

Disney license, Hollywood-Maxwell sold underwear from a corset shop on Main Street, and a building company sold real estate from another store. At EPCOT, the large corporations that sponsor pavilions invested \$75 million apiece in construction funds and guaranteed operating expenses for ten years.

Under CEO Michael Eisner and CFO Frank Wells, the new Disney management negotiated a new contract with Kodak so that Kodak paid for part of the construction costs of the Michael Jackson ride as well as for theater renovations at Disneyland and Disney World. General Motors, which had its own pavilion, The World of Motion, and also supplied Disney World's "official car," paid a share of the costs of joint advertising campaigns. A new corporate sponsor, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, agreed to spend almost \$90 million for a health-theme pavilion at EPCOT.

By late 1988, the Disney Channel was also achieving Eisner's goal of cross-promotion for other company ventures. Kids watching Winnie the Pooh or Mickey Mouse cartoons became a target market for Disney toys. Showing episodes of The Mickey Mouse Club, which had been filmed at the Disney-MGM Studios Theme Park, enticed 14-year-olds into pressuring their parents to take them to Orlando (Grover 1991, 150).

In any event, the Disney World theme park is almost infinitely expandable even within the southern tier of the United States. While Disney World has helped to create a new transatlantic and Latino tourist zone in south Florida, a completely new Disneyland in Anaheim, Westcot Center, will focus on "our humanity, our history, our planet, our universe." The new Disneyland resort will include Westcot, the original Disneyland, a resort hotel district, a centralized Disneyland Plaza linking the old and new theme parks, and Disney Center, a commercial area for shopping and strolling around a lake.

The virtual reality of Disney World is expandable not only in economic and geographical terms. Visually, too, Disney World is a model of how to think about the past and how to reproduce it. While technology aids this process, Disney World's real attraction is that it is a new social space, an alternative to cities. The conceptual challenge Disney World raises to public culture reflects the fact that a completely artificial space, a space that has never been a real place to live, can so resonate with social desires.

Disneyland and its marketing world developed together with broadcast television. Like Niagara Falls and Yellowstone National Park (Sears 1989), Disney

World emerged at a crucial point – after the Vietnam War, before the fall of the Berlin Wall, during the Decade of Greed – when American identity was contentious, divided, unfocused on a patriotic vision. Because there is no longer a public identity that cities embody, the artificial world of Disney has become our safe place, our cities' virtual reality.

Cities impose visual coherence in many ways: by using zoning to impose design criteria for office buildings, by making memory visible in historic districts, by interpreting the assimilation of ethnic groups in street festivals, by building walls to contain fear. Disney World is not only important because it confirms and consolidates the significance of cultural power – the power to impose a vision – for social control. It is important because it offers a model of privatization and globalization; it manages social diversity; it imposes a frame of meaning on the city, a frame that earlier in history came from other forms of public culture. That frame is now based on touring, a voyeurism that thrives on the video camera and the local television news.

It is unreasonable to propose that people sit at home and cultivate their gardens, but Disney World raises serious questions about the social and political consequences of marketing culture, from cultural tourism to cultural strategies of urban development.

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