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Name _____ GERALD GABRIEL _____

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Abstract

As governments curtail their direct involvement in local economies and the private sector downsizes and traditional activities such as the fishery are in serious decline, the livelihood of small towns and rural communities is threatened. In the search for economic diversity, some communities have turned to tourism as a possible solution. In this study, six communities that have experimented with a tourism strategy are profiled. Their involvement with tourism is examined in light of such issues as the appropriateness of their tourism development, the integration of tourism with other sectors of their local economy, and the ultimate long term sustainability of such development.

A community development approach to tourism is examined in economic terms; yet considerable attention is given to the underlying human dimension. For it appears that those communities that are economically successful are first and foremost socially and culturally successful. Moreover communities, that engender a strong sense of identity and cohesiveness, are seemingly better equipped to respond to economic crisis. The study suggests that bona fide community economic development must commence with strengthening and asserting community, as a basis for economic recovery. The utlization of community development corporations, community collective enterprise, as well as cooperatives are explored as viable approaches towards fostering a community-based sustainable tourism.

Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is to explore the role of tourism in fostering sustainable economic development in the rural communities of Atlantic Canada. At the present time of economic change and crisis, tourism is increasingly being looked to as a possible means of creating jobs and economic diversity. However, experience has shown that attempts in this direction are in no way a guarantee of success. I will therefore examine a number of communities which have utilized tourism to help renew their economies and from my analysis attempt to develop a model whereby tourism can play a central and sustainable role in community development.

Communities throughout Atlantic Canada are under siege. This is particularly true of those in rural areas. The resource-based economy of the region is currently facing a crisis brought on either by resource depletion as in the fisheries or by mechanization as in forestry and agriculture. The result is high unemployment at a time when government support programs such as unemployment insurance benefits are being cut back. Every inducement is there for out-migration, a factor which of course only worsens the picture.

Located mostly in the more urbanized areas of the region, the manufacturing sector and the government-dependent sectors are undergoing downsizing so that commuting to well-paid jobs in nearby towns is less and less an option for residents of rural communities. The only sector that seems to be expanding is the market for service jobs where many positions are minimum wage and frequently only part-time. The

typical rural community has also been diminished by losing its school, post office, hospital and even such a basic facility as its service station or corner store. Residents fear that their locality cannot survive long on this kind of narrowing economic base.

Can small communities defy the odds and survive? Many have shown that given community solidarity and determination some success can be realized. But can this success be sustained? There are isolated examples of successful community efforts to renew their local economies. They are cause for hope, yet the challenges for continued survival are substantial.

In this thesis six communities were examined that have utilized tourism as a major component of their economic renewal. By meetings with principal stakeholders in each of these communities, the process by which these communities became involved in tourism was documented. It was deemed important to understand this process to appreciate better the reason and the methods by which they chose to adopt a tourism strategy. What was of primary importance was to determine whether the tourism strategy was initiated from within or whether it was an approach introduced from outside the community. Similarly there was a desire to understand whether the respective tourism strategy was a stand-alone approach or whether it was integrated with other economic sectors. Finally there was a need to assess communal attitudes towards tourism, in an attempt to understand better how the industry was viewed and to what extent people were genuinely comfortable with their community's involvement with tourism.

In the process of examining community tourism development it became apparent that "community" itself was an integral component in this development. Underlying the strengths and weaknesses of their tourism involvement were the strengths and weaknesses of the community. Often these community characteristics were a major factor, influencing the success or failure of the tourism venture. Consequently an attempt is made to better understand "community," how it is fostered initially and how it can be reasserted and maintained.

Community approaches to tourism have been developed in various areas of North America with varying degrees of success (Getz 1991; McIntosh 1977; Murphy 1985). It is not my purpose here to examine distant examples where comparisons with Atlantic Canada are tenuous. Rather it is intended to make comparisons of successful community efforts within the region that may help to work towards the modelling of tourism development strategies applicable to Atlantic Canada. All too often in the provinces of this region, the community development approach to tourism has been abandoned or utilized in only a sporadic fashion. This study examines some of the causes for this inconsistent approach with the ultimate objective of providing a more workable model for community tourism development.

It should be indicated that the six communities studied were chosen with the help of representatives from the industry and government departments. In this way, two communities from each of the three Maritime provinces were selected, affording a range of approaches and experiences with tourism that could be examined. It was determined that it would not be possible to investigate communities within Newfoundland, thus an effort

was made to gain an understanding of community involvement in tourism in Newfoundland from the literature as well as through personal contact with individuals in the industry. Thus the primary focus of the study was with the following six communities: Pictou and Lunenburg in Nova Scotia, Bouctouche and Sackville in New Brunswick, West Point and Mont Carmel in Prince Edward Island.

Understanding Community and Community Development

The characteristics of community can be as diverse as the number of communities that exist. Similarly the manner in which individuals view their own community can be varied. Therefore to understand community and communal attitudes is indeed a perplexing task. Nevertheless, I believe it is necessary to attempt to do so. For it is with such understanding, albeit rudimentary, that one can approach community development with a proper perspective: the view that community is the foundation for growth and sustainability.

The concept of community can be problematic as it can have wide descriptive and evaluative meaning:

> Community has been linked to locality, to identity of functional interests, to a sense of belonging, to shared cultural and ethnic ideas and values, to a way of life opposed to the organization and bureaucracy of modern mass society (Plant 1974: 13).

On the one hand, the term "community" can be used in a traditional sense where its meaning is rooted very closely to locality or place. This meaning flows from earlier European descriptions of community as "gemeinschaft" (Konig 1968; Nisbet 1962, 1970) and British views of early village life (Hillery 1968; Williams 1968). Such notions about community embodied rather conservative views of shared values and a common way of looking at the world. They implied a constancy of family and friends and a security of livelihood. In this way, this concept of community romanticized the values of rural life with a marked degree of nostalgia.

On the other hand, community can be viewed in a more modern sense where there is less emphasis on locality and more on functional groups (Minar and Greer 1969; Warren 1957). This view of community incorporates the reality of our industrial society with growth in individual mobility and consumption. In this way it attempts to integrate the values of individuality within the collective concept of community. It emphasizes shared objectives which are seen as a consequence of functional cooperation. It implies acceptance of the present day diversity of our interactions with others and much less nostalgia for a rural ethos.

Notwithstanding the above, it has been suggested that an individual's sense of community is largely a mental construct.

> People assert community ...when they recognize in it the most adequate medium for the expression of their wholeselves...[in this way] community provides an expedient... an expression of very diverse interests and aspirations (Cohen 1985: 10).

> Members find their identities as individuals through occupancy of
> community "social space". Whether or not its structural boundaries
> remain intact, the reality of community lies in its members. People
> construct community symbolically, making it a resource and
> repository and a referent of meaning (Ibid.: 114).

In addition to the above, it can be suggested that community is best viewed
in the context of one's surroundings in a fundamentally ecological way.
Such a perspective examines community appropriately in an inter-relational
framework, dealing with people living and working together within a given
environment. It examines the interaction and impact of people with their
natural surroundings over time. As such it acknowledges that community is
not static but in a state of flux and implies that there is a geography as well
as a history to a community and the two are intertwined.

This ecological view of community is appropriate, I believe, in Atlantic
Canada where many small and rural community economies are associated
with the natural resource base. As Redfield asserts "the concept of an
ecological system takes into account much of the whole community when
that community is one that is closely dependent upon the land and the
seasons" (Redfield 1955: 29). Moreover, he suggests that "the ecological
system is not merely a system described as an interrelationship of statically
conceived parts -- but a dynamic system in which can occur regular
transformation" (Ibid.: 27). In this way the ecological perspective to
community focuses on the close association of people with each other and
their collective interaction with the immediate world around them. It also

has the advantage of incorporating the parameter of time, where the interaction. referred to above, can be viewed as occurring over a specific time frame and evolving into different stages.

According to Robert Nisbet, one of the fundamental themes of the twentieth century is a "quest for community" (Nisbet 1970). Such a quest arises from the conditions in modern society that do not give the individual a sense of security and fulfillment. In Nisbet's view. the only alternative to the continued spread of alienation in the twentieth century is:

> Communities, small in scale but solid in structure...[that] respond at the grass roots to fundamental human desires: living together. working together. experiencing together, being together (Ibid.: 7).

Scherer argues that "communication is at the heart of community" and insists that "we can only share in common what we can communicate" (Scherer 1972: 104). She holds strongly that:

> Of all the social arrangements available to man in which he can pursue human objectives. community provides the richest context in which he can cooperate with others (Ibid.: 126).

She maintains that the unique characteristic of community is that members can express common concern over values, beliefs and goals, thereby becoming a potential force to stimulate change. But she is clear that such an association does not mean that it will be free of conflict or stress; nor

that community will automatically provide the structural solutions to our human problems.

> Rather communities only offer a multidimensional environment in which to examine these issues.... A modern community is not like a folk culture in which congruence between its population is achieved by widespread consensus about behaviour and values...The process by which community is achieved is conflict-ridden (Ibid.: 126).

Scherer cautions that our views of small rural communities can be one-sided, embodying notions of close kinship and friendship ties and relationships of simplicity that entirely overlook rural suspicion and conservatism (Ibid.: 16). Minar and Greer agree that the "pastoral village" has been mythologized and suggest that the narrow outlook and the oppressive coercion of gossip and public opinion has been forgotten (Minar and Greer 1969: 85). It is these characteristics which Scoggins maintains leads Amitai Etzioni to advocate that "we do not need a simple return to the traditional community...because traditional communities have been too authoritarian" (Scoggins 1995: 6). Similarly, there is often an idealized self-sufficiency associated with our view of small communities. And as Konig suggests this "idea of an isolated self-sufficient community is quite unjustified... and is never more than the sentimental delusion of some folklorist" (Konig 1968: 27).

Despite the growth of large centralized urban areas in Atlantic Canada the majority of people continue to reside in small towns and rural communities. Often they remain in these smaller communities by choice for other than

strictly economic reasons. Traditionally Atlantic Canadians enjoy a strong sense of community, a fact that enriches their lives (McCann 1987: 11). For many, this sense of community is a natural evolution of their family's rootedness in the community, going back several generations. By osmosis, if nothing else, they come to know what it means to belong, to share, and to view the rest of the world in common with their neighbours (Fowler 1991:4).

But what are the origins of this sense of community? How does it originally take root in the early stages of settlement and how is it fostered over time? Konig suggests that "feeling of solidarity" can exist among early settlers because of "the fact that they are settled together and experience a common fate" (Ibid.: 33). Furthermore he elaborates that:

> The proximity of settlement ...can spontaneously produce a wealth of social interaction which would otherwise be inconceivable and from which joint ties, values, myths and cults develop which are essentially local in character (Ibid.: 34).

Intertwined with this sense of solidarity described above can be a common bond that comes from a shared place of origin. For example when the protestant settlers from Germany and France arrived, by way of Halifax, in Lunenburg, or the many Scottish settlers arrived en masse to settle certain lots on Prince Edward Island, they imported with them an inherited commonality from the old country. Moreover this sense of solidarity can be all the stronger when fellow relatives are joint settlers, injecting the elements of kinship immediately into a new community.

It is reasonable to expect that early settlers, despite their many differences, would eventually grow together, to share things in common. But it is a process, as Scherer contends, that takes time:

> Community is a by-product that develops when people have an opportunity to interact over a period of time. That is, that as people define their interests and common values or argue over them with people not so inclined, they develop a "we-feeling" that is the first step towards community (Scherer 1972: 24).

Konig observes that common religious beliefs and practice play an important role in early settlement and can be a strong factor of early community integration. But initially it is the need for cooperation or joint action that is the early basis for community life:

> It is characteristic that the [first]principle [of community] appears under exceptional circumstances and usually under stress -- urgent or heavy labour, natural disasters, accidents -- which demand cooperation (Konig 1968: 50).

Yet the smallness of a community and the fact of living together in close proximity will not guarantee long term integration. Konig acknowledges that purely physical proximity, in the absence of some of the other factors identified above, seems to create only loose relationships that may not last.

He explains that:

> It is generally true that proximity is an important factor in the
> development of social interactions in newly-formed [communities]--
> later other quite different factors begin to operate... which can
> strengthen or weaken these relationships (Ibid.:53).

As community evolves other factors can create what Konig refers to as
"functional distances" (Ibid.: 74) that can override the influence of physical
proximity. Such factors as different economic position or livelihood,
different educational levels, and different cultural interests and activities
come into play with the development of both formal and informal
functional spheres. The result can be that community is subdivided and he
would suggest that its overall solidarity is weakened, at least temporarily.
But over time community cohesiveness is reconstituted, but in a new multi-
level way. The arrival of newcomers into a community can initiate the
process all over where early solidarity takes shape amongst the new arrivals
(Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993: 1327) only to once again evolve into
subdivision and integration with the rest of the community.

A principal task for communities is to effect integration and it is apparent
that some communities are more skilled than others at achieving this goal.
As previously stated, community is not static but is always in a state of flux.
Earlier occurrences can be repeated and there is ever the likelihood that
communities do learn from their previous experiences. In one sense
community can be viewed as a "repository" of collective experiences, a
collective wisdom if you like, that can be accessed and applied at a later

time. It is as if there exists a "community memory" which is an amalgam of all significant collective experiences that can influence future attitudes and activities.

It can be suggested that the geography of a location can shape the experiences of a community (Wilson 1991: 242). For instance. it is readily understandable when one views the hillside orientation of Lunenburg overlooking the large front harbour why early settlers, despite an agricultural background, looked ultimately to the sea for their livelihood. Survival depended on trade and thus Lunenburgers, almost from the outset, looked to involvement and interaction with outside communities. Such an orientation helped forge the collective gaze. In contrast, the rather isolated community of Mont Carmel, on marginal farmland west of the Miscouche wetlands, was out of necessity forced to look inwardly. Their early survival strategy relied more on meeting their own needs collectively and helping each other in time of need. Over time their outlook grew to be more parochial and introspective.

Alternatively, the people of West Point. a shoreline community of Prince Edward Island. depended on extracting a living from both land and sea. Periodic or seasonal isolation because of impeded travel, whether by boat or by horse and cart, fostered a collective independence and resourcefulness. Community was a wellspring from which to draw necessary help and resources. The situation across the strait in Bouctouche was similar in that livelihood was jointly obtained from both agricultural and fishery pursuits. Yet there was extended community as well, in nearby fellow Acadian settlements to which there were connections of language and culture. Thus

outlook could be strong towards these other communities, but introverted to their own immediate community, when it was in their own best interest to do so.

Pictou, situated on the Northumberland Strait, was originally settled with a view of its wide and deep harbourage, with adequate farmland nearby. It had a marine outlet, but soon there would be an overland route to Halifax (or at least the promise of the Great Pictou Road) that would turn its gaze inland as well. Sackville, New Brunswick, afforded a similar duality in orientation that allowed ready access both inland and to the sea, in this case the Bay of Fundy. It was strategically located on the isthmus of Chignecto with ease of access to transportation routes and endowed at the time with useful mineral resources. Certainly both of these communities were not isolated and were enriched by the flow of goods and pe ple past its doors.

Western Canadian geographers have written extensively on the influence that man has had on nature in the Canadian landscape (Marsh 1971; Scace 1968). But they theorize that nature has had an equal influence on man in his selection of settlements, his early transportation routes, not to mention his diet. H. L. Morton, a historian, goes further and suggests that the influence of the natural environment runs deep in the Canadian psyche (Morton 1972: 5). There is a school of thought, what is referred to as "deep" ecology, that contends that people are intricately linked to and a part of their natural environment (Devall and Sessions 1985). Consequently the proposition that geography may intrinsically impact on community is not at variance with these views noted above.

As suggested previously, communities in Atlantic Canada seem to enjoy by and large a relatively strong sense of identity. It may be that they are more in tune with their geography by virtue of the fact that the natural surroundings of their communities have not been totally altered. To this extent communities can remain more in touch with the interconnectedness to their environment, thereby affording them a sense of permanence. At the same time sociologists indicate that community can be informed by crisis. That is to say, that in times of need and hardship, people place greater importance on this sense of belonging and being together. It is at these times, as Cohen reports, that "individuals assert community" (Cohen 1985: 10). Accordingly it may be suggested that sense of community is enhanced in Atlantic Canada because communities have periodically undergone threats to their survival with the result that community has been reasserted more frequently.

However, with the growing sophistication of modern media and marketing, we are increasingly living in a world awash with vivid imagery and symbols. These media messages are so pervasive and persuasive that they can be utilized to distort or recreate reality. Community is not immune to such modern myth making. Overton, in a critique about the romanticizing of rural life in Newfoundland, maintains that " a mythical rural dweller [was] created that lives in harmony with nature...[in] a rural village in the mind" (Overton 1980: 122). He describes this as a type of ideological construction that fabricates what he calls a "spiritual home" as a tonic to a displaced middle class in a modern society (Ibid.: 126). McKay is equally critical of the portrayal of Peggy's Cove as the quintessential Nova Scotian fishing village. This depiction offers up for the masses "a folk village," a

sanitized and sweetened idyll of rural living (McKay 1988: 39). As well, McKay has lambasted the perpetration of the romantic myth of the "Scottish baronet ...with integrated and unified clans" (McKay 1992: 33) playing a role in the settlement of early Nova Scotia. He concludes that "such a myth subverted the essential character of the province and diffused the identity of Nova Scotia" (Ibid.: 8).

The cultural critique of McKay and Overton is significant in that the objective of revitalizing community is worthwhile but only if what is idealized is in fact true. Given the power and the ubiquity of modern media, there is a need for vigilance to ensure authenticity. Community can be fortified and reconstituted but only if such efforts touch upon the true spirit of community. For instance, the Bluenose is in my estimation an appropriate icon of Lunenburg. It encapsulates the collective heritage of skilled workmanship and the entrepreneurial spirit of risk taking characterized by the community. Similarly one might suggest that the lighthouse at West Point accurately signifies the hardiness and the resourcefulness of its people, making it an appropriate symbol of community. In the same way, one could consider that waterfowl are intricately associated with the landscape surrounding Sackville and thus symbolize a natural reality of its community. While Le Village, an attempt at a pioneer village, has resonance for the present day community of Mont Carmel, in that it awakens a sense of pride in the pioneering spirit of the ancestors. Yet on the other hand, one might ponder what messages their reconstruction of the Hector evokes for the Scottis 1 descendants in the Pictou area or what the fabricated Le Pays de la Sagouine instills in the

community of Bouctouche. How well do these themes augment community and the collective understanding of same?

But it is not just mass communication that is the problem: community spirit can be diminished by a deterioration of communication within. I believe that Scherer was accurate in maintaining that communication is at the heart of community. Paradoxically at a time when there exists at our disposal an array of communication technology, we seem to have less opportunity to actually communicate with each other. Maintaining communication effectively within community can be a challenge given that the way we live and interact within community has changed.

When one stops to consider, there have been fundamental changes that have occurred in people's lives, even in the past few decades. For example, in the course of a day people in a particular community may encounter each other only for a brief moment on their way to and from work. More often people's place of employment is outside their community, effectively removing them from any interpersonal interaction. Even socially or in leisure, communities have witnessed a transformation in people's personal activities. The explosion of "home" entertainment from multi-channel satellite dishes to VCRs and ever-engaging computers offers little encouragement for traditional forms of community involvement. As well people enjoy much greater freedom of mobility because of the ease of travel at all times of the year. This translates into a social dispersion of community where individuals can be frequently engaged in activities elsewhere. As well, the reality is that some of the traditional meeting places have disappeared or have been severely altered. Community foci such as

school, church, post office have ceased to have the same communication importance as they once did.

Upon reflection, one can not help but think that engendering community spirit was more readily accomplished in an early generation. Certainly the former oral tradition allowed more face-to-face communication and transmission of community ideas and ideals. Say what one will, it is hard to dispute that political gatherings, old fashioned ceilidhs and church picnics did not give folks a chance to meet, exchange pleasantries and discuss more serious items. That is not to suggest that folks always agreed on everything but at least they were talking to each other and such encounters provided the forum for dialogue and distillation of community thinking.

The above is not meant to eulogize traditional community but to serve as a reminder of how communication within community has fundamentally changed. The result is that communities, to function effectively, are obliged to make a concerted effort to maintain good communication among their people. This being the case, our discussion leads to a brief consideration of the process of community development -- a process that is heavily predicated on the presence of effective communication within community.

Community development can be defined as:

> ...an organized effort to improve conditions of community by supporting the capacity of the people for participation, self-direction and integrated action (Dunham 1970: 171).

The above definition of community development suggests that intrinsic to the process there is a certain philosophy. For instance, community development is based on the philosophy of self-help and local participation which ideally translates into local leadership. As well bona fide community development implies seeking some consensus of community and not promotion of a pre-determined program (see Ketilson, Fulton, Fairbairn and Bold 1992). Finally community development often entails an educational component ensuring individuals are involved in informed decision making (see Manitoba 1993).

The adoption of a community development approach can encounter local impediments. As noted above, this approach is dependent upon self-initiative and a willingness to lead, yet local leadership traditionally forthcoming from school, church or business may not be as prolific as it once was. There may be as well, on the part of many, an unwillingness to get involved relying instead on the efforts of a few or depending on government representatives to take care of the problems. As well, there can be encountered a resistance to change, whether emanating from a purely conservative instinct or a mere reluctance to adopt new ways. There can also be a polarization within community, such as along the lines of vested interest groups that impedes consensus building. Although the origins of such impediments are varied, at the centre of them all can lie the need for more effective communication.

It is apparent that some communities are more adept than others at utilizing a community development approach for their renewal. A variety of explanations can be put forth in substantiating why. But from our profiles

of the six communities, there were certain common characteristics to their approach to dealing with community initiatives namely, more flexibility than firmness, more openness than closemindedness and a tendency to look within rather than outside for solutions. By and large all of those communities that were successful were endowed with strong leadership that could effect good communication and thereby mobilize community spirit and foster inclusive action. Frequently, such competency relied more on sensitivity to community needs and expectations than innovation or creativity.

The unfortunate history of the past twenty-five years of industrial regional development in Atlantic Canada does not bear witness to much attention, let alone success, in community development. All too often it speaks of an ingrained top-down approach in preference to anything closely resembling what might have been perceived as a radical approach -- a community-based, from the grass roots up, initiated development. With few exceptions the official thinking towards tourism in this region was of the same mind set. This is the focus of the next chapter in providing an overview of how regional understanding and development of tourism evolved over the past few decades.

2. Understanding Tourism and Its Development

The past twenty-five years have witnessed an unprecedented involvement of the federal government in the economies of the Atlantic provinces. It was intended as a far-sighted, well-planned and logical extension of modern economic thinking. To be fair, such government investment has had a major impact, some of it positive. But as we have all come to know, there were many failures as well. For the time being at least, this era is over. The reality is that the federal government can no longer afford such extravagant thinking.

Government policy regarding tourism during this period was infused with the same models applied to all other industrial sectors. From the point of view of the federal government, tourism was an industry and had to be developed and managed professionally. Adler, in a 1982 publication entitled The Garden Transformed, writes:

> Tourism came to be seen ....as an "industry" subject to cost-accounting, requiring professional management, sizable capital investment and for these reasons -- substantial government support.

> Tourism might be seen as creating a market for goods and services by seasonally increasing the population and by changing its economic composition....The attraction, maintenance and expansion of this population and market constitutes our sense of tourism as industry (Adler 1982: 133).

Adler's comments were directed at Prince Edward Island and its adoption of the Comprehensive Development Plan in 1969. However this industrial perspective, flowing as it did from the federal government, was symptomatic of the view of tourism throughout Atlantic Canada. Such thinking and investment helped stimulate new industrial tourism expansion; but this forced growth was not without its problems.

As a result of the thrust of regional economic expansion, the past several decades of tourism development in Atlantic Canada have been characterized by a top-down approach. That is, the objectives, targets and related incentives were established by the federal and provincial governments with the expectations that the industry would be stimulated to fulfill them. Such an approach has resulted in considerable expansion, as noted above, with an emphasis towards development of new infrastructure.

But change in the industry is apparent, in that this top-down approach is being challenged. Within Atlantic Canada there is a growing demand that provincial and regional tourism associations be involved in the formulation and implementation of industrial policies and programs. These demands are most vociferous at the lower echelons of the industry, such as small independent operators of motels, cottages, inns and bed and breakfasts, who are gaining a more unified voice. Similarly communities have become increasingly interested in the process of tourism planning and development, stimulated both by economic gain as well as concern about the potential impact on their community of random growth.

A. Tourism Industrial Strategy

Two factors changed the face of tourism in Atlantic Canada:

> a) The decided thrust of the federal government into regional
> development with the creation of the Department of Regional
> Economic Expansion,
>
> b) The evolution of tourism from providing "room, meals and
> scenery" to the provision of "experience, cuisine and festival."

As noted, the tourism industry of today in Atlantic Canada has been shaped
largely by the economic policy and practice of the federal government over
the past twenty-five years. The creation of the Department of Regional
Economic Expansion, with its bringing together in a single administration all
the regionally oriented development programs of the federal government,
provided new definition and impetus to this economic policy. The provision
of assistance through major federal-provincial agreements for the
implementation of this economic policy had three primary emphases,
namely:

> 1. First, there would be an emphasis on the planning process: goal
> formation, development of alternative strategies to achieve goals and
> the designation of final implementation methods.
>
> 2. Second, there would be an emphasis on "growth poles" which
> means finding and building on the points of strength in a regional
> economy.

3. Third, there would be an emphasis on the mechanism of growth in these growth poles, i.e. incentives used selectively to induce the location of the strategic activities that will set in motion the necessary growth processes (Gertler 1970: 47).

It is these last two policies that were to have the greatest influence on the government's intervention in the tourism industry throughout Atlantic Canada. On the surface, it appeared as a coordinated and rational approach to development. Once underway into full implementation, the breadth and width of government's involvement was striking. Government's investment in terms of large n. w facilities was substantial, despite the fact that the private development that was to occur in response to the establishment of a tourism "growth pole" often did not materialize.

Adler's assessment of government's attitude towards tourism was summarized as follows:

> To take full advantage of tourism's potential contribution to regional development sizeable capital investments would be required in transportation, marketing, accommodation facilities and recreation attractions. These investments, too big for small family concerns, were deemed to be feasible when publically financed by provincial - federal government agreements...[as a result] government became the largest tourism developer (Adler 1982: 135).

Although not every federal - provincial agreement offered such an enticing cost sharing formula (90% - 10%) as the Prince Edward Island Development Plan, the federal encouragement was nevertheless pronounced across Atlantic Canada. Given such largesse of the federal partnerships, it would seem in hindsight that the provinces went on a building spree. The decades of the 70's and the 80's saw a proliferation of provincial recreation resorts like Brudenell in PEI and Liscombe Lodge in Nova Scotia, historic villages like King's Landing in New Brunswick and Sherbrooke Village in Nova Scotia, as well as elaborate Visitor Centres at main distribution points into all of these provinces. In addition, highways were improved and attractive signage was added, creating what the new lexicon called "scenic byways." In order to service the large number of new visitors, a network of information kiosks appeared with smartly uniformed staff throughout the region. In the course of a few short years, the federal government, with the help of the provinces, overhauled the image of tourism in Atlantic Canada.

Meanwhile the federal government invested directly into tourism as well. Several new National Parks such as Kejimkujik, Kouchibouguac and Gros Morne were developed during this period. In addition, major improvements were made to other Atlantic National Parks such as Fundy and Prince Edward Island and Historic Parks including the Halifax Citadel and Fort Beausejour. As well a new federal program entitled ARC (Agreements for Recreation and Conservation)was created to develop historic parkways and waterways such as St. Peter's Canal, in Cape Breton.

B. The Evolution of Cultural Tourism

The United Nations declaration on tourism (1980) stated that "modern tourism was born out of the application of social policies which...found its expression through the recognition of the basic human right to rest and leisure" (Wilson 1991: 19). In the process of facilitating the changes necessary to accommodate tourists, it has been argued that tourism redefined the land in terms of leisure as a consequence of a "massive conceptual reorganization of the landscape"(Ibid.: 40). In his treatise on the culture of nature, Alexander Wilson observed that modern mass tourism represented a new way of viewing the world:

> It created a whole range of new landscapes: campgrounds, beach complexes...parks. It vastly reorganized not only the geography of North America but also our perception of nature and our place in it (Ibid.: 20)

The logic of industrial thinking advocated standardization and when applied to natural areas in the name of tourism the results were predictable:

> Natural beauty...was inevitably quantified as a result of applying bureaucratic and industrial models to landscape...All of these developments contributed to the institutionalization of tourism. Sightseeing...was the organized massed consumption of familiar landscapes. Facilities had to be standardized and [the landscape] transformed into recognizable forms (Ibid.: 42).

Thus it is not surprising that facilities such as interpretive centres, guided walkways and modern campgrounds became common denominators in provincial developments. They were reasonable facsimiles of modern tourism facilities elsewhere in North America, attempting to ensure that visitor needs and expectations were satisfied while visiting Atlantic Canada. All the while that provinces were preoccupied with providing the industrial components for this expanding industry, tourism itself was undergoing a fundamental transformation.

The proposition that tourism (as industry) is the provision of goods and services to an expanded population remains valid as long as it is understood that the goods and services have been altered drastically and the population is forever changing. In the past 10 years tourism has progressively become a cultural commodity that is highly differentiated and directed at specialty or niche markets. MacCannell in his ethnographic study of tourism suggests that postindustrial society is the coming of consciousness of industrial society (MacCannell 1976: 182). For MacCannell, the differentiation of modern society and consciousness is reflected in the elaborate system of natural, cultural and technological tourism attractions that have developed. Similarly it is his view that the enticement of such things as conferences, events and sights is a function of the quality of the experience that they offer. For him, the end result is an accumulation of experiences which synthesize fiction and reality into a vast symbolism (Ibid.: 23).

MacCannell acknowledges that modern tourism is predominantly a middle class phenomenon, reflecting increased awareness, affluence and mobility:

> As modern ideas and institutions increase their sphere of influence a mobile international [middle] class...is widening its base of operations into areas of the world that long remained outside the mainstream of [tourism] development (Ibid.: 178).

He suggests that the central role of tourism came about because leisure has become the focus of modern social arrangement. Moreover he is of the opinion that many experimental forms of social organization have emerged from this broadly based framework of leisure activities. MacCannell asserts that tourism is an integral part of this framework of leisure activity and he notes that it increasingly includes a wide variety of cultural pursuits (Ibid.:6). As a result he concludes that tourism is an essential component of a global sphere of culture that is broadening its influence.

Urry in his text, The Tourist Gaze characterizes our postmodern world as a "reversal of the long term process of structural differentiation" (Urry 1990: 82). He suggests that part of this reversal has come about because culture has come to occupy a more central position in the organization of present-day societies. For Urry, postmodernism involves a dissolving of the boundaries between different cultural forms, ultimately creating a "cultural paradigm" (Ibid.: 87). From Urry's perspective commerce and culture today are intertwined. He portrays our global economy as a cultural economy where cultural capital is dominant and where institutions of culture have "their own logic, currency and convertibility to economic

capital" (Ibid.: 88). Consequently Urry expounds that "what is tourism and what is generally culture is relatively unclear" (Ibid.: 182). For him tourism today is intrinsically a part of the cultural paradigm, where the promotion of tourism is carried out by "cultural intermediaries" who are engaged in the "symbolic work" of media, advertising and design (Ibid.: 90).

For Urry then the quintessential postmodern tourism product is a cultural experience. The postmodern tourist is clearly not seeking a mass produced commodity but an unique experience in keeping with his/her particular interests. Catering to these specialized cultural interests demands a sophisticated approach to marketing, appealing to target groups with appropriate cultural symbolization. Urry portrays contemporary tourism as follows:

> The pleasures of tourism stem from complex processes of both production and consumption that are highly organized and structured within the *tourist gaze* ...[offering] a whole series of experiences with multiple texts and no single authentic tourist experience (Ibid.: 100).

Urry holds as did MacCannell that tourism predominantly involves the middle class. However he sees a substantial increase in the size of the service class which inflates the middle classes. Such classes he suggests are "stronger on cultural than economic capital" (Ibid.: 88) and provide much of the audience for the evolving cultural commodities. He argues that these middle class groupings are in a transformed situation and have significant impact upon wider society. These groups he notes place "enormous

importance on the media and their role in structuring fashion and taste" (Ibid.: 91). As a result he pronounces that tourism today is in part a question of fashionability. Travel to a particular destination and participation in a particular activity is assessed by the tourist in the "currency of fashionability" (Ibid.: 91).

But what do such sociological pronouncements have to do with communities' interest in tourism? Beyond providing an awareness of tourists' expectations, do they impart any particular message for communities? I believe the answer to these questions is affirmative, in that there is a relevance that includes not just the changes in "tourism packaging" but touches upon the greater level of involvement that is expected of community. What this means is that tourism has advanced beyond the simple provision of amenities to the offering of cultural experiences that require a genuine commitment on the part of the host community. The operant word here is "genuine," in that community must be fully comfortable and authentic in being host.

There is also the message in MacCannell's and Urry's analysis of tourism that the "average tourist" has been replaced by a continuum of niche tourists seeking special experiences. In practical terms this translates into the trade salvo "don't be all things to all people" but rather be selective in appealing to a niche group. Although at first this may seem like the industry is demanding a more narrow focus, it does in the long term provide a greater freedom of choice for purveyors of tourism, allowing a more pro-active approach to tourism, where the provision of "services" can be managed and directed at select groups, by community.

Having considered MacCannell's and Urry's perspective, it is of interest to examine the interplay of culture with tourism in the various communities studied. The influence of culture on the provision of tourism services and the impact of these services on community are equally of concern. The next chapter will provide a profile of individual community involvement in tourism, but at this point in the discussion the focus is specifically on the role that culture holds in this involvement. As well the issue of authenticity will be addressed in relation to the growing expectations of tourists and the power and persuasion of modern media.

Let us use Mont Carmel as a point of comparison. In this community, the Acadian culture is the central theme of the tourism industry and it is intriguing how community has endorsed this approach. Within Mont Carmel and the surrounding area, there are no waterslides, no go-cart tracks or mini-golf courses, nor wax museums. Instead they have chosen to offer culture as their tourism product: the tourist is invited to experience cuisine, music, language and even a cooperative.

The message associated with their tourism promotions does not seem to suggest that the Acadians were the "noble pioneers" or the first "real" Islanders. That is, there is no overt romanticizing of the "folk acadien" as Overton or McKay might describe. Similarly there is no attempt to perpetuate an "Evangeline myth" as at Grand Pre in Nova Scotia. Rather their cultural offerings seem to spring from a genuine Acadian renaissance: where once assimilation and loss of language was the norm, now there is

discovery and celebration of their heritage, with tourists being invited to participate.

Are tourists being lured to "an Acadian village in the mind"? This is a timely question, for the people of Mont Carmel are in the process of deconstructing much of an old pioneer village which has been determined to be less than authentic. This is to be replaced with a cultural centre where once again the focus will be on experiential opportunities. Yet, in this new facility there is less emphasis on going back in time and mythologizing about their collective history and more of a desire to celebrate their collective identity as a people today.

As Urry would suggest, the line between culture and tourism is unclear in the community of Mont Carmel. Their cultural expression is part of the larger cultural paradigm of Acadian revival throughout Atlantic Canada. The symbols of a distinctive flag and the Etoile de Mer are bold and colourful and resonate effectively. These brave new cultural trademarks are interwoven with their attempts at enterprise. Cooperatives are strongly associated with Acadian traditions and thus add to their collective identity. It appears that tourism consumption has been socially organized and constructed, so as to be successfully integrated with the present day community.

The other community studied on Prince Edward Island was West Point. Here as well, we witness a cultural dimension to their tourism involvement. The West Point Lighthouse is an appropriate symbol of the early history of this community and the focus of their initial efforts at renewal. Apparently the

first major steps that this small community took in order to "revitalize the community" were directed at restoring the old lighthouse that was badly in need of repairs. In their minds at least, it seemed to symbolize the state of their own community and so they felt efforts to restore the lighthouse would in turn help restore the community. These initial efforts led to the development of a museum and eventually a restaurant and motel. Although rooted in their heritage, their tourism has come to be more closely aligned with the two latter developments, the restaurant and motel which many of the community members frequent. Tourism it would seem has provided a new vitality but certainly has not overshadowed community life in West Point. It has been applied as a beneficial complement to other more traditional economic activities.

Tourism in Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, has a decided cultural manifestation. The community's series of annual festivals are built upon the heritage of its people. The focal point for the community and many of these festivals is the waterfront and the old town of Lunenburg (now a National Historic District). This is an authentic setting , complete with a number of floating ships, including the schooner the Theresa E. Connor and often the Bluenose Two. There appears to be an interesting symbiotic relationship between tourism and the fishery, long the backbone of the community. For so many years it was the fishery that supported tourism activities in the community. Today with the fishery in serious decline, the reverse is true. For many, these festivals are a boon to community, but for others there is more than a casual yearning for the more prosperous years of the fishery.

In the case of Pictou, Nova Scotia, there is an interesting attempt at recapturing the Scottish heritage of the community which McKay might claim was inspired by tartan mythology. The central element of their waterfront redevelopment is the reconstruction of the ship Hector which transported early Scottish settlers to the area. This is an impressive undertaking but the curious fact remains that accurate plans for the ship were unavailable and that the Hector was not built on this side of the Atlantic. So one is left with its reconstruction at wharfside in downtown Pictou as somewhat of an historic anomaly. But this does not detract from the effective depiction of life on board ship and the conditions faced by the early settlers, displayed in the nearby interpretive centre.

The New Brunswick communities that were studied offer two divergent approaches to celebrating their cultural heritage. In the first instance of the community of Sackville, culture is innovatively interpreted to include wetland and waterfowl. It takes imagination and a bit of a leap of faith to conceive of one's natural surroundings (in this case rather unspectacular!) as a cause for celebration. Yet this community has done so successfully, to the point where other celebrations are being envisioned, the themes for which may be equally eclectic. In contrast, the community of Bouctouche was more traditional, at least in its adoption of an Acadian village for its primary tourism initiative. But this is a tourism theme with a twist as it invokes a literary inspiration, La Sagouine, based on the marketing potential of the international acclaim of its creator.

C. More Recent Developments

The legacy of DREE-inspired tourism initiatives is still very much part of the industry in Atlantic Canada today. Moreover the old habits that were fostered during the height of federal spending have a way of repeating themselves, as evidenced by the investment of the province of Nova Scotia in the theme attraction of Upper Clements Park. But there may be cause for encouragement as a more mature take-charge attitude is appearing within the ranks of the industry. This change is also reflected in a revised approach within the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA), the new central agency for regional development. Two important priorities apparent in ACOA's response to the changes in the industry were:

> i) Support for the further professionalization of the industry in the form of assistance for training and the development of institutions that would allow the industry to be more self-regulating.
> ii) Assistance for the development of new marketing skills and initiatives especially involving partnerships between private operators as well as cooperation between provinces (Young 1996).

In the first instance greater emphasis was paid to the recognition and development of regional and provincial tourism associations. For example in Prince Edward Island, where the tourism industry association was formally created in 1980, there was a growing acceptance of responsibility in the area of training, grading and marketing in the latter part of the decade. During the same period in Nova Scotia, funding was provided directly to area associations enabling them to hire full-time executive

directors. This resulted in a more decentralized approach to area planning and tourism marketing. While in New Brunswick, where it seemed that the industry was less formally organized, both area and sector associations were fostered. As well on a regional level there was agreement by all four provinces to create the Atlantic Grading Authority to oversee the grading of accommodation properties for the benefit of the travelling public. Also, for the first time, various cooperative marketing campaigns, participated in by the provinces in conjunction with the federal agency, allowed the Atlantic Region as a whole to be promoted more effectively.

The recognition that tourism was rapidly undergoing change was reflected in the content of the federal-provincial agreements and the programs delivered by ACOA. As a result, much more emphasis was placed on festival development in Nova Scotia and in Prince Edward Island new annual themes were adopted highlighting cultural heritage such as "We're Akin to Ireland" and the Scottish theme "Road to the Isle." While in New Brunswick, in carving out its market niche, efforts were made to promote the province as an ecotourist's paradise for whale watching, sea kayaking and winter cross country skiing. Similarly Newfoundland executed promotional efforts themed to the attractions of the Viking site of L'Anse aux Meadows and the pristine beauty of such areas as Gros Morne and Labrador.

It is interesting to note that the ACOA agreements of the last five to seven years provided greater recognition to non-profit associations and community groups as legitimate partners to the industry. Feasibility studies and development plans were funded, with preferential levels of grants to help guide the involvement of these new participants. As well, ACOA

agreements acknowledged the importance of sustained marketing efforts and encouraged marketing partnerships among establishments, in recognition that such efforts were often beyond the means of independent operators. These new "marketing consortia " (e.g., Atlantic Association of Historic Inns), similar to approaches by the private sector in other industries, proved to be popular and effective. It allowed relatively small operators to enter a rather elite marketing sphere, thereby enhancing their awareness and understanding of important new skills. This new emphasis on marketing also resulted in the promotion of "information transfer" visits to other more aggressive tourism areas such as in New England. The expectation was that Atlantic operators could learn from others more experienced in the industry and potentially establish very beneficial networks with them.

There is no doubt that these recent developments have introduced an improved marketing sophistication into the industry and as well the new association organizations are a reflection of growing self-administration. As the industry is gaining in economic importance within the region, such improvements are appropriate and timely. But is the industry poised to take advantage of the opportunities that exist, to the betterment of the region culturally and socially? It is interesting to recall that several years ago in Prince Edward Island, a document entitled Tourism 2000 advocated the future development of the tourism industry on the basis of ten principles. Among the most important in terms of priority were those related to heritage preservation, natural environment protection and cultural celebration. These principles were endorsed by both the federal and provincial government as well as the industry association as a

declaration of intent, regarding tourism on the Island. Although it was hailed at the time as a new more sensitive and mature approach to tourism, development on the Island since then has shown that the document was more rhetoric than substance.

This is the experience of only one government's genuine efforts, I believe, to respond to the growing challenges of this rapidly changing industry. Is this an indication of a resistance to change or a tendency to rely on well-established approaches within the industry? This is difficult to surmise, but the question is pertinent as the industry must surely accept responsibility for its management and marketing. As noted there is a growing maturity in the industry which should signal to communities that the opportunity exists to participate in the planning and direction of the industry. Consequently communities can view unsolicited development, in particular initiated by other levels of government, as a concept that may not be revisited so readily.

In the next chapter we will examine in detail how various communities have recently become involved in the industry. Their experiences reveal a varying degree of success in terms of integrating tourism with other sectors of their economies. As we will discover, not all communities have shown a full acceptance of the industry to the extent that tourism intrudes on other aspects of community life. In assessing the process by which these communities became involved, it is apparent that some of the paternalism of a top-down approach to development still exists. However this is clearly the exception as communities are more typically informed and involved at directing their own tourism planning and implementation.

3. Tourism Profiles of Six Communities

During the fall of 1993 and the winter of 1994, personal visits were paid to
each community to be profiled. Contact had been made with primary
informants beforehand to arrange interviews with individuals involved with
tourism in the community. Often these personal visits were followed up by
telephone conversations in order to augment or clarify information
gathered. Early in the process of individual visits, it was decided that
additional information could be elicited by convening joint meetings.
Communities showed strong support for meeting collectively and the first
such meeting was hosted in Pictou, Nova Scotia in November 1993. A
second meeting was originally scheduled for Sackville in February but
several participants were unable to attend. The second and third meetings
were ultimately combined and held at Saint Mary's University in March of
1994. These day-long meetings proved to be very useful in that they
fostered a more in-depth discussion of each community's approach to
tourism and afforded an opportunity for communities to exchange
information with each other.

One of the issues that was identified in the above consultations with the six
communities was the question of communal attitude towards tourism. It
was apparent that attitudinal response was subject to a number of
parameters and warranted further examination. It was determined that
additional interviews would be arranged in the community of Lunenburg to
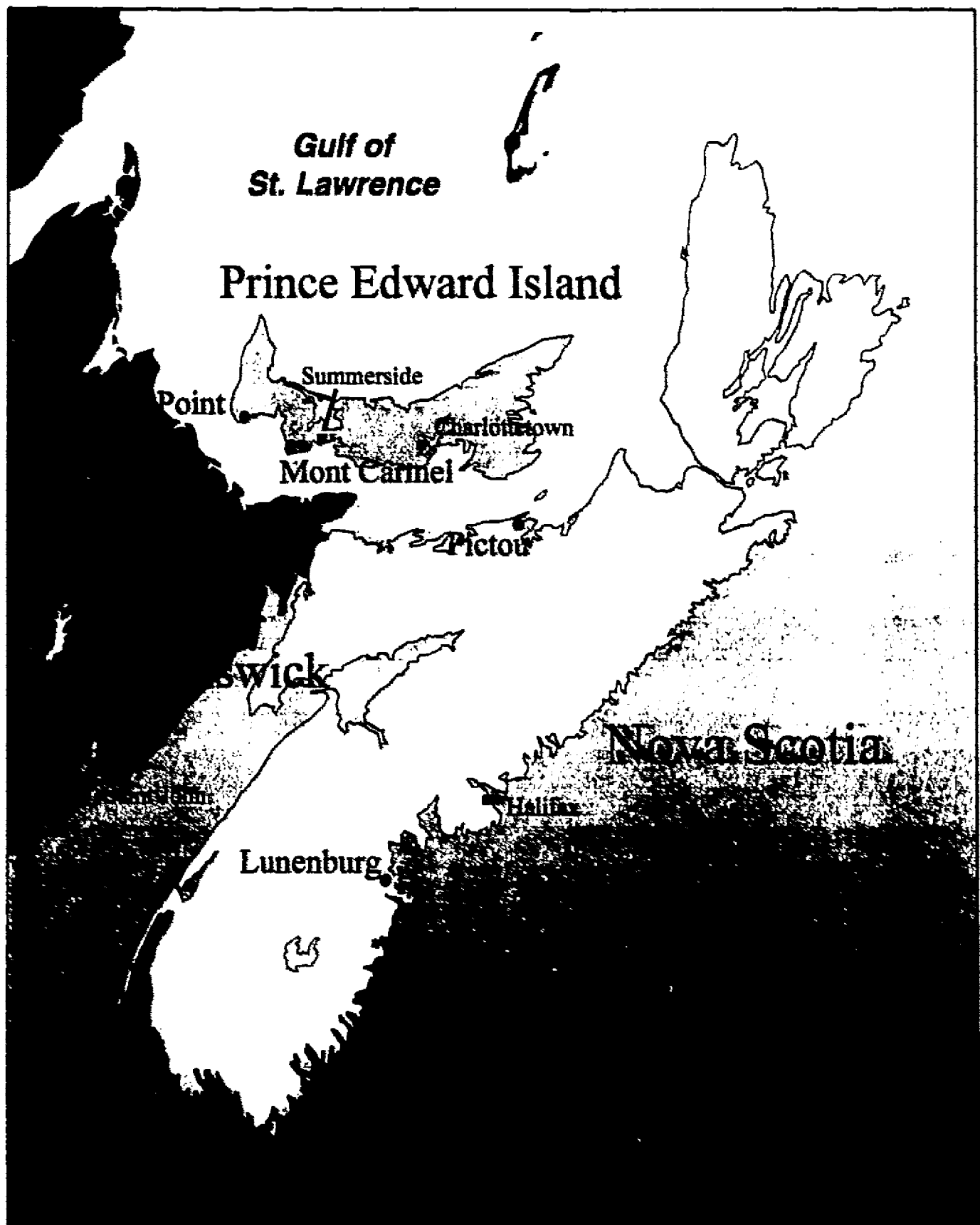better understand the variables that influenced community's attitude

towards the industry. The choice of Lunenburg was made based on its lengthy association with tourism, the high degree of involvement of the community with tourism events and the multi-seasonality of the industry in this community. Such characteristics suggested that it offered a prime opportunity to understand better the attitudes towards the industry. Accordingly, additional interviews were held in Lunenburg in the winter and spring of 1994, to assess better how and why the community viewed its involvement with tourism.

a) Community Profile: West Point, Prince Edward Island

West Point is situated at the head of Egmont Bay, overlooking the Northumberland Strait, in western Prince County (See Diagram One). The community has a reported 113 residents (1991c) with fishing (lobster and scallops) being the primary livelihood. There are a few small beef farms and several larger potato farms in the area, as well as small machine shops catering to the local fishing and farming needs. The community has a strong Scottish heritage, extending as far back as the early 1800's, but has never been officially designated as a village or a hamlet.

Interviews were held with Mrs. Carol Livingstone, the manager of the West Point Lighthouse Development Corporation, a volunteer position she has held for over 10 years. Mrs. Livingstone has been a life-long resident of West Point and worked in the area of adult education for a number of years. Her grandfather was the last lighthouse keeper at the West Point Light and her grandmother was very active in the church and the community. A primary activity for the men of the community (including her husband) was

Diagram 1: Region of Atlantic Canada

Gulf of St. Lawrence

Prince Edward Island

Summerside

Point

Charlottetown

Mont Carmel

Pictou

swick

Nova Scotia

Halifax

Lunenburg

lobster fishing and Mrs. Livingstone explained that their involvement with tourism came about because of a "perceived decline in the quality of community life" (Livingstone 1993). There was a concern among the residents that "community spirit had gone downhill" and that there was a need to "bring the community back". Mrs. Livingstone attributed her own involvement and the strength of her convictions that the community could be revived to an adult learning workshop she attended in Saskatchewan. This workshop focused on the issues of leadership and commitment and proved to be a personal inspiration to her.

The community involvement in tourism commenced in 1984 with the decision to restore the lighthouse keeper's living quarters for the purposes of a museum. This activity was precipitated by a series of public meetings where it was discussed what should be done to revitalize their community and make West Point as good a place to live as before. As a result of these meetings, several priorities were identified; among them being restoration of the lighthouse, documentation of their history and promotion of crafts. Although there was an economic objective as well, the community's involvement in tourism was grounded in a need to address a decline in community activity or spirit. It was later that same year that funds were secured to hire an individual to help gather historic information about the lighthouse and, as well, the West Point Lighthouse Craft Guild was formed.

To be able to formally lease the lighthouse from the Canadian Coast Guard, the community had to have a legal organizational structure. The approach that was chosen was to create an entity called the West Point Lighthouse Development Corporation. This was a pragmatic decision that was initiated

by a core group that was more heavily involved in the restoration efforts. Mrs. Livingstone explained that those more closely associated with the project felt confident that it was the right decision to take; it was a case of a commitment having to be made to enter into a long term lease. This decision to lease the premises set in motion a series of other decisions to become more deliberately involved in tourism.

During the years of 1984 and 1985, a small craft shop was constructed and the "chowder kitchen" at the lighthouse was expanded. As well, attention was given to obtaining cooperation from the provincial authorities in promoting tourist traffic to the area by relocating and rehabilitating the campground in the nearby Cedar Dunes Provincial Park. In addition, work was accomplished by the province on a coastal trail leading from the new campground area to the vicinity of the lighthouse. Such improvements in conjunction with extra promotional efforts resulted in growing tourist numbers to the area. Consequently the Corporation took the next major decision to add six motel guest rooms and a 64-seat restaurant at the back of the lighthouse. Clearly the objective had shifted from heritage preservation to economic stimulation. This expansion work was actually completed in 1986 and 1987 and involved considerable volunteer labour from the community to ensure that the project was completed on time and on budget. In 1988, a second floor room in the lighthouse was converted to the "Tower Room" suite and the attraction of being able to stay overnight in the lighthouse was born. This proved to be very popular and new marketing initiatives by the Corporation dovetailed very opportunely with a provincial campaign to promote the island as a honeymoon destination area. In 1989, the kitchen was expanded and along with the added capacity of the seaside

patio, the Corporation became involved in offering dinner theatre programming at the Lighthouse restaurant. Tourism business flourished to the extent that four more rooms were added and the furnishings in all rooms were upgraded to meet the new standards of the Grading Authority. By the early 1990's the lighthouse operation had become a permanent and successful contributor to the community, creating employment for more than 25 people each summer and diversifying local economic skills.

It is interesting to note that these tourism improvements had a spill-over effect into other areas of the community. Mrs. Livingstone explained that the successful tourism initiatives inspired the fishermen to make improvements to their harbour area including the construction of new bait sheds. As well the fishermen became involved in what was called Lighthouse Festival Days, by way of participating in boat races for the Atkinson Trophy, an activity that had been dormant for a number of years. In addition Canada Day celebrations were once again inaugurated, a fact attributed to a revitalized community spirit.

By all accounts this community's involvement in tourism has had a very positive impact resulting in economic and social renewal. These achievements were realized, in part, because of strong community leadership that was able to articulate community needs and connect with the community's past. The Corporation was able to adjust to the changes in the tourism industry and moved toward effective packaging and cultural programming. The focus on the Lighthouse provided a strong marketing edge and proved to be a rallying point for the community. Tourism had a role in raising levels of volunteerism, rejuvenating communal activities and

assisting the community of West Point to reassert itself. Their approach incorporated strong grass-roots support for community enhancement that over time solidified into an acknowledged acceptance and respect for the economic results that tourism was able to generate for their community.

b) Community Profile: Mont Carmel, Prince Edward Island

Mont Carmel is a seaside village, located on the shores of Bedeque Bay, approximately 26 km. west of Summerside, in Prince County. As of the 1991 census, there were a total of 211 people that resided in the village proper. The principal livelihood activities of the residents are fishing and farming. Mont Carmel is a parochial Acadian community that traces its roots to the late 1700's. The log-constructed village of church, school, blacksmith shop, and a number of homes is said to depict a period circa 1820. The village is in the heart of the Acadian district of Prince Edward Island, called the Evangeline Region, encompassing some 2500 Acadians.

The interim manager of Le Village (Pioneer Village Cooperative), Mr. Leonce Bernard, former MLA for the district and founding manager of the Evangeline Credit Union, was interviewed during a personal visit to the community in the fall of 1993. An additional visit was made to the site in the spring of 1994 and several conversations were held with Maurice X. Gallant, who had been the site manager for almost 10 years in the 1980's and 1990's, and now had returned to assume managerial responsibilities once again. (In the period that he was absent from Le Village, Mr. Gallant was involved with the initial development of La Sagouine in Bouctouche.)

If the West Point community's involvement with tourism rested upon a perceived crisis of spirit, then the impetus for Mont Carmel's involvement was an economic crisis in the community. It was explained by Mr. Bernard that in the mid sixties the local lobster fishermen experienced a number of consecutive disastrous fishing seasons, creating economic hardship for a large number of families in the community. It was through the assistance of Canada Works Projects during the fall/winter of 1967, 1968 and 1969 that the Pioneer Village, a replica of an Acadian village was constructed out of local cedar logs. It was not until 1969 that the community decided to open the village to the public and a cooperative was formed to operate the facility. In this way community involvement in tourism began (Bernard 1993).

In 1970, again with the assistance of a Canada Works Project, a 75-seat restaurant, L'Etoile de Mer, was built adjacent to Le Village. It was the following year that the fledgling Evangeline Tourist Association was created with the Pioneer Village as its flagship. In 1973 the community, at its new restaurant featuring Acadian cuisine, was able to host an official visit by the Queen. This royal visit, in the words of Mr. Bernard, helped foster community spirit and Acadian identity. It also served to underscore the importance of their new facilities to the community and the potential that tourism might have. Throughout the seventies, there was slow but steady growth in their tourism trade. Improvements were made to the beach area across from the Village in the form of a campground and change house facility. Similarly, interest in tourism grew in the local area by way of the construction of rental cottages overlooking the Northumberland Strait.

It was not until the next decade that a more professional approach to the industry was adopted coinciding with the hiring of a full-time manager, Mr. Gallant. In 1981-82 a consultant's report advised that more economic benefit would accrue to the community if accommodations were provided at Le Village. As a result, by 1984 a new 20-room motel had been completed and put into operation. As well, to broaden the services and the appeal of the L'Etoile de Mer restaurant, a dinner theatre wing was added. A year later the restaurant was expanded again with the addition of the lounge area, Bar Le Quai, which featured local talent.

The growing professionalization of Mont Carmel's tourism involvement coincided with an increased awareness of the importance of their Acadian heritage as a "cultural tourism product" (Gallant 1994). This was occurring throughout the Atlantic Region and not just in the Evangeline area, explained Mr. Gallant and led to the development of a separate marketing cooperative called Tour Acadie. The primary objective of this cooperative was to capitalize on the opportunity to promote a number of Acadian destination areas in Atlantic Canada collectively to international visitors from Louisiana, France and Belgium. Tour Acadie was an offspring of Le Village and was operated in the same administrative offices in Mont Carmel. It successfully attracted bus tours to the area and with its well designed weekly summer tabloid was able to capture an increasing number of visitors, including Quebeckers who were travelling through Prince Edward Island to and from the Magdalen Islands.

The elaboration of the industry continued with the opening of a new 21 room auberge in 1989 and the development of an ecomuseum at the beach facility in 1991. Growth in the industry necessitated another consultant's study to formulate an overall development concept and management plan in 1992. Recognition of the ever-increasing cultural nature of tourism was evidenced in the bold new plan for a Cultural Centre that would provide "living and learning vacations" where tourists could learn Acadian cuisine, participate in a fiddling workshop, spend an afternoon in immersion with an Acadian family or take in a seminar on cooperatives. It was acknowledged that tourism had come of age in Mont Carmel and was playing a central role economically and culturally in the community.

The expansion of the tourism infrastructure was financed through a close relationship between the cooperatives, Le Village and Tour Acadie, and the Evangeline Credit Union. This occurred at a time when Leonce Bernard was the Minister of Industry and there were government sponsored tours to the Mondragon area of Spain. The creation of an independent marketing instrument represented a unique development within the six communities surveyed. Through the efforts of Tour Acadie, bold striking images of Acadian people and their customs proudly adorned provincial publications, creating strong resonance for would-be visitors with Acadian roots and with the people of their own community. It was also significant that the tourism related activities at the restaurant and lounge of Le Village proved to be the venue where a number of dance troupes and musical performers were able to hone their skills and go on to perform throughout the Island, Atlantic Canada, and even on the international stage. It should be recalled that all of this tourism development in Mont Carmel occurred at a time when there

was a renaissance underway with a growing awareness and celebration of the collective heritage of the Acadian people throughout Atlantic Canada.

The involvement with tourism in Mont Carmel had occurred over a period of almost two decades and had proven to serve an important cultural as well as economic role in the community. Unfortunately in 1995, Le Village began to experience serious financial problems related to the carrying charges of the cost of the new auberge. Expected occupancy levels at the new facility had not been realized for several consecutive years, resulting in substantial financial shortfalls. These marketing and management difficulties may in part be related to the departure of Mr. Maurice Gallant from the operation for a number of seasons. As he was the manager of Le Village throughout the period of expansion during the 1980's and the early 1990's, he possessed considerable knowledge and expertise related to the operation of Le Village, as well as Tour Acadie. At this point in time, it is our understanding that Le Village will continue to operate, but its ownership and management within the community will undergo some restructuring.

c) Community Profile: Pictou, Nova Scotia

Pictou is located on Pictou Harbour adjacent to the Northumberland Strait and the Gulf of St. Lawrence and has a population of 4134 (1991c). Over the years, Pictou has fulfilled an important administrative role within the county and has several marine-related industries. It was the nearby towns that benefited more from the development of the area's coal and iron ore resources. Pictou has an interesting history associated with the first arrival of Scottish Highlanders (1773) and the establishment of the Pictou Academy

in 1816. In 1991, the average household income was over $35,000 and some 43% of the people indicated that they were of British ethnic origin.

Several personal visits were made to Pictou to meet and interview Mr. Graham Holman, the manager of the Pictou Waterfront Development Corporation. As well, the first joint meeting of communities was convened in Pictou in November which Mr. Holman kindly agreed to host in his offices. It was Mr. Holman who explained that the concept of the Hector Heritage Quay was first identified in the 1988 Pictou County Tourism Study, conducted by DPA Group Ltd. of Halifax (Holman 1993). This recent study served to place Pictou in a position of priority in assessing its tourism potential:

> The single strongest and most unique strength of the County is the town of Pictou. This is a lovely little town with a Scottish heritage and a long shipbuilding history and is acknowledged to be one of the two or three prettiest and least spoiled towns in the province (Pictou County 1988: 12).

It was such endorsement that promoted Pictou to the top of the list and with the ACOA - supported Pictou County Development Fund, the community had access to the financial means to capitalize on their identified potential.

In exploring the community process that was utilized in formulating the final tourism strategy, it was determined that public discussions were held under the auspices of the town council. Apparently the Development Corporation is wholly owned by the municipality of Pictou and Mr. Holman

has been its manager since its inception. It was understood that upon plans being conceived for the waterfront which focused on the interpretation and reconstruction of the Hector, public comment was solicited. Apparently, input from the general public had been limited, reflecting the assessment of the regional report that "the final weakness appears to be a lack of general community support" and that there was little likelihood of "any tourism initiatives being undertaken in Pictou unless a local champion appeared" (Ibid.: 16). That champion was the newly created Development Corporation that would spearhead the waterfront restoration and redevelopment and secure the dollars available from ACOA through the special fund.

At the time of the interviews, the Corporation was going into its fourth year of operation and had been successful in constructing an impressive interpretation centre on the Hector and the early Scottish settlers, a new restaurant/lounge that was leased to a private operator, and a gift shop owned and operated by the Corporation. These facilities were built around the reconstruction site of the replica of the vessel, the Hector, an undertaking that was well underway but was going to take a number of additional years to complete. Marina improvements in the harbour over which the Hector site looked had also been effected, providing ample mooring space for both pleasure and touring yachts. Even without the ambitious phase two of the waterfront project, which called for among other things a small hotel and additional shops, clearly this development project represented the largest initiative of all communities surveyed. The vision for the entire undertaking was that of the Development Corporation and it was apparent this was a vision that Mr. Holman shared and promoted.

The Pictou County Tourism Study had also recommended that "summer entertainment at the deCoste Centre be expanded and an additional festival such as a Scottish festival in August or a re-enactment of the Hector Landing be developed" (Ibid.: 26). At the time of the study, these recommendations, which were a means of bringing to life the new waterfront area, were not as yet addressed. As well, the intention may have been that such programming efforts would have facilitated more community involvement in these tourism initiatives. Nevertheless at this time direct community involvement was limited. It was clear that considerable responsibility rested on the shoulders of Mr. Holman, who in his capacity as the founding manager had overseen this extensive renewal project from the outset. His sights were set at responsibly completing the physical dimensions of this project, given sufficient funds and time -- cultural activities and community involvement would have to follow. It remained for the Development Corporation and Mr. Holman to drive the community's strategic tourism involvement.

d) Community Profile: Lunenburg, Nova Scotia

Lunenburg is located 90 km south west of Halifax on the Atlantic coast in the heart of the South Shore area of Nova Scotia. The town has been called the centre of Nova Scotia's fishing centre, with a large trawler fleet, the National Sea Products processing plant, and a marine railway and repair yard. However, it enjoys a more diversified local economy with small foundry operations, engineering and related service industries and a strong retail sector. The population in 1991 was 2781 of which 720 reported a German ethnic origin. Average household income was approximately $36,000 (1991c).

Lunenburg, by virtue of its association with the building of the famous saltbanker, the Bluenose, has long attracted visitors. However, the community's most recent proactive efforts to foster tourism stem from the early 1970's and are coincident with more vigorous efforts by the province to promote the industry. Initially, my interviews were with Mrs. Barbara Zwicker, a town councillor and chairperson of the Arts and Crafts Festival. This festival has been held annually in early July since 1974 and she has been the chairperson throughout this period and as well the chairperson of the tourism subcommittee of the municipal town council.

Mrs. Zwicker proved to be a very knowledgeable and resourceful individual who provided considerable insight into the nature of the community, the state of its tourism and its relative importance to the local economy. Although not born in Lunenburg, she had spent all of her married life in the community. Her husband, a descendant of a Lunenburg family of many generations, was the former mayor and at the time the chairperson of the Nova Scotia Association of Municipalities. With Mrs. Zwicker's help brief discussions were held with the current mayor Mr. Mawhinney and some of the town's tourism committee as well. At her recommendation, a number of other festival chairpersons were also interviewed.

It was in 1967 that the community as a Centennial Project developed its Fisheries Museum of the Atlantic and in the same year established a Lunenburg Heritage Society. The Arts and Craft Festival from the beginning has been sponsored by the Heritage Society. The original purpose of the festival was to spotlight and thereby celebrate the growing number of

accomplished artists and artisans in the community and local area. At first the exhibitors displayed their works at the historic Lunenburg Academy but for the past several years the International Exhibition Centre has had to be utilized because of the growing number of visitors. Over time, the activities of the festival have broadened to include a children's band concert, a Sunday evening adult musical concert, a scallop fry put on by the firemen, and a salt box derby organized by local policemen. As well, the type of exhibition has expanded to include a fine food section which allows many of the members of the community farmer's market to get involved. Mrs. Zwicker reported that the festival had proven to be exceptionally popular, contributing some $10,000 -$12,000 annually to the Heritage Society, not to mention the increased business that exhibitors and the merchants of the community enjoy because of the upwards of 15,000 people that attend. She acknowledged that her festival, just like all the others, was successful because of the large number of volunteers and other community groups that were involved each year (Zwicker 1993).

It would appear that it was not until the next decade that the concept of a festival was conceived as "enterprise." This changing perspective helped inspire the development of Lunenburg's perhaps most renowned festival, the Folk Harbour Festival that celebrated maritime musical traditions. The chairman of the Folk Harbour Festival was Ken Matheson, who had occupied this position for the past five years. Mr. Matheson indicated that the festival was into its ninth season and was already making plans for a grand tenth anniversary celebration for the next year. The festival's mandate was identified as highlighting maritime traditional music, especially as it celebrates the region's close association with the sea. Mr. Matheson

acknowledged that the festival had been financially viable because of strong marketing efforts and the word of mouth advertising and the willingness of many people to volunteer to help with logistics and organizing. He also noted that there was good cooperation and sharing between festivals in that many of the members of his organizing committee were members of the Arts and Crafts Festival as well (Matheson 1993).

One of the more recent festival developments was the Oktoberfest, that was first held four years earlier. Mrs. Grace Swan, who was a committee member from the beginning had just assumed the chairmanship for the festival. She explained that Lunenburg was the oldest German community in Canada and the festival objective was to celebrate this aspect of the community's heritage. Support for the festival had been drawn from the German-Canadian Culture Group of the South Shore and the Lunenburg Heritage Society. In Mrs. Swan opinion, the festival, now in its fifth year, had successfully involved all segments of the community: junior high students in folk dancing and hand bell choirs, nursery children in costumes, singing and dancing, Lunenburg farmers in the special food (kraut, sausage, fried cabbage etc.) preparations. In her view the high point of the festival was the "schmaus," a traditional German banquet followed by a "jaeger ball" a community dance with German band music provided by local groups. Mrs. Swan believed that the festival was a permanent fixture in the community that had helped the community to restore a pride in its Germanic traditions (Swan 1993).

The latest festival development was the Lunenburg Traditional Christmas festival that has helped resurrect former Lunenburg traditions associated

with Christmas, itself a festival with strong Germanic roots. The current chairperson, Mrs. Ann O'Dowd, the owner/operator of the Boscawen Inn was interviewed. Once again it was evident that the festival organizing committee enjoyed strong community support from both the private sector (Jim Mosher, vice-president of Scotia Trawler) and the public sector (Barbara Zwicker, town council). At the time the festival had two principal activities, namely the lighting of the lights and a traditional Christmas home and business decorating competition. The first activity occurred around the 14th of December, the anniversary date of the launching of the schooner the Theresa E. Connor and entailed all of the ships in the harbour being festooned with lights that are turned on simultaneously. The second activity was coordinated by the Board of Trade and involved the presenting of awards for those premises that best exemplified traditional Christmas decorations. Apparently the tradition of decorating homes at times of holiday had long been a tradition in Lunenburg and there was a perceived need to help renew this part of their heritage (O'Dowd 1993).

From early beginnings approximately 20 years ago, the hosting of festivals has become a deliberate enterprising strategy for this community to bolster economic trade and celebrate their collective heritage. There has been a transfer of knowledge and collective skill development in organizing and marketing these endeavours from one festival committee to another, all the while relying on strong community volunteerism. Festivals have proven to be a vehicle to generate additional income that directly assisted in the restoration and protection of the community's heritage which in turn generated additional impetus to celebrate their heritage and ultimately resulted in additional tourism attractions for the community.

e) Community Profile: Bouctouche, New Brunswick

Bouctouche is located 40 km north of Moncton on Bouctouche Bay on the Northumberland Strait. The village has a population of 2,364 (1991c) of which 1,950 reported a French ethnic origin. Fishing remains a principal activity but diversification is apparent in the growth of the service sector and a major housing prefabrication plant. Average household income was just over $32,000 in 1991. Bouctouche is known as the birthplace of two prominent Canadians, author Antonine Maillet and industrialist K. C. Irving.

Two personal visits were paid to Bouctouche and meetings were held with the assistant General Manager of the Kent Economic Commission Inc., Rachelle Richard-Collette. As well an invitation was accepted to attend a working session of the newly created Tourism Adjustment Committee (Comite d'adaptation touristique) of which Mrs. Richard-Collette was a member. The chairperson of this committee was a consultant from the University of Moncton, Dr. Jean-Guy Vinneau. In addition discussions were held with Mr. Robert Allain, a provincial tourism development officer for Kent County, who was temporarily assisting with the management of Le Pays de La Sagouine. The town manager was also helping with the administration of La Sagouine, as the manager of the site had been dismissed recently.

The community's strategic involvement in tourism, represented by the development of La Sagouine, commenced in June 1992, after several years of planning and construction (Richard-Collette 1993). During this phase of its development, Maurice Gallant, formerly with Le Village in Mont Carmel,

had been hired to assist in the overseeing of this new tourism theme park. A description from a recent brochure described Le Pays as follows:

On entre...dans un univers magique...Les douze batiments aux couleurs pimpantes sont comme un enorme decor de theatre, ou continuent d'evolver les personages qui l'animent, a la limite du reve et de la realite (Kent Tourist Association 1993).

Apparently the community of Bouctouche was quite prepared to offer its visitors a magical visit to a dream-like stage where storybook characters came to life — a stark contrast to the approach adopted by Mont Carmel, the other Acadian community in our study.

The impetus for this large scale development seemed to be located with the Kent Economic Commission headquartered in Bouctouche. It was envisioned as a complementary development for the County, in relation to that of the Kouchibouguac National Park. It was believed that La Sagouine would do for the area of Bouctouche, what Kouchibouguac had eventually fostered for Richibucto and the surrounding area (See Kent Region Tourism Plan 1992). At the time, it was concluded that facilities in the National Park were at capacity and growing tourism demand warranted expansion. Already considerable private sector services had been established outside the entrances to the Park and it was deemed appropriate to spread growth towards the southern part of Kent County in the vicinity of Bouctouche. La Sagouine was viewed as an "anchor development" that would result in spin-off tourism economic development (See Background Report - Kent Region Tourism Data 1992).

The professionalization of the industry was apparent in that decision making was in the hands of professional managers, consultants and development officers. It appeared that, at this stage of development in the community of Bouctouche, those residents involved in tourism had not as yet assumed a strong degree of autonomy in directing their industry. However, the Kent Tourism Association, founded almost 20 years previously, and whose office is in Richibucto, has offered a strong promotional voice for its members, most of whom are drawn from the immediate area. The decision to highlight La Sagouine, the charwoman persona, created by famed author Antonine Maillet, was based on an assessment of marketing potential. There was a belief that this theme had international appeal, largely based on the international literary achievements of the author. Accordingly, the scale of the development was conceived to attract some 50,000 visitors and create approximately 60 jobs. At the time of these interviews, there were indications that these heightened expectations were not being realized and that there was a need for more aggressive management (as witnessed by the recent dismissal of the manager).

The start-up problems that this new facility was experiencing created a difficulty in fully assessing the community's involvement in this tourism development. It was not possible to speak directly to the manager of the site due to the management reorganization that was underway. As well, in the past 18 months, there had been a new appointment to the head of the Kent Economic Commission, resulting in several internal reassignments of responsibility. Consequently the individuals who were directly involved in

the conception and the implementation of the La Sagouine project were no longer available to be interviewed.

f) Community Profile: Sackville, New Brunswick

Sackville is situated some 50 km south east of Moncton on the Cumberland Basin on the Bay of Fundy. In the mid-19th century, Sackville was a thriving port and eventually developed a significant industrial base with several stove foundries which endured well into this century. Today, Sackville is best known as the home of Mount Allison University and the Owens Art Gallery which houses works of former resident Alex Colville and former student Christopher Pratt. There is a small but growing artisanal and retail sector that benefits from the artistic reputation of the Fine Arts program at the university and its alumnae. The town has a population 5,494 (1991c) with an average household income over $41,000.

Visits were made to Sackville in the fall of 1993. The principal contact person was Ms. Mona Estabrooks, the community's director of public relations and tourism. As well there was an opportunity to meet with the mayor, Mrs. Pat Estabrooks, the former chairperson of the Tantramar Tourism Association. In addition, an interview was held with Prof. Floyd Dykeman who was the director of the Rural and Small Towns program at Mount Allison University. The municipality of Sackville proved to be an enthusiastic participant in these discussions and willingly supported the concept of hosting one of the joint meetings (which as noted previously was amalgamated with the meeting scheduled for Saint Mary's).

Ms. Estabrooks explained that Sackville's involvement in tourism stemmed from an association with the tourism strategy devised for the Tantramar Tourism region (Estabrooks 1993). This subject document was prepared by a local committee that was chaired by Prof. Floyd Dykeman and involved special interest agencies such as the Canadian Wildlife Service. In outlining certain principles and strategies the report recommended that:

> Using the ecological anchors of the Bay of Fundy to the west and the Northumberland Strait to the east and linked by the Tantramar Marshes ....the region could emerge as a destination area for tourists interested in a rural and small town ecoregion ....a region proud of its physical environment and the many wildlife and waterfowl (Tantramar Tourism Association 1992).

It was from this vision that the municipality of Sackville drew its tourism inspiration and direction. Moreover there was a direct contact between the committee and the community as Mrs. Pat Estabrooks, the former chairperson of the Tantramar Tourism Region, was now the new mayor of Sackville. The town's director of tourism clarified that Sackville's involvement with their new strategy was elaborated via a community consultative process that saw a number of public meetings convened during an eight month period. The resultant 1993 report entitled Our Town: A citizen's Strategy for the Town of Sackville outlined among a number of different sectors the role that tourism could play locally. Eventually the community's strategy entailed an endorsement of the Waterfowl Celebration (and the potential for additional festivals) which supplanted the town's other recent initiative, the development of a Waterfowl Park. Both of these

efforts were in keeping with the concept of an ecotourism destination, a concept that appeared to enjoy strong support among the community.

After a number of steps in the process, the community was able to draw upon the expertise readily available at the university. For example, in collating citizen input, the town was able to utilize the capacity of the sociology department to conduct the analysis of a community questionnaire. As well, the knowledge and skills of the business faculty were accessed to devise an effective marketing campaign. It was apparent that there was a strong sense of direction and commitment throughout the consultation, indicating a constructive and professional approach to community development. Throughout the town's involvement with tourism, from planning to implementation, the community has benefited from its partnership with the university.

g) Attitudes Towards Tourism: Lunenburg, Nova Scotia

As time did not allow an in-depth study of each community's attitude toward tourism, it was decided that additional interviews would be held in the community of Lunenburg. In doing so, the objective was to better comprehend attitudes towards tourism in the community and the reasons why these views were held.

Despite the acknowledged success of the festivals and their rather significant economic impact on the community, individual attitudes towards tourism did not provide an unqualified endorsement of the industry. For instance, Barabara Zwicker was adamant that Lunenburg was first and

foremost a vibrant working community, with a diverse local economy of which tourism was a part. She viewed tourism as "trade," almost as if it was an export commodity, that could be sold to others to profit the community. It was strongly suggested by Mrs. Zwicker that Lunenburgers were resourceful people who had the ability to adapt to new challenges (e.g., the decline in the fishery), not only to survive but to prosper. In her mind, their tourism initiatives were an example of their adaptability and their ingenuity (Zwicker 1993).

Ralph Getson, the educational curator at the Fisheries museum, was very pragmatic in his attitude towards tourism. He not only accepted but endorsed Lunenburg attracting tourists, for in his view this was to be expected as Lunenburg was an historic town, just like towns in Europe. He felt strongly about the recent designation of Old Lunenburg Town as a National Historic District, recognizing the uniqueness of the architecture and streetscapes. This was something he felt deeply about and cautioned that people can not have it both ways: architectural heritage must be preserved or Lunenburg would become like Mystic Seaport Conn., where vernacular architecture has given way to more modern interpretations. In his mind Lunenburg at this time was the "genuine article" a living, working seaside community that attracted visitors because of its history and heritage. At the same time, he was emphatic in not wanting the place to become a museum; it must stay vibrant economically (Getson 1993).

Burton Schaffelburg, a retired school administrator who was born in Lunenburg, conceded that generally local residents felt good about tourism. However he cautioned that tourists have to come for the right reasons,

namely "to come and live with us and enjoy us as a unique people." He also acknowledged that tourism had attracted newcomers to the community, some of whom were now involved in the industry. He likened their involvement with community to a "learning process" for both residents and the recent arrivals. Ultimately, he believed that "you need this injection of this kind into the community" and that it would be "good for the life of the community." He welcomed the development of the Oktoberfest and said that the townsfolk are becoming more "attached to the German idiom" where it once was sublimated. He advocated closer involvement of townspeople with tourism development in the future (Schaffelburg 1993).

Mr. Gerald Hallowell, an editor with the University of Toronto Press who had moved permanently to Lunenburg only in the past few years, perceived that the community's attitude toward tourism "had not yet jelled." In his view there was a conservative contingent in the community that considered tourism to be a "new age" industry that many outsiders (recent arrivals) were associated with. To this extent he felt that there was a polarity in the community vis-a-vis tourism. He saw great potential for tourism in Lunenburg, as long as it was spared the "Camden, Maine" treatment where buildings have become prettified. He emphasized that quintessentially Lunenburg was a "working town" and should remain so (Hallowell 1993).

Mrs. O'Dowd described Lunenburg as basically a fishing town which was very close-knit, and people genuinely welcomed visitors to their community, as they have for years. In her view, the majority of Lunenburgers supported tourism and were becoming more comfortable with the notion of tourism being a growing part of their economy (O'Dowd

1993). Mrs. Swan, the owner/operator of the Lunenburg Lodge, believed that Lunenburg was a working port and that her guests enjoyed seeing the day to day workings of the community. "People enjoy seeing the Marine Railway and research vessels come into port for repairs...they like watching the boats unload...marvel at the young students lumping bags of scallops" (Swan 1993). It would seem that in the minds of these two individuals, the two visions of the town, a vibrant working community and a tourist destination area, were compatible and could coexist.

In conversation with a number of the above people, there was a subtle inference that tourism was in part a gender-related issue. Although it was not overtly discussed as such, there was an image that tourism was a "soft" industry and thus associated more with women's work. In contrast the men were involved with the hard physical labor of working on the boats and down at the docks or in the foundry. That is not to suggest that it was demeaned in any way, for there were no negative references or snide comments about tourism or women's role therein. But rather the communal view seemed to perceive strong men's roles and strong women's roles relative to their work. The perception was not that these roles were necessarily in conflict but rather were viewed as being complementary to each other. For instance, when men were out to sea for long periods of time, it was customary for the women to take care of the farming work (thus the reference to "petticoat farms" where the women did the haying, took care of the animals, etc.). Similarly, in a time when the fishery was in a downturn and the men needed assistance, the women have responded by generating other forms of economy, namely tourism related festival celebrations.

Another issue that seemed to present itself was the question of the role that women have played in the sphere of community development. This was in part related to the issue above, but this extended beyond the association to tourism alone. It appeared to be that women played a preferential role in the "business" of building community. This was in keeping with the perception that community building entailed "the weaving of social fabric" which was the realm of women's responsibilities. The creation of festivals were not only considered by community as economic enhancers, they were also perceived to be social and cultural catalysts that fostered community cohesion (i.e.,togetherness). Accordingly such activities within the community of Lunenburg were viewed as being more closely associated with the domain of women.

Ethnicity was expressed as a factor related to tourism insofar as it was being celebrated in the community by way of festivals, historic designations and museums which touched upon German heritage. Characteristics such as hard-working, attention to detail, strong-willed, and enterprising were described as being possessed by early German townspeople. Yet more often than not such ethnic values were expressed in a more communal characterization where "all Lunenburgers" were described as possessing such traits. Moreover Lunenburg was depicted as a community that has had the benefit of being infused with new people over time: Newfoundlanders, Americans, Norwegians, and people from other provinces. The town has apparently exhibited the capacity to absorb these new people into the fabric of its community. It would seem that the long tradition of being a trading

town has shaped Lunenburg's view to be both outward-looking, connecting with other communities, and accommodating, accepting others from other communities.

It was acknowledged that assimilation, the process of building community, was seen to be a gradual one that takes time. In these conversations, Lunenburgers, both lifelong residents and more recent newcomers, shared a quiet confidence about their community. They possessed a common understanding about the existing strengths of the community and a commonality of view concerning the paths to be followed. The expectation was that the community would successfully incorporate the new with the old and their adaptation of tourism was viewed as part of the process.

4. Understanding Community Economic Development Models

It has been suggested that communities must once again learn how to cooperate; their survival may depend on it. As we have discussed, in the early phases of settlement, people within community had to engage in various forms of mutual-help for their survival. This instilled early settlements with a spirit of cooperation or a willingness to help each other. For some communities such cooperative effort became part of their tradition – a communal strategy that was invoked time and again when there was a need. For others it may have been an approach that remained dormant in collective memory as it was seldom utilized. In either case, community can be considered a repository of learning, affording the opportunity at least of pertinent lessons for subsequent generations.

In this chapter we will present three model approaches to community economic development (CED) that are exemplified by some of the communities in this study. The primary purpose of this discussion will be to highlight characteristics of each of these approaches, so as to identify basic principles significant to community economic development. At the same time, there will an effort made to correlate the approach with the attributes of community. The implication is that some communities may be predisposed or better suited to adopt a particular approach than others. In the final analysis, these discussions will lead to the proposal of a preferred approach to community tourism development, to be detailed in the final chapter.

a). Cooperatives

The first approach to CED that will be examined is that of a cooperative. As we have seen, this is the development model utilized by the community of Mont Carmel at their pioneer village complex. When one considers the cultural background of these Acadian people and their familiarity with the cooperative model, it is easy to accept why this approach was chosen. The long and varied history of the utilization of cooperatives for economic development in Atlantic Canada is one in which Acadians have had a major part to play. However the Mont Carmel approach is unique in several ways:

a) its adoption of a Mondragon-like model to co-op development
b) its integration of several types of cooperatives into the complex
c) its central involvement with the tourism industry

Prior to detailing the innovation of the Mondragon approach, it is best first to understand the basic theory and philosophy of a cooperative. The International Cooperative Alliance broadly defines a cooperative as follows: "An organization, usually incorporated with economic aims, formed by and for persons or business entities having common needs (MacLeod 1986: 56). In order to qualify this generic definition with the underlying philosophy of the cooperative movement, the ICA originally endorsed six basic principles (Craig 1980: 11) that characterize a genuine cooperative, namely;

1. Open and voluntary membership
2. Democratic control

3. Limited interest on shares

4. Return of surplus to members

5. Cooperative education

6. Cooperation among cooperatives

Such principles reflect a strong communtarian and equalitarian spirit. The notion of one share-one vote, mutual self-help and the advancement through education garnered strong appeal. It is not difficult to imagine how the efforts of the early cooperators could ultimately solicit a widespread membership. Such principles among cooperators go back over a 150 years to the Rochdale experiments with consumer cooperatives in Britain and early forms of "credit cooperatives" in Germany, in the 1840's (Ibid.: 3). In time, these ideas spread to other parts of Eurcpe and eventually to North America. Within Atlantic Canada some of the first efforts toward cooperative development were initiated in Prince Edward Island. Several decades later, drawing upon these early Island experiences, Fr. Moses Coady was instrumental in promulgating the cooperative approach in the so-called Antigonish Movement in the 1930's and 1940's from the Extension Department of St. Francis of Xavier University (Bruce and Cran 1993: v). Ever since, this approach has been rooted within the economy of many communities throughout Atlantic Canada.

Although cooperatives are organized around common principles, they often vary in their structure according to their membership group and their objectives. These basic membership groupings are important to understand as they are the basis of distinguishing the various types of cooperatives. Quarter in a 1992 publication dealing with what he entitles "the social

economy" identifies some eight basic models of cooperatives (Quarter
1992:38).

For our purposes we will focus on only five of these categories. The first
three types of cooperatives can be looked at collectively, as they all are
unifunctional and directed at providing specific services to a specific
membership. These include:

a) Marketing Cooperatives - in which members are either primary
producers (farmers, fishers) or producers of a product (artisans).
b) Service Cooperatives - in which members are consumers or users
of a service (e.g., food retailing, farm supplies, financial services,
insurance).
c) Second and Third Tier Cooperatives - in which members are other
user-based cooperatives (e.g., wholesalers for retail food, credit
union central).

A second common feature of these three models of cooperatives is that the
people working in them are employees of the cooperative rather than
members of a distinct group (Ibid.: 39). In contrast to this, the other two
models that we wish to discuss have workers who have a more direct role in
the governing their organization:

d) Worker Cooperatives - in which members are workers and/or
managers of the organization.

e) Multi-Stakeholder Cooperatives - in which members are made up of more than one group (e.g., employees and a cooperative that jointly operate and manage the organization).

In reviewing the situation at the pioneer village complex, we can identify two types of cooperatives that are principally involved, namely service and marketing. The service in this case was accommodation and food service; to advertise and promote these services a separate marketing cooperative, Tour Acadie, was also developed. (There was also an additional sales outlet for the handcraft cooperative at the village but it was very much a satellite operation of their main sales shop located elsewhere. As such it will not enter into our discussions at this time.)

The interconnection between these types of cooperatives within the community is important but it is necessary to view their interrelationship in the context of the entire region. Quarter describes the Evangeline Region (consisting of the three villages and the surrounding area of Wellington, Mont Carmel and Abram's Village) "as the closest approximation to a regional integrated cooperative development model in Canada" (Ibid.: 103). He compares this region, albeit on a much smaller scale, to the Mondragon region in the Basque sector of Spain. In the Mondragon area, as he suggests, there are several unique factors that have fueled their highly integrated and successful network of cooperatives. He believes that there are some similarities with the Evangeline Region in that several of these factors also come into play.

It was the American economist David Ellerman who labelled the Mondragon approach as "the socialization of entrepreneurship" (Ellerman 1982) in that the key aspects of financing and business planning are organized through social enterprises. Quarter agrees with this analysis and acknowledges that hub of the Mondragon system is the Caja Laboral Popular (the Working People's Bank), which he compares to, again on a much smaller scale, the Evangeline Credit Union (Quarter 1992: 104). He notes that in both instances these credit unions have been instrumental in financing new or the expansion of existing cooperatives in a integrated fashion. This role may not seem unusual, until one realizes that in Atlantic Canada (and elsewhere in North America) most cooperatives have developed in parallel to, but quite separate from, credit unions.

The other significant similarity that both Quarter and MacLeod draw between Mondragon and the Evangeline is the emphasis on cooperative education. MacLeod reports that education was and is the foundation of the Mondragon experiment, recalling that the founder often asserted that "knowledge is power" and "the socialization of knowledge gives democratization of power"(MacLeod 1986: 40). Quarter details the attention paid to instructing youth about the cooperative way within the school system and the assistance in developing a youth cooperative in the Evangeline region (Quarter 1992: 104). In both areas, there is a strong milieu that fosters cooperative thinking and action at an early age.

However, there is a risk in extending this comparison too far. The reality is that the Mondragon region is a vastly more complex network of integrated cooperatives. This economic development is not only assisted by the

people's bank but it is also fueled by a consulting cooperative (Lankide Suztaketa) that conducts research and development studies for each and every proposed cooperative venture. Considerable time and money is expended before a new cooperative is allowed to be established. In this way, cooperatives in Mondragon have a remarkable success rate in becoming self-sustaining, profitable enterprises. Quarter remarks that the advancement there has been extraordinary as a result:

> Through this approach, the Mondragon group has been able to
> develop medium-sized industries, using modern technologies. It has
> broken out of the ghetto of small, labour-intensive firms in low-wage
> market sectors, typical of community economic development
> [utilizing the cooperative model] (Ibid.: 103).

However, the innovation of the Evangeline region in utilizing the cooperative model should be viewed as an example of what can be achieved. Out of necessity, it is imperative that orderly growth be pursued and that the necessary management skills be well-established in a cooperative organization at all times. Only in this way, can the difficulties, that Le Village is currently experiencing, be avoided. Nevertheless, other communities can learn from these experiences at Mont Carmel and renew and/or strengthen their cooperative efforts. Already there is underway within Atlantic Canada an initiative by Co-op Atlantic to facilitate such renewal. It is interesting to note that some of the recommendations within this process of renewal are based on the Mondragon-like experimentation that has occurred within the Evangeline region. A more detailed

understanding of these recommendations for renewal of the cooperative approach will be presented in the subsequent chapter.

B. Community Development Corporations

The concept of a community development corporation (CDC) can best be described as a hybrid. In part, it has the characteristics of a community cooperative but possesses features of a private modern corporation. This new entity, resulting from this marriage of cooperative with corporation, offers a new approach that builds on the strengths of each of its parent organizations. It is an attempt to graft modern corporate methods of management and marketing onto the base of strong community consciousness. As well there is a need to overcome some of the evident restrictions within the pure cooperative model. The desired result is a more flexible community-based organization that utilizes competent technical and business skills to achieve social objectives.

MacLeod has explained this hybridization in this way:

> The CDC approach sets out to combine social and economic concerns
> as two dimensions of one reality. Though the goals of the CDC are
> social, the techniques used to ensure economic viability are very
> similar to those developed by business corporations....Thus the CDC
> may still be cooperative in essence....incorporated as a non-profit
> corporation....[enabling it] to carry on diverse functions which do not
> fit easily under the present laws governing cooperatives (MacLeod
> 1986: 56).

Before describing some of the internal structures and methods of operating utilized by CDCs, it may be helpful to point out initially several of their important differences relative to cooperatives. First, it should be emphasized that CDCs are designated as non-profit, whereas cooperatives are deemed to be a for-profit business enterprise. What this means in practical terms is that a CDC can engage in fund-raising activities (where it is the recipient of donated funds or those generated by "charitable" money making endeavours) where a cooperative strictly speaking cannot. As well, because of its legal non-profit status, a CDC can often qualify for certain government employment programs and other government funding initiatives for which cooperatives are viewed to be ineligible. Although these two factors may not result in a CDC possessing significant additional funding, it may provide an operational advantage, allowing a CDC to become involved in activities that otherwise would not be feasible.

Secondly, CDCs have greater diversity and flexibility in their field of operation than cooperatives. Traditionally, cooperatives have been very uni-functional providing a specific service to a specific group and have not had the flexibility to adapt to the changes occurring in their service sector or to meet the needs of their membership. As a result, some cooperatives have languished or actually become defunct. This is more a reflection of the regulations regarding the creation of and changes to cooperatives than any suggested intransigence of the people involved in the organization. In comparison, CDCs by virtue of their having a multiplicity of functions are able to de-emphasize one and maximize another more readily. This is in keeping with a corporate structure and management mentality that is more

acclimatized to the creation or demise of subsidiaries as dictated by need or profitability.

Thirdly, from the outset of establishing a CDC, there is a deliberate effort made to adopt an effective corporate structure (and an appropriate corporate mind-set). The aim is for corporate competence rather than communtarian ideals. On the surface this may not sound significant but it does reflects a fundamental shift. The operant word in the term CDC is "corporation" and as such CDCs are first and foremost a business, although granted a business owned and operated by community. Accordingly, a CDC must be concerned with generating a "profit" so as to ensure its survival but has as well specific community objectives. Thus a CDC views profit in a qualified way as MacLeod explains:

> In a CDC, profit is a means of measuring and ensuring efficiency and financial strength. In standard enterprises, profit is an end in itself.... When community well-being is the end, the pursuit of profit is not allowed to undermine that for which the organization is working. (Ibid.: 57).

As indicated, a CDC is motivated by concern for the betterment of the total community and thus its efforts are not limited to economic pursuits. Yet a CDC approach recognizes that social and cultural objectives cannot be addressed separately from economic considerations. Advancement of the economic base can be a vehicle for cultural and social improvements as well. It is possible to envision the structure of a CDC as an umbrella organization, that overall enjoys the designation of being non-profit. Yet

underneath this umbrella can co-exist a diversity of operations, social, cultural and entrepreneurial, some of which are profit-making. Such a structure recognizes that the provision of specific social services in themselves may not be profitable, but can be subsidized by other more economic entrepreneurial activities. As well the integration of functions within the umbrella organization can minimize administrative costs while allowing flexible and efficient utilization of staff.

As can be surmised, CDC management requirements can be multi-faceted and more demanding than that of a cooperative. In this way, it may present more of a organizational challenge to a community than the establishment of a cooperative. This may be more than offset by the advantages gained in utilizing the approach, yet nevertheless the organizational tasks associated with a CDC should not be underestimated. As MacLeod suggests, a modern corporation, which a CDC wishes to be, cannot survive without a significant input of professional and technical insight. Understandably then, the management of an effective CDC is aligned with sound business precepts and exhibits such skills as an ability to plan ahead, to generate funds from a variety of sources, to undertake diverse business developments and to work cooperatively but independently of government agencies (Ibid.: 59).

Experience suggests that much of the necessary expertise can be acquired with careful selection of the members of the Board of Directors. Individuals with business management, legal expertise and financial planning and accounting can be recruited to instill the desired skills into the organization. At the same time, it must be realized that the Board should have strong representation of the various interests of the community.

Pragmatically, a number of important volunteer groups could be offered a seat on the Board as well, thereby achieving a balance between these two ideals (Ibid.: 60).

Two of the communities within this study, as noted in an earlier chapter, utilized the instrument of a CDC for economic renewal. Although each was successful in applying the CDC approach to meet their community needs, there were noteworthy differences. For example, in the case of West Point there was evidence of a strong grass roots community organization that eventually lead to the creation of the CDC. The motivating concerns of this group were initially cultural but expanded to include the economic wellbeing of the community. Although there was a reliance on government in the early stages, the CDC matured as a bona fide community-led structure that fostered a benevolent partnership with provincial agencies. On the other hand, it was apparent that the CDC approach was adopted by the community as an expediency in order to lease the lighthouse from the Coast Guard. But given the will and skill of the people, this administrative necessity was quickly transformed into the community's own advantage.

In contrast, the CDC in Pictou revealed much more of a pure economic redevelopment function. Although it was involved with cultural restoration activities, the impetus behind these initiatives appeared to be commercial rather than community development. The Pictou Waterfront Development Corporation served a town planning and redevelopment purpose that was, in essence, an extension of the municipal responsibility. That in itself is not a weakness, as it acquired authority because of this relationship. But with its association with the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency and access to

the special Pictou County Fund it appeared that this CDC had a stronger association with government than a direct involvement with community.

Notwithstanding the above, the efforts of both of these communities can be applauded. In the first instance, the determination and the resourcefulness of the people has to be admired, while in the second the ambitiousness of the community has to be acknowledged—both realized by way of a CDC. Yet, when measured against some of the principles enunciated by MacLeod, they may seem to fall short of the ideal. No doubt, there are deficiencies in their approaches but they do offer valuable experiences that can be applied to other communities.

c) Community Collective Enterprise (CCE)

The concept of "collective enterprise" entails community enterprise based on partnerships that, unlike partnerships of old, are informal and transitory. This approach at the community level duplicates that which is occurring with more frequency at modern corporate levels. Rather than permanent incorporation, collective enterprise relies on the principle of "associating to work together towards a common end" that because of common interest, can be of benefit to all members. Outside of this association, partners are free to operate quite independent of each other. In keeping with the analogy of modern corporate practice, it is similar to short-term consortia that collaborate on a project without jeopardizing their independent abilities to compete in the market place.

With consideration to the above, I offer the following definition:

> Collective enterprise entails a partnering of members, often involved
> in related fields, directed at the development and promotion of new
> entrepreneurial activities for the betterment of their own interests, as
> well as those of community. Such partnering is typically informal
> and not exclusively binding and can occur in a serial or network
> fashion.

Within the communities studied, two examples were identified of this
approach. In the first instance, there was evidence of collective enterprise
between private entrepreneurs, while in the second the collective enterprise
was between public and private concerns. There are marked differences
between these two approaches; yet surprisingly, despite the partners being
different, similar enterprising mechanisms resulted. As well common
characteristics of each community were identified, suggesting that similar
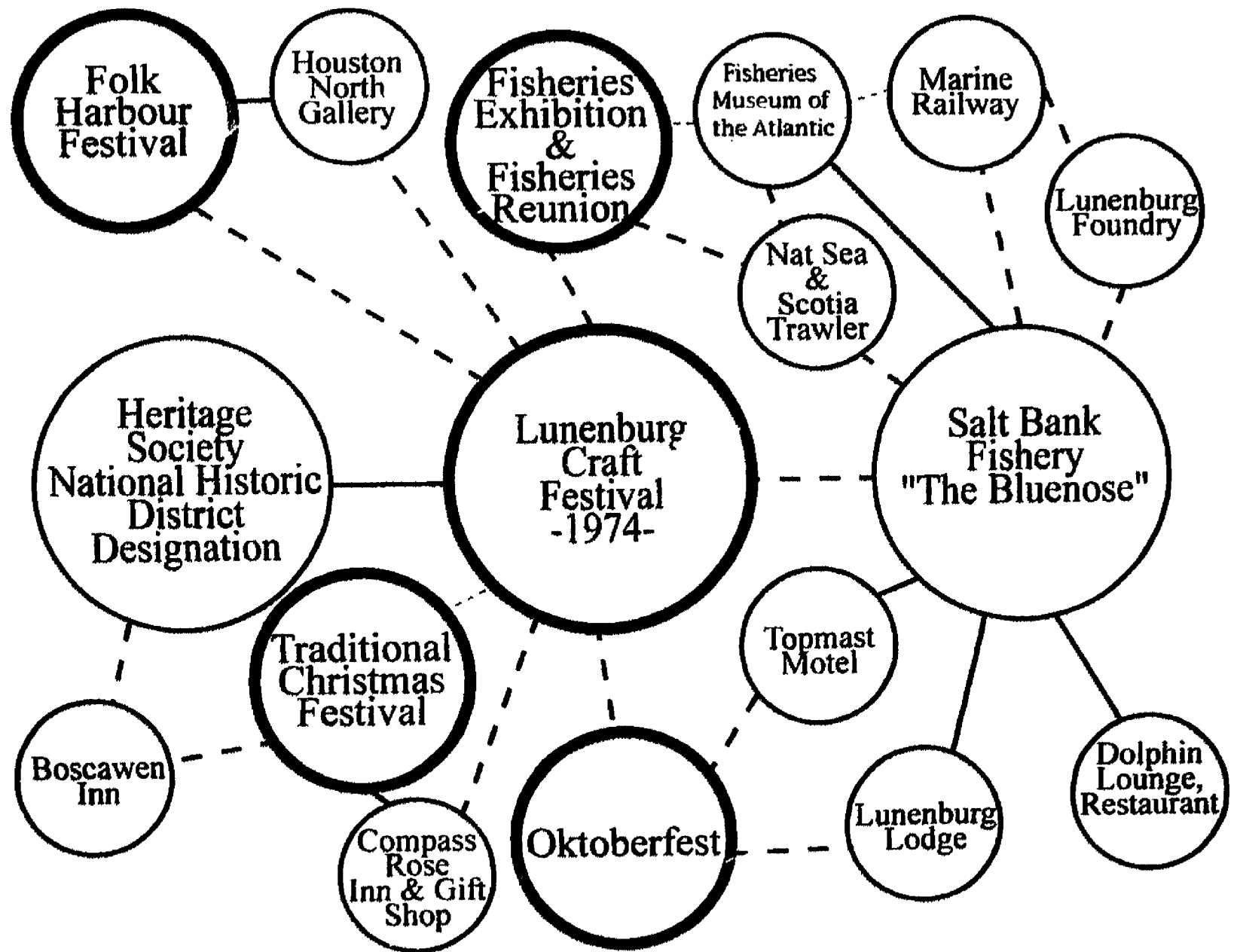preconditions existed for this approach to be used.

In the first case of partnering among private businesses, there seemed to be
a prerequisite for a strong tradition in individual enterprise. In its simplest
manifestation what this means is that within community there existed a
healthy diversity of local businesses. This being the case, there were people
who ι ᴠᴜired certain entrepreneurial skills such as self-reliance,
inde   ᴉᴇ   ᴜnd an adeptness at self-promotion. With such individual
traits avai᷉... ᴇ, it is not difficult to visualize how these could be transferred
into group or collective enterprising activities.

This was in fact the situation with the community of Lunenburg (despite its current economic challenges), which exhibited the most enterprising spirit of all communities studied. Moreover, this entrepreneurship seemed to imbue the community to the point where it appeared to be part of their collective make-up. This commonality was revealed in a willingness to take certain risks, be innovative on a "grand" scale and to promote the community even internationally. Characteristically, their collective enterprises offered a marked degree of excellence, an element of their collective heritage which in turn enhanced community pride. As a result, Lunenburg presents a rather special example of this first type of collective enterprising.

This milieu of entrepreneurial spirit in Lunenburg, as described above, is an important ingredient to the successful utilization of this community collective enterprise approach. If the milieu did not previously exist, it would be difficult, if not impossible, for this approach to operate. Having said that, it is interesting to examine the network of collective enterprises that have been achieved successfully over time in Lunenburg. For this purpose, it may be helpful to refer to Diagram Two, which depicts the interrelation between tourism-related collective enterprises and earlier established non-tourism operations. Although this network has evolved over a number of years, it is often the same private enterprises, only in different consortia, that have spawned these collective activities.

At this point let us focus on the left half of the diagram that deals with tourism-related development in the community. At the centre is the well-established Lunenburg Craft Festival, that is a creation of the local Heritage

Diagram 2: Lunenburg-Collective Enterprise

Folk Harbour Festival

Houston North Gallery

Fisheries Exhibition & Fisheries Reunion

Fisheries Museum of the Atlantic

Marine Railway

Lunenburg Foundry

Nat Sea & Scotia Trawler

Heritage Society National Historic District Designation

Lunenburg Craft Festival -1974-

Salt Bank Fishery "The Bluenose"

Traditional Christmas Festival

Topmast Motel

Boscawen Inn

Compass Rose Inn & Gift Shop

Oktoberfest

Lunenburg Lodge

Dolphin Lounge, Restaurant

Society. At first one might be inclined to dismiss the notion that a craft festival could be construed to be an enterprise. But when one realizes that the festival has the capacity to generate substantial annual profits for its sponsor (the Heritage Society), what seems like a simple community celebration soon takes on the trappings of a clever business arrangement. It is important to recall that this figure does not include the economic benefit that accrues to members of the business community as a result of accommodations, restaurants and gift shops being full for 4-5 days. As well, other community groups benefit, such as the volunteer Fire Department that offer fish fry dinners, putting valuable funds into their coffers. The total economic benefit begins to add up, not to mention the important contribution made to the physical and cultural wellbeing of the community.

What has occurred over time is that the successes of the one festival have spawned the creation of other festivals, several of which are of remarkable quality. Accordingly, these festivals are no small enterprise as they demand a year-long effort by a "volunteer" workforce drawn largely from community businesses. Their operational and marketing plans are sophisticated, their budgets approach that of a small business and the on-site logistics and coordination can demand military precision. In the process of planning one festival, valuable skills were developed within the community that were transferable to other festivals. This has created a new "industry," if you will, that has had significant economic as well as cultural ramifications for the community.

The initial craft festival, now over 20 years old, also spurred community into the international market place in several important ways. By endowing the local heritage society, the craft festival can be credited with supporting a local campaign to protect the old town architecture. As a result of the society's successful efforts, old town Lunenburg has been designated a National Historic District in Canada. But their spirited determination does not stop there. There is a strong lobby to have this area designated a world heritage site, under the auspices of UNESCO. Because of the preserved unique architecture of the community, as well as the spectacular hillside setting overlooking the lovely harbour, Lunenburg has attracted movie productions to their community. These productions can instill large amounts of money into the local economy. Similarly, the craft festival has helped generate sufficient interest and attention, that a world-class art gallery has been established in the community that specializes in folk and Inuit art. Needless to say, the "Hollywood Crowd" is also good for the art gallery's business.

What is important to point out is the synergy that can be created between various enterprises in the same community with the result that one enterprise engenders another. Over the past decade the initial Craft Festival has revitalized the Fisheries Exhibition, helped foster a world-class Folk Harbour Festival, spun-off another group that has been instrumental in establishing a Oktoberfest and restored old traditions in the community in a recently created Traditional Christmas Festival. When one looks at the individuals involved, among the many volunteers are entrepreneurs whose businesses will benefit from the increased traffic through the community not only in July and August, but October and December as well.

To my way of thinking, there is a certain genius to the Lunenburg collective enterprising activity as exemplified by their marvelously successful festivals. Firstly, they have prudently not invested in infrastructure (what is referred in the trade as "bricks and mortar"), which can be costly and never earn a reasonable return. Instead their investment has been in culture and heritage and has been rewarded handsomely by enhanced community spirit as well as valuable economic benefit. At a time when the sale of fish was experiencing decline, they cleverly commodified the "heritage of the fishery" and merchandised that to the rest of the world. But perhaps most important of all, there has been little evidence of compromise in their heritage promotion as it is difficult to challenge the authenticity of the manner Lunenburg has marketed itself. In the words of the curator of the Lunenburg Fisheries Museum of the Atlantic: "It's the genuine article".

The second example of community collective enterprise that we wish to speak about was seen in the community of Sackville, New Brunswick. In this instance the partnering that occured was between private concerns and public agencies. The result was a new park and a new festival. It is interesting to note that the community periodically has enjoyed strong enterprising activity, by way of early stoneworks, transportation and manufacturing interests. As well the community has benefited greatly by the presence and activities of Mount Allison University. It may be suggested that this post-secondary institution has had an unique impact, providing an influence no other community in this study enjoyed. It represents a special reservoir of talent and skills that can be brought to bear on community problems.

Although the university itself was not involved in the partnering, members of its faculties were involved as individuals. Together with the Canadian Wildlife Service and a committee of the town council there was a "meeting of minds" that was able to perceive an asset in a natural habitat. Efforts were realized to restore the natural area and provide some basic access, thereby "creating" a park. In absolute dollars, modest investment was made in park improvements; the real investment was made in the creative effort in helping people visualize that this wetland should be celebrated by community.

That these efforts were successful and eventually became a rallying point for the community is the significance of the Sackville example. The unusual combination of foresight in the community and insight at the university resulted in a unique festival that has evolved into potentially a vigorous economic strategy for Sackville. With the benefit of expertise drawn from the university, a good business and marketing plan was implemented by prudent municipal management ensuring a viable festival. With the success of one festival, there is now a movement afoot, to develop a second festival and thus the process continues.

Although Sackville is only in the beginning stages, there is reason to feel confident that it can succeed in using this collective enterprise approach as Lunenburg has. The absence of a heightened level of entrepreneurship may make the process of spin-offing other activities slower. Yet this can be offset for Sackville by the university instilling a spirit of innovation and creativity into its collective enterprise. It is of interest in the Sackville

situation to ask the question, what is driving this collective enterprise? Unlike the situation in Lunenburg, private enterprise is not the answer. There appears to be a consortium of public and private concerns, acting out of civic concern and pride, that wishes to manage community successfully. But it does not stop there; the consortium has a vision of fueling additional entrepreneurial activity by creating a series of festivals and special events. The question remains whether there are sufficient economic incentives and the collective will to maintain the required effort, but to date their efforts have proven most successful.

d). Community Characteristics and Appropriate Approaches

A discussion of these model approaches to community economic development would not be complete without some consideration of their appropriateness to particular communities. Barrett has suggested that it is important to understand rural differentiation in conjunction with the variation of community development strategy chosen. He has indicated that "the cooperative strategy seems to be most successful in communities with substantial degrees of ethnic cohesion" (Barrett 1992: 31). Similarly, when Quarter discusses the merits of the Mondragon model he ponders "it is necessary to have as a prior condition a tightly knit community with people who have a tradition of working together" (Quarter 1992: 107)? Arsenault is more to the point in stating that "It's no use setting up a coop if people are not aware of the social and economic role of this type of operation" (Arsenault 1987: 85).

MacLeod, in describing the requirements for the success of a CDC, cautions that:

> The underprivileged and the poor do not usually have the initial requisites to start-up in the business world except in minor or marginal projects..,.With the emphasis in a CDC upon the economic, this approach is unsuitable as an instrument for community mobilization or a management-learning project for the underprivileged (MacLeod 1986: 59).

Barrett's view regarding CDCs may be more tolerant and adopts a longer view, in suggesting that CDCs are useful in marginal communities facing long term structural decline (Barrett 1992: 3). The implication is that there are skilled resources in the community that can be redirected to the betterment of community. The key factor is time or timing in bringing these resources to bear on the collective problem. It may be a balancing act, trying to augment skills at the same time as new economic endeavours are underway. In theory it can work, but experience shows this can be a tough task while trying to maintain financial viability. MacLeod, in a spirit of hopefulness, recommends that CDCs learn from each other to capitalize on innovations and avoid common pitfalls. In this way early start-up mistakes can be minimized and more energy directed at new initiatives than resolving old problems (MacLeod 1986: 67).

Finally the approach of collective enterprise is not without its own demands. In the instance involving private partnerships, Barrett contends that it is necessary that a strong economic and social tradition of enterprise inform

the entire community, a situation that Lunenburg exhibits wonderfully well. Similarly the partnering between public and private concerns, evidenced in Sackville, has specific requirements. At a minimum there must exist an ability to look at community problems in an innovative way and recognize assets or advantages where others might not. More precisely there may be a prerequisite for the availability of unique competencies and skills that afford community this innovative perspective and the ability to translate it into successful accomplishments.

In summary then, it is important to recall that these economic development models are presented as examples. As such they can be utilized as the means of sharing or illustrating ideals that can be instrumental in enabling other communities to attempt economic renewal. But they are not meant to be viewed as quick solutions to what could be complex and enduring community problems. Such models can certainly be of motivational benefit in convincing community that renewal is possible as long as the underlying message is understood: community economic renewal is best approached in an individual way in accordance with a community's own characteristics.

As stated in the opening chapter "community," is an essential ingredient in any economic renewal. If solidarity and trust among community does not exist, if there is not a self-reliance to look within for solutions to problems, if there is not a willingness to accept change and adapt to it, then it is difficult to suggest that any adopted approach will meet with much success. For community-based development can only occur if a strong base of community exists.

5. A Preferred Approach to Community Tourism Development

This study has attempted to foster an improved understanding of the potential for communities to adopt tourism as a useful economic aid. As well, three community development models, namely a cooperative, a community development corporation and collective enterprising were described as possible approaches that other communities might utilize. In addition, the study has provided documentation regarding the involvement and experiences with tourism of six communities within Atlantic Canada. Yet the question might be asked, to what extent are models or such case studies readily transferable from one community to another?

This study established as a primary objective an attempt to formulate a preferred approach to community tourism development. To this end, discussion of the six communities was informed by a review of the industrial strategies adopted by federal and provincial agencies in the region for the past twenty-five years. In addition, an examination of the significant cultural changes in tourism that have occurred during the same period was made. Such information afforded a retrospective of the growth and development of the industry in Atlantic Canada. But such information alone is inadequate to facilitate and guide community successfully into the tourism sector.

Moreover the questions posed above presuppose that tourism is an appropriate strategy for communities. Yet the possible negative impact of tourism on communities culturally and environmentally, has been well

documented (English 1986; Murphy 1985; Pearce 1987, 1989; Van Harsell 1986). As well the potential incompatibility of tourists and residents in small communities has been similarly recognized (Gilligan 1987; Neate 1987). Consequently one could ask whether there are sufficient reasons to advocate community's involvement in tourism. As well for those communities that appear to have legitimate reason to become involved, there may exist concerns regarding the ability to manage tourism development so as to mitigate any serious impacts.

Notwithstanding the above, growing recognition is being given to the role that community can play in tourism. For instance, in Western Canada, Murphy has advocated a community approach to tourism for the past number of years (Murphy 1985). Influenced by such advocacy, British Columbia has developed a Community Strategy Manual outlining a guide to tourism planning and involvement (British Columbia 1986). The province of Alberta has taken this approach further and implemented a program encouraging communities to formulate and registry their "action plans" (Alberta 1988). But the relevance of such initiatives, motivated by the availability of substantial provincial funding, is limited for the provinces of Atlantic Canada. As well, tourism efforts that are by-products of provincial programming rather than grass roots community initiatives are of questionable use in offering a model for community-based tourism development.

5.1 Observations Concerning Communities and Their Involvement with Tourism

There is a need to reflect upon what has been observed in the six profiled communities in order to assess what is desirable and recommendable for other communities. These observations are discussed within the following five sections.

a) Community Characteristics

As noted previously, there would seem to be a relatively strong community spirit within communities in the Atlantic region. This was certainly exhibited by the six communities that were surveyed in this study. It can be suggested that this spirit of community was augmented by a variety of factors. For example, it was apparent that ethnicity and language were primary contributing factors in the communities of Mont Carmel and Bouctouche. Kinship appeared to play a much greater role in West Point and Lunenburg, although ethnicity had a decided influence in the latter community as well. The factors of kinship and ethnicity appeared less pronounced in each of the communities of Sackville and Pictou.

Communities can also be characterized by their level of solidarity, reflected by such qualities as trust and tolerance among its members. The factors of ethnicity and kinship can contribute to solidarity yet polarization can occur despite their presence in community. For instance, in Lunenburg, there was evidence of polarization within the community relative to various sectors of retail trade which cut across lines of ethnicity or kinship. In West Point

there were reported faultlines within the community relative to differences of opinion regarding the management of their collective enterprise.

Community spirit can be enhanced by the quality of communication that exists among its members. Effective communication can be a function of several factors such as the strength of the networks that are in place and the level of coordination that is offered by community leadership. Upon examining the communities of Sackville and Lunenburg, there seemed to be evidence of a high degree of communication among the various parties involved with tourism and the community in general. Similarly, in West Point and Mont Carmel, there appeared to be ample opportunity for people to meet and discuss issues. In the case of Pictou and Bouctouche, where the tourism involvement was an extension of administrative agencies, the avenues for communication were more structured, perhaps not facilitating as great an input from community.

Community spirit can be manifested by the level and quality of cooperation that prevails. One simple indicator of this is the degree of volunteerism that is exhibited. It is interesting to note that in West Point some of the improvements in the lighthouse and the associated kitchen were completed by volunteers from the community. Similarly, in the case of Lunenburg and Sackville, there were a remarkable number of volunteers that were involved in the various festivals. In the case of Mont Carmel, as one would expect in an ethnically homogeneous place, there was strong cooperation within the community in establishing the cooperatives engaged in tourism activities. It would appear that in the case of Pictou and Bouctouche citizens generally

were not involved to the same extent on a volunteer basis in their tourism initiatives.

b) Process of Involvement

There were apparent differences in the manner in which the communities became involved in tourism. For instance, in the community of West Point, it is clear that their involvement originated from a genuine desire to renew community by restoring their historic lighthouse. Similarly, in the case of Mont Carmel, there was an interest in celebrating their heritage by reconstructing a pioneer village. These two communities' initiatives were the result of a response to a perceived crisis, unlike the situation in Lunenburg where involvement in tourism was much more gradual, evolving over time. It should be indicated that in all three communities there was a strong grass roots involvement in tourism that was initiated from within and not outside the community.

In contrast, in the community of Sackville, the process of involvement seems to have stemmed from an initiative of the municipal administration in collaboration with university special interest groups. This was an outcome of an earlier regional planning effort of the Tantramar Tourism Association that focused on tourism potential in the area. The connection was very direct as the former president of the tourism association was the current mayor of Sackville. In the community of Pictou. the new tourism project, centred around the reconstruction of the Hector was similarly related to a regional planning initiative. The concept of the Hector Heritage Quay was first identified and deemed to have a high priority within the

Pictou County Tourism Study. The Pictou Waterfront Development Corporation was created as the municipal instrument to implement the proposed redevelopment and it did so in an efficient and autonomous manner.

The development of Le Pays de La Sagouine was initiated largely by the Kent County Industrial Commission, headquartered in Bouctouche. There existed a Kent County Tourism Association with a large number of members, many of whom were located in the Richibucto area of Kouchibouguac National Park. La Sagouine was envisioned as an "anchor development" that would foster growth in the Bouctouche area of the county. This occurred at a time when there were few tourism association members in Bouctouche and consequently they did not have extensive involvement in the project.

c) Integration of Tourism with the Local Economy

The communities surveyed exhibited varying degrees of integration of their tourism activities with other areas of their local economy. For example, in Mont Carmel and Lunenburg tourism was a central activity that was interconnected with several sectors such as fishing, farming and the retail trade. By contrast, in West Point such integration did not appear to be as extensive where the community tourism activity was very localized at the lighthouse area. Yet it would seem that there was a complementary relationship with traditional livelihoods in that tourism fostered additional economic activity to that of fishing and provided a beneficial service (e.g. restaurant) that fishers and other local individuals frequented.

Sackville's tourism product represents an innovative creation that can be likened to an "intellectual property". The waterfowl festival concept demanded creativity and marketing expertise, that the community was able to access from the pool of resources at the local university. Such tourism development can be viewed as a strategic endeavour, with ties to the university, that is aimed at integration with other sectors in the community.

The communities of Pictou and Bouctouche offer situations in which their tourism initiatives consisted of major infrastructural developments that impacted substantially on other sectors of the economy during their construction, but whose impact, since commencing operation may not have realized their potential. For example in Bouctouche, La Sagouine is isolated from the mainstream of the community situated across the river, operating as a self-contained entity. In Pictou, the Hector redevelopment area is not so physically separated, but appears to operate independently, not yet harmonized with the rest of the community. Nevertheless these attractions do generate enhanced traffic flow that assists sales at nearby service outlets.

d) The Nature of their Tourism Developments

There are two issues that can be raised in our observations relative to the nature of tourism involvement by these six communities. First is the issue of authenticity and its impact on the quality of experience afforded the visitor. When one compares the experience of visiting the National Historic District in downtown Lunenburg with a tour of the "folk village" of Le Pays de La Sagouine it is apparent that they offer tourism experiences at

opposite ends of the spectrum of authenticity. Similarly if one were to compare the experience of touring the staged reconstruction site of the Hector in Pictou with that of visiting the reconstructed West Point lighthouse, an identical conclusion would be reached. It is not a question of tourism ethics if you will, but a matter of the sustainability of these tourism experiences in meeting expectations. It is interesting to note that the community of Mont Carmel has already addressed a potential discrepancy with its pioneer village and has decided that some of the structures should be eliminated. Finally, with the community of Sackville's theme of waterfowl, both for its park and festival, their choice is seen to be quintessentiallyauthentic.

The second issue is related to the form of tourism involvement and whether it is economically advantageous. Ultimately the question must be asked what advantages are there to the substantial investments in infrastructure in Pictou and Bouctouche compared to the alternative forms of tourism such as festival development in Lunenburg and Sackville. In the communities of Mont Carmel and West Point initial efforts were directed at facility development but evolved to include such offerings as dinner theatre, special workshops and other cultural activities. Clearly communities must weigh the need and costs for each form of tourism against the expected benefit and return for residents and tourists alike.

e) The Transferability of Tourism Efforts

For the purposes of modelling a preferred approach to community tourism, it is useful to examine to what degree the tourism efforts of these six communities are transferable to other communities. For instance the efforts of the community of Mont Carmel with its integrative cooperative activity are admirable but may not be readily applied in another community. Experience has shown that successful cooperative development demands strong community solidarity, intimate understanding of cooperative methodology and the availability of support organizations such as credit unions or cooperative associations, as well as managerial expertise. In like fashion, the achievements of the community developmen* corporation in Pictou (given its own special funding) are impressive, but can not be highlighted as an example that other communities can readily imitate. Bouctouche's experiment, is every bit as bold as the Pictou scheme, and offers a novel element in the Acadian tourism mosaic of Atlantic Canada. But it remains to be seen whether this "folk village" theme park will be sustainable and thus a model for others.

Consequently we are forced to look to the other three communities for some insight as to the type of tourism to be encouraged elsewhere. The community development corporation in West Point had been instrumental in fostering a complementary, compatible and to date viable tourism operation for its community. Equally the collective community enterprising in Lunenburg and Sackville offer winning examples of what other communities could adopt. Yet even in these communities there existed

unique contributing factors such as a strong entrepreneurial tradition or professional entrepreneurial skills readily available at the university.

5.2 Reasserting Community Within an Ecological Framework

It has been suggested that the economic value of households and community has been long underestimated. Within the basic concepts of modern industrialization, "the notion of family and community-based production of goods and services were viewed as antiquated and outmoded" (Ross and Usher 1985:11). But there is evidence that this is changing as governments place more responsibility for economic development ѕ ѣ the delivery of services on the shoulders of community (Douglas 1989; ECC 1990; Nozick 1992; Sinclair 1989). At the same time, on a human level there is recognition of the need to reassert community as "there is an ever-sharpening polarity between capital and community" and "in the process of organized work there is a neglect of community differences, needs and aspirations"(Hunter 1992: 6).

This apparent requirement to reassert community poses a number of important questions. For instance, is there a need to revisit our fundamental understanding or view of community ? Given the relative strength of community in Atlantic Canada, can our collective experiences in this region help inform this view? How well does tourism fit into or contribute to this view of community?

It is in the context of such questioning that a preferred community approach to tourism can be further explored. Murphy advocates that an

ecological perspective of community be adopted for the purposes of tourism planning. He asserts that in doing so, adequate attention is focused on natural resources which are the foundation of a sustainable tourism. Yet others argue that sustainability, the new quest for environmentalists and economists alike, "conceives of nature as a productive system and community as consumers of resources" and thus is misdirected (Cayley 1992: 116). Accordingly, Rowe espouses a reexamination of our understanding of ecology :

> The time is right to rethink ecology, to understand it properly. Ecology is, or should be, the study of ecological systems that are home to [communities] at the surface of the earth (Rowe 1990: 52).

Rowe admonishes that there has been an over-emphasis on the study of species to the detriment of the study of ecosystems and gently reminds us that the literal translation of ecology (taken from the Greek "oikos" meaning house or home) is "knowledge of home" or "home wisdom", which is precisely what is missing in our understanding. It is his belief that what is required is that "the dialectic that ties together people...individually and collectively...to the ecosphere, ourselves part of it and it an extension of ourselves" (Ibid.: 241) must be elevated in importance. He views the ecosystem that we call land as the basis of community. He eloquently calls for a renewed sense of stewardship of our natural ecosystems where community is viewed as a continuum of the natural environment. He hails his vision as "ecumenical ecology" and reminds us "it is time to come home and show the home place more loving care"(Ibid.: 246).

What is of most benefit is that an ecological perspective not only offers an approach that supports prudent management. it also appears to offer an opportunity for community to be strengthened. To the extent an ecological perspective of community helps create an awareness of the commonality of natural surroundings (see Pocius 1991) then it may be instrumental in informing community. For instance natural features such as a harbour, river or beach that are "held in common" can be perceived to be physical manifestations of community. It follows that a collective sense of stewardship towards them can serve to augment community spirit. By extension those man-made structures (also held in common) associated with these common natural features such as a wharf or lighthouse or a footpath can evoke a similar message for community. It is as if these features and facilities are not only resources to be utilized, but are "touchstones" to their commonality or community as well. By fostering a renewed sense of stewardship towards these touchstones, community can be reasserted.

Therefore this ecological perspective of community raises the spectre of a stewardship imbued with a renewed respect for natural resources that ultimately sustains community. In keeping with our investigations of the six communities, the question whether tourism can complement or indeed contribute to this new sense of stewardship may be asked. For instance in the case of West Point, the community did not choose to develop a water-slide or a mini golf course but rather decided to focus their attention on their lighthouse. This was an integral part of their community as an important facility for fishermen and a visible sign of their heritage. Their activities, in the name of tourism (and community improvements) were also

directed at rehabilitation of the nearby provincial park by way of an improved location for the campsites and a coastal trail. Similarly it can be suggested that the efforts of the community of Lunenburg to preserve and protect their wharf and waterfront area to the extent that it was designated a National Historic District have strong stewardship overtones. As well their festival creations in celebrating their fishery, musical and ethnic heritage are both community and environmentally enhancing. Finally, the approach of Sackville in highlighting waterfowl is a wonderful example of their awareness and apparent respect for their natural environs and the abundance of avifaunal life.

To this extent then, it can be suggested that there are clear indications that tourism can be complementary to a more rigorous stewardship of resources and community. On the other hand, however, the endeavours of creating a themed park in an estuary in the case of Bouctouche and the waterfront and marina developments along Pictou's harbour are obvious projects that are much less environmentally sensitive. In the case of Mont Carmel the location of their primary tourism facilities, although in a low lying area, are on balance environmentally acceptable. As well their efforts of advancing an ecological theme, by way of interpretive displays at the nearby beach area are constructive but could go much further.

5.3 An Integrated Approach

It is recommended that the ecological perspective of community be utilized in conjunction with a community development process. It is believed that the two not only complement but enhance each other. For example the

ecological perspective can enhance awareness of a community's geography and associated history. In doing so it fosters a common focus and understanding, facilitating communication which in turn can help to rekindle community. This revitalized sense of community encourages a more open dialogue contributing to the community development process. The renewed sense of stewardship, intrinsic to the proposed ecological perspective of community, places on community the responsibility and the expectation of prudent management. This is a pro-active view of community that underscores the "response-ability" of community to act and at the same time implies that the necessary collective skills to do so are available or can be developed.

The ecological perspective views tourism as based on the natural and cultural (i.e. ecological) resources of the community (Murphy 1985: 157). In this way tourism should be advanced by community in an integrated fashion with other natural resource-based sectors of the economy, such as fishing and forestry and cultural-based activities such as heritage preservation and interpretation. Soft forms of tourism such as festivals afford an interesting forum to help facilitate understanding by all sectors. The activity of festival planning and implementation can strengthen community networking and remove barriers to cooperation, ultimately leading to further integrated economic activity (Aronoff 1993: 373; Getz1991: 53).

Experience from the more successful communities has shown that the process of community tourism involvement should be viewed as a gradual one. Tourism should not be approached as the quick fix to community

economic renewal. Ideally, tourism development should progress along several phases, all the while allowing community to provide feedback and input. Such an approach, which is in keeping with a community development process, would afford ample opportunity for other sectors to respond as well, thereby improving the chance for mutually supportive integration.

Just as biological communities progress through successive stages reaching a climax or stable condition, so too, do human communities evolve and reach levels of maturity and stability. Diversity, in both the case of biological and human communities, adds to the stability of the community. Tourism within the context of an ecological perspective should be viewed as an activity that can add economic diversity to community. It can do so by introducing an entirely new activity or by adding to other existing activities such as farming, fishing and service or retail trade.

Community attitude towards tourism may be problematic in that the nature of the industry may be misconstrued. Consequently there may be a need to promote a better understanding of post-modern tourism as a cultural phenomenon that can be more benevolently integrated with community. As well the potential of soft forms of tourism to generate industry may be misrepresented, especially if the role of international marketing is underestimated. Similarly the role that women can play in community development and in such forms of tourism as festival creation should be acknowledged. This learning should be built into the educational component of the community development process. As such it should be an integral part of the learning curve where understanding and awareness of

community is enhanced at the same time as understanding of tourism and development is advanced (see Diagram Three).

5.4 Summary and Conclusions

Within the industry we have seen a growing recognition that community can play a significant role in tourism planning and development. In examining these six communities, we must acknowledge that they have been able to utilize tourism as a component of community economic development, albeit with varying degrees of success. As well it should be recalled that without exception these communities chose a natural or cultural heritage theme for their development, allowing tourism to have more than an just an economic influence. However the issue of authenticity was identified as a potential problem for several of these communities. It appeared that in all cases there was a strong collective spirit that did not allow tourism initiatives to overwhelm their respective communities. The marked difference of the nature of their tourism initiatives was noted, underlining the investment differential between a major infrastructural development versus the alternative approach of festival development. The level of integration of tourism with other sectors of the local economy varied in these communities, indicating the range of importance of tourism in their economies as well as the process of involvement of community with the industry.

The question of how best to facilitate community tourism development in Atlantic Canada was central to our study. It resulted in considerable attention being paid to the essence of what is community, how is it fostered

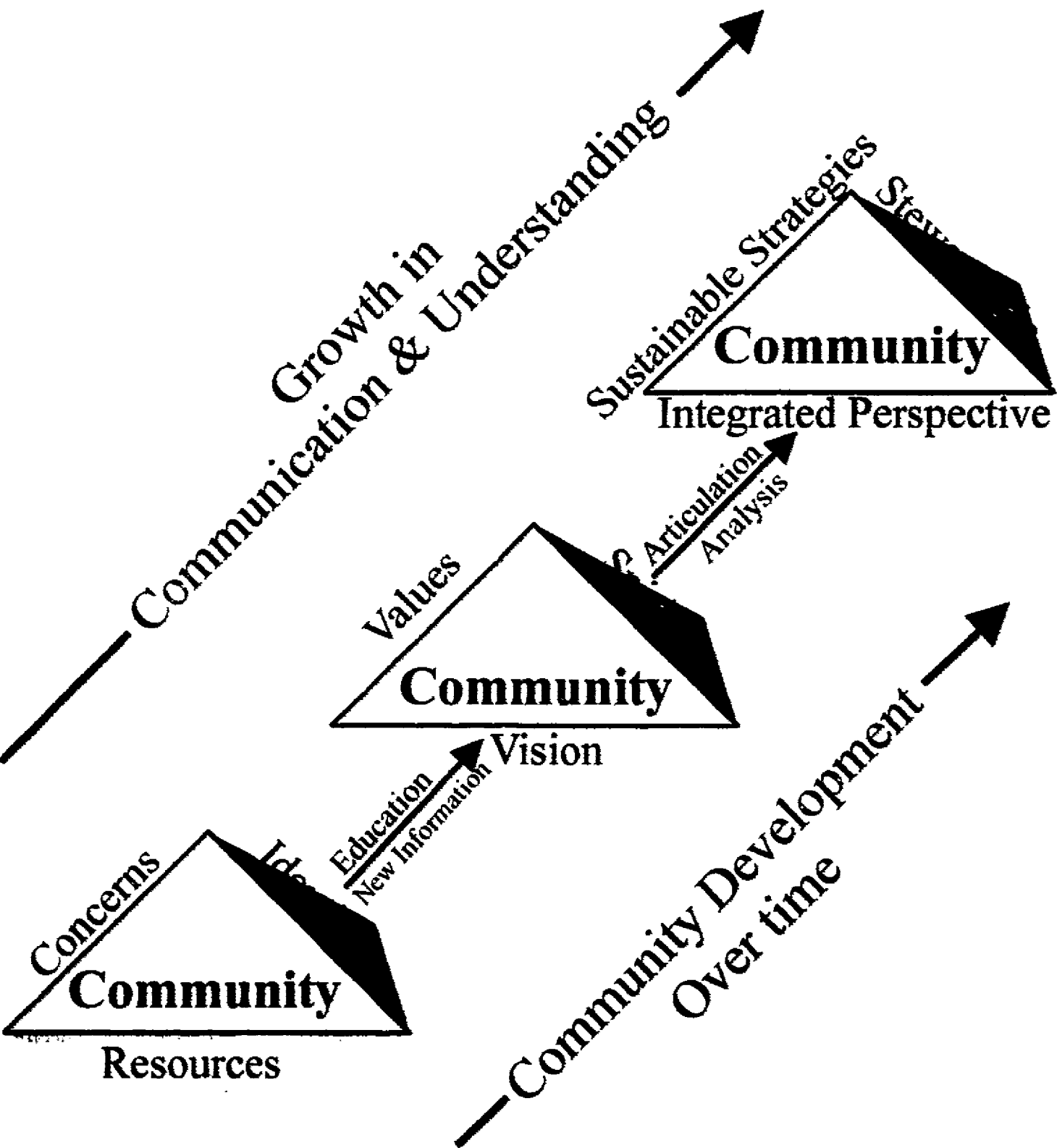# A Community-Based Development Process

Diagram 3: Modified form "Climate for Cooperative Community Development, 1992."

and whether tourism can be managed and directed for the betterment of community. The characteristics of various community enterprises were examined in conjunction with prerequisite conditions that fostered such approaches. An end objective of this examination was to offer possible models that could be utilized by other communities. It would seem that the community development corporation and collective enterprising approaches offer the best opportunity for being readily adaptable to other communities. The preference for a community development process that allows community to take ownership and direct its own tourism affairs was substantiated. At the same time it was recognized that a community-based economic approach may not always be informed by a fundamental understanding of community. In this context, a need to adopt a more ecological perspective of community was advanced that incorporated a renewed stewardship of resources, not only the foundation of a sustainable tourism but of community as well. In this way, this perspective would be consistent with the new environmental paradigm and have the potential to inform community.

The nature of tourism and its drift towards an experiential phenomenon as part of a cultural industry was raised. It was suggested that modern media and marketing are driving this new industry and it behooves communities to direct and control this aspect of the business. There is a need for prudent selection of tourism themes and images in ensuring strong marketing potential yet authentic resonance with tourists and community alike . When this is achieved it is suggested that such strong marketing symbols can be coincident with icons of the community. Although tourism marketing in Atlantic Canada can be problematic, the growing acumen of the industry

holds out the prospect at least of small rural communities being able to
network internationally.

As such tourism offers the potential for communities to diversify their
economies and add to their sustainability. Any fulfillment of this potential
may rest on the collective understanding of community, its integrity with its
environment and the nature of tourism itself. As well it may depend on the
adoption of a strong community development process that recognizes the
importance of a renewed sense of stewardship of all resources. Finally it is
the tourism industry collectively in Atlantic Canada that must accept the
challenge and the responsibility of fostering community in concert with its
growth.

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