# MOTIVATIONS FOR COMMUNITY-LED PLACEMAKING: A CASE STUDY FROM HUBBARDS, NOVA SCOTIA

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#### **ABSTRACT**

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Placemaking is a phenomenon that occurs in many parts of the world to enhance the livability, attractiveness, and/or identity of places for their residents and visitors. This thesis explores motivations for citizen-led placemaking at a community scale. Specifically, a community-led placemaking initiative titled the Hubbards Streetscape Project (HSP) taking place in Hubbards, Nova Scotia, is examined as a case study. The HSP's progress between June 2020 - the time of its inception - and February 2022 was considered. Qualitative data were gathered via semi-structured interviews (n = 9), an online survey (n = 91), analysis of the HSP Facebook group, and observation of discourse during an online public consultation. Based on the research findings, it is argued that there are three interconnected motivations for community-led placemaking: 1) a desire to guide place change to accommodate residents' place attachment and sense of place; 2) interest in enhancing the identity and livability of a place so it can reach the potential its residents feel that it has; and 3) recognition of a gap in coherent place governance and management that can be filled by residents. The power of social media as a catalyst for placemaking and opportunities for future research are also discussed.

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### **CHAPTER 1**

#### INTRODUCTION

# Community-led Placemaking: A Case Study from Hubbards, NS

Since time immemorial, people have been changing the places in which they live to better suit their needs and interests. Yet, a central challenge that remains true today in any shared place is ensuring it changes in ways that suits the needs and desires of all those who share it. In recent decades, this challenge has been addressed through strategic placemaking, which can be defined as any activity aiming to enhance the livability, attractiveness, and/or identity of a place for its residents and visitors. Typically, this type of placemaking occurs in the public realm (i.e., publicly available spaces in towns and cities), and therefore is often led by government agencies in partnership with private planning firms. However, when this does not happen, either at all or to the extent desired by citizens, community-led placemaking initiatives can arise. To further understand motivations driving community-led placemaking, this thesis examines a community-led placemaking initiative titled the 'Hubbards Streetscape Project' taking place in Hubbards, Nova Scotia.

In the summer of 2020, the Hubbards Streetscape Project (HSP) was initiated on Facebook by a group of concerned residents to advocate for sidewalks in Hubbards with the aim of making active transportation easier and safer throughout the community. While the initial objective of the project was to convince local governments to invest in new street infrastructure, the project's mission quickly evolved to include development of an entirely new urban-rural Community Plan for Hubbards (HSP, 2021a). Upon acquiring funding, the HSP committee was able to hire a professional planning firm to help conduct public consultations and devise this

Community Plan. Largely, this project has been led by a committee of volunteers who live in the community (HSP, 2021b). To date, the HSP Facebook group, where much of the public discourse regarding the project is held, has over 1400 members.

In addition to receiving attention on social media, the HSP has been covered by local media outlets, such as Global News (MacLean, 2021) and CityNews Halifax (Walton, 2020). In the press, members of the HSP committee, who are also residents of Hubbards, have expressed concern that the twinning of Highway 103 between Tantallon and Hubbards will increase development and tourism in Hubbards, which could in turn change the community's sense of place. Moreover, they describe the HSP as an initiative that will help residents guide change in Hubbards to ensure it maintains its heritage and identity (MacLean, 2021).

Strategic planning in Hubbards is not only influenced by expected new development in the area, but also by the fact that the community is divided between two different jurisdictions: Chester Municipality and Halifax Regional Municipality (HRM). This division means that Hubbards does not have one local governing body, but rather two that need to work together. To fill a gap in community planning, planning groups have attempted to devise a strategic plan for Hubbards (Beliveau et al., 2014); however, such plans have not led to any significant change in the community. A lack of cohesive planning for the entire community of Hubbards is also something that the HSP is hoping to resolve through devising a community plan and facilitating discussion between the Chester Municipality and HRM.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The term "highway twinning" means the construction of a road parallel to an existing highway road to divide vehicles travelling in different directions. Highways are typically twinned to make travel on them safer and more efficient.

#### **Research Questions and Objectives**

The overarching question which guides this research is: What are the key motivations driving community-led placemaking in Hubbards? To find answers to this question, the HSP, which is characterized in this thesis as a community-led placemaking initiative, will be examined as a case study. While Hubbards residents are not the only people involved with the HSP, they are the target demographic of this research, which seeks to explore what motivates residents to take responsibility for placemaking processes in their own community. A resident, in this case, is anyone who lives in Hubbards seasonally or permanently. The other questions this research aims to address are:

- Does place attachment play a role in the motivations for community-led placemaking in Hubbards?
- Are residents motivated to participate in this type of placemaking because they feel responsible for shaping the type of place change that occurs in Hubbards?
- Do participants of the Hubbards Streetscape Project feel that they are filling a gap in place governance and management for Hubbards?

Upon completion of this research, it was found that place attachment, desire to guide changes to Hubbards, recognition of Hubbards' potential, and a lack of coherent place governance for Hubbards all play a role in the motivations driving the Hubbards Streetscape Project. Based on the research findings for this case study, it is argued that there are three interconnected motivations for community-led placemaking: 1) a desire to guide place change to accommodate residents' place attachment and sense of place; 2) interest in enhancing the identity and livability

of a place so it can reach the potential its residents feel that it has; and 3) recognition of a gap in coherent place governance and management that can be filled by residents.

#### **CHAPTER 2**

#### LITERATURE REVIEW

The following literature review will examine the ways in which community-led placemaking is commonly investigated in scholarly work. This review will begin with a discussion of the larger theoretical frameworks that concern place as a distinct geographical concept. Next, the ways in which place is perceived as something to be managed and manipulated to better accommodate collective interests will be explored. Additionally, specific case studies which contribute to placemaking theory and exemplify placemaking practice will be evaluated. Lastly, prominent knowledge gaps in the literature will be discussed to highlight placemaking phenomena that warrant more research to be better understood in both theory and practice.

#### The Concept of Place

The concept of place and its nuances is a prominent area of study in human geography and has been examined in a wide range of contexts related to human-environment relationships. In simple terms, place is most often described as space with ascribed meaning or 'meaningful space'. In geography, place is typically regarded as an amalgamation of location, locale, and sense of place; that is, the geographic position of an area on Earth's surface, the physical and social landscape this area, and the subjective perception of how this area is unique from other areas, respectively (Cresswell, 2015). The work of the humanistic geographer, Yi-Fu Tuan, is commonly cited in place literature, as it has greatly contributed to place theory. In his book, *Space and Place*, he describes place as a construct that can be examined at various temporal and spatial scales (Tuan, 1977). With respect to the latter, place, for example, can range from a single

room to an entire nation (Tuan, 1977; Sack, 2004). Essentially, any space or location assigned identifiable boundaries shaped by means of social relations and ideas can be termed a place. In place literature, the psychological connections people form with their environment are typically referred to as 'place attachment' (Altman and Low, 1992; Giuliani, 2003) and/or 'sense of place' (Tuan, 1977; Hay, 1998). Often, these 'place bonds' are assessed simultaneously (Hay, 1998; Giuliani, 2003). Tuan (1977) argues that a sense of place is fostered by physically experiencing a place; thus, one must spend time in a place in order to have a sense of it.

Inherently, social relations and ideas change over time, which in turn, affect the type of meaning attributed to places. Assuming this premise as fact aids in distinguishing space from place. In principle, space is fixed, while place is dynamic, as Tuan (1977) notes. While relatively effective in contextualizing human-environment relations at various spatial scales, the concept of place has been noted as rather ambiguous (Tuan, 1977; Cresswell, 2015). The dynamism and subjectivity of places can make their parameters difficult to discern in any formal planning that is place oriented. Ted Relph (1976) has argued that the ways in which places are changing are becoming more homogenous and predictable, largely because of capitalism and globalization. To conceptualize such a phenomenon, Relph (1976) has proposed using the term 'placelessness'. Similarly, anthropologist Marc Augé (1995) argues that spaces without ascribed meaning are 'non-places', and what can be considered a non-place is purely subjective as a space that has meaning for one individual may not have meaning for another. While place change can be considered an implicit process in the sense that it inherently occurs due to ever-changing social relations and ideas, it is increasingly being recognized as a process that can be explicit and intentional to meet predetermined, collective expectations and objectives for a place, especially since the emergence of urban planning (Healey, 2010). In both academia and professional

planning, such processes have gained considerable attention in recent decades, and are typically regarded as the *making of place*, which is formally termed 'placemaking' (also referred to as 'place-making' or 'place making').

The social, economic, political, and environmental processes that drive place change or placemaking are examined either individually or collectively in a wide range of disciplines, including, but not limited to, environmental psychology, political science, human geography, and urban planning. Thus, the literature in which placemaking theory and practice is discussed is rather diverse and interdisciplinary. The following sections will mainly discuss placemaking, particularly at the community scale, as an intentional and systematic process to achieve specified place-based objectives. The relevance of implicit placemaking processes, however, will also be explored, as explicit and implicit placemaking processes are often viewed as interrelated, rather than mutually exclusive. Moreover, literature which reveals potential causes of and motivations for placemaking at the community level are examined.

#### **Placemaking Theory**

In recent decades, the process of making public places - simply termed placemaking - has gained considerable attention in both the academic and professional realms of community planning and design. Placemaking is defined by Cilliers and Timmermans (2014) as "transforming spaces into qualitative places by focusing on the social dimension of planning, linking meaning and function to the spaces" (pp. 414). Motivations for changing places by means of placemaking activities is a broad area of interest, not only in human and cultural geography, but also in urban planning (Phelps et al., 2015; Frangos et al., 2017), political science (Salzman and Yerace, 2018), and architecture-urbanism (Castello, 2010). Activities that constitute

placemaking are wide ranging. For instance, such activity can range from constructing a community skatepark (Chiu and Giamarino, 2019) to planting a community garden (Frangos et al., 2017). Notably, it has been argued that activities which can be deemed modes of placemaking remain relatively ambiguous, as a result of the novelty of systematic placemaking and its theoretical framework (Basaraba, 2021).

Placemaking has only been more widely recognized as a formal practice within recent decades, and, therefore has been regarded as a relatively new concept with respect to placeoriented research (Lew, 2017; Basaraba, 2021). Specifically, the 1960s have been identified as the period when the concept of placemaking first emerged in urban planning and related fields (Basaraba, 2021). To better understand the theoretical basis underlying placemaking, Basaraba (2021) conducted a scoping study of placemaking literature to explore how placemaking is defined across disciplines. Notably, she draws attention to digital and creative placemaking, which can both be considered subgroups of intentional, planned placemaking that has emerged in recent years. From this study, Basaraba (2021) found that placemaking is defined as a concept which lacks a widely agreed-upon theoretical model. However, Basaraba (2021) suggests that there is increasing attention being paid to placemaking in academia, namely in the disciplines of geo and spatial sciences, regional urban planning, urban studies, and architecture. Ellery et al. (2020) also argue that placemaking theory has not been well established, based on their own review of placemaking literature. To fill such a gap in scholarship, they offer a theoretical framework for placemaking, which can be used to inform placemaking strategies employed by different actors. This model recognizes the interplay between people and place: focusing on how people shape places and vice versa (Ellery et al., 2020).

It has also been emphasized that the concept of placemaking can possess different meanings depending on how it is spelled (i.e., placemaking or place-making or place making) and a further challenge that stems from this is that such terms are used interchangeably in the literature to describe processes that can sometimes be very different (Lew, 2017). Alan Lew (2017) argues that there are discrepancies in how placemaking is defined in the literature "because bottom-up, organic place-making and top-down, planned placemaking are two ends on a continuum of place making ideas, theories, methods and practices" (pp. 450).

This continuum is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Lew's Continuum of Placemaking Activities

	Place-makings	Mixed place makings	Placemakings
Driver of change	Individuals, local groups, human agency	Collaborative, NGOs/NPOs	Government, developers, socio-political structure
Symbolism	Local or traditional	Glocalization	Cosmopolitan, modern, or global
Process of change	Bottom-up, organic and incremental, minor placemaking <sup>1</sup> , unintentional worldmaking <sup>2</sup>	Co-management, co-creation, public participation	Top-down, master planned, hyper-neoliberal placemaking <sup>a</sup> , intentional worldmaking <sup>b</sup>
Tourists	Alternative tourists	Specialty tourists	Mass tourists
Ownership and accessibility	Local owners, effort to visit, inaccessible	Locals and outsiders	Outsider owners, easy to visit, accessible
Security	Risk, uncertainty, surprise, escape	Different	Safe, known, predictable, familiar
Sought experiences	Novelty, exotic, unique, Individual	Interesting	Recreation, leisure, common, mass
Social space	Back region	Back and front regions	Front region
Authenticity	Objective authenticity, real, sense of place, vernacular	Constructed authenticity, staged	Inauthentic, contrived, fantasy, disneyfication, simulacra, placelessness
Transformation	Slow change, path dependent	Moderate change, path divergent	Rapid change, high efficiency, path creation
Development stage (TALC)	Discovery, exploration	Involvement, development	Consolidation
Capacity	Small/low capacity	Medium capacity	Large/high capacity
Guiding	Unguided, tourism incognita	Self-guided	Guided, tourism cognita
Market orientation	Local directed, craft tourism	Regional and national directed	International directed, industrial tourism
Experience	Existential, experimental	Experiential	Recreational, diversionary
Semiotics	Sight/site/place involvement, recognition, and orientation, self-constructed and personal narratives	Mixed semiotics and engagement, place naming	Marker involvement, brand or theme oriented, sight sacralization, socially constructed, metanarratives
Fame	Unknown, unimportant	Regional importance	Famous, important
	$\longleftarrow$		

Reproduced from: Lew, A. (2017). Tourism planning and place making: Place-making or placemaking? *Tourism Geographies, 19*(3), (Table 1). <a href="https://www.tandfonline.com">www.tandfonline.com</a>

It is important to note that due to the interdisciplinary nature of placemaking research, the scope of relevant literature can be quite extensive. For example, many parallels can be found between placemaking literature and public space planning literature; a distinction is made here between such literature streams based on the principle that space and place are different concepts in geography. Nonetheless, placemaking and public space planning both refer to implementing change in the public realm, so findings from research on these topics are worth comparing. The public realm, in this sense, is considered publicly-owned spaces that are accessible to everyone.

Generally, strategic placemaking for the public realm has a positive connotation, as it typically aims to enhance the quality of public places in some regard (Healey, 2010; Cilliers and Timmermans, 2014). The same can be said about public space planning, which aims to improve public spaces. An example of this could be making public space more accessible (Hajer and Reijndorp, 2001). Social relations that influence the public spaces and places are commonly examined. For instance, Cianciotto (2020) studied the social relations that are facilitated in Philadelphia's LOVE Park, which they argue exemplifies how common space and public space are distinct concepts. However, they are not mutually exclusive in that both spaces can exist simultaneously in one place, which can be termed "public-common space" (Cianciotto, 2020, pp. 677). This study provides insight into the social processes which shape the use and designation of public places.

A question that is often pondered in any literature pertaining to planning for the public realm is: What constitutes a quality public space? The answer to such a question is explored by Hajer and Reijndorp (2001), who mainly discuss the public realm in the context of public space. In their work, however, Hajer and Reijndorp (2001) note place as being space defined by identity, social relations, and history. Furthermore, they underscore the fact that there are widely-

held expectations for public space, but such expectations can vary greatly among cultures, in time, and so on (Hajer and Reijndorp, 2001).

Perceptions of and expectations for a place can, of course, guide the type of action taken to alter or enhance its environmental characteristics. Thus, place perceptions and expectations are typically investigated in some regard in any research which aims to understand forces driving placemaking. Although action by agents – that is, civil society, the public sector, and/or the private sector - is needed to make tangible changes to the environment of a place, speech and written word are also regarded as influential contributors to place meaning, and in turn, placemaking. Tuan (1991), for example, draws attention to the significant role that verbal and written communication have in placemaking or "place-constructing" processes (pp. 685). Specifically, Tuan (1991) emphasizes the power of language in framing how a place is perceived, not only by an individual in terms of their affective place bonds (e.g., place attachment and sense of place), but also by society at large, which can influence how agents choose to act upon it, either by intentional or inadvertent placemaking.

While formal (i.e., intentional and planned) placemaking is often regarded in the literature as an activity that can benefit society and a means for providing favorable outcomes in a place, it has been argued that such premises are misleading. For example, Burns and Berbary (2021) critique systematic placemaking by suggesting that such activity is typically conducted to 'unmake' a place that is desirable to some, namely minority groups. Further, they suggest that placemaking is too often guised as 'place rejuvenation', which they argue is an example of gentrification that can lead to displacement of minority groups and/or groups of lower socioeconomic status. Burns and Berbary (2021) argue that such a phenomenon has occurred in Kitchener, Ontario, where a series of government-led placemaking projects were conducted with

the aim of 'revitalizing' development in different parts of the city, such as a pedestrian-only street titled 'Goudies Lane'. It is worth noting that the type of placemaking Burns and Berbary (2021) critique is predominately top-down (i.e., led by local government), so it may not be completely applicable to placemaking that is truly bottom-up (i.e., led by citizens who reside in the place in question). However, Burns and Berbary (2021) raise an important question about placemaking, which is: who is placemaking conducted *for*? A similar question often examined in placemaking literature asks: who has the *authority* to conduct placemaking? Answers to such questions are explored in place governance literature.

#### **Place Governance**

When considering placemaking as a process which has influence on the public realm, it can logically be related to place governance, which has been described in literature as an emerging area of academic study (Healey, 2010; Schmitt and Wiechmann, 2018). Urban planner Patsy Healey is regarded as a major contributor to the theories of planning and place governance (Schmitt and Wiechmann, 2018), namely through her books *Collaborative Planning: Shaping Places in Fragmented Societies* (Healey, 1997) and *Making Better Places: The Planning Project in the Twenty-First Century* (Healey, 2010). In the latter, she defines place governance simply as the system by which qualities of place are managed and developed. Moreover, she suggests that placemaking, in the context of place governance, is a strategic activity which involves government at all levels, as well as actors outside the public sector (Healey, 2010). Healey (2010) notes that her work generally conveys a normative stance based upon her many years working in urban planning. Nonetheless, her work provides important insights into place governance as a theoretical framework and practice. In planning literature, normative reasoning

has been noted as sufficient to make valid inferences about effective methods of place management and development. For example, in a review of planning and place governance literature, Schmitt and Wiechmann (2018) suggest that planning is often based on intuition more so than explicit theory, as planning is inherently interdisciplinary, and, therefore, cannot be based merely on a strict theoretical framework. Moreover, they emphasize that place governance theory can be viewed as an amalgamation of governance theory and planning theory (Schmitt and Wiechmann, 2018).

With regard to place governance as a process for managing and developing the public realm, it is generally agreed in the literature that such a process ought to consider multiple values, interests, and expectations for it to be effective, and, thus, it typically involves cross-sectoral collaboration (Healey, 2010; Schmitt and Wiechmann, 2018). Place governance, as a concept, has been critiqued as being not well-defined and complex, making it difficult to relate to place management and development in practice (Schmitt and Wiechmann, 2018).

The actors responsible for the governance of public places are generally divided into two categories: actors in the public sector and actors not in the public sector (Healey, 2010). Thus, and as previously mentioned, the management and development of places is typically regarded as either a top-down process, bottom-up process, or a hybrid of such processes. While all these approaches are discussed in placemaking literature, this review will focus upon placemaking that is bottom-up (i.e., community led).

## Community-led placemaking

The value of public participation in community planning of any sort is being increasingly recognized in many parts of the world (Friedmann, 2010; Cilliers and Timmermans, 2014;

Frangos et al., 2017; D'Ovidio, 2021). In the discipline of spatial planning, it is widely understood that communities can be considered places in their own right. As Ellery et al. (2020) emphasize, places and people have influence on one another; that is, places can shape people and vice versa. In a similar regard, the ways in which residents influence place change is a prominent area of research in placemaking literature. Typically, community-led placemaking processes are examined through case studies (Hou and Rios, 2003; Frangos et al., 2017; Breek et al., 2018; Breek et al., 2021; D'Ovidio, 2021; Norum and Polson, 2021), which can collectively provide insight into whether there are commonalities and/or nuances in how such processes are carried out in different communities. Notably, strategic community placemaking is commonly studied in the context of urban development (Manzo, 2005; Cilliers and Timmermans, 2014; Phelps et al., 2015; Frangos et al., 2017; Cianciotto, 2020). However, it has been argued that such placemaking is not merely an urban phenomenon, as it has been found to occur in the periphery of urban centres as well (Salzman and Yerace, 2018). While areas on the margins of cities have been examined as sites of intentional placemaking, such activity in more rural areas has been relatively understudied.

It is important to note that placemaking processes that are deemed 'community-led' can differ based upon the way in which they are initiated. For example, Cilliers and Timmermans (2014) discuss placemaking as an activity initiated by professional planners yet guided by community residents. Specifically, they examine strategies that can be employed by planners to facilitate public participation in placemaking. Such participatory planning is typically recognized in placemaking literature as "creative placemaking" (Cilliers and Timmermans, 2014; Salzman and Yerace, 2018; Basaraba, 2021).

Creative placemaking has been studied in a variety of contexts. In a comparative analysis of two community gardens - Feedback Farms in Brooklyn, New York and Space-Ex in Montreal, Quebec – Frangos et al. (2017) investigate the ways in which participatory spatial planning can evolve over time into meaningful placemaking initiatives. Notably, they explore community-led placemaking initiatives as a means of developing inclusive community spaces termed 'the commons' (Frangos et al., 2017). The methodology for the study involved participatory mapping, group interviews, and document analysis. Such documents included Facebook posts, funding campaigns, reports, design sketches, drawings, and videos. The results of this study provide insight into the dynamics of community-led placemaking and how local knowledge can be utilized to design meaningful, publicly-available spaces in urban settings (Frangos et al., 2017). Some research has found that placemaking which involves actors in government and civil society can be advantageous. For instance, Friedmann (2010) suggests that collaboration between government-hired planners and citizens can develop mutually beneficial place development strategies.

Placemaking has also been studied as a predominately bottom-up process; that is, a process initiated and sustained by community residents. Benson and Jackson (2013) examined placemaking processes facilitated by middle-class residents in two different neighborhoods in London, England: one is comprised of West Horsley and Effingham, and the other is the neighborhood of Peckham. These two neighborhoods are considered different in that the latter is an inner city, socially mixed, gentrifying setting, while the former is comprised of exurban, commuter belt settings. This study involved conducting interviews with middle-class residents in both neighborhoods. From these interviews, it was found that place-related processes differed in the two types of neighborhoods; respondents in Peckham were more concerned about

placemaking that would help establish an identity for the town that is attractive to residents as well as 'outsiders' like tourists, while respondents in the commuter villages were more concerned about place maintenance, particularity initiatives that preserve the valued rural characteristics or 'charm' of these villages (Benson and Jackson, 2013). As the means by which people interact with one another change over time, largely due to technology, so too does the nature of community-led placemaking.

In recent years, community-led placemaking initiatives facilitated by online methods has become an emerging topic of study in placemaking literature (Breek et al., 2018; Basaraba, 2021; Breek et al., 2021; Norum and Polson, 2021). For example, Breek et al. (2018) examined social media as a medium for initiating collective placemaking and location-related social bonds. Such a topic was explored through two neighborhood blogs (i.e., Facebook pages) which seek to influence place change in Amsterdam (Breek et al., 2018). The methodology for this study involved conducting semi-structured interviews and analyzing different types of public engagement on the Facebook pages (e.g., considering number of page likes and posts). It is argued that online environments can act as a 'public stage' for public discourse regarding place, and as such, they can create opportunities for both unplanned and strategic placemaking (Breek et al., 2018). Building upon this earlier work, Breek et al. (2021) explored social media as a platform for public discourse, specifically collaborative storytelling, which pertains to placemaking in Amsterdam, although this time with a focus on the neighborhood of Amsterdam-Noord, an area perceived to be experiencing gentrification. Furthermore, this study, like the one discussed in Breek et al. (2018), investigated the type of dialogues that occurred on two different Facebook pages which are concerned about development in Noord-Amsterdam. Results of this work provide insight into the demographics of who engages in these online communities, the

nature the of discourse in such communities, and the way in which this discourse fosters a collective sense of place. Such results were analyzed as a form of affective publics, which the authors propose to be "online affective placemaking" (Breek et al., 2021, pp. 159). Breek et al. (2021) found that placemaking on online blogs can be initiated simply by an individual who is interested in changing the image of a place. Moreover, they found that residents' motivations for participating in such placemaking can vary over time. For example, it was found that residents were initially motivated by feelings of group solidarity and sense of place fostered through the online interactions. Over time, however, residents became more interested in interacting in person rather than online. Therefore, Breek et al. (2021) suggest that online blogs can act as a catalyst for community placemaking.

Interestingly, the emergence of placemaking online has been attributed to the Covid-19 pandemic. For example, Norum and Polson (2021) conducted a study of AirBnB's place-based 'Experiences' product as a means of digital placemaking, in large part to fill a gap in the 'experience economy' created during the onset of the pandemic. Notably, this study examines placemaking as a process that is led by the private sector, rather than the public sector or civil society. While industry-led placemaking is beyond the scope of this review, the work of Norum and Polson (2021) nonetheless provides important insight into how placemaking can be facilitated online.

In addition to placemaking approaches, motivations for placemaking are also widely explored in the literature. As previously discussed, such motivations have been examined in the context of placemaking via online blogs (Breek et al., 2018). Often, placemaking is regarded as a method of urban regeneration and place branding (Coletti and Rabbiosi, 2021). For example, Colletti and Rabbiosi (2021) studied motivations for place branding and urban regeneration,

particularly in the context of economically declining neighborhoods in the eastern periphery of Rome, Italy. Specifically, Colletti and Rabbiosi (2021) describe placemaking as an effective device for neighborhood branding in that it can aid in distinguishing a unique identity for the neighborhood in question. While this article primarily focuses on placemaking in the context of urban development, it provides important insight into how such a process can enhance the identity of a place which reflects local values (Colletti and Rabbiosi, 2021). Placemaking as a means of bottom-up urban regeneration has also been examined by D'Ovidio (2021), also drawing on case studies based in Italy. From this study, D'Ovidio (2021) found that businesses can be an influential actor in placemaking which aims to facilitate urban regeneration.

Additionally, place attachment has been examined as a motivation for community placemaking, but, not to the same extent as place branding and urban regeneration. Place attachment is mainly examined in the literature from environmental psychology and is generally defined as the emotional bond people form with a place (Guiliani, 2003; Williams and Vaske, 2003; Manzo, 2005; Anton and Lawrence, 2016; Boley et al., 2021). More specifically, place attachment is typically regarded as being comprised of two dimensions: place identity and place dependence (Guiliani, 2003; Williams and Vaske, 2003). The former refers to the degree to which one's identity is shaped by a place, while the latter refers to the degree to which one depends on a place to meet their needs (Williams and Vaske, 2003). While the way in which place attachment influences acceptance of place change has been widely studied (Raymond et al., 2010; Anton and Lawrence, 2016; Boley et al., 2021), the same cannot be said about the relationship between place attachment and placemaking. An example of such research, however, is a study conducted by Muasaroh and Herlily (2020) which investigated how children's place attachment influences their motivation to perform acts of placemaking in their communities.

From their research, it was found that place attachment indeed influences the degree to which children chose to engage in community placemaking.

#### Conclusion

Placemaking at the community level is gaining increasing attention in both academia and professional spatial planning. Through case studies, commonalities and nuances of placemaking processes and motivations in different communities can be explored. Placemaking processes can be bottom-up, top-down, or a collaboration between the public sector, private sector, and civil society groups. The facilitation of place management and development can be regarded as place governance, which is considered interrelated with placemaking (Healey, 2010). In addition to the actors responsible for community placemaking, motivations for placemaking are examined in the literature. Much research has been done on community placemaking in the context of urban development and place branding, but not as much in the context of rural development and place attachment. Thus, more research on these topics is warranted. As modes of placemaking continue to evolve, especially due to technology, so too, presumably, will the nature of humanenvironment relationships. In recent years, placemaking theory has remained an area of scholarship that lacks clarity (Lew, 2017; Basaraba, 2021), which makes it relatively difficult to employ in practice. However, the nuances of placemaking are increasingly being recognized, making it easier to categorize approaches to and motivations for this place-changing process (Lew, 2017; Ellery et al., 2020). Research on this topic will continue to provide insight into the ways in which people shape communities as places, and vice versa.

#### **CHAPTER 3**

#### STUDY AREA AND METHODS

#### Hubbards, Nova Scotia

Hubbards is a relatively small coastal community situated on the South Shore of Nova Scotia, Canada. Being directly adjacent to the St. Margaret's Bay, Hubbards is a place where fishing and summer tourism are prominent economic activities. According to the 2016 census by Statistics Canada, Hubbards has a population of 364. It is important to note, however, that the area delineated as Hubbards by Statistics Canada excludes the western part of the community. This point leads to the fact that Hubbards' boundaries are defined differently in different contexts. Such ambiguity around what area constitutes Hubbards is expected, as it is divided almost directly in half by the county line bordering Lunenburg County and Halifax County. As such, it is governed by two different municipalities: Chester Municipality and Halifax Regional Municipality (HRM), respectively. The area delineated as Hubbards on Google Maps extends as far north as Panuke Lake and, notably, excludes the portion of Hubbards in Lunenburg County (Google, 2021a); this boundary is depicted in Figure 1. However, as Figure 2 shows, the area delimited by the Hubbards postal code B0J 1T0 encompasses both the Chester Municipality side, which includes the Aspotogan Penninsula, and the HRM side of the community (Google, 2021b). This research is concerned for both sides of Hubbards; hence, the study area for this research is the area captured by the B0J 1T0 postal code.



Figure 1. Hubbards' boundaries on Google Maps

Reproduced from: Google. (2021a). *Hubbards, NS*. Retrieved November 27, 2021, from <a href="https://www.google.com/maps/place/Hubbards,+NS/@44.6989227,-64.2751537,11z/data=!3m1!4b1!4m5!3m4!1s0x4b59ee84709981d3:0x1c1fde2206fe8f42!8m2!3d44.6426442!4d-64.0542576">https://www.google.com/maps/place/Hubbards,+NS/@44.6989227,-64.2751537,11z/data=!3m1!4b1!4m5!3m4!1s0x4b59ee84709981d3:0x1c1fde2206fe8f42!8m2!3d44.6426442!4d-64.0542576</a>

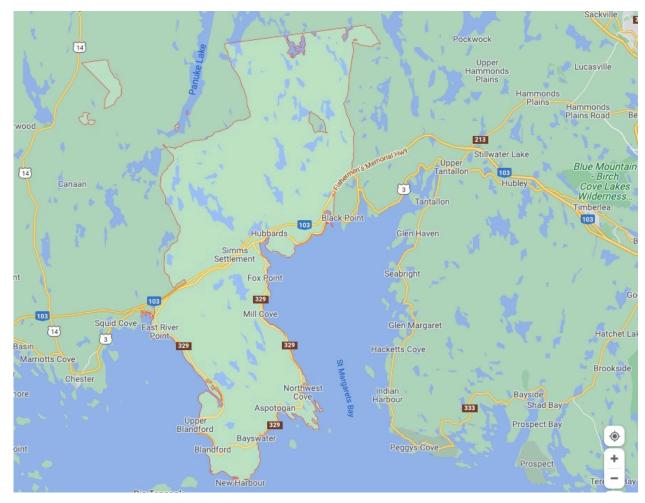


Figure 2. Study area (Hubbards B0J 1T0 postal code) on Google Maps

Google. (2021b). *Hubbards*, *NS B0J 1T0*. Retrieved November 27, 2021 from <a href="https://www.google.com/maps/place/Hubbards,+NS+B0J+1T0/@44.6268087,-64.3123555,9z/data=!4m5!3m4!1s0x4b59f132761a54c7:0x69643671a5a3b18b!8m2!3d44.6760924!4d-64.0995532</a>

Regarding the politics of Hubbards, the community is part of the Chester-St. Margaret's provincial electoral district, which includes much of eastern Lunenburg and all communities surrounding St. Margaret's Bay. Within the last decade, this district has elected Members of the Legislative Assembly (MLA) from each major political party in Nova Scotia: a New Democratic MLA in 2013, a Liberal MLA in 2017, and then a Progressive Conservative MLA in 2021

(Elections Nova Scotia, 2013, 2017, 2021). Therefore, this district can be considered not loyal to any specific political party. When examining development in Hubbards, it is important to consider its governance at multiple scales.

Generally, Hubbards is considered a place with most of the basic amenities found in a community, such as a grocery store, post office, farmers' market, schools, restaurants, and public green spaces. Because of its proximity to Halifax and other urban centers, Hubbards is typically regarded as a commuter town or 'bedroom community'. Business development tends to be small-scale, locally-owned, and artisan-focused. Within the last decade, Hubbards has lost some amenities, one of which being the community's only bank. Despite these changes, Hubbards continues to experience a relatively high amount of residential development, in the context of being a rural community. Such development is only expected to increase in the future as a result of the recent twinning of the nearby expressway, Highway 103. In sum, Hubbards can be considered a place with a relatively complex geography, dynamic politics, and evolving development.

#### Methods

A qualitative research approach was employed for both data collection and analysis. The primary aim of this methodology is theory triangulation in order to understand the key motivations driving the HSP, despite its inherent complexity as a community-led placemaking initiative.

#### Data collection

Qualitative data were collected from four sources: semi-structured interviews, an online survey, the HSP Facebook page, and an online public consultation meeting regarding the HSP observed by the author. While data were gathered from all these sources, the interviews and online survey were regarded as principal sources, as they allowed participants to discuss their perceptions of Hubbards and the HSP in an individual capacity. Hence, dialogue on the HSP Facebook page and during the HSP public consultation discussion were not analyzed in the same exhaustive manner as the interview and survey responses.

To participate in an interview and/or the online survey, individuals had to: (1) be a permanent or seasonal resident of Hubbards, which is based on having a B0J 1T0 postal code; and (2) be 18 years of age or older. Establishing this fixed criterion assured some uniformity among participants for comparison. Participant types were further broken down into two categories: residents on the HSP committee and residents not on the HSP committee. To recruit both types of participants, a poster with information regarding the study was posted in paper format throughout Hubbards, as well as shared in digital format on Facebook. Additionally, HSP committee members were contacted directly via email to request their participation. Notably, a strategic nonprobability sampling approach was employed for participant recruitment, as representativeness for statistical generalization is not the aim of this research. Such an approach aimed to resemble the 'snowball sampling' technique commonly used in qualitative research, which involves research participants recruiting other participants, typically via word-of-mouth communication (Kirchherr and Charles, 2018) or via social media (Baltar and Brunet, 2012). It is important to note that the chosen sampling method presents limitations in that it was not purely

random. However, every attempt was made to access a wide range of participants in terms of age, gender, and socioeconomic status.

Participants of this research had an opportunity to complete both an interview and the online survey if they desired. For both the interviews and survey, participant anonymity was assured; therefore, it was not possible to know whether interview participants also completed the survey. The survey was completed using the online application, Qualtrics, while interviews were conducted either in person or online via the online application, Zoom. For both the interviews and survey, participants were required to provide informed consent, either in the form of a signature or by marking a consent checkbox, respectively. During interviews, participant responses were recorded via a voice recorder.

To measure participants' attachment to Hubbards, statements indicative of place identity and place dependence were included in the online survey, which participants were asked to respond to using a seven-point Likert scale. Such statements were based on a model for measuring place attachment proposed by Williams and Vaske (2003).

Interview and survey data were collected between July 19, 2021, which is when this research was approved by the Saint Mary's University Research Ethics Board (REB), and November 30, 2021. Data from the HSP Facebook page, however, were collected over a much longer period (i.e., April 1, 2021, to February 2, 2022), as collection of these data did not require REB approval, nor the same amount of time allocated to be analyzed.

#### Data analysis

As previously mentioned, qualitative data from interviews, an online survey, a public consultation, and the HSP Facebook page were analyzed for this research. First, interview

responses were transcribed verbatim and subsequently examined using an open coding method (Khandkar, 2009). Next, survey responses were analyzed to determine whether correlations exist between respondents' attachment to Hubbards and their level of engagement with the HSP. Respondents' perceptions of Hubbards as a place and the rate at which it is changing were also assessed. Much of this information could be acquired from written responses. To identify themes in these responses, open coding was conducted using the same method of identifying themes as was used during analysis of the interview data. Furthermore, demographic data collected in survey responses were examined to understand which demographic(s) of residents engage with the HSP.

Analysis of notes taken during the public consultation, as well as examination of discourse on the HSP Facebook page, was not as rigorous as that for the interview and survey data, as the former two were only supplemental data sources. Because the author did not have permission to record the public consultation, information gathered from this source was recorded as written notes. During analysis, these notes were examined using an open coding method to identify themes in the discussions, unfolded during the consultation.

To examine public discourse on the HSP Facebook page, analysis techniques recommended in Robert Kozinets' (2010) book *Netnography* were employed. This investigation involved making note of how messaging about the project evolved over time, as well as how people generally responded to ideas being proposed by the HSP committee.

Lastly, themes identified in the data from all sources were simultaneously analyzed to determine overarching themes. If a theme could be identified in data from at least three of the four sources, then it was deemed to be overarching. Such themes were further categorized as possible motivations for community-led placemaking.

The data analysis process for this thesis formally began in June of 2021 and ended in February of 2022, and only data available during this period were analyzed. It is important to specify the analysis period, as the central placemaking phenomenon being examined (i.e., the HSP) is ongoing, and therefore, is expected to continue evolving in its progress beyond the date in which this thesis is submitted. Fortunately, the time at which the research for this thesis was conducted aligned with the development stages of the HSP, which, inherently, helped bring to focus *initial* motivations for such development during analysis.

#### Limitations

As previously mentioned, probability sampling was not employed for this research, as the aim was not to gather a representative sample for the entire population of Hubbards. Thus, caution must be used when assessing the results of this work to avoid interpreting them as generalizable to all residents who live in Hubbards. While it is important to note this limitation, doing so should not lead one to think that the results of this work are not meaningful nor representative of a wider phenomenon occurring in this community. Although qualitative research, such as this, can present limitations in terms of generalization, it can also offer great advantages in terms of gaining deeper understanding of human behaviour and motivations, which is what this thesis aims to do in the context of community-led placemaking.

#### **CHAPTER 4**

#### RESULTS

#### **Public Consultation**

Discussion during an online public consultation regarding a Community Plan for Hubbards was analyzed to gain insight into how Hubbards residents feel about Hubbards and the HSP. The consultation took place on May 19, 2021, via Zoom, and was held by members of the HSP committee and Upland, a community planning firm hired by the HSP to draft the Community Plan based on public and stakeholder feedback. The consultation was opened with a discussion regarding the purpose, vision, and objectives motivating the development of a Community Plan for Hubbards. It was emphasized that the three main objectives for the Community Plan are: (1) improving pedestrian safety and active transportation in Hubbards, (2) making the community more connected and accessible, and (3) helping to guide future growth and development in the community. Moreover, it was noted by Upland representatives, who were the lead presenters for the consultation, that this plan will not be a legal document, but rather serves as a document that can help guide planning and development for Hubbards carried out by government.

After putting the purpose of the Community Plan into context, the presenters discussed some of the main concerns the public had regarding Hubbards that had been revealed in previous consultation activities, such as the 'Hubbards Social Pinpoint Page', which allowed participants to put a pin on a certain location in Hubbards and write a note about how that site could be improved. Major concerns expressed by the public were described as traffic management, pedestrian infrastructure, and placemaking features. While placemaking was mentioned as something of concern, the presenters explained that it would not be discussed in detail during the

Consultation. After the results of previous consultations were presented, the presenters discussed Upland's proposed changes to Hubbards that could be incorporated into the Community Plan.

Then, to gather input on these changes, the presenters divided participating members of the public into breakout rooms with an Upland representative to act as a moderator and make note of feedback.

The breakout room observed had four members of the public and one moderator. The moderator facilitated discussion by asking the members of the public if anything stood out to them in Upland's proposals and if they thought anything should be changed. Interestingly, placemaking was brought up as something that should occur in Hubbards. One participant mentioned, however, that since there are limited resources to be devoted to the community, attention should be directed toward improving infrastructure for active transportation, while placemaking should not be made a priority until more resources can be acquired in the future. Another participant mentioned that Hubbards lacks a "village feel" but is "almost there" and placemaking could help achieve this. They also said that the development of a coffee shop in Hubbards a few years ago changed how Hubbards feels as a place in a positive way, and that more developments like this would benefit the community. The sailing club and waterfront park were also described as meaningful places to participants that could benefit from placemaking. It was also noted by one participant that Hubbards "lacks something to be known for" and placemaking could help set it apart from other communities in the South Shore region. Placemaking was also described as something that can catalyze economic development in the community in a way that residents are comfortable with. Furthermore, beautification was discussed as an important part of placemaking in Hubbards because the community has a lot of "eye sores" that do not reflect its potential as a place.

In addition to placemaking, participants discussed the importance of the HSP. For example, they explained that the project gives Hubbards residents the opportunity to shape and guide change in the community.

## Facebook Group

Dialogue on the HSP's Facebook mainly pertains to three main topics: increasing street safety in Hubbards, devising a Community Plan for Hubbards, and carrying out community events in Hubbards. Generally, discussion is facilitated by members of the HSP committee and members of the public engage in discussion via the comment section of posts. Occasionally, members of the public post a concern or idea directly on the group's homepage to initiate discussion with others. Moreover, local politicians also frequently engage in the dialogue in this group, typically to either express support for the HSP or address public concerns regarding government's action or inaction toward a certain issue.

The topics discussed in the group since the time of its inception demonstrate how the scope of the HSP's objectives has evolved over time. For example, when the Facebook group was first created in the spring of 2020, the focus of discussion was community advocacy for sidewalks in the community. During this time, anyone who lives in or has a connection to Hubbards was encouraged to join the group. Then, later in the year, focus shifted to advocating for the primary road through Hubbards to be designated a Main Street so that the development of a safe and beautified "streetscape" can be more feasible. In 2021, discussion expanded to the development of a Community Plan for Hubbards, as well as community events held by the HSP. Such events include, but are not limited to, community cleanups, an outdoor Christmas tree decorating party, and community walks.

Overall, public feedback about the HSP in its Facebook group is positive. Typically, when committee members have posted an important update or milestone for the project, members of the public have responded with gratitude and appreciation for the committee's efforts. It is important to note, however, that some individuals have also shared concerns about the project in the Facebook group.

A concern that was expressed by a few individuals is that this group has allowed people who do not live in Hubbards to provide input on how the community should be changed. For instance, one individual commented: "[It]seems odd to me that there would be a focus group of over a thousand people on a list actively seeking change in a community of only 500-600 people. [I]t would make more sense to me that the people who actually live here decide on what changes should be made." Concern about "outsiders" influencing the project was also expressed with regard to the planners responsible for creating a Community Plan for Hubbards. For instance, in response to a post made by a committee member regarding funding acquired by the HSP to hire a planning firm to devise the Community Plan, one individual commented: "I sure hope you hire local business to do the work not outsiders." Similarly, another individual commented in response to a different post: "[I]t is wise to determine what [the] community wants before all the planners and those who do not have daily use determine what should happen. Planners have standard answers, but community is more knowing."

While concerns have been shared about certain aspects of the HSP, it is generally discussed in the Facebook group as something that will benefit Hubbards. Notably, many members of the group describe the HSP as important because it ensures Hubbards develops in a way that accommodates the needs and interests of its residents. Furthermore, some describe the project as a necessary initiative, as an increase in development, tourism, and population is

expected in the community in the near future. This notion was exemplified by an individual who commented:

[T]he time is "Ripe' for a more comprehensive change to the safety, scope and sense of Hubbards as a more vital place for residents and visitors alike. All three levels of government anywhere in Canada realize and are open to receiving input and giving monetary support to the needed changes in communities which occur when such a major roadway is twinned. And Hubbards is no exception. ... And, very importantly, we need to keep in mind that the twinning of Hwy 103 will bring in huge numbers of new residents and tourists and Hubbards must prepare itself with increased safety, business opportunities and beautification.

It is also worth noting some of the key hashtags used in the Facebook group to promote the HSP. One that is used frequently, especially by committee members, is #OneHubbards.

Generally, this hashtag is used to celebrate collaboration between different groups and individuals in the community to work toward the common goals. Furthermore, it is used in some contexts to emphasize that Hubbards is a united place. Similar hashtags are also used in posts which advertise community events, such as #OneCleanHubbards used in a post regarding a community cleanup. Another prominent hashtag is #CantStopWontStop, which is typically used in posts that highlight the HSP's progress and success.

### **Online Survey**

Results of the online survey are categorized into three main sections: general demographics of respondents, engagement with the HSP, and general perceptions of Hubbards as a place. These results provide insight into how well the HSP is known by Hubbards residents, why people choose to engage with the HSP or not, visions and desires for Hubbards, and perceptions of development in Hubbards.

## General demographics

In total, 91 individuals participated in the online survey. Most respondents identified as permanent residents of Hubbards rather than seasonal residents (see Figure 3). While the amount of time spent living in Hubbards varied between respondents, a larger portion (30.77%) identified as living in the community for longer than 10 years (see Figure 4). In terms of the age range of respondents, depicted in Figure 5, a larger percentage of respondents identified as being between 35 and 44 years old (30.77%), while the 65 to 74 years constitutes the smallest percentage of participants (9.89%). Notably, no respondents identified as being 75 years or older. Interestingly, most respondents identified as being female (80.22%), while only 16.48% identified as male, 1.01% identified as non-binary or third gender, and 2.20% preferred not to share their gender (see Figure 6).

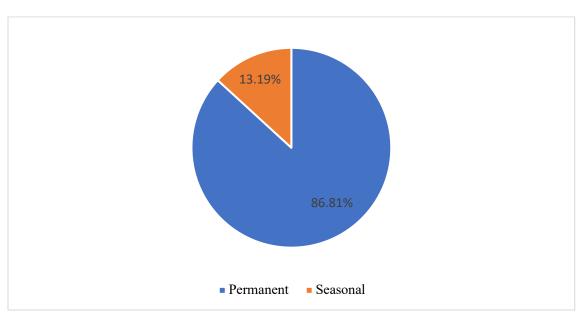
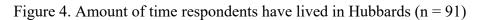


Figure 3. Type of Hubbards resident respondents identify as (n = 91)



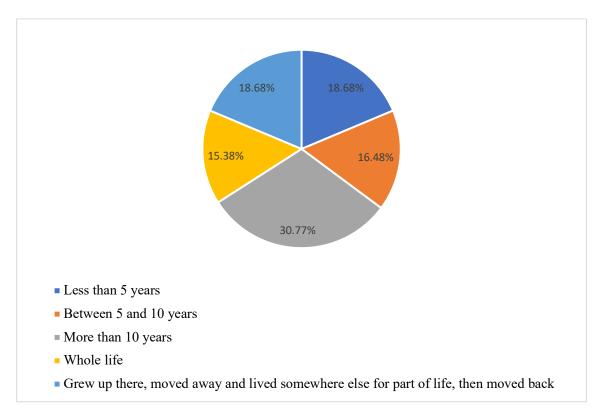
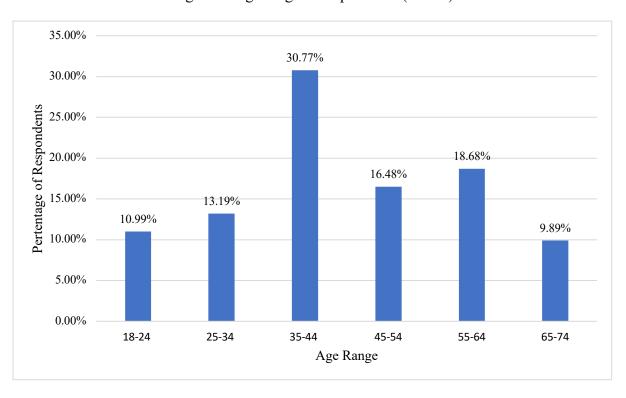


Figure 5. Age range of respondents (n = 91)



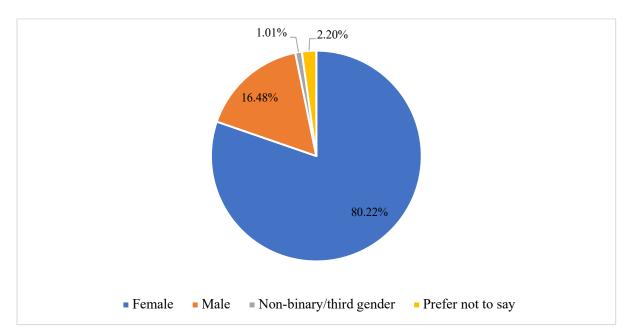
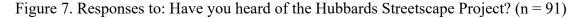
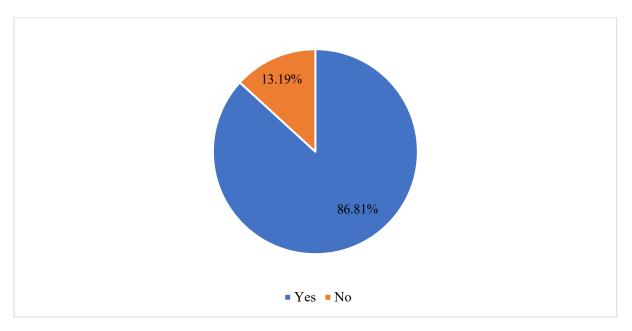


Figure 6. Gender of respondents (n = 91)

# Engagement with the HSP

Most respondents indicated that they had heard of the HSP before participating in the survey (see Figure 7). It is important to note that this degree of awareness about the project may be a result of the survey being shared directly on the HSP's Facebook page by a project committee member, which may have caused a greater number of individuals who know about the project to participate in the survey than individuals who did not know about the HSP. Nonetheless, these results suggest that many, but not all, Hubbards residents are aware of the project.



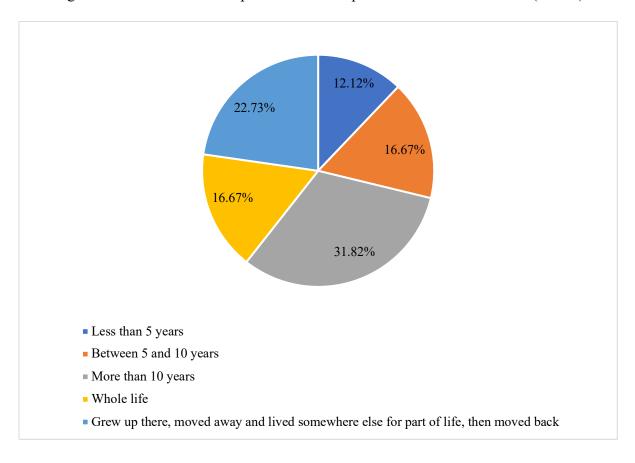


Interestingly, not everyone who indicated that they have heard of the HSP indicated that they also engage with it. Specifically, 16.46% of respondents who indicated that they have heard of the HSP before also indicated that they do not engage with the project in any way. Because of this discrepancy, the responses from participants who know about the project and engage with it were compared to that of participants who know about the project but do not engage with it. For simplicity, the former category of participants regarded as *informed and engaged* are hereafter termed "Group A" while the latter category regarded as *informed but not engaged* are hereafter termed "Group B".

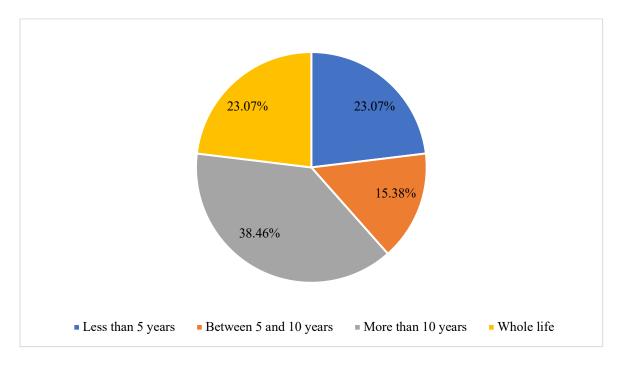
The amount of time spent living in Hubbards was compared between Group A and Group B. These results are shown in Figures 8 and 9, respectively. For both groups, a larger portion of respondents indicated that they have lived in Hubbards for more than 10 years. While time spent living in Hubbards does not differ greatly between the two groups, it is worth noting that almost a quarter of respondents in Group A indicated that they grew up in Hubbards, moved away and

lived somewhere else for part of their life, then moved back to Hubbards, while no respondents from Group B indicated that such a situation applied to them.

Figure 8. Amount of time respondents in Group A have lived in Hubbards (n = 66)







Likert scale responses indicative of place attachment were also compared between Group A and Group B. These results are shown in Figures 10 and 11, respectively. The first six Likert scale statements are associated with place dependence, while the last six statements are associated with place identity. Generally, most respondents from both groups indicated having a relatively strong attachment to Hubbards with respect to place identity. Notably, respondents from Group B did not strongly disagree with any statement, while this was the case for some respondents in Group A. Moreover, a greater percentage of respondents in Group A indicated that living in Hubbards says a lot about who they are compared to respondents in Group B. Overall, respondents in both groups generally indicate having a stronger attachment to Hubbards in terms of place identity than place dependence. Interestingly, a relatively large portion of respondents in Group B indicated that Hubbards does not satisfy their needs better than any other place, while level of agreement to this statement is more varied for Group A. Furthermore, a

greater percentage of respondents in Group A agreed that there is no other place they would rather live than in Hubbards compared to respondents in Group B. Overall, most respondents in both groups appear to be attached to Hubbards to some extent, especially with regard to place identity. However, respondents in both groups appear to generally have a stronger attachment to Hubbards in terms of place identity rather than place dependence, and this discrepancy is especially apparent for Group B.

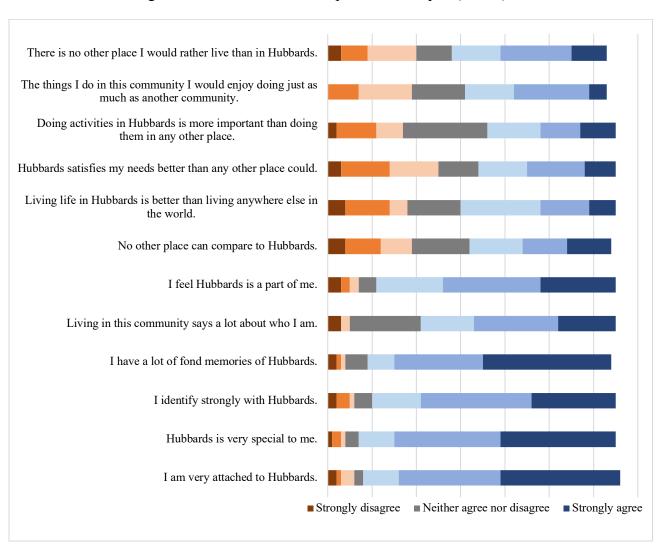
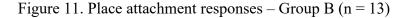
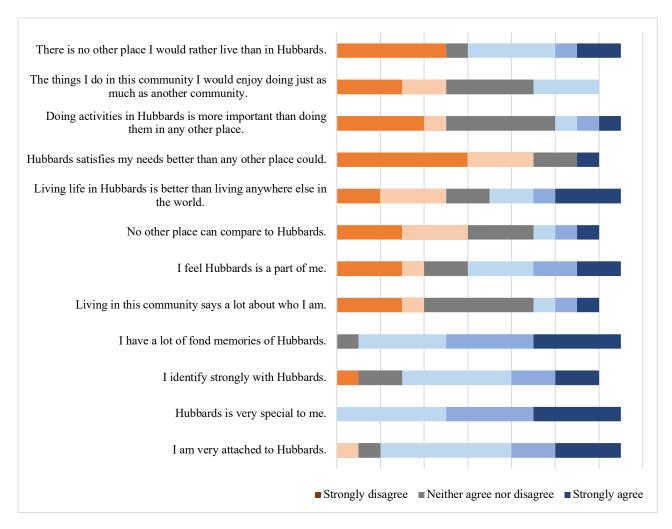


Figure 10. Place attachment responses – Group A (n = 66)





The ways in which respondents in Group A choose to engage with the HSP varies, although nearly all indicated that they engage by following the project's Facebook page (see Figure 12). The second most common method of engagement is completing surveys and/or online activities for the project. The least common method of engagement is volunteering with the HSP's committee. Interestingly, many respondents in Group A indicated that they share ideas and information about the project with others, but a relatively small percentage participate in public consultations for the project.

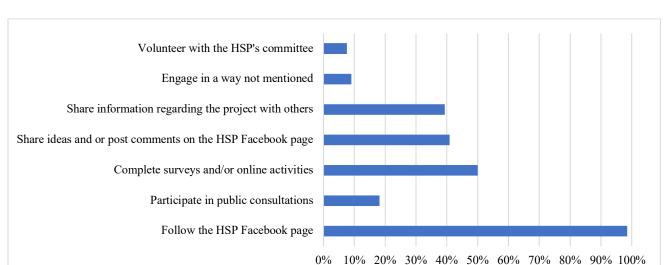


Figure 12. Type of engagement with the HSP - Group A (n = 66)

Eighty five percent of respondents who indicated that they knew about the HSP before completing the survey provided a written response expressing why they engage with the project or not. The reasons people engage with the project vary; however, several major themes in the responses could be identified. Firstly, a few respondents noted that they choose to engage with the project because they want road safety in Hubbards to improve. For example, one respondent wrote: "Hubbards is growing and needs safer transportation networking streets and trails, more businesses and an attractive [main street]." New street infrastructure, such as sidewalks, that could make active transportation easier and safer in Hubbards was described by some as an important focus of the project. One respondent noted that new street infrastructure could benefit not only residents, but also tourists.

Many respondents in Group A (i.e., know about the HSP and engage with it) wrote that they engage with the project because it has potential to improve Hubbards and make it a better place to live and visit. Specifically, some respondents wrote that the project will help improve Hubbards for future generations. One respondent noted: "HSP is a much needed initiative aimed

at making Hubbards and even better place to work, live, and play." Another respondent wrote: "I think it's great that Hubbards is making improvements; it's a true gem that should be developed!"

Another prominent reason many respondents choose to engage with the project is that it provides an opportunity for citizens to direct the type of development and change that occurs in Hubbards. One respondent wrote that they engage because it is important for residents to have a voice in the future of the community. A few respondents noted that Hubbards is subject to unfavourable development and warrants a community-led, strategic plan to avoid this from happening. This is exemplified by a respondent who wrote: "I'm eager to see community led changes rather than have changes made by business interests. I want to ensure we have a beautiful and intentionally planned community that takes care of its citizens." The twinning of Highway 103 was described as a potential cause for increased development in Hubbards. For instance, one respondent wrote: "Our community is going to develop given [its] proximity to HRM and the newly divided highway. Engaging groups such as [streetscapes] is essential to getting it right for local occupants and those [passing] through."

Some respondents noted that they engage with the project to prevent Hubbards from experiencing commercial and residential development, including one who wrote: "Too much influx of people, housing and development will make this place like any other. Might as well be Halifax." Others noted that Hubbards is becoming busier because of more development. For example, one respondent wrote:

Hubbards is a great place and I love the peacefulness of it. With all the new construction I worry that Hubbards will be too busy by the time I'm ready to retire here. Even my peaceful forest home has become noisy with ATV traffic on the trail and extra highway noise with the twinning.

A few respondents noted that they engage with the HSP simply to stay informed of its progress and plans. Moreover, some respondents expressed interest in the project as it helps them stay informed about changes in Hubbards. One respondent wrote that they engage with the project because they want more amenities in Hubbards. Another wrote they engage because Hubbards is their closest community. Lastly, one respondent noted that they engage with the project for no specific reason.

The reasons for why respondents do not engage with the project were also quite diverse. A few respondents expressed that they just simply did not know about it. Many respondents in Group B (i.e., people who know about the HSP but do not engage with it) noted that they do not engage for reasons not directly related to the project. For example, some of the reasons respondents cited include lack of time, not yet having an opportunity to do so, not using social media often, and lack of access to the Internet. However, some answers from respondents in Group B expressed disapproval of the project.

One respondent in Group B wrote that they do not engage with the project because the project leaders seem to have selfish motives (e.g., interest in media attention). Another noted that they do not engage with the HSP because they disagree with the ideas being proposed by the committee. Tension and conflict among community members regarding the project was also described by some as a reason why they choose not the engage with it. Other reasons for respondents not wanting to engage with the project include concern that the people leading the project do not represent community interests and lack of transparency about the Community Plan being developed as part of the project.

#### **Interviews**

In total, nine individuals participated in a semi-structured interview. Five participants were both a member of the HSP committee and a resident of Hubbards, except for one committee member, who does not currently live in Hubbards but did spend a period of their life living in the community. Hereafter, these participants will be referred to as "Committee Members". The other four participants are residents of Hubbards but not members of the HSP committee. While all participants, except for one, currently reside in Hubbards, only non-committee members will be referred to hereafter as "Residents". Five of the participants are female and four are male. Three interviews were conducted via Zoom while the other six interviews were conducted in person. The following sections summarize the participants' responses to each interview question.

### What do you like most about living in Hubbards?

Overall, participants expressed appreciation for Hubbards and described it as an enjoyable place to live. Most participants noted that they like living in Hubbards because it has a strong sense of community. For example, Resident 1 said: "I like the community aspect of Hubbards. I like that... it's very much a community in itself even though it's split by a couple of municipalities." Similarly, Committee Member 1 said:

I guess it's just that sense of community here. I don't feel that anywhere else. And people will actually say... you know Hubbards is special. It's true. And I can't really pinpoint why. It's just, I don't know. There's just a vibe.

Other characteristics of Hubbards that many participants expressed liking are its natural beauty, proximity to the ocean, quietness, and the fact that it is "rural but not too rural". A couple of Residents said that they like being relatively close to Halifax, but far enough away from the

city that they can live a slower-paced, peaceful lifestyle. A couple of Committee Members also noted that they like that Hubbards has a lot of amenities for a rural community within a relatively dense center.

Many participants also expressed admiration for the people who live in Hubbards.

Generally, residents of the community were described as kind and easy to get along with. One

Committee Member noted that they appreciate that residents are keen to work together and
advocate for change in the community when it is needed. Being close to familiar people and
family were also things participants described liking about Hubbards.

Interestingly, Resident 2 stated that financial support for education from a community organization is something that makes them appreciate the community. For example, they said:

I almost feel like I owe the community a little bit as well. So... I think that makes me almost want to live here. You know, someone ... invests that much into you. I kind of feel like there's a bit of responsibility to give it back. So... I think that kind of keeps me tied here, and I think... those ties would be my favourite part about living in Hubbards, [because] obviously I'm not going to have those anywhere else I go to.

### What challenges are there to living in Hubbards?

A significant challenge to living in Hubbards that many participants noted is being relatively far from urban centres, namely Halifax. Both Committee Members and Residents noted that many residents of Hubbards need to commute elsewhere for work. Resident 1 said that a major challenge is that "you're not in the city, but also not in the country. Sometimes you get the advantages of both, and sometimes you get the disadvantages of both." The twinning of Highway 103 was described as something that will alleviate a lot of these challenges, as it will make it safer and quicker for residents to drive to Halifax.

In addition to travelling for work, a couple of participants mentioned that a challenge is needing to travel to other communities to participate in organized recreational activities. A couple of Residents said that recreational programs would be easier to do in Hubbards if there was more funding for them. Resident 1 noted that the lack of funding for public programs is likely due to the fact that Hubbards has a relatively small population.

Another prominent challenge discussed was that Hubbards lacks infrastructure and policy that could make active transportation within the community safe and convenient. This challenge was emphasized by all Committee Members but was not a primary concern expressed by Residents not on the HSP committee. However, in response to other questions, all Residents said that new street infrastructure, like sidewalks, could improve Hubbards as a place. Both Committee Members and Residents stated that traffic has been increasing in Hubbards in recent years, which adds to the challenge of not being able to safely navigate the community by bike and by foot. A couple of Committee Members said that the current policies and road design in Hubbards encourage through traffic in the community rather than enticing people to stop and visit.

In addition to its road design, a lack of "places to go" was described as reason for which people do not stop to visit Hubbards when travelling past the community. For example, Resident 3 emphasized that Hubbards lacks amenities which draw people to live in or visit the community. They also said that "Hubbards is losing more, when [it] should be gaining and developing and expanding." Notably, such development and expansion were described as more essential amenities and recreational opportunities that will entice younger people to stay in the community and accommodate the needs of current residents. For example, Resident 3 said:

[T]here doesn't look like there's room for expansion here. And so that's, that's sad, because it's a great little community. And it has lots of potential. I

lived here all my life. So, I remember there being... the bank, the grocery store, a little convenience store... You could come down here and pick up little odds and ends and things that maybe you know you couldn't in Chester... but that's gone. And we've got more empty storefronts and... less places for people to shop, and that's not a good thing. We [need] to have... something to draw people here to keep people here and to keep younger people here. Keep families here.

Another challenge to living in Hubbards stated by some Committee Members is that some residents of the community are resistant to change, especially those who have lived in the community for a relatively long time. Environmental change was noted as something that some residents are resistant to, as well as social change that can happen as more newcomers move to the community. Resistance to change was described as a challenge in that it can stall changes that many residents desire for the community.

## How has the community changed over the time you've lived here?

A major change to Hubbards that both Committee Members and Residents discussed is an increase its population. It was noted by some that there are more people "from away" living in Hubbards than in the past, which has changed the dynamic of the community. Moreover, some Committee Members and Residents said that residents are becoming more accepting of newcomers than they were in recent decades. For example, Resident 4 said:

There are a lot more people from away here, and that's sort of changed how Hubbards is a little bit. It's a little more accepting than it was when we first moved here. [If you were] from away, [it was] kind of like you didn't belong here, and that's changed.

Some Committee Members also brought up that more young families have been moving to Hubbards in recent years. The twinning of highway 103 was described as a significant driver of such change.

In addition to more residents, some participants explained that there seems to be more tourists coming to Hubbards each year, especially during the summer. Committee Member 2 said that an increase in tourism has also caused there to be more traffic in the community. Moreover, they noted that the influx of tourism in the community makes it feel less rural than it did in the past.

Residential development was also discussed as something that has increased in Hubbards in recent years. Resident 1 said that urbanization and gentrification is occurring in the community and that these processes are changing how Hubbards is perceived as a place.

Resident 2 said: "[I]t almost seems like it's becoming... suburbia. ... You can kind of see the... little inklings of it coming up, but I mean... you see stores, they've kind of come and gone." It was also noted that the price of property in Hubbards has significantly increased over the last decade, making it more difficult to buy a house and land in the area.

While residential development was described as something that is increasing in the community, business development was discussed as something that has been decreasing in recent years. Both Committee Members and Residents said that many businesses have closed and left Hubbards over the last decade, such as the local bank and a few restaurants. Private commercial buildings in the community were also described as deteriorating and more run down than they were in the past.

### How would you describe Hubbards?

Generally, participants had positive things to say about Hubbards as a place. Adjectives such as quaint, quiet, coastal, relaxing, beautiful, slow-paced, and picturesque were used to describe the community. Again, it was brought up that Hubbards is "rural, but not too rural". A couple of Committee Members described Hubbards as a place where residents can feel like they are on permanent vacation. Some Residents and Committee Members also mentioned that Hubbards becomes busier in the summer when tourists and seasonal residents come to the community. Most participants also noted that the natural environment of Hubbards, especially its coastline, is beautiful and attracts people to the community.

Something else that was frequently brought up in response to this question is that Hubbards is not a village, but it has a village "feel" or "vibe". For example, Committee Member 4 said: "[Hubbards is] the first hamlet out of the city... that has ten beaches you can go to in 15 minutes. It's not quite a village, but it has a village feel or vibe." While not as common, some participants did describe Hubbards as a village.

Interestingly, it was mentioned by a couple of participants, namely Committee Member 2 and Resident 3, that Hubbards is a special place that not many people know about. Moreover, they both described Hubbards as a place that cannot be fully appreciated unless experienced in person. As such, these participants described Hubbards as "Narnia" and "a hidden gem", respectively. For example, Committee Member 2 said:

I describe Hubbards as like... I call it Narnia. It's like this amazing place that you never really understand until you go and until you experience what it's like. ... I love it here. I don't have to go anywhere else. I can see all these wonderful people that are artistic and cultured and, yet still... homey and loving. It feels like Narnia. It really does.

A similar sentiment was expressed by Resident 3 when they said:

We have lots to offer. But people don't see that because they tend to drive past. There's not that little thing that's going to draw them in. But it's definitely a little hidden gem that people aren't aware of.

While describing Hubbards, some participants focused on the qualities of the people who live in the community. Adjectives such as politically aware, environmentally conscious, civically responsible, and friendly were used to describe residents of Hubbards. Resident 1 touched on this when they said:

There're a lot of people around here who ... take their civic responsibility seriously. ... There're a lot of people around here who expect a lot from their government, and rightly so. Politically, Hubbards is a lot more aware than other places. I think that all comes into our whole dynamic.

# Have you heard of the Hubbards Streetscape Project?

All participants stated that they were aware of the HSP prior to their interview.

Importantly, however, Resident 2 said that they were only vaguely aware of the project, and they only became aware of it after learning about the opportunity to participate in this research.

Therefore, upon asking this question, the author read the 'About' page on the HSP website to Resident 2 so that they could be more informed about the project before continuing with the interview.

## How would you describe the project?

Residents who are not on the HSP committee described the project as an initiative advocating for new street infrastructure, namely sidewalks, in Hubbards with the aim of making active transportation safer and more convenient in the community. While improving street safety

was described by Residents as a central focus of the HSP, some also noted that the scope of this project extends to improving Hubbards as a place in general. For example, Resident 4 said: "The project - as far as I know - it's not just about putting a sidewalk in, it's also how Hubbards is going to develop in the future, and ... the surrounding area. just so it doesn't become too urban, I guess." Similarly, Resident 2 said: "[I]t seems like it's an effort to put sidewalks in along Hubbards. I think there's probably more to it than just adding sidewalks."

The HSP was also described by Residents as an initiative that will make Hubbards more known to people outside the community. For example, when describing the project Resident 3 said: "[T]here's a group of people in the community and outside that are looking to do improvements, meaning making sidewalks and better areas, improving roadways, and trying to make Hubbards, Hubbards again." Resident 3 also said that the HSP will help put "Hubbards on the map". Some Residents also discussed the feasibility of the project. For example, Resident 1 explained that while they would like the plans proposed by the HSP to be implemented, they are doubtful that these plans, especially sidewalks, are financially feasible for government.

Unsurprisingly, Committee Members of the HSP had a more comprehensive understanding of the project's mission and objectives than Residents (i.e., residents not on the HSP committee). Like Residents, Committee Members generally described the central focus of the project as street safety and active transportation in Hubbards. Moreover, Committee Members frequently described the project as "grassroots" and "community-led". A couple of Committee Members also mentioned that the Covid-19 pandemic played a role in the project's development but did not explain why this was the case.

While making active transportation safer in Hubbards was described by Committee

Members as the central aim of the HSP, they also explained that the project aims to create a

Community Plan which reflects residents' values and visions for Hubbards. Placemaking was also discussed as something that the project hopes to achieve. Generally, Committee Members described the goals of the project as multifaceted. For example, Committee Member 3 described the objectives of the project as threefold when they said:

[I]t's an effort to create an updated plan for Hubbards and there are three pillars to the plan. One is safety and active transportation. ... The second is to create a new set of standards for main streets, not just for Hubbards, but for all Nova Scotia communities. ... [The] third [is] to create a stronger main street through placemaking, and through encouraging development [on] the central street. So really creating a cohesive connection between the ocean and the shops and services, so that the community has a really strong, vibrant heart.

The scope of the project's objectives was also illustrated when Committee Member 2 said: "Hubbards already uses an active transportation place; so, since we're trying to create a safer version of that, that [improvement] includes this kind of... placemaking idea, [which] will in turn increase economic development within the community."

Some Committee Members also noted that a purpose of the HSP is to guide the type of development that occurs in Hubbards to ensure it does not lose its "feel". Also, it was emphasized that the committee aims to be inclusive in their planning to ensure many residents have an opportunity to contribute to the project. It was also mentioned that twinning of Highway 103 will expedite development in Hubbards, and the HSP provides a means for residents to shape this development in a way that maintains Hubbards' sense of place. This point was exemplified by Committee Member 2 when they said:

We don't want to lose that village feel that Hubbards has... that walkability, kind of quaint, sweet little village. We want to maintain that, while we accept the new development that is inevitably coming because the twinned highways. ... If we are proactive instead of reactive to what's coming, we will build the type of infrastructure to support the kind of development that we're looking for in the future and maintain it. So, we want to maintain that feel that Hubbards has. ... We want that to continue. ... That feeling of

close to home. We want that maintained, and to do that, you need to make a community plan.

Notably, Committee Members described streetscaping for Hubbards' main street (i.e., Highway 3) as a form of placemaking that will improve Hubbards in main two ways: the first is by making active transportation safer in the community, and the second is by enhancing the economic "centre" of Hubbards so that it functions more like a village rather than a hamlet. Such placemaking was described as means to enhance Hubbards' identity as a place, while also improving the local economy for residents. While making changes to the portion of Highway 3 that runs through Hubbards is major concern of the project, it is important to note that Committee Members also described Highway 329 along the Aspotogan Peninsula as road being considered, as it is commonly regarded as a part of the Hubbards community.

# Do you engage with the project in any way? Why/why not?

The means of engaging with the project differed between the Residents and Committee Members. The most common way Residents engage with the project is via Facebook. Some Residents explained that although they support the project, they have not been able to engage with it to the extent that they would have liked. For example, Resident 1 said that they support the project, but feel like they have not had many opportunities to engage with it because they do not use Facebook. Also, Resident 3 explained that they are not able to share ideas that can help the project as it may present a conflict of interest due to their profession, but they actively follow the project via Facebook. Resident 2 said that they have not engaged with the project because they do not know much about it; however, they would like to engage with it more in the future.

Interestingly, Resident 4 said that they communicate with others about the project mainly via Facebook rather than in person.

The ways in which Committee Members contribute to and engage with the project are quite diverse. For example, some explained that they work on the project in a leadership capacity, which involves building relationships with other community organizations and meeting with civil servants and elected officials. Others explained that they communicate with residents of the community either via Facebook or in person by going door-to-door to houses in Hubbards. One Committee Member said that they help advise the committee internally on writing press releases and conveying messages in the media. External advising to other communities that want to initiate similar projects was also described as a task that some Committee Members have taken on. The reason for this type of outreach was described by Committee Member 4 when they said: "There's a lot of other communities that are on the edge of highways that have developed, but they don't fit the needs of the people in the community." Hiring consultants, finding sources of funding, and bringing the community together were also described as ways that Committee Members contribute to the project.

Motivations for engaging with the project also varied.<sup>2</sup> Some of the reasons for engagement described by participants in response to this question include creating a better place for their children to grow up, making the community safer and more convenient for seniors to walk through, and making it easier to live a healthy lifestyle in the community. One Committee Member also explained that they engage with the project because they enjoy working on quality

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> It is important to note that reasons for engaging with the project described here are the reasons provided by participants directly in response to this interview question. Other reasons or motivations for engaging with the project were discussed in response to other questions; however, they will not be discussed here.

improvement projects and participating in any opportunity to make Hubbards a better place to live.

# What improvements would you like to see made to the built and/or natural environment of Hubbards?

In terms of Hubbards' built environment, all participants stated that they would like to see development of more infrastructure that can make active transportation easier and safer in the community. Bike lanes and sidewalks were both brought up as examples of such infrastructure. Some noted that Hubbards is a "cycling community" and needs more infrastructure to support this type of activity. Many participants also said that they want new street infrastructure, like sidewalks, in Hubbards so that it feels more connected, especially between its two counties. Notably, the portion of Highway 3 running through Hubbards, the Fox Point "Front Road", and Highway 329 were all described as roadways in the community that could use better street design and infrastructure. Some Committee Members also mentioned that new street infrastructure for active transportation will enhance Hubbards' sense of community, as it may encourage people to walk more in the community rather than drive, and in turn, facilitate casual in-person socialization between residents and visitors. Adding street infrastructure for walking was also described as a way to consolidate a "core area" in Hubbards where public gathering is prominent. For instance, Committee Member 2 said: "If we want to create this community hub or center and create that village feel that's long lasting, we do that by creating a walkable community that people come and want to visit."

Other components of Hubbards' built environment that participants would like to see improved are its business centres. Both Committee Members and Residents termed the part of Hubbards where business centres are more condensed as "Hubbards Square" or "The Four Way".

Many participants brought up that this area of the community is underutilized and has a lot of potential for improvement. Such improvement was mainly described as (1) making the private commercial buildings look more aesthetically pleasing and (2) adding more businesses to current commercial buildings, especially the strip mall. Overall, participants emphasized that they would like any new businesses in the community to be "local", artisanal, and/or community-oriented so that they contribute to rather than change Hubbards' "feel" as a place. Interestingly, a couple of participants said that they do not want any more buildings to be built in Hubbards, but rather would like to see current buildings be updated and improved. Some, however, did suggest that new buildings are needed in Hubbards. Placemaking was described as a way to improve the community's built environment. For example, Committee Member 3 said:

I'd like to see new buildings go in that really help create a vibrant streetscape all the way from the grocery store to the library, especially from the library to the ocean. And that can be achieved in two ways. One is to encourage new development. The other way is temporary placemaking measures. You know, turning gray asphalt into public parks of some kind or places where kids can play games or something like that.

In terms of the natural environment, many Committee Members and Residents said that they would like more community green spaces, parks, and trails in Hubbards. Generally, these improvements were described as beneficial for Hubbards as they can enhance its sense of community and make it easier for residents to live a healthy lifestyle. Like for the built environment, some participants mentioned that placemaking can help improve the community's natural environment. Resident 1 explained that they would like to see more nature preservation in Hubbards, as this could benefit the environment and the local economy via ecotourism.

Another point that was made clear by participants is that they want any improvements made to the built and/or natural environment of Hubbards to match its identity as a place. For

instance, a few participants mentioned that they want improvements that will maintain the charm, character, and heritage of Hubbards, because maintaining these attributes will ensure it will also maintain its overall "feel".

# How do you feel about the changes to Hubbards that the Hubbards Streetscape Project is proposing?

All participants (i.e., Committee Members and Residents) indicated that they have positive feelings about the HSP and the changes to Hubbards it is proposing. Generally, the Residents expressed doubt in the projects' feasibility more than the Committee Members. However, the Residents also expressed gratitude and appreciation for the changes being proposed by the project. Some Committee Members expressed concerns that their requests for change will not materialize, but they explained that this would result from government inaction and/or public resistance rather than the project being infeasible.

# Do you expect that Hubbards will experience much change in the next 10 years? Why/why not?

Most participants said that Hubbards will experience significant changes over the next decade. The primary reason for such change was described as the twinning of Highway 103. Specifically, many Residents and Committee Members explained that the highway twinning will bring more development to Hubbards because it has shortened the time it takes to commute to Halifax. For example, Committee Member 3 said: "Once the highway is finished twinning to Hubbards, I expect there's going to be a lot of development. There already is major development being proposed there. I think much more is coming."

Another reason for anticipated changes to Hubbards was related to an international sailing event that will be held in the community relatively soon. Committee Member 4 noted these two perceived drivers of change in relation to the purpose of the HSP when they said:

I think the big driving force right now for Hubbards is the twinning of the highway, and some other new opportunities that have popped up, like the world sailing event that's coming. If big changes are going to come ... why not look at this as a whole picture instead of piecemealing different carved out pieces, so that your community does feel connected and not disjoint.

Some participants noted that the population of Hubbards has increased in recent years. Interestingly, Resident 4 said that they anticipate the number of seasonal residents in Hubbards to increase as they have observed more houses becoming Airbnbs. Some Committee Members explained that more people will move to Hubbards permanently once they learn more about the community's positive attributes coupled with the fact that it has become more accessible to those who work in urban centres, namely Halifax, due to the highway twinning. The belief that more people will find Hubbards an attractive place to live was exemplified by Committee Member 5 when they said: "I think the population is growing here. I think it's a pretty incredibly beautiful place here and that more and more people will learn that." Committee Member 2 also expressed this notion when they said:

People who don't even have any connection to Hubbards talk about moving to Hubbards. Like, if you go into the Bedford world right now, there's a lot of people who are like 'I'm trying to find land in Hubbards'. They have no connection to Hubbards, but they want to move here because they've heard so many wonderful things about it. Everything's so local. ... They come out for the markets, so, why not live in that environment? It's really not that far if the highways are twinned.

Some participants explained that Hubbards is experiencing population growth in tandem with the general population growth that is occurring in Nova Scotia, and therefore, such growth is not unique to Hubbards.

In addition to population, industrial growth and urbanization were described as things that are expected to increase in Hubbards over the next decade. Some Committee Members mentioned that development of subdivisions and large retail stores is likely to occur in the community over this period as more individuals and companies recognize its potential. Moreover, it was noted by a few participants that Hubbards could become "another Tantallon", which is a suburban area between Hubbards and Halifax that has more residential subdivisions and large retail stores than Hubbards.

While most participants said that they expect Hubbards to experience significant change in the next 10 years, some said that it will not. For example, Resident 1 explained that they do not expect that Hubbards will experience major change over the coming years, as they think it is unlikely that larger industries will set up operations in the community. They also felt that Hubbards has reached its potential as a tourism destination, and thus, will not experience much change in this regard. However, they also said that the international sailing event could lead to a significant increase in the amount of government funding being invested into the community's infrastructure, especially around the waterfront. Moreover, this Resident noted that more natural areas in and around Hubbards will likely be protected over the coming years.

### How do you feel about the type(s) of change you've mentioned?

Interestingly, no participants indicated that they were opposed to change in Hubbards.

The caveat to this, however, was that change was only perceived as positive if residents have an opportunity to mediate or guide it. Most participants expressed interest in any type of development that can improve Hubbards as a place, rather than changing it as a place per se. In other words, changes that would maintain Hubbards' sense of place and identity as a quaint,

rural, coastal community were generally described as favourable. Progress and improvement were both nouns that were commonly used to describe desired change. Community participation in community planning was emphasized as something that needs to happen in order for residents to be comfortable with changes made. Some Committee Members explained that the HSP plays an important role in ensuring community concerns and ideas are heard by government during planning. The HSP committee's aim to help facilitate "thoughtful" change that maintains Hubbards' sense of place was exemplified by Committee Member 5 when they said:

This group is hoping to make sure it doesn't grow exponentially and out of control in ways that people wouldn't want. ... I think, I mean from who we've talked to, we want to continue a coastal village feel. Yes, I think it is going to grow, and I hope that it will grow thoughtfully.

The importance of community-guided change in Hubbards was also noted by Committee Member 2 when they said: "I really think that there will be some big changes in the next 10 years, and I think it would be advantageous for our community to not control the change, but to maybe mediate it, direct it."

Overall, participants expressed appreciation for any changes that can make Hubbards a better place to live while also maintaining its identity and sense of place. It was noted by some that such changes will change the feel of Hubbards to some extent. However, many also stated that change is inevitable, and as long as the change makes Hubbards a better place to live and visit while also conserving its sense of place, then it can be regarded as positive progress. This notion was expressed by Resident 2 when they said:

There used to be a movie theatre in Hubbards and all this stuff and [it feels] kind of weird living in like a shell of a community, compared to what it used to be. So, I mean, it's progress and, you know, it's kind of hard to see the Hubbards of my memory go away, but I'm ok with it.

### What is your vision for Hubbards?

In general, participants indicated that they hope that Hubbards "stays the same but continues to progress". Examples of such progress were described as more infrastructure for active transportation, development of multi-use community centres, investment in recreation programs, more local-minded businesses, a consolidated streetscape, and more affordable housing for younger families and seniors. Interestingly, a couple of Residents and Committee Members said that they would like more affordable housing in Hubbards that can help keep younger people and seniors in the community, as these demographics generally need to move away at some point in their lives due to housing in the area being too expensive for them. A noted stipulation for this housing, however, was that it needs to "look nice" so that it contributes to the charming aesthetic of Hubbards.

Another prominent theme in the responses to this question is a desire for improvements that make Hubbards feel more like a united place. Trails and sidewalks were described was types of development that can increase the physical connection between the community's amenities. Participants also noted that they envision future planning and development to account for both counties of Hubbards simultaneously so that it changes at a similar rate and in a similar way on both sides of the county line. This desire was illustrated by Committee Member 3 when they said:

My vision for Hubbards is a thriving village main street that defines a really strong center of the community that people who live there are proud of and that other people want to visit, where you can walk from the grocery store to the library, enjoying unique local shops and cafes and see other people walk in the street and see lots going on with little public spaces where people spend time and enjoy the beautiful, local architecture of the ocean and where people hold regular festivals because it's so obvious that this is the center of the community and this is where we organize events that represent our sense of self. That's what I'd like to see for Hubbards to achieve its

obvious potential by just stringing together those great assets that are there into one cohesive whole.

Another theme in the participants' visions is environmental change that will keep Hubbards the place that it is currently known as, while also consolidating its identity and functionality as a village rather than a hamlet. For example, Committee Member 5 said that they "envision ... a walkable town that's welcoming and still has a low-key, rural village feel."

Others noted that they envision change that reflects Hubbards' potential as a place. The notion that Hubbards is already considered a nice place but could use improvement was demonstrated in simple terms when Resident 3 said that Hubbards just "needs a facelift". The desire for Hubbards to improve while maintaining its sense of place was expressed by Committee Member 5 when they said:

We have a really strong sense of community in Hubbards and I think that stems from the environment and the people that choose to live here, and that existing landscape that's here. I think that it promotes that feel of community, and I want to maintain that. I would hate to see it become something else.

A similar sentiment was expressed by Resident 2 when they said: "I wouldn't mind seeing it grow a bit while all kind of still staying Hubbards, whatever that means."

# Do you feel that the Hubbards Streetscape Project fills a gap in planning that can initiate change in Hubbards?

This question was only asked to Committee Members 3 and 4 after they had indirectly indicated in their responses to the other interview questions that the HSP is bridging a gap in community planning for Hubbards. Both Committee Members agreed that the HSP indeed fills a gap in planning for the community. When discussing the motivation driving the project, Committee Member 3 went as far to say: "If it were not for this motivation, we would not be

getting a Community Plan for Hubbards."

Interestingly, Committee Member 2 had mentioned that the project is helping not only connect citizens with government, but also helping all three levels of government connect with each other. Specifically, they mentioned that current policies create "grey area" regarding which level of government ought to be responsible for infrastructure-related problems, especially involving street improvement. Such ambiguity, they explained, can delay the rate at which improvements occur in the community.

In addition to conflict that can arise between the different levels of government, it was mentioned that challenges can arise in community planning due to Hubbards being governed by two different municipal governments. It was explained this divide in governance in the community causes a lack of cohesive planning that regards Hubbards as one place. The HSP was described as a means to facilitate planning that aims to improve Hubbards as a whole, rather than separate parts of it.

#### **CHAPTER 5**

### **DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION**

### **Motivations for the Hubbards Streetscape Project**

The following discussion draws attention to overarching themes in the research results that are indicative of key motivations driving the HSP. Based on the results of this research, it is evident that many residents of Hubbards are concerned that this place will change in unfavourable ways over the next decade, largely due to urbanization. At the same time, many residents feel that Hubbards has potential to become a more consolidated as a rural village rather than a hamlet (i.e., a rural settlement smaller than a village in terms of both population size and geographic area), which is a type of place change that many residents desire. To ensure Hubbards is made into a type of place that accommodates residents' place attachment, sense of place, and expectations for its potential, the community has taken on a lead role in comprehensive environmental planning for this place. Environment, here, refers to both the built and natural features of Hubbards. By doing this, the community is filling a gap in place governance and management for Hubbards that results from this place being divided between two municipalities.

### Guiding place change to accommodate place attachment and sense of place

The results of this research suggest that a prominent concern many residents of Hubbards share is that the environment – built and natural – of this place could change drastically over the coming years as more people are expected to move there, namely because of the twinning of nearby Highway 103. Moreover, it was found that many residents fear that such change will not reflect what they value in Hubbards' current environment, such as its natural beauty, ruralness,

and "coastal village charm". Many residents associate these characteristics with Hubbards' "feel" or "vibe", which can both be regarded as informal expressions of its sense of place. Even those who do not think that the highway development will bring significant change to Hubbards recognize that environmental change in the community is inevitable, and an influx of newcomers in the community over the next decade is probable. Another potential cause of significant changes to Hubbards was said to be an upcoming international sailing competition being held in the community.

It is important to note that change to the built and natural environment of Hubbards is the focus of this discussion for two main reasons: (1) many participants of this research described environmental change as a catalyst for other types of change in Hubbards (i.e., social change and economic change), and (2) many participants expressed concern that changes to Hubbards' environment would alter its sense of place more so than changes to its social dynamic as result of more newcomers. For example, many residents described any type of environmental change related to urbanization as something negative for Hubbards, as it would hinder the "rural charm" of this place that current residents value. It must also be noted, however, that many participants expressed concern that newcomers may have different expectations for Hubbards in terms of its aesthetic, culture, and economy, and if they have not lived in Hubbards long enough to gain a "proper" sense of it, then they may initiate change that does not reflect the authenticity of this place that current residents value. Making clear the characteristics that residents feel will change Hubbards' sense of place is important because, of course, the social dynamics of a place can also influence how it is perceived by residents and visitors (Hay, 1998).

To ensure Hubbards changes over time in ways that maintains its sense of place, many residents feel that they ought to be able to guide and inform decisions regarding the type of

development that occurs. For many, participating in the Hubbards Streetscape Project (HSP) has become one such opportunity. Not only is the HSP perceived by many as a way to guide or mediate development in Hubbards so it maintains its sense of place, but it is also seen as a way to initiate change that aligns with residents' attachment to Hubbards. Such attachment is comprised of the two dimensions of place attachment commonly discussed in literature: place dependence and place identity (Guiliani, 2003; Williams and Vaske, 2003). That is, the degree to which one depends on a place to satisfy their needs and the degree to which one associates their identity with the environment of a place, respectively.

In terms of place dependence, many residents who participated in this research feel that Hubbards does not currently meet some of their needs related to safety, living a healthy lifestyle, and social connection. Specifically, they feel this way because the community does not have sufficient infrastructure for safe, active transportation. By engaging with the HSP, many residents feel like they can initiate changes to Hubbards that will accommodate their needs. Such changes vary from constructing sidewalks and widening road shoulders to creating more green spaces and walking trails.

Furthermore, regarding place identity, many residents feel that the environment of Hubbards reflects values that they attribute to their identity. For instance, many feel that living in this community, which they perceive as a place abundant in beautiful, natural areas reflects their respect for the natural environment. Moreover, many residents believe that the ruralness of Hubbards' environment reflects their admiration for slow-paced living. By participating in the HSP, many residents feel that they can ensure Hubbards changes in ways that will align with their place identity.

Interestingly, the results of this research suggest that although many residents who

engage with the HSP have a relatively strong attachment to Hubbards, they are not necessarily opposed to this place changing over time. This finding differs from what others have observed in studying the relationship between place attachment and acceptance of place change. For example, in Anton and Lawrence's (2016) study regarding the relationship between place attachment, the theory of planned behaviour, and residents' response to place change in Western Australia, it was discovered that residents with higher place attachment generally perceive place change as negative. It is important to note, however, that the type of place change examined by Anton and Lawrence (2016) – that is, changing the local council responsible for governing a place – was initiated by state government, not citizens. Not only does this place change differ from what is being proposed by the HSP in Hubbards in terms of its type (i.e., political rather than environmental), but also in that it was implemented in a top-down manner (i.e., government-led rather than community-led).

The fact that residents with a relatively strong attachment to Hubbards generally perceived change to this place as positive suggests that place change can be accepted by residents if they have an opportunity to *guide* it. Moreover, by guiding or having a say in what place change will look like, residents can ensure that such change accommodates their place attachment (i.e., place dependence and place identity). Therefore, it is suggested here that residents can be motivated to start a community-led placemaking initiative, like the HSP, because it ensures that residents' needs and values are put at the forefront of any planning and development that will change the place in which they live. In the case of the HSP, such guidance is in the form of creating a Community Plan based on residents' needs and values, which can guide future planning and development carried out by government.

## Enhancing place identity and livability

As previously mentioned, the results of this research indicate that many residents of Hubbards are generally opposed to change that will alter the natural beauty, charm, ruralness, and over-all coastal village feel of this place (i.e., its sense of place). They do, however, seem to desire any change to Hubbards that makes it more distinct and functional as a place, especially with respect to other coastal communities along the South Shore of Nova Scotia, such as Chester and Mahone Bay. Specifically, many residents feel that Hubbards needs a "draw" and something tangible to better represent its identity as a place. Notably, consolidating Hubbards' identity was generally described by residents as beneficial for drawing tourists to the community more so than for attracting people to move there.

Moreover, many residents feel that the developments being proposed by the HSP, namely development of a well-designed "streetscape" through Hubbards, can help enhance the identity of this place. It is important to note that "enhancing place identity" is used here rather than "establishing place identity", as many residents expressed that they already have a sense of Hubbards' identity from their experience living there; however, the environment of this place, namely its built environment, does not currently reflect this sense. For example, many residents expressed that Hubbards *feels* like a coherent place despite being divided by two counties; however, it does not *function* as a coherent place as it lacks infrastructure, like sidewalks, to connect the amenities on each side of the county line.

Many who participate in the HSP believe that streetscaping will provide a physical representation of Hubbards' identity for visitors. In other words, this type of development could make the intangible components of Hubbards' identity and sense of place that residents understand through their experience living in this place become tangible for visitors. The HSP

also advocates for the main road through Hubbards (i.e., Highway 3) to be designated a Main Street with the aim of making streetscaping more feasible, as well as making Hubbards feel and function like a cohesive place. Furthermore, many residents believe that developing a unified streetscape through Hubbards will consolidate its identity as a village, rather than a hamlet. The streetscaping that the HSP is advocating for can be characterized as a type of placemaking, as it involves beautification and changes to the natural and built environment of Hubbards, enhancing both its identity and livability, which many residents feel will in turn, make it a better place to live and visit.

It should be noted that designating the strip of Highway 3 through Hubbards a Main Street will involve policy change by government at the provincial level, specifically the Nova Scotia Department of Transportation and Renewal. However, development of street infrastructure, like crosswalks and sidewalks, is a municipal responsibility (Nova Scotia Federation for Municipalities, 2020). Hence, the HSP needs to work with various levels of government to achieve its objectives, which was a point made by some interview participants, especially HSP Committee Members.

It is also worth noting that the HSP was initiated around the same time that the Nova Scotia Federation of Municipalities (NSFM) (2020) released a Community Workbook for its 'Nova Scotia Main Streets Initiative', which aims to "create momentum and identify opportunities for community-based-approaches to improve Main Streets [in Nova Scotia's smaller towns, villages, and communities], while also providing considerations for government strategies, programs, and policies" (pp. VII). The NSFM claims that Main Streets differ from other roadways in the province in that the function of the former extends beyond moving motor vehicles through an area. Notably, they state that Main Streets can encourage land-use regulation

which facilitates community-focused development. Such development typically enhances sense of place, accommodates the needs of locals, prioritizes active transportation, and fosters local business (Nova Scotia Federation of Municipalities, 2020). Knowing the purpose of a Main Street helps contextualize the desire for this type of road designation, as well as development of a streetscape, in Hubbards.

The desire for Hubbards to have a more apparent identity through development of a coherent, attractive streetscape resembles motivations for 'place branding' commonly discussed in the literature. For example, Campelo et al. (2013) examined how place identity can be made apparent to tourists via place branding. They argue that place branding ought to be informed by the sense of place felt by people who live in that place to ensure it is an authentic representation of its identity to tourists (Campelo et al., 2013). 'Neighborhood branding' is a term also employed in literature to describe a similar concept (Coletti and Rabbiosi, 2020). Like Campelo et al. (2013), Coletti and Rabbiosi (2020) emphasize in their work regarding neighborhood branding in the eastern periphery of Rome that the residents significantly contribute to the formation of place identity, and therefore, ought to play a critical role in place branding initiatives. In the context of Hubbards, it seems that many of its residents recognize the important role they play in ensuring the identity of this place is authentically represented. Such recognition is argued here to be a motivation driving the HSP.

### Filling a gap in place governance

Many residents indicated in interviews and the online survey that the HSP initiates a type of cohesive planning for Hubbards that is not typically performed by government, largely because this place is governed by two different local governments. While these governments –

that is, Chester Municipality and Halifax Regional Municipality - may view Hubbards as a divided place, this is certainly not the case for residents, which is exemplified by the HSP.

Rather, residents generally perceive Hubbards as a united place, and believe that planning by government should treat it as such.

In place governance literature, the public sector, private sector, and civil society are all regarded as critical contributors to place management. Healey (2010), for example, notes that the realm of place governance concerned for placemaking typically involves all three levels of government and various actors outside the public sector. For such governance to be effective, it can be assumed that the actors involved must agree on the place for which they are concerned. In the case of Hubbards, there is no local government that is responsible for planning that accounts for the *entire* community. This lack of coherent planning can be regarded as a gap in Hubbards' place governance. Unlike local governments, the HSP is concerned for planning that aims to make Hubbards as a whole a better place to live in and visit. This concern is evidenced by the Community Plan that the HSP is working to have developed for Hubbards which can inform decisions made by both of its local governments.

Additionally, it was found in interviews with some members of the HSP committee that they recognize the gap they are filling in place governance in Hubbards. One committee member even noted that without the HSP, it is unlikely that a Community Plan would be created for Hubbards, at least by government. Therefore, in the context of Hubbards, community-led placemaking is not only important for ensuring residents' sense of place attachment and sense of place are accounted for in planning, but also to ensure it is even initiated. The HSP, then, seems to increase capacity for cohesive placemaking to occur in Hubbards. Based on these findings, it is suggested that filling a gap in place governance is also a motivation driving community-led

placemaking.

### Social Media as a Catalyst for Community-Led Placemaking

When discussing motivations driving community-led placemaking in Hubbards (i.e., the HSP), it is important to acknowledge the key role social media, namely Facebook, played in facilitating this phenomenon. As the results of this work show, Facebook was, and continues to be, a principal communication platform for the HSP committee, members of the public, and elected officials to collaboratively share concerns and ideas regarding development in Hubbards. As previously discussed, some members of the HSP committee attribute the reliance on this type of communication to the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic, which made face-to-face conversation in public areas challenging. As highlighted by the survey results, the HSP Facebook group is the main way residents choose to engage with the project. Thus, the way in which this social media platform contributes to the motivations for the HSP is important to draw attention to.

The effectiveness of Facebook as a tool for facilitating community-led placemaking in Hubbards corresponds with an emerging area of study in placemaking research. Breek et al. (2018; 2021), for instance, found that online blogs, such as Facebook, can serve as forum for citizens to collaboratively shape the narrative and meaning of a place, which can both inform placemaking actions, as has been emphasized by Tuan (1991). Particularly, Breek et al. (2021) suggest that Facebook has the connective and expressive 'affordance' to mobilize larger groups of people who share similar concerns about a place. Moreover, they argue that collaborative sharing of place narratives through Facebook is an example of "online affective placemaking" (Breek et al., 2021, pp. 23).

Interestingly, with regard to the flow and direction of such place discourse, Breek et al. (2021) found that the editors or administrators of Facebook groups can have strong influence. This finding aligns with what was found in during analysis of the HSP Facebook page in that HSP committee members, who were also administrators of the page, facilitated much of the public discussion on the page. While this mode of discourse facilitation was not found to be problematic, as committee members – all of whom are either currently a resident of Hubbards or were a resident at some point in their life - remained relatively neutral and professional in their communication, it is worth noting their role as 'initiators' of placemaking discourse for Hubbards.

Although the HSP Facebook group, created by committee members, catalyzed public discussion regarding placemaking in Hubbards at a relatively large scale, it is argued here that the momentum to mobilize the HSP is largely due to residents' desire to guide the type of environmental change that occurs in Hubbards through placemaking activities. A prominent example of such activity is constructing a functional and attractive streetscape through the community.

### **Opportunities for Future Research**

The research for this thesis provides insight into motivations for community-led placemaking in the context of Hubbards and the Hubbards Streetscape Project (HSP). The key findings of this research exemplify how place attachment, sense of place, place identity, and place governance play into motivations for bottom-up, intentional placemaking. It is important to note, however, that these motivations are not suggested to be necessary nor sufficient for community-led placemaking to be initiated. For example, having a gap in place governance, like is the case in Hubbards, is not assumed to be needed nor enough for such placemaking to occur

anywhere. Thus, more research is needed to better understand whether necessary and sufficient conditions exist for community-led placemaking at a community scale. In this realm of inquiry, it may be the case that there are only conditions (i.e., motivations) that count toward or contribute to placemaking of this type to account for the unique set of characteristics and circumstances that each place has. Gaining a more thorough understanding of motivations for this type of placemaking can help strengthen the theory used to conceptualize it, which can in turn, inform how it can be carried out in practice by communities in order to be effective.

Another important finding of this research is that community-led placemaking in Hubbards is being facilitated to a large extent by an organized group of residents (i.e., the HSP committee). While the role of this group mainly seems to be community mobilization and performing actions on behalf of the community to bring to fruition wider ideas, such as writing funding proposals and presenting to council, it is important to acknowledge potential implications of this type of self-organization with respect to advancing placemaking. For example, HSP committee members were neither appointed nor elected to their positions, which may make their legitimacy as a group that represents collective interests questionable to some. At the same time, having such a group to perform time-consuming tasks in a volunteer capacity may be the only way to ensure community-led placemaking initiatives are effective in accomplishing what they set out to do. Notably, the HSP committee seems to be aware that it is virtually impossible for them to be completely disinterested in the outcome of the project; this awareness is evidenced by their choice to hire a professional planning firm to conduct public consultations and create a Community Plan on behalf of the community. While worth noting, the implications of this type of self-organization to mobilize community-led placemaking is beyond

the scope of this thesis. Thus, more research is warranted to understand whether the potential benefits of a self-organized group, like the HSP committee, outweigh the potential implications.

Similarly, the results of this research also indicate that there may be implications associated with the HSP's mobilization approach on Facebook. As noted in the summary of results from the analysis of the HSP Facebook group, some residents of Hubbards are concerned that the group has allowed for too much input from outsiders (i.e., non-residents) regarding what type of development should occur in Hubbards. Again, more research is needed to understand whether this type of community mobilization is more harmful than good, or vice versa, in terms of ensuring residents' needs and desires are properly accounted for in any place change that results from the placemaking initiative being mobilized.

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# **APPENDIX**

# **Survey Questions and Possible Responses**

Question/Statement	Answer Options
Do you live in Hubbards either permanently or seasonally? (i.e., you have a B0J 1T0 postal code)	No / Yes, permanently / Yes, seasonally
How long have you lived in Hubbards (either permanently or seasonally)?	All my life / Less than 5 years / Between 5 and 10 years / More than 10 years / I grew up here, moved away and lived somewhere else for part of my life, then moved back
To which gender identity do you most identify?	Female / Male / Gender Variant/Non-conforming / Transgender Male / Transgender Female / Prefer not to say
What is your age?	18-24 years old / 25-34 years old / 35-44 years old / 45-54 years old / 55-64 years old / 65-74 years old / 75 years or older
I am very attached to Hubbards.	Strongly disagree / Disagree / Somewhat disagree / Neither agree nor disagree / Somewhat agree / Agree / Strongly agree
Hubbards is very special to me.	Strongly disagree / Disagree / Somewhat disagree / Neither agree nor disagree / Somewhat agree / Agree / Strongly agree
I identify strongly with Hubbards.	Strongly disagree / Disagree / Somewhat disagree / Neither agree nor disagree / Somewhat agree / Agree / Strongly agree
I have a lot of fond memories of Hubbards.	Strongly disagree / Disagree / Somewhat disagree / Neither agree nor disagree / Somewhat agree / Agree / Strongly agree
Living in this community says a lot about who I am.	Strongly disagree / Disagree / Somewhat disagree / Neither agree nor disagree / Somewhat agree / Agree / Strongly agree
I feel Hubbards is a part of me.	Strongly disagree / Disagree / Somewhat disagree / Neither agree nor disagree / Somewhat agree / Agree / Strongly agree
No other place can compare to Hubbards.	Strongly disagree / Disagree / Somewhat disagree / Neither agree nor disagree / Somewhat agree / Agree / Strongly agree
Living life in Hubbards is better than living anywhere else in the world.	Strongly disagree / Disagree / Somewhat disagree / Neither agree nor disagree / Somewhat agree / Agree / Strongly agree
Hubbards satisfies my needs better than any other place could.	Strongly disagree / Disagree / Somewhat disagree / Neither agree nor disagree / Somewhat agree / Agree / Strongly agree

Doing activities in Hubbards is more important than doing them in any other place.	Strongly disagree / Disagree / Somewhat disagree / Neither agree nor disagree / Somewhat agree / Agree / Strongly agree
The things I do in this community I would enjoy doing just as much as another community.	Strongly disagree / Disagree / Somewhat disagree / Neither agree nor disagree / Somewhat agree / Agree / Strongly agree
There is no better place I would like to live in than Hubbards.	Strongly disagree / Disagree / Somewhat disagree / Neither agree nor disagree / Somewhat agree / Agree / Strongly agree
Have you heard of the Hubbards Streetscape Project (HSP)?	Yes/No
Do you engage with the HSP in any way (e.g., volunteer and/or follow the project's Facebook page)?	Yes/No
If you answered yes to the last question, in what ways do you engage with the project? (select all that apply)	NA / I volunteer with the project's committee / I follow the project's Facebook page / I share ideas and/or post comments on the project's Facebook page / I participate in public consultations for the project / I complete surveys and/or online activities for the project / I share information regarding the project with others / I engage with the project in a way not mentioned here
Please explain why you do or do not engage with the HSP.	
Please note any other comments that you have.	

### **Interview Questions**

What do you like most about living in Hubbards?

What challenges are there to living in Hubbards?

How has the community changed over the time you've lived here?

How would you describe Hubbards?

Have you heard of the Hubbards Streetscape Project?

[Follow-up questions if the participant answered yes to question 5]:

How would you describe the project?

Do you engage with the project in any way (e.g., follow the project's Facebook page, attend public consultations, share ideas, volunteer with the project committee)? Why/why not?

[Follow-up questions if the participant answered no to question 5]: \*A paragraph will be read from the project's online "About" page.

Now that you know a little bit about the project, would you choose to engage with it (e.g., follow the project's Facebook page, attend public consultations, share ideas, volunteer with the committee)? Why/why not?

What improvements would you like to see made to the built and/or natural environment of Hubbards (e.g., buildings, sidewalks, parks, landscaping, forest cover)?

[Follow-up question]:

How do you feel about the changes to Hubbards that the Hubbards Streetscape Project is proposing, such as sidewalks along Highway 3?

Do you expect that Hubbards will experience much change in the next 10 years? Why/why not?

[Follow-up question]:

How do you feel about the type(s) of change you've mentioned?

What is your vision for Hubbards?

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