

The Commodification of Rural Heritage: Creative Destruction in Newfoundland and Labrador

by

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

Abstract

The intent of this study is to determine if the process of creative destruction is underway in a rural community located in Newfoundland and Labrador and to identify why this development sequence has or has not occurred. Three objectives underlie this study. The first is to determine at what stage Ferryland is situated in the Model of Creative Destruction. The second is to explain the community's current stage in the model. The third objective is to provide recommendations for this community on its future development potential. These objectives were fulfilled through data collection that included: participant observation, content analysis of newspapers, and a review of relevant documents, key informant interviews, and resident and visitor surveys.

This mixed method study concluded that the community of Ferryland is in the stage of advanced commodification in Mitchell's (2009) Model of Creative Destruction. Three reasons are identified for its current state. First, the community lacks a tourism champion. Secondly, human capital shortage in Ferryland has created a lack of workers. Lastly, the actions of local stakeholders are not driven solely by the motivations outlined by Mitchell (2009). They are also underlain by the desire for pleasure; a motivation that does not appear to have encouraged fast-paced development. Furthermore, Ferryland is a community on a much smaller scale, which may have lessened perceived impacts and scale of development. Based on these conclusions, it is recommended that the Ferryland Tourism Committee creates a long-term plan for tourism that incorporates opinions of local residents.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

“Visitors leave the burdens of everyday life behind as they become immersed in a sincere simplicity that adds to the province’s beauty and charm.”

(Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism, 2009, p.2)

Newfoundland and Labrador has a unique culture, one that has only recently started to be promoted on an international level. Newfoundland and Labrador is later than its Canadian counterparts in entering the world of tourism. Recently, however, the province has developed a new tourism development approach promoting tourism on a much larger scale. Although this promotion is aimed at visitors, it will undoubtedly attract academics interested in rural tourism.

Tourism can bring both positive and negative impacts to a community. How a community works together to incorporate tourism in a manner that supports economic growth, preserves its culture and shapes its future, is what determines its success. The purpose of this study is to determine the extent to which tourism has impacted a rural community in Newfoundland and Labrador. Specifically, it will seek to explain the current state of tourism development in the community of Ferryland. This chapter will discuss the background behind this study, identify the research purpose and objectives, introduce the methods, and provide a brief outline of the paper.

1.1 Background

Primary industries in Canada's rural communities have been facing a crisis since the 1970s (Wilson et. al, 2001). In some regions, farming, fishing, and logging have lost the ability to sustain the economy due to depleting environmental stocks and technological advances, creating a push for tourism amongst some rural localities. O'Rourke (1999) categorizes the changes that rural communities have gone through into three stages. The late nineteenth century was marked by the coexistence of unequal social groups in rural society, such as famers, landlords, merchants, etc. (O'Rourke, 1999). Following this, in the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, primary sector activities dominated among rural populations, so much so that non-agricultural activities were basically non-existent (O'Rourke, 1999). Today, non-agricultural activities tend to dominate, and there is a broadening of rural economic activities, such as agro-tourism (O'Rourke, 1999). In Newfoundland and Labrador, it was the closing of the cod fishery that created this shift. This event led to a loss of employment, thereby forcing people to turn to rural tourism. Academic interest has followed, as researchers seek to understand the impacts of this economic activity on local communities (Overton, 2007).

Tourism has long been a form of revenue for rural centres. However, it is important to acknowledge the impacts that tourism may have on these communities. In recent years, several academics have developed models that conceptualize the impact of tourism on smaller settlements and communities (e.g. Homans, 1958; Doxey, 1975; Lankford & Howard, 1994; Mitchell and de Waal, 2009). The Creative Destruction Model (Mitchell, 2009) provides the framework for this study. It is based on the actions of individuals, drawn

from both the private and public sectors, who are motivated by profit, preservation or promotion of economic growth and development¹. In a recent paper, Mitchell & Vanderwef (2010) describe how these motivations may cause a rural locale to evolve through three landscape forms, each characterized by a specific place identity: the original town-scape, the commodified heritage-scape, and, finally, the leisure-scape of mass consumption. Each of these states comes about after a process of “trial by space” (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]), where conflicts may occur between those with different ideologies who support opposing identities.

Academics have applied the Model of Creative Destruction (Mitchell & de Waal 2009) to communities in western and central Canada. However, it has yet to be applied on the Canadian east coast. Applying the model to a community in Newfoundland and Labrador will increase the validity of the model by broadening its application base. Newfoundland and Labrador is a province steeped in fragmented culture and history. It is likely that the process of creative destruction is taking place in rural communities that are basing their development on the commodification of heritage. However, Newfoundland and Labrador is less “urbanized” than other Canadian provinces, such as Ontario and British Columbia, where the model has been applied. This may influence how creative destruction has unfolded within Newfoundland and Labrador’s communities.

1.2 Research Purpose and Objectives

The intent of this study is to determine if the process of creative destruction is underway in communities in Newfoundland and Labrador and to identify why development

1 Yet to be published research has identified two other motivational drivers: pleasure and publicity

has or has not occurred. To achieve this goal, a case study of Ferryland, Newfoundland and Labrador is undertaken. Ferryland was selected as it meets the three criteria stated by Mitchell and de Waal (2009) that are necessary for development of a heritage-scape. First, it is accessible to a large and affluent population, since it is located one hour outside the capital of the province, St. John's. It has many "cultural markers" since it is a coastal community rich with history and heritage. Lastly, given that tourism development has occurred there, it is likely that the three motivational drivers are present (profit, promotion and preservation). In addition to these requirements being met, the researcher was raised in St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador, has worked in its tourism industry, and has seen first-hand the slow- paced transformation of rural communities into tourism destinations that surround the capital city.

Three objectives underlie this study. The first is to determine at what stage Ferryland is situated in the Model of Creative Destruction. Second, it seeks to explain the community's current state of tourism development. Third, it aims to provide recommendations for this community on its future development potential. Results of this study will benefit not only the community of Ferryland in its future tourism endeavors, but also communities across Canada who are contemplating heritage tourism as a means to generate growth.

1.3 Methodology

This study uses a mixed method approach to meet these objectives. In this approach, both quantitative (broad numeric trends) and qualitative (detailed views) data are collected. To meet the first objective, data were collected on the three variables that drive the model: investments in tourist infrastructure, visitor numbers and types of visitors, and resident

attitudes towards tourism. Data on investments were obtained from a review of government documents and local organizations' documents, as well as interviews with tourism operators and key government officials. Visitor information was extracted from statistics collected by the Colony of Avalon, the largest tourism attraction in Ferryland, along with past government statistics on visitor numbers. Finally, questionnaire surveys were distributed to measure local residents' level of involvement and perceptions of rural tourism and visitors' experiences in Ferryland. Results from the surveys were analyzed using SPSS. In addition, a content analysis of interviews with local entrepreneurs was conducted to gauge any changes in residents' attitudes over time. Understanding the development of tourism (the second objective) was facilitated by analyzing government documents, and information collected in interviews that were conducted with government officials and key tourism personnel in the community of Ferryland, Newfoundland and Labrador.

1.4 Structure of the paper

This thesis consists of five chapters. The first chapter establishes the background of the study, states the research objectives and goal, and outlines the structure of the paper. Chapter two reviews pertinent literature on rural tourism, the commodification of heritage, and tourism impact models. The third chapter introduces the case study of Ferryland, Newfoundland and Labrador, as well as outlining the methods that are used by the researcher to collect primary and secondary data. Chapter four reviews results of the analysis of the collected data, discusses the findings and provides recommendations for Ferryland's future tourism development. While recommendations have not been specifically requested,

community officials have stated an overt interest in obtaining the views of an academic outsider.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

This chapter reviews relevant literature related to rural tourism, the commodification of heritage, and tourism impact models. First, rural tourism is discussed, with the commodification of rural heritage presented as a form of rural tourism. Second, tourism impact models are introduced. This includes a detailed discussion of the Model of Creative Destruction credited to Mitchell (1998), Mitchell and de Waal (2009) and Mitchell and Vandenberg (2010), which this case study is applying. Third, a brief overview of tourism studies in Newfoundland and Labrador is provided. Finally, conclusions are drawn, and gaps in the literature identified.

2.1 Rural Tourism

Many members of communities view rural tourism as an answer to deteriorating primary industries in areas where traditional roles are disappearing and being substituted for more economically viable ones, such as tourism (Cawley & Gillmor, 2008; Courtney et al., 2006). Currently, no single definition of rural tourism dominates, as rural communities are multi-faceted and never static. A definition to encompass all types of rural tourism is difficult to find (OECD, 1994). For example, Oppermann (1996, p. 88) defined rural tourism as tourism that occurs in “a non-urban territory where human (land related economic) activity is going on, primarily agriculture; a permanent human presence seems a qualifying requirement”. Academics typically define rural tourism by what it requires to be successful; the type of attractions involved and by identifying the positive and negative impacts it can

bring to a community (Opperman, 1996; Cawley & Gillmor, 2008; Wilson et al., 2001). The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (1994), in contrast, stated that tourism must meet certain characteristics to be considered rural tourism: it must be located in rural areas, built upon the rural area's special features (heritage, traditions, nature, etc); rural in scale, traditional in character and connected with the local people, and sustainable. Opperman's definition of rural tourism will be used for this study. Although this definition is useful, it does not specify what is meant by "rural".

A review of literature reveals that rural has been defined in myriad ways. Definitions of rural in the literature are both qualitative and quantitative. Bryant & Joseph (2001, p. 132) define rural as "that which is 'not-urban', and 'rural non-farm' as 'rural' minus 'farm'". Halfacree (1993) discusses the various ways in which rural has been defined, through socio-cultural characteristics and socio-spatial characteristics. These forms of measuring rural lead to more descriptive definitions (Halfacree, 1993). Many people have "chosen to live in the countryside because they *think* it offers them a better quality of life, both environmentally and socially" (Halfacree, 1994). Yarwood (2005) explores how people can describe in their own words what rural means, and by doing so can better comprehend what is meant by rural and the behaviours that occur in rural areas. Statistics Canada uses a more quantitative look at defining rural; rural is "the population outside settlements with 1,000 or more population with a population density of 400 or more inhabitants per square kilometre" (Statistics Canada, 2007). This agency also provides a broader definition that encompasses both small and larger rural communities. 'Rural and Small Town Canada (RST)', which is adopted in this study, is defined by Statistics Canada (2009) as,

Areas outside Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs) and Census Agglomerations (CAs). A CMA has a total population of 100,000 or more with 50,000 or more in the urban core and a CA has an urban core of 10,000 or more. Both CMAs and CAs include neighbouring towns and municipalities where 50% or more of the workforce commutes to the urban core.

As rural populations are changing and traditional roles are shifting, scholarly interest in rural tourism is peaking (Cawley & Gillmor, 2008; Courtney et al., 2006; Gartner, 2004). The increase in rural tourism has led to a variety of impacts in the communities that have turned to tourism. Deroi (1991) lists several benefits including: providing urban people with an experience of rural living, diversifying the rural economy, and generating secondary income to agricultural or other rural households. Negative impacts associated with rural tourism are noted in models that measure the level of impacts (Doxey, 1975; Mitchell, 1998). These impacts include: acts of violence from residents towards tourists, loss of the rural idyll, and residents leaving the community all together.

Many segments of rural tourism help to create a rural tourism product. Heritage is one element of rural tourism. Heritage tourism is created when culture is commoditized. This commodification of the past can give new meanings to past landscapes, as well as newly built landscapes that reflect the past (McMorran, 2008).

McMorran (2008) discusses many of the concerns that rural heritage tourism faces. The first problem, argued by some scholars, is that heritage tourism is selective in the aspects of the past it represents, and the manner in which it is presented can influence people's perceptions of the past in years to come (Summerby-Murray, 2007). Others look at how heritage shapes community identity as a whole and how this can lead to the exclusion of minority identities (Rose, 1995). These viewpoints consider heritage tourism as a political or ideological tool (McMorran, 2008). On the other side is the

argument that heritage tourism is an economic tool as it is business-motivated, in most cases, by profit (McMorran, 2008). “Entrepreneurs *choose* to adopt the theme of heritage tourism and they *choose* to use it in particular ways” (McMorran, 2008, p. 337). Using heritage as an economic tool is how the commodification of heritage is incorporated into rural tourism.

2.1.1 Commodification of Heritage

Heritage has been defined in various ways throughout academic literature (Ashworth, 1997; Ashworth & Ashworth, 1998; Shipley, 2007; Poria & Ashworth, 2009). Ashworth & Ashworth (1998, p.135) state that heritage “is created and continuously re-created from the surviving memories, artifacts and sites of the past to serve contemporary demands for it”. UNESCO (1989, p.57) defines heritage in combination with cultural, stating that cultural heritage is:

The cultural heritage may be defined as the entire corpus of material signs - either artistic or symbolic - handed on by the past to each culture and, therefore, to the whole of humankind. As a constituent part of the affirmation and enrichment of cultural identities, as a legacy belonging to all humankind, the cultural heritage gives each particular place its recognizable features and is the storehouse of human experience.

Using the past as a tool in the present, or manufacturing heritage is a “contemporary use of the past” (Ashworth & Graham, 1997), that leads to the commodification of heritage. The commodification of heritage typically occurs when “tourism turns culture into a commodity, packaged and sold to tourists, resulting in a loss of authenticity” (Cole, 2007, p.945). When communities alter and change traditions or heritage sites to meet the needs of guests, it can, but not always, lead to a less ‘authentic’ representation of their heritage (McMorran, 2008). Mitchell and Vanderwerf (in press) state that, over time, the influx of investment and the commodification of heritage can lead to the lack of authenticity in the type of product offered to visitors and the eventual destruction of a community’s rural identity. Other academics demonstrate that

positive and negative impacts are associated with a community's change of identity. Irandu's (2004) article on the preservation of cultural tourism in Kenya for example, examines the impacts that stem from showcasing a community's culture and heritage as a means of economic gain.

In this article, Irandu notes that the preservation of culture and heritage, such as artifacts, stories and dance, can be a positive part of cultural tourism; however, he acknowledges that this can also lead to greater importance being placed on the monetary value of the artifacts and rituals, lessening the quality and meaning of these acts (Irandu, 2004). As they hold less meaning to residents and those who perform the tourist-driven acts, these rituals and traditions can be modified to suit the tourists and lose all meaning (Irandu, 2004).

In some cases, governments have tried to preserve culture and heritage by implementing legislation that protects material traditional culture (Cole, 2007). Cole (2007) examined two Indonesian villages where this has occurred. Villagers were denied certain rights, such as electricity and adding windows to their dwellings, due to legislation designed to protect the 'authentic' feel of the village (Cole, 2007). Some governments restrict privileges of communities in an attempt to preserve the past, while others use outlets for the commodification of heritage and culture (museums, historical sites, etc) to manipulate the past and how it is represented today (Domic & Goulding, 2008). In Croatia, Domic & Goulding (2008) found that in areas that have experienced a chaotic past, there is a strong association of residents with their heritage, culture and history. Governments can use this association to promote discriminating reports of history and political ideologies through the

revitalization of traditions, specifically languages (Domic & Goulding, 2008). This action is a form of propaganda, using tourism to further their personal beliefs and views.

Governments and tourism operators must also cater to what tourists believe to be the culture of the destination. This is demonstrated in Trinidad where their Carnival is internationally renowned, but is forced to meet the needs of the tourist to achieve this international standard. As Green (2007) argues, "...the price for economic development and *international* recognition is exacted in the form of a cultural compromise in which Trinidadian "culture" must resonate "authentically" with foreign fantasies" (p.218).

Regardless of these impacts, many people work willingly within the tourism industry. Bunten (2008, p.386) believes there could be several reasons for this:

Participants at the host level either experience greater benefits (material, political, and social) from participating in tourism than costs they would incur from not participating or they are duped (presumably through hegemonic influence) into not seeing the destructive potential of commodifying themselves.

The cross-cultural component has changed many systems (e.g. trade systems, gift systems, markets, etc) in communities that were once inaccessible by opening up their world to visiting cultures (Bunten, 2008). It blurs the lines between what items can or can not be given a monetary value and of what can or can not be bought or sold. This may also explain why there is such a lack of awareness about the impacts of commodification among front-line workers (Bunten, 2008). If individuals are not aware of the value of the product, due to lack of education, knowledge or misinformation, they will not seek its protection. The concept of intangible cultural heritage and its value is discussed by George (2010). She suggests that cultural heritage should have the ability to be copyrighted so that rural communities can receive compensation and own their own cultural heritage. She proposes a cultural heritage

preservation tax on visitors who consume local cultural assets. Regardless of how the cultural asset is consumed, a level of authenticity is expected by consumers.

When a tourism product is built and created to replicate a past event or way of life, special caution must be taken to maintain the perceived level of authenticity. Authenticity is a term often debated in academia (Medina, 2003; Revilla & Dodd, 2003; Chhabra, 2005; Cohen, 2008). Early tourists often cited the search for ‘authenticity’ as a reason for travelling; however, this search often led to cultures staging authenticity, and tourists never actually experience the ‘real thing’ (Cohen, 2008). Halewood & Hannam’s (2001) case study of Viking heritage tourism in Europe is an example of heritage tourism that is replicated and created for tourists. The Viking Market and Viking Land consist of staged performances and vendors who are carefully scrutinized by local powers to maintain a level of authenticity (Halewood & Hannam, 2001). Here, locals and guests recognize that they are producing and consuming a replicated form of heritage, but it is still valued. Commodification and authenticity are closely linked; however, awareness of the lack of authenticity may be the key to lowering the potential negative impacts. Halewood & Hannam (2001, p.579) describe how awareness can be a likely factor in lowering negative impacts of commodification, “...organizers and tourists are extremely aware of the limitations of what they are attempting to achieve and the constraints they are under with respect to authenticity and commodification”.

The commodification of culture, therefore, can impact a community. Heritage is vital to creating a rural tourism product; thus, it must be handled with care to preserve the long term sustainability of a community. The degree of impact varies depending on a number of

variables such as: length of residency, involvement in tourism, age, etc. Recognizing this, scholars have developed different models that identify and categorize these impacts. These are considered in the following section.

2.2 Tourism Impact Models

Many academics realize that tourism is a means of economic relief for both urban and rural areas. However, it does not go unnoticed by local residents. Over time, a number of researchers have attempted to model, or theorize about the impacts that tourism development have on residents and the community as a whole. In this section, tourism impact models, or theories, which deal with rural tourism, are examined.

An early theory, called the Social Exchange Theory, is originally credited to Homan (1958). It is based on the idea that people act when they are satisfied with the exchange and the benefit they will receive. When this theory is applied to tourism, Andereck et. al (2005, p. 1061) state that

From a tourism perspective, social exchange theory postulates that an individual's attitudes toward this industry, and subsequent level of support for its development, will be influenced by his or her evaluation of resulting outcomes in the community.

This theory is relevant today, but it does not incorporate other outside factors, nor does it recognize the issue of tourism exceeding its carrying capacity. Over the years, academics (Doxey, 1975; Butler, 1980; Mitchell, 1998) have developed and expanded upon the Social Exchange Theory (Homans, 1958) by incorporating various independent factors and other stakeholders in the community. These incorporations have led to the evolution of this theory and the creation of models that are more widely applicable.

Doxey's Irridex Index (1975) is one of the first attempts to explain how tourism development impacts residents, particularly how it changes their view towards tourism. Murphy (1985) discusses Doxey's theory in-depth in his book "Tourism: A Community Approach", which will be used to describe the model. According to Doxey, at the beginning of tourism development, residents welcome it with open arms, as it is often an economic saviour when primary industries are no longer viable (Murphy, 1985). This initial state of euphoria, when tourism is new and exciting, involves very little planning or control. As visitor numbers increase, tourism is taken for granted and the relations between host and guest are more formal, or commercialized. A community would be considered in a state of apathy at this point. If tourism infrastructure is being built, it is solely to meet the needs of tourists and the primary planning activity is marketing. With continued development, the spin-off effects (rising prices and congestion) may push the community into a state of annoyance, where residents start to feel that the cost of tourism is outweighing the benefits. The final stage, antagonism, occurs when residents no longer hide their feelings of hostility towards tourists, which can lead to violent outbursts by locals. Doxey stresses the need to distinguish the types of changes, structural or dimensional, within a community.

Academics have criticized Doxey's Irridex Index (1975). Murphy (1985) pointed out that while the model does show the development of residents' attitudes over time, it is unidirectional. It does not allow people to be grouped on more than one category, nor does it allow a community to regress along the model if improvements or attitudes change within the community. Lankford & Howard (1994) also discuss Doxey's model in a negative light,

noting that it is one-dimensional and assumes that residents will only evolve negatively in their attitudes towards tourism.

Despite these criticisms, the model has been applied. Prentice (1988), for example, tested Doxey's model in the Isle of Man, where the annual Man Tourist Trophy (TT) Motorcycle Races take place. His study applied the levels of Doxey's Irridex to the residents of the Isle of Man. Prentice (1988) reached the conclusion that each stage's terminology is not flexible enough to meet the individuality of each case. He adds that the model does not take into account whether residents consider themselves enthusiasts of tourism, nor does it consider the amount of interest that surrounds the event within the community (Prentice, 1988).

Doxey does not consider proximity to tourism as a factor influencing how residents feel about tourism. Teo (1994), however, conducted a study of residents' attitudes about tourism in Singapore to determine if tourism has reached an unacceptable level. He found that residents' attitudes differed according to their location and proximity to tourism. He noted that, overall, they did not place high on the Irridex index except for households that lived closer to tourism infrastructure (Teo, 1994, p.144). Thus, this is one variable that should be integrated into Doxey's Irridex Index (1975). When combined with other criticisms, it is clear that this model lacks flexibility. This weakness has prompted other academics to model the community impacts of tourism.

Butler's Tourism Area Life Cycle Model (TALC) (1980), is one of the most commonly cited tourism impact models in academic literature (Butler, 2009). The TALC looks at tourism destinations as products "...with a period of slow initial growth, followed by

a rapid development and take up period, which then gives way to slower growth and eventually probably a decline” (Butler, p. 347). The model is composed of six-stages that evaluate the evolution of tourism destinations by relying mainly on visitor numbers. It is assumed that if the capacity of the destination was exceeded, then visitor and resident quality would decrease along with environmental problems (Butler, 2009). As with every model, the TALC has been criticized. Butler himself stated that “not all areas experience the stages of the cycle as clearly as others” (Butler, 2009, p.10), implying that the model may not be easily and clearly applied to any and all destinations.

Others have also recognized its weaknesses. In a study conducted in Latvia, for example, Upchurch & Teivane (2000) applied Butler’s Model to determine residents’ perceptions of tourism. The study concluded that Latvia was in the early stages of development. They noted a need for a more distinct method of evaluating impacts that looked at the differences between economic, social and environmental factors.

More recently, Zhong et al. (2008) applied Butler’s (1980) Tourism Area Life Cycle Model to ZNFP, a national forest park in China. While the park has experienced the first four stages of the model, it has received aid and support from several organizations in China. Therefore, it is highly unlikely that the park will continue along the cycle into the stagnation stage (Zhong et al., 2008). The authors also noted that certain areas that had seen growth at different rates did not fit with the overall cycle, and would fit better in its own ‘micro-cycle’ (Zhong et al., 2008). Butler’s (1980) TALC model looks at a destination in terms of visitor numbers and its effect on the physical environment; however, as seen in Zhong et al.’s (2008) study in China, it lacks the ability to adapt to destinations with changing and

developing environments. Butler's model and Doxey's Irridex index are thus similar in several ways. They both lack the ability of destinations to regress along the model. Such unidirectional models are unable to adapt to destinations that have made attempts to deter tourism growth and the associated negative impacts.

The Tourism Impact Attitude Scale (TIAS) was developed by Lankford & Howard (1994) to establish a more flexible means of measuring resident attitudes. The TIAS is a two-dimensional scale that incorporates 27 independent variables ranging from length of residence, to the distance of the tourism centre from residents' homes. Multi-variate quantitative methods were used by this author to create a highly reliable scale (Lankford & Howard, 1994). However, further application in various communities was necessary to increase validation scores. While this scale does allow for more flexibility and change in relation to resident attitudes over time, it does not take into consideration many important contributing factors such as business development and the influence of government on tourism development and funding. The framework that the current study follows, the Creative Destruction model by Mitchell (2009), allows for a more inclusive look at the impacts of tourism on rural communities.

The concept of "Creative Destruction" has been present for more than seventy years. It was first credited to Schumpeter (1942) as a capitalistic term used to explain the impact of new innovations on regional economies. It was later used by Harvey (1985) to demonstrate how new innovations create new landscapes of accumulation while destroying existing landscapes based on older innovations. Mitchell (1998) then borrowed the concept to

describe the creation of a new type of post-industrial landscape, the heritage shopping village.

The original Model of Creative Destruction was created to describe the transformation of rural localities into places that commodify rural heritage (Mitchell 1998). The model predicts that this evolution will occur if three conditions are present: accessibility to a large and affluent population; the existence of an “amenity environment”, which may be a pleasant landscape, a well-built environment, or one that is rich in culture; and thirdly, the presence of entrepreneurs, motivated by profit (Mitchell 1998)

According to Mitchell (1998), three key variables describe this evolutionary process: entrepreneurial investment in tourism products and experiences, consumption of commoditized heritage, and destruction of the rural idyll. The selling and marketing of rural value and tradition causes a community to evolve through five stages: early commodification, advanced commodification, pre-destruction, advanced destruction, and post-destruction. Each stage is characterized by a change in investment levels, visitor numbers and resident attitudes towards development.

Like other models, the original Model of Creative Destruction was criticized. Tonts & Grieves (2002), for example, suggested that it was deterministic, in that the same causes will predict the same outcomes in every community. Recognizing this weakness, the author modified the model in several ways. First, two other motivating factors, preservation (Mitchell & Coghill, 2000) and promotion of economic growth (Fan et al. 2008), were identified as driving the process of creative destruction. Second, a pre-commodification stage was added to illustrate the state of the community prior to commodification. Finally,

Mitchell and Vandenberg (2010) suggested that communities evolve through three landscape forms (town-scape, heritage-scape and leisure-scape) and place identities as they move along the path of creative destruction. As described below, the emergence of these forms is influenced by the dominating motivations (profit, preservation and/or promotion).

Pre-commodification is the stage considered to be inactive (Mitchell & de Waal, 2009). Few guests are present during this stage (Mitchell & de Waal, 2009). The townscape, which provides residents with basic goods and services, is considered to be a result of productivist economic activity. Primary industries are the main source of income in the surrounding region, and the economy may be either stable or in decline (Mitchell & de Waal, 2009). This stage is a precursor to commodification.

Early commodification begins with the introduction of some heritage preservation and interest among investors in the private or public sector (Mitchell & de Waal, 2009). There is a more noticeable presence of guests, mainly heritage-seekers. Residents, who valued their rural landscape, begin to take notice of the positive and negative impacts that tourism is having within their community (Mitchell & de Waal, 2009).

With increased investment we see the community move into the stage of advanced commodification (Mitchell & de Waal, 2009). This is characterized by an increase in investments that commodify heritage. Policy promoting developments that may have started in early commodification may continue or increase. At this stage some residents, typically those who cling to the community's former identity, who are not involved in tourism and do not see the benefits first hand, may oppose the development, (Mitchell, 1998; Mitchell & de

Waal, 2009). However, despite these concerns, the overall attitude in this heritage-scape is positive.

During early destruction, there is an increase in investment. These investments may be in-keeping with the heritage theme, although other developments will drift away from this theme (e.g. fast food restaurants) (Mitchell, 1998). Subsequently, visitor numbers increase with the arrival of post- tourists (Mitchell & de Waal, 2009). These are conscious tourists and accepting of being labeled a tourist; they revel in the idea of 'tourism' and seek it out (Walmsley, 2003). In contrast, the heritage-seeker searches for a more 'authentic' experience (Mitchell & de Waal, 2009). The increase in investments and visitor numbers may cause animosity amongst some local residents. Those who valued the community's original identity as a townscape, or its more recent identity as a heritage-scape, may actively oppose any further transformation (Mitchell & de Waal, 2009).

The fifth stage, advanced destruction, occurs only if residents resign the will to fight development (Mitchell, 1998), or if those driven by a desire to profit or promote growth wield the greatest influence (Mitchell and de Waal 2009). It is at this stage that out-migration will escalate, as those residents who value the community's earlier identities, see tourism in a negative light (Mitchell and de Waal, 2009). During this period post-tourists dominate the community, and investment/development moving away from the heritage theme is at an all time high (Mitchell & de Waal, 2009).

Mitchell and Vandenberg (2010) state that the final stage, post-destruction, is one that sees destruction of the heritage-scape and its replacement with the creation of a leisure-scape of mass consumption. In this stage, facilities are provided to meet the needs of the post-

tourist. Residents who are unhappy with tourism may decide to leave in search of a community that has less visible development. Other residents may become resigned and let pro-development residents take control. Thus, only those residents who are in favour, or accepting, of tourism, remain. This results, once again, in an amicable relationship between guest and host (Mitchell & de Waal, 2009).

The original model has been applied to a variety of types of commodification as well as location. It has been tested in the Canadian communities of St. Jacobs (Mitchell, 1998; Mitchell & de Waal 2009), Elora (Mitchell & Coghill, 2000; Mitchell & Singh, 2010), Niagara-on-the-lake (Mitchell et al., 2001), Creemore (Mitchell & Vandenberg, 2010), and Ganges, Salt Spring Island, B.C. (Halpern and Mitchell, in press). It has also received attention in Australia (Tonts & Grieve, 2002), and recently, has been applied to various water towns located in China (Huang 2007; Fan et al., 2008). Each of these studies has provided empirical evidence of the evolution of rural communities that base their development on the commodification of heritage. This evidence has been used to extend the model and to enhance its applicability.

For example, findings from Niagara-on-the-Lake demonstrated that the model worked soundly when applied to a community that is based on the commodification of historical/cultural heritage, not simply rural heritage, for which the model was primarily designed (Mitchell et al., 2001). The study of Elora (Mitchell & Sing, 2000) found that preservation played an integral role in the community's evolution and that the presence of two spatially separate business districts minimized interaction between host and guest leading to an overall amicable view of tourism by residents (Mitchell & Singh, 2009). The

study of Creemore (Mitchell & Vandenberg 2010) revealed that the transformation of rural communities may give rise to a contested landscape, as different ideologies vie for dominance. The model's application in the water town of Luzhi, China (Fan et al., 2008) further demonstrated that certain modifications were needed, in this case to make it more applicable to areas outside of North America. This included recognition of the influence of government investment and policy, and, that in a developing nation, out-migration may not be an option for residents during the latter stages of Creative Destruction (Fan et al., 2008). Each of these changes has been incorporated into the model, increasing its applicability in different situation.

The Model of Creative Destruction (Mitchell & de Waal, 2009) and Doxey's Irridex Index (1975) follow the same basic underlying concept. As tourism investment and developments increases, residents' attitudes towards tourism change. Some local residents' attitudes become less positive as tourism begins to overtake a community and they feel as though control is being lost (Murphy, 1985). To create a balanced tourism industry, where local residents' attitudes remain positive, Okazaki (2008) states that planning must be undertaken and that local community involvement must be an integral part of this process. He also suggests that it is needed to create a sustainable product that will benefit the socio-economic development of the overall community. To achieve this balance, the economic needs, as well as the social needs, of a community must be met.

An extensive body of literature has considered the role of planning in tourism development (Baud-Bovy & Lawson, 1977; Gunn, 1994; Marcouiller, 1997; Cawley & Gillmor, 2008). Despite this, planning has not been considered extensively in literature on

creative destruction. However, work by Halpern and Mitchell (in press) does point to its importance. This study looks at the role planning plays in keeping a community from progressing further along the model, when the motivations are preservationist, as is the case on Salt Springs Island (Halpern & Mitchell, in press). Other unpublished studies of creative destruction also suggest that planning does play an integral role (Vandenberg, 2008).

Vandenberg's study (2008) looked at the role tourism planning played in the process of creative destruction in Creemore, Ontario. She concluded that un-integrated planning, that does not include all stakeholders, can push or prevent a community's progression. Therefore, planning should be considered in studies of creative destruction. Next, previous studies on Newfoundland and Labrador's tourism industry are examined to provide a contextual basis for this study.

2.3 Newfoundland and Labrador Literature

Tourism was first introduced in this region as an economic savior in 1992, when the government shut down the cod fisheries, indefinitely (Overton, 2007). Rural communities turned to tourism as a means of survival, and as Overton (2007) stated "tourism was pushed as an alternative economic base for rural Newfoundland by governments, academics, and industry representatives" (p.64). The provincial tourism department, for example, developed tourism marketing plans and actively promoted the province to the outside world (Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation, 2009). These initiatives have been successful. In 1998, the province saw 382,557 visitors. This number grew to 480,100 visitors by 2008. The department's recent mandate to double tourism revenues by 2020 (Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation, 2009b), will likely see numbers increase in the future.

The growing promotion of, and visitation to, Newfoundland and Labrador, has garnered media interest, resulting in backlash concerning the portrayal and commodification of Newfoundland culture. Despite this, the body of literature on tourism in Newfoundland and Labrador is limited. What is available focuses on the effect of National Parks, the transformation of naval bases into heritage tourism attractions, and tourism based on archaeology in outport communities.

The establishment of Gros Morne National Park sparked scholarly interest in how this would affect the people and communities surrounding the park (Overton, 1979). This study resembled Mitchell's studies on creative destruction (1998, 2000, 2001, 2009, 2010) in that it looked at the creation of a leisure-scape and the resulting conflicts that can occur. Overton (1979) concluded that while park development in Newfoundland and Labrador did not include, and even alienated locals, resident attitudes had the potential to change if people took an active interest in the cause.

Newfoundland and Labrador's island location gave it an advantage to create naval bases during the war, one of which is being considered as a tourism attraction. Argentia has a "...strategic proximity to the North Atlantic convoy routes and the deep-water access afforded by Placentia Bay" (Tunbridge, 2004, p. 238). This location led to the creation of a naval base, now abandoned, that the Argentia Management Authority (AMA) would like to use as a tourism attraction. However, the conflict lies in the motivations of the AMA, who put employment above all else (Tunbridge, 2004). There is another group involved, the Placentia Historical Society (PHS), seeking to preserve and restore dwindling resources. The real conflict that lies between these two groups is that they each perceive a different heritage

for Argentina, one as an outport fishing community versus one surrounding the naval base (Tunbridge, 2004, p.240). Evidence of tourism-related conflicts is present in other communities in Newfoundland and Labrador, as seen in this study.

Different niches have emerged as tourism is being turned to as a replacement for primary sector activity. Archaeological developments, for example, have been used to both promote tourism and to help fund archaeological projects (Overton 2007). Overton (2007) points, out, however, that a lack of funding and sustainability are major problems encountered by communities that use niche projects to promote tourism. Public sector interest in tourism in Newfoundland and Labrador is increasing, but is not stable. Tourism has seen some success, and is growing; however, it is lacking the basic infrastructure needed to support the growth desired by various level of governments. Overton (2007) is skeptical that tourism can provide an adequate support base for Newfoundland and Labrador at the current rate of growth and government support.

2.4 Conclusion

This literature review has looked at four facets of tourism literature: rural tourism, the commodification of rural tourism, tourism impact models, and Newfoundland and Labrador literature. Rural tourism is accompanied by many issues that have become prominent in today's literature. The commodification of heritage brings with it many advantages and disadvantages in the preservation of rural communities, which can lead to impacts being seen in all areas of the community. Researchers have created several means by which to measure these impacts. This project chose to apply the Model of Creative Destruction to a rural

community that has seen a rise in tourism based on the commodification of its heritage. The Model of Creative Destruction was chosen as it is the most functional method of evaluating tourism impacts for this particular study. Very little literature is available on the impacts of tourism in the province of Newfoundland and Labrador, or the development of its rural communities. Currently, there is no study that applies the Model of Creative Destruction to any community within Eastern Canada, or more specifically to a community within Newfoundland and Labrador. This study will attempt to fill this gap by providing an in-depth study of tourism in Ferryland, Newfoundland.

Chapter 3 Methods

The intent of this mixed methods study is to determine if the process of Creative Destruction is underway in eastern Canada, specifically in the community of Ferryland, Newfoundland and Labrador. The study has three objectives. The first is to determine at what stage Ferryland is situated in the Model of Creative Destruction, by examining business investments, visitor numbers, and resident attitudes. The second objective is to explain its current state of tourism development. The last objective is to provide recommendations for Ferryland as to its future development potential, in light of the model. This chapter will provide information on the case study, the methods used to achieve each objective, and the limitations of this study.

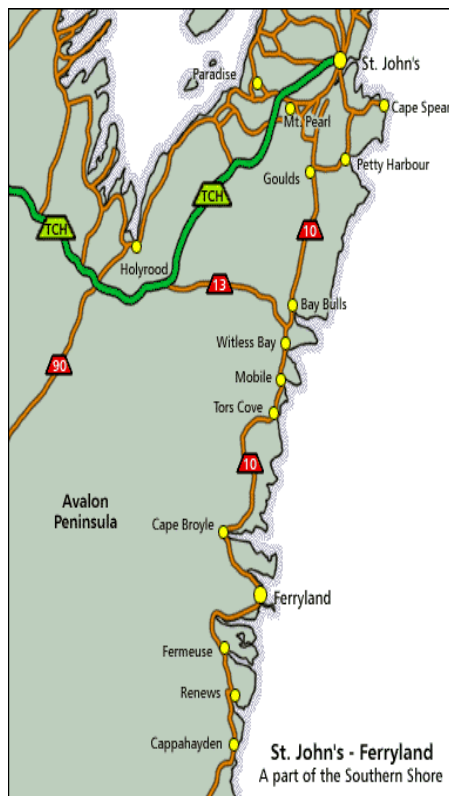
3.1 Case Study Rationale: Ferryland, Newfoundland and Labrador

The case study method was chosen as a means of identifying if creative destruction is occurring in eastern Canada, and, more specifically, in Newfoundland and Labrador. A case study is useful for this study as it allows the researcher to “investigate a contemporary phenomenon in a real-life context” (Yin, 2003, p.13). A case study’s strength is it allows for the use of numerous types of data that converge in a triangular fashion (Yin, 2003). Case studies have been used in previous studies focused on the Model of Creative Destruction (Mitchell, 1998, 2009). Here, the model has been applied to communities where tourism was built on the commodification of culture and history (Mitchell, 1998; Mitchell & Coghill, 2000; Mitchell et al., 2001; Tonts & Grieve, 2002; Huang, Wall & Mitchell, 2007; Fan et al., 2008; Mitchell & Singh, 2009; Mitchell & de Waal, 2009). This approach is adopted here as

it allows the researcher to test the applicability of the model in an area of Canada where it has not yet been tested, thereby further testing the validity of the model.

Ferryland is the community selected for study. It is located on the Southern Shore of the Avalon Peninsula of Newfoundland and Labrador, locally known as the Irish Loop (See Figure 3.1). The Irish Loop is home to over 18 communities with strong Irish descent (Irish Loop Website, 2009). Today, it is considered the government service centre of the Southern Shore, due to its available medical services, police services, post office, and 18 commercial businesses (Irish Loop Development Board, 2008). Rural communities in Newfoundland and Labrador typically require seven counselors per community, along with a mayor; however, Ferryland does not have the person power to satisfy this requirement. Today, Ferryland has received special permission and has only four elected counselors serving the community, along with the Mayor, Mr. Leo Moriarty (Government Official, 2009). The town itself employs only two people, and is currently exploring the idea of hiring personnel at the joint council level (Government Official, 2009).

Figure 3.1 Map of Southern Shore



(Colony of Avalon Website, 2006)

Ferryland's population was recorded as 545 in the 2006 census; this number reflects a population decline of 13.5 percent since 1986 (Community Accounts, 2009). The majority of residents are between 40-59 years old, showing a decline in the youth population (Community Accounts, 2009). The unemployment rate in Ferryland in 2006 (20.0%), was slightly higher than the provincial rate (18.6%). Ferryland's income statistics reveal that Ferryland's income per capita of \$20,800, is less than the provincial average of \$22,900 (Community Accounts, 2009). Lack of education may account for lower salaries. Approximately 13.6 percent of Ferryland's residents, aged 25 to 54, had a Bachelor's Degree or higher in 2006 compared to 15.1 percent in all of Newfoundland and Labrador

(Community Accounts, 2009). Furthermore, in 2008, approximately 57.1% of the labour force in Ferryland collected Employment Insurance, much higher than the provincial statistic of 34 percent for the same year (Community Accounts, 2009). Ferryland has a declining population and an overall lack of education in comparison to rest of the province; a difficult obstacle to overcome.

The layout of the community is not typical of previous studies of creative destruction found in the literature. Ferryland does not have a specific “downtown” area (See Appendix D for an aerial view of the community). The town itself has one main road, highway 10 that lies in the middle of Ferryland and runs the length of the community. The main tourism attraction, the Colon of Avalon, is located on a peninsula of land that projects out from the coast (indicated by arrow on figure 3.2). Homes are located along the main road, as well as small side roads that lead out to the coast. Businesses are primarily located along the main road.

Ferryland was chosen as the case study for this study for three main reasons. First, it is highly possible that creative destruction is occurring since heritage tourism has been introduced in this community. Tourism has been present in Ferryland since the 1970s; however, at that time, the only tourism attraction was the Ferryland Museum, opened in 1974 (Local Business Operator, 2009). Tourism development expanded in Ferryland with the establishment of “The Colony of Avalon” as a not-for-profit organization in 1994 (See Figure 3.3), “...dedicated to preserving, investigating, and developing the rich cultural heritage of the Avalon Peninsula’s Southern Shore” (Colony of Avalon Foundation Inc.,

2008, p. 3). The Colony of Avalon has seen much growth since its discovery as an archaeological site, and it is often referred to as the anchor for tourism in Ferryland. It established a visitor base of more than 20,000 visitors a year (Department of Tourism, Culture, & Recreation, 2009c), which allowed for the growth of other businesses including Lighthouse Picnics, Ferryland Café and Gifts, and the Southern Shore Folks Arts Council Dinner Theatre. Thus, it is obvious that tourism is an important activity in Ferryland.

Figure 3.2 Colony of Avalon Visitor Centre



(Photo Source: Sullivan, 2009)

Secondly, Ferryland fits the definition of a rural community. The 2006 Statistics Canada Census shows Ferryland's population at 526 people (Statistics Canada, 2009), which places it on the smaller side of what is considered Rural and Small Town Canada (Statistics Canada, 2007). To date, the studies that have been conducted have used larger rural communities as case studies. As Ferryland is smaller, it can be used to determine if the process is underway in smaller communities as well.

Lastly, Ferryland fits the characteristics needed for the creation of a heritage shopping village (or heritage-scape) as outlined by the Model of Creative Destruction (Mitchell, 1998). These characteristics are accessibility, the presence of amenity and interested stakeholders with different motivational drivers. The community is accessible to a large, and affluent, population. Ferryland is located one hour by automobile south of St. John's, the capital city of Newfoundland and Labrador, with a population of 100,646 (Statistics Canada, 2007). St. John's received 354, 299 non-resident visitors in 2009 (City of St. John's, 2010). It has an amenity environment as it is a coastal community rich with history and heritage. Ferryland has been identified as one of the most historic communities in Newfoundland and Labrador, as well as North America (Town of Ferryland, 2009). Given that tourism development has occurred (e.g. the Ferryland Museum, the Colony of Avalon), it is likely that the three motivational drivers (profit, preservation and promotion) are present within the stakeholders of Ferryland.

3.2 Primary Data Sources

To place Ferryland within the Creative Destruction model, entrepreneurial investments from past and present, resident attitudes and visitor characteristics were examined. Primary data sources included key informant interviews and surveys. Residents were surveyed to assess the community's current attitudes towards tourism, and visitors were surveyed to establish the type of visitor travelling to Ferryland. Secondary data sources included a review of local government documents, Colony of Avalon planning and financial documents, a content analysis of newspapers across Newfoundland and Labrador, and municipal, provincial and local business attraction websites. A detailed review of the

following documents was also completed: the Colony of Avalon Foundation's Strategic Plan (2009) and Provincial Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation's Tourism Plan, Vision 2020 (2009b). To explain the community's current position, key informant interviews were conducted, along with a review of local government and provincial documents, and Colony of Avalon documents. Each of these data sources is described in more detail below.

3.2.1 Surveys

The first set of surveys was distributed to local residents to determine their attitudes towards tourism (See Appendix A for survey and information letter). The surveys were pilot tested on the researcher's family and friends to avoid confusion or misinterpretation of the questions. Surveys give a general sense of a population's characteristics; however, some researchers believe that the information they yield is too broad and superficial (Creswell, 2009). To overcome this perceived deficiency, the questions posed were concise and created with the purpose of extracting detailed information about resident attitudes.

The survey used a variety of question types. It included six socio-demographic multiple choice questions, a Likert Scale question to determine the overall extent to which residents value heritage in their community, two open-ended questions on residents' shopping behaviour, and 26 Likert Scale questions on resident attitudes towards tourism and involvement in planning. Derived from Yarwood's (2005) characteristics of the rural idyll, a question set was created to determine how much value residents place on heritage. Yarwood's concepts were incorporated in the form of a question by asking residents how much each characteristic influences their reason(s) for living in Ferryland. The Likert Scale

used the following scale: -2 (strongly disagree), -1 (disagree), 0 (neutral), 1 (agree), 2 (strongly agree). In total, 180 surveys were distributed to Ferryland households.

Due to the manageable size of Ferryland, a survey and an explanatory letter, accompanied by a postage paid return envelope, was personally delivered to every household with a letter explaining the research. The surveys were delivered by the researcher on July 15th, 16th, and 22nd of 2009. This method of distribution was selected to make a connection with residents and to increase the likelihood of receiving a higher response rate. As Ferryland is a rural community, however, not all houses are easily accessible and some are not year-round residences. Hence, copies of the survey were placed in each mail box at the end of the summer through the local post office (in a total of 180 mail boxes). Therefore, every household received two copies of the survey (with a letter included explaining the need to complete only one form). In total, 47 surveys, approximately 26 percent of households², were returned and all were found to be valid.

The second set of surveys was distributed to visitors (See Appendix B for survey and information letter). Questions were created to establish the type of visitors who come to Ferryland and their interests and reasons for travelling there. This survey was composed of 13 multiple choice questions dealing with tourists' visit to Ferryland, their interests while travelling, their overall experience, and their accommodations. There were three open-ended questions, which asked visitors why they came to Ferryland, how they heard about the community and their origins. The survey contained a Likert Scale question rating Ferryland on a variety of characteristics. The Likert Scale used the following ratings: 1 (very low), 2

² Older age of respondents could account for lower response rate

(low), 3 (neutral), 4 (high), 5 (very high). The visitor surveys were handed out by the researcher at the Colony of Avalon Interpretation Centre on July 23rd, 29th, 30th and August 6th, 2009. As Ferryland does not have a well-defined downtown business area, the Interpretation Centre was the place where most tourists could be found. Visitors were given a clipboard with the survey and asked to complete it on their own. This was done to allow more respondents to fill out a survey at one time. However, since surveys were filled out on their own and some visitors were in a rush, only 52 of 68 surveys were fully completed and usable.

3.2.2 Semi-Structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were used as another means of gathering primary data (See Appendix C for a full list of interviewees and interview questions). The use of semi-structured interviews allow for a purposeful interview, while permitting the researcher to probe interviewees for further information (Creswell, 2009). Interviews were used to assess the identity of the key stakeholders involved in Ferryland's tourism industry and to determine how they influence development.

To establish a basic list of interview candidates, the researcher had a preliminary meeting with the Executive Director of the Colony of Avalon, Mr. Mark Power. Mr. Power suggested a list of people involved in Ferryland's tourism industry and he helped establish contact with most. In addition to Mr. Power's suggestions, online research, and the researcher's previous knowledge of Ferryland's tourism industry, a list of key stakeholders was established. These included members of the Colony of Avalon Board of Directors, Ferryland's tourism committee, the Southern Shore Folk Arts Council, Memorial

University's Archaeology team, the Mayor of Ferryland and local entrepreneurs. All interviews were conducted in person, recorded with a hand held recorder and lasted between 15 – 45 minutes in length.

3.2.3 Participant Observation

The last form of primary data collection was participant observation. The researcher was present in the community during a three- month period, June to August, at varying times during the week. As this period is the peak tourism season, it allowed observation of the community at a time when there was a strong tourist presence. Observing how residents interacted with tourists helped to reinforce results from the survey of residents' attitudes toward tourism. The researcher was present for Ferryland's largest annual festival, The Shamrock Festival, which took place July 25th and 26th, 2009. As the researcher is from Newfoundland and Labrador and has had previous tourism experience, researcher bias may have occurred. To help balance this bias, various other, secondary data sources were used.

3.3 Secondary Data Collection

Several types of secondary data sources were used in this study. A content analysis of newspapers across Newfoundland and Labrador was conducted. Data on visitor numbers was assembled. In addition, a review was undertaken of government policy documents, Colony of Avalon documents, visitor statistics, and any and all other relevant sources.

3.3.1 Content Analysis

Creswell (2009) suggest that content analysis is a tool used in research that identifies words or concepts in a text. These words and concepts are then used by the researcher to

establish connections, relationships and make inferences about their message (Creswell, 2009). The content analysis of newspapers across Newfoundland and Labrador, through the *Evening Telegram's* Archives, was conducted to determine resident attitudes over time towards tourism. The term "Ferryland" was entered into the Evening Telegrams basic search function. All the results were then reviewed and the ones involving tourism were selected. This content analysis also helped to assess the extent of government involvement in tourism.

A content analysis was undertaken of information extracted from interviews conducted with key informants. Nine interviews were transcribed by the researcher and examined for possible themes. Quotations that dealt with similar themes were paired, analyzed and sorted into groups. This process allowed the identification of recurring topics throughout the interview process, allowing main themes to be established (Ryan & Bernard, 2003). This process created three main themes: The Colony of Avalon as an anchor for tourism, Community Involvement, and The Economy. These themes were primarily used for organizing interview information, which was then used to address the study's objectives.

3.3.2 Visitor Number Data

To determine visitor numbers, past and present, statistics were obtained from the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador's website. Provincial parks, Historic Sites, and main tourism attractions across Newfoundland and Labrador track visitors and report to the Provincial government who publishes these data annually. Visitors to the province are tracked in numerous ways; Marine Atlantic Ferries, airline statistics, the department's exit surveys, and the cruise visitor statistics compiled by Cruise Newfoundland and Labrador.

The Colony of Avalon's visitor statistics were used to determine annual visitation to Ferryland.

3.3.3 Policy Documents

Relevant government documents were reviewed to determine the level of public sector involvement in tourism and how it has influenced tourism development. Relevant marketing and promotional plans from the provincial tourism department, as well as from the Colony of Avalon, were reviewed. Other accessible documents that involve tourism funding were analyzed. The researcher was looking for the motivations that drove tourism development. The documents outlined strategies for development that helped the researcher determine what the motivations were of the various organizations. For example, if economic growth was a high priority, then employment growth and expansion were found often throughout the document. If preservation was the main goal, then sustainability and preservation were often cited throughout the document. Secondary data sources are useful in establishing what a community's past policies were like in the past to create a scenario for comparison.

3.4 Limitations

This research has several limitations. First, the selection of a case study site is a limitation in itself. By focusing the study on one community, other communities that may be relevant are immediately ignored. Resident attitude surveys were conducted in July, which is considered peak tourism season for Newfoundland and Labrador. This could affect the results of the study in one of two ways. Since residents were surveyed when tourists were

prominent within the community, residents' perceptions of crowding can negatively influence their actual attitudes towards tourism. On the other hand, as tourism is at its yearly high, residents that see benefits from tourism (i.e. own local businesses) may feel more positively towards tourism as they are reaping its economic benefits at the time of responding to the survey.

Third, although secondary data are useful, they are often outdated and can be difficult to verify, depending on the source (Creswell, 2009). Furthermore, since Ferryland does not have a local newspaper, due to its size, the *Evening Telegram* based out of St. John's was used for content analysis. Residents may be less likely to comment or contribute in a paper that is not their own. As well, the information provided in newspapers cannot be validated.

Finally, the researcher was raised in St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador, and has worked in its tourism industry; therefore, researcher bias may be present. However, this past involvement in the industry may have helped to gain contacts and the trust of people throughout the community. Regardless of these limitations, the mixed methods approach employed in this study provides a realistic strategy for community-based research in small rural, heritage-based communities.

Chapter 4 Findings

This chapter is divided into three main sections, corresponding with the study's three objectives. The first objective is to establish where Ferryland lies within the Model of Creative Destruction. This is achieved through the evaluation of resident attitudes, visitor numbers and business investments. Past and future tourism initiatives are then described to determine why tourism is developing at a slow pace in Newfoundland and Labrador communities. Finally, recommendations are made regarding future development potential for this community.

4.1 The Creative Destruction of Ferryland

4.1.1 Business Investments

In this section, the evolving business composition of Ferryland is outlined. There is little information available on businesses in Ferryland between 1980 and 1998. Given this lack of secondary data, interviewees provided insight into business developments and investments over time. However, data are available for 1976, and the present day. This information is provided in Table 4.1.

The first record of tourism activity in Ferryland is the opening of the Ferryland Museum. The museum opened in 1974 as a community museum. The Historical Society of Ferryland applied to government to have the old courthouse donated to be used as a

community building (Local Business Operator, 2009). Originally, the building was slated to be used as a tourist chalet downstairs and a fisherman's museum and art gallery upstairs. It was the only tourist attraction along the Irish Loop at the time; hence it was really the only stop for travellers, even if it was to just use the washroom (Local Business Operator, 2009). The museum received no financial assistance of any kind until 1998, when its management applied for a government grant under the Fisheries Restructuring and Adjustment Measures Program, slated to help communities suffering from the cod moratorium.

Coincidentally, it that same year, the federal and provincial government donated over \$675,000 to the development of the Colony of Avalon Archaeological Site and Interpretation Centre. The St. John's newspaper editorial section stated that the donation was "a good use of public money... and that it will help anchor an entire industry of restaurants, bed-and-breakfasts, souvenir and gift shops, and whale and sea bird tours on the Southern Shore" (Anonymous, 1998, p.10). This marked the beginning of a period of expansion in the tourism industry.

Outside interest in tourism in Ferryland began in 1998, as a result of the fisheries collapse. Tourism was viewed as a potential solution to this economic crisis. An article written in the Editorial section of the Evening Telegram (1998, p.10) describes it best:

These industries will go a long way toward replacing some of the jobs lost from the now collapsed inshore ground fishery. Properly developed, the historical tourism industry has potential that knows no bounds.

The tourism expansion in Ferryland saw the rise of other supporting infrastructure, such as restaurants and accommodations. Currently, there is only one registered Bed & Breakfast in Ferryland: the Ark of Avalon. Opened in 1994, it operates year-round; however,

it receives the bulk of its customers from June – September (Local Business Owner, 2009). Although there is one other accommodation facility in Ferryland, it is not yet registered and cannot be advertised (Local Business Owner, 2009).

Growth in Ferryland’s business community is visible over time. In 1976, there were only five businesses in Ferryland compared to eighteen as of 2008. While the focus in the earlier year was on primary industries, such as fishing and farming, by 2008 a variety of businesses and town services had emerged (Table 4.1.) (Dun & Bradstreet, 1976; Irish Loop Development Board, 2008). While there are five tourism-related businesses recorded in 2008, none was listed in 1976. This growth is minute when compared to that occurring in heritage communities of central and western Ontario (Mitchell & Coghill, 2000; Mitchell, et al., 2001; Vanderwerf, 2008; Halpern, 2009; Mitchell & de Waal, 2009). An explanation for this discrepancy may be found by evaluating the motivations of local stakeholders.

Table 4.1 Ferryland Businesses 1976 and 2008

(Italicized businesses are tourism related businesses)

Businesses 1976	Businesses 2008
Clowe – miscellaneous store	<i>Ark of Avalon Bed & Breakfast</i>
Kavanagh’s Groceries	Baltimore Pharmacy
Kavanagh’s Hog Farm	Kavanagh’s Restaurant
William’s Fish and Seafood	Canada Post
Southern Shore Trading Co Ltd.	Clowe’s Ambulance
	Clowe’s Construction
	<i>Colony of Avalon Gift Shop</i>
	<i>Ferryland Café & Gifts</i>
	Ferryland Convenience
	Ferryland Foodland

	<i>Lighthouse Picnics</i>
	M&A Fisheries
	Nfld. Meat Packaging Company
	Paul's Hardware & Building Centre
	Quality Home Care Services
	Simply Products
	<i>Southern Scenics</i>
	Sunnyhill Gardens

Note: Two of the main tourism attractions, The Colony of Avalon and the Ferryland Museum, are not listed as businesses as they are not-for-profit organizations.

The motivations that drive tourism development are looked at in the Creative Destruction Model (Mitchell & de Waal, 2009). In terms of businesses motivation, they are currently categorized as profit, promotion or preservation; however, with the exception of the Colony of Avalon, local businesses in Ferryland do not seem to fit neatly into any of these.

The owners of tourism-related businesses in Ferryland were interviewed. It should be noted, however, that the interviews were conducted during peak tourism season so not all proprietors were willing to take the time to participate. Of those who agreed to participate, all three indicated that they had been raised in Ferryland. This includes the Ark of Avalon Bed & Breakfast, Ferryland Café and Gifts, and The Historic Ferryland Museum. Online research indicates that the Ferryland Lighthouse Picnics are also owned and operated by locals (Wells, 2009).

Owners of these businesses were found to share similar motivations. Emphasis was put on creating a close-knit environment that showcased Ferryland in its unique and real way. “I

enjoy sharing my love for Newfoundland with people” (Local Business Owner, 2009), was one reason given for starting a tourism businesses. Another stated that “you need good, kind, involved people” (Local Business Owner, 2009). He continued, “I didn’t build this business for me... it’s a gathering place for people to come and come together” (Local Business Owner, 2009). These business-owners’ primary motivation does not seem to be money, economic development, or preserving the community’s heritage. In contrast, they are motivated by their enjoyment of their community and the enjoyment of others.

4.1.2 Visitor Numbers and Type

Visitor statistics were obtained from the Newfoundland and Labrador Provincial Government, Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation from 1998 – 2009. Statistics for Ferryland are recorded by the Colony of Avalon Interpretation Centre; therefore they are not available before this period. Rough estimations were provided by the Ferryland Museum, which opened in 1974. Before the Colony of Avalon Interpretation Centre opened in 1998, the museum was the only place for a visitor to stop in Ferryland for many years. It is estimated that the museum would see approximately 5,000 – 6,000 visitors each summer before the opening of the Colony of Avalon, dropping to 1,000 – 1,500 visitors after other attractions opened (Local Business Operator, 2009).

Visitation to Ferryland has increased overall since 1998, with a slight setback from 2002 – 2005. Visitation decreased by almost 3,000 people from 2002 – 2005. The province saw a decrease of over 15,000 people in 2002 as well (Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation, 2009a). A comparison of Ferryland visitation to Provincial visitation can be found in Figure 4.1 and Figure 4.2. This could be attributed to many factors that affected the

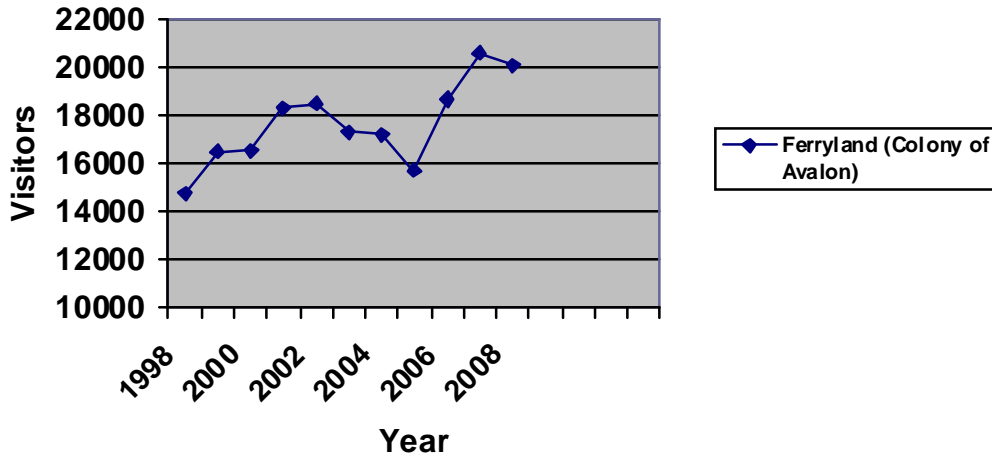
tourism market, the terrorist attack of 9/11/2001, gas prices, the value of the Canadian dollar, etc. Visitation is consistently higher for July and August; however it is recorded from May to October and has increased at the same rate as the total visitation (see example in Table 4.2). There is little visitation in the winter months. As a result, records are maintained only for the period of May to October.

Table 4.2 Ferryland Visitation by Month

	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
May	292	356	402	601	1,012	911	1,052
June	1,421	2,030	2,203	2,321	3,028	2,944	2,553
July	4,808	5,774	6,073	5,918	6,384	5,037	4,622
August	4,519	4,920	4,855	5,826	5,284	5,035	6,252
September	1,888	2,354	2,493	2,698	2,276	2,809	2,549
October	1,816	1,041	517	941	489	574	150
Total	14,744	16,474	16,543	18,305	18,473	17,310	17,178

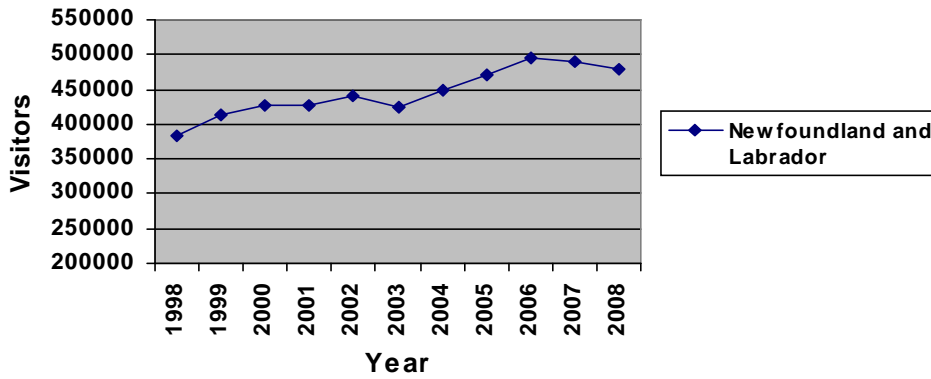
(Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation, 2009a)

Figure 4.1 Ferryland Visitation



(Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation, 2009a)

Figure 4.2 Newfoundland and Labrador Visitation



(Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation, 2009a)

The visitor survey was administered to determine the type of visitor that Ferryland receives. Questions were designed to establish what visitors enjoy while travelling, the percentage of first time visitors, length of stay, etc. In total, 53 valid surveys were filled out by visitors. Of the 53 visitors, the largest majority were from Ontario (44 percent). British Columbia and St. John's, NL were close in second and third place with 12 and 10 percent respectively. The balance was made up of visitors primarily from Canadian provinces (Table 4.3).

Table 4.3 Visitor Origins

N= 52

Where are you from?	%
British Columbia	12
Alberta	8
Saskatchewan	2
Manitoba	2
Ontario	44
Quebec	6
New Brunswick	2
Nova Scotia	3
St. John's, NL	10
Outside of St. John's, NL	8
UK	1
USA	2

The majority of the samples were found to be first time visitors (67%). The remaining 33 percent who were repeat visitors were asked if they had noticed any changes since their first visit. Results revealed that 15 percent had noticed changes and 18 percent had not.

Ferryland was listed as the destination for 70 percent of visitors; however, only 4 percent of people stayed longer than one day. The most common length of stay was less than 4 hours (64%) and stayed a full day (32%). As for accommodations, only nine percent of visitors surveyed stayed in Ferryland, four percent with friends or family and five percent in a Bed & Breakfast. These findings coincide with the four percent of visitors who said they had relatives in Ferryland.

The most common reason stated for visiting Ferryland was the Colony of Avalon (62%). Other reasons included: scenic environment (40%), the Lighthouse Picnics (27%), driving the Irish Loop (27%), local heritage/culture (19%), it was recommended (17%), read about it in a guidebook (10%), and, locally know about Ferryland (10%). When asked what visitors actually participated in while visiting Ferryland, the results were similar, with only slight differences.

The most commonly reported activity while in Ferryland was visiting the Colony of Avalon (78%), enjoying scenic environment rated high as well at 75 percent. The Lighthouse Picnics were rated much higher, as 43 percent of people said they actually participated in a picnic. Shopping and dining in local establishments were slightly lower (33% and 37% respectively), and six percent said they visited friends and relatives.

The next questions dealt with what visitors who travel to Ferryland enjoy while on vacation. These questions were asked to ascertain the types of visitors who are attracted to the community. Visitors to Ferryland found three characteristics the most enjoyable while on vacation: scenic environment (98%), attractive heritage building (82%), and friendly people (82%). Other things found enjoyable were: a relaxed atmosphere (61%), attractive

streetscapes (57%), and excellent cuisine (51%). Activities that were found the least interesting while on vacation were: shopping centres (14%), fast food restaurants such as McDonald's (4%), movie theatres (2%), and sporting facilities (2%). When visitors were asked if they would like to see any of the following in Ferryland: fast food restaurants (McDonalds, Tim Horton's), movie theatres, shopping centres or sporting facilities, 96 percent of people responded with none of the above.

From these results it is clear that visitors coming to Ferryland enjoy its environment, heritage, and friendly atmosphere. The need for Ferryland to further develop is not indicated by visitors. The majority of visitors, therefore, are classified as heritage-seekers, given their attraction to the heritage atmosphere and natural environment of the community.

4.1.3 Resident Attitudes

The current resident attitudes of Ferryland were evaluated through a survey distributed by the researcher to all Ferryland houses in July, 2009. To examine resident attitudes in the past, a content analysis of newspapers across Newfoundland and Labrador, through *The Evening Telegram archives*, was conducted from 1980 to present. Tourism in Ferryland has not been present for a long period of time; hence no information was available until a few years after the development of the Archaeological dig at the Colony of Avalon. Nine articles were found that involved tourism, including five that chronicled the battle between the provincial Department of Tourism and several landowners in Ferryland.

As described previously, the development of the Colony of Avalon as a tourist destination was one of the first major investments in Ferryland. Plans to extend the dig site in 1998, led to some conflict within the community (Evening Telegram, 1998, p.10). In May,

2000, the province announced that it supported the Colony of Avalon and would fund the construction of a new road to the Ferryland Lighthouse, as the old road was believed to be home to many artifacts from Lord Baltimore's first colonization effort in Ferryland (Callahan, 2000a, p.1). The projected route of the new road touched on six people's land, which the government planned to expropriate. A conflict arose in May, 2000, when landowners were not offered fair market value for their land and were not, at first, included in the project. One resident, Mr. Jimmy Ryan, expressed his aggravation with the process as noted in the Evening Telegram (Callahan, 2000a, p.1)

They never offered us anything. They never discussed anything with us. They just sent us a letter saying they were going to take the land and deal with us later.

Conflict continued into June, 2000, as landowners became suspicious of government officials with claims of "the government was checking out the land behind owners' backs -- "sneaking" land assessors in and out of town without telling anyone" (Callahan, 2000b, p.3). At this point, it was recorded that the government started to include local landowners by holding a meeting to discuss fair market value, putting the construction of the land "on hold" until an agreement could be reached. An offer was made, but rejected by landowners; however, refusing to wait, government moved forward with the expropriation of the land. This led to a protest of 12 residents who blocked off the road to the Colony of Avalon for three hours on Saturday, November 4th, 2000 (Evening Telegram, Anonymous, 2000, p.4). The protest ended peacefully with residents leaving when police arrived, but it was noted that they planned to return on Monday morning. Mr. Jimmy Ryan commented, "I'll lie down in the middle of the road, if I have to, until I get what that land's worth" (Callahan, 2000b, 3). It

is important to note that throughout the articles that chronicled the conflict between locals and the government, residents stated on several different occasions that they supported the overall project of the Colony of Avalon; they just wanted a fair price for their land.

Recent resident attitudes were ascertained from a questionnaire survey that was completed by 47 people in July, 2009. Of these 47 respondents, 34 percent were male and 66 percent were female. The average age range was between 46 – 65 (57%), with 21 percent of respondents being under the age 45, and 21 percent of respondents being above age 66. Table 4.4 provides a detailed summary of the age of respondents.

Table 4.4 – Age of Respondents

N= 47

Age	%
18 -25	2
26 – 45	19
46 – 65	57
66 -85	19
86 and above	2

The next demographic question looked at the number of years residents have lived in Ferryland, with a related question asking if residents had moved away and returned later in life. This revealed that 30 percent of respondents living in Ferryland had left and later returned. The majority of residents have lived for over 25 years to all their lives in Ferryland. Almost half, 49 percent, of respondents lived all of their lives in Ferryland, with only 2 percent of respondents being summer residents (See Table 4.5).

Table 4.5 Residency of Respondents

N=47

Length of Residence	Number of years
Live only part of the year in Ferryland	2
Less than 2 years	0
2-5 years	9
6-10 years	0
11-15 years	4
16-24 years	0
More than 25 years	36
All my Life	49

The last two demographic questions looked at employment and education level. Due to the high level of commuters residing in rural communities close to the provincial capital, employment was categorized by whether the respondent was employed in Ferryland, outside of Ferryland, unemployed or retired. Table 4.6 shows the respondents' employment and the employment status of their partner, and Table 4.7 outlines the education level.

Table 4.6 Respondents' Location of Employment

N= 47

Employment Status	Respondent (%)	Respondent's Partner (%)
Employed in Ferryland	40	26
Employed outside Ferryland	28	47
Unemployed	0	5
Unemployed – seeking work	4	5
Retired	28	16

Table 4.7 Education of Respondents

N=47

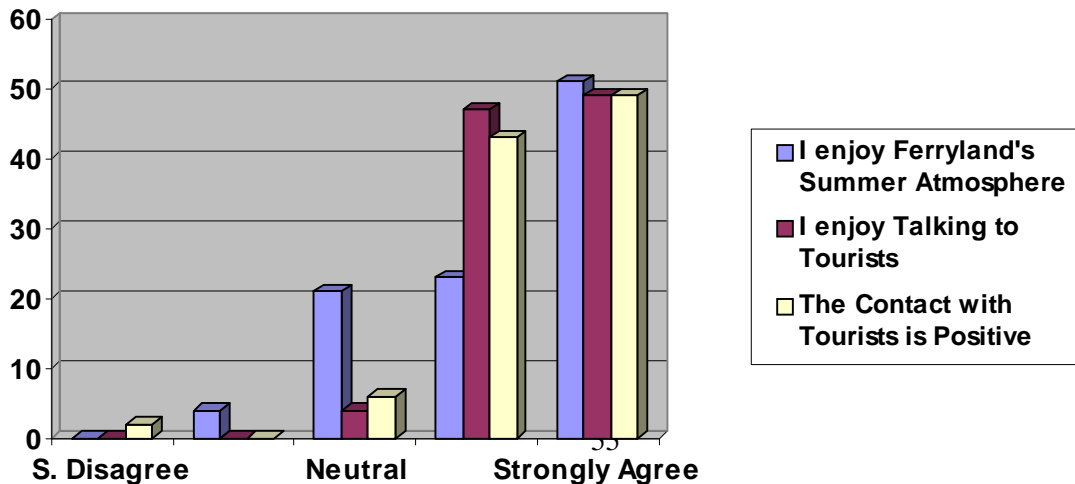
Education level	(%)
Some High School	9
High School Diploma	28
Some College or University	38
Bachelor Degree or equivalent	21
Masters Degree	4

The level of education of respondents was found to be much higher than the education levels recorded in the 2006 census data. In the data, 12.5 percent of residents had a Bachelor's Degree or equivalent and two percent had a Master's Degree or higher, compared

with 21 percent and 4 percent, respectively, in the questionnaire. These findings are reported in table 4.7, noting that only 28 percent of residents received a high school diploma.

The remaining questions dealt with how residents viewed tourism, tourism-related issues, and how much of their basic needs were being met in Ferryland. In regards to questions concerning residents' attitudes towards tourism, the response was positive (See Figure 4.3). For example, 97 percent of respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the statement: "I enjoy talking to tourists". Correspondingly, when asked if their contact with tourists was mostly positive, 92 percent answered agree or strongly agreed and only 2 percent said disagree or strongly disagree. When asked if they enjoy the summer atmosphere in Ferryland, over half strongly agreed, with 74 percent agreeing or strongly agreeing. Similarly, 73 percent of respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed that tourism had made their daily life more difficult, while 17 percent remained neutral. Residents were asked if they believed tourism has brought more jobs to Ferryland. Eighty-two percent agreed or strongly agreed, with only eight percent disagreed or strongly disagreed.

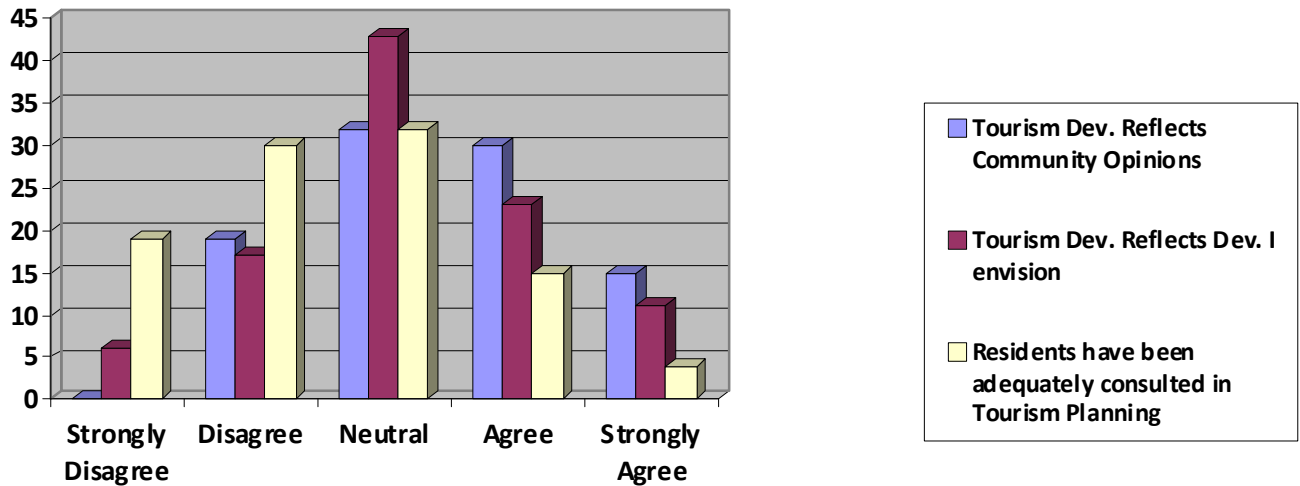
Figure 4.3 Residents Attitudes towards Tourism



The response to a question as to whether the town's infrastructure has improved because of tourism was much more mixed. While most people strongly agreed (25%), it was not by a large margin; 23 percent agreed, 21 percent were neutral, 19 percent disagreed and 11 percent strongly disagreed.

Questions relating to community involvement in tourism and how it was planned generated a mixed response overall. For example, when asked if residents attend town meetings about tourism, many residents (40%) gave a neutral response. The rest were split with 40 percent disagreeing or strongly disagreeing and 19 percent agreeing or strongly agreeing. The fact that there are no actual town meetings held to discuss tourism could account for the strong neutral response. When asked if tourism was properly planned, the highest response was neutral once again at 36 percent. On the other hand, it was closely followed by agree, 34 percent, although 26 percent also disagreed or strongly disagreed. A similar response was elicited by the statement "Residents have been adequately consulted in tourism planning". Nearly a third (32%), responded neutral, but almost half of residents disagreed or strongly disagreed (30 and 19 percent), with only 15 percent agreeing and 4 percent strongly agreeing. The statement that elicited the highest neutral response was "Tourism development reflects the type of development I envision"; 43 percent responded neutral, 34 agreed or strongly agreed and 23 disagreed or strongly disagreed. When asked if tourism development reflects the opinions of the community, 45 percent agreed or strongly agreed, 32 were neutral, and 23 disagreed or strongly disagreed (See Figure 4.4).

Figure 4.4 Resident Attitudes towards Tourism



Questions pertaining to the negative impacts of tourism had a mixed response as well, but with a stronger tolerance for the negative impacts. When asked whether tourism exploits the unique lifestyle of Ferryland, 59 percent of residents disagreed or strongly disagreed, 17 percent were neutral, and 24 percent agreed. While an increase in traffic congestion in the summer was agreed and strongly agreed upon by 47 percent of respondents, more than three quarters (78%) of respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed that it was hard to find a parking spot during the summer. When asked if tourism has made their daily lives more difficult, almost half (49 %) strongly disagreed and 28 percent disagreed. While 17 percent were neutral, 6 percent agreed, and nobody strongly agreed. It should be noted that when

asked if they are economically involved in the tourism industry, 35 percent strongly disagreed or disagreed, 28 percent were neutral, and 38 percent agreed or strongly agreed³.

To specify which residents’ value heritage, or the rural idyll, a series of Likert Scale questions were created based on Yarwood’s (2005) characteristics that represent the rural idyll. Residents were given 6 factors and asked to judge how much on a scale of 1(lowest) to 5 (highest), did this factor affect their decision to live in Ferryland. Residents that had a cumulative value of 25 (responding with a “5” for five of the six questions) were considered to value the rural idyll and, therefore, rural heritage. In total, this included nearly half (48.9%) of all residents surveyed. The response was overwhelmingly positive for these residents; however, it does not differ much from those who value heritage less. Furthermore, in some cases, results are higher for the latter (Table 4.8).

Table 4.8 Comparison of Residents of Attitudes towards Tourism (Heritage Value)
N=24

Question	Value heritage % Agree and Strongly Agree	Do not Value Heritage % Agree and Strongly Agree
Enjoy summer atmosphere	82	75
Positive impacts of tourism outweigh negative	91	67
Enjoy talking to tourists	85	96
Like to see more tourism in Ferryland	92	84

³ Cross tabulations were performed; however, only one was found to be statistically significant. Due to the small sample size, it was not usable.

At present, residents seem to accept what tourism has to offer. The community of 526 residents (Statistics Canada, 2006) receives over 20,000 visitors a year (Department of Tourism, Culture, & Recreation, 2009c); however, thus far, residents do not believe that tourism has negatively impacted their community. However, residents do strongly agree that a long term tourism plan for Ferryland is needed. This indicates awareness that tourism is part of Ferryland's future.

4.1.4 Where is Ferryland in the Model of Creative Destruction?

The above data details Ferryland's development as a tourism destination. From this information it is concluded that Ferryland is in the stage of advanced commodification. All the requirements of a heritage-scape are present in Ferryland; however, due to its size, they are present at a minimal level. The community entered into tourism in the late 1970s, following a lengthy period of "pre-commodification". It remained in the state of "early commodification", for nearly 30 years, when it then entered the stage of advanced commodification in 1998.

Ferryland is believed to be one of the earliest ports visited by migratory fisherman, due to its cobble beaches, ideal for drying fish, and the easy access it granted fisherman to the inshore fishing grounds (Colony of Avalon, 2002). It was declared by Sir Walter Raleigh to be one of the most popular fishing harbors in Newfoundland and Labrador during the 1590s (Town of Ferryland, 2009).

While detailed information on Ferryland is lacking for the 1900s, it is assumed that Ferryland followed the growth and decline that the entire province has experienced. The

beginning of the 1900s marked a time of growth for the island, noted by the completion of a railroad that spanned its length, the construction of pulp and paper plants, and the resurgence of the cod fishery (Tidespoint, 2009). On the outside, Newfoundland and Labrador seemed like a province that was prospering.

Problems, however, began to occur in the 1990s. It was widely recognized at this time that the northern cod fishing stock was becoming depleted. As a result, the industry was officially closed in 2003 (Tidespoint, 2009). As a fishing-based community, Ferryland felt the loss of the fishery (Local Business Operator, 2009). In response to this crisis, the provincial government introduced aid programs for those who could no longer fish (e.g. the Fisheries Restructuring and Adjustment Measures Program) (Local Business Operator, 2009). Tourism was widely heralded as a strategy for promoting growth.

In 1974 the community entered the period of early commodification. According to Mitchell, this stage is characterized by limited investment in commodification, small numbers of visitors and largely positive attitudes towards development. Each of these characteristics is present. The period began with the opening of its first tourism attraction, the Historic Ferryland Museum. At the time, the museum attracted approximately 5,000 visitors a year. However, residents were unaware of tourism and its impacts (Local Business Operator, 2009).

Locals first discovered The Colony of Avalon Archaeological Site in the late 1800s; however, no studies actually took place until the 1930s. Work as an archaeological dig commenced at this point, with the addition of Memorial University Archaeology Department in the early 1980s. In 1986 work halted due to lack of funding and staff. In 1998, six years

after the fall of the cod fishing industry, a federal-provincial agreement was created that helped fund the necessary programs and staff to tackle a site of this magnitude. As a result, work resumed (Colony of Avalon, 2002).

Tourism development began in Ferryland with the establishment of “The Colony of Avalon” as a not-for-profit organization in 1994. In 1998, it received a large government grant to develop the tourism and archaeological facilities (Anonymous, 1998, p.10). This investment heralded Ferryland’s entry into the period of advanced commodification. The expansion of the Colony of Avalon allowed for the growth of other businesses including: Lighthouse Picnics, Ferryland Café and Gifts, and the Southern Shore Folks Arts Council Dinner Theatre.

Visitor numbers have increased in both Ferryland and Newfoundland and Labrador since 1998. The community sees over 20,000 visitors a year, an increase of over 6,000 visitors since 1998 (Department of Tourism, Culture, & Recreation Tourism, 2009c). Residents remain in favour of tourism, despite increased visitation. They are not aware or bothered by any possible negative impacts of tourism in Ferryland (parking, congestion). However, Ferryland’s growth did not occur without some contestation, as indicated by the dispute between the Colony of Avalon and local residents.

Several factors indicate that Ferryland has reached the stage of advanced commodification. Studies show (Vanderwerf, 2008; Halpern, 2009; Mitchell & Halpern, in press) that when a community reaches the stage of advanced commodification, and has evolved into a heritage-scape, a mix of locally hand-crafted products, local dining opportunities and experiences that capitalize on the environment and culture of a community

will be present (Mitchell & Halpern, in press). Each of these is present in Ferryland, although they are somewhat limited in number. Ferryland has two stores that sell gift items, with a limited selection of hand-crafted products. Local dining is available but is also limited at this point. Experiences and tours may be found in Ferryland, but have the potential to increase. The limited number of venues suggests that Ferryland has the main characteristics of a heritage-scape, but is limited in size.

4.2 Explaining Ferryland's Current State

The second objective of this thesis is to explain why Ferryland is currently in its present state; specifically, to explore its relatively small scale development. This objective was fulfilled by examining the parties driving development and their motivations.

Furthermore, characteristics within the community that may impede development are examined.

4.2.1 Community characteristics

Ferryland's size, 526 people (Statistics Canada, 2006), is a contributing factor to its low level of development. The lack of a workforce is often cited as a reason why further development has not yet occurred in Ferryland's tourism industry (Colony of Avalon Board Member, 2009). In addition, the low paying and seasonal employment that tourism offers can be a contributing factor. The unattractiveness of Ferryland to youth seeking employment creates a community that has trouble filling the part- time and seasonal positions offered by tourism businesses. Out-migration in rural Newfoundland and Labrador communities also could be a factor that accounts for Ferryland's slow growth into a tourism destination.

4.2.2 Motivations of Local Proprietors

The motivation of local business owners in Ferryland gives insight into why Ferryland is moving slower than other rural communities studied in Canada. Motivated by pleasure, an entrepreneur is not driven to expand a business or to inspire a booming tourism industry within their community. The pure enjoyment of chatting with visitors, and talking proudly about a community, appears to be a factor influencing the decision of at least some proprietors in this community. This motivational driver was found to be a reappearing theme for local business owners. Thus, unlike other communities, a dominant profit-motivation appears to be lacking. This may partially explain why Ferryland is in its current stage of development.

4.2.2 Planning and Future Initiatives

Ferryland, as a community, has lacked tourism planning in the past. As tourism is still fairly new to the community, planning for the future is just beginning. The year 2009 marked the in-house creation of the community's first strategic plan, "2009 – 2012", created by the Colony of Avalon Foundation. The Colony of Avalon created a Master Plan in 1995; however, this plan focused more on the development and beginning stages of the site. It lists community development as a long term benefit that will arise from the expansion of the Colony of Avalon (Canning & Pitt Associates Inc. et al., 1995). This Master Plan was created by an outside consulting group, not from within the community. With the development of the site, the Foundation has a greater visitor base and market to work with; furthermore, it is created by the Colony of Avalon Foundation - a group working within the community. This

plan focuses on the development of the Archaeological Site as well as tourism for the entire community. The provincial government is following suit, with the recent publication of *“Uncommon Potential – A Vision for Newfoundland and Labrador’s Tourism Marketing”*. The provincial tourism department is no stranger to tourism plans. It has published several tourism marketing plans in the past; however, this is the first document with a focus on, and an awareness of, rural communities. Since both of these plans have just been published, their impacts remain to be seen.

4.2.2.1 Colony of Avalon Foundation

The community of Ferryland has not yet created a tourism plan of any kind. Yet, the Colony of Avalon Foundation created a strategic plan for the Colony of Avalon in 2009 that spans the period 2009 – 2012. While this plan is not for the entire community, the Colony of Avalon is considered the anchor for tourism, and tourism in Ferryland has developed around it. The Colony of Avalon Foundation is a “community based, not-for-profit organization dedicated to preserving, investigating, and developing the rich cultural heritage of the Avalon Peninsula’s Southern Shore (Colony of Avalon Foundation, 2009). Furthermore, the Colony of Avalon Foundation’s mandate includes the development of Ferryland’s heritage resources: “To continue the excavation, preservation, marketing and general development of the Colony of Avalon, which is the archaeological site of the settlement of Lord Baltimore as well as other heritage resources in the Ferryland region” (Colony of Avalon Foundation, 2009). The word preservation is found in the description of the foundation as well as its mandate,

therefore we can conclude its motivations are preservationist. The Colony of Avalon Foundation's (2009, p.2) vision is

To be a recognized leader among heritage attractions, archaeological research centers, and as a model for sustainable community based organizations, with state of the art facilities and premises to display, preserve, and interpret the complete remains of Lord Baltimore's Colony and its associated collection

The strategic plan deals primarily with the development of the Colony of Avalon Interpretation Centre and Archaeological Site; however, the improvements and development are aimed at increasing the quality of tourism product and the visitor base to Ferryland.

The first challenge stated in the plan is maintaining and improving the facilities and landscape of the Colony of Avalon. Objective 1.1 (2009, p.4), "to repair, beautify, and maintain all building exteriors and parking areas" is not directly related to improving the community's tourism product; however, by beautifying one of Ferryland's most prominent structures and attractions, a more desirable and appealing tourism base will be created for the community. The maintenance and repair of buildings and the archaeological site aim to maintain the community's history. Furthermore, the goal of the objective stated by the Colony of Avalon Foundation is to maintain a site that will meet visitor's expectations and attract new visitors.

The next challenge is to increase the annual visitation to Ferryland through innovative tourism products. The Colony of Avalon Foundation refers carefully to the subject of visitor numbers. The second challenge is found on page 7 of the strategic plan. Here it states that

The Colony of Avalon has always been recognized for well developed exhibits and programming, however attention must be paid to this area to ensure that the changing needs of visitors are met and that the

experiences offered avoid stagnation. Initiatives in this area are designed to address the growing desire among travelers for destinations that offer more experiential and educational aspects such as live interpretation and interactive programming while also giving the repeat visitor a varied and fresh experience.

Increasing visitor numbers are increased by satisfying the current and repeat visitor, while attempting to avoid stagnation. Avoiding stagnation versus increasing visitation is a more sustainable way to approach the challenge of increased visitation to Ferryland. Exceeding the carrying capacity of the community by keeping visitor numbers at a reasonable level supports the preservationist point of view. Objective 2.4 of this challenge addresses this motivational driver as well,

Initiate special event programming to increase public/academic awareness of the Colony of Avalon, create increased activity especially during the shoulder seasons, and to improve community relations.

By increasing the shoulder season visitation, as well as public and academic interest by attempting to improve community relations, the foundation is demonstrating its will to grow in a sustainable way.

The third strategic challenge, as outlined by the Colony of Avalon Foundation, is marketing and promotion. All the objectives in this section touch on increasing awareness and efficiency in marketing the Colony of Avalon as a top- of-the-line tourism attraction. The fourth strategic challenge centers on monetary sustainability. While an objective, such as 4.1 “To improve fiscal sustainability through increased revenues and costs” (Colony of Avalon Foundation, 2009, p.14), is looking to increase revenue, it is solely for the purpose of self- sustainability. The Colony of Avalon relies heavily on their own fundraising efforts as they make up approximately half of their operating budget (Colony

of Avalon Board Member, 2009). Objectives that involve increasing revenues look at ways to keep costs low, as well as earn substantial revenues that allow them to continue to operate and grow. It is not so much profit- driven, but driven by the ability to remain open and to educate, preserve and market Ferryland’s history.

The community of Ferryland’s tourism industry, as whole, is finally mentioned in the fifth and final strategic challenge, Partnerships. The challenge highlights “cooperation and collaboration” with current and future partnerships as a top priority. Furthermore, emphasis is put on creating a tourism cluster in Ferryland, “... engage municipal stakeholders, to work with local and regional operators to build a tourism cluster, or to work towards joint initiatives with relevant cultural organizations around the world” (Colony of Avalon Foundation, 2009, p. 16).

The Colony of Avalon includes the community of Ferryland in its planning process and development plans for two reasons. Primarily, Ferryland lacks the financial and human resources it needs to be involved in the tourism industry at the municipal level. Therefore, other organizations within Ferryland need to take control of the tourism industry. Secondly, keeping the town involved will create a greater base to keep visitors in and returning to Ferryland and coming back. A community full of attractions, amenities and sites will keep a visitor longer than one major attraction. Objectives 5.3 is a key example of how the Colony of Avalon Foundation is keeping the town involved, as it states “to improve community partnerships with the Town of Ferryland, local businesses, and regional tourism operators” (Colony of Avalon Foundation, 2009, p. 17). One of the actions created to complete this objective is to “explore the possibility of implementing a Ferryland day package with

admission to the Colony of Avalon, Ferryland Dinner Theatre, and Lighthouse Picnics” (Colony of Avalon Foundation, 2009, p.18).

The Colony of Avalon Foundation is the only organization in Ferryland that has put forth a tourism plan of any kind. As the foundation does not focus on the community, rather the Colony of Avalon site, it is less focused on the overall well being of the community. This being said, the plan does take into account the community when examining the possibilities of tourism clusters. The foundation recognizes that it cannot sustain an entire community’s tourism industry with one attraction. Even though residents’ interests are not mentioned in the plan, keeping local organizations and governing bodies involved is stated as an objective.

4.2.2.2 Vision 2020

Newfoundland and Labrador’s tourism industry revenues grew 15 percent from 2003 – 2007 (Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation, 2009c). To keep this level of growth, the Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation, along with industry partners created *Uncommon Potential – A Vision for Newfoundland and Labrador’s Tourism Marketing*. This plan, known as *Vision 2020*, challenges members of the tourism industry to double the annual tourism revenue in Newfoundland and Labrador by the year 2020 (Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation, 2009b).

The Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation works with industry members to create a better tourism industry for Newfoundland and Labrador. Their mandate is:

To support the development of sustainable economic growth in the tourism and cultural industries; to support the arts and foster creativity; to preserve the province’s cultural heritage and historic resources and recognize their importance; to promote

participation in recreation and sport, and support sport development. (Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation, 2009a)

Their vision focuses on authentic experiences for visitors, while preserving the strong cultural identity, "...a tourism destination of choice, with superior and authentic visitor experiences, a robust cultural identity, natural and cultural resources that are protected and sustained, creativity in the arts that is fostered and recognized, cultural industries that are strong and vibrant..." (Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation, 2009a). Their vision and mandate are on par with that of the Colony of Avalon Foundation's, focusing on the preservation on cultural and historical identities and using creative ways to foster a strong industry.

However, the province's 2020 main goal is the promotion of strong economic growth through tourism development, which does conflict with the motivation outlined by the Colony of Avalon Foundation in Ferryland. However, it is evident after reading the plan that there are preservationists behind Newfoundland and Labrador's tourism industry as well. While the main vision of this plan is to double tourism revenues by 2020, it should be noted that in the vision stated in the plan, other important factors are mentioned (Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation, 2009b, p. 8).

Beyond the economic benefits, tourism helps preserve and protect our natural heritage, culture, and history. And it gives life to a range of facilities and events that play an important role in the regeneration of communities for both residents and tourists alike.

The preservation and protection of Newfoundland and Labrador's heritage, culture and history is addressed at the beginning of the plan. Furthermore, the regeneration of

communities is taken into consideration not only from a visitors' perspective, but also from the resident's point of view. The guiding principles center on 'Respect', and demonstrate the government's commitment to preservation, by respecting the components of a successful tourism industry:

1. Respect for our Home
2. Respect for our Residents
3. Respect for Travellers
4. Respect for Profit
5. Respect for Communication

Until recently, Ferryland has lacked tourism planning. As tourism is relatively new to the area, the negative impacts that this lack of planning can have on a community have not yet materialized. The provincial tourism plan is aimed at increasing tourism potential across the entire province, including small communities, such as Ferryland. Tourism has developed at a relatively slow rate in Ferryland without planning. It will be fascinating to examine the changes in Ferryland after local and provincial planning has taken effect.

The initiatives discussed in this section have a newfound focus on the growth of rural tourism in Newfoundland and Labrador. The Colony of Avalon Foundation has expanded their plans to include the community of Ferryland, aiming to work in cooperation with the town and local tourism attractions. While this type of planning is recommended by academics to prevent possible negative impacts (Getz, 1994; Irandu, 2004), it could also push Ferryland to the next stage of the Creative Destruction model, early destruction. The difficulty lies in trying to maintain the community's current state of agreement with tourism while developing the industry.

This section has demonstrated that tourism is being positioned as a priority in Newfoundland and Labrador and at the Colony of Avalon in Ferryland. The focus of the provincial plan is growth and promotion, while Ferryland's focus is preservation. The challenge will be for these two motivations to meet somewhere in the middle. Ferryland has not seen a tourism plan motivated by promotion, which could explain its slow growth. How these two plans will unfold and co-exist will determine the rate at which tourism in Ferryland develops.

4.3 Recommendations

With public and private sectors pushing for tourism development in rural communities and the Colony of Avalon Foundation looking to expand, three recommendations are provided by the researcher to help Ferryland progress in a balanced and sustainable way.

1. To guide tourism in the long term by creating a 5-10 year vision plan.
2. To engage the Ferryland Tourism Committee in the planning process.
3. To open the lines of communication with residents by encouraging them to attend town meetings about tourism. This will show a willingness to hear the local voice.

Ferryland's tourism industry has developed naturally around the Colony of Avalon Archaeological Site. There has been no tourism planning from a community perspective to date. The Colony of Avalon Foundation is the only organization within the community that has created a long term plan for its attraction, as well as tourism within the community. Despite the lack of planning, the community has supported the continuing development of

tourism. This support is reflected in their positive attitudes, as reported in the resident survey. Community members also believe that Ferryland requires planning in the future. A long term plan created by key stakeholders, with community involvement, is necessary to keep the community's attitudes towards tourism positive.

Several possible negative outcomes may emerge from building a tourism industry based on a community's heritage and history. Academics have outlined these negative impacts (Doxey, 1975, Lankford & Howard, 1994, & Mitchell 2009) that range from community resentment to violence towards tourism. To avoid or eliminate these impacts, long term planning should be implemented to secure the future success of Ferryland as a tourism destination (Iranlu, 2004).

The creation of a long term plan that focuses on Ferryland as a destination will encourage and potentially engage both residents and local tourism operators. The inclusion of these groups, along with the tourism committee, municipal and provincial government will also aid in creating a more complete and sustainable product. This process may also help unearth a tourism champion, someone who has the motivation, social networks and drive to enable others to want to create a destination in Ferryland (Link BC, 2009). The creation of a more complete tourism industry will attract visitors for a longer period of time, an issue that is prevalent in Ferryland at the moment. In order to keep Ferryland in the stage of advanced commodification, the development and expansion of its industry must be driven by preservation. If economic growth or profit become the main motivators, the community risks entering into early destruction.

To keep the motivation where it is now, it is recommended that the Ferryland tourism committee be a part of the planning process. Therefore, the community will develop in a balanced way with the sustainable infrastructure it requires to create a tourism cluster. The other group that should be involved in the planning is residents. When all stakeholders work together, there is a greater chance for an amicable and successful tourism industry.

Chapter 5 Discussion

5.1 Introduction

This chapter compares the findings of this research to other case studies that have applied the Model of Creative Destruction, in both its original and modified forms. Three similarities are first highlighted and then four differences are examined. The chapter concludes with an overall assessment of the applicability of the Model of Creative Destruction for understanding the transformation of Ferryland, Newfoundland and Labrador.

5.2 Comparison of Ferryland with Other Studies of Creative Destruction: Similarities

In the case of Ferryland, the findings are very similar to past results and what the model predicts for each stage. The community shows at least three similarities to previous creative destruction studies in the literature. First, like other communities undergoing development, the purchase and restoration of heritage building by the public sector was a key catalyst in the creation of Ferryland's heritage-scape. Second, numbers of heritage-seeking tourists who came to Ferryland has increased, as it has in other studies of creative destruction. Third, residents are aware of some of the negative externalities that tourism creates. Each of these similarities is considered briefly below.

A similarity is found in investment patterns occurring in Ferryland with other case studies. Mitchell (1998) states that the transformation to heritage-scape begins with a few key investments, such as the purchase and restoration of heritage building for the purpose of tourism. In the village of St. Jacob's, for example, two key investments were made

during the stage of early commodification, which took place between 1975 and 1978. The investments involved the restoration and conversion of a closed grocery store, and conversion of the Snyder Flour Mill into a gift shop/restaurant and an antique furniture store, respectively (Mitchell, 1998). In the case of Niagara-on-the-Lake, three key investments were noted during this stage, which occurred between 1950 and 1970: the restoration of Fort George, to reflect ‘frontier times’, the beginning of a festival, and the opening of the Niagara Historical Museum (Mitchell et al., 2001).

Like Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ferryland saw two main investments during its transformation from townscape to heritage-scape. First, was opening of the Ferryland Historical Museum in 1974. Second, was development of the archaeological site, the Colony of Avalon. In 1998 it received federal and provincial grants to develop the archaeological site for research, restoration and tourism purposes (Anonymous, 1998, p.10). These investments are similar to those found in Niagara-on-the-Lake in that they reflect the government’s interest in restoring historical buildings and sites and creating a tourism business that thrives on promoting the heritage, culture or history of a community.

Studies of creative destruction have found that during the stage of advanced commodification, heritage-seekers visit a community, looking for an ‘authentic’ experience, which may be both environmentally, and/or culturally focused (Mitchell & de Waal, 2009). For example, in the case of Salt Spring Island (Halpern and Mitchell, in press) visitors reported that the environment and ‘island vibe’ were high up on the list of reasons to visit Salt Springs. These reasons also are evident in Ferryland. The top two reasons why visitors came to Ferryland were to experience history by visiting the Colony

of Avalon Archaeological site, and to enjoy the scenic environment. Furthermore, when asked what characteristics visitors look for in a destination, scenic environment (98%), attractive heritage buildings (82%) and friendly people (82%) were found to be what people looked for the most. These characteristics reflect those of a heritage-seeker, as outlined by the model.

All studies conducted of creative destruction, to date, have pointed to the local resident's awareness of tourism's negative impacts. For example, in Niagara-on-the-lake (Mitchell et al., 2001) local residents complained of a number of negative impacts, including: parking, congestion and noise, during the stage of advanced commodification. Similar complaints were heard in Ganges, Salt Spring Island (Halpern and Mitchell in press), and St. Jacobs (Mitchell 1998). These criticisms are also present in Ferryland, although the percentage of respondents noting their presence is somewhat less. This may be the case because the developments in Ferryland are on a much smaller scale; thus, the impacts may be less visible and intrusive to local residents.

5.3 Comparison of Ferryland with Other Studies of Creative Destruction: Differences

A model will not always perfectly suit a case study. Four contrasts are evident in this case. They revolve around the motivations that have underlain the actions of stakeholders, the scale of the heritage-scape, the lack of conflict between those responsible for creating this landscape of consumption, and the lack of a tourism champion.

The motivations behind local business entrepreneurs vary from those outlined by Mitchell and de Waal (2009). Behind every action there is a motivation. Tourism

development is no exception. The Model of Creative Destruction looks at three primary motivational drivers behind tourism development in rural communities: profit, promotion and preservation (Mitchell & de Waal, 2009). The larger tourism attraction in Ferryland, the Colony of Avalon, as well as the provincial government's motivations, follows the model. In these cases, the motivations were preservation and promotion and preservation, respectively. However, many local business owners did not appear to be motivated by any of Mitchell's (2009) motivational drivers.

In rural communities, a much more relaxed, laid back lifestyle is adhered to. This is reflected in the motivations behind local residents opening tourism businesses. Qun Qin (2009) supports this conclusion in her study of local heritage tourism businesses in Daxu and Yangshuo, Guangxi, China. In these communities, local business owners reported that they simply enjoyed interacting with tourists and talking about their heritage with others. As one individual commented, "Talking with curious tourists and letting them admire the charming and intricate houses and the history of their ancestors is a pleasure thing to them" (Qun Qin, 2009, p.45). This study reveals that other motivations may prompt local residents to start a tourism business in a rural setting.

Similar motivations were found amongst local business operators who were interviewed in Ferryland. None of the local business operators interviewed listed monetary gain as a motivator for their business. In fact, many reported the reason behind their business was selfless; it was more for the benefit of the community and to interact with tourists. One individual commented, "I didn't build this business for me... it's a gathering place for people to come and come together" (Local Business Owner, 2009).

These findings suggest, as Qun et al. (in preparation) observe, that there may be more than three motivational drivers, behind rural tourism development such as pleasure, this new motivator supports the characteristics of the rural idyll (Yarwood, 2005). Locals who value the friendly, easy going, natural life style that a rural landscape has to offer would be more likely to start up a tourism business that supports these ideas. Thus, local entrepreneurs who are motivated by pleasure would seemingly not introduce developments that would compromise this idyllic setting. The pleasure motivator could be a window into the success of tourism development; success that comes without the negative attitudes of residents associated with the growth and expansion of tourism within rural communities.

The identity of a rural space changes as tourism begins to develop. The heritage of a community is commodified for economic purposes, which results in the transformation of a rural landscape into a consumptive landscape (Mitchell & de Waal, 2009). This transformation may be associated with conflict if preservationists contest the development and change. As Mitchell states, “the preservation (and indeed creation) of an identity is fraught with considerable conflict; a finding that is echoed throughout the international literature” (2009, p. 161). Conflict is not overwhelming during the stage of advanced commodification, but is typically present on some level, particularly if the motivations underlying development are not coherent. In this case, a growing hesitation or discontentment may be seen as the identity of the community changes from town-scape to heritage-scape (Mitchell, 1998; Mitchell et al., 2001; Halpern and Mitchell in press).

A content analysis of newspapers across the province highlighted what seemed to be a conflict between residents and the provincial tourism department. This conflict over the fair price of land was described in chapter four. What is unique about this conflict is that residents were open about their support for the project and the Colony of Avalon. “The landowners support the archaeological work, a project that has much-needed jobs and tourism revenue for the area. But they want to ensure they get the right price for their land” (Callahan, 2000b, p.3). In addition, local tourism operators commented on residents’ willingness to promote their businesses to visitors and a sense of a close community circle that would always be there in times of need (Local Business Operator, 2009). Resident attitudes determined by the survey echoed the same supportive theme. One local business operator sums it up well:

People are supportive of each other, you know you get the comments in all small towns, and everybody knows everybody’s business. That is true to a point but they also pull together so if you have a problem you would be pretty surprised to see how quickly everyone would come together to help (Local Business Operator, 2009).

The revised Model of Creative Destruction (Mitchell & de Waal, 2009) recognizes that not all residents will react the same way to the influx of tourists. It is assumed that someone who places a higher value on heritage would typically feel the effects of tourism most. It was also suggested that individuals who have lived for a longer period of time in the community would have more negative attitudes as well. Thus, residents who value heritage would be a better measure of how, or if, tourism development compromised the rural idyll, as those who are more aware and protective of heritage would be more aware

of its loss or destruction. This study included a set of questions to determine if these characteristics influence resident attitudes.

To ascertain if residents who value heritage have a less favorable attitude towards tourists, they were asked to rate characteristics that describe the rural idyll (Yarwood, 2005). Results found in this study contradicted the ideas put forth by Mitchell & de Waal (2009). Residents who had lived all their lives in Ferryland did not report a higher level of negativity towards tourism, in fact all life long residents of Ferryland were neutral, agreed or strongly agreed when asked if they enjoyed the summer atmosphere in Ferryland. Similar results were found in the questions dealing with general attitudes towards tourism. Accordingly, residents who valued heritage, based on Yarwood's (2005) characteristics, did not differ greatly from those who did not value heritage. Their attitudes towards tourism were found to be similar or more positive than those residents who did not value heritage. Thus, one can conclude that resident opinions about tourism, in this case, are not affected by length of residence or attitudes towards heritage.

Similarity in residents' opinions about tourism may be a function of the scale of development that has taken place in Ferryland. The model does not take into account the issue of scale. Ferryland has all the characteristics of a heritage-scape: a mix of locally hand-crafted products, local dining opportunities and experiences that capitalize on the environment and culture of a community (Mitchell & Halpern, in press). However, as previously discussed, there are only one or two establishments that meet each criterion. Therefore, the lack of developments, may account for the largely positive attitude towards tourism that continues to prevail.

Several studies of creative destruction have recognized the role played by certain individuals in promoting tourism (Mitchell, 1998). It is suggested here that these individuals or “community champions” may be a crucial ingredient in the transformation process. This concept has not yet been integrated into literature on creative destruction.

The concept of a ‘champion’ is commonly associated with business and innovative development. Coakes & Smith (2007) looked at communities within business organizations and the role that champions played in the development and innovation of, and follow-through, of ideas. It is much harder to actually get a project funded and developed than it is to think of the idea. In fact, only one percent of project ideas is actually funded and commercially launched (Howell, 2005). Rural communities that turn to tourism based on their culture, history and heritage have the opportunity for a plethora of business investments; however, there is not always the human and monetary capital available to follow through on these ideas. In recent years, the term champion has crossed over into tourism, but as a success factor in community tourism (Mitchell, 2003, Link BC, 2009).

A tourism champion is someone who sees the potential for tourism in a community along with the motivation, passion and knowledge to see it through (Link BC, 2009). The champion is not considered an expert in every area, but merely a catalyst for ideas and motivation. It is someone who can get other groups and stakeholders excited and involved in their community’s tourism potential, and have the social network to get the word out (Link BC, 2009).

Communities in Ontario such, as Creemore and St. Jacob's, have seen tourism champions. Creemore, Ontario saw a champion in Mr. John Wiggins who spearheaded the opening of the Creemore Springs Brewery, which then started a chain of investments that regenerated a flailing economy. Mr. Wiggins and community organizations worked together for the community's best interests and, as a result, prospered (Vanderwerf, 2008). St. Jacob's saw a champion, in a private investor. This investor was deemed a "saviour" by locals when the first investments began and tourism took off in St. Jacob's (Mitchell, 1998). These communities are further along in the model than Ferryland, perhaps, in part, due to the drive of their champions.

The public sector in Ferryland has invested in the Colony of Avalon. However, it cannot maintain Ferryland's tourism industry single-handedly. The supporting facilities that are in existence are thriving; however, the community lacks the accommodation and other basic tourism support infrastructure required to keep tourists for a longer period of time. A tourism champion could be what Ferryland, and even Newfoundland and Labrador, is lacking to push its tourism industry to the next level. On the other hand, a tourism champion can thrust a community too far into tourism, to the point where tourism is rejected by the community that once accepted it with open arms.

According to Mitchell (2009) the community of St. Jacob's is currently in the last stage of the model, post-destruction. St. Jacob's had a strong champion in a local investor at the early stages of development. However, several groups of local residents disagreed with the development plans (Mitchell, 1998). As suggested by Mitchell (1998) the strongest voice prevailed, and development has continued. A tourism champion should be

aware of all stakeholders involved in community tourism, especially residents, to avoid the development of a community based on one person's goals and beliefs. Like many others (Okazaki, 2008; Mitchell 1998, 2009), Mitchell (2003) states that residents must provide input in all stages of tourism development if a successful, yet sustainable, tourism product is to be created.

Gaining local support is essential, but what should be considered in conjunction with this support are those who can fund and back a project. Mitchell (2003, p.3) discusses the other key players in the process.

Political leaders, entrepreneurs, and other power holders within and outside the community are perhaps the pivotal link in the integration process. These may be able to assist in the dissemination of opportunities and drawbacks to implementing a sustainable tourism program.

The level of influence on development that a tourism champion has in rural communities has yet to be studied; however, it seems to be a factor that has great influence over development and one that should be recognized in work on creative destruction.

5.4 Overall Applicability of the Model of Creative Destruction

This comparison validates the Model of Creative Destruction as a method of evaluating tourism impacts on rural communities. The findings from this research show that visitors travel to Ferryland for the amenity environment and local heritage and history, as outlined in the model. The literature demonstrates that during the stage of advanced commodification, heritage-seekers are the primary type of visitor, there are

growing investments, public policy and planning begins or increases and residents have an increasing awareness of negative impacts (Mitchell & de Waal, 2009). Ferryland fits these requirements, on a smaller scale. The difference in scale, and the role of the pleasure motivation, are new considerations for the model, and should be taken into account in future research. While there are some differences between what is outlined in the model and Ferryland, this community has followed the model in its development into advanced commodification, but it is unclear if it will continue to progress. A factor that could be considered in Ferryland's future development is the need for a tourism champion.

5.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter assessed the findings of this study in light of literature on rural tourism and creative destruction. The similarities and differences between this case study and the literature were examined. It was generally concluded that the model is applicable to this particular case, but the question of scale, the pleasure motivation and the role of tourism champions, should be acknowledged.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

This chapter will first review the thesis' goal and objectives, then the findings and lastly the conclusions. Next, the recommendations provided to Ferryland by the researcher will be summarized. Finally, potential future research to be considered by the academic community will be proposed.

6.2 Review of Thesis

This thesis was charged with the goal of determining if the process of creative destruction is underway in communities in Newfoundland and Labrador and to explain its current state of tourism development. This goal was met through three objectives. The objectives were met by evaluating the findings that were divided into three main sections.

The first objective was to determine Ferryland's stage in the Model of Creative Destruction. Business investments, visitor data and resident attitudes were examined to meet this objective. Ferryland showed an increase in business investments, specifically tourism businesses. In 1974, there was only one tourism attraction in Ferryland, the museum. In 2009, there were seven. Tourist numbers are increasing; surveys showed that visitors are primarily going to Ferryland for the environment and culture. Thus, heritage-seekers make up Ferryland's tourist base. Finally, resident attitudes remain largely positive towards tourism. As a result, it has been concluded that the community of Ferryland is in the stage of advanced commodification in Mitchell's (2009) Model of Creative Destruction, although the scale of development is smaller than reported in other communities undergoing commodification.

The second objective was to discover why Ferryland has a lower level of development than other tourism communities across Canada. This was accomplished by comparing this case study and its stage to findings in the literature. It was concluded that development has been slow for three reasons. Firstly, Ferryland's small size, and thus the lack of human capital, has created a shortage of workers. Furthermore, tourism in Ferryland is seasonal and does not offer the pay or hours to attract what youth Ferryland does have to stay year round. Secondly, the motivations behind local entrepreneurs are not driven by the typical motivations outlined by Mitchell (2009): profit, promotion, preservation. Pleasure is found as the motivator for starting tourism businesses; locals are seeking to interact with tourists while enjoying and sharing what their community has to offer. Finally, the community lacks a tourism champion. These individuals are present in other case studies of creative destruction and may be an important catalyst for development (Link BC, 2009).

Recommendations then were provided to help tourism progress along the model in a sustainable manner that will hopefully keep the level of conflicts low. Currently, there is a long term plan for the Colony of Avalon to operate as a tourism attraction that does include the community's tourism industry. However, the creation of a tourism plan that focuses on Ferryland as a destination is crucial to its success. Residents, local tourism operators, and the public sector should be involved in the creation of this plan. The greater the involvement from stakeholders at every level, the greater the chance of success in the long run; along with the possibility of finding a tourism champion in Ferryland. The long term plan should be created by, or in partnership with, the Ferryland tourism committee. Using the already

established committee will create a more unified plan for the entire community. Finally, greater efforts should be made to include residents in Ferryland's future tourism plans.

6.3 Implications

Currently, there is a limited body of literature pertaining to Newfoundland and Labrador's tourism industry. The Model of Creative Destruction has not yet been applied to a community in eastern Canada. This study begins to close this gap in the literature. Applying Mitchell's Model of Creative Destruction (2009) has added to the literature on identifying impacts, if any, of tourism on rural communities. The application of the model in eastern Canada further validates the model by applying it in a new setting and location. This case study also brought about the justification for additional motivators to be considered in the evolution of creative destruction. The pleasure motivator was present in Ferryland; therefore the possibility of this motivator and others influencing the type and rate of development should be considered. In addition to motivators, the scale differences have yet to be addressed in creative destruction studies; a factor that could have influence how communities are evaluated in the Model of Creative Destruction. Finally, the role of the tourism champion should be recognized more explicitly in the model.

6.4 Future Research

This thesis contributed to the literature on both Creative Destruction and Newfoundland and Labrador's tourism industry. Academic interest in Newfoundland and Labrador is still limited but with the expansive tourism industry, the province should be an area to study in the future. Additional studies that track the evolution of tourism should be conducted.

Future research should also be conducted in Ferryland. A longitudinal study could be undertaken to determine if the community follows the path of creative destruction, as predicted by the model. Following tourism and its impacts over time is the only way to truly test the validity of the Model of Creative Destruction in Newfoundland and Labrador.

The motivations that drive creative destruction should be explored in greater detail. The three motivational drivers currently associated with the Model of Creative Destruction are profit, promotion and preservation. This research found that there is a possibility that different motivators, such as pleasure, are driving tourism development in rural communities. Previously completed studies involving Creative Destruction could be revisited to further investigate the motivations behind local entrepreneurs.

The composition of a heritage-scape can be influenced by the size of a community, as reflected in this study. This scale difference has yet to be addressed in creative destruction studies to date. Ferryland is the smallest community to date where the model has been applied, and differences were noted in the impact that the creation of a heritage-scape has had on residents. The size of a community should be reflected in future studies of creative destruction, as it may play an integral role in the development and cohesion of residents of a heritage-based community.

Finally, future research that studies the development of tourism in rural communities should consider the role of a tourism champion. Communities where a tourism champion was part of development could be compared with communities without a champion to determine their role in development. Rural communities faced with identities shifting from primary industries to tourism should not be forced to choose between the loss of the rural idyll or a

lagging tourism industry that cannot sustain their economy. Further research on tourism champions and rural tourism development as a whole may benefit rural realities in years to come.

Reflecting back on the purpose of this study, it is evident that the Model of Creative Destruction is applicable to communities in eastern Canada. The differences that were found leave room for future research to further increase the validity of the model and the body of literature on Newfoundland and Labrador's tourism industry. Newfoundland and Labrador has proven to be a unique province with a blossoming tourism industry based on its environment, history and people; however, steps must be taken to ensure a sustainable tourism industry that will preserve the uniqueness in years to come.

Appendix A: Residents' Survey & Information letter

Faculty of Environment
Tourism Policy and Planning
University of Waterloo

To Whom It May Concern:

This letter is an invitation to participate in a study. As a full time Master's student in the Faculty of Environment at the University of Waterloo, I am currently conducting research under the supervision of Professor Clare Mitchell on the evolution of heritage communities in Newfoundland and Labrador.

Tourism has long been a form of revenue for many rural communities. However, it is important to acknowledge the impacts that tourism may have on these communities. The intent of this study is to determine the impact tourism is having on communities in Atlantic Canada and to identify the role played by the public sector in influencing development. To achieve this goal, a case study of Ferryland, Newfoundland and Labrador is being undertaken.

I would like to invite you to participate in a survey because your attitudes will help me assess the impacts that tourism is having in the community. The survey includes questions about your residency in Ferryland, as well as your attitudes towards tourism.

The questionnaire will take approximately 45 minutes. Participation in the survey is entirely voluntary and anonymous. There are no known or anticipated risks to participation in this study and is anonymous. All information you provide will be considered confidential unless otherwise agreed to, and the data collected will be kept in a secure location at the University of Waterloo for five years and then confidentially destroyed.

To return the survey, simply use the postage paid, addressed envelope attached to your questionnaire. The recommended return date for surveys is August 31st, 2009. If you have any questions regarding this study, or would like additional information about participation, please contact me at (519-505-5811) or by email (c3sulliv@uwaterloo.ca). You can also contact my supervisor Professor Clare Mitchell by telephone at 1-519-888-4567 ext. 33285 or by email at cjamitch@uwaterloo.ca

I assure you that this study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo. However, the final decision to

participate is yours. If you have any comments or concerns resulting from your participation in this study, please contact Dr. Susan Sykes of this office at 1-519-888-4567 ext. 36005 or ssykes@uwaterloo.ca.

Thank you in advance for your interest and assistance with this research.

Yours truly,

Claire Sullivan
University of Waterloo
Tourism Policy and Planning

Resident Survey

1. How many years have you lived In Ferryland?

- Live only part of the year in Ferryland
- Less than 2 years
- 2-5 years
- 6-10 years
- 11-15 years
- 16 – 24 years
- More than 25 years
- All my life

2. Did you grow up in Ferryland leave for a period of time, and then return?

- Yes
- No

If yes, please indicate how many years you left for: _____

3. Please indicate how important the following characteristics are in your decision to live in Ferryland

Characteristics	1 Very Low	2 Low	3 Neutral	4 High	5 Very High
Traditional, small town values					
Few problems (e.g. crime, congestion)					
Closely Knit/Friendly					
Pleasant Environment					
Good place for recreation					
Good place to raise a family					

Shopping Behaviour

4. Please indicate what percentage of your weekly shopping is conducted in Ferryland?

5. What types of products/services do you purchase in Ferryland?

Question	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. I would like to see more retail stores in Ferryland that provide everyday goods and services	-2	-1	0	1	2
2. I would like to see more chain stores in Ferryland (for example, Zellers or Canadian Tire)	-2	-1	0	1	2

Attitudes Towards Tourism

Question	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. I enjoy talking to tourists.	-2	-1	0	1	2
2. I am economically involved in the tourism industry in Ferryland.	-2	-1	0	1	2
3. I would like to be involved (or more	-2	-1	0	1	2

involved) in the tourism industry in Ferryland					
4. I enjoy the atmosphere of Ferryland more in summer.	-2	-1	0	1	2
5. Tourism has led to more job opportunities on the Island.	-2	-1	0	1	2
6. The towns infrastructure has improved because of tourism development.	-2	-1	0	1	2
7. I would like to see more tourism in Ferryland	-2	-1	0	1	2
8. Tourism has made my daily life more difficult.	-2	-1	0	1	2
9. Tourists interfere with my enjoyment of this community	-2	-1	0	1	2
10. Tourism exploits the unique lifestyle of Ferryland	-2	-1	0	1	2
11. The positive impacts of tourism outweigh the negative impacts of tourism.	-2	-1	0	1	2
12. I would move away from Ferryland if tourism numbers increased dramatically.	-2	-1	0	1	2
13. During the summer it is hard to find a parking spot in Ferryland.	-2	-1	0	1	2
14. I notice an increase in traffic congestion during the summer months.	-2	-1	0	1	2
15. During the summer months I have frequent contact with tourists.	-2	-1	0	1	2
16. The contact with tourists is mostly positive.	-2	-1	0	1	2

Involvement in Planning

Question	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. I attend public town meetings regarding tourism.	-2	-1	0	1	2
2. Community leaders hear my opinions regarding tourism.	-2	-1	0	1	2
3. Tourism development in Ferryland reflects the type of development I envision.	-2	-1	0	1	2
4. Tourism development in Ferryland reflects the opinions of the community.	-2	-1	0	1	2
5. Tourism has been properly planned.	-2	-1	0	1	2
6. Residents have been adequately consulted in the tourism planning process	-2	-1	0	1	2
7. Planners work hard at protecting important community values.	-2	-1	0	1	2
8. Ferryland needs a long-term vision plan for tourism development.	-2	-1	0	1	2

Socio-Demographic Information

6. What is your sex?

- Male
- Female

7. What is your age?

- 18-25
- 26-45
- 46-65
- 66-85
- 86 and above

8. What is your occupation?

Me (please check the appropriate box to indicate your employment status).

Employed in Ferryland. Please indicate what occupation

Employed outside of Ferryland. Please indicate what occupation and what city

- Unemployed
- Unemployed – seeking employment
- Retired
- Student

My Partner (if applicable)

Employed in Ferryland. Please indicate what occupation

Employed outside of Ferryland. Please indicate what occupation and what city

- Unemployed
- Unemployed – seeking employment
- Retired
- Student

9. What is your educational status?

- Some elementary education
- Some high school
- High school diploma
- Some college or university education
- A bachelor degree or equivalent
- A master's degree
- A doctoral degree or equivalent

Appendix B: Visitor Survey and Information Letter

Faculty of Environment
Tourism Policy and Planning
University of Waterloo

To Whom It May Concern:

This letter is an invitation to participate in a study. As a full time Masters student in the Faculty of Environment at the University of Waterloo, I am currently conducting research under the supervision of Professor Clare Mitchell on the evolution of heritage communities in Newfoundland and Labrador.

Tourism has long been a form of revenue for many rural communities. However, it is important to acknowledge the impacts that tourism may have on these communities. The intent of this study is to determine the impact tourism is having on communities in Atlantic Canada and to identify the role played by the public sector in influencing development. To achieve this goal, a case study of Ferryland, Newfoundland and Labrador is being undertaken.

I would like to invite you to participate in a survey because your attitudes will help me assess the impacts that tourism is having in the community. The survey includes questions about your perceptions of Ferryland, as well as your reasons for visiting.

The questionnaire will take approximately 10 minutes. Participation in the survey is entirely voluntary and anonymous. There are no known or anticipated risks to participation in this study. You may decline to answer any of the questions you do not wish to answer. Further, you may decide to withdraw from this study at any time, without any negative consequences, simply by letting me know your decision. All information you provide will be considered confidential unless otherwise agreed to, and the data collected will be kept in a secure location at the University of Waterloo for five years and then confidentially destroyed.

If you have any questions regarding this study, or would like additional information about participation, please contact me at (519-505-5811) or by email (c3sulliv@uwaterloo.ca). You can also contact my supervisor Professor Clare Mitchell by telephone at 1-519-888-4567 ext. 33285 or by email at cjamitch@uwaterloo.ca

I assure you that this study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo. However, the final decision to participate is yours. If you have any comments or concerns resulting from you participation

in this study, please contact Dr. Susan Sykes of this office at 1-519-888-4567 ext. 36005 or ssykes@uwaterloo.ca.

Thank you in advance for your interest and assistance with this research.

Yours truly,

Claire Sullivan
University of Waterloo
Tourism Policy and Planning

Visitor Survey

1. Is this your first visit to Ferryland?

- Yes
- No

2. If you have been here before, have you noticed any changes in Ferryland?

- Yes
- No

If yes, please describe.

3. Why did you come to Ferryland today? Please list the three most important reasons for visiting this community.

i) _____

ii) _____

iii) _____

4. How did you hear about Ferryland?

6. What types of activities did you, or do you plan to, participate in while visiting Ferryland? (Please check the appropriate box).

- Visit Family/Friends
- Visit the Colony of Avalon
- Go on a Lighthouse Picnic
- Enjoy the natural environment
- Shop in local stores
- Dine in local restaurants
- Other. Please state _____.

7. Did you interact with any locals while on your visit, not including tourism operators and shop keepers?

- Yes
- No

8. Was your experience with local residents...

- Positive
- Negative

Please explain your answer.

Which of the following do you enjoy experiencing or viewing while on vacation?

- Attractive, Heritage Buildings
- Scenic Environment
- Excellent Cuisine
- Unique, Handcrafted Products
- Friendly People
- Unique Accommodation
- Attractive Streetscapes
- Relaxed Atmosphere
- Artists
- Enjoyable Recreational Activities
- Shopping Centres
- Multi-Cultural Restaurants
- Fast Food Restaurants
- Movie Theatres
- Sporting Facilities (Swimming Pool, Basketball Courts, etc.)

9. How would you rate Ferryland according to the following characteristics (1 being very low, 5 being very high)?

Characteristics	1 Very low	2 Low	3 Neutral	4 High	5 Very high
Attractive, Heritage Buildings					
Scenic Environment					
Excellent Cuisine					
Unique, Handcrafted Products					
Friendly People					
Unique Accommodation					
Attractive Streetscapes					
Relaxed Atmosphere					
Artistic					
Enjoyable recreational Activities					

10. How long was your visit to Ferryland?

- Less than 4 hours
- 1 day
- Longer than 1 day

11. Is Ferryland your destination?

- Yes
- No

12. If you are staying longer than 1 day, what type of accommodation(s) did you use?

In Ferryland

- Friends or Family
- Bed & Breakfast
- Inn
- Motel
- Campground
- Other _____

Near by Ferryland

- Friends or Family
- Bed & Breakfast
- Inn
- Motel
- Campground
- Other _____

13. Was your experience in Ferryland Enjoyable?

- Very enjoyable
- Somewhat enjoyable
- Not very enjoyable
- Not enjoyable

Please explain why your experience was or was not enjoyable

14. Which of the following would you like to see constructed in Ferryland

- Box stores (ex. Wal-Mart, Zellers, etc)
- Fast food restaurants (ex. McDonalds, Wendy's, etc)
- Movie Theatres
- Shopping Centres
- Multi-Cultural Restaurants
- Fast Food Restaurants
- Sporting Facilities (Swimming Pool, Mini golf, etc.)
- None of the Above

15. Do you have any relatives in Ferryland?

- Yes
- No

16. Where are you from? (please list the city and country of residence).

17. If you are not currently a resident of Newfoundland/Labrador, have you ever lived in this province?

- Yes
- No

If Yes, where and for how long? _____

Any additional comments are welcomed. Thank you for participating!

Appendix C: List of interviewees and Questions

Interviewees:

1. Executive Director of the Colony of Avalon, Member of Ferryland Tourism Committee
2. Mayor of Ferryland
3. Tour coordinator for the Colony of Avalon
4. Chair of the Colony of Avalon Foundation
5. Museum Coordinator, President of Historical Society, part of the Holy Trinity Restoration Foundation and the member of the Ferryland Tourism Committee.
6. Owner and operator of The Ark of Avalon Bed & Breakfast
7. Owner and operator of Ferryland Café & Gifts
8. Archaeologist, past member Association of Heritage Industries & member of the Board of Directors of the Colony of Avalon

Interview Questions

Tourism Operators

- Can you briefly describe your business?
- How long have you been in business?
- What do you consider your busiest time of year to be?
- Do you operate year round? If no, would you like to?
- Would you like to expand your business?
- Do locals use your business?
- On average, how many tourists do you see come through your business?
- Do you receive any funding or assistance from any outside sources (government, etc)?
- Are you involved in any community or planning groups?
- How involved are you in Ferryland's tourism industry overall?
- What type of development do you want to see in Ferryland in the next 5 years?
- Can you recommend any other entrepreneurs that may be interested in being interviewed?

Government (Provincial and Southern Shore)

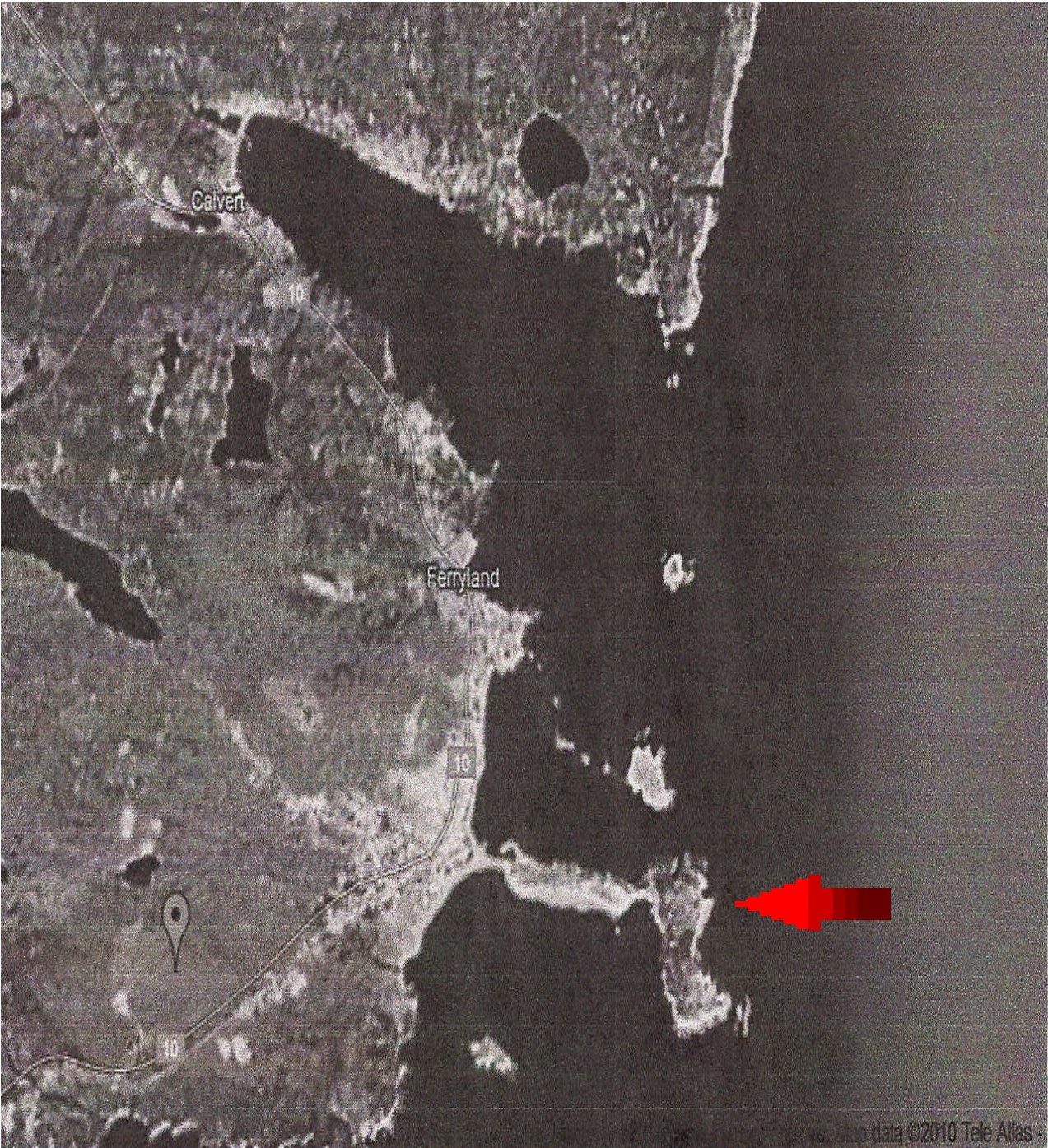
- What sort of funding programs are available to rural communities?
- Does Ferryland receive monetary assistance for tourism?

- Are members of the community included in the planning process for Ferryland's tourism industry?
- In your opinion, who has the most control over Ferryland's tourism industry?
- What type of development do you want to see in Ferryland in the next 5 years?

Government (Local)

- Who provides the main funding for tourism in Ferryland?
- How supportive of local's values and goals are high levels of government?
- In your opinion, who has the most control over Ferryland's tourism?
- Is there a forum for residents to speak about their concerns surrounding tourism planning/development?
- What type of development do you want to see in Ferryland in the next 5 years?
- Is the community aware of the many issues of tourism development

Appendix D Map of Ferryland



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