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From Fish to Folk Art: Creating a Heritage-Based Place Identity in Ferryland, Newfoundland and Labrador

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Abstract

This study uncovers the social processes behind the transformation of underdeveloped spaces into landscapes of consumption. We focus on Ferryland, Newfoundland and Labrador, a community that is developing a heritage-based place identity in response to the collapse of the northern cod fishery. Ferryland's 'heritage-scape' place identity is first established. Responsible stakeholders and their motivations are revealed, and contestation accompanying the transformation exposed. The future of this identity is then considered in light of local plans and provincial directives. Using a variety of primary and secondary sources, we demonstrate that Ferryland is an emerging heritage-scape, whose creation has been facilitated largely by civic (non-profit) and public sector co-operation. We find limited evidence of contestation, which we attribute to widespread support for the tourist industry, recognition of its economic benefits, and retention of the original rural landscape identity. We acknowledge that civic sector strategic planning, coupled with the province's mandate for growth, may stimulate future tourism development. This scenario will only unfold, however, in the presence of clear direction, a willing workforce, entrepreneurial initiatives and additional funding.

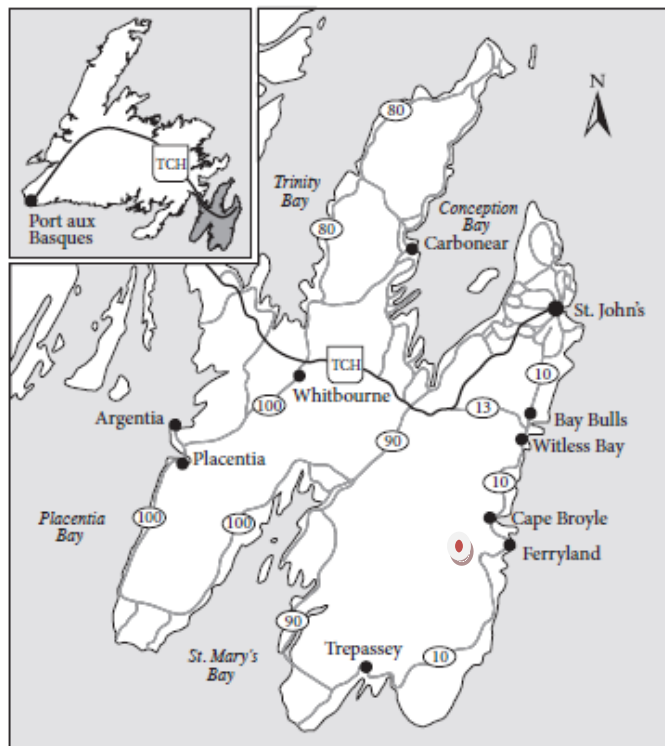
Keywords: heritage, rural landscape identity, underdevelopment, tourism

1.0 Introduction

The east coast fishery decline of the late 20th century forced many rural communities of Newfoundland and Labrador to seek new economic livelihoods. Cultural tourism was promoted by academics, governments, and industry representatives as an alternative economic base (Overton, 2007). Communities along the province's Avalon Peninsula appear, visually, to have responded to this directive. Museums, restaurants, whale-watching tours and craft shops have appeared, particularly among the 18 communities that comprise the 'Irish Loop' (Irish Loop, 2010). This study seeks to uncover the social processes that lie behind the creation of these new consumptive spaces.

Our study focuses on the community of Ferryland, located approximately 100 km south of St. John's, the capital city of Newfoundland and Labrador (Figure 1). Although home to relatively few residents (465 in 2011; Statistics Canada, 2012), the town functions as the government service centre for the Ferryland District (or Southern Shore), offering medical services, policing, and postal facilities (Irish Loop Development Board, 2008). Despite its regional service function, Ferryland has high unemployment and significant reliance on government assistance. In 2006, unemployment levels were slightly lower than the provincial average (15.1% compared to 18.6%; Statistics Canada, 2007), although the percentage of unemployed males was somewhat higher (24.1% compared to 20.7%; Statistics Canada, 2007). Furthermore, in that year, nearly 30% of Ferryland residents received government transfer payments (29.5%), considerably more than the provincial average of 20.4% (Statistics Canada, 2007). Underdevelopment is thus a key characteristic of Ferryland's economy.

Figure 1. Location of Ferryland, Newfoundland and Labrador



A drive through the village in 2007, however, revealed signs of life in this community that were not captured by official statistics. The presence of an archaeological site, at least one craft shop, several dining venues, and a museum, suggested to us that Ferryland was seeking a new identity. In this paper we uncover the nature of this identity and how and why it has emerged. Our findings, we hope, will be of interest to both practitioners and academics interested in the transformation of rural space.

2.0 Setting the Context: Transforming Rural Spaces

For much of their early history, rural settlements functioned as support centres for a labour force engaged in extractive activity. In Newfoundland and Labrador, this ‘productivist’ (Wilson, 2001) function evolved largely around the fishery sector, although timber and mineral exploitation have historically played supporting roles (Cadigan, 2003). By the late 20th century, however, closure of the northern cod fishery precipitated “the largest single layoff in Canadian history” (Dunne, 2003, p. 20). This momentous event forced many rural communities to consider alternative development options.

Cultural tourism was touted as a viable economic strategy (Overton, 2007). The foundation of this approach is the identification and commodification of ‘cultural markers’ (Ray, 1998). In Newfoundland and Labrador, the Provincial Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation, claimed, in 1995, that a variety of markers would establish the province’s heritage identity. “Newfoundland and Labrador’s positioning will concentrate on its unusual, unexpected and compelling differences ... in its unique history, culture and lifestyle, friendly and hospitable people, as well as its dramatic scenery” (cited in Jolliffe & Baum, 2001, p. 28). Many voiced their approval of this focus, including an editor of the *Evening Telegram* who predicted that,

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 (Anon., 1998, p. 10).

Evidence of this positioning is apparent across the province where developments have emerged around a myriad of natural, historical, and cultural markers.¹ These developments appear to have been relatively successful, with visitors to the province increasing from 382,557 in 1998 to 518,500 in 2010 (Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation, 2011).

A variety of stakeholders, driven by varied motivations, is responsible for implementing a cultural economy development approach. International research finds that cultural tourism is driven largely by the public sector, with civic organizations and private individuals playing an increasingly important role (e.g. Coakley, 2007; Frenkel & Walton, 2000). Similar conclusions have been drawn in Newfoundland and Labrador. Here, heritage tourism’s potential has been recognized by provincial and municipal governments as a development tool (Baum, 1999; Overton, 1996; Pocius, 1994). Despite this recognition, the adoption of neo-liberal policy in Newfoundland, as elsewhere, has forced civic groups and private entrepreneurs to assume greater control over the industry (Close, Rowe, & Wheaton, 2007; Gray & Sinclair, 2005; Jolliffe et al., 2001).

At least three key motivations influence the decisions of these stakeholders: the desire to profit, to promote economic growth, and to preserve cultural markers of significance (Mitchell & deWaal, 2009). Multiple motivations are driving heritage commodification in rural Newfoundland and Labrador. Pocius (1994), for example,

¹ See Ashworth, 2005; Baum, 1999; Everett, 2009; Fife, 2004a, 2004b; Griggio, 2009; Hashimoto & Telfer, 2006; Jolliffe et al., 2001; Sims, 2009; Wyile, 2008.

found that profit was a key motivation behind early tourist initiatives and Hoffman (2004) drew similar conclusions about the more recent Woody Island tourist development. Economic growth, driven by necessity, is highlighted by most as a key reason behind creation of the tourism product (Jolliffe et al., 2001; Wyile, 2008). However, preservation is the mandate of various civic groups (Jolliffe et al., 2001) and does underlie some provincial funding initiatives (Overton, 2007). Thus, it is clear that the actions of stakeholders are driven by multiple motivating interests.

The heritage-scape is the tangible outcome of the commodification process (Mitchell & Vanderwerf, 2010). It is sometimes an interim landscape that displaces the rural landscape of the industrial period, and precedes creation of the “leisure-scape of post-industrialism” (Mitchell et al., 2009, p. 156) (Figure 2). At other times, it is one that co-exists with earlier or later landscapes of accumulation (Shannon & Mitchell, 2012). In either case, it is replete with authentic dining venues, distinctive products, accommodation venues and intangible experiences that reflect attributes unique to that particular place (Mitchell et al., 2010). It is a landscape that is marketed to the heritage-seeking consumer who desires to escape the mediocrity of mass tourism (Osborne, 2007). It is also a landscape, however, whose creation may be accompanied by considerable contestation.

Figure 2. Landscape Forms, Functions, and Identities

Landscape Form	Function	Identity
Rural Landscape	Productivist employment and basic goods and services	Place of local employment, commerce and social interaction
Heritage-Scape	Authentic products, dining, accommodation and experiences reflecting local heritage	Place of commodified heritage
Leisure-Scape	Serialized products, dining, accommodation and experiences	Place of entertainment

Source. Adapted from Mitchell et al., 2010.

Conflict often accompanies the transformation of rural space (Brennan-Horley, Connell, & Gibson, 2007; Carter, Dyer, & Sharma, 2007; Masuda & Garvin, 2008; Panelli et al. 2008; Sheridan, 2007). This is likely to occur if a dominating discourse drives the transformation process (Mitchell et al., 2010). In this state of hegemony, the principal stakeholder group (e.g. one promoting economic growth), may come head-to-head with a less powerful cohort (e.g. one desiring preservation), thereby creating a landscape of contestation. In contrast, in the absence of a hegemonic state, or if motivational coherence prevails (i.e. if stakeholder actions are underlain by similar motives), then this ‘trial by space’ (Halfacree, 2007) may be avoided (Mitchell et al., 2010). Contestation amongst stakeholders in Newfoundland is recognized (Overton, 1979, 2007; Tunbridge, 2004). Tunbridge (2004), for example, describes the conflict that emerged over tourism development in Argentina, between the Management Authority (motivated by economic interests) and the Placencia Historical Society (motivated by preservation). Our analysis of Ferryland will uncover if creation of this consumptive space has been a contested process, as dictated by stakeholder motivations.

3.0 Methods

We pursue four objectives in this paper. The first is to assess if Ferryland maintains the characteristics of a heritage-scape, as described by Mitchell et al. (2009). Our second objective is to uncover the key stakeholders involved in the transformation process. Next, we determine if contestation has accompanied this process, as Mitchell et al. (2010) predict. Finally, we consider Ferryland's future, in light of local plans and provincial directives. This investigation involved a variety of data sources, which are described briefly below.

Information on business structure, visitor numbers and motivations was required to assess Ferryland's present identity. On-site observation, business directories and on-line marketing brochures provided sufficient material to uncover the types of products, dining opportunities, accommodation venues and experiences available in the community. The Colony of Avalon Foundation Inc. supplied visitor information. A survey, conducted in proximity to the Foundation's Interpretation Centre during the summer of 2009, revealed the motivations that brought 52 visitors to the community. These sources of information were sufficient to assess Ferryland's current place identity.

Stakeholder involvement was ascertained from a variety of sources. Relevant marketing and promotional material provided by both the provincial and municipal governments was analyzed, as was documentation produced by the Colony of Avalon Foundation Inc. Informant interviews were conducted with key tourism operators and government officials. These included members of the Colony of Avalon Board of Directors, the Southern Shore Folk Arts Council, the Mayor of Ferryland and two local entrepreneurs. Their contributions were instrumental in revealing the main drivers behind the transformation process.

In the absence of a local newspaper, contestation was uncovered from a content analysis of the *Evening Telegram*, the daily newspaper published in St. John's. Post-1980 newspapers were readily available for analysis and were evaluated for any mention of dispute that accompanied the creation of the tourist infrastructure. In total, five articles or letters to the editor were identified that chronicled the battle between the provincial Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation, and several Ferryland landowners. A mail-back resident survey, distributed door-to-door to all Ferryland households (180) in 2009, uncovered the attitudes of 47 individuals towards Ferryland's tourist structure (26% of all households). These findings were corroborated with information provided by key informants.

Our final objective is to ponder Ferryland's future path of development. We conducted a content analysis of recent plans developed by key civic (The Colony of Avalon Foundation Inc., 2009) and public (Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation, 2009b) sector stakeholders. Our evaluation uncovered the main motivations guiding these plans and their potential impact on Ferryland's future heritage-based identity; an identity we now use to describe this historic setting.

4.0 Ferryland's Heritage-Scape Identity

Heritage-scapes have two dominant characteristics (Mitchell et al., 2009). They provide (and market) a variety of products, dining opportunities, and experiences that reflect the historic attributes of a specific place, and they attract a heritage-seeking clientele. Our analysis suggests that Ferryland is an emerging heritage-scape, on the bases of both its functional composition and consumer base.

Cultural heritage is the root of Ferryland's emergence as a consumptive space. The fishery is clearly an important part of Ferryland's past; so too, however, is its early settlement history. It is widely believed that Ferryland was one of the earliest ports visited by migratory fishers during the 16th century (Godignola, 1998). With cobble beaches, and proximity to the inshore fishing grounds, its 'productive' importance was almost guaranteed. Indeed, a member of the British Colonial Office in 1710 declared that 'the harbour of Ferryland, for fish, bait, and good conveniences for making fish, excels all others in the country and for making winter voyages extraordinarily good' (Great Britain, PRO, 1710). This favourable location proved an enticing lure for migrant fishers, and also permanent residents. Settled by Lord Baltimore and a group of Irish Catholics in 1621, Ferryland is believed to be one of the first permanent British settlements in North America (Godignola, 1988).

Ferryland's intriguing past is reflected in its products, dining opportunities, accommodation venue, and experiences. Beginning in the early 1990s, a consumptive landscape emerged with the provision and marketing of these commodities to outsiders. For example, in the late 1990s, the Colony of Avalon Foundation Inc., a non-profit organization (Figure 3), initiated the sale of archaeological reproductions and locally-handcrafted 'heritage-themed gifts, which embrace the area's history, natural environment, and culture' (Colony of Avalon Foundation Inc., 2002). To ensure accurate representation, 'all items are screened and carefully selected,' before accepted for display and sale (Colony of Avalon Foundation Inc., 2002). In 2003 a second venue, the Ferryland Café, was opened providing a large selection of locally-produced 'art, pottery, knitting, music and literature' (Community Business Development Corporation, 2010).²

Although somewhat limited, but widely advertised (e.g. Southern Avalon Tourism Association, 2012), one bed and breakfast (the Ark of Avalon), and three dining venues also exemplify local traditions. The Ferryland Café offers an array of healthy food options with 'many traditional flavours' (Community Business Development Corporation, 2010). The Irish Loop Drive Restaurant 'specializes in fish and chips, homemade soups and traditional Newfoundland Meals', while providing diners a 'fantastic view of the Atlantic Ocean' (Irish Loop, 2010). A third option, Lighthouse Picnics, combines dining with a unique Newfoundland experience. As stated in their publicity,

We offer exquisite food at one of the most beautiful locations in the world – Ferryland Head. Our guests are offered distinctive picnic food using only the freshest local products. But Lighthouse Picnics is not just about great food – it is also about enjoying your surroundings (Irish Loop, 2010).

The town provides several other memorable experiences. Since 1994 the Colony of Avalon Archaeology Site has featured 'excavations of Lord Baltimore's colony dating to 1621, interpretation centre, conservation laboratory, 17th century reproduction kitchen' and 'heritage gardens' (Town of Ferryland, 2010a). Holy Trinity Church (circa 1865), in gothic revival style, provides visitors an

² While operating during our field research, this business is currently closed (in 2011) and offered for purchase as a "unique opportunity to own a sustainable turnkey tourism business in historic Ferryland, with a great reputation of success" (Canadianlisted.com, 2011).

opportunity to appreciate that ‘Ferryland was the birthplace of religious tolerance and freedom of worship in the New World after Lord Baltimore's arrival in 1621.’ (Figure 4) (Town of Ferryland, 2010a). In addition, the Historic Ferryland Museum (which opened in 1974 in a former courthouse), presents a variety of local artefacts that depict ‘the life of those hardy men to whom Lord Baltimore bequeathed ‘this place’ on his departure’ (Town of Ferryland, 2010a).

Figure 3. Colony of Avalon Interpretation Centre



Performing arts are also an integral part of the Ferryland experience. Summer Dinner Theatre, provided at the Arts Centre, was initiated in 1999 (K. Mooney, personal communication, July 27, 2009) and gives patrons ‘a traditional Newfoundland time as we regale you with tales from ‘round our shore’ (Town of Ferryland, 2010a). The Southern Shore Shamrock Festival, initiated in 1986 (K. Mooney, personal communication, July 27, 2009), offers ‘the finest in traditional Newfoundland/Irish music, song, and dance, performed by local and established musicians’ (Town of Ferryland, 2010a). Although somewhat limited, these experiences, dining and accommodation venues, and products demonstrate that Ferryland offers a variety of cultural markers that typify a community with an emerging heritage-scape place identity.

Figure 4. Holy Trinity Church



Patronage by a heritage-seeking clientele is a second characteristic that defines a heritage-scape. Tourism has been present in Ferryland since the 1970s; however, according to a local proprietor, the Ferryland Museum was the only tourist venue at

that time, attracting 5,000 to 6,000 visitors annually (Kate³, 2009). Opening of the Colony of Avalon in 1994 prompted a rise in Ferryland's tourist numbers. In 1998, 14,000 visitors came to the site, with more than 20,000 recorded in 2008 (Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation, 2009c). Growth, therefore, has been significant.

We conducted a survey in 2009 to ascertain the motivations of 52 visitors. Our findings reveal that only 9 visitors were residents of Newfoundland and Labrador. Ontario was the main source region for approaching one-half the sample (23 people), with the remaining survey participants indicating residence in other parts of Canada, United States, or United Kingdom (26, 2, and 1 visitors respectively). When asked to indicate the most important reasons for visitation, nearly two-thirds of this sample noted the Colony of Avalon archaeological site (33 people), with more than one-third citing the scenic environment (21 visitors). The Lighthouse Picnics attracted more than one-quarter of our survey participants, with nearly one-fifth coming to generally experience local culture or heritage (10 people). As anticipated, therefore, Ferryland's historic place-based assets are a key motivation luring visitors to this locality. Our findings confirm, therefore, that Ferryland does, indeed, warrant designation as an emerging heritage-scape; one attributed to the actions of multiple stakeholders, driven by multiple motivations.

5.0 Stakeholder Involvement

Collaboration between the civic and public sectors has contributed much to Ferryland's emergence as a landscape of commodified heritage. This alliance reflects the merging of two key motivations; the preservation of Newfoundland's historic artefacts, combined with the promotion of economic growth. This co-operation was apparent in 1998 when government funds were made available to help offset the economic decline that befell many communities after the cod moratorium. The Historic Ferryland Museum, operated by the Historical Society, was the first recipient of funds, issued under the Federal Fisheries Restructuring and Adjustment Measures Program (REF) (M. Dunne, personal communication, July 14, 2009). According to the Museum Curator, these funds led to the Museum's turnaround in 1998 (M. Dunne, personal communication, July 14, 2009).

In that same year, approximately \$675,000 was donated by the federal and provincial governments to the Colony of Avalon Foundation Inc. to develop an Archaeological Site and Interpretation Centre (Colony of Avalon Foundation Inc., 2002), "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). According to an editor of the *Evening Telegram*, this donation was "a good use of public money ... 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); a vision that appears to be materializing.

Government funds have also supported activities of the Southern Shore Folk Arts Council (SSFAC; K. Mooney, personal communication, July 27, 2009). Initiated in 1995, the SSFAC is a non-profit organization 'committed to preserving and promoting the unique culture and heritage of the Irish Loop Region' (Southern Shore Folk Arts Council, 2010). Both the federal and provincial governments have provided direct, and indirect, financial support to this organization. Capital grants have facilitated building construction, and work programs have provided student summer employment.

³ Kate is a pseudonym.

Partnerships between the public and private sector are less apparent. Eighteen private businesses operated in Ferryland (Table 1). However, only four appear to cater to a tourist clientele (The Ark of Avalon Bed and Breakfast, Lighthouse Picnics, Ferryland Café & Gifts and the Irish Loop Restaurant) and only one, the Lighthouse Picnics, has benefitted from government support. The town, in co-operation with the federal and provincial governments, undertook restorative work on the Lighthouse when it first assumed control (L. Moriarty, personal communication, July, 26, 2009). Other businesses, however, have not benefitted directly from municipal finances.

Motivations driving private-sector tourist initiatives are revealed in our interviews with two proprietors of these businesses, and in information published by the Community Business Development Corporation (CBDC, 2010). Although we can assume that profit is an important reason for opening a business, the interview subjects did not focus on this motive. Highlighted, instead, were those motivations of an altruistic nature. When interviewed by the CBDC, the owner of one establishment indicated that ‘helping the local economy is very important’ (CBDC, 2010). To facilitate this, many of the crafts she sells are made by local residents (CBDC, 2010). This individual explained to us further that ‘I didn’t build this business for me... it’s a gathering place for people to come and come together’ (Hannah, 2009⁴). The second survey participant commented that she established her business, in part, because she ‘enjoy (s) sharing my love for Newfoundland with people’ (Mary, 2009⁵). Thus, although our findings are limited to only two of four proprietors, it is clear that the motivations underlying their decision to operate a business are not necessarily self-serving, but are made to contribute also to the well-being of others.

Table 1. *Tourist-oriented Businesses in Ferryland (2010)*

NAICS Code	Business Name	Employees	NAICS Code	Business Name	Employees
Bed and Breakfast	Ark of Avalon Bed and Breakfast	1	Museums	Ferryland Museum	1
Theatre Companies and Dinner Theatres	Southern Shore Folk Art Council Dinner Theatre	16	Full service Restaurant	Bernard Kavanagh Ltd (Irish Loop Restaurant)	2
Nature Park and Other Similar Institutions	Lighthouse Picnics	1 - 4	Gift shops	Colony of Avalon Gift Shop	2
Nature Park and Other Similar Institutions	Colony of Avalon Foundation Inc.	40	Gift shops	Ferryland Café & Gifts	For sale in 2011
Museums	Colony of Avalon Museum	12			

Source. Infogroup/Referencedivision 2010

⁴ Hannah is a pseudonym

⁵ Mary is a pseudonym

6.0 A Contested Landscape?

Heritage-landscape creation may give rise to landscapes of contestation, particularly when a new identity begins to displace the old (Mitchell et al., 2010). Our objective here is to determine if conflict has accompanied the process of commodification in Ferryland. Issues of the *Evening Telegram* from 1980 to present are evaluated, and corroborated with information provided in our resident survey. Our analysis demonstrates that minimal conflict has occurred, and that its nature deviates somewhat from that documented in other communities (e.g. Mitchell et al., 2010; Shannon et al., 2012).

The Colony of Avalon expansion is the only published source of conflict associated with commodification in Ferryland (Callahan 2000a). This conflict arose in May, 2000 when the province announced that it would fund construction of a new road to the Ferryland Lighthouse (Callahan, 2000a). This was necessary, it was argued, because the existing thoroughfare was believed to be underlain by artefacts from the original colonization period (Callahan, 2000a). Although residents supported the ongoing archaeological work of the colony (Callahan, 2000b), the planned expropriation of residential land was met with animosity by several affected home-owners. One resident explained.

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 (Callahan, 2000a, p. 1).

Others expressed similar concerns and accused the government of “checking out the land behind owners' backs” and “sneaking land assessors in and out of town without telling anyone” (Callahan, 2000b, p. 3). In response, the government promised to halt further action until an agreement with landowners could be reached on a fair market price (Anonymous, 2000). Expropriation continued, however, before a mutually agreed-upon price was established. Conflict then ensued with 12 residents blocking the road to the Colony for three hours on Saturday, November 4th, 2000 (Anonymous, 2000). Police presence drew the protest to a close. Residents, however, remained firm in their position. As noted by one individual, “I'll lie down in the middle of the road, if I have to, until I get what that land's worth” (Callahan, 2000b, p. 3). No further action, however, was taken. Observation suggests that the land was eventually sold and the road subsequently constructed.

This conflict is the only one documented in the St. John's paper. Unlike the contestation reported in the heritage-scapes of southern Ontario (e.g. Mitchell et al., 2010; Shannon et al., 2012), the conflict here did not reflect the presence of a hegemonic discourse; rather, it simply reflected residents' desire to receive a fair price for their land. The absence of motivationally or ideologically-driven criticism suggests that the development of Ferryland's heritage identity, to date, has been a relatively smooth process. We attribute this to residents' support of the tourism industry, widespread recognition of its economic benefits, and ongoing maintenance of Ferryland's rural landscape identity.

There is widespread support for tourism in Ferryland. We draw this conclusion based on information provided by 47 households who responded to our survey in July, 2009. Of these participants, the majority were female (31 people), aged 46 – 65 (27 people), recipients of at least some post-secondary education (30 people),

and long-term residents of the community who indicated living there for more than 25 years (40 people). Of those surveyed, most (43) agreed, or strongly agreed, that their contact with tourists is mostly positive, with only 1 person offering a negative opinion. Furthermore, nearly all respondents (46) agreed, or strongly agreed, with the statement, 'I enjoy talking to tourists' with no residents agreeing or strongly agreeing that tourism has made their life in Ferryland more difficult. In addition, nearly three quarters enjoy the town's summer atmosphere (with 35 people agreeing and strongly agreeing). Indeed, according to the Mayor (L. Moriarty, personal communication, July 26, 2009) 'people look forward to the summer ... everything is alive [and there are] lots of people around'. These findings demonstrate widespread support for tourism in Ferryland.

This support may stem from residents' recognition of tourism's economic benefits. The majority of surveyed residents (39) agreed, or strongly agreed, that tourism has brought jobs to Ferryland. Indeed, as shown in Table 1, tourist-oriented businesses provide employment for approximately 76 individuals, including 17 survey participants. Although there is widespread support for tourism, residents are also aware of its negative externalities. For example, approaching one half (22) of participants agreed or strongly agreed that summer traffic congestion is a problem. About one-fifth offered the same opinion about the difficulty of finding parking spaces during the tourist season. These negative opinions were limited, however, with the vast majority of survey participants (40 people) agreeing or strongly agreeing that the benefits of tourism outweigh the costs (with 7 individuals offering a neutral response). Furthermore, 42 survey participants are in favour of additional tourist development. Residents' recognition of tourism's contribution to the economic well-being of the community has likely minimized disapproval of the development process; a situation we also attribute to the ongoing maintenance of Ferryland's rural landscape identity.

Research on Ontario communities reveals that the creation of a heritage-scape may displace (i.e. destroy) both the functional and social aspects of a rural landscape identity; functional, in the sense that touristic activity may eventually replace venues that formerly catered to local residents, and social, in that the presence of tourists may negatively impacts residents' perception of living in an idyllic (e.g. closely knit, peaceful), rural community (Mitchell et al., 2009). Although our survey results do not allow us to comment on the latter, it is clear that the functional aspects of the rural landscape identity are still very much intact.

Table 2. *Locally-oriented Ferryland Businesses: 2010*

NAICS Business classification	Name of Business	Employees	NAICS Business classification	Name of Business	Employees
Legislative Bodies	Ferryland Community Council	n/a	Beer etc. & supermarkets	Ferryland Foodland	9
Legislative Bodies	Newfoundland Business	n/a	Paint and Wallpaper store	Paul's Enterprises Ltd.	1-4
Legislative Bodies	Newfoundland Crafts	n/a	Home Centre	Paul's Hardware and Castle Building	5
Legislative Bodies	Newfoundland Economic Development	n/a	Convenience Stores	Ferryland Convenience	2
Legislative Bodies	Newfoundland Public Health	n/a	Beauty Salon	Roxy's Place	1
Legislative Bodies	Newfoundland Social Svc Dept.	n/a	Dept. Store except Discount	Sears	3
Schools	Baltimore School	26	Other gasoline stations	Ultramar Homenergy	2
Govt. Offices	Canada Fisheries	n/a	Pharmacies and Drug Stores	Baltimore Pharmacy	3
Ambulance Services	Ferryland Emergency Svc ltd.	1-4	Commercial Building Construction	Maurice's Contracting	1-4
Home Health Care Services	Quality Home Health Care	n/a	Fish & Seafood Wholesale Merchants	M and A Fisheries	3
Religious	Holy Family Parish	1	Seafood Canning	Aqua Fisheries Ltd.	70
Offices of Physicians Except Mental Health	Shamrock Medical Clinic	3	Animal except Poultry Slaughtering	Newfound-land Meat Packing	5

Source. InfoGroup/ReferenceDivision, 2010.

Table 2 demonstrates that Ferrryland has retained its functional rural landscape identity, due, in part, to its provision of a variety of government services. In addition, however, there are three personal service firms (beauty, home care and medical), six retail establishments, and several firms that reflect the ongoing importance of productivist activity (e.g. Aqua Fisheries Ltd.). In total, therefore, 24 of the community's 34 firms serve a local (or regional) clientele; significantly more than those catering to the tourist market (9). The service function has thus retained a dominant presence in Ferryland. This contrasts with the situation in the larger Ontario communities of St. Jacobs (Mitchell et al., 2009), and Niagara-on-

the-Lake (Mitchell et al., 2001), where displacement initially contributed to relatively high levels of contestation. Given the small scale of private sector tourist investment, this scenario has been largely avoided in Ferryland. The relationship between tourism proponents and local residents, therefore, is relatively harmonious. Whether this harmonious situation will be retained in the future, remains to be seen.

7.0 The Future

Recent local and provincial planning initiatives will likely influence Ferryland's development path. Two recent documents indicate that Ferryland's heritage identity will continue to evolve in the future. First, is the 2009 – 2012 report prepared by the Colony of Avalon Foundation Inc. (2009), and, second, is the *Vision 2020* document, prepared by the provincial Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation and several industry partners (2009b). Each plan presents a vision for growth that may steer Ferryland's future.

In 2009, The Colony of Avalon Foundation Inc. prepared its first strategic plan to guide growth of the Archaeological Site. The vision presented in the plan is that the Colony should 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 (Colony of Avalon Foundation Inc.. 2009, p. 2).

Five key objectives are outlined to achieve this vision (Colony of Avalon Foundation Inc., 2009). First, is to maintain and improve the Colony's facilities and landscape; specifically, "to repair, beautify, and maintain all building exteriors and parking areas" (p. 4). Second, is to increase visitation through innovative tourism products (p. 7), including special event programming and enhanced shoulder season activity. Third, is to increase awareness and efficiency in marketing the Colony as a first-rate tourism attraction. Fourth is "to improve fiscal sustainability through increased revenues and costs" (p. 14). Fifth is to promote creation of a tourism cluster in the community by encouraging, "cooperation and collaboration" (p. 17) with current and future partners (the Town of Ferryland, local businesses, and regional tourism operators). Meeting of these objectives will both facilitate attainment of the vision, and enhance Ferryland's key tourist attraction.

In 2009, the provincial government released *Uncommon Potential – A Vision for Newfoundland and Labrador's Tourism Marketing*. This report, commonly referred to as *Vision 2020*, challenges members of the industry to double annual tourism revenue in Newfoundland and Labrador by 2020 (Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation, 2009b). This vision identified for the province is

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).

Economic growth underlies this vision. Preservation, however, is also recognized not only as the means to achieve this growth, but as something worthy in its own right. As the report states, “beyond the economic benefits, tourism helps preserve and protect our natural heritage, culture, and history” (Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation, 2009b, p. 8). Both motivations are also apparent in the Colony of Avalon Foundation Inc. plan. In this case, however, preservation underlies the vision, with economic growth seen as a positive outcome. On the surface, therefore, it appears that as development ensues, Ferryland’s challenge will be to maintain a balance between these two motivations. If this balance tilts in favour of one motive (and discourse) over another, then conflict may well emerge (Mitchell et al., 2010). In reality, however, there is no guarantee that Ferryland’s heritage identity will change significantly in the near future. We base this conclusion on comments provided by several key informants.

According to at least one interviewee, expansion of the tourism sector in Ferryland is constrained by four factors. Cultural entrepreneurs, both individuals and organizations, are a key factor in Newfoundland’s tourist industry (Jolieff et al., 2001). While the latter are active in Ferryland, the Chair of the Colony of Avalon (COA) believes that individual entrepreneurial initiative is insufficient. He acknowledges that Ferryland’s potential is recognized. However, he notes that “there has never been a lot of take up for individual entrepreneurship” (D. Beaubier, personal communication, June, 20, 2009). These investments are required, he argues, to help create “a critical mass of things for people to do to keep them in the community” (D. Beaubier, personal communication, June, 20, 2009). This informant also indicates that lack of direction is a second constraint (D. Beaubier, personal communication, June, 20, 2009). Several civic organizations do promote Ferryland’s tourism industry (e.g. the Centre of Avalon, the South Shore Folk Arts Council). A community tourism committee does exist but, according to the Board Chair of the Colony of Avalon (2009), “it is not very active” (D. Beaubier, personal communication, June, 20, 2009). Since our fieldwork in 2009, it appears that the town is assuming a more active leadership role. Their web site states that “Ferryland has the greatest potential to develop as a major tourism destination, and plans to move forward with leadership, commitment and appropriate development” (Town of Ferryland, 2010b). How this will be accomplished, however, remains to be seen.

Insufficient financial support is a third constraint, as it is in many of the province’s rural regions (Overton, 2007; Mariner Resource Opportunities Network Inc., 2008). The provincial government recognizes the value of Ferryland’s heritage. In 2010, for example, the Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation noted (2010) that

the Ferryland area has a rich history and culture and, in the Colony of Avalon, boasts one of the most significant archaeological sites in North America. As a Provincial Government, we continue to invest in heritage initiatives throughout Newfoundland and Labrador, recognizing that each is significant in its own right.

In that year, local heritage organizations “received \$107,500 in operational and project support through the province’s Cultural Economic Development Program” (Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation, 2010). The town of Ferryland also supports tourism in a variety of ways, but it does not provide regular financial assistance (L. Moriarty, personal communication, June, 26, 2009). According to the Mayor,

we do not have that in our budget. We are concentrating on the nitty gritty of garbage collection, waste management, snow clearing. We may make a donation, a moderate one, from time to time (L. Moriarty, personal communication, June, 26, 2009).

Both the Colony of Avalon and the Ferryland Museum, therefore, are responsible for generating a large proportion of their own funds. The former relies on fundraising to raise nearly half of its budget, an activity that is complicated by competition from other sectors (health care, education) (D. Beaubier, personal communication, June, 20, 2009). The Ferryland Museum also relies extensively on fundraising efforts, including ‘ticket sweeps and walkathons’ to ‘keep its doors open’ (M. Dunne, personal communication, July 14, 2009). These events are both time-consuming and draining. The Curator explains.

You’re working all through the winter writing grant proposals and donation requests and overseeing fundraising projects to keep the building open for the summer tourist season. And you do get burned out” (M. Dunne, personal communication, July 14, 2009).

A limited workforce is a final constraint. According to the Museum Curator, “our older people are dying and our younger people are leaving” (M. Dunne, personal communication, July 14, 2009). Indeed Ferryland’s population declined by 12.1% between 2006 and 2011 (Statistics Canada 2012). The aging population reduces the labour pool, making it increasingly difficult for local firms to fill staff position (M. Dunne, personal communication, July 14, 2009). Outside workers have become increasingly important to Ferryland’s service sector and, according to the Mayor (L. Moriarty, personal communication, June 26, 2009), “we wouldn’t be able to do without them”. Overcoming this issue, and other constraints, will be required if Ferryland is to reach its full potential as a landscape of commodified heritage.

8.0 Conclusion

Cultural tourism may be an appropriate tool for communities seeking redefinition in light of primary sector decline. Stakeholder action, driven by multiple motivations, may give rise to a landscape of commodified heritage in communities possessing significant cultural attributes. In this landscape of consumption, heritage-seeking consumers are presented with an array of products, dining opportunities, accommodation venues and experiences that capitalize on local markers of cultural significance. Conflict may accompany creation of this tourism product, should a hegemonic discourse drive the transformation process. This process has been examined in an underdeveloped community of rural Newfoundland and Labrador.

Collaboration between the civic and public sectors is largely responsible for Ferryland's heritage-scape identity. Motivated primarily by preservation and economic development, respectively, this partnership has resulted in creation of an emerging identity for Ferryland that capitalizes on its historic roots. Private sector initiatives are limited, with the exception of four businesses founded, in part, for altruistic motivations. Reported conflict in Ferryland is minimal, given its widespread support, economic benefits, and the continued maintenance of the rural landscape identity. Local plans, and provincial directives, recognize Ferryland's potential for future development. This potential will only be realised with clear direction, a willing workforce, entrepreneurial initiative, and enhanced funding.

Our analysis of Ferryland, therefore, sheds light on the process of heritage-scape creation in an underdeveloped, rural region. Our findings suggest that public-civic sector partnerships, altruistic motivations, and limited contestation accompany the emergence of a heritage-based place identity in such a region. Future research will confirm if the lack of entrepreneurial initiative, a profit discourse, and motivationally-driven conflict is unique to Ferryland, or a common situation in other underdeveloped regions seeking redefinition.

9.0 References

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