, about how I adore the kitsch of the dinosaur-themed mini golf, about how the creeks are perfect for floating and the Falls themselves are everything people say they are (and more). I will tell you about the extra-ordinary parts of Niagara Falls, because they're the extraordinary parts of Niagara Falls.

This dissertation is about all of these things.

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[3] Despite Isador's (2019) claims, The Blue Lagoon is far from the worst bar in the city. His 2019 Vice article is written with the tone of someone who has a chip on their shoulder about their hometown (and who has also never been to a truly terrible bar).

[4] The sand sculptures are still there, although the interior of the building has degraded substantially since it closed in 2014, less than a year after it opened (Talking Walls Photography, 2020).

[5] It also included a university (Roy, 2022).

[SOLITUDE: A pandemic PhD]

This is an aside, but it's important to get it out of the way: I completed most of my PhD requirements and wrote the bulk of my dissertation in a timeline wrought with COVID-19. Due to so many factors outside of my control (and indeed outside of the collective control), I spent a great deal of this pandemic timeline deeply, deeply solitary. This solitude didn't emerge solely from being thrust into work-from-home in those weird days of March 2020, but from the fact that so many of us had vastly different pandemics; my aloneness came as a result of the condition of accelerationist capitalism that forced many people close to me to continue going to work in person in a world that cared very little about their safety. I was able to stay home, "stay safe" (Image 1.2); many people in my life were not. This meant my research was different than I expected it to be, for longer than I expected it to take.

Image 1.2: "Stay safe."

Consequently, you will notice that despite positioning as a social scientist, the "social" in my work remains implied: there are no interviews, there is little participant observation, there are no engagements with people in any kind of formal sense, despite having ethics clearance that would allow for such things (see Appendices i-v). On the surface this is an interesting predicament for a social scientist (and decidedly embodied materialist), but in truth it allowed for an experimental engagement with the endless archive of already-there data that is present without my prompting (i.e., without me asking questions to a stranger in a bar) (see Chapters 2 and 3). It also allowed for a level of experimentation, excess, and engagement with an "absent" tourism that might not

have been possible otherwise (see Chapter 4). The "absent social" of my work is only absent if viewed from the position of a traditional, colonial, extractive, and methods-minding dissertation (Frenette, 2023; Kuntz, 2015) (see also the section on SILENCE). This is never something I wanted (and I never did like "the view from up there"). The social archive of Niagara Falls is immense, is ongoing, and is documented across traditional media, social media, advertising, infrastructure, political choice, and the felt quality of place. It is also very present.

This dissertation is different than I expected it to be[6]. I assume many people would say that is the case for all dissertations, and I'll allow that. It doesn't make it less true for this one.

[6] "My vision for this [dissertation] was something that never happened. I guess in some ways it's extremely apt—vision fails me (fails us) often. In this vision, the [document] was not just endless blocks of text, but was interspersed and woven with images, videos, audio files, and other multi-media interventions carefully curated to emplace this [work] in the proximate, ordinary mess of Niagara Falls. This didn't happen: it might not be useful at this stage, and I'm too tired. Since the original writing of [my proposal] document in [2021] my work and world have been disrupted, and I'm still carefully attuning to a new (strange) pace and way of living. Predominantly, this has meant learning to work in and with new capacities, new timelines. Again. This reads like an apology. It's not. It's just a footnote" (Stinson, 2021, p. 51).

1.2 Ordering tourism in Niagara Falls

I inevitably end up returning to Jasen (1995) with some consistency when I introduce Niagara Falls, as she succinctly marks it as the place that tourism began in North America. As a stop on the North American version of the Grand Tour, for many people Niagara Falls traditionally represented (and still represents) a "true encounter" with the sublime and the spectacle, a place where one might be transported to another realm beyond human experience and consciousness (Jasen, 1995). Niagara Falls is also the perfect place to practice one's original tourist gaze (Urry, 1992) as the city is set up to fix tourist sights on its sublime (i.e., the Falls) and its spectacle (i.e., the tourist carnival zone known as Clifton Hill). The Falls, of course, are the main attraction, and they are truly incredible; there is no point in saying otherwise. The experience of being at Niagara Falls is often said to be religious, humbling, and transcendent; there is a decided gravitational pull to their emerald curvature. Upheld by hundreds of years of historical, public, travel, and media writing about the city and its tourist contents, representations of the Falls are emblazoned on postcards, keychains, ball caps, T-shirts, stuffed animals, even Coke machines (Wong, 2009). They represent honeymoons and daredevils and encounters with an all-powerful nature, whether those encounters be tinged with connectivity or conquering (Goeman, 2020; Macfarlane, 2021). And so the Falls are meant not only to be seen but do be "done" (Dubinsky, 1994) through an array of activities that get tourists up close and personal (to connect with, to conquer) the most "commercialized of the globe's tourist waterfalls" (Macfarlane, 2021, p. 4). As of the most recent publicly-released economic profile, almost 13 million people "do" Niagara Falls, Ontario each year, spending almost 2.4 billion dollars annually before the COVID-19 pandemic (Niagara Canada, 2019).

But this is not the full story.

1.2.1 Storying the sublime spectacle

The underpinnings of encounter with Niagara Falls are not just limited to the sublime and the spectacular (and their related iconographies); they are entangled with persistent *grand narratives* that operate both discursively (i.e. as modes of power) and ideologically (i.e. as systems of beliefs) (Cameron, 2012). These types of narratives are paramount in driving travel and tourism to new places via a persistent exotification (Lofgren, 2002), and are part of what help Niagara Falls remain a relatively diverse tourism destination, with attractions ranging from sightseeing, to wax museums, to casinos, to local nature areas, to war monuments, to strip clubs, to wineries, to cultural sites, to amusements (and many other things). Grand narratives of leisure (of which tourism is a part) also generally link leisure to capital and wealth, particularly after the industrial revolution wherein the newly-minted "leisure class" was defined through goodness, purity, civility, self-actualization, and self-fulfillment (Roberts, 2018). Tourism is thus underwritten with discourse of the good life (and its leisure) in a way that is inescapable, even when grand narratives that propel it are further woven with nationalism, war, politics, and failed romance. But we will get to all these things in due time.

First, we have to tell *stories* about tourism. Cameron (2015) ultimately argues that "stories are material, relational practices through which we order our relations with each other and with the

land" (p. 11). In this sense, grand narratives of spectacle and exotification are not solely representative, but have real, enmeshed, practical, and material effects on the worlds they constitute (and in which they are constituted)—they are modalities of intervention and means of relation (Cameron, 2015). But stories are not only grand narratives: they are "small," too (Cameron, 2012). They are part of the promises we make to ourselves about why we do tourism, what we're going to encounter on our far-flung travels. They are how we share our experiences upon our return, what we cast off to our friends and families to allow them, then, to tell their own stories. Their smallness doesn't make them any less powerful; stories are a fundamental way of making meaning in the world, not only in research contexts but in life, broadly (Bruner, 1987; Rosiek & Snyder, 2020; Cameron, 2012). Stories are lived and real and transformative. Stories are ways of making worlds.

And so storying in tourism is also linked to the process of *worldmaking*. Hollinshead[7] advanced the terminology of worldmaking in tourism to denote "the creative and collaborative, imaginative and materially practiced processes in tourism through which features of the world, including people, places, and practices, are essentialized, naturalized, normalized, celebrated, elided, or overwritten" (Caton, 2013, p. 342). Worldmaking is a redeployment of a term coined by Nelson Goodman, which Hollinshead rejuvenated to attend to tourism's declarative capacity (Hollinshead, 2016). Processes of worldmaking are based on an epistemic engagement that traverses the past, present, and future of our imaginings, experiences, and memories; they are a collective and collaborative process that nevertheless is partially rooted in the knowings of individual people (Caton, 2013). Worldmaking reveals how and where tourism does not just mirror "how the world is" but un/consciously operates to produce the world socially and materially (Hollinshead, 2016, p. 1028). As Hollinshead (2009) contends, worldmaking situates the tourist as a narrated subject with/in a tourist imaginary—a language-constituted world intertwined with the material world through embodied, performative capacities. But as the power in making tourism places often lands with those who have the power to control their narrative representations (i.e., both material infrastructure like signage and discursive infrastructure via policy), this ultimately affects what stories people tell about tourism places (Hollinshead et al., 2009). Here, grand narratives about and representations of Niagara Falls, Ontario (or Canada broadly) continually collide with its small stories in a constant mess of sociomaterial worlds.

By now it is probably clear that I have a soft spot for (and an interest in) stories. I always have. Lots of people do. I (like many others) am interested in how stories work in tourism: where they come from, who tells them, how they're told, what they enable or disable, and how they might be used to do otherwise (Grimwood et al., 2019b; Stinson et al., 2020). How they make worlds. Attention to the relationship between tourism and storying is by now well documented, whether

[7] My gratitude here to Dr. Keith Hollinshead, self-described "on-screen nuisance," and persistent champion of infusing the field of tourism studies with more sophisticated theorization (not to mention abundant taxonomies and terminologies with which to theorize). I was fortunate enough to meet Keith in Spain in the summer of 2022, and to benefit from his wisdom in reading his (vast) catalogue of papers (and some coloured pamphlets!). Both myself and the field of critical tourism studies broadly are indebted to him, his scholarship, his care, and his mentorship. In our first email exchange he wished me "good luck taming the niagara falls!" which I read as bearing a very apt ambivalent tone of jest and sincerity. He completely had my number right from the start; he is sorely missed.

storying is conceptualized in part as tourism discourse (Walter, 2021), worldmaking processes (Mair, 2009), object of analysis (Bosangit et al., 2015; Chronis, 2012; Rickly, 2010), analysis itself (Benali & Ren, 2019), or representation (Grimwood et al., 2019a). And it is useful here to also return to Haraway's (2016) assertion that it matters which stories story stories, something that I've also learned from and with my narrative work documented in Grimwood et al. (2019b) and Stinson et al. (2020). When it comes to Niagara Falls, I am interested in shattering the conception of Niagara's stories as "more wonderful than the place itself" (Jasen, 1995, p. 45), with a goal to instead *relate* these narratives as a facet of a Niagara Falls allowed to linger in its own (extra)ordinary formations. Instead of refusing "the unstable relationship between tourism and reality," (Jasen, 1995, p. 51) I aim to allow the practice of storying to reveal how this relation actively and furiously makes worlds, drawing the fantasmatics of Niagara Falls into its simultaneously banal rhythms (Hollinshead & Caton, 2017).

And so it is worth saying that even with these aims, I do not write about narrative or storying explicitly in any of the chapters that appear in this dissertation. I am not practicing narrative analysis or positioning stories as the explicit object of study, but engaging with them in grand and small ways if and when they show up in varying forms in my work. I also include this discussion on storying because storying informs how I approach things in the world, ordinarily. Storying is the way that I make sense of the world, and this tendency shows up in the form, object, method, representation, and analytic choices of my research with and on tourism in Niagara Falls. It is my ordinary way of ordering my work.

1.2.2 Tourism?

But this is also a dissertation about tourism.

I was fortunate enough to teach an undergraduate course called "Introduction to Tourism" last winter, and doubly fortunate to have the opportunity to reprise it this winter. The irony here is that despite teaching this course and undergirding all of my scholarship in tourism studies and in the critical tourism tradition, it is sometimes that simplest questions that trip me up the most, particularly definitions of complex things like tourism. I find myself in good company with Little (2020), who writes that "tourism is about change and movement" (p. 162) and "tourism remains uncaptured by defined concepts" (p. 167). Struggling to explain *tourism* to a class full of only semi-interested second years, I am indebted to these versions of tourism (among others) which emphasize tourism's ordering (Franklin, 2004), its assembling (van der Duim et al., 2017), and its excessive and unruly—yet deeply ordinary—emergence in places like Niagara Falls, Ontario. Ordering has to do with what tourism is and how it comes together, and this ontological process is never quite the same.

While it is popular now to recognize that the ontological purification of tourism and everyday life is manufactured (and that the tourist gaze is also embodied, situated, and felt) many people are still socialized to simply think of tourism as a "somewhere else," a spectacular place "away" where one can see things far from the ordinary (Caton, 2013; Larsen, 2008). As I've mentioned, the tourist gaze is only part of this, as spaces of tourism like Niagara Falls that are storied

through powerful grand narratives are still seen a categorically separate and unfamiliar, spaces where we might experience "difference," mystery, and "primitive danger" (Jasen, 1995) or a desire for a paradoxical "elsewhere" (Fullagar, 2002). People travel to escape the mundane, the plodding of their everyday lives, or to relieve themselves of alienation and nomadism (Veijola & Jokinen, 1994). This means that this separation and purification of "ordinary and extraordinary" persists (though always-already a fabrication) even with explicit trends integrating tourist and non-tourist commercial developments into contrived liminal spaces (Britton, 1991) (and often even when tourist sites focus on the smaller, more mundane local histories). Tourism is consequently *not* often about the ordinary, even when we researchers pointedly try to say that it is or make it so.

Maybe.

1.2.3 Ordering the ordinary

I opened this dissertation with an accounting of the ordinary because of Kathleen Stewart (2007). On the very first page of her book *Ordinary Affects* she writes what I carry with me as both a definition and an intention toward speaking with and about the ordinary: "[t]he ordinary is a shifting assemblage of practices and practical knowledges, a scene of both liveness and exhaustion, a dream of escape or of the simple life" (Stewart, 2007, p. 1). Here, in this densely-packed sentence, Stewart (2007) reveals the imbrication of tourism, ruination, infrastructuring, unsettling, affect, and other concerns marked in this dissertation (even without naming them as such). Here, in sentences that precede this one, she marks the ordinary as the perpetuation of the forces that inhabit and resound within "the well known picture of the world" (Stewart, 2007, p. 1), and its violent and mundane structures and processes. I read in this sentence (and in *the ordinary* as a terminology) a tension of action and resignation, wherein ordinary things are both mundane things that happen *and* things that coalesce, surge, uphold, disrupt, and point toward truly extra-ordinary and complex things that are well beyond daily consideration or thought. The ordinary is what we—all of us—do in our daily lives; this is also tourism.

And so I remain curious: What is ordinary when you live in the mass tourism destination of Niagara Falls? When you can hear the Falls from your driveway at night? How do you live-and-do-tourism with a very loud waterfall? How are ordinary things (stories, affects, objects) used to structure, assemble, and maintain other, more extra-ordinary things (i.e., tourism)? How are ordinary things (stories, affects, objects) enrolled in the structuring, assembling, and maintenance of tourism *also* things that further undergird structures of settler colonialism and processes of capitalist ruination? How might different relations with ordinary things (stories, affects, objects) unsettle some of these violent formations and processes?

The original aim of this dissertation[8] was to prompt and invite an excess of proximities, affects, and sensibilities for Niagara Falls tourism in an age of political, environmental, and viral precarity. While I left behind the concerted sonic focus detailed in the footnote below, much of this original aim still lingers. The aim of this dissertation, as it stands, is to consider the power of the ordinary aspects (Stewart, 2007) of Niagara Falls in the overall maintenance of its position in the global tourism landscape. This dissertation argues that the construction of tourism at Niagara Falls is, indeed, ordinary, achieved not only thorough the larger representational work of advertising and marketing, but through the individual and collective actions of tourists, researchers, residents, and people living with/in and subsequently worldmaking (Hollinshead et al., 2009) with/in Niagara Falls, Ontario. This dissertation also argues that this ordinary work has both extra-ordinary and extraordinary outcomes, and helps to locate tourism as enrolled in the further production and infrastructuring of Canadian nationalism, settler colonialism, ruination, and state-sponsored reconciliation in Niagara Falls, Ontario. These are not new arguments, but they are arguments that I believe have urgency in the wake of accelerating climate crisis, global pandemics, and geopolitical conditions that are converging in the changing practices doing of "ordinary" tourism.

[8] "The purpose of this research is to prompt and invite an excess of proximities, affects, and sensibilities for Niagara Falls tourism in an age of political, environmental, and viral precarity. Niagara Falls has long been emblematic of a distinct Canadian nationalism—a spectacle—represented and made through the 'harnessing of nature's power' for both tourism and industry (Helleiner, 2009; Macfarlane, 2021). This particular narrative is confounded by proximity to America, a disjoint in Niagara Falls' tourism/non-tourism sectors, and a highly-curated veneer of tourism spectacle and worldmaking. I am eager to be swept up in what might happen to tourism in Niagara Falls (and beyond) if we subvert this tendency toward ocularcentrism and its related stories, gazes, and materials through a particular attention to the ontological, theoretical, and methodological capacities of sound. In this work, I plan to think through ways of doing tourism and research in Niagara Falls that are relational, proximate, embodied, and otherwise—disrupting the ebbs and flows of personal and national politics, considering its mundane and quiet capacities, and working in the tensions of its sounds and spectacles. This tracing-and-making alternatives is located in practices of *situated curiosity* (Loveless, 2019) that make dis/harmony with critical proximity (Jóhanesson et al., 2018), actor-network theories (Law, 2004), and experimental, interventionist research practices. Ultimately, I want to ask how lingering with the sonic might lead to abundant, unsettling, and resonant possibilities for Niagara Falls, its residents, and tourism theory and practice broadly" (Stinson, 2021, p. 4).

1.3 Infrastructures of tourism: Canadian nationalism, settler colonialism, capitalist ruination

Tourism has long been maintained by and also used to maintain sentiments of nationalism, structures of settler colonialism, and processes of capitalist ruination. This maintenance is also evident in Niagara Falls, Ontario, a city made not only in its own image but as a representation and essentialized location of Canada as a whole. This is another one of the Falls' grand narratives: it is a discursive and ideological nexus (Cameron, 2012) of Canada's natural and economic power, a power fully premised on continual access to land as part of the ongoing and historic process of "colonial-capital accumulation in Canada" (Coulthard, 2014, p. 12). The interrelation of land usurping, nation-making, and value extraction is key to understanding the ordinary infrastructuring of tourism in Niagara Falls, and the further use of tourism to make said nationalist sentiments, settler colonial structures, and capitalist processes "ordinary."

1.3.1 Canadian nationalism

"Nations are collective identities" (Humelbaek, 2018, p. 1) that are constructed by drawing physical and discursive borders, separating a so-called "us" from "them" via *nationalism.* Often, this separation occurs to legitimize a nation-state or a country (like Canada), but can be regionalized or disparate (i.e., without physical bordering). The creation and maintenance of nations (and nationalism) is constructed, in part, through stories about these collectives (Humelbaek, 2018), often further contextualized through claims about territory, experiences of linear and progressive time, and the creation of particular traditions (Stephens, 2016). Canadian nationalism (and Canadian identity) is often the subject of much public jest and debate, as "being Canadian" is frequently constructed as "not being American" (Helleiner, 2009). Along with sentiments that Canadians are nice, that the nation itself is one of peacemakers, and that the country itself is a bastion of multiculturalism, Canadian nationalism relies on romantic sentiments of nature and of extraction from Indigenous peoples to preserve Canada's image as a harmonious, demure, and tolerant nation (Erickson, 2013). Indeed, Canadian economic power has long been linked with the availability and bounty of natural resources accessed via land dispossession (Stinson & Lunstrum, 2021), cumulating in both a heavy focus on material extraction industries like logging/forestry, mining, fishing, or petroleum, and on more abstract (but still very material) extraction industries like tourism. These industries are subsequently seen as point of national pride, and are enrolled in the production of further stories about what it means to be Canadian.

Niagara Falls, Ontario provides an exemplary case of storied, claimed, temporal, and traditionally-constructed Canadian nationalism. First, the Canadian city hosts a national border shared with the United States of America (complete with a twinned city with the same name). The presence of the US-Canada border presents the most obvious example of "borderline nationalism" (Helleiner, 2009, p. 9), as many residents in and tourists to Niagara Falls are constantly presented with the physical infrastructure that differentiates the aforementioned so-called "us from them." Territory, then, is literal, but also relates to Canada "having" the "better waterfall," as evidenced by the better views of Horseshoe Falls from Canada, and thus by the stronger tourist industry (comparatively) (Hellenier, 2009). Second, Niagara Falls has a history

that is entangled not only with cultural progress—the War of 1812 as the "founding" of Canada—but also with the most technologically and socially advanced hydropower at the Falls being "Canadian" (Macfarlane, 2021). Indeed, Canada was first past the post with much of the early large-scale and free public distribution of electricity at Niagara (Macfarlane, 2021), which ultimately enabled the colonization and expansion of settlement further west across the land. Finally, Niagara Falls also bolsters relational and unifying markers of tradition and belonging among its locals and tourists (Stevie, 2005), as it is both a gathering place for celebratory Canadiana (i.e., on Canada Day itself) and also enrols these celebrations into its ordinary aspects through firework displays like the Falls Firework Series and the lighting of the Falls by the Niagara Falls Illumination Board. Via these practices and others, Niagara Falls becomes enrolled in nationalist sentiments and the perpetuation of certain ideas of what it means to be Canadian. The authority of local, provincial, and even national governments is further exemplified and strengthened in Niagara Falls by the "taming," management, and ultimate rationalization of natural resources (like the Falls themselves) (Macfarlane, 2021; Steinberg & Kristofferson, 2019). Accordingly, the (mis)management of natural and cultural resources is often a point of differentiation and national pride (or shame) between the respective residents of the American and Canadian Niagara Falls cities, with varying perspectives on which country has done the "better job" (Stevie, 2005). This extends not only to the complex histories of the access, development, and distribution of public and private utilities evidenced in the hydroelectric histories of the Falls (Macfarlane, 2021) and the industrial development along both sides of the river (Mah, 2012) but also in the comparatives of the tourist industries themselves (Helleiner, 2009).

But because nationalist sentiments are part of the "everyday" experience of Niagara Falls, they also become quite ordinary. It is ordinary for residents of the city to cross the border to get cheaper gas, to reiterate their national affiliation via showing their passports; it is ordinary for those working in the tourist service industry to be faced with allegedly "rude" Americans trying to pay in their foreign currency (Helleiner, 2009). Marks of so-called Canadianness are frequent, and are used in mundane ways to represent a growing number of complex affiliations—it is more common than ever, recently, to see vehicles emblazoned with Canadian flags (although the use of this specific symbol has been called into complex affiliation and orientation in the years since the COVID-19 pandemic). Reminders of who is (or is not) and what it means to be Canadian (or not) are everywhere. In turn, this ordinariness is layered onto a historiography of very present (yet oft ignored) nationalist (and settler colonial) history, still immensely visible in even the mundane physical infrastructure of the city. There is a path that parallels the hydro corridor in the city that is named the Canada 150 Pathway, installed in reference for the 150th Anniversary of the Confederation of Canada; the corridor itself, of course, contextualized with sentiments of hydronationalism (Macfarlane, 2021). Drummond Hill Cemetery carries not only the grave of 1812 war hero Laura Secord[9], but is also proximate to a gigantic arch spanning the street, marking the location of the Lundy's Lane Battlefield (another War of 1812 signifier). Of course,

[9] Secord is known for walking twenty miles to warn British (Canadian) forces of an upcoming attack by American troops. As a Canadian raised in America, this story was heavily imparted onto me once returning to Canada, after a few too many questions about the ice cream store named for the Canadian heroine.

it is not in any way strange for cities to memorialize or commemorate their histories; I note these things only to express that the construction of nationalism in Niagara Falls remains not only extraordinary, but ordinary, too. Ordinary settlers like me inherit the histories of their families—and institutions, places, and cultures—even while those ordinary histories are built on legacies of dispossession, violence, stolen land, disease, and strife (Shotwell, 2019). Ordinary settlers like me live on and near places that remind them, constantly, of their (non-relational) claim to Niagara Falls. And so Canadian nationalism is also deeply reliant on the extant structure of settler colonialism emplaced in Canada (and in Niagara Falls).

1.3.2 Settler colonialism

As I alluded to before, access to the material and discursive extraction of such plentiful natural resources could not exist without the ultimate dispossession and elimination of Indigenous peoples in Canada in the first place. Indeed, resource extraction requires land, and so *settler colonialism* is at its core about access to land. Wolfe (2006) is consistently cited with his definitive description of settler colonialism as a structure, not an event, and here I will be no different. Naming settler colonialism as a structure renders it not as a thing that "happened" in times past, but as a sedimented formation premised on a logic of elimination, which requires the (permanent) removal of Indigenous peoples as one of its organizing principles (Wolfe, 2006). The Wolfe-an Model (as Englert [2020]) calls it, is thus simplified as ongoing, eliminatory, and structural. In Canada, this "structured dispossession" of land maintains formations of gendered, racial, and economic state power that *becomes* the stage for emergent relations of capitalist accumulation and resource extraction (Coulthard, 2014, p. 7). Settler colonialism is immensely harmful and deeply violent, resulting in untold generational trauma for Indigenous peoples via the theft and removals of Indigenous children through both the residential school system and child welfare policies; displacement of Indigenous peoples from their lands and communities; ongoing legacies of Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls; racist governmental policies that result in lack of infrastructure, safe housing, and food affordability on many reservations; and many other structural and governmental processes of disenfranchisement, dispossession, and dehumanization.

And so the reality of settler colonialism is far from simple and even farther from benign, although its pervasive and insidious character often renders it an ordinary part of what undergirds Canadian life. From the inherent subjugation of the Doctrine of Discovery (which undermined both Indigenous sovereignty and long-standing Indigenous legal systems) (Manuel & Derrickson, 2015), to the Indian Act of 1876 (which resulted in the idea of Indian "Status"), to modern politics of liberal multiculturalism that have shifted the Canadian state's relationship to Indigenous peoples from one of assimilation to one of recognition, Canadian laws, politics, and tactics continue largely to deny Indigenous governance and sovereignty (Coulthard, 2014). This denial is complicated by recent Canadian government efforts toward *reconciliation* which focus on truth-telling, recognition, acknowledgement, and commemoration as evidenced by the 2007 establishment of the Commission for Truth and Reconciliation (TRC) enacted in order to establish and maintain mutually-respectful and productive relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Canada (TRC, 2015). After six years of hearing and documenting the

stories of Indigenous people across Canada on the subject of residential schools, the Commission released a six-volume report alongside ninety-four calls to action in 2015 (TRC, 2015). Starting in 2019, the Yellowhead Institute has put out a briefing on Calls to Action Accountability, tracking the progress of governments and other called-upon organizations to respond to the ninety-four Calls to Action outlined by the TRC. In their December 2022 report, they note that "[t]wo Calls to Action were completed in 2022. In total, 13 Calls have been completed. At this rate, it will take 42 years, or until 2065, to complete all the Calls to Action" (Jewell & Mosby, 2022, p. 5). Despite the very clear and direct Calls of the TRC, many of the Calls that require structural change (or those that would enable said structural change) remain unfulfilled (Jewell & Mosby, 2022).

In the years since the TRC, local, regional, and provincial governments in Niagara have worked to incorporate commemoration, acknowledgement, and recognition related to the violent legacies of the residential school system (e.g., Niagara Parks marking the National Day for Truth and Reconciliation) and the participation of Six Nations allies in the War of 1812 (e.g., the installation of the Landscape of Nations Memorial in the Queenston Heights area of Niagara Parks; the Friends of Laura Secord installing the First Nations Peace Monument in Thorold, Ontario). Some of these (e.g., the First Nations Peace Monument) come as a direct response to or a result of the TRC's 94 Calls to Action. Additionally, Niagara Falls Tourism has a webpage dedicated to Indigenous history and Niagara Parks now routinely incorporates Indigenous perspectives and educational foci[10]. Most of these initiatives are in some way connected to Landscape of Nations 360° Incorporated—an Ontario not-for-profit that emerged from the development and installation of the same-named memorial mentioned above—who have also run educational conferences, curated museum exhibits, and developed online mapping tools, all related to acknowledging the presence and contributions of Indigenous peoples to the Niagara area (LoN, n.d.).

And so there is still a rift between recognition-based reconciliation as a Canadian governmental mandate and reconciliation as an aspect of the unsettling project aligned with broader politics of Indigenous resurgence, decolonization, and land repatriation (Stinson et al., 2022). This tension has much to do with the Canadian state retaining the "authority" over deciding the scope and tone of what reconciliation might entail, a positioning that has resulted in many Indigenous peoples believing that governmental reconciliation is dead, and thus any reconciliatory action must start in and be practiced through ordinary, everyday life (Campbell, 2020). While individuals settlers might not have much say over the governmental response to or the enactment of the Calls to Action located by the TRC (in the sense that there is a concerted power differential between individuals and governments, even democratic representative governments), we can follow Erica Lee in believing that "reconciliation is the recognition of the past and that

[10] Though I don't have documentation of this change, the amount of Indigenous content on Niagara Parks' website has increased markedly in the past 3-4 years. Their page "Explore the Niagara" is a great example of the new tone of content, featuring five categories which one can explore: Nation Building, Indigenous, Nature, Black History, and Active Living (Niagara Parks, 2023). Niagara Parks has also installed a number of interpretive panels featuring Indigenous content along the Niagara Parkway (some in proximity to the Falls).

the future we might have wanted can never be. It is, in other words, a rejection of the authority of the nation to establish the future" (as cited in Erickson, 2020, p. 124). Settlers can also work to develop an ethic of reconciliation, positioned as "becoming accountable to our complicity in settler colonization and responsible for working against it materially and discursively in all aspects of our lives" (Stinson et al., 2022, p. 3). This, of course, includes tourism.

As someone dedicated to supporting the project of decolonization and Indigenous resurgence, my research in tourism is thus geared toward this *unsettling*[11] of settler colonialism in and through tourism, particularly through interrogating the objects, stories, and feelings that uphold it (and that it upholds)[12]. This includes illuminating selective-telling or revealing the obscuring of stories that work against the Canadian settler colonial nation-state, especially those which secure a certain type of curated local narrativizing and marketing that is all the more powerful in tourism contexts (Walter, 2021; Grimwood et al., 2019a). This frequently includes refuting discourses of *terra nullius*—wherein Canada is said to have been comprised of empty lands—as well as other nationalist sentiments and stories entangled with Canadian settler identity (like that Canada is a nation of peacemakers) but also includes the telling of new stories that work against dominant colonizing narratives (Grimwood et al., 2019b). But unsettling also includes interrogating the material and atmospheric practices via which tourism worlds are literally and metaphorically created (see Chapter 2 and Chapter 3), via questioning the construction of both normalized national affective practices (Stephens, 2016) and also the use of bureaucratic mechanisms and objects that turn land into property. It also includes considering the ways that settlers (and settler researchers) might be a part of the disquieting of settler colonialism via turning toward unsettling methodologies broadly (see Chapter 4). Accordingly, unsettling broadly operates to refute what Rifkin (2013) calls *settler common sense,* working alongside his call that "we may need to shift […] toward an exploration of the processes through which settler geographies are lived as ordinary, non-reflexive conditions of possibility" (p. 323). In short, unsettling means accounting for and working against the ordinary maintenance of settler colonialism; this maintenance is also entangled with capitalism and ruination.

1.3.3 Capitalist ruination

As I have mentioned already, resource extraction under *capitalism* in Canada is both material and discursive, linked to much of the Canadian economy relying on traditional industries like fishing, mining, logging and forestry, petroleum, and hydropower (among others). This, too, is ordinary:

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[11] I separate these terminologies (decolonization and unsettling) to point toward the differential responsibilities that are necessitated by those with settler land-relations and identities (like myself), and those who are Indigenous to particular lands and places. Decolonization is a complex material, psychological, and epistemic project that ultimately requires the return of Indigenous lands to Indigenous peoples as well as the restoration of Indigenous lifeways (Tuck & Yang, 2012; Chambers & Buzinde, 2015). Unsettling is an aspect of this project.

[12] My gratitude to Bryan must be marked, here, again. It is under his guidance that I have learned almost everything about my approach to unsettling as a distinct material, storied, and felt process as well as a mode of taking responsibility for destabilizing the structure of settler colonialism (Grimwood, 2021). Of course, this entire dissertation was done under Bryan's mentorship. But the tone of my learning the politics of unsettling would be truly lacklustre without his relational shepherding and continual willingness to lead by example in wandering difficult conceptual terrain.

it is a taken-for-granted fact and a way of life for many people in Canada, particularly those in rural areas. But much of the success of Canadian tourism also relies on the continued "pristine" existence of the very natural resources that are mined, logged, or extracted (Baker, 2002; Jasen, 1995). As such, there is a decided tension between the preservation of such resources (or the *perceived* preservation of such resources) for tourists purposes, and the removal of these resources for their various industrial uses. This is exemplified by Macfarlane (2021) with his detailing of the so-called "making" or "fixing" of the Falls themselves, wherein a designed, synthetic, and idealized version of the Falls was deliberately constructed (via remedial interventions like dams, weirs, fills, and excavations) to both do a certain thing (i.e., generate power) and look a certain way (i.e., generate tourism). But resource extraction in tourism is not solely limited to waterfalls or idealized natures, but specific exotic, historicized, and commodified versions of places (and their peoples, cultures, and stories), often at the expense of real, living people and their abilities to live well and safely in the very places that commodify them (Prince, 2020; Hollinshead 2009; Lapointe & Coulter, 2020). This is detailed by many Indigenous communities, but can be demonstrated clearly with Native Hawaiians' historic and current inabilities to access clean water and land for farming due to the extraction of resources for tourism while simultaneously subject to what Atukagawa (2019) calls "cultural prostitution" (p.153). In Niagara Falls this relation is more subtle, as the commodified and historicized versions of it rely on both grand narratives about nature and purity, as well as more specific narratives like the so-called Maid of the Mist, a racist settler story about the sacrifice of an Indigenous woman that has been routinely used to exotify and "sell" Niagara Falls (Goeman, 2020; Strand, 2007). Goeman (2020) suggests the use and popularization of this myth should be located in relation to both settler colonialism and masculinist nationalism at Niagara Falls, but also relates its use to hydroelectric resource extraction and the resourcing of Indigenous peoples and lands by the tourist industry.

Capitalist resource extraction is also linked to the tendency toward perpetual growth, or to seeing tourism as a sustainable or "green" alternative to more explicitly destructive industries (Büscher & Fletcher, 2017). But despite a dominant perspective in tourism studies that continues to advance growth imperatives and ideologies, there is an increasing swell of critical work positioned against these ideas. Not only do these critical perspectives acknowledge that "capital accumulation via tourism commonly functions as a form of structural violence in its own right" (Büscher & Fletcher, 2017, p. 653), they also work to question so-called sustainable models of tourism that solely focus on sustaining economic (read: capitalistic) and not social or cultural imperatives (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2010; Higgins-Desbiolles et al., 2022; Lapointe, 2023). Much of this critical reflection is positioned alongside the defining of the *Anthropocene* as a geologic epoch in which human transformation of the earth and environment is rampant. However, locating the cause of global environmental devastation in a singular inscription of the human remains contentious; following Whyte (2017) and Yusoff (2018), despite the frequent taking up of the Anthropocene as the human-laid waste to the world, I lean toward a contextualizing of the Anthropocene and its resulting ruination *within* settler colonial structures and capitalist processes. Without this context, the Anthropocene concept itself structures future colonial

ecological crisis through continued dispossession of Indigenous lands via sentiments of environmental protectionism (Erickson, 2020).

Indeed, Whyte (2017) notes that the effects of *ruination*—as defined within advanced capitalism and the Anthropocene—are only "new" if viewed from a (white) settler context. Whyte (2017) is explicit in his assertion that many Indigenous, Black, and racialized communities already occupy (and have long been occupying) the dystopian Anthropocenic futures of rapid climate change, pollution and toxicity, biodiversity decline, and land liquidation brought on by settler colonialism. These crisis conditions have enormous repercussions, and destroy lands, peoples, and relations between them (Sultana, 2022; Liboiron, 2021) while also presenting circumstances that leave many people and communities—often the most vulnerable—no other choice but to live with or with-in degradation, pollution, and contamination (Shotwell, 2016; Bigby et al., 2023; Evers, 2019). Ruination as such is a lived process (Mah, 2012) that is undeniably linked to the structures of (nationalist) settler colonialism and advanced capitalism I have detailed in this section; it is also an effect of the infrastructuring of tourism.

1.3.4 Infrastructures and infrastructuring

I use the terminology of *infrastructure* (or, infrastructuring) in a way that is both literal and slightly more abstract. First, of course, infrastructure names the assemblage of real, material things that structurally maintain and mobilize resources for certain goals (Macfarlane, 2021). This can include things like roads, railways, telecommunication services like cell towers, sewers, hydro lines, and even signage and parking lots—"rigid" systems that order societies (Ruiz, 2021). These things are obviously deeply important to tourism (wherein tourism is associated with mobility) (Mostafanezhad et al., 2021) but also with general human movement and the "free" circulation of goods (Larkin, 2013). But this first (literal) meaning can be abstracted, especially as evidenced by how settler colonialism seeks to secure access to land for the purpose of development, extraction, and—eventually—the formation of the state and capital itself (Coulthard, 2014). Requisite access to land for the purpose of colonial-capitalist development (i.e., turning land into property) and infrastructuring is, in itself, an infrastructural process or mediation (Ruiz, 2021) that also has ties to Anthropocenic projects of ruination (Tsing et al., 2021). Indeed, Tsing et al. (2021) suggests that the Anthropocene is characterized by "feral" ecologies prompted by human-built infrastructures that have since escaped beyond human control (i.e., they have unintended outcomes). Of course, such infrastructures are often first developed to progress industry and imperialism (Tsing et al., 2021), which further contextualizes infrastructures as embroiled with public conceptualizations of progress, modernity, and wellbeing (Amin, 2014) and as part of liberal imaginaries of progress and freedom (Larkin, 2013). Thus, infrastructural processes have both material and symbolic power (Amin, 2014) and emerge as part of social, political, and geopolitical programs (Mostafanezhad et al., 2021; Tsing et al., 2021). Consequently, because tourism informs the way in which space is accessed, mobilized, and interacted with (Merriman, 2016) it is always-already infrastructural, both advancing and sedimenting certain relationships to land and property.

I close off this section with this brief introduction to the infrastructuring terminology for two purposes: first, because I find it useful in describing the mundane (read: ordinary) processes by which settler colonialism, nationalism, and capitalism (and related processes and discourses of ruination) are perpetuated in Niagara Falls. Indeed, administrative initiatives, mappings, bureaucratic devices, and legislation become normalized modes of infrastructuring larger (settler colonial) infrastructural processes (Rifkin, 2013). Things like pipelines, electric grids, railways, and dams are routinely called upon as examples of settler colonial infrastructure wherein they are physically used to undergird the construction of settler society (Goeman, 2020; Macfarlane, 2021). These installations, among others, present a complex contradiction wherein they are dually linked to sentiments of progress that "globalize" or "advance" societal aims, and yet also usher in profound ruination and degradation (whether this is linked to the structure of settler colonialism and its destruction of Indigenous life ways and land relations, or to more puritan settler concerns relating to the destruction of "nature"). In Niagara Falls, sentiments of ruination and "overtourism" are often broadly linked to the development and commodification of the Falls, with particular criticism reserved for evidence of visible poverty (i.e., bordered up houses, lower income areas) that lie in close proximity to the central tourism areas. Second, the next two sections detail the theoretical and methodological literatures that inform this dissertation; I find it useful to consider these literatures, too, as infrastructures. If the ways researchers construct research are also the ways that we make the world (Barad, 2007; Law, 2004) then the literatures that I read have particular effects on the outcome of the research. In this way, theory and methodology both also are infrastructural tactics that allow us—researchers—to think alongside the small stories and the ordinary aspects of our research practices, giving shape to a particular outcome (Ruiz, 2021). Both of these purposes are explored in more detail in Chapter 3.

Time for a quick jump; onto various infrastructural research tactics.

1.4 Theoretical miscellany (and a quick primer on postdisciplinarity)

As it might have been made clear from this dissertation so far, I read tourism as an inherently interdisciplinary field. This makes so-called expertise (if one wishes to seek it) somewhat challenging: a tourism scholar might need to be an historian, a sociologist, an anthropologist, an economist, an affect theorist, an activist, or an artist. Or all of these. Or none. Or something else entirely. My point is that interdisciplinarity has challenges similar to singular disciplines, in that it is still bound by an insufficient response to multiplicity and hybrid ways of knowing (Hollinshead, 2012). Interdisciplinary asks that those who take it up are experts, still, just experts of many things. But expertise is—as we know—a trap.

Along with pulling from the substantive content of many disciplines (as you have likely noted thus far) my dissertation tries to heed Hollinshead's (2012) call for *postdisiplinarity* in tourism studies, an approach to knowledge-making and theorizing potentiating "exhilarative trespass" (p. 70) beyond more cogent forms of knowing. Postdisciplinarity is thus predicated on: a commitment to contextual understanding, a flexibility in the use of methods and theories, a dedication to cultivating new knowledge (with the understanding that knowledge is contested and shifting), a celebration of alternatives, a suspicion toward expertise, a resistance to containment, and a co-generative process (Hollinshead, 2012). Hollinshead's (2012) postdisciplinary approach is something I further cross-pollinate with other teachings, particularly those also oriented to antifoundationalism (Caton, 2013; Braidotti, 2013), mess (Law, 2004), and criticality (Kuntz, 2015). Consequently, I do not take up one single discipline, theory, approach, methodology, or way of knowing (or being) in this dissertation, but attempt to work not only "across" fields, but through, in tension-with, in confluence-with, in excess-of, in gratitude-for, and despite. I am particularly indebted to a few theoretical bodies of thought that I will detail here[13], including my background study in new materialism, my minor deviation into reading sound studies, and my persistent draw to affect theorists. Curiosity leads me, often. Storying is also part of my postdisciplinary leaning, but much of what I find useful has been covered in the first part of this chapter.

1.4.1 New materialisms

Though I don't call on new materialisms explicitly by name in any of the three manuscripts contained in this dissertation, my approach to being in the world, using actor-network theory, wading through the archive, lingering (and lurking) in place, following affects and objects, and enacting my politics all rely on a general commitment to new materialist orientations and ethics. New materialisms are loosely defined as a complexity of theories that challenge dualist thinking (including the human/nonhuman divide), advance a more-than-human agency, and are concerned with futurity and transformation (Propen, 2018). They recognize that knowing and being are entangled processes, and that the world is enacted by many things beyond the human. They are also historical, political, and critical (Coole & Frost, 2010), and at their best should come with an interrogated positionality that situates critique in the context of global capitalism and political

[13] Other theoretical inspirations are detailed elsewhere in this dissertation. See in particular the sections on SOUND and SILENCE.

power relations, and is reflexive about its citational politics. Though I still believe that certain hegemonic Enlightenment humanisms often de-humanize all but those humans who lie at the "top" of a scaffold of false-binary identity categories (King, 2017), I also now believe that new materialist transcendence is a myth, and that it is not only unfair but also irresponsible to critique a singular (uninterrogated) humanism while advocating for multiplicitous (uninterrogated) new materialisms. The "posts" and their related bodies of theory (like new materialism) don't provide simple "escape" from colonialism, but instead are sites for reanalyzing disruptive activity (la paperson, 2017).

So, I think it will be useful to review what I think are the (non-comprehensive) tenets of a new materialist approach (across an entangled ontology, epistemology, axiology, and methodology). These tenets or concerns are my own interpretation, and deviate slightly from Coole and Frost's (2010) three themes of agential matter, biopolitics, and a return to political economy. Part of what I believe about doing entangled postdisciplinarity entails involves me understanding my own relationality in the complexity of learning, which also comes with an aspect of risk as I negotiate my own interpretations. In stating the tenets of my own new materialist work, I try to own the tension of also (possibly) doing it incorrectly.

First, I think new materialisms must be *critical* materialisms that should not be completely divorced from their histories as related to other materialisms, Marxist or otherwise (Coole & Frost, 2010). This is not only an ontological position that affirms that matter exists, but that also affirms that matter is not politically neutral—if politics is the process of negotiating relations of power, then the intermingling of bodies, systems, and worlds is always a political project (Coole & Frost, 2010). Coole and Frost (2010) open up new materialisms to the critical by way of locating them within calls to ensure new materialist researchers take seriously the far-reaching effects of global capitalism, bio-politics and biotechnologies, dynamic systems and markets, citizenship, and the operations of the state. To be a (critical) materialist is to engage a sustained focus on the everyday practices and politics of being (Kuntz, 2015), without falling into the trap of erasure by giving strength to the lie that politics everywhere makes politics disappear (Springgay & Truman, 2019). To be oriented toward the critical is to take into account relations of power.

Second, new materialisms are, to me, *feminist* materialisms that are often described as intent on disrupting binaries and upending nature-culture, male-female, mind-body dualisms (among others) (Braidotti, 2013). These disruptions of duality are very much at the centre of new materialist ethics, and emerge in relation to legacies of certain detached, Cartesian practices of knowledge-making wherein knowing was historically separated from being. Feminist new materialist work follows the likes of Haraway (1988), who stressed that knowledge-making is situated, embodied, partial, and contingent. The feminist legacy and contribution to new materialist theorizing has also brought forward work on ontological entanglement, emancipation, and practices of care and listening (Valtonen & Pullen, 2020; Valtonen et al., 2020; Rantala et al., 2020; Rantala et al., 2023).

Third, I see new materialisms as materialisms concerned with *agency.* Often, this emphasizes a recognition that matter itself is agentic, or vital—that it has intensities, energies, and forces that render it active (and that have not always been recognized in some humanist legacies) (Coole & Frost, 2010). Barad (2007) locates this in an ethically-entangled agential realism, where all matter matters. And this is true—many things beyond human beings have vital and diverse agencies and capacities (Hurst, 2023). But as Propen (2018) cautions, "we need not to swap a focus on matter's agency for an acknowledgement of our own ethical responsibility, for we are all, inseparably, in it together" (p. 51). And it's here where I will stress that any idea of collective human experience or human exceptionalism is hardly politically neutral when we consider the effects of "the very asymmetrical possession of economic-technological means for resource extraction and accumulation" (Kanngieser, 2015, p. 2) especially as power relates to identity formations and relations that privilege some formations over others (and enforce such formations through violence and dispossession). Agency is subjectified and systemic (la paperson, 2017); human agency is not, itself, a singular thing[14]. This leads into further considerations of how agency is also wrapped up in proliferations of affect via any body's capacity to affect and be affected, which also must not be disconnected from the actual, differentiated physical body and its location in discursive space (King, 2017).

Fourth, I position new materialisms as *relational* materialisms which are inherently contingent—"a process within which more or less enduring structures and assemblages sediment and congeal, sometimes as a result of their internal inertia but also as a manifestation of the powerful interests invested therein" (Coole & Frost, 2010, p. 29). This relational materialism functions as both a material semiotics (i.e., that all things, not only language, are assembled in relation) and an interventionist performativity (i.e., that relations do not always beget representation) (Law, 1999). In short, matter *becomes* as objects (or affects, or politics, or discourse) "[emerge] within relational fields" (Coole & Frost, 2010, p. 10). Putting a primacy on relation is not just a theoretical move, but an ethical mode of accountability to ourselves, our communities and our lineages (however variable) as well as the worlds we wish to make (Kanngieser & Todd, 2020). Relations become the mode and the subject of analysis, as new materialisms attune to their proliferation, intensification, weakness, failure, and endurance.

Finally, I believe new materialisms are *transformative* and *additive* materialisms that are oriented toward the future and toward possibility. In part, this connects to new conceptualizations of a dynamic spatialization that further disrupt Euclidean markers of space, time, and matter into a procedural and emergent becoming (Tuck & McKenzie, 2015). But new materialisms are also geared toward the transformative in that they call for an experimental and open-ended affirmative politics (Ulmer, 2017). Ulmer's (2017) use of affirmation locates a creative, imaginative, and inspirational approach to research that seeks not truth, but abundance. This means that new materialist research in particular is oriented toward an ethical commitment to movement, change, and force. Part of this means that traditions of storytelling in new materialist

[14] Here lies the moment where I flag my ongoing struggle with my tendency to use the words "we" and "our." I try to attend to this, and (too often) I fail.

research are taken seriously, as stories both have the capacity to both literally undergird current realities, and also orient people toward other possible futures, materially and discursively (Cameron, 2015; Rosiek et al., 2020).

1.4.2 Sound and sense

Reading broadly in new materialisms also informed my passage into considering the power of sound and sense via affect theory and sound studies. It is a story I tell with some frequency: I started thinking about sound because in the early days of the COVID-19 pandemic shutdown I heard the Falls from my driveway (and this completely rocked my world and changed my perspectives on tourism). But reading sound studies also allowed me a language through which to make new materialisms "tangible, audible, and thinkable … as an inhabited and [ethical] reciprocal practice" (Voegelin, 2019, p. 173). The complexity and theoretical density of new materialisms sometimes obscures their usage, and as I was working through my own challenges with these areas and arenas of thought, I found the clarity of their use in sound studies extremely compelling. Learning relational theory, I initially found it challenging to unsettle my human perceptions of things like, space, time, affect (and effects), and—particularly—the open-ended and ongoing sense of what it mean to constantly "be" in relation. Learning about the function of sound at the level of physics broadened not only my lexicon (with words like resonance, reverberation, listening, attuning, transmitting, fidelity, etc.) but demonstrated to me how to *practice* relational responsibility in the fullness of its inevitability through listening.

And so, despite being a musician (and specifically a [terrible] "noise" musician) I had never thought much about sound in the ontological sense, nor about its capacities, effects, affects, coherences, and practices of engaging it (like listening). As Kanngieser (2015) explains, "sound is not just about hearing and responding, or communicating. It is about becoming aware of registers that are unfamiliar, inaccessible, and maybe even monstrous; registers that are wholly indifferent to the play of human drama. Sound is not only of the human, it [also] undermines human exceptionalism…" (p. 81). Essentially, everything vibrates, sounds, resounds (Kanngieser, 2015; Hurst & Stinson, 2023); just because humans cannot see or hear such resonance does not mean it isn't happening (and doesn't mean it isn't affecting us). Reading into sound studies also oriented me toward its use and consideration in the maintenance of public life (LaBelle, 2018), as well as its use as a method of generating "contemporary globalized political landscapes" (Kanngieser, 2011, p. 2). Kanngieser (2015) also asserts that certain affordances of sound can "open space from which to challenge hegemonic and violent forms of subjectivation," (p. 80) as sound is often used to control the geopolitical emergence of certain spaces (LaBelle, 2018). The power of sound was revealed to me as not only an individual felt practice, but as a political possibility (Voegelin, 2019). Sound studies ultimately offered me two resonant teachings: a true understanding of relationality via a deep commitment to embodied and situated listening practices, and a gratitude for its overlaps with affect theory.

1.4.3 Relational listening

Listening requires a certain form of active, embodied practice. When we (whoever "we" are) are listening we are on the lookout for *ourselves*, what we identify and mark as ourselves by

resonating with the world (Born, 2019). According to Nancy (2007), listening is always an act of mutual recognition, and of relationality. Listening is never purely passive, as it is imbued with a labour of deep fidelity, intelligence, and care (LaBelle, 2018). It is an active noticing, sensing, and attunement (Kanngieser & Todd, 2020). Listening involves not only self-reflection and relational responsibility, but also the active working against sonic regimes of sameness and universalizing, against objectivity, against uncaring (Feldman, 2020). I find here a crucial link in practices of relational listening to the work of feminist epistemologists and the traditions of care ethics, of situated and embodied knowledge (Haraway, 1988), and of the complexities of feeling and empathy (Feldman, 2020). I see this link as located in the body, and in the importance of the turning to feeling and embodiment as not only a part of listening, but as a way of knowing and being (Nancy, 2007; Veijola & Jokinen,1994); listening also points us to the relational and situated emergence of power and how power is circulated and upheld (or refuted). Finally, listening is also attending to our own ancestries and lineages, a "coming to somewhere" that traverses a threshold of borders, boundaries, betweens (Kanngieser, 2020, n.p.). Listening invites all listeners to be in and with an endlessly present temporal moment that might never resolve, but that can be deeply felt.

1.4.4 Affect

And so of course I also found easy harmony in reading sound studies across affect theory, both with regard to how sound enacts felt politics, and also offers a practice (via listening) of inhabiting a situated and embodied "place" from which to engage relationality. Affect, in the most simple determination possible, marks the felt capacities and intensities that constitute and are constituted as relational interactions in the world. In the words of Molz and Buda (2022), affect "refers to the intensities and atmospheres that exist beyond conscious representation or discursive structures" (p. 1289). Accordingly, affects do not have an ontological status per se, but emerge as relational practices that are not only a human embodied emotionality nor a facet of a material or atmospheric condition; affects are not *in* the relation between things, they emerge *as* the relation between things (Bille & Simonsen, 2021). Affects are constituted with a felt primacy —they register on and with us in advance of cognition, and often precede human ability to think about what we might be experiencing (Berlant, 2011), similar not only to how sound registers (Goodman, 2010) but how listening must be oriented away from capture (Kanngieser, 2023; Frenette, 2023). Affects are also social, collective, and political, as they can be fostered, captured, practiced, and wielded by groups of people to achieve, stultify, or sediment certain relations over others. This can be seen in the use of collective feeling to encourage nationalism via sports games or political rallies (Stephens, 2016). Accordingly, situating concerns of affecting and being affected in a broader societal sense means recognizing the conditions and structures of feeling that both constitute and invite certain other societal modes (Natanel, 2022).

In the field of tourism studies work on affect, sense, embodiment, and listening has broadly followed Veijola and Jokinen's (1994) work on the body in tourism, and is couched in scholarship following feminist ways of knowing that do not separate the mind from the body, and do not denigrate felt knowledges. Recent work in tourism has attended to the powerful transformative capacities of feeling (Tucker, 2009), the attractivity and felt experience of

destinations and tourism places (d'Hauteserre, 2015; Martini & Buda, 2020; Chatzidakis & Maclaran, 2023), and intersections between narrative and affect (Tucker & Shelton, 2018). Much of my previous work is geared toward considering, prompting, and intervening in affective and atmospheric conditions to either foster or stifle certain ethical outcomes in tourism (Stinson et al., 2022; Stinson & Grimwood, 2020; Stinson et al., 2021) or the use of affects and atmospheres in methodological practices (Stinson & Grimwood, 2019; Hurst & Stinson, 2023). The work in this dissertation is no different.

1.4.5 And ambivalence

The final important thing to note about affect and sense is my use of Berlant's (2008; 2022) work, and particularly their concept of *ambivalence*. I return to ambivalence as a guiding concept in Chapter 4, but it's useful to flag here as it relates to the ordinary work of feeling, where feeling is both informed and stultified by a political undertone that pulls in many directions at once. Ambivalence, in Berlant's (2008) words, is an "inevitable condition of intimate attachment" (p. 2) that is located not in its common usage with flippancy, neutrality, and uncaring (or even failure of relation) but in its original etymology. The prefix *ambi-* means "both," and the ending *-valent* derives from Latin origins that mean "strength" or "to be strong;" the word *ambivalent* consequently relates to multiple, sometimes contradictory feelings (or feelings held in tension) (Merriam Webster, n.d.). Ambivalence thus denotes multiple feelings of deep strength that cannot be resolved (Thorkelson, 2021). Berlant (2008; 2022) further contextualizes ambivalence as associated with the exhaustion that comes with being in relation; if one believes (like I do) in the ontological primacy of relation, it is understandable that a certain amount of that relationality would be (or is always-already) taxing, unbearable, or inconvenient. Berlant (2008) writes that "[to] love a thing is not only to embrace its most banal or iconic forms, but to work those forms so that individuals and populations can breathe and thrive in them or in proximity to them" (p. 3). Thus, the condition of working toward hopeful, alternative, or more generative versions of tourism cannot be separated from the difficulty of living within those conditions, and indeed is a practice of love and care for tourism (broadly and specifically). This is the affective tone of ambivalence. This is the ordinary affect that I am unavoidably, intimately familiar with, the affect with which this dissertation is written, the affect with which I embrace Niagara Falls, and the affect with which I engage my actor-network informed practices.

1.5 Actor-network theorizing (a "methodology" section)

When I wrote my dissertation proposal, I told Bryan that I didn't know what methodology even *was* anymore. I still (sort of) feel the same. I'm driven here by an original ambivalence (a flippancy) still shot through with an unfortunate binary: I want to detail everything / I want to detail nothing. Instead of following either of these drastic impulses, this section attempts to situate my own methodological unsureness in the context of the work of those I am indebted to learning methodology from.

So, I will detail *some* things.

When it comes to doing research, I generally still feel propelled by what Loveless (2019) calls the "troubling and troublesome" (p. 29) swell of *situated curiosity*, what she explains as orienting to research via a multi/anti-disciplinary practice of accountability. This tendency guides my work in Chapter 2 with some force. While Loveless (2019) contextualizes this call in research-creation, to me this mainly resonates with my tendency toward postdisciplinarity, locating methodology not as a structure or a framework for "doing research," but as an association of tendencies, outflows, following practices, and questions. (An infrastructure.) I also believe that "we need to make possible newly relational approaches that resist confinement—materialist methodological work that continues to exceed itself" (Kuntz, 2015, p. 58). This (in a phrase I've used before) is an ethical imperative, as I believe vehemently that research makes reality: if our research practices themselves reify and reaffirm normative societal modes and politics of extraction, exploitation, and colonization, how might we possibly expect them to use them to come to different conclusions (or make different realities possible)? My excessive methodological orientation draws heavily from my engagement with actor-network theory (Law, 2004); varying embodied, sensory, affective, and ambivalent approaches (Berlant, 2022; Stewart, 2007); and a tendency toward telling stories with and about things (DeSilvey, 2007; Hill, 2015).

1.5.1 Actor-network theorizing

I have long found resonance in and with actor-network theory (ANT), which Law (1999) insists "is not something in particular" (p. 10) nor "wreckage spread along the hard shoulder of the superhighway of theory" (p. 10). Instead, Law (1999) suggests that the *use* of ANT locates the power that comes with practicing research (and life) within the complicity of tension. Things are contradictory; studying this contradiction (the tension) is the point. Law also describes actor-network theory in other ways: as methods assemblage; as sensibility toward materiality, relationality, and process (Law, 2004); and as a "ruthless application of semiotics" (Law, 1999, p. 3) that relies also on a relational materialism and a tendency toward performativity. All of these descriptions and referents have utility, and they all explain a few things about what ANT is and does. As someone that is interested in the ordering, assembling, and infrastructuring of things (and how things come together and fall apart, to *work* [or not]), ANT provides a rich language and body of theory that supports me in pursing research toward these aims. This dissertation would be incomplete (nonexistent) without it.

Actor-network theory prescribes no specific methods. Unlike more structured methodologies that come with sets of directives, ANT essentially suggests the researcher get comfortable with the pursuit of mess (Beard et al., 2016) as they "[position] the world as an outcome of a process of inquiry" (Ruming, 2009, p. 425). This is a heavy ontological politic, and comes with a great responsibility for the researcher—ANT research is explicitly an active act-of doing, in which the researcher is embroiled in the material and affective moral, transformative, political, and productive capacities of research (Ren, 2011; Stinson & Grimwood, 2020). However, Beard et al. (2016) offer some guidance that both illuminates and might help shape the literal act of doing ANT-based fieldwork as they suggest the researcher consider the five character traits significant to ANT-informed research. These include: rethinking the field beyond spacetime, considering how researchers act within the very networks they are analyzing, "following the actors," embracing materiality with methods choices, and engaging analysis via identifying actors that are key to network assemblage (Beard et al., 2016). These character traits invite and encourage a diverse and promiscuous use of methods sometimes seen as ethnographic or pseudo-ethnographic, usually involving interviews, site-visits, document analysis, photo and video capture, participant observation, and other related practices (Ren, 2011). I still find many of these suggestions incredibly useful.

As with the approach to methods, in actor-network theory analysis and representation are also not foreclosed—they are interventionist and they are productive (Law, 2004). This means that both analysis and representation should not be considered mere descriptions of some so-called real reality, but should be instead asserted as open-ended and dynamic disruptions of common sense (Kuntz, 2015). While not directly speaking of ANT, Kuntz (2015) summarizes my feelings well: that interventions (like research) "are never one-time events but rather occur in-process and imply an ethical stance again status quo injustices" (p. 68). Like other relational methodologies, ANT-based data collection, analysis, and representation happen in an ongoing and iterative way that enrols the researcher in dynamic relation to their object of study (and related injustices). The *translation* of an actor-network is the analysis of ordering struggle: the process, the processor, and the product. Consequently, accounts of actor-networks (or, network description) are often storied, with the researcher positioned as *translator* of the network translation (Benali & Ren, 2019; Stinson et al., 2021; Kramvig & Førde, 2020). This terminology suggests not only that the construction of researcher-as-spectator be disputed (Rosiek et al., 2020) but that any research translator should recognize what kinds of situated knowledges they are participating in advancing, stultifying, misrepresenting, or flattening (Kramvig & Førde, 2020; Haraway, 1988). Translation, then, should be seen as a complex series of mediations in which conceptions of power, researcher identity, and responsibility are ordered and assembled (Ruming, 2009). In my practice as translator, I shift between close description and critical reflection, modelled well by DeSilvey (2007) in her unfolding work on salvage and storied materiality. I also try to listen.

For simplicity, I take up actor-network theory as a critical and interventionist onto-methodology that enacts a relational materialism. For (even more) simplicity, this means that I view my work in doing ANT-informed methodology as looking at how things relate to other things (and being indiscriminate when it comes to what said things are), locating this relating as an active process

of incommensurability and tension, and being honest about my own role in this process. I don't suggest that this simplistic approach be taken as a doctrine or a *literal* method, nor do I position it as a guide in the way Beard et al. (2016) position their five character traits. I instead explain my practices this way in order to bring (temporary) clarity to a series of methodological actions that are generally quite incoherent, and that are also informed by broader work on global connectivity (Tsing, 2005; Tsing, 2015), mediation and infrastructuring (Tsing et al., 2021; Ruiz 2021), entangled storying (Haraway, 2016), and worldmaking (Hollisnhead, 2009). So while actor-network theory isn't inherently *new* materialist, it obviously has a relational materialist orientation that is also transformative, critical, and intent on disrupting binaries, commonalities across other bodies of theory geared toward entanglement, assemblage, and ordering. Because new materialism shares some of these same values, my learning here inherently informs my work with ANT, broadly.

Finally, actor-network theory has a substantive history of use in tourism, with Jóhannesson (2005) providing a fantastic introduction to its utility specifically to the tourism field following Franklin's (2004) work on ordering. From here, van der Duim (2007) and van der Duim et al. (2013; 2017) have all offered excellent mediations on ANT propelled by an attention to ontological politics, processes of ordering, and the sophisticated development of ANT as a tool particularly suited to the study of tourism. A great example is found in van der Duim's (2007) conceptualization of the *tourismscape*, a relation of people and things that are ordered and dispersed through spacetime, and are implicated and participate in the making of tourism. Actor-network approaches are also considered at length in van der Duim et al.'s (2012) book on tourism and ANT. Actor-network-based work has since ranged widely, with tourism scholars locating its use for analyzing tourism objects (Picken, 2010; Ren, 2011; Stinson & Grimwood, 2020; Stinson et al., 2022), broader networks (Benali & Ren, 2019; Rodger et al., 2009; Tribe, 2010), and orienting new research toward creative ontological and methodological possibilities in tourism (Beard et al., 2016).

More recently, Jóhannesson et al. (2018) introduced the conception of *critical proximity,* wherein "proximity rather than distance becomes critical for making knowledge valuable" (p. 47). Drawing some of its inspiration from actor-network theory—and in particular from Latour's (2004) suggestion that researcher engage with *matters of concern* instead of *matters of fact*—critical proximity both refers to and demands care (Jóhannesson et al., 2018). This care is fostered by suggesting researchers "[stay] empirically close to the subject matter, [open] up 'matters of fact' and [acknowledge] the creative potential of distributed research processes" (Jóhanneson et al., 2018, p. 47) in part by reworking the methods of other actors. This turn toward proximity and care as aspects of ANT-informed research practices are echoed in the work of scholars like Rantala et al. (2020) and Ren et al. (2023) and their approaches for contextualizing the mundane within care-full and proximate tourism orderings. The idea of attending to matters of concern via critical proximity is, to me, another approach to situated curiosity.

1.5.2 Critical effects / critical affects

I also position my actor-network informed research as *critical*, in that it explicitly involves intervention (Kuntz, 2015). Linking criticality to the interventionist capacities of research and living also ensures that my practice of ANT is geared toward a politics of worldmaking that confronts societal injustice and demands urgent societal transformation wherever possible (Kuntz, 2015). Intervention isn't just about dramatic moments of shift or change, but is about recognizing the possibilities (political or otherwise) imbued in each and every relation—particularly those entangled with stories (Cameron, 2012), feelings (Stephens, 2016), and things (Law & Singleton, 2005). So while some scholars (i.e., Vikkelso, 2009) might see network descriptions arising from ANT-based research as decidedly apolitical, I will push back: describing the "way things are" is and has always been a political operation (see also: politics everywhere *does not* make politics disappear). Additionally, via the abundance present in critique and intervention, I am committed to Law's (2004) perspective that part of the politics of critique is "responding creatively to a world that is taken to be composed of an excess of generative forces and relations" (p. 9). Lots of this productive creativity is found in storying, which I have detailed in the first part of this literature review. But there are other generative forces and relations that I work with, attend to, and mind: *effects* and *affects.* The material (archive) and the felt (practice).

Effects are things, materials, or objects. I have long been interested in objects, their qualities, and their complexity; this tendency tracks through my previous research on climbing hardware (Stinson & Grimwood, 2020) and totem poles (Stinson et al., 2022), and into the varying object-fixations in this document: buildings, monuments, signposts, and waterfalls. Studying objects is a central part of ANT-based work, whether that means considering their ontology (i.e., Ren, 2011; Law & Singleton, 2005), or contextualizing how they change or alter actor-networks at large via their agential capacity (Sayes, 2014). Objects are made, can act, are storied, and are forceful in their participation in the world at large, and in tourism worlds particularly (Stinson et al., 2022). Objects in tourism places are frequently stand-ins for events via memorialization, exemplified by statues, effigies, monuments, plaques, cairns, and attractions (Cloke & Pawson, 2008). But they are also mundane, ordinary things: souvenirs (Hashimoto & Telfer, 2007), articles of clothing (Kugapi & Höckert, 2022), ticket stubs, pamphlets, and hotel keys (van der Duim et al., 2017). Keeping track of objects and their effects is both a personal process for many people, and is also the subject of national and collective heritage spaces like museums, public collections, and archives.

In order to trace various *effects* in ways new to me, I experiment in this dissertation with fledgling archival work. I spent time in the Brock University Library Archives and Special Collections reviewing maps and mortgage documents from the 1800s, and I lingered in the Niagara Falls (Ontario) Public Library Local History Archives attending (primarily) to media from the Niagara Falls Review, the city's long running newspaper. These textual objects are assigned legitimacy based on their inclusion in these collections, and so are assembled by/ assemble a certain type of (often singular, colonial) history about Niagara Falls. Nevertheless, working in these formal archival spaces can be deeply embodied and—honestly—intense. In all

my visits I mainly took photographs to reflect on the materials later, at my own pace. The formal archive feels both stagnant and rushed, and the physical experience of connecting with archival effects is deeply overwhelming, but no less so than the many *informal* archives I also engaged with during this work. Indeed, many of my most intense and driving encounters with materials were those assembled in the informal archives: posts on attraction review websites for the Niagara Falls IMAX theatre, Reddit, and the literal street. It was always strange to see pamphlets for local attractions preserved in the formal Local History archives, and stumble later on those same pamphlets tossed on the concrete beside the Falls. An archive is not one thing or another; "archive points to a strewn thing scattered and prey to inattention" (Berlant & Stewart, 2019, p. 18) (Image 1.3).

Image 1.3: Skylon Tower advertisement pamphlets. An archive?

But attending to the effects contained in the formal and informal archives here in Niagara Falls has also resulted in the consideration of my own *personal effects* as well as the detritus of Niagara Falls, Ontario. Personal effects are things you bring with you—they are a chosen, worn, held, and carried archive. Sometimes they are objects: scraps of material or talismans passed down through generations, both to be recuperated or repurposed in new (meaningful) relation to one another (DeSilvey, 2007). But they are also embodied—the storied lineages you read about, here in this dissertation are part of my personal archive, as are the inheritances in my own tendencies, attentions, orientations, and curiosities (Kanngieser, 2023; Singh, 2018). Many of these personal effects are also felt, personal *affects*.

This means that *affects* are also part of the archive. Sort of. Of course, they both are and are not also material, immaterial, more-than material, and hung between various nondescript materialities. Researching with the felt intensities of a place (its archives, its objects, its stories) is perhaps even *more* amoebic than considering the network of an object. There are probes for researching with atmospheres (Hurst & Stinson, 2023), felt environments (Hill, 2015; Natanel, 2022), haunting presences (Yoon & Chen, 2020), and other conditions that are more-than-representational or immaterial (Image 1.4). But much of doing affective work is a practice of just *being* within an ongoing cascade effect of research choices, as "structural-affective imbrications have material effects: they can differentially constitute our embodied subjectivities, social attachments and political horizons—our very sense of what is possible in and for the world—in ways that feel either enabling or intractable" (Pedwell, 2013, p. 24). Affects, then, should not be ignored in the translation of actor networks (Stinson & Grimwood, 2019).

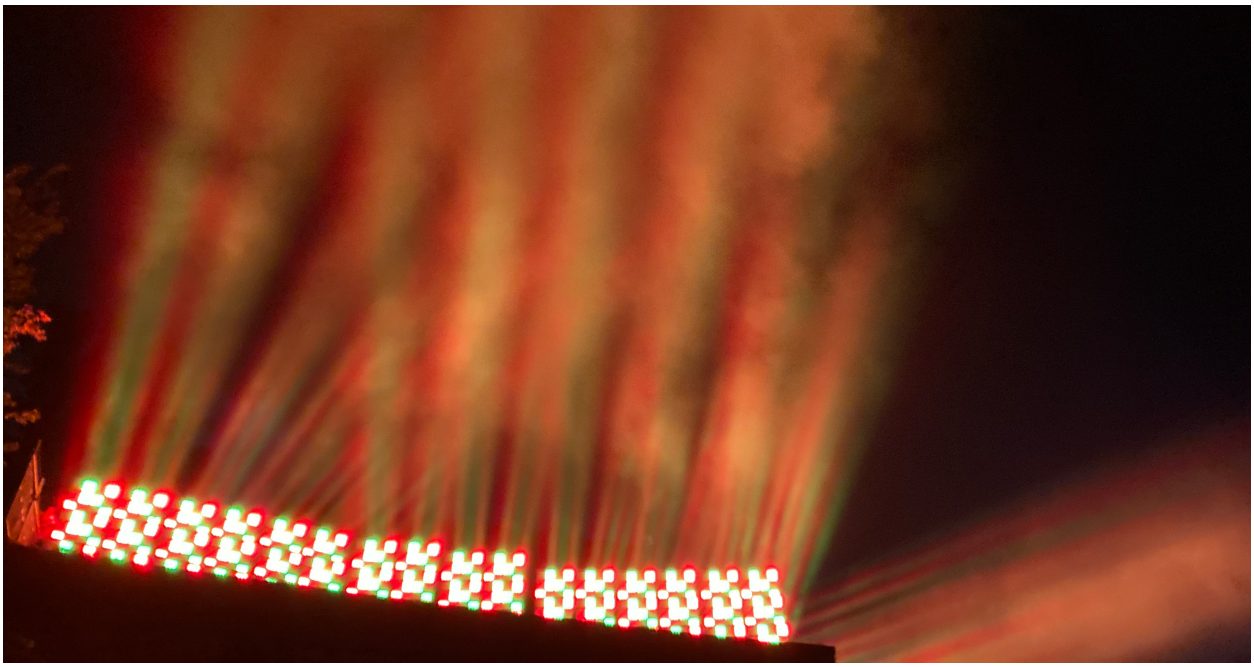

Image 1.4: Orange atmospheric illuminations.

And so effects and affects are related: both also *results*. Both are multiple, part data or part analysis or part representation or part outcome. And they are both part of the archive, if the archive is both the material remains of an event *and* its capacity to generate an affective response (Hill, 2015). This further positions the archives I am working with as not so much about their contents, their form, the physical properties of their materials, or even their representational character, but of their capacity to hold certain stories and feelings (and exclude others) (Hill, 2015; DeSilvey, 2007). But because feelings and objects are also things that allow other things to happen, they both lead toward an entangled and related capacity for intervention—so they become critical (Kuntz, 2015). Therefore, part of my methods-practice of doing ANT-informed work also has to do with considering the *responsibility* behind engaging certain objects, stories, and feelings, toward certain results.

1.5.3 Ethics and excess

The final thread of all of my actor-network theorizing is one of ethics (and one of excess). I believe tourism researchers have a responsibility (ethics) to work toward other potential versions of tourism (excess). This ethics is situated in the inevitability of relation (Kuntz, 2015), where we (tourism researchers) are always-already engaging in the disruption and production of many potential versions of tourism through our work itself; if we are *critical* of our object of study (tourism), we likely locate it as entangled in the oppression of certain peoples, communities, beings, and ways of life. Orienting to excess through our critique recognizes that while relation is inevitable, oppression is not—*excess* marks unsettled, liberatory, and just entanglements as both possible and desirable (Kuntz, 2015). So, working together, ethics and excess inform a postdisciplinary orientation toward creative, generative, disruptive, hospitable, and responsible work in tourism (Ivanova et al., 2020; Grimwood & Höckert, 2023). Consequently, and to achieve these aims, I work both *with* and *in excess of* methodology in order to foster postdisciplinary modes of inquiry that do not reinforce binaries or boundaries and do not uncritically reify settler colonial and normative orientations to knowing (Kuntz, 2015; Chambers & Buzinde, 2015; Kanngieser, 2023; Fortier, 2017). This includes related discourses of ocularcentrism (e.g., the original formation of the tourist gaze), proximity and distance (e.g., the God-trick [Haraway, 2016]), and ontological purification (in tourism or otherwise) related to the ordinary, the pristine, or the known (e.g., Moore, 2019; Shotwell, 2019).

My orientation to "gathering" "data" is accordingly something that remains unsettled and a bit excessive, as are my choices regarding voice, representation, footnoting, and nontraditional writing. The effects and affects of these choices are geared toward a politics of accounting and accountability (see also the sections on SOUND and SILENCE) that is invested in detail and detritus not with the goal of telling the total or "true" story of a place (grand or otherwise), but toward enacting specific power relations (and to making you, the reader, *feel something*). Some data are louder than others; some data are more insistent than others (Koro-Ljungberg et al., 2016). Listening to data is a situated political act (Kanngieser, 2023), and translating the tug-of-war of their signals and noise is similar. I use a lot of footnotes and sometimes it's overwhelming (even for me). I move back and forth between formal voice and informal slang. I aim (when possible) to work toward a transgressive, excessive, potent, and powerful writing style (Little, 2020). An extra-ordinary place deserves extra-ordinary writing, and extra-ordinary actor-network theorizing.

1.5.4 Accounting for / being accountable to "the doing"

The research contained in (and in excess of) this dissertation started on April 6, 2022, the day the study was given ethics clearance by the University of Waterloo Research Ethics Board. It also started on March 17, 2020, the day that Ontario Premier Doug Ford declared a State of Emergency in Ontario, Canada due to the COVID-19 pandemic. It also started on March 20, 2019, the day I moved to Niagara Falls.

I enacted this research by participating in document analysis, which included traditional archival research focused on media sources (i.e., newspapers) and advertisements, as well as online

forums, historic maps, property registers, social media posts, website text, press releases, interdepartmental emails secured via FOI (Freedom of Information request), hand-written mortgages, citizen-designed websites, City Council meeting minutes and reports, history books and atlases, and private photo collections. Engaging this style of indiscriminate document analysis is typical of ANT-based work (Law, 2004) as well as postdisciplinary and postqualitative approaches to research and data collection (Koro-Ljungberg et al., 2016; MacLure, 2013). My document analysis was iterative, repetitive, and sometimes informed by institutional boundaries (e.g., that FOI processes are not followed by Ontario not-for-profits). It took place in formal/intentional (i.e., scheduled library visits) and informal/unintentional (i.e., accidentally coming across online discourse or Instagram stories) ways.

I also spent a lot of time hanging out in the parking lot of the Niagara Falls IMAX building, a massive pyramidal structure that was partially demolished in front of my eyes on May 11, 2022. I was captivated by this building the moment I saw it, and over the (questionable) span of this dissertation intentionally visited this building (or its absence) at least twenty-five times, until I reached a point of affective saturation[15]. Propelled by feelings ranging from isolation and loneliness, to joy and belonging, to mourning and anger, to relief and flippancy in this parking lot I:

- made audio recordings on my iPhone SE and my Zoom H1n recorder,
- took video recordings and photographs on the same iPhone,
- used Otter.ai to transcribe voice memos,
- made texts notes and paper jottings,
- texted Bryan, my friends, and my partner in real time,
- drew coherent and incoherent maps,
- drew sketches,
- wandered,
- lurked,
- cried,
- danced,
- traced the ground with and without digital mapping tools,
- mourned,
- debated sleeping,
- considered eating dirt[16],
- didn’t eat dirt,
- drank coffee,

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[15] From what I can tell, this is not a “real” research terminology. This is a weird play on the qualitative terminology of “data saturation” after which a researcher feels they have gathered an amount of data where any further data will not result in new results or insights. “Affective saturation,” on the other hand, hints at an embodied experience of being done with, newly distant-from, or satisfied with the emotional experience at a research site. Perhaps it is a feeling of completion? A lifted haunting? A new inattention? Anyway. I think Bryan coined this term, but I can promise you: I experienced it.

[16] When I texted Bryan “I wish I had eaten contaminated IMAX dirt,” he replied “If you're really inclined, it might not bee too late.”

- talked to construction workers,
- talked to a guy carrying a jug of chocolate milk,
- saw the sun rise,
- waited,
- watched,
- listened,
- and felt deeply.

Many of these are mundane practices, things that seem-to-or-do enact the ordinary, potentiated and shot through with intentional subtle disruption. Many of them are oriented toward felt ambivalence (Berlant, 2008) as a mode of being in the research world. Because "we can understand settler colonial modes of thought as not merely the product of interpellation by the state and education institutions, but formed and maintained through the rhythms of everyday experience" (Robinson, 2020, p. 255), methodological practices like walking (Springgay & Truman, 2019) or listening (Kanngieser, 2023) can both reify or unsettle such modes of thought. Just as there are no easy exit signs from colonialism (la paperson, 2017), there are no research practices that automatically release settlers from the potential construction of colonial knowledge. My hope with such mundane practices is to reflect on the fact that turning away from normative modes of research-making doesn't *inherently* make research "unsettling." It is only an attempt. However, as Kuntz (2015) says, "the traces of the everyday" (p. 58) provide a remainder (or a residue) for ordinary methodological practices that are "not immediately governed by (or consumed) by the trappings of normative *logics of extraction*" (p. 58). Ordinary practices can contribute to both the establishment and maintenance *and/or* the disruption and unsettlement of (extra)ordinary places.

Finally, as part of so-called scheduled research practices (if these even exist), I intentionally attended an advertised fireworks and Falls Illumination event at the Falls on September 30, 2022 held as part of the Canadian National Day for Truth and Reconciliation. I also attended the regularly scheduled fireworks the week previous to this date, in order to invite a comparative and proximate affective experience. However, as a resident of Niagara Falls, I've also nightly experienced these same fireworks (likely hundreds of times as I write this section). This intentional comparison is accordingly difficult to tease out from the literal act of living in this city, as I can hear fireworks from my home every night during the tourist season (and many times outside of it).

As you can clearly see, the actual methodological practices that inform the three papers containing this research are slippery to communicate. In thinking through pulling together a list of all of the dates I participated in field visits (some of which are noted above), my first impulse was to attach an appendix listing every single day I've lived in Niagara Falls, removing only days I knew I was away (in Kitchener-Waterloo, in the woods, etc.). I've chosen instead to list days that I either specifically intended to engage with a certain chosen thing/phenomena, or was

serendipitously invited to do so[17]. But this list is also only part of the truth, and truly gets again at the core of my orientation to doing this research in the first place: when is a place like Niagara Falls not extra-ordinary? What *isn't* tourism? How have we (researchers) assembled and ordered tourism together, here? Through what is it maintained? How do we (researchers) show up for and care for and understand and research in and with such an expansive, excessive, leaky field?

I am not trying to be difficult; I am just trying to account for (and be accountable to) everything that has happened. This, of course, is impossible.

So let me summarize. Each of the papers in this dissertation engages one or more experimental practices of doing actor-network theory. Chapter 2 explores infusing ANT with Loveless's (2019) *situated curiosity* alongside sound-studies informed work on the politics of listening (Kanngieser, 2015). Chapter 3 reads ANT alongside Ruiz's (2012) *infrastructural mediation* as a means to tease out the presences and absences of tourism value extraction on one single plot of land over a few hundred years. Chapter 4 suggests engaging ANT through the practice of *ambivalence* (Berlant, 2022), offering up nine outflows as examples of "doing research" in and with a denigrated research field. Despite their variances, the versions of ANT I put to work all remain informed by the same politics of criticality, performativity, responsibility, and unsettling.

[17] These can be found documented in Appendix viii.

1.6 Refrains and refrainings

"Refrain:

noun: refrain; plural noun: refrains
a repeated line or number of lines in a poem or song, typically at the end of each verse.

verb: refrain; 3rd person present: refrains; past tense: refrained; past participle: refrained; gerund or present participle: refraining
stop oneself from doing something" (Oxford Languages, n.d., n.p.).

This dissertation carries six refrains and one (attempt at) refraining.

Refrains:

i. Tourism
ii. Niagara Falls[18]
iii. Affect (sense, sound)[19]
iv. Unsettling
v. Infrastructure
vi. Postdisciplinarity

Refraining:

vii. Colonizing (after Grimwood, 2021).

These refrain/ings are present throughout all three papers in this dissertation, as well as the bridging materials (which are used to draw together the thematic aspects of this dissertation as they relate to presenting a singular [messy] document). You might think of them as nods to the substantive, methodological, and theoretical underpinnings of this work, but my preference is not so straightforward. The refrain/ings themselves are not meant to be presented in a linear or cumulative way. Instead, they all track throughout the hot buzz of this dissertation, repetitions abound.

Chapter 2 (*Tourism, worldmaking, and disquieting settler atmospherics*) takes up questions of how we might identify the settler colonial structures of feeling that are wielded by state powers in and through tourism, so that we might work to disrupt and disarm them. This paper uses the related cases of Niagara Falls' Falls Firework Series and the practices of the Niagara Falls Illumination Board to exemplify the emergence of *settler atmospherics* (Simmons, 2019) and

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[18] "Now we are at home. But home does not preexist: it was necessary to draw a circle around that uncertain and fragile centre, to organize a limited space" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 311). My work takes place in the limited space—my home—of Niagara Falls, Ontario.

19 "Sonorous or vocal components are very important: a wall of sound, or at least a wall with some sonic bricks in it" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 311). This dissertation was supposed to engage with sound. It does, but sound is not a wall. The sonic bricks are still there.

describes possible alternatives to these formations. This paper is about fireworks, representation, and the co-option of collective feeling for the purposes of bolstering state power via tourism (Robinson, 2014).

This paper comes from a proposal footnote, some of the text of which now lives published in the final version; I wrote this footnote without understanding that it would quite literally become an entire paper. It reads as follows in its original form:

> The *sound* of the Falls is key to the affective and atmospheric experience—Macfarlane (2021) explains that "[t]he echoing roar of the Falls of Niagara without question contributes to the overall ambiance of standing at the edge of the cataract" (p. 161). This experience is also "filtered through various lenses, including nationality" (Macfarlane, 2021, p. 183). And yet, here I'm talking here mostly about the settler sonic-atmospherics of firework displays proximate to the Falls, particularly in the wake of this year's discovery of the bodies of thousands of Indigenous children linked to the ground of former residential schools (with numbers, of course, still climbing—Six Nations Police announced their official investigation July 29, 2021). Although Niagara Falls "cancelled" Canada Day this year, there is still plausible doubt as to what aspects of this cancellation were due to COVID-19 and which were due to actual displays of collective mourning. In the regular summer season, Niagara Falls has firework displays every single night. I am interested to track whether or not these displays resume next year, what reasons they may/not resume, and the resulting atmospheric emergences of those decisions. I am also interested in working through my own nostalgia about fireworks in relation to this national visual spectacle/settler sonic atmosphere, its contagion, and how we might critique these diffuse and amoebic collective feelings (Stephens, 2016).

This paper asks: What are the mechanisms and practices through which tourism-related atmospheric infrastructures (like lighting and sound displays) overtly and covertly contribute to worldmaking? How might we learn to destabilize, disrupt, or diffuse settler atmospherics in and through tourism as a practice of unsettling or disquieting? And, how might we research affective, embodied, and atmospheric moments of tourism (Tucker, 2009; Alderman et al., 2022; Stinson et al., 2022)?

This paper includes supplementary material which can be found in Appendix vi.

Chapter 3 (*An infrastrucutural mediation on tourism value extraction*) presents an *infrastructural mediation* (Ruiz, 2021) on how land is made into property with the intent of extracting value for purposes of tourism. Beginning with the ratification of the Treaty of Niagara in 1764 and ending in current-day 2023, this paper tracks the cycles of progress and decline associated with tourism at the former Niagara Falls IMAX site, exemplifying the structural and affective sedimentations of infrastructuring through a minor historical geography. Ultimately, this paper puts to work the use of *infrastructuring* as a process-based terminology useful for interrogating relations of tourism.

This paper comes from my fixation with a building, and with the deepening of that fixation when the building was torn down. Part of this fixation arouses my old refrain of "why do I care about specific ruined things?" The other part has to do with how we research tourism things once those things are "gone."

I am also interested in archival research as well as the concept of site-specific archive more generally, whether you call it a "close reading" of a site, an "historical geography" or any other terminology. This style of doing research seems to be under-utilized tourism studies, (see e.g., Grimwood & Höckert, 2023; Davidson et al., 2023; and Walter, 2021 for varying good examples). Consequently, I've relied on learning archival tactics *postdisciplinarily,* drawing from work in the environmental humanities (e.g., Tsing, 2015), media studies (e.g., Ruiz, 2021), affect theory (e.g., Berlant & Stewart, 2019), and social and cultural geography (e.g., Hill, 2015; DeSilvey, 2007). My practices and tactics in flirting with the archive are messy (in a Law-informed-ANT-sense [2004]) as they reveal partial connections and impure, hybrid realities that linger in the tension between truth and fiction. This is especially important as many of my archival engagements are media-focused; I am particularly interested in the reporting and documentation of newspapers and media outlets, and of historic advertising. Wading about in the strewn archive of the IMAX theatre, I was pulled between property register documents, hand-written mortgage notices, scans of old movie flyers, audio recordings of Seneca stories, physical signage tossed in the gutter, and my own (very loud) breathing. This paper documents that wandering, and what I found in that scattered archive (Berlant & Stewart, 2019).

This paper asks: How does tourism infrastructuring uphold processes of commodification and extraction? How is it recursively upheld by these same processes? What stories and discourses of exception maintain these processes in Niagara Falls? And, how might we attune to moments of failure in tourism infrastructuring to illuminate possibilities for resisting cycles of development solely-oriented to value extraction (Star, 1999; Berlant, 2022; Jensen & Morita, 2017)?

This paper includes supplementary material which can be found in Appendix vii.

Chapter 4 (*Ambivalent practice for tourism research*) experiments with *ambivalence* as a practice and a condition of researching with/in tourism, oriented not to flippancy but to inevitable attachment (Berlant, 2008). This paper draws on the legacy of proximate (careful, close, critical) work in tourism informed by actor-network theory (ANT) and related methodologies (Jóhannesson et al., 2018; Ren et al., 2023; Caton et al., 2021), and reads it through scholarship in affect theory and sound studies to offer nine experimental outflows of doing research in Niagara Falls as examples of *ambivalent practice.*

This paper emerges from my obsession (and frustration) with methodology. (True ambivalence, here.) As I mentioned earlier in this dissertation, I've come to be suspicious of any prescriptive methodologies while also maintaining a deep commitment to the fact that there's a political imperative to being both open-and-not-open about the the ways that we come to produce and understand knowledge. This is tied to a constant questioning of my own so-called

methodological practices and how they relate to the ethical orientations of my work concerning unsettling tourism, especially concerning how knowledge about things and places is legitimized and made (Chambers & Buzinde, 2015).

The other part of this paper is my pre-occupation with caring about things other people don't care about, which includes (now) empty parking lots and broken advertising signposts in Niagara Falls. I subsequently put to work Berlant's (2008; 2022) concept of ambivalence as a way into "doing" tourism research in messy, excessive, productive, and unsettling modes, and to research these things I'm attached to (especially when those attachments are confusing to me). I use ambivalence as a guiding practice to entertain nine outflows of action, each coupled with a flush of tourism theory and prompt (or directive) of practice. These outflows are subsequently storied as provocative encounters following Little (2020), in that they recognize tourism (and tourism research) as "indeterminate processes that remain otherwise, incommensurate with given forms of knowledge production" (p. 14). These outflows are presented in the Henry Rollins format (see the section on SOUND), in order to align with all the values I presented in this section. Consequently, this is not so much a traditional methodology chapter as it is a miscellany of suggestions about ways of being with, within, and researching a tourism that is in flux, in ruin, and in absence of itself, as a person who is also often many of those same things.

This paper asks: How does tourism research as ambivalent practice allow researchers to forefront the power of attending to the things (attachments, bonds, ties) that endure in our research practices? What is the use of ambivalent practice for researching with/in places that are "hard to care for?" What care-full possibilities does such a practice allow, and how are these possibilities also-oriented to broader ethical imperatives of unsettling tourism research (Chambers & Buzinde, 2015; Stinson et al., 2021; Hollinshead et al., 2009)?

Chapter 2: Tourism, worldmaking, and disquieting settler atmospherics

2.1 Introduction

Settler colonialism is "a structure, not an event" (Wolfe, 2006, p. 388). It is a structure that supports and upholds myriad violent relations to land and place; it is a structure through which Indigenous peoples are eliminated and their lands stolen for settler purposes. And it is a structure that remains entangled with tourism—how tourism places and peoples are politically, socially, and economically occupied. But the structure of settler colonialism also relies on a certain sense (Rifkin 2013). It relies on the deep, rich stories we tell about certain places, including how we might often view land as empty, mismanaged, or ripe for exploitation (Grimwood et al., 2019b). And it relies on individual and collective feelings of and about certain places: the circulating, embodied intensities which we might call affects (Molz & Buda, 2022). Though affects are often seen as unwieldy they can also work as structures of feeling (Robinson, 2014) that undergird other—often more material—structures as they "[become] dominant through processes of formalisation, classification and institutionalisation," while still remaining dynamic, relational, and in process (Natanel, 2022, p. 16). As tourism often depends on managing and constructing the sense of place, unwieldy affects and structures of feeling have profound and powerful effects.

This article considers how affects animate and uphold tourism and settler colonialism. As Molz and Buda (2022) explain, "thinking about emotion [or affect] not just as a subjective outcome but as a constitutive of tourism worlds leads down a somewhat different theoretical path than the impulse to measure, market, and manage tourists' emotional experiences" (p. 189). Here, Molz and Buda (2022) gesture toward the worldmaking capacities of tourism—the creative and collaborative authorization and normalization of some tourism worlds over others (Hollinshead, 2008) in which the interaction between narrative (i.e., representation) and affect grants tourism its worldmaking power (Tucker & Shelton, 2018). Accordingly, the function and effect of affects as mediating agencies of worldmaking demands further articulation, particularly in instances where worldmaking both relies on and produces affects that might normalize or legitimize the taken-for-granted logics of settler colonialism (Walter, 2021).

Many affects that relate to settler colonialism are deeply violent—the stealing of land and the elimination Indigenous peoples is not without brutal feelings of hatred, entitlement, and ignorance from settlers. The power of such feelings is supported by Simmons' (2019) concept of settler atmospherics, which articulates the physical atmospheres of violence (tear gas, pepper spray, smoke from forests burning) and the felt experiences of anxiety, terror, and anticipation perpetuated by both militarized police and corporate climate initiatives and wielded toward Indigenous peoples. I locate settler atmospherics as further generated and sustained in and through tourism practices that both commodify places of political turmoil (as spectacle), and that inflict environmental damage onto places at the behest of tourism as exemplified in Buda et al.'s (2014) work on danger-zone tourism, and Sheller's (2021) attention to the links between tourism, climate change, and colonization. But settler atmospherics are also perpetuated through more normalized affective practices, wherein the felt experience of a place is manufactured to "be" and "feel" certain way (Molz & Buda, 2022), and can be "engineered and controlled through law and

informal social practice" (Alderman et al., 2022, p. 203). These collective affective atmospherics are both always-already political even (and especially) while they are common, positive, and everyday (Stephens, 2016), and are perpetuated through tourism or tourism-related events.

Bringing together Simmons' (2019) work on settler atmospherics with extant literature on worldmaking, tourism, and settler colonialism, my goal in this article is to trace how settler atmospherics also extend into more normalized national affective practices that are both subtle and forceful in their worldmaking (Stephens, 2016). The purpose of this is threefold. First, I aim to illuminate the mechanisms and practices through which tourism-related atmospheric infrastructures (like lighting and sound displays) overtly and covertly contribute to worldmaking. As Walter (2021) and Grimwood et al. (2019a) have detailed, tourism infrastructures like signage and promotional material inscribe narratives onto tourism places, often while obscuring others. Aligned with affirming the worldmaking power of affect, I believe a similar consideration of atmospheric infrastructures is a fruitful contribution to understanding the affective geographies of tourism. Second, I aim to exemplify how we might learn to destabilize, disrupt, or diffuse settler atmospherics in and through tourism as a practice of unsettling or disquieting. Consequently, unsettling tourism—or tourism worldmaking—must not solely stop at representations and stories but must also be oriented toward contributing and mediating agencies of worldmaking (Hollinshead, 2008), including affects and atmospheres. Third, I aim to expand on the literature detailing how we might research affective, embodied, and atmospheric moments of tourism (Tucker, 2009; Alderman et al., 2022; Stinson et al., 2022). Here, I work to tension a structural interrogation of collective feeling with the inherent nonrepresentational excess of affect. I suggest these tensions might be best approached through postdisciplinary, embodied listening methodologies, as they have both political implications and unsettling capacities (Hollinshead & Suleman, 2017).

To achieve these aims, this article traces two interrelated soundings of settler atmospherics in the city of Niagara Falls, Ontario, Canada, both of which consider how such atmospherics are built and maintained as structures of feeling that support larger processes of worldmaking via tourism, and detail the ways in which they might be exceeded (Natanel, 2022). These structures of feeling are particularly important in sustaining and perpetuating settler colonialism and nationalism in Canada, in that they function to normalize and naturalize settler presence in Canada through reifying the mythic Canadian "conquering" of nature, and that they encourage a daily collective participation in the making of Niagara Falls an "authentic" representation of Canada (and its politics) on a smaller scale (Hashimoto & Telfer, 2007). The first sounding details the ephemeral sublime and sonic workings of the Niagara Falls Falls Firework Series (a fireworks display that runs during peak tourism season) and the general use of fireworks to mark national projects of belonging. The second sounding considers the silent spectacle of the Falls Illumination, a nightly practice of lighting the Falls in varying colours. These illuminations feature "representations" of particular causes through simply-coloured lighting arrangements, while surreptitiously obscuring the actual meaning of any individual lighting display. These two interrelated displays occur explicitly as part of an agenda of attractions designed to encourage tourism to the Canadian city

of Niagara Falls, and thus fully operate to normalize national affective practices (Stephens, 2016) and settler atmospherics (Simmons, 2019) through tourism and tourism worldmaking.

2.2 Literature in review

2.2.1 Settler colonialism and tourism

Work exploring the relationships between tourism and settler colonialism—as well as reconciliation, unsettling, and decolonizing tourism—has gained traction in recent years, although these conversations can be traced back to Higgins-Desbiolles' (2003) work on reconciliation tourism in Australia and Hollinshead's (1992) writing deconstructing the colonial assumptions of tourism epistemologies. In Canada, much of this work follows the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC), which released a six-volume report alongside ninety-four calls to action in 2015 (TRC, 2015). The TRC was a government-sponsored, national project "about establishing and maintaining a mutually respectful relationship" (TRC, 2015, p. 7) between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, where reconciliation is geared toward truth-telling and recognition; the acknowledgement of historic, current, and inter-generational harms; commemoration; and material justice (TRC, 2015).

Research has since detailed how settler colonialism is embedded in the promotional literature of Ontario tourism destinations (Grimwood et al., 2019a), and how violent histories and geographies of colonization are often intentionally obscured at tourism sites (Walter, 2021). In tourism places and practices, the normalizing of settler colonialism (or the maintenance of settler colonial "everydayness") (Rifkin, 2013) is frequently done via the silencing of Indigenous peoples, voices, histories, ways of being, and desires (Stinson et al., 2022; Walter, 2021), something that is subsequently disrupted when Indigenous tourism operators and communities are able to lead with agency (Curtin & Bird, 2021), and when Indigenous researchers and methodologies are prioritized in tourism research (tebrakunna country & Lee, 2017). As settler research (and researchers) have become more self-critical, work on tourism and settler colonialism has turned to exploring the unsettling potentials of tourism. This self-critique is especially necessary for those researchers who benefit from legacies of institutional legibility (e.g., white, male, settler researchers) that routinely silence and delegitimize the work of Black and Indigenous women scholars. Accordingly, self-critical scholarship includes considering how settler researchers might work against both material and discursive formations of settler colonialism, and how they might take responsibility for this unsettling work within relations of tourism (Fortin et al., 2021; Grimwood et al., 2019b; Kramvig & Førde, 2021; Stinson et al., 2021; Stinson et al., 2022). These unsettling practices are also aligned with those who advocate for decolonizing tourism epistemology (Chambers & Buzinde, 2015), and methodology (Nielsen & Wilson, 2012), but might also be geared toward considering the ways or practices through which researchers might unsettle the feeling of tourism worlds and the ways these feelings contribute to the maintenance of settler colonialism, something that has a much different implications for settler researchers than for Indigenous researchers (Baloy, 2016; Daigle, 2019; Natanel, 2022; Robinson, 2014). In part, this has meant considering how certain affects (like reconciliation) work as structures of feeling (Fullenwieder, 2018; Natanel, 2022; Robinson, 2014), but might also be used for disruptive or transformative potential (Tucker, 2009).

2.2.2 Worldmaking, affect, and atmospheres

Since the early 2000s, tourism scholars have been alerted to the declarative power of tourism as worldmaking, a term first conceptualized by Nelson Goodman but wielded by Hollinshead (2008) (among others) to express how the creative processes of diverse tourism actors and agencies come to intentionally (or not) privilege particular representations of tourism places over others. Everywhere and always, worldmaking operates in tourism via material and discursive processes that de/re/fabricate, perform, and narrate competing and contesting worlds (Hollinshead, 2009). Scholarship on worldmaking has primarily tended to consider material and discursive processes of representation, although there are some contributions that detail the specific capacities of embodiment, affect, or emotion as contributing factors to the worldmaking process. Tucker (2009) emphasizes the ability of shame to attune tourism researchers to their own roles in the declarative (and colonial) making of tourism worlds, while Swain (2009) explores the role of embodiment in enacting cosmopolitan ethics, and how this might provide guidelines toward more transformative worldmaking. But as Tucker and Shelton (2018) articulate, worldmaking operates through the entanglement of narrative with affect, feeling, or atmosphere. Worlds are not made solely through representation but are also generated and sustained through moments and forces of collective feeling; hopeful feelings or stories about tourism places produce different outcomes than pessimistic ones (Tucker & Shelton, 2018). Similarly, Martini and Buda (2020) express how affects can be engineered by those designing destinations to produce specific tourist outcomes and worlds; they explain that "[a]tmospheres [are] elusive, affective networks [that] are never silent or neutral. They can be grasped as metaphoric or poetic, but they also contain political forces of accountability, discipline, and containment" (p. 686). Affects and atmospheres can be wielded to make worlds.

Generating or maintaining affects and atmospheres is something also linked to projects of nationalism and settler colonialism (Fullenwieder, 2018). Stephens (2016) explains that feelings of nationalism are not always connected to a single source, and can "emanate from multiple constituencies as part of a nebulous, diffuse atmosphere" (p. 182). These feelings are generated through sounds, rhythms, vibrations, and surges (Stephens, 2016), in both everyday embodied experiences and spectacular performances (Miller & del Casino, 2020). Because sound works on the body via sensations that can precede consciousness, it can also transmit (or act as) affect, prompting situational and contextual feelings that change how individuals and groups of people experience place, spaces, and events (Gallagher, 2016). This type of collective feeling is often seen as a net positive for nation-building (Stephens, 2016), where atmospheres can produce and maintain nostalgic familiarity (Hollinshead, 2009), and connect us to religious, cultural, national, and social histories (Buda et al., 2014). Positive, celebratory feelings of belonging and "goodness" subsequently are also seen to uphold settler colonial and national hegemony (Murphy, 2015). In comparison, deep feeling can also be shown to prompt settlers to develop reconciliatory ethics (Stinson et al., 2022) but also might be questioned as to how often it leads to material action (Daigle, 2019; Robinson, 2014). Accordingly, producing and maintaining the world is an affective, collective process, in which tourism holds a unique capacity and power, as it is in the business of representing and selling both places and how they feel. But as Buda et al. (2014) articulate, what ends up being felt "… is both imagined and material, individual and

collective" (p. 112). And because those of us who make worlds (i.e., all of us) are always pre-programmed by tourism mediating agencies to look at things a certain way, we likely also always already feel a certain way, too (Hollinshead et al., 2009). Without recognizing when and where those feelings are also mechanisms that normalize settler colonial worlds and settler common sense (Rifkin, 2013), we will continue to both ignore the power of affect in general, and the potential of affect to be an avenue through which research itself might be unsettled. Thus, if we must intentionally interfere in tourism worldmaking—specifically settler worldmaking—it is understandable that some of this interference must be affective.

2.3 Listening methodologies: Curiosity and critique

2.3.1 Curiosity and critique

This article and its unsettling desire begin with my situated curiosity: a "troubling and troublesome" (Loveless, 2019, p. 29) swell of questions, a postdisciplinary practice of accountability. Through situated curiosity, I land in the very loud, very resonant settler colonial national project of Niagara Falls. My curiosity is subsequently guided by previous work in tourism that locates research methodology, methods, and representation as entangled with the making of the world, i.e., as worldmaking. Here, worldmaking is both an analytic framework and a performative practice, where doing research is also an act of worldmaking, a declarative process that has ethical and political outcomes (Hollinshead & Suleman, 2017). Further, this article is also informed by postdisciplinary ways of knowing and being. Hollinshead (2012) explains that the power of postdisciplinarity is particularly salient in situations where heavy disciplinary responses are insufficient in attending to the multiplicity of possible worlds, "especially in scenarios where the representational projections of tourism have deeply political symbolism" (p. 57). As the affective geographies of Niagara Falls are entangled with (and make) multiple worlds, my methodologies are similarly multiple.

My curious orientation to research also aligns with tenets of relational methodologies like actor-network theory, particularly those that "[position] the world as an outcome of a process of inquiry" (Ruming, 2009, p. 425), or, as a made world. This orientation is also decidedly critical, in that it involves intervention, both in and via methodology and beyond (Kuntz, 2015). This also ensures that my wielding of curiosity is geared toward a politics of worldmaking that confronts societal injustice and demands urgent societal transformation (Kuntz, 2015). In my work in and with the city of Niagara Falls, the specifics of worldmaking are decidedly excessive, uncertain, and unsettled, which necessitates an orientation to mediating aspects of worldmaking that are emergent, like affects and atmospheres. I enact these specific worldmaking practices in the spirit of other critical and interventionist work in tourism that seeks to locate colonial stories, trouble them, and offer unsettling alternatives as an ethical and political imperative aligned with decolonization (Grimwood et al., 2019b).

2.3.2 Listening

I also enact situated curiosity as a listening methodology, a postdisciplinary and embodied orientation to research (Wilson et al., 2019). By this I do not mean that sound itself is the inherent object of research, but that any related tracing, researching, data-entanglement, or

analysis is led first through a slow, intentional attunement grounded in the transformative politics of sound (Kanngieser, 2015). As Kanngieser (2015) explains, sound is not solely about hearing or responding, but about becoming aware of registers (and ways of being) that might be unfamiliar. While sound is inherently relational it is also generative, as the process of giving and receiving sound—listening—is an active (and thus always-productive) process. Accordingly, attending to sound has the possibility to change, disrupt, shift, and unsettle things (Kanngieser, 2015). And, importantly, we cannot listen without inhabiting our personal social, cultural, physical, and affective locations (Kanngieser & Todd, 2020); we are subjectified and situated by sound, as listening requires us to be in our bodies in space and time (Wilson et al., 2019). Therefore, part of listening (as methodology, as politic) also involves (curiously) situating myself —not only as a settler *researcher* geared toward transformative outcomes, but as a *settler* researcher, knowing that my relationship to settler colonialism is never neutral, and that my wants are often both incommensurable with decolonization (Tuck & Yang, 2012) and actively resist good relation (Shotwell, 2019; Tynan, 2021). By this, I mean that despite my personal desires, I do and will always benefit from the structures of settler colonialism, which is a structure inherently built on betraying relationality (Shotwell, 2019); while oriented through care, my curiosity and criticality also involve the possibility of mishearing, overhearing, or unhearing (LaBelle, 2018). Thus, listening also reminds us of the limits of our interpretations and our want for coherence, including how we might slip into reifying a singular "truth" in our analysis or interpretation of digital partialities and fragments (LaBelle, 2018). Listening always comes with contingencies.

The following sections detail and make worlds as they are sounded to whoever might be listening. While these sections include a vast amount of the current representative storying, myth, and worlding about Niagara Falls collected via the constructed public history of tourism websites, citizen reporting, and government media releases, they also contain soundings and resonances of unsettling, change, and disruption gathered via my personal embodied experiences in and with the current settler atmosphere of Niagara Falls. Similar to Stinson et al. (2022), my situated curiosity led me to listen to a variety of "data" ranging from Instagram posts to archival photographs, "momentary" silences to lighting company promotional videos. This also includes atypical, embodied data, including those entangled with varying affective registers and slippages (Miller and del Casino, 2020). The majority of this data was encountered between the time period of April to October 2022; varying sources are flagged via several numbered notes denoted with square brackets that correspond to source material outlined in full in the supplemental data document. Further similar to Stinson et al. (2022), I did not include my own interpretations or translations of Indigenous narratives about Niagara Falls, as I am wary of the complexities behind settler representation of Indigenous oral tradition and metanarrative. Instead, I have focused on the construction of Canadian nationalism via the sound (and silence) of Indigenous and/or settler presence at the Falls. Ultimately, the following sections aim to split open smooth accounts of the messy and reckon with settler colonial structures and histories that make invisible or dispossess (Murphy, 2015). It is my hope that in doing this work we might find a disquieting refrain.

2.4 The spectacle of Niagara Falls, Ontario

Niagara Falls, Ontario is a settler world, made: it is represented as the premier Canadian tourism experience, and often invokes a specific Canadian nationalism represented and made through the harnessing of "nature's power" for both tourism and industry (Hashimoto & Telfer, 2007; Macfarlane, 2021). Historically revered for their incredible wildness, romantic sentiment, and sublime atmosphere, the Falls themselves were an immediate mythic icon, quickly commodified both literally (e.g., via hydropower) and figuratively (e.g., via tourism imaginaries) and linked to Canada's constant quest for relative superiority compared to the United States of America. Despite the sharing of many of the material resources of Niagara Falls (as well as their governance), narrative and discursive power relating to the Falls is frequently wielded differently by the two bordering countries, often subject to change based on the political tone of the moment. Thus, the experience of being in or near the Falls is also "filtered through various lenses, including nationality" (Macfarlane, 2021, p. 183). This waterfall-borne nationalism is further amplified by tourism stakeholders in Niagara Falls, where narratives of Canada's early wartime successes over the United States, the mythologizing of Indigenous peoples to sell tourism experiences (Strand, 2008), and souvenirs emblazoned with the Canadian flag or related Canadian iconography (Hashimoto & Telfer, 2007) all contribute to the making of a "Canadian" colonial atmosphere.

Early settlers and visitors to Niagara Falls also remarked on the transcendent, wondrous, proud, and sublime feeling of being near the Falls, romantic feelings of "frontier" and "wilderness" that Jasen (1995) suggests undergird the Canadian tourist industry in Niagara. These feelings of proximate wonder and terror via the sublime were furthered not only by the sheer visual scale of the Falls, but also by its sound, as evidenced by its likening to thunder, the roar of demons, and its primal, sexual roil (Dubinsky, 1994; Jasen, 1995); indeed, the affect of the sublime is transcendent, and extends beyond human subjectivity (Martini & Sharma, 2022). Consequently, as Jasen (1995) explains, "Niagara [was] the ultimate test of the 'civilized' man or woman's ability to feel deeply, to transcend the world of the mundane, to hear Nature speak, and to live abundantly" (p. 33, emphasis added). Despite the obvious challenges to and pitfalls of this nature-culture-reifying narrative, it remains important in explaining why and how Niagara Falls commodifies its waterfall, interprets it through a settler colonial frame of natural/national resource predicated on Indigenous dispossession via the creation of parks (Stinson & Lunstrum, 2021), and continues to produce a distinct settler atmosphere (Simmons, 2019). This atmosphere is intentionally constructed (e.g., via local governments, tourism boards, and advertising campaigns) and also continuously maintained (e.g., via tourists posting to social media) as the "patriotic spirit of the Niagara region" [1]. It is also deeply felt by tourists. Settler colonial Canada—in all its glory—is what was to be toured, sold, and felt at Niagara.

2.4.1 Fireworks and Falls Illumination

In the regular summer tourist season, Niagara Falls has firework displays every single night as part of "Canada's longest running" pyrotechnic spectacle [2]. These displays are deemed the Falls Firework Series, and are operated by the Niagara Parks Commission, with support from the City of Niagara Falls, Ontario; the City of Niagara Falls, New York; and Niagara Falls Tourism

(among others). The Falls Firework Series ran for 144 days in 2022, and generally runs from Victoria Day weekend, in late May, to Canadian Thanksgiving, in early October [3]. Even by virtue of the holidays that temporally-bound their scheduling, these fireworks operate to and within a settler atmosphere, on settler time.

It's impossible to separate fireworks displays from their histories of war, nationalism, and spectacle. Developed in thirteenth century China, fireworks were quickly enrolled for use after military victories and for celebratory purposes (Werrett, 2011). Now, fireworks are a routine part of local, provincial, and national celebrations of Canada, and are associated worldwide with triumphant political moments; they are a true artistic "mass medium" (Kalba, 2012). Fireworks are loud and noisy—a central part of their experience—but also enact an "extreme visuality" that has atmospheric effects, as fireworks are designed to surpass any visual expectation (Kalba, 2012). When paired with a location like Niagara Falls, their ephemeral nature and early-history relationship to the sublime is also inescapable—before their common use as markers of nationalism, they were used to mimic natural phenomena like comets, rain, and lightening (Werrett, 2011). While fireworks are consistently used to invoke atmospheric awe, and (like tourism) "enchant" viewers via the separation of the spectacular and the everyday (Kalba, 2012), in Niagara Falls this separation is always-already a moot point, as daily displays render the city forever celebratory, spectacular, sublime, natural, and "Canadian."

But fireworks are not the only dominant spectacle in Niagara Falls: both the American Falls and the Canadian Horseshoe Falls are bathed in vibrant coloured light every night of the year [4]. When the Falls were first illuminated on September 14, 1860 [5], it marked the "largest object ever illuminated at the time," and resulted in the "birthplace of lighting design" [6]. These (eventually) nightly lighting displays are managed by the Niagara Falls Illumination Board (NFIB), a binational board registered as an Ontario Not-For-Profit corporation "made up of representatives from the City of Niagara Falls, Ontario; the City of Niagara Falls, New York; Ontario Power Generation Inc.; New York Power Authority; New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation; and The Niagara Parks Commission" [7]. Established in 1925—with its own mythic origin story about the illuminative power of lightening [8]—the NFIB determines via public policy the schedule and content of Falls Illuminations, and the political scope of what they might possibly represent [9]. At the time of writing, the NFIB ran a lighting show entitled "Inspired by Nature," "featur[ing] colour palettes and movements inspired by nature, including the sunrise, aurora borealis, rainbow and sunset" [10]. On national holidays like Canada Day, the Falls Firework Series and the NFIB work in tandem to manufacture incredible displays that enroll the Falls in the resulting spectacle. The NFIB also accepts special illumination requests via a form on the Niagara Parks website, although these requests must meet a number of specific requirements [11]. According to the Special Illumination Policy, none of the illuminations can ever be accompanied by sound [12]. In effect, both the reasons for certain illumination choices and the process by which these decisions are made are both materially and metaphorically silent, particularly for tourists literally witnessing them: on any average night there are no emplaced informative signs or accompanying explanations that detail why the Falls is any particular colour, what those colours mean, or how those colours are chosen.

2.4.2.Canada Day and the National Day for Truth and Reconciliation

Canada Day often comes with a "deliberately crafted party atmosphere" designed to foster national unity (Hayday, 2010, p. 87). Originally Dominion Day (but re-named in 1982), Canada Day marks the anniversary of the year Canada became a country. Most years, Canada Day is celebrated with events and festivals in cities across the country, with especially large celebrations occurring in the national capital and in Niagara Falls. These celebrations almost always include fireworks. However, many recent Canada Day fireworks displays in Niagara Falls have been affected by COVID-19 restrictions and varying States of Emergency since the spring of 2020. While the cancellation of the 2020 Falls Firework Series and in-person Canada Day celebrations were explicitly linked to 10-person gathering restrictions brought on by the COVID-19 pandemic [13, 14], the 2021 Canada Day celebration cancellation was instead linked to "the tragic discoveries at the sites of former residential schools" [15] of (then) 751 unmarked graves [16] despite the Provincial restrictions still limiting outdoor gatherings to 25 people [17]. The finding of these graves marked the first time many settlers were made cognizant of the horrors that took place at Canada's residential schools, something Indigenous peoples were always quite clear about. Indeed,

> [r]esidential schools, which existed in Canada for over 120 years, were confinement sites where Indigenous children resided or attended as part of the government's policy of "aggressive assimilation" … [which] subjected many of these children to harsh treatment, including physical and sexual abuse, as well as systematic attempts to eliminate Indigenous cultures and languages from their lives. Until 1996 when the final school closed over 150,000 First Nations, Inuit, and Metis children were subjected to these conditions—with an estimate that over 6,000 children died while in these schools (McDonald, 2019, p. 1).

It is, however, challenging to not be cynical about this cancellation when Canada Day in Niagara Falls is often positioned as one of the biggest business opportunities of the year for tourism (and at the time was already disrupted by COVID-19). Regardless, the systemic violence and national embarrassment of the residential school system was thrust front and centre, as Canadians were alerted to the structural and systemic process by which Indigenous children were disappeared from their communities; the revelation of the graves confirmed what many Indigenous families always knew: "disappeared" likely meant killed. Following consultation with the Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation, the NFIB approved orange illuminations (alternating with the usual red-and-white Canadian colours) "as a symbol of solidarity with Indigenous communities and in recognition of Canada Day as an opportunity for reflection and learning" [18]. This continued into 2022, when the Falls Firework Series and national holiday celebrations resumed, with Canada Day attracting "unusually large crowds," [19] although pre-pandemic tourist numbers often reached 80,000 [20].

Although special fireworks displays are common on Canada Day and other national holidays, in 2022 an additional special fireworks display was approved for the National Day for Truth and Reconciliation—also known as Orange Shirt Day [21]—a new Canadian national holiday of mourning held for the first time on September 30, 2021. Orange Shirt Day is a grassroots

commemorative day turned official Canadian holiday, and was conceived by Northern Secwpemc (Shuswap) woman Phyllis Webstad to raise awareness of the intergenerational impacts of the residential school system, of which she herself was a survivor: on her first day at residential school, she arrived wearing a brand new orange shirt, which was quickly taken from her [22]. The new special fireworks display for Orange Shirt Day was to be accompanied by a yearly orange Falls illumination. The NFIB received illumination requests to light the Falls in orange on September 30th from local Indigenous partners as early as 2019, with the date being officially secured in 2021 following a lengthy request from a local Indigenous leader [23]. While the NFIB explains that decision on "[a] special illumination is at the sole discretion of the NFIB and not subject to appeals or negotiation," and that if an illumination request is declined "it is not a reflection of the merits or importance of any requests," the actual mechanism for making decisions between one request and another is not made public [24]. However, during the two years prior when the lighting of the Falls in orange was held in the week before Orange Shirt Day, the Illumination resulted massive binational media recognition [25]. Consequently, Niagara Parks now details Webstad's legacy, including noting that "[t]he colour orange has become a symbol of the stripping away of culture, freedom and self-esteem, experienced by Indigenous children over generations and as an affirmation of the commitment to ensure that every child matters" [26]. The NFIB does not reserve any colour for any particular cause [27], and the Falls are routinely cast in an orange glow for non-Truth and Reconciliation related purposes, even in close temporal proximity to Orange Shirt Day [28].

In 2022, Orange Shirt Day was celebrated in Niagara Falls with a full docket of events sanctioned by Niagara Parks, including a free concert "of renowned and award-winning Indigenous and allied musicians," a traditional Sunrise Ceremony, an event sharing the story of Orange Shirt Day, and an orange Falls Illumination and fireworks display featuring a "special orange finale" [29]. I attended this firework and illumination display, as I have attended many of the nightly displays of the Falls Firework Series over the past several years. As a resident of Niagara Falls, these nightly spectacles are routine: at 10:00pm each night there are four to five minutes of fireworks set off electronically from below the Falls on the Canadian side [30]. The fireworks follow a somewhat consistent pattern, and end with a short (but stunning) finale featuring cascading fireworks that some locals say are meant to represent the waterfall. A massive eruption of cheering, clapping, and whooping is common.

The September 30, 2022 Orange Shirt Day fireworks were a bit different. The usual crowds lined the walkways overlooking the Falls, with many onlookers clustered together, wearing orange shirts, waiting patiently. At 10:00p.m. the Falls were bathed in orange light, and the (also orange) fireworks began. The evening was damp and cold, and the sonic ricochets of fireworks tumbled through the crisp air, reverberating off the walls of the gorge into the night. The finale came quickly, and the display ended with the usual cascading sparks, although this time (of course) they were orange. But the timing of the event seemed miscalculated, and a minor delay between the larger, louder aspects of the finale and the "representative" orange cascades meant that the "last hurrah" was fumbled. Instead of the usual eruption of cheering and celebration from the onlookers, what followed was a deeply uncomfortable, self-conscious moment of silence.

Wavering between a true, respectful moment of silent reverence for those affected by settler colonialism and residential schools in Canada and a strange, accidental inaction, the penultimate "celebratory" moment of Orange Shirt Day was a deeply-felt, achingly awkward "what do we do now?" backed only by the roiling roar of the Falls.

2.4.3 Sound and silence

The manufacture and maintenance of settler atmospherics works to uphold worldmaking in Niagara Falls, while also "blurring the hard lines we often fix between accommodation and resistance" (Alderman et al., 2022, p. 207), especially where changes are initially fought for by Indigenous community members as a national educational opportunity [31]. This blurring of lines is typical in instances where a worldmaking (tourism) state inherits images, ideas, or culture from local (often marginalized people), and objectifies and contaminates them with its own will (Hollinshead, 2009). To offer an example, in their video about designing the lighting systems for the Falls Illumination, the Vice President of Mulvey and Banani Lighting Incorporated says, "[s]tructures and objects mean different things to different people, and one of the cool things about light is lighting connects people to those objects [32]." It is further explained that if the Falls are washed in pink light, someone with breast cancer might feel connected to them [33]. The inference is that this is also why the Falls are illuminated with orange on the Day for Truth and Reconciliation, and alternate orange with red and white on Canada Day: as a symbol of moving away from a strictly celebratory Canada Day, toward a more reflective, more reconciliatory national holiday. Despite the affective power and transformative potential of these initial events [34], subsequent efforts toward inclusion, recognition, and "multicultural embracing" frequently result in sanitized (or sanitizing) national narratives (McDonald, 2019), like those that paint Canada as "truly sorry," reconciled country, with all colonial horrors positioned undeniably in the past (Daigle, 2019). This process also re-casts the Falls not only as an icon of a wild, natural, untameable Canada (both "inherently" and via the Inspired by Nature illumination show) but as a demure, reflective Canada, literally bathed in a reconciliatory orange glow. Indeed, Canadian nationalism has always been a resource-based nationalism (Stinson & Lunstrum, 2021), one that is undeniably linked to nature, wilderness, and land as both a material and discursive commodity. Now, the Falls might be resourced as a never-ending current of reconciliatory feeling, a source not solely of hydropower, but of settler atmospherics.

In a directly related process, the explicit linking of fireworks to national projects of belonging, their daily showings from Victoria Day to Canadian Thanksgiving, and their coupling with the recurrent natural and political illuminations means that fireworks become a key part of the banal nationalism (Hayday, 2010) and benign colonialism (Miller & del Casino, 2020) in Niagara Falls, constantly made through other symbols like displaying Canadian flags, and showings of "nature's power." It is worth noting again that although the material resources of the Falls Firework Series and the governance of the Falls Illumination are binational, the discursive use of these resources is subject to capture and manipulation by either bordering country for partisan political means. Indeed, daily fireworks displays covertly install and construct felt celebratory nationalism—which in Canada is always already settler colonialism, as Canada and its Parks (including Niagara Parks) would not exist without settler occupation and resourcing of its lands

—into the everyday tourism worldmaking in Niagara Falls, rendering these feelings and atmospheres commonplace, everyday, and non-events (Miller and del Casino, 2020). Ironically, this means that when fireworks are employed to mark events deserving of reverence and mourning (like Orange Shirt Day) they might be less effective at actually marking reconciliatory aims, and instead become solely what Daigle (2019) calls a spectacle of reconciliation—"a public, large-scale and visually striking performance of Indigenous suffering and trauma alongside white settler mourning and recognition—which secures, legitimates, and effectively reproduces white supremacy and settler futurity in Canada" (p. 706). The construction of such spectacles is intentional, and is premised on circulating specific affects meant to transcend individual interpretation. By witnessing the fireworks displays, settlers can assure themselves that they have actively participated in reconciliatory efforts, something often oriented toward alleviating feelings of guilt, not using that guilt to galvanize reconciliatory action (Daigle, 2019). Because spectacle in Niagara Falls is everyday (via fireworks and illumination), reconciliatory spectacle—a source of settler atmospherics—also becomes commonplace.

Consequently, unsettling the settler atmospherics of the Falls Firework Series and the workings of the NFIB has potential worldmaking effects. This entangled unsettling/worldmaking process has many forms, but I will highlight two of them here. First, following Robinson (2014), settlers might identify where and when our experience of collective affect is conflated with the efficacy of a holiday and/or memorial performance (be it fireworks or a musical accompaniment) and further amplified by the spatio-temporal landscape and how that landscape is shared (and by whom). By this, I mean that following Robinson (2014), settlers must take seriously how often we mark the feeling of reconciliation as proof that "we have done something," especially when this feeling is transmitted among large gatherings of diverse people—how often do white settler affects overwhelm other potential collective feelings? Only in marking the seductiveness of reconciliatory collective feeling as insufficient (and thus a stand-in for possible future material action) might we be moved to unsettle the so-called "sufficiency" of the feeling itself. The feeling is a reconciliatory inroad (Stinson et al., 2022), and has great potential to educate the public [35], but it is nowhere near "complete" unsettling. Interrogating our own feelings of reconciliation may assist settlers in identifying when we are being swept up in spectacle or settler atmospherics, and allow us to resist, recalibrate, and return to relations of responsibility and accountability (Daigle, 2019; Stinson et al., 2022).

Second, settlers might recognize when calls to cancel daily firework displays due to their disruptive sonic and material qualities are also not leveraged at larger performances which are more clearly discursively related to national celebration (e.g., Canada Day). Though local residents to Niagara Falls rightly claim that firework displays are terrible for the environment (Seidel and Birnbaum, 2015), prolong post-traumatic stress disorder [36], upset dogs [37], and harm local animal populations [38], these same critiques are never leveraged toward the Canadian settler state in general, despite both academic work and stories from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Final Report that mark settler colonialism as deeply harmful to Indigenous peoples, the environment and land, and the climate broadly. This lack of considering settler colonialism writ large as also or even more damaging to the environment perpetuates

climate coloniality—"an ongoing relation of uneven consumption based on the exploitation and sacrifice of some peoples and ecologies for the benefit of others" (Sheller, 2021, p. 1141)—of which tourism is both a casualty and a contributor. In the context of Niagara Falls, questioning tourism's general entanglement with declining or augmented animal populations, environmental strife, and noise pollution urges a much more complex unsettling analysis than solely blaming fireworks. Instead, settlers might consider the broader, detrimental implications of colonialism on the climate, as well as the related environmental conditions that far exceed the damage from firework smoke and sound.

2.5 Conclusions

This article has opened Simmons' (2019) concept of settler atmospherics to consider the affective capacities of settler atmospheres, their maintenance, and their enrolment in practices of tourism worldmaking as a contribution to further understanding the affective geographies of tourism (Alderman et al., 2022; Molz & Buda, 2022). Settler atmospherics are undeniably material. But they are also ephemeral, sonic, and affective: they solidify to "settle" common conceptions about Canada's controversial history of settler colonialism by rendering reconciliation both a felt effect of participating in tourism, and a normalized collective structure of feeling aimed at perpetuating founding myths about the Canadian nation-state (which further support the tourism state). These myths include those oriented toward terra nullius and the existence of the Canadian "wild" (i.e., Canada was settled because the land was empty) and the Canadian peacemaker myth (i.e., that Canadians only want to "do good" and "save Indigenous people") (Grimwood et al., 2019b). Settler atmospherics are more than just a feeling—they support the structures of feeling that authorize and make some tourism worlds more dominant than others, and they support the structure of settler colonialism. As both a physical and discursive icon of Canada, Niagara Falls is enrolled via both narrative and affect—by worldmaking—to perpetuate the resourcing of settler atmospherics. As a natural, national resource historically linked to feelings of pride, wonder, abundance, and "the wild," (Jasen, 1995), the Falls are now forever enrolled in generating a new natural, national resource: reconciliation.

There is substantial room for continuing this work, particularly when it comes to further interrogating other settler atmospherics, structures of feeling, or normalized national-affective practices (Stephens, 2016) and their roles in upholding affective geographies of tourism. First, there is space to further consider the content of settler atmospherics, and how they are often premised on foundational feelings and myths about Canada as "natural," "wild," "empty," "powerful," and "sublime," even in the context of Niagara Falls, where much of the tourist infrastructure is consistently critiqued as denigrating the landscape (Macfarlane, 2021). The consistency of the prior "Inspired by Nature" display, coupled with the persistent narrative that the Falls is an icon of Canadian national (natural) pride renders many of these feelings developed through and in relation to a settler colonial sentiment of "wild" nature "tamed" by Canada (and by tourism). Of course, feelings of wonder and awe at tourism attractions are to be expected. But these feelings are not just private—they are public, and they regulate how tourism spaces are used or might be experienced (Buda et al., 2014). My suggestion here is not to discourage people from feeling things about the Falls, but rather to provide further context to those feelings,

perhaps through detailing on relevant tourism websites how these types of feelings are based in certain national narratives (as well as the erasure of Indigenous peoples and histories) and how they might work to promote romanticized or otherwise inaccurate and harmful versions of Canada (Grimwood et al., 2019a)

Second, there is room for both settlers and settler researchers to consider their own participation in tourism events in relation to settler atmospherics, their contagion, and how we might critique these diffuse and amoebic collective feelings (Stephens, 2016). Part of listening is not only marking sounds but marking silences. This renders listening a deeply relational and affective practice wherein settlers might become aware of their own discomforts, limitations, and assumptions, and reckon with their potential limits and incommensurabilities in unsettling (Kanngieser & Todd, 2020; Tuck & Yang, 2012). As Natanel (2022) explains, listening to and through feeling "make[s] us aware of what it means to be implicated, even included, in a collective narrative—to recognize ourselves as sharing the script or map that enables power and violence to endure. But [it] also take[s] us elsewhere, toward stories we have not written and realities we have not built, because it is not our place to do so" (p. 19). Listening methodologies (or the postdisciplinary politics of listening) thus are also geared toward the actual and the metaphoric—toward noting what stories are being told (and by who), how those stories are authorized (and by what), and literally how those stories are told (or not). Silences can also be made or marked through politics of inclusion and spectacle that work against more substantial material change. As Fullenwieder (2018) explains, processes like "[r]econciliation can obscure ongoing colonial dispossession and violence […] as it asserts a false and premature sense of historical closure and mutuality" (p. 423). This might be seen in the focus on Indigenous inclusion in Canada Day but not the cancelling of Canada Day or the return of any land, a deference to more moderate performances of recognition and remorse (Daigle, 2019) even in the face of protest, push-back, and substantial calls to do so (Spiteri, 2021; Miller, 2022).

Finally, settlers might consider the mechanisms via which settler atmospherics are generated. These mechanisms include both the physical infrastructures designed to produce such atmospherics (e.g., lighting design with no permanent explanatory signage), but also the sensory transmission and its quality (e.g., light vs. sound). As the Canadian government aims to co-opt visual markers of reconciliation (like the colour orange, via fireworks or lighting displays) to perpetuate settler atmospherics, we might find further disquieting potential by turning to sound; sound can change things (Kanngieser, 2015). As spectacles—including those of reconciliation—are premised on a hyper-visuality of one thing that often obscures another (Baloy, 2016), unsettling them through revealing their production and maintenance might also disrupt their ability to produce settler atmospherics. Todd (2014) explains that sound and soundscapes are powerful means through which Indigenous stories and self-determination might be actualized in city spaces across Canada. As sound propagates affect through space in varying ways and has diverse effects on diverse bodies (Gallagher, 2016), it also might be worthwhile to consider how sonic interference (via non-sanctioned music, chants, or otherwise) might disrupt settler atmospherics, and how this might be targeted at settlers. This might mean making a more concerted attempt to consider sonic capacities within the affective geographies of tourism, in part

by encouraging more disciplinary trespass between tourism and sound studies. Ultimately, because decolonization is an aural process (Todd, 2014), unsettling must be as well, including unsettling the affective geographies of tourism.

While Jasen (1995) was right to identify the "unstable relationship between tourism and reality," (p. 51) at Niagara Falls, her assessment of the nature of this relationship was misdirected. It's not that tourism at Niagara Falls doesn't accurately reflect reality, it's that Niagara Falls is a world constantly re-made through tourism—tourism premised on a particular narrative and feeling of a Canada that was always already founded on the dispossession and elimination of Indigenous peoples. Niagara Falls is a settler world, made. But Niagara Falls can be a settler world, unsettled, disrupted, or disquieted. As Murphy (2015) explains, "[b]eyond simply a politics of dismantling, unsettling is a politics of reckoning with a world already violated: it is a commitment to desedimenting relationships that set the political, economic, and geopolitical conditions of knowledge-making, world-making, forgetting, and world destruction" (p. 732). Unsettling—or disquieting—settler atmospherics in Niagara Falls is thus an ethical imperative for those of us involved in the making of tourism worlds, and a possible point of consideration for those interested in understanding the production and maintenance of the structures of feeling that support tourism.

[SILENCE: On unsettling settler restlessness]

You might call this section a bridge.

People have done this before.

I'm doing it too.

I've been thinking for a long time about the felt impacts of settler colonialism on settlers, particularly what I've come to think of as *settler restlessness* (for lack of alternative terminologies). These ideas spring up in relation to the tension between tourism and emplacement, something that I haven't yet totally attended to into this dissertation in a way that I think is appropriate. As Carpio et al. (2021) write in their introduction to a Special Issue on settler colonialism and mobilities in *Mobilities,* "settler colonial spaces are structures of mobility injustice" (p. 2) that aim to (among other things) restrict the movement and temporal presence of Indigenous peoples for further elimination. Following this, the ways that spaces of mobility (including spaces of tourism) are constructed intersects with the logics of access to land and resources, for purposes of permanent settlement, wealth and resource extraction, ownership, or even belonging (Carpio et al., 2021). Not only do mobility "needs" undergird the literal infrastructuring of tourism places (see Chapter 3), they also provide material and discursive mechanisms for continuing the logics of elimination via what Capiro et al. (2021) deem *settler anchoring*—the practice of further (incessant) movement once one "place" is settled, a chain reaction of land grabbing and emplacement.

At its most simple, settler restlessness might be seen as at the felt practice or embodied compulsion potentially experienced alongside the material practice of settler anchoring. It is articulated most simply in settlers' entitlement to live and travel anywhere, spurred by feelings of wanderlust, escapism, adventure, and such persistent narratives of world-wide exploration that frequently carry colonial undertones. The darker sides of these so-called "push factors" are well documented and deeply discussed in the literatures around tourist motivation, and indeed are also undergirded by certain settler stories that contextualize these impulses within things like entitlement to know, *terra nullius*, and others (Grimwood et al., 2019b). Emotionally connecting to lands *elsewhere* has the potential to provide emotional legitimacy to settler anchoring, and indeed often only happens *elsewhere* and not with the lands we[20] actually live on and with.

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[20] Alright, I'm going to try. "We" is troublesome, endlessly. Here, the "we" in this section refers to those who share the same land relations I do, so-called white settlers. I am trying, here, to name my audience and to locate the tone of this bridge toward those who I think will benefit from hearing it. I will also refer to a footnote from a prior paper (Stinson et al., 2021, p. 249), which reads as follows: "Lowman and Barker (2015) position Settler identity as a situated, place-based, and processed-based identity that connects a common group of people and practices. Identifying as Settlers, they argue, is a choice to 'foreground issues of agency, responsibility, and accountability with respect to Indigenous nations' through a relational, embodied analysis (Lowman & Barker, 2005, p. 14). Although Whiteness is not a universal aspect of Settler identity, we understand it as a crucial system of value that consistently intersects with settler colonialism through eliminatory, extractive, and genocidal means (Yusoff, 2018)."

There is something deeply strange about using travel as a mode of enacting connection to land while ignoring that exact connection when "back home."

Consequently, *settler restlessness* reveals the ways that settlers' deep non-relation to land is contextualized as one of the ways in which participation in upholding the structure of settler colonialism is incredibly harmful to everyone constrained by it, including settlers (Carlson-Manathara & Rowe, 2021; Murphy, 2018). This is not to suggest that the harm incurred by settler colonialism to settlers is in any way, shape, or form of equal magnitude to the genocide and horror of that experienced by Indigenous peoples, but instead to suggest that without actively working to disrupt settler colonizer tendencies, settlers will continue to *enact suffering* from their non-relation to land (Murphy, 2018), and via their impulse to emotionally connect *elsewhere*. Indeed, settler colonialism is predicated on a deep betrayal of relationality (Shotwell, 2019), something that comes along with its structural formations designed to sever land into property (la paperson, 2014; Tuck & Yang, 2012; Coulthard, 2014). This relationality might also be enacted as a felt practice of searching for connection.

The key part of what I am trying to express lies in locating restlessness as both a *feeling* and an *impulse*, one that (like other feelings) we must take seriously if we believe the world is made of more than mechanized data held in Excel spreadsheets. Feelings are not things that are just private or individual matters (Buda et al., 2014), they are situated public and collective states—what Raymond Williams called *structures of feeling*—that undergird historic and present societal norms (Mackey, 2014; Natanel, 2022; Robinson, 2014; Rifkin, 2013). And feelings, of course, are guideposts toward potential other ways of being (McKinley, 2018; Tucker, 2009); they are often *necessary* (in terms of their being crucial to the act of being or doing otherwise), but they are not *sufficient* (as they do not aways result in such material change or action). Put in other words, we must not simply conflate affect—feeling—with efficacy (Robinson, 2014).

But feelings are not just tendencies or proclivities (nor are they just collective and structural) and as such they should not exist solely as something to be intellectualized and then put aside. Feelings, of course, are *felt.* And settler restlessness is something I believe is also felt, felt deeply, felt uncomfortably, and should be felt as a discomforting compass (Lowman & Barker, 2015) or uncertainty (Mackey, 2014). la paperson (2017) also remarks that feelings of vertigo, of dizziness (of unsettlement?) might be intuition speaking, a flag and a directive toward the notion that something is wrong with current settler attempts at attachment within the severed structural relations of settler colonialism. In a related question, Shotwell (2019) asks "[i]f [settlers] are structurally situated as people defined by failures of relational reciprocity, what should we do?" (Shotwell, 2019, p. 9). Her response is to suggest that settlers claim what she calls "bad kin," to choose to mark our relations to white supremacists, for settlers to name that we benefit from the work of those striving to maintain social and political inheritances that harm and refuse Indigenous peoples (Shotwell, 2019). I feel there is a similar, related imperative here related to land, place, and the entitlement to both (as Mackey [2014] describes): a felt process that marks the fact that "settlers come to stay" (Wolfe, 2006) for land, resources, and for Indigenous elimination (Englert, 2020) as not only a lie (Carpio et al., 2021) but a literal cover for settler

anchoring and its felt practices of restlessness. Colonialism works as a *felt* impulse (Rifkin, 2013). And restlessness (in these formations) is an insatiable, parasitic response (Whyte, 2018). Instead of following this restlessness to legitimize further settling, might we—settlers—sit with it instead?

So my suggestion here is that there's a contradiction to unsettling*,* which is that people who have settled cannot enact the responsibility of unsettling by fearing our own emplacement, especially if that emplacement means we become naturalized (i.e., work hard to live in right relation) (Kimmerer, 2013; Stinson et al., 2021). Tuck and McKenzie (2015) write that places are practices, and they do not have steady boundaries. How are settlers supposed to practice place *otherwise* if we are so quick to mark only tourism and travel as the spacetimes for deep feeling with place? I see this feeling *with* place—resisting settler restlessness—to be a part of the unsettling work that I can do as a felt practice: connect with the place that I *live*, even when it is hard to care for. Even when structures of settler colonialism and processes of capitalism mark it as spent, ruined, and defaced[21]. Even when it is not adventuresome, even when it is not exotic. This is not to resist the urge to travel (the answer isn't "don't do tourism," of course[22]) but to resist the urge to run from the work of connecting to place, and to resist the urge to mark travel as the *only* place where one can "feel big feelings with the land." I think that this is another way that settlers might further enact our responsibility to "[position] our work in critical proximity to colonizing narrative structures" (Grimwood, 2021, n.p.), even when its is hard: to refuse our own restlessness. Ironically, sometimes the work is to stay (Stinson et al., 2021).

Finally, settler restlessness also relates to certain proclivities in research spaces enacted by settlers, especially those that have overlap with enacting mechanisms of capture; giving into the drive to create more "data" (Frenette, 2023); research-based logics of extraction (Kuntz, 2015); the entitlement to Indigenous lands, knowledge, and lives (Recollect & Johnson, 2019); and the politics of urgency and urgent response as a facet of colonization and white supremacy (Robinson, 2020). Resisting settler (research) restlessness enacts a confluence here with with the work of Robinson (2014; 2020), Kanngieser (2023), and Kanngieser and Todd (2020) who suggest various research-related practices actioned through listening, attunement, and being with place. In particular (and directly related to the titling of this bridge), Robinson (2020) remarks on the settler listening tendency of *hungry listening*: the prioritization of the capture and certainty of data, as well as its felt quality. Instead, orienting to affect and feeling alongside normative settler listening habits (both literal and epistemological) allows settler researchers to imagine (or audiate) otherwise—both "to develop strategies for different transformative politics of listening […] to move us beyond settler listening fixations" (Robinson, 2020, p. 38) and that "[require] that the 'fevered' pace of consumption for knowledge resources be placed aside in favour of new

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[21] Gratitude here to Bobbie Chew Bigby and her work in both teaching, exemplifying, and embodying what caring for such places looks like, both though her own work and through her work with the Quapaw stewards of Tar Creek (Bigby et al., 2023).

[22] And sometimes the answer *is* don't do tourism. We see calls for this more and more, recently, as evidenced by many Indigenous nations closing their borders to tourists during COVID-19 (Leonard, 2020) or due to massive overtourism (Aikau & Gonzalez, 2019).

temporalities of wonder disoriented from antirelational and non situated settler colonial positions of certainty" Robinson, 2020, p. 53). Restlessness is also about an *urgent* urge to know and capture, and the *embodied feeling*[23] that accompanies this impulse.

This section is called SILENCE to mark the other side of the settler-tourist place relation: the lingering settler tendency to refuse to connect (and do work in) the places that we, settlers, live. The paper presented in Chapter 3 tries to practice some of this connection, accountability, and responsibility.

[23] To be very clear, when I say settler restlessness is a felt tendency I am not being metaphoric. I literally *feel* this tendency in my very person when I am faced with the demands of urgency or the compulsions of settler colonial capitalism. Doing the work of processing, unlearning, and not acting on this restlessness has been the subject and practice of this dissertation, broadly. It is still there, for me, right under my skin. (If being a settler is also your land relation, can you feel it too?)

Chapter 3: An infrastructural mediation on tourism value extraction

3.1 Introduction

During the early days of the COVID-19 pandemic I started spending a lot of time hanging out with an abandoned pyramidal IMAX building. Located in an expansive parking lot in the tourist city of Niagara Falls, Ontario the building was magnetic to me, but it wasn't until years later that I learned of its enrolment in the construction of a psychic forcefield meant to protect people from the power of the famous, proximate waterfall. But this paper isn't about that… at least not entirely. Instead, this paper is about how this building came to be: what came before it, what came after it, and how its location was made by and helped make tourism in the city of Niagara Falls. In spending time with the IMAX site (Image 3.1) and in witnessing the inevitable demolition of the building itself, I was alerted to much more than a closed history about its construction and maintenance—I was alerted to the entangled processes of the infrastructuring of tourism, and how said processes are implicated in tourism's relations to value extraction and ruination in Niagara Falls.

Image 3.1: The IMAX theatre in winter.

Writings on Niagara Falls as a spectacle, city, and area are widespread and comprehensive. Niagara Falls is one of the world's most well-known tourist destinations, famous as the site of the iconic Horseshoe Falls and the place that tourism began in North America (Jasen, 1995). The Canadian city attracts around 13 million tourists per year (Niagara Canada, 2019) and draws on its political, industrial, and agricultural histories to encourage tourists to visit its incredible dams, canals, and hydroelectric attractions; its many wartime and abolition-related sites; and its vast region of wine tourism. It is also, unsurprisingly, the site of the world's most commercialized waterfall (Macfarlane, 2021). Consequently, Niagara Falls has a diversified and relatively stable

tourist industry (Brouder & Fullerton, 2015), with a sophisticated network of accommodations, transportation, public amenities, and attractions. The aforementioned IMAX building was a well-known part of this tourist infrastructure, and was a recognizable part of the City skyline for over forty years.

In this article I present an historical tracing of the physical property on which the IMAX building sat. Via a spatiotemporally manifold exploration of the site's history, I expose various versions of the extraction of tourism value in Niagara Falls, including interrogations of materially and discursively proximate properties and structures. In doing so, I levy the idea that tourism itself is both an *infrastructure*—"a [thing] and also a relation between things" (Larkin, 2013, p. 329)—and a process of *infrastructuring* (Merriman, 2016; Berlant, 2022) that is lively in its worldmaking and relational ontology (Hollinshead et al., 2009; van der Duim, 2017). I draw on work in science and technology studies (STS) and actor-network theory (ANT) to exemplify the infrastructuring of and by tourism at the IMAX site, and its effects on the material and social formations of tourism. As a contribution to the tourism literature informed by ANT and the politics of tourism ordering (Franklin, 2004), I employ critical and relational theories in order to make visible the processes by which tourism is embroiled in many possible extractions of value from land in Niagara Falls.

Tourism is active in infrastructuring varying material and discursive operations in the City of Niagara Falls; tourism itself becomes the reason for the development, re-zoning, strategic land planning, and redesign of everything from roads, rights of way, decorative agriculture, public improvements, and structural builds and demolitions. In this way, tourism is always-already infrastructural, as it informs the ways in which we physically access, interact with, and mobilize space (Mostafanezhad et al., 2021; Merriman, 2016). But where we might understand infrastructures to traditionally refer to the materially "rigid systems that structurally condition social formations" (Ruiz, 2021, p. 4) upon which a city relies to function (e.g., sewers, telecommunications, roads, bridges, and hydropower), we can also turn to tourism itself as an infrastructural mechanism—or the active infrastructur*ing*—that advances and sediments certain relationships to land and property (or, in this case, certain versions of value extraction relating to tourism). Taken in this way, infrastructuring is an ontological process that is involved not only in the material aspects of social formations but also in the immaterial maintenance of felt social dispositions as it fosters and complicates "the patterns, habits, norms, and scenes of assemblage and use" of land and space (Berlant, 2022, p. 95). Infrastructure subsequently "becomes concretized as a phenomenon that is at once ecological and social, material and relational" (Ruiz, 2021, p. 24); infrastructuring is material-discursive, political, storied, known, and felt.

This article has two entangled aims. First, I aim to demonstrate the use of the *infrastructure/ infrastructuring* terminology in tourism studies, by bringing tourism scholarship into conversation with infrastructural work in STS, mobilities, geography, and anthropology. I provide a short review of the tourism literature as it pertains to discussions of land and property based on a critical orientation considering tourism as also entangled with infrastructural processes to support this aim. I further consider tourism's role in mediating infrastructural

processes of ruination and failure as a persistent habit of extraction, one that is connected to both settler colonialism and capitalism (Büscher & Fletcher, 2017). Second, I aim to provide an exemplary case of tourism's infrastructuring in and of Niagara Falls. I demonstrate that tourism infrastructuring: 1. Upholds and is upheld by processes of commodification and extraction, 2. Is maintained through discourses and stories of exception and, 3. Becomes most visible in its moments of failure (Berlant, 2022; Star, 1999). The utility of documenting the processes of infrastructuring is to reveal the material-discursive mechanisms through which infrastructuring is actualized so we might better understand tourism's entanglement with related processes of value extraction, systems of capitalism, and structures of settler colonialism.

Accordingly, this article takes the form of an *infrastructural mediation*, what Ruiz (2021) explains as "a process that attends to the materialization of infrastructural arrangements across past, present, and future colonial lifeworlds, with particular attention to the contested sites created by extractive capitalism" (p. 4). Though this article is not explicitly oriented to politics of unsettling as discussed elsewhere (see e.g., Stinson, 2023), this article unearths the colonial and capitalist tensions and frictions inherent in Niagara Falls' resource-extractive relation of tourism, particularly in its aims to denaturalize the assumptions of settler colonial Canada, and make legible the processes through which (tourism) resources are endlessly made to appear (Ruiz, 2021). Beginning with the ratification of the Treaty of Niagara in 1764 and ending in current-day 2023, this mediation more-or-less chronologically tracks the cycles of progress and decline associated with tourism at the former Niagara Falls IMAX site, and their related modes of extracting value from the Falls. These modes and instances of extraction range from the zoning of utopian settlement cities, to the manufacturing and investment in tourism property, to the installation of carnival-leisure sites, to the (still-pending) development of yet another hotel. Where Ruiz (2021) asks "How are frontier-making projects themselves made?" (p. 4) I ask the same of tourism-making projects in Niagara Falls.

3.2 Situated scholarly background

3.2.1 Land, value extraction, and infrastructure

Tourism cannot exist without land, or without infrastructure. As encouraged by global processes of neoliberalism and capitalism, much of tourism is premised on acquiring land for development (Liodakis, 2023), a practice that is also entrenched within settler colonialism (Davidson et al., 2023). Often, land acquisition processes are supported by stories rendering land as empty, wild, or needing to be tamed (i.e., *terra nullius*) for purposes of resource extraction, agriculture, and home-making for settlers (Baker, 2002; Jorgensen & Tylecote, 2007) as well as stories that position peoples that might already live on those lands as unable to manage them adequately (Scheyvens & Russell, 2011). Modern land acquisition for tourism purposes remains often violent (Büsher & Fletcher, 2017), including examples where land is grabbed for tourism development after periods of profound disaster (e.g., hurricanes) by both local governments and private entities (Wright et al., 2021). Further, different relations to land have been seen as both barriers to and boons for development at varying times and depending on political tones and modes of governance; for example, Scheyvens and Russel (2011) explain the tensions between the dominant discourses of the challenges in land development for customary lands (i.e.,

communally-shared lands) in the Pacific Islands. Privatization is often seen as the salve to government expropriation of lands for tourism development (e.g., so individuals can continue other economic activities, like farming) (Duong et al., 2020), though this comes with further complexities around who has right to such lands, particularly in places with marginalized populations affected by settler colonialism or other forms of land conflict. In Niagara Falls, lands proximate to the Falls were said to have been "mismanaged" via common pool resources during the initial tourism boom, and was subsequently turned over to Provincial government control (Healy, 2006). The resource value of tourism land is, indeed, the land itself, but is also the social, cultural, and economic capital generated from the land in different ways (Liodakis, 2023).

In the context of cities, infrastructures name the entanglements of material things that structurally maintain the formation of everyday life (e.g., sewer systems, telecommunications, hydropower, roads, bridges, and transportation hubs like airports). Macfarlane (2021) has suggested that Horseshoe Falls itself is an infrastructure, as it works to mobilize resources for the purpose of certain goals. Accordingly, infrastructures are entangled with both human movement and the free circulation of goods and ideas, sentiments entangled with Enlightenment ideals (Larkin, 2013), and functions that are deeply important to tourism. Many tourism scholars have highlighted this, taking infrastructure itself as a unit of analysis as they have considered roads (Caton & Santos, 2007), airports (Varley et al., 2020), and communications technologies (Solima and Izzo, 2017). Britton (1991) notes that aspects of what we now consider integral parts of the tourism industry have long been considered vital parts of territorialization and competition; indeed, hotels and their related infrastructures were often the first construction projects undertaken when settling a so-called "frontier" like Canada. In tourism places—particularly those that are situated in developing countries—such infrastructures are often built or repaired as a result of the tourism economic imperative, not for the sake of the communities that might live in said places (Liodakis, 2023; Büscher & Fletcher, 2017). Infrastructures are as such frequently attached to public conceptualizations of progress, modernity, and wellbeing, often notwithstanding their material impacts or their functionality (Amin, 2014); they are also critiqued as embroiled in liberal imaginaries of progress and freedom (Larkin, 2013). Importantly, this material-discursive orientation considers the physical impacts of infrastructural processes alongside their symbolic power and their affective and aesthetic qualities (Amin, 2014), an analytic form that is particularly useful for tourism places.

3.2.2 Tourism and ruination—infrastructuring cycles

Another aspect of tourism value extraction points to tendencies toward perpetual growth via tourism development as evidenced by the continued use of the Tourism Area Life Cycle model (Butler, 1980). Such orientations smoothly map onto neoliberal models of perpetual growth, putting emphasis on the myth of economic growth as an inherent good (Bellato et al., 2023) and held in binary tension with inevitable decline (with any non-growth, non-decline continuance marked only as "stagnation" or "stasis") (Butler, 1980; Dawney, 2019). This rhetoric is premised on a cyclical approach to ruination, where there is an "inevitability" to degeneration under capitalism. Here, the project of ruination also emerges in relation to settler colonialism, where settlers lay waste to lands, identities, and communities in order to subsume them under colonial

control (Whyte, 2017). Indeed, the structure of settler colonialism extends into even broader global concerns, where environmental apocalypse and the accelerating climate crisis might also be situated as related aspects of ruination (Whyte, 2017). Under such capitalist infrastructuring cycles, waste-lands have similar discursive use to wilderness—both can be claimed via reliance on stories of *terra nullius* (Jorgensen & Tylecote, 2007), and both make invisible historic and contemporary relationships to lived place (Grimwood, 2011). Wielding ruination to describe cycles of progress and "inevitable" decline is thus always-already political: it names a project bolstered by capitalism with the potential to destroy and obscure peoples, places, and relations (Stoler, 2008).

When described this way, connecting ruination to the active infrastructuring of tourism reveals that these are entangled processes that have the potential to inform and affect one another, materially and discursively. Conceptualizing ruination as an aspect of the infrastructural assemblage of tourism does not rely on tourism sites neatly "representing" or "being in" ruin (Dawney, 2019), but rather a consideration of how cycles of progress and decline are formed, upheld, and enacted through and in relation to tourism. But while both processes have a tendency to be read as projects of capitalism, they might also provide fruitful space for considering other modes of being. Such networked-complexity (and its many disturbances) have been read across global scales and many disciplines, but are particularly salient in the work of Tsing (2015) and Tsing et al. (2021) which detail the agencies of non-human beings entangled with broad projects of infrastructure. Importantly, this body of scholarship reveals that an assumed relationship between tourism and ruination (in a linear, negative, prescriptive sense) must not be read here as an inevitability of all land relations, but might be seen instead as an inherent outcome of tourism premised on capitalism and settler colonialism. Liodakis (2023) puts it simply: economic growth and rapid tourism development exist as an imperative of capitalist modes of production, and are indeed a major cause of resource depletion and ruination. Consequently, any want to avoid such ecological degradation "could be seriously considered only in the context of a post-capitalist development" (Liodakis, 2023, p. 413), potentially as a part of degrowth under intentional conditions of political-economic reorganization (Fletcher et al., 2019) that move beyond viewing land as either a capitalist or a (socialist) common-pool resource (la paperson, 2014).

But Berlant (2022) reminds us that even disturbance (i.e., ruination) "allows for collective work to be done in order to build out zones of return for alternative lifeworlds" (p. 95). Dawney (2019) suggests similarly—that these moments of failure point to opportunities to enact "collaborative survival and crisis management in the present to live with the chaos of the future" (p. 34). This perspective is also encouraged by many tourism scholars who argue for the power of tourism as a socializing force (Higgins-Desbiolles et al., 2022) and those that introduce regenerative tourism as an alternative to solely economic-growth focused initiatives (Bellato et al., 2023) or as imbricated in re-thinking tourism's relationship with ruination and regeneration (Stinson & Grimwood, 2020).

3.3 Methodology

3.3.1 Infrastructural mediation

This paper is methodologically informed by Ruiz's (2021) notion of infrastructural mediation which is employed as a tool that exposes how resource frontiers emerge through modes of surveying and conditioning, grounded in arrangements and relations of material and discursive conditions. This approach allows for an onto-methodological orientation to research, where infrastructural mediation is at once a research process, written form, and worldmaking gesture. Such ordering/storying practices are bound up with politics of unsettling (Cameron, 2015; Ruiz, 2021), making visible the often-obscured logics of colonialism that structure, stake, and cordon land into property. Essentially, via infrastructural mediation we might "think alongside the local livelihoods that gave shape to a particular resource frontier in the process of its becoming" (Ruiz, 2021, p. 5) with the aim of accounting for certain formations in order to make room for others.

3.3.2 Actor-network theory (or, tourismscapes as infrastructures)

My reading of infrastructural mediation is broadly informed by actor-network theory (ANT), a critical and relational methodology that also attends to the processes by which things (humans, nonhumans, networks, and hybrids) are assembled and *made.* ANT locates power and agency as distributive properties, and similar to infrastructural mediation also has an ethnographic sensibility (Star, 1999; van der Duim et al., 2017). There is a rich history of ANT-informed scholarship in the field of tourism, ranging from discussions of ontological politics (e.g., Ren, 2011); to more proximate, situated, and collaborative becomings of worlds (e.g., Jóhannnesson, 2019; Kugapi & Höckert, 2022); to conceptualizations as a "methodology of stories" that encourage us to communicate meaningful narratives that attend to assembled relations and complexities (Benali & Ren, 2019). Consequently, I follow in the spirit of previous narrativized ANT-informed tourism work (including my own) (e.g., Stinson & Grimwood, 2020; Stinson et al., 2022) and lean heavily on Law's (2004) assertion that methods and methodologies themselves are an assemblage, "a combination of reality detector and reality amplifier" (p. 14).

Particularly complementary to infrastructural mediation is van der Duim's (2007) work on the *tourismscape*, a tourism-specific analysis that advances processes of tourism ordering (Franklin, 2004) as a continuous performance of relationality. van der Duim (2007) explains that studying tourism this way turns the emphasis away from structures or systems, and toward a politics of association that brings previously-detached things together—the object of analysis becomes "how" things relate, not what things "are." Augmenting the concept of tourismscapes with terminology of *infrastructure* or *infrastructuring* specifically points toward the "material resources and technologies [that] structure, define, and configure interaction" (van der Duim, 2007, p. 968) and how these resources, in particular, undergird the continual process of value extraction via tourism and its interactions with structures of settler colonialism and processes of capitalism. Indeed, "[t]angible outcomes in the forms of land use, buildings, and infrastructure reflect the way particular actor-networks stipulate the organization and production of space," (van der Duim, 2007, p. 969) and wield those spaces for specific purposes. Tourism is both the product of and the mechanism of infrastructuring.

3.3.3 Incoherent mediated methods

Practically, the body of this article takes the form of an infrastructural mediation on what I have referred to as the IMAX site. This minor history is not meant to be comprehensive (as it has been detailed elsewhere, in varying forms) but is instead meant to consider the working of tourism as an infrastructure that simultaneously relates processes of commodification and extraction, is maintained through exceptional storying, and is most revealed in its failure. Informed by Ruiz (2021), I primarily bring together *generative substances* (Stoler, 2008): newspaper articles, "expert" histories, user-generated site reviews, YouTube videos, land parcel registry documents, formal and informal mappings, and embodied experiencing as various styles and types of data. My employment of *mediation* is a partial and relational tracing of "media-related practices of ordering" following Ruiz (2021, p. 162), yet simultaneously relies the more common definition of mediation as "intervention in a process or relationship" (Oxford Languages, n.d., n.p.). As processes of mediation are emergent and unbounded, my data-gathering took place in varying intentional and non-intentional forms from March of 2020 until July of 2023. It consisted of at least ten "site visits" from January of 2021 until the IMAX was eventually fully demolished in July of 2022, as well as archival work at the Brock University Library Archives and Special Collections and the Niagara Falls (Ontario) Public Library (which primarily focused on news media articles from the local newspaper, the Niagara Falls Review). Both of these formal collections contain either literal mappings (i.e., land documents) or discursive mappings (i.e., media-specific material) that undergird one (mainly colonial) archival practice.

The resulting abridged historical output is storied as a material ordering practice (Ruiz, 2021), and is supported by tenets of mess, multiplicity, incoherence, and impurity (Benali & Ren, 2019; Law, 2004). This style of assembling minor, mundane, and marginal stories is to locate and participate in a critically-proximate process of knowledge-and-worldmaking (Jóhannesson et al., 2018). Thus, the storied-cases and their embedded analysis are not intended to represent a "real reality," but are oriented toward worldmaking and performative enacting of many (sometimes incompatible) tourism realities (Benali & Ren, 2019). Where Tsing et al. (2021) express ruination in relation to four modes (i.e., invasion, empire, capital, acceleration), this article considers six versions of tourism value extraction related to land (i.e., conquest, preservation, investment, commercialization, mythologizing, speculation). Each micro-case details one or these relations at the IMAX site with tourism as the infrastructuring agent; each relation is most visible when it fails. The site relation descriptions include numerous numbered notes that correspond to archival and source material; these are detailed in full in the supplementary material.

3.4 Infrastructurings of and through tourism

The demolition of the IMAX pyramid began in May of 2022. Before this demolition, my experiences and interactions with the (abandoned) building had mostly prompted wonderment surrounding the building's form, contents, and feeling, but not its extension into the history of Niagara Falls broadly, nor the construction of the tourist destination itself. Located about a kilometre from the brink of the Canadian Horseshoe Falls (see Image 3.2), the IMAX theatre sat on a 2.55 acre Part of land, crossing Ranges 19, 20, and 21 of the former Plot 145 [1], meaning that this site was embroiled in the zoning of the city as far back as the early 1800s. But none of

this means anything without context, and without tracing the IMAX site toward its own absence, in multiple directions through space and time.

Image 3.2: Aerial view of the Fallsview business district. Courtesy of the Niagara Falls (Ontario) Public Library.

3.4.1 Stamford Township: Conquest

Niagara[24]'s land histories are deeply complex, and around the time of settlement reflect both the persistence of the British Crown in seeking land holdings, an ongoing history of war with France, and pre-existing relationships and covenants between the Indigenous nations already

[24] The name *Niagara* is multi-sourced, with early explanations that the Falls owe their names to Indigenous groups in the area. They are recorded as *O-ni-aw-ga-rah* (a reference to the thundering of waters) by an unnamed Indigenous group [a] and *Onguiaahra* or *Ongiara* by the Neutral Nation [b]. Modern Indigenous sources denote the name as *Oniahkarà:ke* (Kanein'kéha (Mohawk) for The Nape), or *Kahkejewung* (Ojibwa) for The Water Falls [c].

living on lands near the Falls. Starting with the Niagara Purchase[25] [26] in 1781, land in and around the Falls was cordoned off and distributed to settlers. The first settlements on the (eventual) Canadian side were precipitated by the American Revolution, where Loyalist settler members of Butler's Rangers fled the United States to establish themselves at the area now known as Falls View[27] [2]. Maps of the area in 1789 note substantial lands owned by James Forsythe[28] [29], including those relevant to the future location of the IMAX site. The Forsyth Crown Grant eventually totalled 388 acres, and extended across much of Falls View [3]. Forsythe would later sell these lands to his son, William[30], in 1800 [4, 5]. After acquiring his Father's lands, the younger Forsythe went on to purchase a local tavern, which he eventually tore down to build the Pavillion Hotel, one of the first hotels at Niagara [6].

Tourists began to arrive at the Falls around 1820, and those with land holdings near the Falls were set to make a substantial amount of money from their properties. Using infrastructural

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[25] The Treaty of Niagara in 1764 is related to the Royal Proclamation issued by King George III in 1763 [d]. It is an alliance (not land) treaty between England and First Nations recognizing First Nations sovereignty over their territories, prompting principles of non-interference, and positioning England as the only nation that might negotiate treaties with First Nations [e]. Yet, recognition of Indigenous rights over their own territories through the Royal Proclamation came with a built-in mechanism via which these lands might be taken, as they included an "official system of public purchases developed in order to extinguish Indian land title" [f]. Thus, the principles by which sovereignty was granted to First Nations was dually-wielded as a process that worked against their preferences [g] The Royal Proclamation became a Treaty at Niagara in 1764 with the exchange of wampum. Importantly, the Treaty at Niagara was made between the British Crown and twenty-four First Nations—not between these nations and what would become Canada [h].

[26] The Niagara Purchase (also known as Treaty 381) details the purchase of a strip of land four miles wide alongside the Niagara River, stretching from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie [i]. This land was purchased by Col. Guy Johnson, British Superintendent of Indian Affairs from Mississaugas of the Credit Chiefs for 300 suits of clothing, and provided proof to the Mississaugas that they were the rightful owners of this land [j]. This includes what is now known as the City of Niagara Falls. The Niagara Purchase is part of what is sometimes known as the Upper Canada Land Surrenders [k].

[27] "The name Falls View was derived from the fact that trains of the Michigan Central Railroad (Canadian Southern Railroad) had been stopping their trains at this area since 1885 in order to give their passengers a few minutes to view the Falls. The area was located at the top of the moraine, which provided an unobstructed panoramic view of the Falls. This was a popular viewing are for many generations" [l]. The modern spelling is Fallsview. The area was variably also called Mount Dorchester, Stamford Township No. 2, Drummondville, the City of the Falls, and now Niagara Falls.

[28] Cross-referencing the lot numbers of these early lands with details surrounding their eventual ownership is exceedingly challenging. Early maps have inconsistent lot boundaries and surveying, many crossed out in pencil, and I have encountered substantial contradictory information, with the lot numbers changing and/or being re-surveyed sometime in the late 1700s. According to the Niagara Settlers Land Records "Extracted from the Abstracts of Deeds Register of Stamford Township" and compiled online by R. Robert Mutrie from 2007 - 2011, James Forsythe was granted by the Crown on December 31, 1798 "all 200 acres in Lots 143 and 144 Stamford Twp. […], 30 acres in the north half of Lot 145 Stamford Twp. […], and all 100 acres in Lot 146 Stamford Twp" [m].

[29] "Forsythe" is intermittently also written as "Forsyth" across different historical documents and writings.

[30] By all accounts, William Forsythe was a remarkable (if not self-invested and racketeering) person. Early in his life he was allegedly involved in the smuggling of goods across the Niagara River, the profits of which he used to fund the eventual tourism monopoly he held at Niagara [n]. Along with the other accomplishments detailed in this article, he's often said to have "founded the first tourist trap" [o] when he and two other enterprising businesspeople sent a schooner full of animals over the Falls in 1827.

tactics (i.e., building walkways, staircases, transportation, and fences), Forsythe set a precedent for tourism development in Niagara Falls, with an "ask forgiveness, not permission" sentiment. He was the first person to offer a ferry boat service across the river below the Falls, he ran a stagecoach to bring tourists to his hotel, and he built a walkway down into the gorge—all for a profit, of course [7]. However, these practices did not always work out in his favour, and he was embroiled in multiple legal battles as he routinely neglected to get proper permission from the government for these concessions [8]. This included his attempt to fence in the Chain Reserve[31] along the Niagara River [9], essentially trying to completely restrict access to Horseshoe Falls for his own financial gain [10]. Ultimately, Forsythe was unsuccessful in monopolizing public lands at Niagara Falls, and the military was mobilized against him to remove his fence in an incident deemed "the outrage at Niagara Falls" [11]. As a material infrastructure, Forsythe's wall represented a real barrier to tourism access for civilians, and so its removal was imminent. However, it also foreshadowed eventual full government management of the lands alongside the Niagara River, which are currently operated as for-profit provincial Crown agency lands via the Niagara Parks Commission. While the Chain Reserve and the various shenanigans of William Forsythe didn't take place directly on the IMAX site, they ultimately affected its ownership, as all of Forsythe's lands were liquidated to a local law firm at a loss, in part due to his financial challenges stemming from his legal challenges [12]. Forsythe's tourism infrastructuring of Stamford Township undeniably worked to inform the deep connection between the commodification of the Falls and the further development of public works relating to tourism.

3.4.2 City of the Falls: Preservation

In the 1832, a group of local businessmen[32] came together with the idea to construct a pseudo-utopian city at Falls View [13]. This city, deemed the City of the Falls, was to be built on "400 acres purchased from William Forsythe" by the City of the Falls Company [14] that Forsythe was eager to sell upon the failure of his tourist monopoly[33]. The City of the Falls had two primary purposes: first, it was to generate revenue via tourist traffic, and second, it was to preserve and "[protect] the Falls from commercial enterprises derogatory to the natural scenery" [15] including vandalism and degradation [16]. The land and scenery was set to bring people to

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[31] "When the townships fronting the Niagara River were first surveyed in 1787 a strip of land one chain (66 feet) in width was reserved by the federal government along the entire length of the river from lake to lake. This was done to ensure a suitable and direct communication rite between the military reserves at Fort Erie, Chippawa, Queenston, and Niagara (on the Lake) in case of war with the United States. It also, in later years, when peace was certain, provided free public access to the scenic and historic points of view along the length of the river without trespassing on private property" [p]. This Chain Reserve land set the precedent for what now makes up much of the land held by the Crown agency of the Niagara Parks Commission. In todays terminologies, it might have been considered Crown Land [q].

[32] The shareholders that made up the City of the Falls Company were British Consul James Buchanan; the Honorable William Allan; the Honorable Thomas Clark; the Honorable John H. Dunn; Thomas Dixon, Esq.; Lieutenant General John Murray; James Robinson, Esq., and Samuel Street, Esq. [r]. Clark and Street co-owned a legal firm which, ironically and "stranger that fiction" eventually did receive the proper permissions and successfully "fence in" Horseshoe Falls for their own profit [s].

[33] "On 6 Jun 1832 (Reg 20 Jul 1832) William Forsyth, Jane his wife and Nelson Forsyth sold to Thomas Clark and Samuel Street [solicitors for the City of the Falls] 407 acres all of Lot 145, part of Lots 143, 144, 146, 159, 161 and Broken Front of Lots 159 and 160 less 150 acres sold for £10250" [t].

wealth [17] as it would "become a valuable investment, because of … proximity to the cataract" [18] and lots were put up for sale at $400, with each lot accompanied by one share of the City of the Falls Company [19]. Additionally, "the shareholders reserved choice property for themselves and offered the remaining land for sale by lottery in May, 1834" [20].

The first mechanical effort to lift water from the Niagara River to the upper bank for commercial use was made by the proprietors of the City of the Falls [21]. The development of a waterworks was done for the Bath House, a building constructed nearby by the City of the Falls Company (and what was set to be the main attraction in the area for both tourists and residents) as well as for distribution to City residents and hotels [22]. This waterworks was designed with a series of wooden pipes fed by a pumping station at the edge of the Falls, and a water tower high on the moraine; notoriously, the pressure from the water overwhelmed the wooden pipes and they burst, never to be fixed due to ever-increasing costs [23]. This infrastructural gaffe contributed to the ultimate failure of the City of the Falls, alongside the fact that land was slow to sell, as speculation seemed risky at the time [24]. When the first railroads were built on the American side the then-consistent flow of tourist traffic was diverted to the other side of the river, and the project officially crumbled [25].

However, the City of the Falls is also notable for prompting official surveyings of lands in the Falls View area, the first of which were completed in 1833 [26]. These plans (see Image 3.3)—complete with streets named for those involved in the City of the Falls Project—were officially filed with the land office in Fonthill, Ontario in 1851, although with a slightly altered layout [27, 28, 29][34]. As aligned with the mandate of the project, this zoning included tourist purposes. Later, when the City of the Falls failed, its lands were split among the shareholders [30], with the IMAX site[35] split among Murray, Allen, Buchanan, Clark, and Street [31]. Reflecting on the City in an historic review of its effects, Niagara Falls historian James C. Morden expressed, "[w]hen we examine the personnel of the City of the Falls company, we are scarcely justified in regarding them as mere land speculators. They had comprehensive visions of the future. Every man entering upon any enterprise or vocation in life naturally expects to make it pay" [32]. However absent and immaterial the City of the Falls became, its reference plans are still used today for modern city zoning [33, 34, 35], and as inspiration for similar tourism developments. Between these zoning precedents as well as the innovations in hydropower, tourism development for the City of the Falls worked to literally infrastructure the layout and pre-emptive functioning of what would become the city of Niagara Falls[36], and also served as an example for future tourism

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[34] The map included in Image 3.3 is undated, but contains a number of smaller streets while being absent of a town square noted in the 1851 version [u]. Comparing these maps directly reveals changes that are consistent with the undated map likely representing and/or being a version of the earlier 1833 survey.

[35] The IMAX site seems to be located at the middle-west section of Lot 145, located along Ranges 19, 20, and/or 21 of this Lot [v], which were variably owned and/or leased by Buchanan, Allan, and other proprietors as detailed in the Abstract of [R]egistrations on Lot No. 145 [w] and maps from the time [x, y ,z].

[36] The City of Niagara Falls was incorporated in 1904 [aa].

visionaries. The ultimate material failure of tourism infrastructuring at the City of the Falls makes uniquely visible the persistence of its preservationist and speculation based sentiments.

Image 3.3: Plan of the Falls Company's Lands in the Township of Stamford. Courtesy of Brock University Archives & Special Collections.

3.4.3 The Wire Weaving Company: Investment

In 1918[37], Hamilton Lindsay established the Wire Weaving Company[38] [36] as a 60,000 square foot red-brick building which was incorporated under Dominion Charter in 1919 [37, 38]. The factory itself was in the business of manufacturing Fourdrinier wire cloth—long spools of finely-woven wire mesh used in the production of paper-making—eventually becoming the world standard [39]. This wire mesh was developed in stride alongside Canada's forestry industry [40],

[37] Between the failure of the City of the Falls project and the building of the Wire Weaving Company, the history of Lot 145 is murky, detailed mostly in the aforementioned Abstract of [R]egistrations on Lot No. 145 and cumulating with sale of parts of Ranges 20 and 21 from the Allan family to Joseph G. Cadham in 1902 [bb]. Cadham also surveyed these Ranges [cc]. From as far as I can tell, the Lot was either used for residential purposes or was "unused" [dd]. However, even without full knowledge of Lot ownership we can mark another, official change: in 1867, Canada was formed as a federal dominion.

[38] The location of the Wire Weaving Company is marked on an undated map of the Plan of City of Niagara Falls Canada [ee]. It still seems to be coded as Lot 145 into 1928 [ff]. Its eventual address was 5400 Robinson Street.

with the location near the Falls a boon to sourcing cheap, readily-available electricity for production. The factory's president was first Edward Buell, and then his son Edward Buell Jr., who ran it for most of its successful operating years. At its peak, Niagara Wire Weaving employed 350 people [41], and had five affiliate factories throughout Canada and the United States [42].

Toward the end of the factory's life, the President of Local 4528 United Steelworkers Union—which represented many workers at Niagara Wire Weaving—expressed that "Niagara Wire Weaving is one of the most stable firms in Niagara Falls," [43] although the writing was already on the wall with increasing layoffs, labour disputes, and declining sales [44, 45]. Niagara Wire Weaving was majority-shareholder purchased by Montréal based Ivaco industries in 1973, with President Buell Jr. remarking said merger would mean "huge growth" for the Niagara plant [46]. This growth never materialized. Instead, the market for wire mesh all but disappeared, and the industry collapsed [47]. The factory closed in 1974, with further remarks from Buell Jr. that "[the closure] isn't the end of everything. … We will explore other manufacturing uses for the building first, and then if nothing can be developed we will look at a tourist commercial use" [48].

But Niagara Wire Weaving was already involved in the tourist industry, with board members of the company involved in the creation and construction of the Skylon-Niagara International Centre, a neighbouring tourist enterprise and now-famous tower erected in 1965 [49]. Niagara Wire Weaving eventually became a major shareholder in the Centre, at one point owning at least 30% of its shares[39] [50]. While this interest might be due to physical proximity, it is clear that these investments in tourism were far from frivolous: in 1965, then-President Buell Jr. remarked, "It is time to drop the apparent reluctance of so many to accept the fact that Niagara Falls is perhaps the most famous tourist attraction in the world. A community providing steady industrial employment with a tourist industry to absorb great numbers of students and part-time employees in the summer months is an enviable position" [51]. After the Ivaco purchase but before the collapse, the President of Ivaco commented on the Skylon tower, "[b]y virtue of Niagara Wire's one-third interest in the Skylon Tower, Ivaco is also in the tower business. But the Skylon 'just happens to be there,' […] It's profitable and it will stay as it is" [52]. With the failure of Niagara Wire Weaving, the tourist investment interests of the company proved to outlast its manufacturing purposes; the property sold to Canboro Investments Ltd. for tourist development purposes in 1976 [53]. Here, tourism infrastructuring is upheld via the clear shift from energy extraction to tourist extraction.

[39] "Niagara Wire Weaving holds 30.8 percent of control of the Niagara International Centre Ltd., which controls the Skylon tower. The company is a guarantor to the debt of $826,666 and an equipment lease agreement of the centre, which calls for $10,000 instalments monthly over the next 3 years of the lease" [gg]. Now famous for its revolving restaurant and dramatic views of the Falls, the Skylon tower resembles a miniature Space Needle or CN Tower, topped with copper. It can be seen behind the repurposed Wire Weaving Factory in Image 3.4.

3.4.4 Pyramid Place: Commercialization

Following the demise of the Wire Weaving Company, the building lingered in temporary use for just over two years before its purchase[40]. In 1978, foundations were poured for a pyramid-shaped IMAX building "now rising at the rear of the former [Wire Weaving] factory" (see Images 3.4 and 3.5) at 5400 Robinson Street[41] [54]. As the new development was introduced, it was expressed that it was "[e]xpected to draw about 800,000 people annually" [55] and employ between 300 and 400 people, numbers similarly to the peak of the Wire Weaving factory. The new tourist attraction featured the incredible, $2 million-dollar 70mm IMAX theatre with its 85 foot-screen, alongside numerous restaurants, gift shops, and other entertainment facilities like *Legend Niagara,*"a multi-media slide presentation of 300 years of Niagara history" [56, 57, 58]. The IMAX theatre was set to show a number of films, many detailing spectacular human feats and natural wonders [59].

Image 3.4: Historic Amusement park located on Robinson Street. Courtesy of the Niagara Falls (Ontario) Public Library.

In January of 1980, after a dismal first year blamed on a summer gas shortage and with only

[40] A 1978 Ontario land survey details the boundaries of the Pyramid Place, with Canboro Investments Ltd listed as the owner [hh]. This survey shows the boundaries of the full property crossing through Ranges 19, 20, and 22 and divided into two official Parts, the IMAX theatre to be built on the 2.759 acres of Part 1 [ii]. The original reference document for this Plan is the City of the Falls Company Plan (referred to as Plan No. 1).

[41] Niagara Wire Weaving added two expansions throughout its lifespan, including a quonset hut [jj]. These expansions were demolished to make way for the IMAX pyramid itself, with the remainder of the Pyramid Place retail and attractions occupying the original 60,000 square-foot factory space [kk]. As mentioned above, the structures were eventually on two separate Parts of the 1978 Plan, but were not at this time split and/or purchased by separate owners [ll].

100,000 of the promised 800,000 visitors [60], Pyramid Place transferred its full ownership to Famous Players Ltd. with optimistic development and expansion goals; the new General Manager remarking “We don’t want to be classified as just a tourist trap” [61]. This expansion came in the form of a $350,000 investment (with an eventual further $650,000 expansion) [62] to build a “creative playground,” [63] which a Niagara Falls City Council Alderman cautioned would “… only [add] to the carnival atmosphere of the [F]alls” [64]. It is during this phase that the building was enrolled in the protection of the Falls via the “protective mag-neutral field” generated by a “psychic and pyramid power researcher” [65].

Image 3.5: Construction of Pyramid Place on Robinson Street. Courtesy of the Niagara Falls (Ontario) Public Library.

The creative playground build wasn't the only skirmish that Pyramid Place had with Niagara Falls City Council and City bylaw. Indeed, throughout its short lifespan Pyramid Place demonstrated how bylaws themselves might be interpreted and wielded to achieve unexpected outcomes for tourist purposes. These instances included a variance on parking, such that Pyramid Place could offer less parking than the City required [66]; the aforementioned building of the creative playground (which began without City Council approval) [67]; and the installation of a 19 foot balloon above the pyramid (which Pyramid Place referred to as a sign for advertising purposes—“We have no regulations which apply to balloons”) [68]. Here, all bylaws and processes were overlooked for “the good of tourism,” despite the fact that Pyramid Place remained overzealous yet underperforming.

The site itself ultimately proved an ill fit for the incoherent aims of Pyramid Place, despite aggressive advertising campaigns [69] and assurances that the centre was “[t]he biggest show

next to the Falls" [70]. In 1982, as a last ditch effort to turn a profit, Pyramid Place entered again into conflict with City Council and neighbouring residents as it submitted a rezoning application to turn two acres of its parking[42] into space for an amusement park [71]. This application was complicated by requirements of the Ontario Environment Ministry which called for a noise pollution assessment, although it eventually passed [72, 73]. Although his remarks were in relation to the want to develop the amusement park in the first place, the words of the lawyer for Famous Players Ltd would remain prophetic: "Pyramid Place is trying to develop a concept which will return a profit. To this date it has not" [74]. And it wouldn't. Pyramid Place ran at a loss for two years before its closure, and ultimately turned Famous Players Ltd. away from the tourist business entirely [75]. The amusement park was only in place for a single season, but it and the other bylaw skirmishes mentioned foreshadowed the power of enacting variances for tourism purposes, a use of bureaucratic infrastructure for tourist gain. Instead, tourism infrastructuring at Pyramid Place was maintained through literal and figurative exception: tourism is again positioned as both an unwanted (but necessary) carnival, and also a reason for bylaw deviation.

3.4.5 The IMAX theatre: Mythologizing

Pyramid Place closed in 1982 and the property remained underused for most of the early 1980s. The City of Niagara Falls petitioned the provincial and federal governments to fund a study on a preferred format for the site with the Province of Ontario and Famous Players Realty Ltd. each promising to fund 50% of the study up to $25,000 [76, 77]. The final results of the study[43] were never made public, with an interim report indicating that "Pyramid Place will not continue in its present format" [78]. After many failed offers and much secrecy, the IMAX theatre and Pyramid Place lot was bought by a Pelham, Ontario hotelier in December of 1985 for less than $5 million [79]. The theatre was given a new address at 6170 Buchanan Avenue (now Fallsview Avenue) after the two distinct Parts of the property were leased to separate operators[44] and the IMAX theatre was split off from Pyramid Place (still at 5400 Robinson Street). Destination Cinema began leasing the theatre from the hotelier around this time, and ultimately bought the 2.5 acre IMAX property Part from him on January 15, 1990 for $4 million [80]. The non-IMAX Part of the property—still confusingly referred to as Pyramid Place—was leased by various people over the years, and continued to operate various tourism, entertainment, and retail attractions until it too was demolished in 2020 [81].

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[42] This rezoning application was endorsed by both Pyramid Place and Canadian Pacific Hotels, then-operator of the Skylon tower; the Skylon opened in 1965 and was sold to CP in 1975 for $11 million [mm]. The two-acres of land (about 275 parking spots) was under lease by Pyramid Place from CP Hotels at the time of the rezoning application [nn].

[43] Before the study, the centre was rumoured to be repurposed for everything from a conference and convention centre, to a hotel, to a campus for a local college, to a psychiatric facility [oo, pp, qq].

[44] An updated land survey plan from 1986 (after the hotelier purchase) notes the land still split into two parcels/Parts, but with slightly different acreages and their Part numbers reversed (i.e., with the IMAX lot changing from Part 1 to Part 2) [rr]. This plan locates Ameri-Cana Motel Ltd. as the property owner [ss]. This updated survey allowed the hotelier to lease (and eventually sell) the properties separately, the IMAX site fully becoming its own entity.

For the 30-odd years[45] the IMAX theatre was in operation it primarily showed a single film, *Niagara: Miracles, Myths and Magic.* This feature—which became known as the "most watched IMAX movie in Canada" [82]—was commissioned by the hotelier via Destination Cinema and produced by a Toronto-based production company [83]. As a "window into Niagara Falls' sensational true stories" [84] the movie narrates a version of what is referred to as the Indigenous myth of Lelawala[46] (the so-called Maid of the Mist) as well as other Niagara-centred histories [85]. While the movie communicates the Maid of the Mist story with the intention of "authenticity," the use of the narrative is discursively less about truth and more about power; references to Indigeneity are used less to represent actual Indigenous narratives and more to portray the Falls as mythic and exotic for the purpose of tourism commodification. Public perception of this movie is therefore understandably mixed, with critiques referencing cultural appropriation, outdated language, and "patheti[c] fabrication[s] of Niagara's history" [86] although it also remains well loved and well documented as the archetypal visual feature about Niagara Falls[47]. As the building was demolished and YouTube videos of the decline surfaced, people took to the comments section, "mourning the building itself [as well as the fact that] it was the only one that regularly played the feature" [87].

When the IMAX property was sold to Canadian Niagara Hotels on March 20, 2014, Destination Cinema remained the owner-operator of the theatre, expressing "We will continue to operate as we have for nearly 30 years" [88]. This remained true until the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic, after blanket closures swept Ontario. While the theatre did reopen and operate into late 2020 [89], the theatre closed for good on January 1st, 2021 [90]. Brochures for the IMAX theatre and its related attractions previously exclaimed "The average visitor to Niagara Falls stands on the edge and watches. Those with an insatiable curiosity, those who want to know more, dig deeper into the past and stand on the edge with an appreciation for what has gone before them" [91]. The IMAX theatre's consistency and stability is undergirded by its reliance on

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[45] The movie itself survives post-demolition (complete with new, updated narration) although it is no longer shown in IMAX format and is about ten minutes shorter [tt]. It has moved to a location more proximate to the "carnival centre" of the tourist district, occupying a theatre named for Canadian magician Greg Frewin [uu].

[46] The story of the Maid of the Mist has been wielded for tourist purposes in a number of interesting ways [vv]. It has been used on the boats that travel to the base of the Falls on the American side (also called the Maid of the Mist), as well as in guidebooks, regional histories, and of course, at the IMAX [ww]. The racist settler versions of these stories frequently feature dehumanizing stereotypes of Indigeneity, including human sacrifice, inebriation, and tropes of the "doomed Indian" [xx] that work to exceptionalize, market, and commodify the Falls via their Indigenization (Goeman, 2020). Comparatively, some potentially related versions of this story told by Indigenous peoples tend to feature teachings related to creation and/or contact. The version of the Maid of the Mist story used in the IMAX movie has some similarities to one told in 1981 by Seneca Chief Corbett Sundown [yy].

[47] The introduction of yet another visual feature about the Falls brought the IMAX theatre into conflict with the Niagara Parks Commission (NPC), the provincial self-funded government Crown agency that owns and operates the parklands along the entire Niagara River. While the mandate of the NPC has always been to preserve the character of the parklands along the River, "The direction from the government has been for the parks to do what it needs to generate revenue to protect, preserve and enhance its park system" [zz]. Consequently, the NPC rejected Destination Cinema's proposal to hand out coupons at one another's companies, with no apology to the IMAX theatre: "Competition is the name of the game in tourism," said the NPC chairman at the time [aaa].

the tone of this exploratory exclamation, coupled with the tourism infrastructural power of its myths and magic (i.e., its stories of exception); without such a compelling narrative, failure might have come to the theatre much earlier.

3.4.6 Parking lots and hotels: Speculation

It is high season in the summer of 2023, and in walking the razed IMAX lot it is hard to distinguish the borders of any of the recently-demolished buildings. Rumours of a hotel replacing the IMAX theatre began as far back as 2014, after Canadian Niagara Hotels purchased the 2.5 acres holding the theatre [92]; its future was sedimented at a 2019 Niagara Falls City Council meeting, at which was discussed a bylaw amendment to the IMAX property, allowing the future hotel slotted for the site to exceed the current tourist-commercial zoning height limit of 40 metres to 41 metres [93, 94]. Approved in full on October 2, 2019 [95], the 12 story, 230 room hotel will be built to provide more supply to the growing demand in the tourist core, following the building of a 5,000 seat entertainment centre set to attract over a million tourists a year [96, 97]. The land is still owned by Canadian Niagara Hotels, who boast four hotels, a Fallsview spa, and North America's largest indoor waterpark as part of "Canada's largest entertainment resort" [98]. Contractors began with the demolition of the theatre in the summer of 2022.

Ontario still has a variety of land uses that generate income (e.g., farming, manufacturing, commercial), but public discussion has predominantly shifted to the availability of housing—especially affordable housing—as a necessity, one that is used to justify ongoing environmental damage and land grabbing across Ontario [99] and in Niagara Falls [100]. While hotels are not permanent residences[48] in a traditional sense[49], in Niagara Falls the rhetoric toward building them remains coded in language used by housing activists and developers alike, particularly that such a hotel would be an "efficient use of land" [101]. Additionally, in the summer of 2023, the City began raising awareness around the thousands of "illegal" vacation rental units (VRUs, e.g., AirBnBs and other short-term rentals run out of traditional housing) in the area, although the rhetoric around this crackdown has been related to safety and not the availability of housing [102].

While the recent bylaw changes and awareness-raising seem to point to the necessity of more hotels to alleviate the demand for short-term stays (especially as related to tourism) and to clear up houses that are currently-used for VRUs to be instead used for real housing, this is not a one-to-one process. Instead, the building of hotels and the VRU crackdowns signal the importance of

[48] The ongoing crisis of homelessness and the increase in encampments in Canada has not escaped Niagara Falls, as many are visible throughout the city, and traces of people sleeping in and near the abandoned IMAX (before its demolition) was also evident.

[49] As a tourist destination, Niagara Falls boasts hundreds of hotels and motels, and thousands of vacation rental units (VRUs) (e.g., AirBnBs). The City has bylaws regulating both traditional Bed and Breakfasts (BnBs) as well as VRUS, including their restriction to certain city zones as well as being licensed by the city [bbb]. According to City websites as of the date of writing, there are only 38 licensed BnBs and 24 licensed VRUs in Niagara Falls [ccc, ddd]. Running an unlicensed VRU can cost the operator $50,000 in fines for a first offence, and $100,000 for subsequent offences [eee].

tourism as an infrastructure that regulates material and bureaucratic access to shelter, and how shelter's availability has become both modern currency and speculative wealth, reminiscent of the earliest days of the City of the Falls. Ultimately, while "[the demolition of the IMAX] marks the end of an era full of attractions, movies, museums and theatre at the corner of Robinson Street and Fallsview Boulevard" [103] it doesn't mark the end of tourism value extraction from the former IMAX site. Here, in the failure of 40 years of tourist attractions, tourism infrastructuring is revealed to outlive and outlast the literal sites that "generate" tourism itself.

3.5 Conclusions

In this paper I have detailed the conceptual use of attending to processes of *infrastructuring* in tourism and have given a detailed example of this processes at the site of the (now demolished) IMAX theatre in Niagara Falls, Ontario. The utility of *infrastructural mediation* (Ruiz, 2021) in tourism analysis compliments extant actor-network terminologies like van der Duim's (2007) tourismscapes. Here, the terminology of infrastructuring points specifically at the ways that a "hidden" tourism functions to advance neoliberal aims of extraction as both a material-discursive process and a felt societal disposition. My point is to suggest that when we are discussing modes of relation that have to do with property, resourcing, and capital in tourism, there is utility in being specific about what types of "things" allow those other things to work, function, or exist. By this, I mean that infrastructures are decidedly oriented toward the future, as they project and enable certain societal formations by virtue of their existence (Ruiz, 2021; Mostafanezhad et al., 2021). Consequently, there is utility in naming what exact treaties, property surveys, bylaws, stories, and/or myths are enrolled in such futurist projects, as these tools have direct roles in upholding (or disrupting) settler-capitalist futures in and through tourism. Finally, I have shown across the six micro-cases how tourism infrastructuring, 1. Upholds and is upheld by processes of commodification and extraction, 2. Is maintained through discourses and stories of exception and, 3. Becomes most visible in its moments of failure (Star, 1999).

First, much of the infrastructural work of tourism is oriented toward identifying and actualizing "new" forms of commodifying and/or extracting value from land; as Ruiz (2021) emphasizes, "resources are seemingly always and everywhere made to appear" (p. 4). This is particularly evident in the changing industrial purposes of the IMAX site over time. Moving from the conquest Stamford Township to the investment of the Wire Weaving Company, it is clear that while the perceived value of the land had to do with its proximity to the Falls, this physical link shifts from the Falls as a proximate energy-generating entity to the Falls as a proximate tourism-generating entity. Indeed, when speaking of the IMAX site upon its purchase by Canadian Niagara Hotels, the company's President perfectly expressed the sentiment embedded in the TALC model, as well as the idea that "…it's important for all of us in Niagara to offer new accommodations, new attractions or new food and beverage. […] You need to keep things up to date because that's what people are expecting. […] You have to stay current or you might as well get out of the business" (Ricciuto, 2014, n.p.). The underlying tone of "keeping things up to date" relies on a non-disrupted sense of value extraction and growth, where progress and decline are an inevitable cycle. Indeed, at the IMAX site, "[t]he cycle of building and dereliction seems to have accelerated to the point where there is no distinction between the process of building and

the process of ruination" (Jorgensen & Tylecote, 2007, p. 451). These cycles are seen in the versions of value extraction enacted at the IMAX site, including the conquest (of lands), protection (of natural resources), investment (in tourism business themselves), commercialization (via related industry), mythologizing (as a type of destination branding), and speculation (as abstract investment).

Second, tourism infrastructuring also relies on the stability and perpetuation of stories about toured places, something best demonstrated in the sections detailing the commercialization of Pyramid Place and the mythologizing of the IMAX theatre. These stories and feelings work in concert with material infrastructures to sediment and stabilize certain relations to land via ideas of "rights," "naturalization," "tradition," and other (often settler colonial) formations (Stinson, 2023; Walter, 2021), frequently via poetics and imagination (Larkin, 2013). In tourism spaces, myths and stories of exception are often used to make absent or present Indigenous peoples, depending on the related "value" of said presence or absence (Walter, 2021). At the IMAX site, this practice is most clear in the reliance on certain stories related to the mythology of the Falls, particularly that of the Maid of the Mist, featured in the media slide presentation *Legend Niagara* at the Pyramid Place IMAX, as well as the later rendition of *Niagara: Miracles, Myths, and Magic*. Interestingly, Niagara Wire Weaving also worked to perpetuate these stories, as is evidenced by a parade float constructed by the company for the 60th anniversary of Canadian Confederation in 1927, titled "The Spirit of Niagara" and meant to symbolize the Maid of the Mist story (City of Niagara Falls, 2020). This story has long been complicated, with tourism operators frequently claiming to narrate "authentic" versions, despite the fact that no single "authentic" version exists. Further, the Maid of the Mist story has been overwhelmingly used in racist and violent ways, undergirding the overall commodification of Indigenous peoples to sell their bodies, stories, and cultures for tourism purposes (Goeman, 2020). Ultimately, such tourist stories are most useful, commercially, when they are sensationalized and exceptional, and used to position Niagara Falls tourism attractions in a similar way (Goeman, 2020).

Finally, the incomplete histories expressed in this article exemplify the infrastructuring of tourism made all the more clear at its ruptures (Star, 1999). In Niagara Falls, and particularly at the site of the now-demolished IMAX, tourism undergirds ongoing processes of ruination, whether those ruinations be the bifurcation of nature and culture, the manipulation and extraction of labour, or the endless (creative) extraction of tourism value from land. These are most clearly seen in the abstract relations of the property speculation of parking lots and hotels and the preservation mandates of the City of the Falls, where predictions about the future value of land were blatantly interrupted by new infrastructural capacity (as in the building of train lines to the American side of the Falls during the era of the City of the Falls), or are currently left up for grabs (as the abandoned IMAX site sits as a paid parking lot, waiting to "become" a hotel but still generating land-value in its absence). Indeed, as aspects of tourism infrastructure fail, we are more pointedly able to label them. This allows us not to reorient into another cycle of process and decline, but to become curious about dwelling outside of those very cycles, providing moments where we might encourage the divestment of tourism from capitalism (Fletcher et al., 2019). While the soon-to-be-built hotel at the site of the new-demolished IMAX theatre will once

again plunge tourism infrastructuring processes into (functioning) invisibility, it is all but guaranteed that similar tourism infrastructural failures will emerge on that very soil in the future. And then, of course, there will be opportunity once more.

If tourism infrastructuring is truly taken to be the worldmaking project it might be, "then the shape of politics and power is one of the outcomes of infrastructural experiments" (Jensen & Morita, 2017, p. 620). Such mundane actions as city zoning, bylaw exemptions, and the creation (or destruction) of parking lots and waterworks have dramatic effects on the shape of tourism places, and on the type of value we can extract from said places. Certain types of stories about what land is for and what has happened on that land also work to stabilize and undergird these extractive processes. But as Berlant (2022) emphasizes, "the disturbances of material and conceptual infrastructures is a radical opportunity" (p. 96), as it is from failure that we might choose not to reengage TALC-like cycles in our development of tourism places, but to reconfigure altogether the relationship between tourism, infrastructuring, and value extraction.

[SOUND: On the so-called Henry Rollins[50] format]

I have used the pseudo-chronological numbering format you will see in Chapter 4 for my own writing practices dating as far back as the mid 2000s. I don't know when I first stumbled upon it, but I'm sure I picked it up from punk zines—it was a common way of structuring chapters and sections. I loved it because it looked like a track listing on a tape or a CD, and one of the first ways I wrote into affect was via songwriting. I wasn't very good at it.

I thought it was mine, but lots of people have done it. Nevertheless, I was surprised when I (belatedly) read Henry Rollins' (1992) *Black Coffee Blue*s circa 2012, and saw the numbered formatting contained there. I continued to write with this format for many years, self-publishing at least five zines between 2014 and 2020 that contain some form of it. I later put it to work in my dissertation proposal, arguing for it as a practice of accounting, after re-reading Berlant and Stewart's (2019) *The Hundreds*, and in the footnotes and formatting of McKittrick's (2021) *Dear Science and Other Stories.* In her footnote, McKittrick (2021) writes "[f]ollowing Lee, the numbering of paragraphs here plays with and questions the ledger, the archive, and the politics of accounting" (p. 61). Once I started to pay attention, I stumbled across this format again and again. I updated the list of citations that inform the "Henry Rollins" format *again* in 2023, after reading Arthur et al.'s (2021) work on abolitionary listening.

Stewart (2007) does it too.

And Sharpe (2023).

Everyone.

It's not mine at all, and this makes me both more and less self-conscious. So many accountings[51]; so many accountabilities[52]. Either way, this format allows me many things.

First, it is an expression tied to my background as a novice noise musician, which was a space for my own sensemaking before I found my way back to the graduate school. My writing on restlessness, ruination, loneliness, and ambivalence is most resonant in all of this lost work, which remains my first space of experimenting with writing into affect. This is what my zines were about, what I wrote about in my shitty bands, what I yelled into dark rooms full of people

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[50] I barely listen to Henry Rollins' bands or read any of his work. Naming this format for him is a weird joke and a habit, not a mark of how much I value Rollins in particular.

[51] "And I wonder, now, where Rollins came to *his* accounting from. And I wonder, now, what else I am missing. How I cannot seem to trace anything. How the trace exceeds me, even when I try" (Stinson, 2021, p. 24). In my proposal I wrote that I assumed these zines learned from Rollins. I assume now that there is no lineage. Punk is messy.

[52] Wilson (2008) puts forward that a shared aspect of many Indigenous ontologies, epistemologies, and axiologies is not only relationality, but an *accountability* to relations. Locating the tension between accounting and accountability when it comes to research and data is what the Henry Rollins format is about.

screaming back at me. I learned more about speculative worlding (Little, 2020) from writing poems for noise bands than I learned from trying to read theory, at first. (But I obviously learned a lot from theory, too.) So, this format is an expression of an accounting of my lineage (Kanngieser & Todd, 2020).

Second, this format gently pushes against normative frames of what is common to write in academic journals, not so much to forgo linearity but to resist *some* formal structuring when I find that structuring frustrating. The numbers act as a guiding outflow, suggesting only that some things must *follow* others, in an actor-network sense. My preference here is not for you to think of this format as a direct scaffold or a prescription, but just as the most clarity I can offer you in how I think through things in reference to other things. Accordingly, this format is an extension of storying how I got from one place to the next, literally just an ac*counting* of my practice and process.

Third, the format brings the "footnote" into the "body" of the text. Following Liboiron (2021)[53], this gives primacy to the footnote, and also marks the footnote as part of the main conversation. Footnotes are naturally structured in this numerical format, but rather than write the *entire* dissertation in such a mode, I carry it one step further and "remove" the need for this side conversation entirely (see Alexander and Stinson [in press] for another messy example of giving primacy to the footnote, as well as Chapter 3. See also Berlant [2022] for discussion of putting the margins to work). If the work of learning (and accounting for learning) happens in the margins[54] sometimes it's useful to both *note* the margin (Sharpe, 2023), and also forgo them. Of course, this document still *has* footnotes. (Everything in recursion; everything in tension and contradiction.) This part of "noting" the format refers, then, to my accountability to those I learn from.

Finally, the format, for me, allows for infinite excess of content as well as form. This excess is a nod toward antifoundationalism, postdisciplinarity, and a generous attention to contingency and possibility learned through Kellee[55]. There is a requisite responsibility for me to *be* accountable to this work, to its histories. In Chapter 4 I refer to the Henry Rollins format as "a form of noting and noticing," and go on to describe this noting and noticing as the bringing together of scraps, small stories, maybes, jottings, unsettling, and options, offering up examples of potential methodological practice—experiments—that might exceed traditional methods summaries, suggestions, or showcasing of research. The accountability, here, then, is toward resisting normative modes of knowledge-making, as they are not only *structured* differently, but also

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[53] Liboiron (2021) also expresses that footnotes are places of gratitude. I have also practiced this tendency, a bit, throughout this dissertation.

[54] My gratitude to Lisbeth, for urging us to read whenever we have a chance: in the two minutes while waiting for the bus, in the small moments we have, steamed, in the bathroom.

[55] My gratitude to Kellee, here, for her patience in teaching not only the pragmatism of antifoundationalism, but to her generosity in sharing these ideas in the most recognizable way. In Kellee's formal (Caton, 2012; Caton, 2013) and informal scholarship I have been fortunate to learn without feeling the urgent pressure of someone else's timeline. This is truly a gift.

contain excessive *contents*. Sometimes the things that matter end up *being* Law's (2004) highway-shoulder wreckage and Berlant and Stewart's (2019) strewn archive. Sometimes the things I do and the things I analyze are objects held in associative links, where things might only become legible when placed in relation to one another, anew (DeSilvey, 2007).

This section is named SOUND because it attempts to make loud both the utility of accounting and the necessity of accountability. It also carries a burden of my sonic lineage, as enacted in Chapter 4 through my ambivalent approach to methods, analysis, and so-called representation.

Chapter 4: Ambivalent practice for tourism research

4.1 Introduction

Niagara Falls, Ontario is a place that is seen to be hard to care for. People are ambivalent about it—but not in the way I am. To many, Niagara Falls, Ontario resembles a caricature of the "the worst" of mass tourism, something echoed in a recent BlogTO article deeming Niagara Falls "[o]ne of the most disappointing cities in the world" (Longwell, 2021, n.p.). Tourists and residents alike think the city is "a waste of time," "trashy," and "a huge shopping mall," (Longwell, 2021, n.p.) spoiled, ruined, and degraded, and all due to the tourism industry. Sentiments of degradation are almost as old as tourism to the Falls themselves, and are undoubtedly just as popular—the general perception has always been that tourism has denigrated the "natural" Falls, wearing away at their sublime power (Jasen, 1995). There are, of course, many reasons why this is problematic, the most ironic of which is the fact that the Falls themselves are engineered and manufactured to look and function the way they do, both at the behest of tourism and to support the hydroelectric industry (Macfarlane, 2021). And yet the point stands: Niagara Falls was (and remains) described as naught but a "low-brow tourist trap … a great fungus-growth of museums, curiosity shops, taverns, and pagodas with shining tin cupolas" (Wurst, 2011, p. 256). Niagara Falls is not worth caring for now that it is so highly commercialized and toured, now that it is "ruined."

But caring for things is complicated (and researching them is complicated too): this is why I feel *ambivalence*. Where it is usual to locate ambivalence as a state of conflicting beliefs or an uncertainty about feeling, Berlant (2008) suggests differently—that ambivalence is "an inevitable condition of intimate attachment" (p. 2). The term is therefore located not in its common usage with flippancy, neutrality, and uncaring but in its original etymology: the prefix *ambi-* means "both," and the ending *-valent* derives from Latin origins that mean "strength" or "to be strong," and so the word *ambivalent* refers to multiple, sometimes contradictory feelings (or feelings held in tension) (Merriam Webster, n.d.). Ambivalence thus denotes multiple feelings of deep strength that cannot (and should not) be resolved. And so being ambivalent (like I am) about a "ruined" place like Niagara Falls is hard: it is taxing to be close, to care, to feel a deep intimacy when so many people feel otherwise. And it is hard to do research this way, too.

But my research and my life remain situated in inevitable relation to the city of Niagara Falls, Ontario, a place to which I am a still-new resident and a still-novice researcher. I am inevitably, *intimately* attached to this city, to its atmosphere, and to its tourism. I am inevitably, *intimately*, proximate to my field of study. And tourism is, inherently, about both intimacy and attachment: it is an embodied state of being-with place, storied through tensions of proximity and distance, the exotic and the mundane (Rantala et al., 2020). Tourism is an inherently sensuous and spatial practice, a physical arena where bodies and landscapes are affectively and materially interconnected—attached—in and through the performance of place (Galloway, 2018). And it is a process of ordering and infrastructuring places, not only materiality, but affectively, politically, and discursively (Franklin, 2004; Stinson, 2023).

Such entanglements of ambivalent attachment, spatial practices, proximities, and orderings are made both more complex and more clear when tourism is disrupted. While "tourism" was never just one thing and indeed is assembled and ordered in different ways at different places and in different times (Franklin, 2004), it is becoming increasingly made more complex by global polycrises that are affecting its social, economic, and environmental sustainability. Whether these challenges are located in relation to the climate crisis, the COVID-19 pandemic, geopolitical struggle, the acceleration of capitalism, or the continued conditions of settler colonialism, the results are similar: globally, places and lands are being subject to various processes and states of ruin, degradation, and destruction, in which tourism is both cause and a/effect(ed). In a culture of global disposability the entanglement of living-with-and-within ruination makes many places "hard to care for," as their overuse renders them less viable as a natural resource for extraction (Büscher & Fletcher, 2017); capitalism often positions valuations of things (and places) as solely linked to profit. Care is further complicated as individual people and communities find it challenging to continually remain optimistic and hopeful about their futures in and with homes and lands that are polluted, strained, demolished, made toxic, and commodified (Bigby et al., 2023). The challenge of care within landscapes of ruination is also salient for those researching with/in such tourism places.

Accordingly, the purpose of this paper is to forefront ambivalence as a practice and a condition of researching with/in tourism, particularly when researching with/in tourism places that are hard to care for. "Hard to care for" is a short form for many things: aforementioned entanglements with tourism that challenge physical proximity (i.e., the ongoing state of the COVID-19 global pandemic, climate violence), those that reveal material-discursive connection to processes of ruination (i.e., the structures of settler colonialism, the workings of neoliberal capitalism), and events that demonstrate how *feeling deeply* (sometimes painfully) is unavoidable. This purpose informs two aims. First, I aim to revisit the literature detailing the links between actor-network theory and proximity (as care, critique, and closeness) emphasizing the utility of this literature to research places that are hard to care for and situating it in relation to ambivalence as inevitable attachment. These literatures provide fertile ground to consider interconnectedness not only as a larger spatial network of connections between people, places, things, and feelings, but also offer language with which to trouble spatial conceptions of proximity as closeness, turning simultaneously toward a critical, discursive, and affective closeness (or attachment). Second, tacking back and forth between sound studies, affect theory, and experimental tourism methods, I aim to demonstrate tourism research as *ambivalent practice* in order to forefront the power of attending to those things that endure—not relations per se, but attachments, bonds, and ties. I call on these domains to forefront an approach to ambivalence that is sensory, embodied, felt, and also in conversation with the field I write in (the field of critical tourism studies). I suggest that tourism research as ambivalent practice has many discordant, expansive, and excessive outflows that allow for the researching of places that are hard to care for. In this paper I present nine of these outflows as examples and prompts, each worked as:

1. Practical/possible methods for being in the (incoherent) field (that might invite friction, frustration, or new ways of being with tourism research), and

2. Personal/pressure-full affective poetics (that might express the despair and delight of an imbrication with a complex and proximate world).

These methodological outflows take great inspiration from postdisciplinary approaches to research, where postdisciplinarity is predicated on a recognition of contextual and situated knowledges; a productively promiscuous use of theory and method; the cultivation and celebration of novel approaches to research; and an attention to excess, co-generation, and alternative ways of living and being (Hollinshead, 2012). I also follow Kuntz's (2015) insistence that "we need to make possible newly relational approaches that resist confinement—materialist methodological work that continues to exceed itself" (p. 58). This insistence is based on a political and ethical orientation to doing research that is highly relational, emplaced (Tuck & McKenzie, 2015), oriented to unsettling[56], and concerned with the felt effects of being in the world (Little, 2020). What individual people are attached to—in research or otherwise—comes to matter for life, "whether we define 'mattering' in terms of purpose, meaningfulness, proximity to good life fantasies, a sense of continuity of world, the material for a valued identity or indeed any other way" (Anderson, 2022, p. 6). And ultimately, in contexts where tourism itself is ambivalent, it is useful to develop ambivalent methodologies with which to research it: methodologies that are disruptive and generative (Ivanova et al., 2020), and which are oriented toward care (Caton et al., 2021).

4.2 Literature review

4.2.1 Actor-network theory

Actor-network theory (ANT) is a methodology that orients researchers to ambivalence—it's all about mess and multiplicity. Law (2004) describes actor-network theory as a methods assemblage, an ongoing and continuous practice that is resonant, ambiguous, and complex; ANT is a critical and relational theory concerned with power, performativity, and politics (Law, 1999). Generally, ANT is concerned with the tension between structures and agencies: how they inform one another, how they exceed one another, and how they are precariously related (Law, 1999). ANT is not about what things "are" but how they work (van der Duim et al., 2013)—"tracing" or closely "following" objects or actors to explore how they assemble and are assembled by varying socio-material conditions. Accordingly, I take up actor-network theory as a critical and interventionist practice that enacts a relational materialism (Law, 2004). Consequently, ANT research is an active act-of doing, in which the researcher is embroiled in the material and discursive, transformative, political, and productive capacities of research (Ren, 2011; Stinson & Grimwood, 2020). ANT also has a substantive history of use in tourism, as tourism is a uniquely expansive forum with which to ask questions about how things work and relate to one another. Introduced to the field by Jóhannesson in his 2005 paper, the creative and productive use of ANT

[56] For the purposes of this paper, I situate unsettling as an ethical responsibility for people who embody the situated, place-and-processed based identity relation of "settler" (Lowman & Barker, 2015; Stinson et al., 2021). This responsibility is aligned with processes of decolonization and Indigenous resurgence that necessitate both the repatriation of land to Indigenous peoples, and the revitalization of Indigenous life ways. Unsettling involves questioning the normative modes via which the world (and its objects, affects, stories, and knowledges) are constructed (Grimwood, 2021). One of these modes is research.

has since spread widely; subsequent ANT-informed work has attended to mediations on object multiplicity (Picken, 2010; Ren, 2011), mediations and discussions on narrative and network (Benali & Ren, 2019), and orientations toward creative ontological and methodological possibilities in tourism (Beard et al., 2016; Jóhannesson et al., 2018; Ren et al., 2023).

I have previously argued for a more fulsome incorporation of affect into actor-network theory in tourism contexts (Stinson & Grimwood, 2019), especially in cases where affect might be used as a productive tool of doing research. Drawing on Vidon and Rickly (2018), and d'Hauteserre's (2015) work on the role of affect and anxiety in the tourist experience, my coauthor and I were curious about expanding these observations into methodological practice itself (and specifically into ANT) (Stinson & Grimwood, 2019). In particular, we noted the difference between anxiety as a value negative orientation (i.e., that it prevents researchers from doing good work, or results in "loss") and anxiety as a value expansive orientation (i.e., that it is an unsettling motivator and a productive potentiator of innovative research) (Stinson & Grimwood, 2019). Near the closing sentence of the article we write "[u]sing ANT as a methodological lens can encourage a disruption of valence" (Stinson & Grimwood, 2019, p. 143), foreshadowing what I now want to offer as a more comprehensive affective orientation to complexity, uncertainty, and unsettlement: ambivalence.

4.2.2 Proximities: closeness, criticality, care

We were not, of course, alone in advocating for the incorporation of felt sense into actor-network or adjacent methodological orientations in Stinson and Grimwood (2019). Indeed, *following something* (in the ANT-sense) is really about being proximate to it, and getting close to what we research in tourism is *critical* (Jóhannesson et al., 2018). Jóhannesson et al. (2018) express that it is "proximity rather than distance [that] becomes critical for making knowledge valuable" (p. 47), locating proximity in both a spatial and a metaphoric sense through their use of *critical proximity*. Drawing some of its inspiration from actor-network theory—and in particular from Latour's (2004) suggestion researchers engage with matters of concern instead of matters of fact—critical proximity both refers to and demands a deep level of care, attentiveness, and close following (Jóhannesson et al., 2018). This care is fostered by suggesting researchers "[stay] empirically close to the subject matter, [open] up 'matters of fact' and acknowledg[e] the creative potential of distributed research processes" (Johanneson et al., 2018, p. 47) in part by remaining open to the potentialities and agencies of other actors. There is a requirement of slowness to proximity here, both in to be slow is to "ask[ing] critical questions" and "let[ing] things unfold" (Salmela & Valtonen, 2020, p. 21).

Rantala et al. (2020) also offer that while proximity allows for increased criticality, it also requires sensitivity and care—feelings that are often embodied. Taken up as a methodology (Rantala et al., 2023), working *with* proximity necessitates researchers attend to other ways of being in and with a vast miscellany of more-than-human companions in the world—researchers must experiment with new listening practices; touch and walk with rocks (Rantala et al., 2020; Valtonen & Pullen, 2020); consider rhythmicity, vibration, and pace (Rantala, 2019); and co-create with more-than-human others (Ren et al., 2018). Proximity asks researchers to consider

responsibility and responsiveness through inviting resonant, recursive (re)openings (Valtonen & Pullen, 2020). This type of proximate following signals to me an inevitable attachment imbued in some practices of ANT, one where the pull to do work is also deeply affective. Though proximate methodologies are not always actor-network informed, there is an illuminative crossover, where care is fore-fronted (Law & Lin, 2020). In Law and Lin's (2020) words, "we have to have reasons for doing what we do" (p. 2). Attention to proximity in tourism research is thus situated in relation to both actor-network theory as well as toward affective entanglements with research; it is all about inevitable (and intimate) attachment.

4.2.3 Ambivalence

And so I turn to ambivalence, here, to build on my ordinary and original want to incorporate an valence-disrupted affect into actor-network theory (Stinson & Grimwood, 2019). As previously mentioned, when defining ambivalence Berlant (2008) focuses on the inevitability of involvement and attachment with the material-social world. Their intentionally disruptive use of this term return is to its etymology of multiple forces, a both/and of felt conditions that is always drawn in many directions (Berlant, 2022). This is the affective tone of ambivalence: it troubles binaries, welcomes incommensurabilities, and refuses foreclosures (much like ANT) (Thorkelson, 2021). Law (2004) also writes of ambivalence, and of its importance in the gathering up of multiple methods that might or might not be coherent. But through Berlant's (2022) working, the inevitable attachment of ambivalence guides inquiry toward how connections work to make the world liveable (Anderson, 2022) even (and especially) within times and places that are hard to care for (or with). This guidance is without specificity, but relates to the bonds, ties, and relations that both *endure* (in research, in life) and differentiate some relations from others (Anderson, 2022). *How we feel about things points to what we should care about.* This is a deeply affective—sometimes unbearable—process (Berlant, 2022). I am ambivalent when it comes to Niagara Falls, Ontario. I am closely, intimately attached as a resident-researcher (and perpetual tourist), an attachment that comes with ethical orientation to caring for the place of Niagara Falls *and* staying with its challenges. And this attachment leads me (closely, proximately, with care) to embroil myself in the productive capacities of research in and with Niagara Falls.

4.2.4 Niagara Falls, Ontario: An inevitable attachment

Niagara Falls, Ontario is an iconic Canadian tourism destination famed for its trio of waterfalls, the most famous of which is the Canadian Horseshoe Falls. These waterfalls have been persistently rendered as a place of religious and secular sublime via untouched nature (Jasen, 1995), as a place of moral and sexual power (Dubinsky, 1994), as a place of human sacrifice and mythology (Strand, 2008), as a manufactured simulacrum and/or a power source (Macfarlane, 2021), and as an icon of Canada (Hashimoto & Telfer, 2007; Helleiner, 2009). The number of media, stories, paintings, newspaper articles, novels, and history books detailing Niagara Falls is almost unfathomable, and so the city surrounding the Falls remains highly-toured, visited by around 13 million tourists a year (Niagara Canada, 2019).

But as I detailed in the introduction to this paper, Niagara Falls is not without its deep complexities and imbrications in global polycrises. Indeed, Niagara Falls carries complex material and metaphoric ties that bind it to (and enrol it in) not only tourism development in North America, but to the infrastructuring of industrial development as a whole (Macfarlane, 2021; Mah, 2012). Land near the Falls was immensely valuable for the development of tourist attractions, for the strategic locating of military forces, and for the eventual development of the hydroelectric industry—being in proximity to such cheap, plentiful electricity was wildly attractive to the manufacturing industry, and so numerous facilities found their homes on both sides of the border (Mah, 2012). As access to electricity became more widespread, many of these facilities left Niagara Falls, Ontario, leaving tourism as its dominant industry (Hartt & Warkentin, 2017). The concerted focus on tourism has resulted in the installation of various tourist attractions beyond the iconic waterfalls, angled to capture a diverse market: casinos, theme parks, museums, souvenir shops, and others (Brouder & Fullerton, 2015; Niagara Canada, 2019). This "carnival atmosphere" coupled with the condensing of some city services, maintenance, and development to the tourist-zoned areas while other areas of the city see continued challenges has led to much of the online and media-relayed scorn of the city. Niagara Falls is no longer known for its waterfall, it is known for *denigrating* its waterfall. But I still care about it (and still care about researching it). And as I said before: caring about (and researching) things is complicated. This paper aims to productively detail that complication.

The rest of this paper presents tourism research as *ambivalent practice* via nine outflows that emerged in the doing of my dissertation research between March of 2020 and September of 2023 in the city of Niagara Falls, Ontario. This research was marked by periods of extreme solitude and isolation contrasted with moments of excessive overwhelm and immersion. Focused primarily on questions of unsettling tourism (as well as ontological preoccupations about the affective and sonic capacities of tourism) I had intended in the early days of the pandemic to interview tourists, business owners, and residents in the city of Niagara Falls about their relationship to sound and noise. As the pandemic continued and Niagara Falls remained absent of tourism, I resisted restructuring my research to take place "online" via Zoom interviews and internet streaming platforms, and instead spent a great deal of time reconsidering the spatiotemporal field of my research entirely. I experimented with varying atypical actor-network-informed methods of "following" tourism places (the [now demolished] Niagara Falls IMAX theatre), events (the nightly fireworks and Falls Illuminations), discourses (the positioning of the city of Niagara Falls as ruined by tourism), and politics (the infrastructural workings of capitalism and colonialism in and through tourism) as inspired by Beard et al. (2016) and as a practice of attending to a *type* of relation: noting my felt ties to discourses and structures that *endure*, those that affect present (and possible) worldmakings (Anderson, 2022; Hollinshead et al., 2009). Situated inevitable attachments. *Ambivalent practice*. Accordingly, this paper details the results of that resistance and experimentation, exemplifying the many spatially-embedded and affective practices that I engaged as actor-network inspired methodological outflows alongside my more traditional amateur archival work and media discourse analysis.

Finally, in order to foster ambivalent practice as part of tourism research I offer a *prompt* along with each methodological outflow, following Krawec (2022), Yoon and Chen (2022) and others. These prompts are not intended to be prescriptive, but are instead intended to guide researchers into different material and discursive relations to their objects of study, offering reflections and gentle instructions toward practices of listening, welcoming inconvenience, leaning into serendipity, harmonizing, identifying curiosity, fostering encounter, archiving, embracing incoherence, and questioning practices of translation. Some of these prompts have a temporal sense, and might be best practiced in the field; some are meant to be meditations on previous research and activity and action. In each case these prompts are mostly meant to guide researchers toward experiencing the felt quality of ambivalent practice, and demonstrate the generative and unsettling effects of research practices that attune to intimate attachment.

4.3 Ambivalent practice[57]

1. Listening (via Robinson, 2020; Springgay & Truman, 2019) in that I am trying very hard to follow sound.

The first time it happens it goes like this:

So I'm standing at the end of the driveway and there is nothing. It is late, of course, but there are no cars—there are no passing headlights, there is nothing in the background. In the far distance I imagine I see the twinkling remainder of the Fallsview Casino and shiver in my boots-without-socks. I've been pulled out here suddenly, in the middle of the night. For what? I breathe frozen air into my lungs. I stop moving and I close my eyes and listen.

A deep and resonant churning, a low-level white-noise roar. A sine/wave waxing and waning and spreading-slowly, enveloping my body from my unfeeling feet to the ends of my tangled hair. A strange sound growling, hunting, resting. A sleep-sound, a hibernation, a constant crash. A boiling burn, bouncing off of the walls of the neighbouring house, careening through the street, laying low and waiting, a patient brooding body of sound.

Suddenly I'm in disbelief: tourism is re-constituted, re-organized, re-ordered (Franklin, 2004), and I am entered into intimate attachment with it as it turns up (quite literally) on my doorstep. Everything in the city is shut down. And yet I can hear the Falls from my driveway.

Actor-network theory suggests "following" an actor (or actors) to welcome generative objects and participants in research that are not predetermined (Beard et al., 2016). In my case, my "object of study" was decidedly less concrete than I had experience with (see e.g. Stinson and

[57] This paper is structured using a numerical accounting process, a formation of noting and noticing informed by Sharpe (2023), Stewart (2011, 2014), and Rollins (1992), confusing messmates (Höckert et al., 2022) themselves. The outflows detailed by number are marked as such to position them not as paragraphs, summaries, or fulsome, finalized suggestions, but as what they are: options. Interventions. Jottings. Scraps. Maybes. Unsettlings. Closenesses. Ambivalences.

Grimwood, 2020; Stinson et al., 2022), and so the practice of following became the practice of listening. And in listening, the Falls—tourism—came to me. Leaving from my driveway, my first attempts at continuing this listening were quite concrete, as I allowed myself to be led very simply from my driveway to the waterfall by virtue of wandering toward where the Falls were loudest. In a very direct way I was participating in what Springgay and Truman (2019) might have deemed a sound walk, an outing with a sonic companion. As I became more adept at listening, my walking practices became more ambivalently material-discursive. A deep orientation to epistemic silences and loudnesses led me to consider not the sonic boundaries and topologies of tourism space (i.e., from what locations could I hear a tourist waterfall), but how sound and silence constructed tourism itself (i.e., how information on tourist decisions is variably public or private). Attending to sound requires us to be in situated material *and* discursive locations—"listening takes place as a haptic and proprioceptive encounter with affectively experienced asymmetries of power" (Robinson, 2020, p. 11). My sound companions changed, and so did I: the Falls themselves, the highway noise in the city, fireworks, Illuminations, absent-presences. All of this research all started with a sound, and with a reminder to engage listening not as a politics of capture, but as a proximate practice of wonder and uncertainty (Hurst & Stinson, 2023; Robinson, 2020). Listening practices are a reminder that life (and research) is materially and discursively situated.

Prompt: Identify the most prominent sound in your environment. If you are able, physically follow that sound to its source. Sit with it. What do you hear? What happens if you instead try to follow its construction (i.e., its discursive path)? What do you hear?

2. Inconvenience (via Berlant, 2022, Munar & Doering, 2022) in that COVID-19 marked (marks) everything (still).

There is *more* to the event (Stewart, 2011) of hearing the Falls from my driveway, and that is the creep of COVID-19 and its resultant closures. The casinos, the wax hand factory, the haunted houses, and the dinosaur mini-golf courses were all closed. The strip clubs were closed. The parks were closed. Some roads were blocked; the American-Canadian border was blocked. Everything was silent. Where there were usually throngs of tourists there were tumbleweeds of blue rubber gloves and squashed paper bags skittering around in the gutters. Where there was usually music and marvelling and raucous masses there was suddenly nothing. I felt nothing.

Berlant (2022), defines inconvenience as "the affective sense of the familiar friction of being in relation" (p. 2, emphasis added). Inconvenience is a reminder that ambivalence is not only about "us," as it describes the pressure of proximity, a tension that is felt in multiple directions (Berlant, 2022). Inconvenience is that feeling of all the ordinary burden, the hard things, the exaltations and despairs of being with (and with-out escape) that are *necessary* to research and to being in the world. Tourism is flooded with inconveniences: late flights, lost baggage, language barriers, unpredictable climates, shared air, overcrowding, heat stroke. To draw from Munar and Doering (2022), inconvenience might also be an intrusion, a reminder of a collective ontological strangeness, something uniquely evident during the COVID-19 pandemic. Something that keeps

people apart (from others, from themselves). Despite staying local, the intrusion of inconveniences (like pandemics) might make the things people are close to both distant and strange (Munar & Doering, 2022).

Throughout the pandemic, being with other people—the foci of social science work—became an immense challenge for me. In my research process, this has shown up in and through the guts of my own embodiment with others in proximity—the struggle of being around and near people while weighing the burdens of vitality, of embarrassment, of vulnerability. Of sickness. It is inconvenient to do what we do as researchers, to work through the crowds and throngs and remain fixated on the itchy bits of research, about what we are curious about. But "[w]e cannot know each other without being inconvenient to each other" (Berlant, 2022, p. 7); we cannot "know" in a social-science sense, without this inconvenience too. Inconvenience marks the psychic weight of ambivalent mess, its affective tone. Inconvenience urges researchers to ask ourselves "Why do this work? Why still?"

Prompt: Reflect on a time where you felt inconvenienced by your research. Where did the feeling take you? What knowledges were revealed or complicated by this feeling? What marked the limit of your ability to endure inconvenience?

3. Serendipity (via Grit, 2014) in that things (timings) just happen.

I was there the moment they began to tear the IMAX theatre down (Image 4.1). This wasn't luck. This was serendipity.

Image 4.1: The IMAX theatre in varying states of presence and absence, 2021 - 2023.

Alexander Grit (2014), explains serendipity through Pek van Andel as “the art of making an unsought finding” (p. 133). Serendipities, like some other outflows detailed here, must be attended to and followed: they are not just “luck” (Grit, 2014). Encountering and opening up unexpected findings and experiences via serendipity is a type of bargaining, a flirting with multiplicity (Thorkelson, 2021). And tourism, of course, is an incredible space for bumping up against the strange, the unfamiliar, or the “exotic.” In my research, I've been fortunate enough to respond to many serendipities, the most striking being the demolition of the Niagara Falls IMAX building, a long-standing pyramidal structure that mostly played a single tourist movie on repeat from 1986 until it was closed. As I walked up a proximate street the very moment they began to bring the building down, I was gifted the subsequent minor crisis of “how does one proceed when the site of your fieldwork is torn down in front of your eyes?” Ultimately, this moment led me to lean into the spatiotemporal disjoint of my research field even further (Beard et al., 2016), and in turn to following the building’s absence into the past and the future. For me, the failure of the IMAX’s “presence” became a serendipitous possibility, lending itself to attend to other infrastructural breakdowns of tourism in Niagara Falls, and consequently revealing these breakdowns as part of the very cycles of progress and decline inherent to tourism’s perpetuation of value extraction. Serendipity allows ambivalence to bloom into possibility.

Prompt: Grit (2014) says that attending to serendipities requires a responsive attitude. What does this mean to you?

4. Harmonizing (via Born, 2019; Flint, 2022; Myers, 2020) in that I feel together with a signpost.

Sometimes the closest you can get to something is through harmonizing. Sometimes harmonizing is discordant.

This section should contain an audio file of me singing alongside the static emitting from a broken, whining Skylon Tower Advertising signpost (Image 4.2). But it doesn't. And even if it did, it couldn't contain the *true* harmonizing: not just our song (me and the signpost) but the pull of the feeling belonging somewhere you shouldn't with something you shouldn't. If "[l]istening challenges humanist conceptions of who (and what) can speak, as well as how attending not only to what is heard, but what resonates, complicates, and troubles what can be known" (Flint, 2022, p. 536), then harmoninzing challenges conceptions of who (and what) we can feel with. Ambivalence is being touched—feeling together—in new and strange ways (Born, 2019).

Image 4.2: A broken Skylon Tower advertising signpost.

Prompt: The next time you're in the field (whatever that field may be) and you start to feel out of place or lonely, find a harmonic resonance. (Yes: literally.) Try mixing your voice with the field. It might feel awkward at first. Join in birdsong; hum along to some elevator music. Where did you find the most resonance? Did you make any new friends?

5. Curiosity (via Loveless, 2020) in that I am led to consider what is troublesome.

When something is troublesome to me it's sticky. It's white-hot and weird, with an itchy echolalia—a wording, often verbal repetition in body and mind (Mitchell, 2022). I read Natalie Loveless (2019) and a two-word phrase nestles itself on my tongue: situated curiosity. Situ. Situate-d. Curiosity. (Curio)city. Situated curiosity. It repeats alongside other repetitions:

Newspaper articles about the environmental damage wrought by Niagara Falls' nightly fireworks,
"Is it time already for the loud, polluting fireworks at Niagara falls every night to be replaced by cool light and drone show?" (notsocialwitch, 2023),
COVID-19 closures,
The discoveries of the unmarked graves of Indigenous Children,
Climate crisis,
Cancel Canada Day,
No More Lockdowns,
Dogs barking in the endless distance.

I am curious about unsettling "the very loud, very resonant settler colonial national project of Niagara Falls" (Stinson, 2023, p. 7).

(Situated) curiosity is a hard thing for a body to bear (and it is hard to ignore the body or what it can bear) (Veijola & Jokinen, 1994). It's a sweaty compulsion that stings with data glow (MacLure, 2013). The echolalia thrums inside of me as I search the archive. I am not an archivist—I am compulsive with curiosity, I am enchanted with echolalia (Mitchell, 2020; Caton et al., 2021). Curiosity is a craft: "the crafting of a research question is the crafting of a story that is also the crafting of an ethics" (Loveless, 2019, p. 24). What you care about, even when that care is hard, points toward what your research is and how it should be. Curiosity allows us to stick with ambivalence, even when it's rough.

Un-settling. Unsettle-ing. Set-tle. Set-tle. Unsett ling. Unsettling.

Prompt: Turn on the song that's always stuck in your head. Scratch the itch. Turn toward the most compelling part of your research. What are you curious about? Name it. How do you know? (Hint: Where do you feel curiosity in your body? What does it feel like?)

6. Encounter (Little, 2020; Stewart, 2007) in that sometimes you do not record a conversation with an ominous drunk stranger wearing full-body denim and carrying a half-gallon of chocolate milk around the city at 6am.

May 23, 2022
I just let it happen—the encounter. I'm curious, inquisitive. I can't interrupt the encounter with

research, with myself. It feels too big, too bright. Like if I stare at it in the face, I'll miss it. You have to approach the encounter from the side, with a wink and a nudge, with a small wry smile, the moment "becoming resonant in the tightening grip governing everyday sensibilities" (Little, 2020, p. 39). You have to shuffle into it, walk backwards, not give away your hand too early. The encounter is jumpy, skittish, like a rabbit or a bird or some other urban untameable creature. The encounter flickers before you with the hot blue and the white-red sear of sparks, coal, an ignition. Fireworks. The encounter is tricky. The encounter turns to you with its chest open and asks you, at some point, to face it head-on. You don't know, and then you know. (Or do you?) The encounter asks nothing else—it cannot be extended (do not even try), it cannot be predicted, it cannot be manufactured, it cannot be repeated. It's not kismet, because it's not predetermined, and it's not serendipity, because the luck is palpable. The encounter asks for nothing other than your presence. It begs a question, but what? "Things happen" (Stewart, 2007, p. 79). It asks you to lean in, but not too early, and not to chase or pursue it. It resists a schedule; it laughs in the face of capture. The encounter is leaky—it folds space and time and collapses predictability. The encounter is lit with a deep warm gold light, scattered with garbage, plagued with refuse and crumpled metal. The encounter is mundane, ordinary (Rantala et al., 2023). The encounter never comes with the promise of the picturesque—it comes in waves on the bad wind in between parked cars with the roil of the Falls a hint in the background. It comes on the edges of tourism, the tendrils of thought.

And at some point the encounter is through with you. And you can feel it drifting away, even if it is still in front of you. Sometimes it vanishes in a cloud of smoke, a cheap party trick. Sometimes it drives you away with an inverse magnetic so powerful it's impossible to barrel through. The force of the encounter crawls along your skin, prickling, and into your nerves, burning, as you need to escape the encounter, let it consume you, purge it from your system. "Power is a thing of the senses" (Stewart, 2007, p. 84). Because there's that possibility, too: that once you've teased the encounter out of its skittish nature, there's the non-zero chance that its power will consume you. The encounter is bewitching, transfixing, extremely capable of swallowing you so completely. The encounter is what you swallow. The encounter is ambivalence unrestrained.

Prompt: The next time you're out in the field, bring nothing but your body. Don't bring your phone, don't bring your notepad and pen. Don't have a plan. Record nothing; be as unprepared as possible (Rantala, 2020). What happens?

7. (Refusing[58]) the archive (via Singh, 2018; Yoon and Chen, 2022) in that some things were archived, some were not, some were erased, and all haunt me.

"The archive … is your enabling fiction: it is the thing you say you are doing well before you are actually doing it, and well before you understand what the stakes are of gathering an interpreting it" (Singh, 2018, p. 23).

Things I did archive:
- Property registers and instruments dating to 1781 for Lot 145, the location of the now-demolished IMAX building
- Information on COVID-19 gathering restrictions and their effects on Niagara Falls events
- Freedom of Information documents about the Falls Firework Series, the display of nightly fireworks that runs from May to October during so-called "tourist season"

Things I (did) archive:
- Screenshots of countless posts about the Falls Illuminations on the mayor of Niagara Falls' Instagram account
- Audio recordings of broken Skylon Tower advertising billboards (their pamphlets strewn on the ground)
- Photos of the sky while I was walking to the tourist area (or in the tourist area of the non-tourist areas) (Höckert et al., 2022) (Image 4.3).

Things I did (not) archive:
- Freedom of Information documents on the Niagara Falls Illumination Board
- The interior of the IMAX building, the taste of its contaminated dirt
- Grief

Things I did not archive[59]:
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[58] I've always had a slight discomfort with taking up refusal as a settler, particularly when it feels as if the politics of refusal are grounded in disavowing colonial regimes of representation and capture, especially as they might pertain to research "on" Indigenous peoples (Tuck & McKenzie, 2015). Of course, I think that settlers might and should also resist these regimes, and do also have a place in "pushing back against the the presumed goals of knowledge production, the reach of academe, and the ethical practices that protect institutions instead of individuals and communities" (Tuck & McKenzie, 2015, p. 148). However, when it comes to being with place, and to enacting refusal at the moment of possible "data capture," I prefer to think of settler refusal through Kanngieser's (2021) *taking-leave.* That is, expressing appreciation for and yet making myself absent from places (material or discursive) where I am not wanted—and where I might cause harm—instead of perpetuating the possessiveness of and entitlement to knowledge on behalf of the colonial academy (Kanngieser, 2021).

[59] Here is the haunting: the space of unacknowledgement, all the things I could not (at)tend to, all the intentional and unintentional silences, the gaps and the holes that are inherent in any research work (Yoon & Chen, 2022). I will do my best as I continue my work to also continue to *tend* .

Ambivalence unbinds the archive.

Image 4.3: Nine images of sunsets and sunrises taken from one of many "tourist areas" in Niagara Falls.

Prompt: What are the ordinary archival practices of your research? How did you come to decide on the structure of these practices? Have they changed over time? Why? Bonus: Archive something new. (Or don't).

8. Incoherence (via Knight, 2021; Barry, 2017) in that many diagrammatics and mappings might be overlaid.

Things do not always make sense, so their representations also do not have to make sense (Law, 2004) (Image 4.4). A map (or a diagram) is a performance and a sedimentation of a certain spatiotemporal reality, usually one informed by normative structures, city plans, codes, and forms. But mappings can also be exploratory, experimental, and provisional, as they are inherently performative. And, "[i]f mapping is performative, then mapping can be used for other

performances of reading the land, within other contexts and for other beneficiaries" (Knight, 2021, p. 24). They are also ethically important, worlding less-common representations and offering representational alternatives (Puig de la Bellacassa, 2019). Both Knight (2012) and Barry (2017) put to work mapping and/or diagrammatic practices that are not fully representational, but "gesture toward the phenomena" (Knight, 2021, p. 45) and are "alive to the affective resonances in a situation" (Barry, 2017, p. 331) of what is being attended to or followed. Frustrated with the imprecision and the impossibility of mapping (now demolished) building, I followed suit.

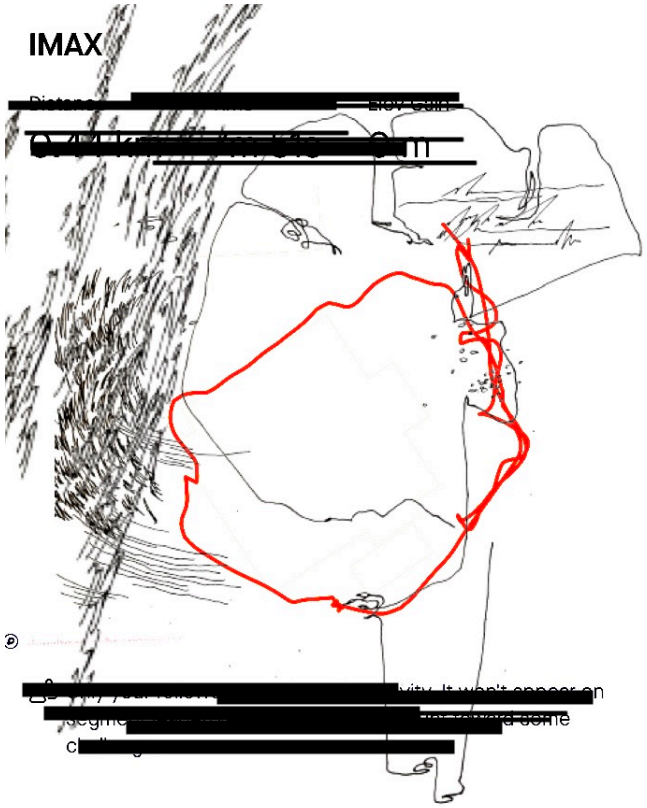

Image 4.4: Four maps of the abandoned IMAX building.

Is a building its property register? Its lot number? Is a building its circumference? The wind on its crumbling facade? Is ambivalence a clearly definable condition?

Prompt: Draw a map of your research. Not the site, not the object, just your research.

9. Translation (via Law, 1999; Koro-Ljungberg et al., 2018; Jóhannesson, 2005) in that there is an ANT way, a language way, and a digital-glitch way to mistranslate.

Despite having ethics clearance to do so, throughout my research I conducted not a single official interview. I tried; I failed. I did, however, spend a great deal of time talking to myself—taking

audio notes on my iPhone or Zoom recorder[60], using voice-to-text to message my supervisor, and using transcription software (like Otter.ai) for my own memos. Endlessly flummoxed by technology, in transferring some of these files to my computer, they emerged as mangled, glitched chunks of text, with strange artifacts and interjections of alien punctuation (Image 4.5).

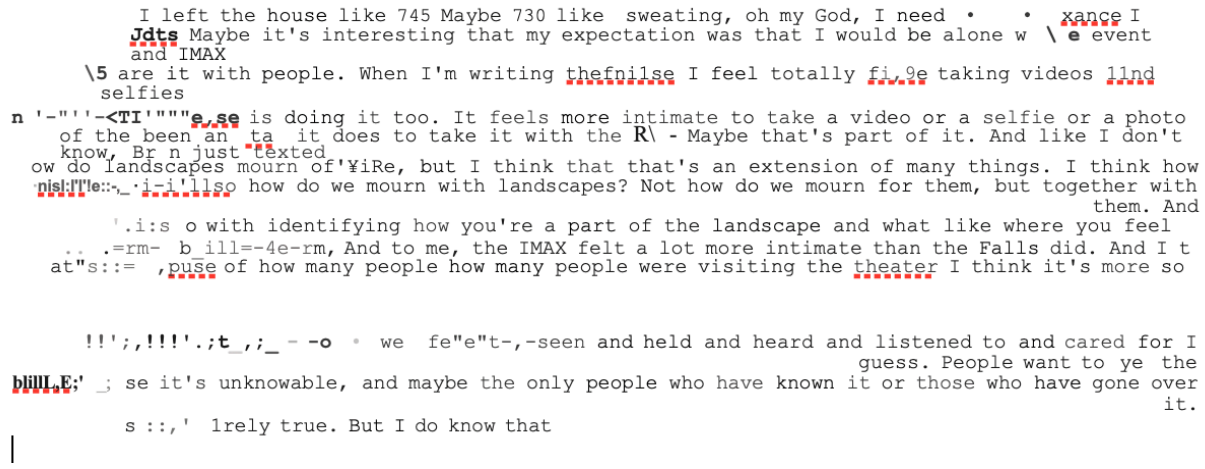

Image 4.5: Textual betrayals. From Otter.ai to Pages to PDF and back again.

In actor-network theory, translation is used to denote the process by which one thing might come to stand for another. This process is both a transformation and a betrayal—Law (1999) is clear in this respect. It is both/and. The translator, the translated, and the mode of translation are entangled processes—this happens in tourism and by tourists (as they take pictures and communicated information about tourism places) and this happens in research (as researchers make choices about what [data] is enrolled in our research assemblages) (Jóhannesson, 2005; Stinson et al., 2022). (This is also worldmaking [Hollinshead, 2012].) Of course, translation is also a challenge for those speaking across languages (human or non-human) and is a deeply important aspect of listening, archiving, recording, and the transcription of interviews. Indeed, as data is translated, it might decompose, degrade, become unintelligible, or deny itself (Koro-Ljungberg et al., 2018). Similar to how researchers make choices about what is (and is not) archived, there is an intimate attachment felt in the balance of what is kept (and lost) in research translations. Ambivalence means *I want to get close to the thing and also know I never will* (Berlant, 2022). And I don't always have control over this process.

Prompt: The next time you participate in an interview, welcome some imperfection. Record the interview in a loud and noisy environment. Use imperfect AI software to transcribe the interview and resist the urge to edit the output. Funnel it back into text-to-speech and repeat the process. What emerges from unintelligibility?

[60] A microphone brand, not the videoconferencing platform.

4.4 Conclusions: on relations and (inevitable) attachment

In this paper I have proposed ambivalence as a practice and a condition of researching with/in tourism, particularly when researching with/in tourism places that might be hard to care for. I have called this methodological proposition *ambivalent practice*, following Berlant's (2008) orientation to ambivalence as a felt condition of being drawn in many directions at once. To support the development of ambivalent practice, I have reviewed the tourism literature detailing the confluences between actor-network theory, care, criticality, and closeness (named or otherwise) further emphasizing the utility of this literature to guide research in places that are hard to care for. This literature emphasizes the need for proximate practices that are care-full, sensitive, and responsible (Law & Lin, 2020; Rantala et al., 2023). I have also connected this literature to my own previous suggestions that actor-network theory be infused with a multivalent affect (Stinson & Grimwood, 2019).

To exemplify the postdisciplinary potential inherent in ambivalent practice, I have detailed nine outflows that demonstrate creative and disruptive researching of places that are hard to care for. These outflows are experimental spatiotemporal-affective practices that I engaged throughout my dissertation research with/in the city of Niagara Falls, Ontario; are broadly informed by my commitment to the critical and interventionist politics of actor-network theory (Ruming, 2009); and are inspired by affect theories, sound studies, and creative methodologies in tourism research. Each of these outflows is paired with a prompt designed to allow researchers to practice ambivalence: the prompts situate my own experimental fieldwork alongside suggestions and guidelines for other researchers looking for ways to connect with, care for, or unsettle their relationships to doing research in complex tourism places. Ambivalent practice consequently attends to the inevitability of our attachment both to tourism places as complexly-and-mundanely *lived* places, and also as places that are *made* via the doing of research (Law, 2004). These outflows, their prompts, and their links to the discussion of proximate, emplaced research informs how what people are attached to (in research or otherwise) comes to matter for life's purposes, meanings, continuities, values, politics, materialities, and possibilities (Anderson, 2022). This is most exemplified by the prompts' gentle encouraging of researchers to both consider and *feel* their attachments in new ways. If—as I have mentioned above—that care (even challenging care) should signal the concerns of one's research (Latour, 2004), then inviting new types of care (or new intimate attachments) might also invite new research considerations.

Ambivalent practice is suggested here as one possibility for working with inevitable attachments and not turning away from their felt power, especially when that work of staying-with (Haraway, 2016) is deeply challenging. However, there are aspects of this practice are worth discussing further. First, I frequently use ambivalence in tandem with the terminology of "hard to care for." This is a phrase that comes with a substantial value judgement toward the "utility" of a place, its peoples, and those that participate in its making. In tourism contexts, places are often deemed to be ruined, spoiled, or overtoured only after great *use* by people, resulting in environmental, cultural, or political degradation. This so-called "wearing out" of places both enforces binaries of nature (or place) as separate from people, and also plays into resource-extractive cycles of capitalism, where tourism itself becomes a mode of extracting (monetary) value from a place;

once “depleted” the place becomes “spoiled” (Büscher & Fletcher, 2017). Such places often attract the kind of care that is seen via actions that call for a “return” of the place to a previous (mythic) status of purity instead of care *for* places in a state of ruin, as they are (Caton et al., 2021). Instead, sometimes care takes the form of a *resigned activism*: the reluctant acceptance of something without active/visible protest (Doering & Kato, 2021). Because “[j]ust staying with … takes an enormous amount of effort and courage” (Doering & Kato, 2021, p. 18) doing so is already engagement and action; acquiescence as such is not the opposite of praxis or resistance, but is an active resistance, or a partial recuperation. Sometimes being intimately attached looks like this, too.

Second, as much of my related work is informed by the politics of unsettling as a responsible approach for settler scholars in Canadian contexts (see Grimwood et al., 2019b; Stinson et al., 2021; Stinson et al., 2022; Stinson, 2023), I suggest that ambivalent practice might be most useful when undergirded by these politics as well. While none of the practices detailed herein attend explicitly to the express material conditions of Indigenous sovereignty and resurgence in Canadian contexts, they participate (in their limited way) in the overall *unsettling* of tourism research via advancing modes of research that respond to the “colonizing grand narratives” (Jóhannesson, 2005, p. 138) of traditional science. Chambers and Buzinde (2015) urge the importance of epistemological decolonization in tourism research broadly, an imperative that I, my colleagues, and others have tried to work toward or alongside (see e.g., Grimwood et al., 2019b; Stinson et al., 2021; Stinson et al., 2022). Similarly, if we want to look at how research is constructed in the tourism academy, there is also a need to consider the wielding of research methodologies toward the maintenance of certain knowledges and worlds. Methodologies are infrastructural tools of research: they allow certain possible realities and foreclose others (Law, 2004). Such outflows as I have attempted to document here unsettle traditional approaches to tourism methodologies (Ivanova et al., 2020), and illuminate, unearth, and dowse felt strangenesses and actively participation in the making of different worlds (Hollinshead et al., 2009). As a multi-directional and strongly mixed condition of feeling, ambivalence is inherently unsettling (Anderson, 2022). The prompts that accompany the nine outflows subsequently guide any researcher who wishes to use them toward *feeling* unsettled in their research practices, while also sharing questions that precipitate unsettling orientations of research methodology.

Finally, and as a step away from research, settlers and settler scholars carry as their legacy a deep non-relationality, one that is emplaced and reiterated by the structure of settler colonialism (Shotwell, 2019). Part of doing tourism, often, is seeking connection to place, peoples, and cultures that (are often) not one’s own. But settler place-making (~~Moran~~ & Berbary, 2021) and settler connection with land is often deeply violent (even when it is not intended to be). This is especially true in tourism contexts where tourism itself perpetuates colonial aims (Walter, 2021). Learning to relate to and connect with land *otherwise* must therefore remain an ethical imperative for settler tourists and scholars (Fortin et al., 2021). However, this does not mean settler scholars or settler tourists should or can co-opt Indigenous research methods, practices, or land relations (Fortier, 2017); instead, we—settlers—must work to disrupt our nonrelationality, and connect to places (tourist or otherwise) in ways that are honest and unique to our own

inheritances and politics (Stinson et al., 2021). In this way ambivalent practice can also be *generative* via its unsettling: it is a messy process through which settlers might further connect to place, literally by just doing something different or discomforting (Robinson, 2020). It is with this spirit of unsettling that I have worked to question the relationship between tourism and proximity in the city where I live, and it is with this spirit of unsettling that I have detailed my experiments in ambivalent practice.

Ambivalent practice recognizes the inevitable and intimate conditions of attachment (Berlant, 2008). As mounting global crisis conditions make lived, researched, and toured lands harder and harder to care for due to mounting global crisis conditions, it is likely that ambivalence—in its original, uncaring formation—will come to be a dominant societal sentiment. But instead of locating this ambivalence with a negative connotation, I invite tourism researchers "to return ambivalence to its dynamic etymology, as being strongly mixed, drawn in many directions, positively and negatively charged" (Berlant, 2022, p. 27) such that it becomes about the affective conditions that in part infrastructure the world, and how those conditions are entangled with tourism and tourism research. In this paper, I have demonstrated the effects of this formation of ambivalence in and with my own tourism research. Doing tourism research among conditions of global pandemics, accelerationist capitalism, climate crisis, and ruination (among others) is truly hard and affecting, especially when many people are faced with dominant discourses that urge them to "give up" on the places they love (or at least accept feeling alienated from them). Berlant's (2008; 2022) work is instructive, here, and names the importance of seeing in ambivalence "the scene of the inconvenient relation among its threat to overwhelm, the survival it shakes up, the life that proceeds anyway, the confusion about what to do, inventiveness, and, in certain situations, the enjoyment it offers" (Berlant, 2022, p. 27). Methodologies like actor-network theory and those that attend to the proximate have generously set the stage for researching with/in such conditions of close complexity. Outflowing from this complexity, *ambivalent practice* becomes a possible methodology for staying with the postdisciplinary, unsettling, and expansive conditions of intimate attachment in tourism research.

Chapter 5: A circuitous ordinary

5.1 Niagara fell

As I am writing this chapter it's November. Reading back through the papers and the accounts and the notes and the proposals that all relate to this dissertation, I have often led with the month, the weather, a news clipping, a photo of a building raised or razed. Ordinary things, ordinarily marked. Things that have happened, are happening. Boring things. It's not all fireworks, here.

Stewart (2007) says that "[t]he ordinary is a circuit that's always tuned in to some little something somewhere. A mode of attending to the possible and the threatening, it amasses the resonance in things" (p. 12). The resonance in Niagara Falls continues to grow: as the tourist season dies down again, the Falls return to my driveway, a slow soft churn. The roads in the background thrum. I end up on the section of trail that marks Canada's 150th anniversary, following along beside one of the hydro corridors; I keep tabs on things, as one does in a place where they are learning to account for (and be accountable to) the ordinary. The homeless encampment has moved locations, now partially occupying an abandoned mini-golf course. The Christmas decorations are up, six weeks early. I listen to a podcast about the 1998 disappearance of a Hamilton, Ontario woman and they unexpectedly mention a defunct Niagara Falls bar (now called the Big Texas). The series of associations grows. There's a new graffiti tag on the ground halfway between the old folks home and the entrance to the street. It reads: "Niagara Fell" (Image 5.1).

Image 5.1: Niagara Fell.

My friend and colleague R turns me onto work considering the sanctioned and unsanctioned placemaking and takings (and worldmakings) that happen via graffiti, naming practices, and city-engaged communications and revitalization strategies (~~Moran~~ & Berbary, 2021; Alexander, 2023; see also Fortier, 2021). Conversations around places, naming, and stories always come with a heavy burden of colonial history and narrative—whose stories and what histories are made visible over others (Walter, 2021; Baloy, 2016). These things are also part of the worldmaking, infrastructuring, and material-discursive assembling processes that are involved in ordering ordinary places. The small stories of graffiti can and do interrupt larger city (and tourist) narratives, something that is seen in overtourism protests in Barcelona, Spain, or against the Olympics in numerous cities. Often, these messages are directed at certain populations: *at* tourists (to get them to leave), or *at* locals (to get them radicalized against tourism). So I just can't help but find it interesting that this casual asphalt graffiti both carries a heavy tone of ruination, and also seems to imply that this ruination is something that just *happened*: it wasn't intentional, allowed, or predicted. It just happened, passively. Suddenly. "Niagara Fell." Who is this story for? What does it do?

What I would like to suggest, here, is that the research contained within this dissertation identifies and explains that there is no part of the making of Niagara Falls that *just happened.* That there is, instead, an assembled and intentional infrastructuring involved in the array of constant ordinary happenings in Niagara Falls that is further ordered and maintained by structures of settler colonialism and processes of capitalism. That the worldmaking formations here are of course authorized and perpetuated by agencies and parties that want to tell certain grand narratives about Niagara Falls (i.e., hoteliers and tourism boards) but that ordinary people are also part of these formations (Hollinshead, 2009). That even larger global processes of capitalist ruination are also enacted with intention, are *active,* and are the result of ongoing cascades of choices and mediations… but yet are so obscured and totalizing that they seem immovable, taken-for-granted, and ordinary (Ruiz, 2021; Rifkin, 2013; Berlant, 2022). The scrawled sentiment that Niagara "fell," passively—or indeed at all—is also a choice: it is the telling of a small story, imprinted on a path named for the 150th anniversary of the establishment of the Canadian colonial state, next to a hydro canal running from the power of the most commercialized waterfall in the world. This is an ordinary thing holding up an extraordinary sentiment; it has been the goal of this dissertation to emphasize the procedural and process-based work of such ordinary stories, feelings, and materials in Niagara Falls.

5.2 Refrains on refrains and refrainings—scholarly and social impacts

At the beginning of this dissertation, I located six refrains and one practice of refraining that I marked as running through the substantive, theoretical, and methodological contributions of this dissertation. These refrains were:

i. tourism,
ii. Niagara Falls,
iii. affect,
iv. unsettling,
v. infrastructure, and

vi. postdisciplinarity.

I also noted that I wished to stop colonizing (a refraining). In this next section, I will briefly detail the contributions of these refrains and refrainings, locating each of them within the social and scholarly contributions of this dissertation. Contrary to a typical dissertation summary, I present social and scholarly impacts in an entangled format, with each refrain attending to both (if possible). This is an intentional choice once again enacted to highlight the complexity of living in one's research field and also, honestly, because sometimes it is hard for me to understand how I am supposed to separate the social from my scholarship (and vice versa). Chapters 2, 3, and 4 in this dissertation explicitly engages refrains i and ii, on **tourism** and **Niagara Falls.** These same chapters also (in their own way) attend to refrains iv and vi, on **unsettling** and **postdisciplinarity.** Chapters 2 and 3 engage refrain v on **infrastructure**; Chapters 2 and 4 engage refrain iii on **affect.**

5.3 Tourism and Niagara Falls, Ontario—Chapters 2, 3, and 4

As the starting place of my work is the Canadian city of **Niagara Falls, Ontario**—arguably the most iconic tourist destination in the country—any work with/in this city is of course about it and its tourism-entangled histories. In locating **tourism** in Niagara Falls as one of the substantive areas of my dissertation research, my goal was never to unearth "new" stories about Niagara Falls as a place of tourism; this would be both foolish (considering the incredible wealth of historic and current literature on the city) and (honestly) probably a little maddening. Instead, I attempted to take an approach that involved questioning the more mundane bureaucratic maintenance of tourism in Niagara Falls, turning not to interviews or participant observation (especially in the wake of COVID-19) but to narratives housed in documents like City Council bulletins, land registry documents, and policies. Accordingly, the precise construction of the analysis presented in Chapter 2 and the infrastructural mediation assembled in Chapter 3 are both —to my knowledge—novel accountings of ordinary happenings in Niagara Falls. This provides two substantive scholarly contributions (i.e., the detailing of the construction of settler atmospherics via sound and silence at Niagara Falls, and the minor history of tourism resource extraction via the IMAX lot) as does the accounting of my localized methodological contribution housed in a Niagara Falls absent of tourism due to COVID-19 detailed in Chapter 4.

Additionally, as residents here are deeply familiar with the Falls Firework Series and the Falls Illuminations—and as discourse surrounding the Falls Firework Series remains ongoing[61]—accountings of the construction of decision making around both of these atmospheric practices

[61] On October 5th, 2023 Niagara Falls Tourism sponsored a test of a drone show demonstration, put on by North Star Drones (Redmond, 2023). Calling for a drone show is a popular refrain from Niagara Falls residents who do not like the fireworks, with many saying such a display would be better for the environment, be less noisy, and be less disruptive to their dogs or folks with PTSD. However, test drone show was explicitly positioned by Niagara Falls Tourism not as a replacement for the fireworks, but as a supplementary display (Redmond, 2023). The demonstration featured 300 drones, and was launched just a few hundred metres from the former IMAX site, just off of Robinson Street. The use of drones as an alternative or supplement to fireworks deserves further research directed not only at claims of environmentalism (whose environment are drones better for? why?) but at the additional colonial undertones related to use the use of drones, generally.

detailed in Chapter 2 would be of great interest to the local (and potentially tourist) communities, as well as community stakeholders. This local interest may also extend to the site-specific histories contained in Chapter 3. In particular, staff from the Niagara Falls (Ontario) Public Library have expressed interest in reading the analysis detailed in Chapter 3, and potentially retaining a copy of this chapter at the library for public access. Niagara Falls, like many other cities, is truly invested in the many constructions of its histories, and both Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 provide timely re-analysis of phenomena and events that are consistently represented in both media and local public discourse.

5.4 Affect—Chapters 2 and 4

This dissertation has revealed the capacities of **affect** in both maintaining and authorizing (as well as potentially disrupting) certain formations of (soft) state power via tourism. In Chapter 2, I detail the the harnessing of atmospheric infrastructures (i.e., the Falls Firework Series and the Falls Illuminations) to position the Falls themselves as a never-ending resource for reconciliatory settler feeling. This chapter highlights that worldmaking is, of course, a material-discursive practice, but is indeed also an affective practice easily undergirded by powerful structures of feeling that can be intentionally constructed, modified, or wielded for nationalist purposes. This chapter builds on affective work directly engaging nationalism (Stephens, 2016) as well as scholarship detailing the *settling* practice of large-scale reconciliatory demonstrations (Robinson, 2014; McDonald, 2020). This analysis lays the groundwork for further research concerning anyone who has a stake in tourism, as such affective and atmospheric capture and creation has incredible use for tourism stakeholders (i.e., operators, governments) and tourists themselves. As we continue to see political demonstrations premised on "nothing but feeling," and also find decision-making or knowledge-making based on feelings themselves subject to scrutiny[62] while simultaneously based on a taken-for-granted common *sense* (Rifkin, 2013), it is absolutely critical that research attending to the structural and political aspects of affect is both nuanced and care-full. This is both a social and a scholarly imperative.

In Chapter 4, I offer mainly a scholarly contribution: the suggestion that the felt conditions of *ambivalence* are a powerful place from which to enact experimental and productive ways of being with and researching with/in tourism places that might be seen to be "hard to care for." This is chapter builds off of my previous work that connects affect (and specifically anxiety) into methodological practices informed by actor-network theory (Stinson & Grimwood, 2019) and further links it to other tourism-and-ANT affiliated work on proximity, closeness, and care. As ambivalence itself signals complexity of feeling (and attachment) and not flippancy (Berlant,

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[62] There is a tension in political spaces surrounding the *use* of feeling to achieve political momentum, paired with the suspicion of feeling related to "facts." As much current populist rhetoric drives left-wing factions to further dig their heels in around the rhetorics of science and the deriding of fake news, a side effect emerges, which is that feeling is made broadly suspicious and yet *common sense*—also a feeling—is lauded (Rifkin, 2013). This is a much larger discussion than can be accounted for by a footnote, but it is worth spelling out: if—in the quest of the pursuit of liberation—those fighting for it downplay the power of collective feeling in favour of solely systemic/factual analysis, feeling itself is thus left subject to capture by their political opponents. The result might be the increase of felt demonstrations of an alternative kind of "liberatory" social (nationalist) power, as evidenced by the Canadian Freedom Convoys in 2022.

2008), it might be both wielded and worked with to further advance experimental affective research practices. Throughout this chapter I provide examples of my own fieldwork as *ambivalent practice*, marrying each example with a prompt designed to encourage researchers to think about, reflect on, attend to, be with, feel, or approach research differently. This chapter forefronts the felt conditions of research while also providing some guidance *toward feeling.* This scholarly contribution remains useful not only because there remains utility in understanding how what we care about informs what we research, but because learning new ways of complex feeling might reveal other *ways* of enacting this care, particularly in research settings. I provide directives because I have found—informally—that when asked what they're feeling, people often point not to an embodied sense, but toward a "label" of a feeling; I think it is thus useful to guide researchers toward practices of *actually feeling things in the field* in order to further unsettle traditional Western research methods.

5.5 Unsettling—Chapters 2, 3, and 4

This dissertation has moved to broaden terminologies of **unsettling** as they relate to tourism research and practice. Unsettling has to do with the reorganization of the process of the land relation of *settler*. By unsettling, settlers like myself do not change the status of this land relation, but reveal the violent structures and processes through which it is materially and discursively constructed (Regan, 2010; Lowman & Barker, 2015) and the feelings through which it is normalized (Rifkin, 2013). In this dissertation I have written about unsettling in two dominant ways: as a process of desedimenting discourses, stories, and (infra)structures that uphold settler colonialism (Chapter 2 and Chapter 3), and as a felt sense of productive discomfort linked to affect (Chapter 2 and Chapter 4). While both of these versions of unsettling involve an orientation to disrupting normative ways of thinking, doing, and being in the world (and indeed inform and are entangled with one another) I offer this "split" presentation of unsettling in order to demonstrate unsettling work in multiple contexts (and across social and scholarly domains).

My scholarly argument toward unsettling recognizes the productive work of both narrative and affect in the worldmaking of tourism places (Hollinshead, 2009), as well as the literature that has advanced the unsettling of settler stories in and through tourism (Grimwood et al., 2019; Fortin et al., 2021). Focusing on the ordinary construction of thing like property, certain celebrations, or tourism itself, I account for (and make myself accountable to) the practices and process that enable these constructions. In Chapter 3, I have reviewed the sedimenting of hyper-local Niagara Falls histories through the process of municipal zoning, infrastructuring, and local mediation. Restricted to one single property, these minor histories reveal how tourism is predicated on both literal and metaphoric infrastructures enacted through settler colonialism, and how these infrastructures mobilize further value extraction. In Chapter 2 I detail the construction and maintenance of settler atmospherics and structures of feeling at Niagara Falls, locating this process as designed to further enrol the iconography of Niagara Falls into representations and discourses of a benign, demure Canadian nationalism. Both of these chapters present highly detailed readings and analyses of the mechanisms through which certain "settled" versions of Niagara Falls are literally and figuratively constructed; both of these chapters offer examples of

"unsettled" readings that directly link these constructions of Niagara Falls to settler colonialism, nationalism, and advanced capitalism.

My social contribution is similar, and follows from other scholarship locating affect—and particularly shame—as productive felt precursors to more substantial material action (Tucker, 2009; Robinson, 2020; Stinson et al., 2022; Lowman & Barker, 2015). While there is an important caution that feeling doesn't *mean* one has done anything (especially about settler colonialism) (Robinson, 2020) I remain *attached* to the notion that feeling, broadly, is a necessary part of doing effective unsettling work. One of the most long-standing and lingering aspects of reconciliatory rhetoric has to do with some settlers expressing frustration that they are not sure "what they should do about it" (meaning settler colonialism, or reconciliation, or anything, really), even when organizations like National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation (and numerous other Indigenous and settler individuals and organizations) outline precise actions (NCTR, n.d.). This endless settler want for instruction (and knowing!) coupled with Lowman and Barker's (2015) suggestion that discomfort is a productive (felt) place from which settlers might work against security colonial security led me to develop the affective prompts[63] located in Chapter 4. These prompts are sometimes reflective, sometimes instructive, sometimes chaotic, and ofter oriented to inviting the reader into a certain entanglement with attachment and feeling. While it is challenging (read: perhaps impossible) to force someone to feel something, manufacturing the conditions for certain types of feeling is absolutely possible—my work in Chapter 2 demonstrates this plainly. While Chapter 4 is oriented to researchers researching with/ in tourism places that are hard to care for, similar styles of affective and/or somatic prompts might be directly used to prompt such productive discomfort among tourists in certain settings.

5.6 Infrastructure—Chapters 2 and 3

This dissertation has located **infrastructure** as an under-theorized concept in tourism studies. While many pieces of scholarship in tourism have attended to aspects of infrastructure—indeed, tourism relies on infrastructures of movement to be achieved, generally—the terminologies of infrastructuring as used in sociology and science and technology studies remain less often engaged in tourism studies[64]. Instead, tourism studies has long been well-equipped with other approaches attuned to ordering, assembling, and networking. I find these approaches extremely useful, and I rely on many of them to supplement my infrastructural approach advanced through Ruiz (2021), which I offer as a scholarly contribution and expanded terminology. This terminology points at the ways that tourism engages property formations to literally and figuratively undergird the advancement of neoliberal aims like extraction, resourcing, and capital (Mostafanezhad et al., 2021). Infrastructuring as a terminology thus attends to both the mundane ordering/assembling of tourism, *and* to the fact that this ordering and assembling results in, perpetuates, and fosters real and pervasive structures; it helps assuage the tension between

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[63] Many excellent authors and scholars work with prompts when trying to provide scaffolding for their readers. I have recently been inspired by the direct and indirect prompts in the work of Yoon and Chen (2022), Krawec (2022), and Berlant and Stewart (2019).

[64] Mostafanezhad et al. (2021) offer some discussion of infrastructures in their book *Tourism Geopolitics.*

structural and ordering approaches. In Chapter 3, I offer the most direct example of the benefit of infrastructuring as a useful terminology, locating it as object of study, theory and process, and methodology all in the same paper. This chapter brings in extant infrastructural scholarship and theory from geography, media studies, sociology, and even affect theory, cumulating in an infrastructural approach that is material-discursive, oriented to value extraction, and propelled by ordinary forces (Berlant, 2022). In Chapter 2, I discuss atmospheric infrastructures (of light and sound) as they are put to work in generating the conditions for the fostering of collective feeling.

The social contribution of this infrastructuring work is more obfuscated, but I think there is some benefit in advocating for the broader social use of tools like FOI requests, the byzantine apparatus of ONLAND (the Ontario "virtual Land Registry Office"), or even the utility in attending City Council meetings. Bureaucratic infrastructuring processes are often positioned as either "politics" or "too boring to be worthwhile" and I think both of these framings are untrue. Instead, I think there is a social benefit to understanding not only how local decisions are made (and who makes them), but overall how *smaller* local decisions are first made, then used for precedent, then once again put to use for the justification of further, more complex aims. I discuss the silence of bureaucratic process in some detail in Chapter 2, when referencing an attempted FOI of the Niagara Falls Illumination Board, and of the challenge of accessing property registers in the ONLAND database in Chapter 3.

5.7 Postdisciplinarity—Chapters 2, 3, and 4

This dissertation also engages **postdisciplinarity** via Hollinshead (2012), particularly the practice of postdisciplinarity in a responsible way generative of an ethical excess. Each of the chapters in this dissertation has engaged a number of theoretical, methodological, and substantive areas of research outside of tourism studies. Explicitly, Chapter 2 brings together writing in settler colonial studies, sound studies, affect theory, and tourism studies, alongside a methodological approach located in situated curiosity (Loveless, 2019) and an attention to listening (Kanngieser, 2015). The data in this chapter ranges from provincial documents secured through FOI request, to embodied atmospheric observations and experiences, to web-crawling. Chapter 3 works with literature in media studies, science and technology studies, sociology, and tourism studies using a methodological approach of *infrastructural mediation* (Ruiz, 2021). The data in this chapter is predominantly sourced from two formal archives, the ONLAND database, and web-crawling, but most extensively engages media documentation from the local newspaper, the Niagara Falls Review. Chapter 4 reads together a vast array of theoretical approaches across affect theory, research creation, sound studies, and tourism studies cumulating in a felt methodological practice contextualized as *ambivalent practice* (Berlant, 2008; 2022). The data in this chapter ranges from felt experiences, to absence, to pseudo-archiving, to incoherent and coherent mappings.

The scholarly contributions of this refrain lie in a (hopefully) productive cross-pollination of many of these above areas, rather than focus on the developments of "new" theory. Instead, I have tried to hold theory up inside a fun-house mirror to allow for novel and creative

interpretations of the ordinary relations of objects, affects, and stories. Revisiting my interpretation on Hollinshead's (2012) approach to postdisciplinary I have:

- fore-fronted a commitment to contextual understanding via the focus on small stories,
- enacted true flexibility in the use of methods and theories (perhaps sometimes excessive flexibility),
- contextualized new understandings of previously-existing knowledges (with a focus on the construction of their contested and shifting natures),
- very much celebrated alternative ways of knowing and being
- crafted a suspicion toward expertise (wherein expertise is defined as normative modes of knowledge rooted in settler colonial or nationalist structures and practices),
- resisted disciplinary containment,
- and somewhat practiced co-generative research processes with a very loud waterfall.

Somewhat obviously, the social impact of this refrain might be miniscule. But I believe that the work that I have done as part of this dissertation locates a scholarly example of not only making use of diverse methodological practices (and data, and analysis, and representation) in a useful way, but hopefully provides some reassurance that such diverse practices are *possible* (and, hopefully, publishable) if done with care.

5.8 (The need to) stop colonizing—Unmarked chapters

Finally, I want to talk about the practice of refraining I have outlined as also central to this dissertation, which follows Grimwood's (2021) assertion that we must **stop colonizing.** Grimwood (2021) doesn't use this explicit terminology in his paper on COVID-19 and not knowing, but urges this suggestion throughout, via attuning to the tensions and intricate entanglements in settler colonial politics, and by calling on Cameron's (2015) suggestion that settlers must turn both away from and toward colonial relations (or, in Shotwell's [2019] suggestion, non-relations). The formality and complication between social and scholarly impacts arises here, again, as I feel that I have learned so very much of the source of this want to stop colonizing via my years of benefiting from Bryan's (Grimwood's?) mentorship, much of which is not contained in his formal publications[65]. I want to present this drive to refrain from colonizing as politically different than unsettling. Unsettling becomes a way of shaking up taken-for-granted ways of [settler] being; truly refraining from colonizing means not only leaving these things unsettled, but *trying to do something different in the disrupted wake*.

And so I have tried, when possible in this dissertation, to stop colonizing. This is most evident in my commitment to work toward engaging unsettling methodologies and/or research practices geared toward situated knowledges and perspectivisms located in my own colonially-entangled histories, and not just prescriptively applying Indigenous ways of knowing or decolonial research methodologies (Fortier, 2017). This means I try to float in a balance between—to call on Grimwood (2021) again—research practices that are located in "critical proximity to settler

[65] Is it strange that we are supposed to account for the social impact of our work, yet it is still uncommon to impart the impact of the social on our work? I'm not phrasing this right.

colonizing structures, systems, and stories, and peripheral to Indigenous resurgence and revitalization" (p. 3). Throughout my academic upbringing, my approach to engaging research methodologies has consistently been grounded in the work of this tension, and is marked with examples of tactics of braiding, storying, and cross-pollinating settler and Indigenous methodological practices (see e.g., Grimwood et al., 2019b; Stinson et al., 2021; Stinson et al, 2022). Some of these may "work" better than others. I continue to learn from other scholars directly addressing these tensions (e.g., Kanngieser, Shotwell, Ruiz, and Fortier), especially those settler scholars who are consistent in positioning their work alongside similar politics of solidarity and generativity, and who enact a deep commitment to supporting Indigenous resurgence and decolonization. I therefore attempt, in Chapters 2, 3, and 4, to move more confidently into engaging methodologies that are explicitly *unsettling* methodologies, while also maintaining a critical engagement with Indigenous scholarship.

I have also tried, desperately, to do my own embodied, psychic, and spiritual work on *connecting* with my ancestries, histories, and tendencies toward restlessness. This is work poorly accounted for in a structured document, but is best evidenced in the bridges on SOUND and SILENCE that mark some of the personal social work that also undergirds the more formal chapters in this dissertation. While this is unsettling work it is also not-colonizing work, as it is couched in a productive process of accountability. The amount of patient embodied work and learning here makes me emphatic in echoing the necessity of de-centralizing settler needs (even if they are presented as radical or aligned with other projects of social justice) and also recognizing the incommensurability of decolonization and land back (Tuck & Yang, 2012) with certain other liberatory projects (i.e., particular types of collectivism or common land relations as mentioned in Chapter 3). For example, throughout my PhD I was deeply engaged in organizing work centred around labour rights and unionism. However, Tuck and Yang (2012) are explicit that "[the] pursuit of worker rights (and rights to work) and minoritized people's rights in a settler colonial context can appear to be anti-capitalist, but this pursuit is nonetheless largely pro-colonial. That is, the ideal of 'redistribution of wealth' camouflages how much of that wealth is land, Native land" (p. 23). Inevitably, settler labour movements risk participating in "processes of accumulation by dispossession, through capturing land, resources, and labour," (Englert, 2020, p. 1162) often on behalf of an employer (like a University). If I am to continue to enact my not-colonizing work, I must identify that my labour organizing work *still relies* on the structure of settler colonialism. These projects may be incommensurable. This work of not-colonizing is thus also situated not only in knowledge-and-worldmaking practices (i.e., research) but also in my ordinary life in terms of the formations I choose to interrogate, uphold, be suspicious of, or ignore.

Despite the accountings above, I have failed the most at this refrain[66].

5.9 Most visible failure

This is only a singular document written by a singular person, and it contains expected shortcomings and failures. As Star writes of (1999) infrastructures—that they become most visible upon breakdown—I presume that this visibility might also become true of the arguments of this dissertation. As I have been working to write and summarize so many of these ideas, the summation reveals most plainly the failures of this work. Many of these failures have to do with my own expectations around research, and the spatiotemporal bounds inflicted by the complexity of pandemic conditions (see the section on SOLITUDE for a bit more nuance, here). Many of the other failures have to do with potential perceptions of others toward the object of study itself, and how certain aspects of my research translation might inadvertently participate in the very silencing or discarding of the histories I most wish to expose.

First, Carpio et al. (2019) reiterate that work focuses on the settler colonial absent of meaningful engagement with Indigenous scholarship and knowledges runs the risk of further perpetuating the elimination or replacement of Indigenous peoples in scholarship broadly. My choices to engage settler colonial histories, archives, and settler scholarship detailing the ordinary construction of settler colonialism is an intentional choice dedicated to the interrogation of settler colonialism (and related processes of capitalism and ruination) writ large. These choices are contextualized within a dedication to:

1. Trying to shoulder some of the burden for the responsibility of reconciliation (and/or decolonizing or unsettling) such that it doesn't always land with Indigenous peoples (see also Grimwood et al. [2019b] and Stinson et al. [2021]) and,
2. Accounting for not only the production of my own situated knowledge (Haraway, 1988), but for the accountabilities couched within my epistemic position and my relational need to claim bad kin (Shotwell, 2019) and produce work that said bad kin might be able to "hear."

However, this means that my interaction with non-settler archives remains limited, and this is a failure of mine. Here, in this dissertation the balance between turning away from (to refuse) and toward (to interrogate) colonial formations has shifted to the side of facing these archives head on—the *toward* (Cameron, 2015). This was a choice that I made; I don't know if it's the right one (or, more honestly, if there is a right one). Balancing meaningful engagement with Indigenous

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[66] I have a habit of using footnotes to trace the communications and changes between versions of documents and to mark the evolution of my thinking (as my ideas shift and my feelings change). During the final round of revisions of this document, Bryan leaves me a note about this sentence: "Relative to whom? To what?" I don't know how to answer this. My impulse is to delete this line, but I change my mind again. And the answer to the paired questions is: that "succeeding" at this refraining is a paradox—it sets up a purity test where there exists a world without relation, where I as a settler am "free" from any ongoing burden of doing the work if only I can "stop colonizing." There will not be a lifetime where my personal, cultural, familial, and structural inheritances are not those of colonialism. There will not be a future where I have to stop colonizing, not because I don't believe in a future without colonialism (I *do* and I *must*), but because *my relation* to this future is also marked by my past(s). It is ordinary for me to fail at this; it is unremarkable. And it will continue to be, as I continue to try to stop colonizing. I am uncertain (Mackey, 2014). But I will keep feeling (and working). That's the point.

scholarship, archives, histories, and knowledges with a want to stop colonizing will continue to be a lifelong practice of my work.

Second, my choices around considering the work of ordering the extra-ordinary in Niagara Falls also have to do with both a *want* to remain physically and epistemically proximate to Niagara Falls (and its settler histories) as well as an *inability* to do otherwise. Positioning the COVID-19 pandemic as part of the condition of this research is not as simple as detailing requisite University safety forms for doing participant-engaged research, or moving interview requests online. My trajectory navigating the COVID-19 pandemic shifted what types of research practices I expected would be both physically and mentally safe for me many times over the course of the dissertation process; these choices were never simple. Being in public is hard. So while I have theoretical justification for the absence of "more typical" social science methods (i.e., interviews) that might lie in colonial tendencies toward data capture (Frenette, 2023) and the promiscuity of actor-network methods (Beard et al., 2016), part of the truth of why my research was constructed the way it was lies in my own inability. I am reticent to justify this further.

Finally, I have to admit that I am deeply overwhelmed by the scope of the data I worked with during this dissertation. I have thousands of photographs, hundreds upon hundreds of pages of archival and field notes, untold amounts of other data that are strange and atypical, and endless hours of intensities of embodied feelings about this process. In writing this conclusion, I happened to share Chapter 3 with a colleague at the University of Waterloo in the Department of Architecture, and his first question about the IMAX building was: "Who is the architect?" Unable to find this information in short order, I delved through all of my data again over the course of the evening, and still came up with nothing. This revelation left me with an element of desperation, both toward the immediately-revealed incompleteness of my work, and toward my initial felt response of the deep want to "fix the problem" and identify this person now absent from this particular telling of this story[67]. This feeling is reproduced every time I come across a paper (or a video, or a book) that speaks to my research that I "clearly should have read" and subsequently feel a compulsive need to include for the sake of completeness. My learning, here, is that my impulse to be "comprehensive" is still incredibly strong; in plain, ordinary circumstances I remain deeply uncomfortable with not-knowing, despite *knowing that not-knowing is the work* (Grimwood, 2021). Accordingly, this is work I must continue to do.

5.10 Inhabiting and imagining the ordinary

And so I continue.

Lately, the ordinary has been quick and jumpy, a startled rabbit skittering across the driveway. I wait for the first of the month so I can say its name, twice[68], and be rid of this dissertation.

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[67] I admit: after this conversation I filed an FOI with the City for the original Pyramid Place and IMAX theatre building permits. This won't be available before I defend this dissertation, but it is something I can engage with later.

[68] A superstition: if your first words on waking on the first of any month are "rabbit rabbit," luck will find you.

Yesterday—along with the return to my digital archives in search of the missing IMAX architect—there was a car explosion at the Rainbow Bridge, the border access crossing the Niagara River, linking the twinned cities of Niagara Falls in America and Canada. First, the media reported the FBI Counterterrorism Unit was there; later, it was reduced to a medical emergency (Collaco et al., 2023). A video of the incident shows the car running into a border barrier and taking flight, launching itself into the air. I watch it on the news in the evening and I wonder if, upon waking, anything will be different. Will things still be ordinary? With the border closed, the night is extra quiet. When I open the windows I can hear the Falls.

Stewart (2007) writes that the ordinary has to be inhabited, but also it must be imagined. There are many of us (100,000 at least) that inhabit our ordinary lives in Niagara Falls, Ontario. Tourism pervades these lives, supporting around 40,000 jobs in the Region (Niagara Canada, 2019). Tourism rides on the airwaves, penetrates our houses, defies municipal zoning bylaws and temporal boundaries. We residents of Niagara Falls inhabit the extra-ordinary, whether the City is on the news or whether we're just grabbing a beer at a local bar (the one shaped like a flying saucer, or the one that they picked up and moved, brick by brick, from the Falls to the city centre in 1927). But residents and tourists (and researchers) alike also are those that imagine the ordinary, that spark connections and rewire the circuitry that allow for extraordinary structures and processes to emerge from the objects, stories, and affects that are scattered through the informal archives of our (varied, varying, various) lives. We are all translating networks; we are all making worlds (Hollinshead, 2009).

How are ordinary things (stories, affects, objects) used to structure, assemble, and maintain other, more extraordinary things (i.e., tourism)?

How are ordinary things (stories, affects, objects) enrolled in the structuring, assembling, and maintenance of tourism also things that further undergird structures of settler colonialism and processes of capitalist ruination?

How might different relations with ordinary things (stories, affects, objects) unsettle some of these violent formations and processes?

The ordinary is not just a thing but is also a resource for anything that might happen, for anything that is already happening (Stewart, 2007). Fireworks aren't a divine intervention; the IMAX theatre was not pre-destined for demolition. Niagara didn't just "fall." The Falls (in all their sublime, spectacular splendour) are but a series of engineered choices and geological happenings that *also, then,* allow other things to happen. They are very ordinary. So is life here. So is doing tourism here. But that is what makes it, also, so very extraordinary.

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Appendices

The appendices are as follows:

Appendices i-v are approved ethics materials (REB [44196]) that I planned to use to recruit interview participants. These went unused (see the section on SOLITUDE for more detail).

Appendices vi-vii include supplementary materials for Chapter 2 and Chapter 3.

Appendix viii includes information about fieldwork and site visits.

Appendix ix contains a list of what I had identified in my dissertation proposal as my “wants.”

i. Information and consent letter

Information & Consent Letter

Title of Study
Sonic experiments in tourism

Student Investigator/Faculty Supervisor
Student Investigator: Michela J. Stinson, University of Waterloo, Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies. Phone: [redacted] Email: [redacted]

Faculty Supervisor: Dr. Bryan Grimwood, University of Waterloo, Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies. Phone: [redacted] Email: [redacted]

Invitation to participate/What is the study about?
You are invited to participate in a research study that examines the relationship between sound and tourism in the city of Niagara Falls, Ontario. According to Patricia Jasen (1995), Niagara Falls was the place where tourism began in North America. As the site of the iconic Horseshoe Falls, as well as the notorious Clifton Hill tourist district, Niagara Falls is known for being a place of both the "sublime" and the "spectacle." What this means is that a lot of what is notable about Niagara Falls is based in the visual—what one might *see* when doing tourism. What one sees when doing tourism is also informed by the stories we hear about tourism and tourism places.

Moving away from tourism that focuses on the visual also means moving away from dominant stories in tourism. This might lead to us shifting how we value tourism experiences, and reconsidering practices of tourism that model a less spectacular, less iconic, and "more-than-visual" approach. In the wake of both COVID-19 and climate crisis, there has been an increase in conversations about tourism sustainability, local and proximity tourism (i.e., tourism close to home), and experimental tourism practices. This work asks how sound might contribute to doing tourism differently, and what it would be like to move tourism in Niagara Falls away from the "sublime" or the "spectacle."

This research is being completed as part of the dissertation requirement in order to attain the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Recreation and Leisure Studies. Please note that your decision to participate is completely voluntary, and you can withdraw your consent at any time by advising the researcher.

Who may participate/Role as a participant
As a tourist and/or Niagara Falls local and/or Niagara Falls tourism-related business owner or member of a tourism-related organization above the age of 18, you are invited to participate in this study. This involves the primary researcher—Michela Stinson—interviewing you, which might also include photographing (incl. video stills) parts of the interview, and/or making audio

and video recordings. This interview will take place either in person, on the phone, or via Zoom. Video recordings and photographing (incl. video stills) will only be used for in-person interviews that happen in tourism-related locations. Video recordings and photographing (incl. video stills) are important to this type of interview, where the physical environment and ambient sounds might change or affect the outcome of the interview. Video (for in-person interviews) and/or audio recording (for online and phone interviews) would last for the duration of the interview; photography (incl. video stills) would happen as warranted and/or after the fact, in the case of in-person interviews.

Questions asked during an interview could include things like "When you think about your time at Niagara Falls, what sounds do you remember most?" or "Were there any sounds in Niagara Falls that surprised you?" I anticipate the time commitment involved for you would be between thirty (30) and sixty (60) minutes. Interviews will be short, informal, and conversational, guided by you and your experiences as a tourist and/or Niagara Falls local and/or Niagara Falls tourism-related business owner or member of a tourism-related organization and your experience with sound in Niagara Falls. Because certain aspects of your identity might affect they way you experience the world, some limited demographic information will also be collected (i.e., your age, self-identified gender, self-identified ethnicity, and your occupation). This will be done to ensure a fulsome picture of your unique experience with Niagara Falls.

With your permission, your interview will be audio and/or video-recorded to facilitate collection of information. These recordings will be transcribed for analysis. After the interview transcription has been completed, I will provide you with a copy of the transcript to give you the opportunity to confirm the accuracy of our conversation, and to add to or clarify any part of the transcription. A summary of the findings—including a dissertation or resulting final papers—will be made accessible to anyone who wishes to see it.

Rights as a participant
Your participation in this study is voluntary. You may decline to answer any question(s) you prefer not to answer by requesting to skip the question. You may decline to be audio and/or video recorded at any point in time. Further, you may decide to leave and/or stop the interview at any point in time by communicating this to the primary researcher.

Will I receive anything for participating?
You will not receive remuneration for your participation in the study.

Benefits of participating
This research asks participants to explore their experiences with sound, soundscapes, and/or auditory sensing in the location of Niagara Falls, Ontario. Participation in this study may not provide any personal benefit to you, however, as a participant, you will be given the chance to critically reflect upon your own experiences that relate to sound and tourism in Niagara Falls. This could allow you to think differently about tourism. Further, this research could benefit you by reigniting or contributing to discussions about Niagara Falls tourism surrounding

sustainability, social discourse, development, creativity, and environmental justice. Information gathered through the study could additionally benefit tourism stakeholders, including local residents of Niagara Falls. This research could also benefit and further academic discussions around philosophies of tourism, critical tourism studies, and local/proximity tourisms.

Risks of participating
There are no anticipated risks associated with participating in this study.

Protecting your confidentiality/What will happen with your data
Your participation will be considered confidential unless you choose otherwise. Options for confidentiality are listed at the end of this letter.

If you choose to remain anonymous, your name **will not** be used in any paper or publication resulting from this study and you will be assigned a pseudonym; however, with your permission, anonymous quotations from your contributions may be used using this pseudonym. Identifying information will be removed from the data that is collected and stored separately. In photographs (incl. video stills), audio recordings, and video recordings your face may be seen and your voice may be heard.

Alternatively, if you choose to be attributed, your name **will** be used in any paper or publication resulting from this study; with your permission, attributed quotations from your contributions may also be used. Identifying information will be included in the data that is collected. In photographs (incl. video stills), audio recordings, and video recordings your name will be used, your face may be seen, and your voice may be heard. This would mean that your participation in the research study would not be confidential. Attribution could be desirable if you are a local with a unique perspective that is often underrepresented, if you are tourist who had a remarkable Niagara Falls experience, and/or if you are a Niagara Falls tourism-related business owner or member of a tourism-related organization who is often in the public eye.

Collected data will be stored for a minimum of seven (7) years on password-protected computer, in a password-protected external hard drive, and in a locked office in a personal residence. All data will be encrypted. You can withdraw consent to participate and have your data destroyed by contacting me within this seven-year period. Please note that it will not be possible to withdraw your consent once results (anonymized or otherwise) are submitted for publication and/or shared publicly. After seven (7) years, all data will be destroyed according to University of Waterloo policy.

If you choose to have your interview take place online, the interview will be conducted over an online platform, Zoom. Zoom has implemented technical, administrative, and physical safeguards to protect the information provided via the Services from loss, misuse, and unauthorized access, disclosure, alteration, or destruction. However, no Internet transmission is ever fully secure or error free.

Ethics Clearance:
This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the University of Waterloo Research Ethics Board (REB [44196]). If you have questions for the Board contact the Office of Research Ethics, at 1-519-888-4567 ext. 36005 or reb@uwaterloo.ca.

If you have any questions regarding this study, or if you would like further clarification on the research itself—including any procedural questions—please contact my research supervisor or myself.

Thank you,

Michela J. Stinson, PhD Candidate
Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies, University of Waterloo
[redacted]
[redacted]

Dr. Bryan Grimwood, Faculty Supervisor
Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies, University of Waterloo
[redacted]
[redacted]

Consent of Participant

By signing this consent form, you are **not** waiving your legal rights or releasing the investigator(s) or involved institution(s) from their legal and professional responsibilities.

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by Michela J. Stinson of the Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies at the University of Waterloo and Dr. Bryan Grimwood of the Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies at the University of Waterloo. I have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study, to receive satisfactory answers to my questions, as well as any additional details I wanted.

I am aware that I have the option of allowing myself to be audio recorded (in in-person, phone, and online interviews) to ensure an accurate recording of my interview responses.

I am aware that I have the option of allowing myself to be video recorded (in in-person interviews) to ensure an accurate recording of my interview responses.

I am aware that with my permission, images and recordings in which I appear (e.g. photos, video-stills, and video-recordings from in-person interviews) may be used in papers and presentations to come from this research, with the understanding that my name will only be used if I agree to attribution, but my face may be seen and my voice may be heard.

I am aware that excerpts from the interview may be included in the dissertation and/or publications to come from this research, with the understanding that the quotations will be anonymous unless I agree to attribution.

I was informed that I may withdraw my consent without penalty by advising the researcher of this decision.

This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the University of Waterloo Research Ethics Board (REB [44196]). If you have questions for the Committee contact the Office of Research Ethics, at 1-519-888-4567 ext. 36005 or ore-ceo@uwaterloo.ca.

For all other questions contact Michela Stinson by phone at [redacted], or by email at [redacted]. You may also contact Dr. Bryan Grimwood, Faculty Supervisor, by phone at [redacted], or by email at [redacted].

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I consent, of my own free will, to participate in

An interview: □ Yes □ No

During the interview session, I give permission to be

Audio-recorded (for in-person, phone, and online interviews): □ Yes □ No

Video-recorded (for in-person interviews only): □ Yes □ No

Photographed (incl. video stills) (for in-person interviews only): □ Yes □ No

In the papers and presentations resulting from this study, I agree to the use of

Anonymous quotations (i.e., "Anonymous member of Niagara Falls community/ Anonymous tourist/Anonymous business owner): □ Yes □ No

Directly attributed quotations (i.e., you will be identified by name): □ Yes □ No

I agree to allow audio/video clips/photographs in which I appear to be used in presentations and publications with the understanding that

I **will not** be identified by name: □ Yes □ No

I **will** be identified by name: □ Yes □ No

Participant Name: _____ (Please print)

Participant Signature: _____

Witness Name: _____ (Please print)

Witness Signature: _____

Date: _____

ii. Verbal recruitment script

Hello,
My name is Michela Stinson and I am a PhD Candidate completing my degree at the University of Waterloo. I'm working under the supervision of Dr. Bryan Grimwood in the Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies. I am talking to you because you appear to be taking part in tourism-related activities here in Niagara Falls, Ontario.

We are conducting a study exploring how sound works to shape the tourism landscape of Niagara Falls, and how attending to sound might change how we think about and do tourism, in Niagara Falls and beyond. I'm currently seeking volunteers to participate in this study. As long as you are over the age of eighteen (18), you are eligible to participate.

Participation in this study involves myself, the student researcher interviewing you about how sound features in your experience of tourism in Niagara Falls. Questions asked during an interview could include things like "When you think about your time at Niagara Falls, what sounds do you remember most?" or "Were there any sounds in Niagara Falls that surprised you?" I anticipate the time commitment involved for you would be between thirty (30) and sixty (60) minutes. This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Board (REB [44196]).

I am able to provide you with an Information and Consent Letter, which contains more details about this study. I can give this to you now, as a paper copy, or send it to you via email. If you are interested in participating in this study, please complete the Consent of Participation form as outlined. I am available such that we can schedule a date and time that work best for you to conduct your interview, should you choose to participate. We can plan to do this interview either via phone, video call, or in person. Please know that the final decision about participation is yours, and also that you can end the interview at any time. My full contact information—as well as the contact information of my supervisor—is available in the Information and Consent Letter.

Thank you for your time!
Michela

iii. Instagram recruitment script

Hi! My name is Michela Stinson and I'm completing my PhD at the University of Waterloo. Right now I'm working on my dissertation research, a project entitled "Sonic experiments in tourism." This project is about how sound works to shape the tourism landscape of Niagara Falls, and how attending to sound might change how we think about and do tourism, in Niagara Falls and beyond. This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Board (REB [44196]).

I am messaging you because you used one of the following hashtags: #NiagaraFalls, #NiagaraFallsTourism, or #NiagaraFallsCanada. I was hoping I could speak to you about your experiences in Niagara Falls, in particular how they relate to sound. This would likely involve an interview of 30-60 minutes either over the phone, online, or in-person. If this sounds interesting, please let me know your email, and I can send you a full information letter which outlines in detail my study, as well as ways in which you might participate.

Thanks for your time! Hope to hear from you soon.
Michela

iv. Email recruitment script (via Instagram)

Hello,

My name is Michela Stinson and I am a PhD Candidate completing my degree at the University of Waterloo. I'm working under the supervision of Dr. Bryan Grimwood in the Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies. I messaged with you the other day via Instagram, and you informed me that you wanted more information about my dissertation research, entitled "Sonic experiments in tourism."

I am conducting a study exploring how sound works to shape the tourism landscape of Niagara Falls, and how attending to sound might change how we think about and do tourism in Niagara Falls and beyond. I'm currently seeking volunteers to participate in this study. As long as you are over the age of eighteen (18), you are eligible to participate.

I'd like to invite you to participate in a one-on-one interview about your experiences with sound as it relates to tourism in Niagara Falls. Questions asked during an interview could include things like "When you think about your time at Niagara Falls, what sounds do you remember most?" or "Were there any sounds in Niagara Falls that surprised you?" I anticipate the time commitment involved for you would be between thirty (30) and sixty (60) minutes. This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the University of Waterloo Research Ethics Board (REB [44196]).

If you're interested in participating in this study, I am able to provide you with an Information and Consent Letter, which contains more details about the research that I am doing, and a Consent of Participation form that you can complete as outlined. We can also schedule a date and time to connect either via phone, video call, or in person conversation, which ever works best for you. Please know that the final decision about participation is yours, and also that you can end the interview at any time. My full contact information—as well as the contact information of my supervisor—is available in the Information and Consent Letter.

Thank you for your time,
Michela J. Stinson, PhD Candidate
Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies, University of Waterloo
[redacted]
[redacted]

v. Feedback letter

University of Waterloo
[DATE]

I would like to thank you for your participation in this study, entitled "Sonic experiments in tourism." As a reminder, the goal of this research is to explore how sound works to shape the tourism landscape of Niagara Falls, and how attending to sound might change how we think about and do tourism in Niagara Falls and beyond. This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the University of Waterloo Research Ethics Board (REB [44196]). If you have questions for the Board contact the Office of Research Ethics, at 1-519-888-4567 ext. 36005 or reb@uwaterloo.ca.

The data collected during the this research project will contribute to a better understanding of how we might encourage alternative practices of tourism in Niagara Falls, and how experiments with and through tourism might be accomplished elsewhere.

Please remember that collected data (i.e., photos, audio recordings, video recordings, and interview transcripts) will be retained for a minimum of seven (7) years on a password-protected laptop, on a password-protected external hard drive, and in a locked, personal home office. Once all the data has been collected and analyzed for this project, the final results will be shared with the academic research community through conferences, presentations, and journal articles. If you are interested in receiving more information regarding the results of this study, or would like a summary of the results, please reach out to Michela Stinson. The anticipated completion date for the study is July 31, 2023. When the study is completed, resulting information and outcomes will be sent to you as a brief report. If you have any questions about the study or its procedures please do not hesitate to contact me at any time.

For all other questions contact Michela Stinson at [redacted]

Michela Stinson, PhD Candidate
Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies, University of Waterloo
[redacted]
[redacted]

Dr. Bryan Grimwood
Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies, University of Waterloo
[redacted]
[redacted]

vi. Supplementary material for Chapter 2

1. Niagara Parks. (2020, June 11). “Confidential Report to the Board for the Niagara Parks Commission RE: Regional Canada Day “Virtual” Celebration,” (p. 3). Obtained through FOI request to Ministry of Tourism, Culture, and Sport, access request no. 2022-011-GR.

2. Arsenych, A. (April 22, 2022). Fireworks Are Coming Back To Niagara Falls & They’ll Be Fighting Up The Skies Every Night. Narcity. https://www.narcity.com/toronto/fireworks-are-coming-back-to-niagara-falls-theyll-be-lighting-up-the-skies-every-night. (Accessed April 25, 2022).

3. Niagara Falls Live. (2022). Niagara Falls at Night. Niagara Falls Live. https://www.niagarafallslive.com/niagara_falls_at_night.htm#:~:text=The%20fireworks%20are%20displayed%20directly,a%20spectacular%20free%20fireworks%20display. (Accessed April 21, 2022).

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5. Niagara Falls Info. (2022). Illumination of the Falls. Niagara Falls Info. https://www.niagarafallsinfo.com/niagara-falls-history/niagara-falls-tourism-history/illumination-of-the-falls/. (Accessed April 21, 2022).

6. Mulvey & Banani Lighting. (December 23, 2016). Niagara Falls Illumination—The Story of Lighting Niagara Falls. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IcWbpJOVArw&t=4s. Timestamps 0:43 and 0:46. (Accessed September 8, 2022).

7. Goertzen, H. (September 12, 2022). Niagara Falls to be Illuminated in Tribute to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II. Niagara Parks. https://www.niagaraparks.com/media-room/media/falls-illumination-tribute-queen-elizabeth-ii.(Accessed October 6, 2022).

8. Mulvey & Banani Lighting. (December 23, 2016). Niagara Falls Illumination—The Story of Lighting Niagara Falls. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IcWbpJOVArw&t=4s. (Accessed September 8, 2022).

9. Niagara Falls Illumination Board. (2021). Special Illumination Policy. https://www.niagaraparks.com/?mdocs-file=16609. (Accessed April 21, 2022).

10. Niagara Parks. (2022). Falls Illumination. Niagara Parks. https://www.niagaraparks.com/events/event/falls-illumination. (Accessed October 1, 2022).

11. Niagara Falls Illumination Board. (2021). Special Illumination Policy. https://www.niagaraparks.com/?mdocs-file=16609. (Accessed April 21, 2022).

12. Niagara Falls Illumination Board. (2021). Special Illumination Policy. https://www.niagaraparks.com/?mdocs-file=16609. (Accessed April 21, 2022).

13. Niagara Parks. (2020, June 11). "Confidential Report to the Board for the Niagara Parks Commission RE: Regional Canada Day "Virtual" Celebration." Obtained through FOI request to Ministry of Tourism, Culture, and Sport, access request no. 2022-011-GR.

14. Adames, D. (2020, June 22). "Re: July 1 fireworks." [Email]. Obtained through FOI request to Ministry of Tourism, Culture, and Sport, access request no. 2022-011-GR.

15. Adames, D. (2021, June 30). "Canada Day 2021." [Email]. Obtained through FOI request to Ministry of Tourism, Culture, and Sport, access request no. 2022-011-GR.

16. Miller, M. (June 25, 2022). Niagara Falls to be illuminated in orange in honour of residential school victims. blogTO. https://www.blogto.com/travel/2021/06/niagara-falls-illuminated-orange-honour-residential-school-victims/ (Accessed April 21, 2022).

17. Ontario. (May 20, 2021). Roadmap to Reopen. https://news.ontario.ca/en/backgrounder/1000159/roadmap-to-reopen. (Accessed July 31, 2022).

18. Giles, C. (2021, June 30). "Special Illuminations on Canada Day." [Email]. Obtained through FOI request to Ministry of Tourism, Culture, and Sport, access request no. 2022-011-GR.

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21. Niagara Parks. (September 30, 2022). Niagara Falls to go Orange for the National Day of Truth and Reconciliation. Niagara Parks. https://www.niagaraparks.com/media-room/news/falls-goes-orange-truth-reconciliation. (Accessed October 6, 2022).

22. Niagara Parks. (September 30, 2022). Niagara Falls to go Orange for the National Day of Truth and Reconciliation. Niagara Parks. https://www.niagaraparks.com/media-room/news/falls-

goes-orange-truth-reconciliation. (Accessed October 6, 2022).

23. Wood, S. (2021, June 4). “FW: turning the Falls Orange.” [Email attachment]. Obtained through FOI request to Ministry of Tourism, Culture, and Sport, access request no. 2022-011-GR.

24. Niagara Falls Illumination Board. (2021). Special Illumination Policy. https://www.niagaraparks.com/?mdocs-file=16609. (Accessed April 21, 2022).

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27. Niagara Falls Illumination Board. (2021). Special Illumination Policy. https://www.niagaraparks.com/?mdocs-file=16609. (Accessed April 21, 2022).

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31. Wood, S. (2021, June 4). “FW: turning the Falls Orange.” [Email attachment]. Obtained through FOI request to Ministry of Tourism, Culture, and Sport, access request no. 2022-011-GR.

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vii. Supplementary material for Chapter 3

BODY

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6. Niagara Falls Info. (2023). *William Forsyth*. Niagara Falls Info. Retrieved on July 6, 2023 from https://www.niagarafallsinfo.com/niagara-falls-history/niagara-falls-tourism-history/william-forsyth/#:~:text=In%201798%2C%20William%20Forsyth's%20father,the%20edge%20of%20the%20gorge.
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viii. “Fieldwork” and other stories

FIELD VISITS TO THE IMAX SITE
March 12, 2020
April 3, 2020
October 13, 2020
December 17, 2020
December 30, 2020
January 3, 2021
January 10, 2021
January 26, 2021
April 30, 2021
July 15, 2021
November 4, 2021
November 8, 2021
December 21, 2021
April 28, 2022
May 11, 2022*
May 13, 2022
May 17, 2022
May 23, 2022
May 28, 2022
June 3, 2022
July 20, 2022
August 4, 2022
September 23, 2022
September 30, 2022
December 29, 2022~

FIELD VISITS TO EXPLICITLY WATCH THE FIREWORKS
September 23, 2022 (No known holiday)
September 30, 2022 (Day for Truth and Reconciliation)

FIELD VISITS TO FORMAL ARCHIVES
May 31, 2023 (Niagara Falls Ontario Public Library)
June 6, 2023 (Niagara Falls Ontario Public Library)
July 4, 2023 (Niagara Falls Ontario Public Library)
August 29, 2023 (Brock University Library)

*demolition begins
~affective saturation reached

ix. List of "wants" from my proposal document[69]

~~I want to infuse tourism theory with the work of sound studies, because Keith Hollinshead told me to[70].~~

I want to theorize a *leaky tourism.*

I want to talk and listen to tourists. And locals. And those that are both. Or neither.

I want to gently disrupt the spectacle of hegemonic theory in favour of a sonic reverberation that thinks (productively) against ocularcentrism (Voegelin, 2019).

~~I want to ride the Ferris Wheel.~~

~~I want to trouble the proximate in a time of digital isolation and viral unrest~~, with the intention of considering how we might "do" proximity tourism in mass tourism contexts.

I want to rent space for a collectively-curated anti-museum of Niagara Falls.

I want to build humongous resonant objects and interfere with the tourist soundscape.

~~I want to think about fireworks, about Canadiana, about material and discursive place~~.

~~I want to unpack my own hungry listening (Robinson, 2020) and sonic subjectivity (Voegelin, 2019) as I continue to try to stop colonizing (Grimwood, 2021)~~.

~~I want to interfere in the worldmaking of Niagara Falls.~~

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[69] The things that are struck through are things I have done, at least in part.

[70] In 2008, Hollinshead expressed that tourism was "under-theorized". Much incredible thinking, writing, philosophizing, and theorizing has emerged since then (and is still emerging). I'm thrilled to be able to even attempt to expand on some of these lines of thought.