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Authors: Leanna Butters, Obafemi McArthur Okusipe, Seth Bomangsaan Eledi, Kelly Vodden

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Engaging the Past to Create a New Future: A Comparative Study of Heritage-driven Community Development Initiatives in the Great Northern Peninsula

Leanna Butters
Environmental Policy Institute
Grenfell Campus, Memorial University
ljb303@grenfell.mun.ca

Obafemi McArthur Okusipe
Environmental Policy Institute
Grenfell Campus, Memorial University
omo847@grenfell.mun.ca

Seth Bomangsaan Eledi
Environmental Policy Institute
Grenfell Campus, Memorial University
sbe765@grenfell.mun.ca

Kelly Vodden
Environmental Policy Institute
Grenfell Campus, Memorial University
kvodden@grenfell.mun.ca

Abstract

In many rural regions, a strong sense of local heritage and place-based identities are increasingly recognized development assets. In this paper, we assess heritage-driven community development initiatives as catalysts for rural community development in the Northern Peninsula region of Newfoundland and Labrador. The authors examine three rural community projects using an outcome-based evaluation approach and primary and secondary data sources to assess the contribution of these initiatives to community sustainability and resilience. The projects examined include initiatives based on French historical and cultural heritage, natural heritage, and influential historic characters. The assessment employs a multiple-capitals framework to consider contributions made in enhancing or mobilizing four categories of community capital: natural, human, social, and economic. Related challenges and opportunities are also considered. The research reveals that these community development initiatives have enhanced and mobilized all forms of community capital but significant gaps remain between realized and desired outcomes, creating a challenge for future growth and resilience. Future directions for community development practice and regional development policy are presented, including the need for community-based initiatives to enhance their engagement with visitors, residents and regional networks, for capacity development and for continued policy and program support for the region's heritage and place-based social economy.

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1.0 Introduction

In many rural regions, a strong sense of local heritage and place-based identities are increasingly recognized development assets. In Newfoundland and Labrador (NL), for instance, heritage-driven community development initiatives in some areas have acted as catalysts for rural community development. This is particularly true of the Great Northern Peninsula region of the province where the histories and identities of several communities have helped inform local tourism-related initiatives. In this paper, the authors assess three of these initiatives: The French Shore Historical Society in Conche, The Torrent River Salmon Enhancement Project in Hawke's Bay, and Grenfell Historic Properties in St. Anthony. Using an outcome-based evaluation approach (Harger-Forde, 2012) and a combination of primary and secondary data sources, this paper seeks to assess the contribution of these initiatives to the sustainability and resilience of their local communities. The assessment employs a multiple-capitals framework to consider contributions made in enhancing or mobilizing natural, human, social, and economic capitals (Beckley et al., 2008; Harger-Forde, 2012). Related challenges and opportunities are also considered. Our findings suggest that these three community development initiatives have been able to enhance and mobilize all forms of community capital; however, significant gaps remain between their realized and desired outcomes. This may be a challenge for future growth and resilience of both the initiatives and the communities they call home. We find that increased engagement with visitors, residents and regional networks, as well as continued capacity development and policy and program support, may be necessary to ensure the future growth of these initiatives as well as the region's heritage and place-based social economy.

2.0 Perspectives from the Literature

2.1 Rural Community Development, Resilience, and Sustainability

Conceptions of rural sustainability and resilience are complex and varied. Successful response to disturbances may enhance community's robustness to future, larger disturbances (Janssen & Anderies, 2007). This is a feature of community resilience, which can be defined as the ability of a community to "adapt to change in ways that are pro-active, that build local capacity, and that ensure that essential needs are met" (Community Social Planning Council of Greater Victoria, 2013, p. 3). The suite of factors that characterize community resilience also influence community sustainability, a related concept. The definition of sustainability is shrouded by scholarly debate; however, it can be understood as the ability of human society to persist within the limits of the global ecosystem (Sabau, 2010). In the context of community sustainability, literature suggests that a matrix of characteristics including stable population, (Elsof, van Wissen, & Mulder, 2014), cultural identity (Ballesteros & Ramirez, 2007), and economic opportunities (Lynch, 2007) may indicate community sustainability. Scholarly contributions highlight a menagerie of factors which can aid or detract from a community's ability to sustain themselves and be resilient in times of socio-economic trial, such as level of social capital, social norms, and level of participation in social networks (Community Social Planning

Council of Greater Victoria, 2013) as well as stakeholder engagement in decision-making processes (Smith, 1998; Fraser, Dougill, Mabee, Reed, & Mcalpine, 2006). Sustainable development, or the reconciling of society's development goals while conscious of environmental limits in the long-term, is presented as one avenue for communities to become more sustainable and resilient (Sabau, 2010).

The topic of sustainability and resilience is a particularly relevant one in rural NL, and especially in the Northern Peninsula Region. The 1992 cod moratorium saw the collapse of the already dwindling economic base of many communities in NL (Overton, 2007). Demographic change in the province has also posed challenges for the sustainability of many rural regions. An aging demographic coupled with declining populations overall has led to regional population shifts throughout NL, including rural-to-urban migration of residents to access services and employment (Newfoundland and Labrador, 2006). Population loss has also been impacted over the last decade by strong out-migration of working age residents for employment, such as to Alberta (Newfoundland and Labrador, 2006). The Northern Peninsula region, being geographically distant from all the province's urban centers, has been significantly impacted by these socio-economic pressures. As such, there is a sense within this region that communities must be proactive in pursuing options to sustain themselves.

2.2 The Role of Heritage in Community Development and Sustainability

The 1990s were marked by a crisis in the fishing industry in NL. Multiple factors, particularly decades of overfishing by foreign trawlers led to the depletion of Northern Cod stocks (Overton, 2007; Kendall, 2005) and a moratorium on the province's cod fishery that shattered the economic base of many rural and fisheries-dependent communities (Overton, 2007). Responding to this crisis, two strategies were pursued for economic diversification in NL: extractive resource-based development and tourism development (Stoddart 2015. Extractive resource development saw increased oil and gas-related ventures in the province, which were credited with building a 'new economy' and transforming NL to a 'have' from a 'have-not' province (Springuel, 2011). Whether this kind of economic development is sustainable in the long-term has come into question, along with concerns about the concentration of benefits in urban centres (Barber, 2016; Vodden, Gibson, & Porter, 2014). A shift in federal and provincial policies seeking to promote a community approach to development also supported the rise of local tourism initiatives in rural and outport NL (Springuel, 2011; Stoddart, 2015). This allowed rural communities, once dependent on the fisheries for their livelihoods, to turn to smaller-scale tourism development as a means of survival—economic survival, but also to maintain their local cultures and identities (Overton, 2007). Heritage tourism was seen as one avenue for the preservation of cultures and identities that had been forged by the cod fisheries and might be lost as a result of its decline (Springuel, 2011). As such, initiatives driven largely by communities themselves began to appear. Local cultural and natural heritage became the focus of many initiatives as this was seen as a way to build on and commemorate practices that had once been the strength of these communities (Springuel, 2011). Illustrating the success of these efforts, in 2015, NL saw 503,000 non-resident visitors to the province, an increase from 263,000 in 1991—pre-cod moratorium. These visitors spent $492.8 million, up from an estimated $117.5 million over the same period (Department of Business, Tourism, Culture and Rural Development, 2015; Newfoundland and Labrador, 1992). In 2015, approximately 24,000 visitors made their way to L'Anse Aux

Meadows National Historic Site at the top of the Northern Peninsula, a 15% increase from 2014 (Department of Business, Tourism, Culture and Rural Development, 2015). In this way, the growth of community-based heritage tourism has been embraced in rural NL as a potential avenue for the sustaining of small, primarily outport, communities and identities.

2.3 Community Assets and Capacities and the Multi-Capital Lens

Evaluation of community capacity has been suggested as a method for estimating the sustainability and resilience of communities, particularly in rural settings. Beckley et al. (2008) define community capacity as "the collective ability of a group to combine various forms of capital within institutional and relational contexts to produce desired results or outcomes" (p. 60). In other words, community capacity is the ability of a community or community group to pool together and mobilize a variety of assets or resources to meet its needs. The community capacity framework proposed by Beckley et al. (2008) organizes assets into several categories for analysis, also referred to as community capitals. These include natural, human, social, and economic capitals. Natural capital is defined as natural amenities, such as clean water and land, which contribute to positive capacity outcomes. Human capital refers to the education, experience, knowledge, and skills of individuals. Social capital can be understood as community-level traditions and networks that allow for "collective action" (Beckley et al., 2008, p. 63). Finally, economic capital, which includes physical—infrastructure—and financial capital, includes resources and economic assets which allow a community or initiative to function (Beckley et al. 2008).

It is argued that how effective a given community or community group is in pooling and mobilizing assets within each of these categories may indicate the potential resilience of said community or community group when responding to or recovering from times of crisis. Further, by being aware of and building on these assets, communities participate in an asset versus need-based approach to development which is considered particularly appropriate for marginalized groups and locales and in creating sustainable livelihoods (Burns, Pudrzynska Paul, & Paz, 2012; Chambers & Conway, 1992). Better understanding local assets can result in more effective and efficient use of often scarce local resources, establish goodwill and common ground within communities, facilitate strategic planning and partnerships, engage residents and motivate action (Parrill et al., 2014; Wong, 2009; Fuller, Guy & Pletsch, n.d., Kempner & Levine, 2006). The role of local assets in heritage-based development is therefore considered in this article, as well as the contributions such development makes to enhancing and mobilizing these assets/community capitals.

2.4 Gaps in the Literature

Many of the community heritage-tourism initiatives and organizations that emerged following the cod moratorium continue to be active in NL, with the goal of contributing to local economic and cultural sustainability; however, while the continuance of these programs amidst persistent out-migration and rural decline (Lynch, 2007) may be viewed as a success in some ways, the contribution of these initiatives to sustaining their local communities has not been the focus of many studies. Overton (2007) offers an assessment of state policy and community-driven tourism initiatives following the cod moratorium. He finds that whether these initiatives can actually sustain rural communities in the province is uncertain.

Springuel (2011) also offered Newfoundland as a case in her ethnographic study of community-based heritage tourism in regions of natural resource decline. Like Overton, Springuel suggests that, while heritage tourism may play an important role in coastal areas, it cannot replace the natural resources to which it pays homage. This paper seeks to build on the above literature through analysis of three specific initiatives in the Northern Peninsula region of the province: Grenfell Historic Properties in St. Anthony, the Torrent River Salmon Enhancement Project in Hawke's Bay, and the French Shore Historical Society in Conche.

In addition to addressing a gap in the literature, this study responds to the desire of member organizations of the Northern Peninsula Heritage Network to better understand and document their contributions to the region. This aspiration was articulated in meetings held during 2014–2015 between the Network and Memorial University researchers. This research was subsequently undertaken as part of a graduate course in Environmental Policy (Planning and Policy for Sustainable Communities and Regions) in fall 2015. Findings and related recommendations were returned to the participating members of the Network.

3.0 Methodology

The purpose of this study is to assess the contributions of heritage-related community initiatives to resilience and sustainability in their localities. Given the involvement of the Northern Peninsula Heritage Network in initiating the study and the participation of member organizations, the study represents a modest form of participatory action research. The study adopted a multiple, comparative case study approach, allowing for in depth analysis of chosen subjects (Cresswell, 2014; Crowe, Cresswell et al., 2011). Three initiatives were chosen in the Northern Peninsula region of NL because of their membership in the Heritage Network, their close geographical proximity, and their shared goals of sustaining local cultural and natural heritage.

The approach is qualitative in nature and based on observations of the authors as well as information provided by members of the case organizations and community members. Secondary sources were consulted, including an academic literature review to provide a theoretical basis for subsequent primary data collection. Reports and websites from government and community organizations related to heritage-related community development in the case study regions and in NL were also reviewed to offer descriptive background and context to the study. Primary data was subsequently collected to provide details on the history, administrative structures, and projects encompassed by each case organization. Primary data was collected via direct observation, with authors visiting the case study organizations in October 2015. A total of ten face-to-face, semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders and community members were completed at this time. When questions arose after the authors' visit, follow-up questions were posed to and answered by participants via telephone or email.

Analysis of data collected for this study involved both a multiple-capitals and summative, or outcomes-based, approach. Summative evaluation follows the narrative of programs and organizations from their conception to the time of study (Harger-Forde, 2012). This allows for the comparison and assessment of initial goals and outputs—actual or perceived—of each organization. As each case organization has aspired to sustain aspects of their local or natural heritage, a summative evaluation allowed for assessment of the efficacy of each organization in meeting

these goals. An analysis of organizations following a multiple-capitals framework was also used to consider how each organization has performed in the following categories: natural, human, social, and economic capitals (Beckley et al., 2008). The organizations were then compared across categories to identify gaps and potential next steps.

Limitations of this study are based primarily on data and time constraints. In terms of data constraints, a more extensive collection of interviews with greater demographic diversity would have allowed for a more comprehensive evaluation of community and resident perspectives of each initiative. In terms of time constraints, a more expansive timeframe for the project would have allowed for additional site visits, a greater volume of interviews, and more comprehensive exploration of each organization and their respective communities. Site visits were also made only during the tourism off-peak (October 2015); an additional visit during the tourism season may have allowed for a more holistic understanding of each organization and community and their roles in the tourism landscape of the larger region.

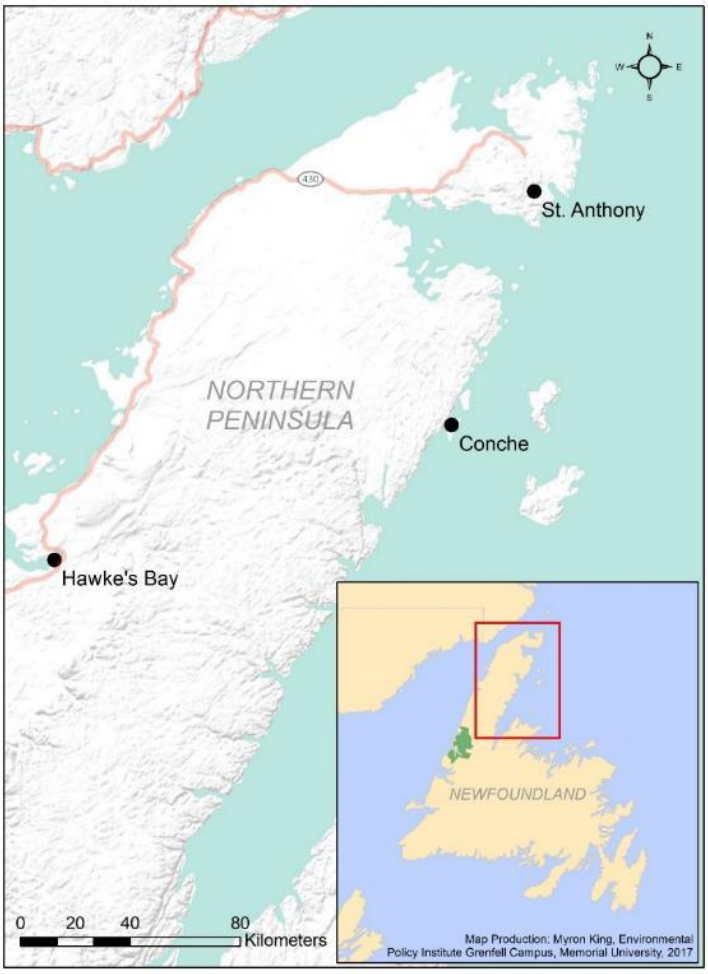
Finally, a challenge associated with outcome-based evaluation is the attribution of effects to particular activities. This is especially difficult in complex systems with multiple factors contributing to a given outcome or situation, as in the case of rural communities and regions of NL. In such circumstances, it is important to take into account immediate and intermediate outcomes that can be expected to contribute to ultimate desired outcomes according to a theory of change (Mayne, 2008). This article therefore draws from Beckley et al.'s (2008) community capacity model, which suggests that multiple forms of capital, paired with capacity catalysts and social relations are likely to lead to final capacity outcomes. Contributions to these multiple-capitals and relationships are considered.

4.0 Introduction to Case Studies

The communities of Conche, Hawke's Bay and St. Anthony are found within the St. Anthony-Port au Choix Rural Secretariat Region, representing the northern portion of the Great Northern Peninsula on the island of Newfoundland (see Figure 1). Since the moratorium, this region has struggled with an aging demographic and increased out-migration associated with lack of regional employment (Newfoundland and Labrador, 2007). For instance, the population of the region declined from 19,600 in 1986 to 12,800 in 2007 and this decline has been linked, in part, to an out-migration of working-age residents (Newfoundland and Labrador, 2007).

The history of each case study community is tied inextricably to the development and change of local resource-based economies and their coastal proximities. In the case of Conche, local culture has been informed by French history, language and culture brought to the region by European fishermen interested in the abundant cod populations. Similarly, salmon sport-fishing has played a significant role in the development of the community of Hawke's Bay, named by European explorer James Cooke. While St. Anthony, whose establishment has also been traced to European interest in cod, was the home-base of a medical doctor that provided services and care to several fishing communities in province. In the face of economic and demographic crises, each of these communities mobilized resources and developed initiatives, building on their local and natural heritage, to help sustain their communities and local identities.

Figure 1. The Great Northern Peninsula (Inset: The Island of Newfoundland with Gros Morne National Park Highlighted).



Map Credit: Myron King.

4.1 French Shore Historical Society, Conche NL

Conche is a settlement of 180 people (2011) located on the east coast of the Northern Peninsula (Statistics Canada, 2011). The stretch of coastline on which it sits, from Conche to Main Brook, is known as the French Shore. The name of this region originated in a seventeenth-century treaty which granted French fleets exclusive permission to fish for cod in the surrounding waters (French Shore Historical Society, n.d.). The community's economy has been influenced primarily by fishing and fish-processing activities (Gibson, 2014). Opportunities for Conche include its closeness to nature and potential investment in fishing and forestry industries. The community is also unique for its historical and archaeological values, fishing and eco-tourism potential, communal sense of belonging and shared and collective approach to change (Tucker, Gibson, Vodden, & Holley, 2011). At the same time, internal and external disturbances (Gibson, 2014) have required decisive measures and responses within the community. Conche has been faced with challenges including loss of working population, low family income, and lack of diversified community economic initiatives. For instance, the community experienced a 20%

decrease in population between 2011 and 2006, when the recorded population was 225 (Statistics Canada, 2011). Despite these challenges, members of the Conche community continue to work to provide programming building on its unique heritage assets through the French Shore Historical Society (FSHS).

FSHS is a volunteer-based, non-profit organization founded in February 2000 and based in Conche (French Shore Historical Society, n.d.). Historically, the FSHS was established by residents of the French Shore communities as an economic driver to address problems caused by the cod moratorium and to foster local capacity building to preserve and promote regional cultural heritage. The mandate of this initiative is "to collect, research, interpret, educate and preserve the material and cultural heritage of its member communities: Conche, Croque, Grandois/St. Julien's and Main Brook" (French Shore Historical Society, n.d.). The primary objectives of the FSHS are to preserve the history of settlements along the French Shore; encourage local skills in rural community development; support local capacity in heritage-related industries; foster diverse economic activities and support micro-enterprises; and to develop a community-driven development model. The FSHS is also committed to the preservation French history, heritage and culture.

To accomplish these aims FSHS has engaged in the production of a tapestry, the running of a local museum, as well as the preservation and display of archaeological artefacts. FSHS's sphere of operation includes facilities in four communities on the French Shore: Conche, Croque, Grandois, and Main Brook. These facilities include the following: in Conche—The French Shore Interpretation Centre, Bread Oven, Casey's Boathouse, Casey House (see Figure 2), Casey's Store, Dos de Cheval Archaeological Site, Heritage Trails, Hunt's Store, Well House)—and in Croque—Croque Visitor Centre. The key actors in the FSHS include the Board of Directors, part-time employees, and the Conche Town Council (respondent I, personal communication, October 23, 2015). Local community members contribute directly and immensely to this initiative. These contributions include day-to-day running of FSHS as well as financing, supervisory and monitoring roles.

4.2 Torrent River Salmon Enhancement Project, Hawke's Bay NL

The community of Hawke's Bay is located on the west coast of the Northern Peninsula and within the Torrent River watershed. It has a population of 340 (Statistics Canada, 2013). The livelihood of Hawke's Bay depended largely on forestry until its collapse in 1965 (Torrent River Nature Park, 2006). Despite the economic contributions of logging to the region, it had a serious ecological impact on another natural asset in the community: Atlantic salmon. Logs running down the Torrent River destroyed important habitats and young salmon in the river during the mid-twentieth century, leading to population declines (Torrent River, n.d.). Attempts by the Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO) to restore salmon populations in the river culminated in local actors mobilizing for the development of a Fishway and Interpretation Centre (Torrent River, n.d.). As a result of this, the Torrent River Salmon Enhancement Project (TRSEP) was founded.

Figure 2. The Casey House.

Photo Credit: Obafemi McArthur Okusipe, October 2015.

Based in Hawke's Bay, the objectives of the TRSEP are to maximize the tourism potential of the Torrent River and the town and, ultimately, to become a major tourism destination within the St. Anthony-Port au Choix Rural Secretariat Region and NL (respondent F, personal communication, October 22, 2015). The initiative showcases the community's rich natural capital assets and tourism potential and demonstrates the strong bond of the relationships that continue to exist between the histories of the town, Atlantic salmon and the Torrent River. Hawke's Bay continues to have a very strong association with Atlantic salmon and the Torrent River, recognizing their presence in the town as a local asset. According to the former mayor of the town of Hawke's Bay, "the biggest salmon that was ever caught in Newfoundland was caught in the Torrent River weighing 68 pounds in the early 1900s" (respondent G, personal communication, October 22, 2015).

The TRSEP is comprised of several elements: The Torrent River Salmon Interpretation Centre and Fishway (see Figure 3), the Torrent River Nature Park and Visitor Information Centre and the John Hogan Trail. The Torrent River Salmon Interpretation Center and Fishway is operated as a non-profit organization by the Town of Hawke's Bay. This Centre provides useful information concerning the TRSEP, the life cycle of Atlantic salmon and the history of the Town of Hawke's Bay (Department of Business, 2015). It is also home to the Torrent River Salmon Ladder. The Interpretation Centre operates with the aim of becoming self-sustaining. It has six employees—four students and two adults—and a center manager who runs the day-to-day operations of the facility (respondent F, personal communication, October 22, 2015). The Torrent River Nature Park and Visitor Information Centre, which has a center that has a manager and four to five employees, offers programming related to the project areas. For instance, they take bookings for tours around the different parts of the project (respondent F, personal communication, October 22, 2015). Finally, the project includes the John Hogan trail, which is a three-kilometer boardwalk along the Torrent River. This trail connects the nature park, Interpretation Centre, and Fishway.

Figure 3. Torrent River Salmon Interpretation Centre.

Photo Credit: Seth Bomangsaan Eledi, October 2015.

There are two key actors involved in the TRSEP: The Town of Hawke's Bay—through Torrent River Development Corporation—and the Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO). The Town of Hawke's Bay, through the Torrent River Development Corporation, are responsible for the management and infrastructural development of the Torrent River Nature Park and Visitor Information Center, the Interpretation Center, and the John Hogan Trail (respondent G, personal communication, October 22, 2015). The Town of Hawke's Bay makes annual financial contributions to the TRSEP. DFO is responsible for managing the Fishway and providing technical as well as staff support for the Fishway (respondent G, personal communication, October 2015). Two DFO-hired students are assigned to the facility every summer when the fishway is opened and they monitor the salmon stock by counting how many go through the ladder, measuring the size of the fish, and the temperature of the water three to four times a day (respondent F, personal communication, October 2015). Anglers also contribute valuable information on salmon biology to the project, including downstream monitoring of Torrent River salmon stock. Thus, the TRSEP relies primarily on support from local staff, volunteers, and DFO in the implementation of their main programs/activities.

4.3 Grenfell Historic Properties, St. Anthony NL

Grenfell Historic Properties (GHP) is located in the town of St. Anthony, an economic and service hub in the Northern Peninsula with a local population of 2,500 (Town of St. Anthony, n.d.). St. Anthony began as a fishing community in the sixteenth-century (Town of St. Anthony, n.d.). The town's economy and purpose was diversified in 1892 with the establishment of a mission by Dr. Wilfred Grenfell who provided medical and social services to communities on NL's remote northern shores (Town of St. Anthony, 2010). In 1991, before the moratorium, the population of St. Anthony was approximately 3,164; however, out-migration from the community peaked in 1996 following the collapse of cod stocks (Newfoundland and Labrador, 2007). An aging demographic, remote geographical location, and out-migration continue to be challenges for the community; however, the Town is also home to several initiatives which have promoted strong political ties to local and

provincial governments while encouraging development of the local economy (Town of St. Anthony, 2010). One of such initiatives is Grenfell Historic Properties (GHP).

An operation of the Grenfell Historical Society, GHP is named after Sir Wilfred Grenfell, an English doctor who played a significant role in the development of a health-based network in northern Newfoundland and Labrador from 1892 until his death in 1940 (Grenfell Historic Properties, n.d.; respondent E, personal communication, October 23, 2015). The mission of GHP is to "preserve, protect, and promote the legacy of Sir Wilfred Grenfell" and, in doing so, preserve, protect and promote the community of St. Anthony (respondent A, personal communication, October 23, 2015). In conversation with individuals involved in the project, GHP has four primary objectives: (a) maintenance and preservation of the heritage and history of Dr. Grenfell, (b) transmission of values and practices associated with the legacy of Dr. Grenfell, (c) preservation and transmission of heritage and practices relating to St. Anthony, and (d) engagement with and contribution to local economy, businesses and organizations. GHP has a network of avenues through which the above objectives are realized at the community scale, namely: investment in local handicrafts, maintenance of historic properties and the Interpretation Centre (see Figure 4), facilitation of workshops, and partnerships with local businesses and organizations.

Figure 4. Inside the Grenfell Interpretation Centre.

Photo Credit: Leanna Butters, October 2015.

In terms of governance, GHP is overseen by a board of directors. The board is comprised of representatives of key partner organizations and interest groups in the St. Anthony community including representatives from Labrador-Grenfell Health, the Town of St. Anthony, and St. Anthony Basin Resources Inc., among others (respondent A, personal communication, October 23, 2015). Branching off from the board is a committee structure comprised of an executive committee as well as committees for marketing, handicraft, property and maintenance, archives, human resources, and finance and objectives (respondent A, personal communication, October 23, 2015). In addition to these governance structures, everyday operation at

GHP is undertaken by employees and volunteers. Both full and part-time employees work at the Interpretation Centre year-round with externally-funded seasonal positions added for students between June and August (respondent A, personal communication, October 23, 2015). The Interpretation Centre also relies on community volunteer support in the implementation of certain programs and activities. At the regional and provincial scales, GHP has endeavored to participate in networks such as Crafts of Character (respondent A, personal communication, October 23, 2015). Overall, GHP is an active initiative operating within a network of organizations, interests, individuals and programs to realize their mission of the protection, preservation, and promotion of the Grenfell legacy.

5.0 Comparative Analysis and Results

5.1 Comparative Analysis

FSHS, TRSEP, and GHP have the shared aim of promoting the cultural and heritage assets of the communities in which they are based. Each has endeavored to mobilize various resources within and outside of their localities to provide programs and facilities that promote the sustainability and resilience of the initiatives themselves as well as their local communities. As discussed above, a comparative analysis of community capitals presents the opportunity to understand underlying factors responsible for the successes or challenges of each community initiative, including the origin and motivation for heritage-driven community development in these communities—Conche, Hawkes Bay and St. Anthony. While community capitals influence the initiation and outcomes of community development initiatives, such activities in turn help to shape community capitals. In analyzing the three case studies presented using the rural community capitals framework, each of these multidirectional relationships was taken into account. These rural community capitals are as follows: natural, human, social, and economic.

5.1.1 Natural Capital

Natural capital includes natural amenities that can contribute to community sustainability, resilience and development (Beckley et al., 2008). Each of the case initiatives have been able to build on natural elements in their localities for tourism and local development. This is demonstrated though the siting of initiatives as well some of their offered programming. The TRSEP was found to be the stronger of the three communities in its ability to build on its natural capital. Being an initiative with a focus on natural heritage, the location of the project components along the Torrent River mean that natural elements of the community, including the river and the salmon which return to the river to spawn, have been well-incorporated into the programs and project sites. Research undertaken at the Interpretation Centre facility (see Figure 5) also allows for the monitoring of salmon stock—size, water temperature, and total number—which is brought to DFO by summer student staff of the facility (respondent F, personal communication, October 22, 2015). As such, the project serves a dual purpose of encouraging natural heritage tourism in Hawke's Bay and contributing to the future sustainability of the natural resources on which the project relies.

Figure 5. Salmon Ladder and Falls at the Torrent River Salmon Interpretation Centre.

Photo credit: Leanna Butters, October 2015.

The mission of GHP is related primarily to the preservation of heritage in relation to the St. Anthony community and the contributions of Dr. Grenfell to northern NL. As such, cultural and socio-economic histories have been the focus of most programs and initiatives and engagement with the natural environment has been limited; however, of significance is the maintenance of Tea House Hill Trail. This trail links to existing trail networks in the community but is maintained by GHP in combination with other community groups (respondent A, personal communication, October 23, 2015). It brings visitors to the gravesite of Dr. Grenfell and his colleagues and, as such, engages visitors with the narrative of Dr. Grenfell's mission through exploration of the natural environment.

Because of its remote location, Conche was described by one interviewee as a community from 1960s Newfoundland existing in the modern age (respondent H, personal communication, October 29, 2015). For instance, there is no cellphone reception and only one poorly-maintained road into Conche (Jenkins, 2016); however, while this remoteness has been perceived as a hindrance to tourism traffic and development by some, (respondent C, personal communication, October 29, 2015), stated that it endowed Conche with a unique character that was able to draw people back to the community year after year. The FSHS, by embracing this character and using it in support of their heritage programming, has thus been accepting of the natural limitations of their geographic location and this, in turn, is perceived by some as contributing to the success of tourism in the community.

Overall, within the natural capital category, the authors found that the TRSEP was able to mobilize its natural capital assets more effectively than the FSHS and GHP. This may be attributed to the focus of the TRSEP on the preservation of local natural heritage whereas the preservation of local cultural heritage may be seen as the primary motivations for the FSHS and GHP. While increased engagement of FSHS and GHP with their local natural capitals may offer additional activities for visitors to engage with, it is unclear whether this would substantially increase tourism in each community. Especially with the draw of larger outdoors destinations in the

Northern Peninsula region, such as Gros Morne National Park and L'Anse aux Meadows, the continued focus of each initiative on the strengths of its community, natural or cultural, may be more significant in the preservation of local identities than the diversification of each initiatives' mandates to increase mobilization of natural capital.

5.1.2 Human Capital

Human capital includes the skills, resources and talents attributed to local peoples and cultures (Beckley et al., 2008). Though human capital assets are threatened by the demographic changes such as aging and out-migration in each community, the three case initiatives have mobilized and enhanced human capital in the growth and development of their initiatives.

With regards to human capital, the programs offered through GHP allow for the transmission of local knowledge through workshops, galleries, exhibits, etc. For instance, GHP runs seasonal workshops in rug hooking and fabric dying to allow for the transmission of local knowledge and traditional practice over time. In this way, human capital is mobilized in both the diffusion and retaining of local knowledge and practices that are exchanged via programming at the Grenfell Interpretation Centre. Regional human capital is also mobilized by GHP through their commitment offer local employment and volunteer opportunities. For instance, in October 2015, all staff at GHP lived within the St. Anthony-Port aux Choix Rural Secretariat Region. The Grenfell Interpretation Centre gift shop also sells products made by local craftspeople associated with Grenfell Handicrafts (see Figure 6) (respondent A, personal communication, October 23, 2015). The sale of these items goes to support the work of the Grenfell Historical Society which, in turn, helps sustain GHP (respondent A, personal communication, October 23, 2015).

Within the TRSEP, volunteer commitment, is seen as integral to the success of the project (respondent F, personal communication, October 22, 2015). In this way, human capital is mobilized to help run the project throughout the tourism season. Incorporation of observations made by anglers who visit the Torrent River also suggests that the TRSEP is mobilizing human capital by supporting the incorporation of local and visitor knowledge into their monitoring programs. The Interpretation Centre also offers a self-guided exhibit of local artifacts and heritage associated with the Torrent River as a means of celebrating human capital. Many items included in the exhibit were also made by local craftspeople (respondent F, personal communication, October 22, 2015).

As the FSHS is also an initiative comprised of volunteers, it has been able to make the best of a small population base to provide diverse heritage programming to visitors during the tourist season. The nature of the programs and heritage displays offered by the FSHS in Conche also celebrate the stock of knowledge, skills and creativity inspired, initiated, created, developed, and managed within the community. For instance, the famed French Shore Tapestry (see Figure 7), which presents the history of the French Shore in the style of the Bayeaux Tapestry in France, represents the abundance of human capital—especially the skills, knowledge, and creativity—that has been actively mobilized within the community to preserve local heritage (French Shore Historical Society, n.d.; respondent I, personal communication, October 23, 2015).

Figure 6. Handmade Tapestries for sale at the Grenfell Interpretation Centre.

Photo Credit: Leanna Butters, October 2015.

Figure 7. *A Panel of the French Shore Tapestry*.

Photo Credit: Kelly Vodden, July 2010.

GHP, TRSEP, and FSHS have all demonstrated their commitment to the celebration and mobilization of local human capital by offering volunteer programming and local educational and employment opportunities. The significance of a committed volunteer-base, however, is worth re-stating. As demonstrated by Gallo and Duffy (2016), the commitment of long-term volunteerism, in addition to the acquiring sustainable funding, may contribute positively to the sustaining and advancement of an organization.

5.1.3 Social Capital

Social capital is the mobilizing of resources through relationships and engagement with organizations and groups including bonding, bridging and linkages (Beckley et al. 2008). The case studies are characterized by local—settler—links, shared values, and understandings that create networks for rural community development. These initiatives exhibit a great sense of common identity and shared social concerns that generate impetus for social transformation with sense of community value. These have led to strong communal bases, close-knitted cooperation, and commitment to social integration and transformation.

In terms of bonding and bridging, partnerships with other local initiatives have been achieved through joint economic ventures in all case communities. For instance, GHP has forged relationships with local businesses such as Northland Tours and the Grenfell Heritage Hotel (respondent A, personal communication, October 23, 2015). The TRSEP has endeavored to partner with several tour bus companies as a stop for travelers making their way up the Northern Peninsula (respondent F, personal communication, October 22, 2015). The FSHS has also established a network of heritage sites among communities of the French Shore, including Conche, Croque, and the Fischot Island (French Shore Historical Society, n.d.).

In terms of linking, each initiative has sought to establish connections outside of their localities. For instance, provincial connections have been established between all three initiatives though membership in the Great Northern Peninsula Heritage Network; however, it has been suggested that a lack of active participation by all projects in the Network may be a challenge to their future sustainability and resilience (Respondent D, personal communication, November 2, 2015). As such, while each initiative has been able to effectively mobilize social capital within their communities, there is a sense that more work could be done to make connections outside their localities. In addition, there are traces of social disconnection, frictions and gaps between some community development initiatives and their host communities. For instance, a lack of concern for the project by members of the initiatives was voiced as a potential barrier to future growth of the TRSEP (respondent F, personal communication, October 22, 2015). It was observed that these case studies may need to consider increased engagement within regional and provincial networks to help reinvigorate the social fabric of these communities and strengthen social bonds, bridges and linkages.

5.1.4 Economic Capital

Economic capital is divided into financial capital—liquid assets—and physical capital—fixed assets—(Beckley et al. 2008). It appears that each of the community development initiatives have contributed to their communities financially by encouraging the employment of local people. For instance, FSHS has helped diversify its local economies in the French Shore area though the commissioning-

sale of local artistry and handicraft work while TRSEP offers seasonal employment for youth through provincial programs (respondent G, personal communication, October 23, 2015). Similarly, GHP offers local job opportunities having one full time employee, five seasonal staff and seven students from the Canada jobs program each summer in addition to approximately 40 artisans who contribute handmade items to the Interpretation Centre gift shop (respondent A, personal communication, April 24, 2017). Each of the initiatives has also been successful in drawing tourists to their locales. For instance, GHP saw 17,500 paying and non-paying customers in 2016, while TRSEP saw 2800 visitors and more than 27 tour buses in 2015 (respondent A, personal communication, April 24, 2017; respondent F, personal communication, October 22, 2015). However, the total monetary contribution of these initiatives is not known. As such, it is unclear how much revenue is being brought into and distributed within Conche, Hawke's Bay, and St. Anthony because of these initiatives.

In terms of physical capital, all three initiatives have developed operational facilities with working infrastructure to run their seasonal programming. TRSEP has a Fishway and Interpretation Centre in which to house its programs. GHP has the Grenfell Interpretation Centre and Grenfell House. The FSHS also operates several facilities throughout the French Shore to house various programs and artefacts, including the French Shore Interpretation Centre (French Shore Historical Society, n.d.). Transportation infrastructure outside of each community, however, is limited. There is only one road into each of these communities, all of which branch off from the Viking Trail Highway (see Figure 8). The condition of these roads may be barriers to future tourism development, particularly in the case of Conche. There are also no large-scale operational airport facilities north of the Deer Lake Airport to bring tourists to the region from outside the province, though Provincial Airlines operates out of the St. Anthony airport for intra-provincial travel. A ferry service is also available for transport to Labrador from the community of St. Barbe.

Figure 8. Caribou along the Viking Trail (430), Highway to the Great Northern Peninsula.

Photo Credit: Leanna Butters, May 2016.

It seems success in the economic capital category will be crucial for the survival of rural communities in the Northern Peninsula as diversification of local, resource-based economies has been a major driver behind the development of community heritage tourism initiatives. High unemployment rate and low family incomes were observed across the case study communities. A humble contribution made by all three initiatives has helped to alleviate some of these stressors through local employment; however, the full impact of these kinds of contributions has not been documented. In addition, while all initiatives have physical buildings to house their programs and exhibits, a lack of adequate transportation infrastructure represents a challenge for encouraging tourism.

6.0 Discussion of Results

As has been demonstrated above, the FSHS, TRSEP, and GHP have all made efforts to mobilize and contribute to the enhancement of capitals in each of the following categories: natural, human, social, and economic; however, it was clear that some initiatives performed better than others in some of the categories. This appears to be due, in part, to the focus of each initiative on the strengths of their own localities. For instance, the TRSEP was stronger than the other initiatives in the natural capital category; however, the focus of this project is on the Torrent River, an element of the natural environment, while the FSHS and GHP are both socio-cultural in focus. Similarly, GHP was found to be stronger in its focus on social capital than the FSHS and the TRP; however, GHP is also located in a larger community than the other two, which may provide more options for networking within their locale. Despite these inconsistencies, some common gaps between initiatives did emerge and that, if addressed, may enhance their contributions to their communities and the region.

6.1 Visitor Engagement

During the interview process, the necessity of improving the way in which programs engage visitors was identified in all initiatives. In one interview, for instance, it was voiced that effectively attracting and maintaining visitor interest in each initiative would require more interactive programs (respondent C, personal communication, October 29, 2015). It was suggested that reading panels in an exhibit, for instance, is not as effective in maintaining interest as activities which invite visitors to ‘do things’ (respondent C, personal communication, October 29, 2015). More interactive exhibits-activities could positively impact the ability of each initiative to attract visitors-tourists, maintain visitor interest while on site (e.g. at the Interpretation Centre), and encourage return visits.

6.2 Network Engagement

While all initiatives are connected via membership in some local, regional and provincial networks, it was suggested during interviews that increased engagement with those networks could benefit all initiatives. For instance, increased collaboration within the Great Northern Peninsula Heritage Network was voiced as an avenue through which further business opportunities could be established (respondent D, personal communication, November 2, 2015). It was also suggested that direct collaboration between FSHS, GHP and the TRSEP, because of their geographic and contextual proximity, could mutually benefit each initiative through promotional opportunities (respondent D, personal communication, November 2, 2015; respondent C, personal communication, October 29, 2015). Overall, increased

engagement with existing networks and the establishment of new regional partnerships were suggested as areas in which these initiatives could grow and to encourage increased marketing and promotional opportunities.

7.0 Community and Regional Development Implications

The initiation and implementation of the GHP, TRSEP, and FSHS can be traced to provincial crises, including the cod moratorium (Overton, 2007). The initiatives have been successful in terms of initiation and implementation by focusing on their community and mobilizing its assets, hence their existence today. The commitment of each initiative to the preservation of local heritage can also be seen as a significant contribution to the sustaining of each community's independent identities and to the region as a whole. However, there is a need to review the operations and programs of these initiatives to ensure their growth and future existence. For instance, assessment of current programs and incorporation of more interactive approaches to heritage tourism may be one means to continue to contribute to the sustaining of their communities and identities in a technological age.

With regards to community development, all case study initiatives have mobilized natural, human, social, and economic capitals to help encourage the sustainability and resilience of their respective communities. Each of the initiatives has also contributed to the resilience of their local communities by providing economic opportunities, fostering collaboration among local organizations, and developing local capacity via training and skills development and the transmission of local knowledge and practices. Such efforts may contribute to the ability of their localities to adapt to future economic and cultural change. There is, however, room for improvement in the case of aiding regional development, as the initiatives have yet to fully engage with opportunities that may abound from collaborating and working together. The success of these community initiatives depends not only on development capacity of individual communities but the interdependence and networking within the Northern Peninsula region for mutual growth and success. Community and regional development therefore requires that communities identify and build on their strengths, develop partnerships within the community, and create linkages to other communities-networks for holistic development and mutual benefits. These initiatives must build partnerships beyond their localities to grow and be sustainable. In turn, these partnerships may contribute to the sustainability and resilience of their localities, feeding the reciprocal relationships between these initiatives and their local communities.

8.0 Recommendation and Conclusions

This research reveals that FSHS, TRSEP and GHP have enhanced and mobilized all forms of community capital in their locales. These initiatives appear to have had significant successes in their current states, with potential to be catalysts of effective, viable, and sustainable regional development; however, significant gaps remain between realized and desired outcomes, creating a challenge for future growth and resilience. There is a need for rural community development policy review and conscious integration of the people—the community and their heritage—, the plans—community development initiatives and other developmental ideas—and the process—community partnerships, local governance and local and regional institutions—and incorporation of ideas and networks from outside these rural communities to deliver sustainable rural community development programs. In light

of these findings, it is recommended that future community development practice and regional development policy recognize the need for community-based initiatives to enhance their engagement with visitors, residents, and regional networks. In addition, support for continued capacity development as well as continued policy and program support for the region's heritage and place-based social economy must be considered through engagement with networks beyond community boundaries and within regions. The summative, multiple-capital framework employed revealed strengths and areas for improvement in each of the four categories of community capital recommended by Beckley et al. (2008): natural, human, social, and economic. This framework was found to be suitable for comparative analysis in the context of this paper; however, the authors find that mobilization of resources in particular capital categories, focusing on building on respective strengths, may be more effective than mobilizing resources in all capital categories. At the same time, the framework ensures that contributions in other areas are considered as well.

Springuel (2011) writes, "What remains of the fishery is the heritage it inspired. And the heritage is hope for the future" (p. 180). While it does not appear that heritage-tourism initiatives alone can replace the natural resource sectors and histories they work to celebrate, this does not mean efforts to ensure the sustainability and resilience of these initiatives and their local communities should not be made. As spaces for the celebration and commemoration of local identities forged by resource-based economies and their coastal proximities, these initiatives have been successful. However, re-evaluation and diversification of programming and networks may prove necessary for their continued success as well as to increase socio-economic contributions to their communities. In particular, collaboration within regions may provide opportunities for the future sustainability and resilience of each initiative, their localities, and the region as a whole.

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